

SOCIALIST PARTY IS FOR—
Labor Unity.
24-Hr. Week and 40-Hr. Pay.
Organization of the Unorgan-
ized.
Jobs for All.
War Funds to the Jobless.

SOCIALIST CALL

SOCIALIST PARTY IS FOR—
Workers Front Against War,
Fascism.
A Farmer-Labor Party.
Extension of Labor's Rights.
Freedom for Colonial Peoples.
Democracy Through Socialism.

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States

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Your World And Mine

By Norman Thomas

General Mosley

If Americans had the sense of humor with which, sometimes, mistakenly they are credited, this absurd but dangerous Gen. Mosley would be laughed out of court; because of the extraordinary exhibition of folly which he gave in his testimony before the Dies committee.

The man who is afraid to drink water at a committee hearing in the capital of the United States, lest it be poisoned, is a man of such riotous imagination or stupid demagoguery that he is not entitled to credence on any subject.

But, alas, in our modern civilization because of its various strains and the inadequacies of its education, there are always hundreds of thousands of credu-

necessary—yes even more necessary—to prove that democracy can do its own job.
That proof isn't offered by mere negatives.
The House of representatives did well to defeat the Townsend plan because all the revenues for helping the aged, who don't work would be paid by a sales tax on those who do work so high as to strangle our economic life or lead to wholesale inflation.
But it isn't enough to defeat the Townsend plan. Something must be done better, to help the aged.

Production, Distribution

Neither is it enough to defeat attacks upon WPA and the present scheme of relief. The Association of American Social Workers has shown how tragically low and inadequate is relief. It is necessary to get production going and better to distribute what is produced. It isn't going to be enough for the president simply to show that his Republican opponents do not know what taxes to reduce or what relief items to cut.
They will go on, with increasing effectiveness, urging the public once more to trust to the initiative of private enterprise—and the public will trust in vain—unless and until the New Deal can offer sound plans for planned stimulation of production by government initiative but under democratic control.

Stalin Sits Pretty

If one is to accept nationalism as the sole standard for judging the conduct of nations, then it must be admitted that there is a good deal to be said for Stalin's treatment of the Anglo-French proposal for an alliance.
He is making those who were once the enemies of Soviet Russia almost grovel at his feet. He is showing a proper suspicion of the authors of the Munich pact. Even the German propaganda agencies are beginning to speak well of Russia. In terms of national power politics Stalin is sitting pretty.
But not in terms of any sort of Socialist ethics. The evil thing in Molotov's speech was his direct invitation to Germany to open negotiations for a trade agreement similar to the agreement already made with Italy.
Now even for such a trade agreement there might be some excuse in terms of national interest, but there is no excuse at all for the double standard of Communists who urge upon the capitalist United States in season and out of season economic warfare, to the uttermost against Germany and Italy; warfare which in all likelihood will lead to military warfare, while Stalin's Russia practices the direct opposite. Such foreign policy is as hypocritical as the Communist advocacy of democracy everywhere except in the country and the unions where the Communists have power.



NORMAN THOMAS

Some folks who may be somewhat impressed by the antics of a Mosley. Hence the necessity to use every possible device to show him up as the demagogue and trouble-maker that he is.
I cannot be said that the Dies committee did a good job. Its members fell to wrangling among themselves and gave new proof of the haphazardness of their inquiry. In the Mosley case they had a chance with dignity to expose and anti-Semitism and the kindred qualities of "Star-Spangled Fascism."

Townsend Plan

To fight Fascism it is, of course, necessary to maintain civil liberties, to attack racism, intolerance and to show up folks like General Mosley. But it is also

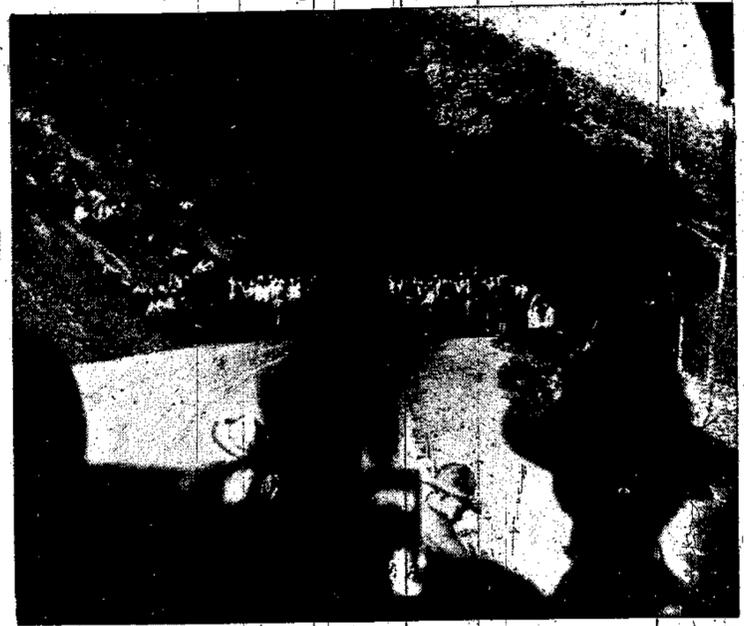
100 Labor Unions Support Drive to Free DuQuoin Boys

National Director, DuQuoin Miners' Defense Committee
CHICAGO, Ill.—With the assured support of more than 100 labor and liberal organizations, including both Illinois miners' unions and the Chicago and Illinois Federations of Labor, the DuQuoin Miners' Defense Committee this week launched a national drive to rally support behind its campaign to obtain pardons for the five young men who have been imprisoned since 1933 on charges growing out of the Illinois mine union strike in that year.

A letter to Governor Horner signed by Sec. Joseph D. Keenan, of the Chicago Federation of Labor pointed out that the boys were convicted on evidence that was obviously circumstantial, and went on to say:
"To us, it appears highly significant that the trial of these young men was moved from the courthouse in the highly industrialized mining community, where the trouble occurred, to a farmhouse in a farming section of the state, and in view of the antagonistic attitude that the majority of farmers have against members of labor unions, it is plain that they could not have been given a fair trial."

Following a pitched battle between strikers and non-strikers in 1933, an unknown person fired a shot that struck and killed an innocent girl. The five young men, Otis Battaglia, Emory Allen, Sam Ferro, Robert Shingleton and Barney Bossett, were arrested, prevented from getting adequate legal aid, and shortly afterwards sentenced to the penitentiary by a jury of farmers at Jamboreo, Ill. Four of the boys were given life terms, Albert 10 years.
The executive committee of the DuQuoin Miners' Defense Committee, sponsored jointly by the Workers' Defense League and the Chicago Ex-Coal Miners' club, consists of: Gerry Allard, chairman; August Hoffman, vice-chairman; Marjorie Kipp, secretary; Francis Heisler, legal ad-

Machineguns in Harlan



Kentucky national guardsmen blockaded the road to Verda in bloody Harlan county as a picket line of the United Mine Workers approaches in the background. Note the machinegun in the foreground. A majority of the miners now working in Harlan county have wrested union contracts from the coal companies despite the presence of 1,400 military strikebreakers.

Factories Maintain Arsenal To War on American Workers

La Follette Pleads For Disarming of Company Gunmen

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Asserting that there are still factories which stand like fortresses, bristling with machine guns and modern chemical weapons, Senator La Follette (P), Wisconsin, testified today before the senate civil liberties committee in behalf of the bill jointly introduced by himself and Senator Thomas (D), Utah, which would outlaw the use of labor spies, strikebreakers, privately paid armed guards and tear gas and sub-machine guns in labor disputes.
An identical bill was introduced in the house last month by Rep. Reuben T. Wood (D), Missouri, president of the Missouri Federation of Labor.
Opposition to the bill, La Follette said, comes from a powerful and well organized minority of employers who are opposed to the principle of collective bargaining. The disclosures of the Civil Liberties Committee, he continued, demonstrated that "it is folly to expect such powerful and intransigent employers of their own accord to abandon their spies, machine guns and private armies."
Says Rights Are Violated
Asserting there is still much to be done to protect the civil liberties of workers, La Follette said:
"There are still private armies which are drilled and trained by certain corporations for active combat during industrial disputes. There are still large industrial centers, like urban Harlan, where the constitutional rights of citizens are trampled down by selfish powerful interests.
"There are forces within the country which openly clamor for the destruction of civil liberties through the perversion of governmental power. These forces are encouraged by the existence of private tyrannies maintained by private armed force and by private Gestapos. Other democracies which have permitted private armies to operate unchecked, no longer exist. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance. Let us not let evil continue to flourish through our own neglect."
Bill Decades Overdue
The pending bill, La Follette told the committee, is several decades overdue and its enactment would place it with the Wagner-Realey government contracts act as a guide post to liberty and industrial freedom.
"The recommendations of the Civil Liberties Committee," he said, "are not novel. They echo the findings of past governmental investigations conducted periodically over the past 40 years. The practices prohibited by this bill have a long history in American industrial relations. Successive congressional investigations, since 1893, have disclosed and condemned the use of the labor spy and the strikebreaker-mercenary. Various committees and commissioners have recommended that congress adopt legislation to prohibit the use of paid strikebreakers and strikeguards, and the interstate transportation of Gatling guns and similar weapons for use in industrial disputes."
Fair-minded employers, La Follette contended, would welcome enactment of the bill because in seeking to curb the excesses of a few employers it imposes no burdens or restrictions on the majority who

Socialist Leader, Governor Chandler Debate Harlan Strike

Kentucky Chief of National Guards Panned by Clement

"I would not presume to suggest how you should handle affairs in Chicago, Ill.," was the answer of Gov. A. B. Chandler to Travers Clement, national secretary of the Socialist Party of the United States, who had sharply criticized the governor and demanded that he withdraw the 1400 national guardsmen who are being used by coal companies to break the United Mine Workers strike in Harlan county.

"I don't handle any official Chicago affairs," Clement replied, "so there is no real parallel between you in Kentucky and me in Chicago. Some of the boys here who do, however, have almost as big a headache as you must have by now."
The governor in his letter to Clement took pains to point out that "leading business and professional" men had discussed the situation, and in a speech which he enclosed he also referred to the fact that a Harlan county judge had asked for troops. These factors, the governor indicated, actuated his decision to send troops.
"I believe we have no reason to apologize," the unhappy governor added.

Clement's First Letter

May 24, 1939
Governor A. B. Chandler
Frankfort, Kentucky
Dear Sir:
Your provocative use of the national guard in the service of the coal operators tends to add another violent chapter to the record of that section of the coal fields which has long been known as "Bloody Harlan."
The Socialist Party of the United States condemns the use of these troops and asks for their immediate withdrawal. Only the splendid discipline of the organized miners

has thus far prevented outbreak of that violence which you and the national guard officers seem to be doing everything possible to incite.
You have already caused machine guns to be turned against defenseless workers whose only "crime" is a fight for decent conditions. If these guns go into action, it is your responsibility and we intend to do our utmost to see that you are held accountable for it.
Your methods and those of the brutal interests you serve will not work in America. In the long run they will not even work in Europe, where they are being tried on a grand scale.
Yours Sincerely,
TRAVERS CLEMENT,
National Secretary.
Gov. Chandler's Reply
May 31, 1939
My Dear Mr. Clement:
In reply to your communication of the twenty-fourth, let me say that the troops in Harlan county are my responsibility and I am glad to accept this responsibility along with all the others I have. There is attached copy of a recent address, which might interest you.
I would not presume to suggest how you should handle affairs in Chicago, Ill. I would take it for granted that you are more familiar with the situation there than I.
I believe we have no reason to apologize for protecting the rights of individuals who want to work and who are satisfied with the working hours, working conditions and their salary. Do not believe that they should be compelled to join any particular labor union, although they should have that privilege if they desire.
Faithfully yours,
ALBERT B. CHANDLER,
Governor.

15,000 Laborites Hold Memorial for Slain Workers

Leaders Forget Role of Mayor Kelly in 1937

BY STANLEY M'NAUL
CHICAGO, Ill.—Fifteen thousand people gathered on an open field near the South Chicago plant of the Republic Steel corporation May 28, where 11 steel workers were murdered by Mayor Kelly's police on Memorial day, 1937, to find that, instead of a genuine demonstration of labor resentment and solidarity, the meeting had been turned by Kelly politicians and Stalinites into a Roosevelt "third-term" rally.
The meeting was held by arrangement with the city council, which issued an order for the erection of a grandstand "to celebrate" the steel mill's CIO strike battle of May 30, 1937.
Van A. Bittner, regional director of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee and national chairman of the Packing House Workers, expressed his hope that Roosevelt will run for a third term. He said:
"I don't know if he will again, but if he does, the workers will support him. All we ask is a chance to give him a third term."
Kelly Henchman Speaks
Sharing the platform with one of Kelly's aldermen, Bittner expressed sentiments which were far cry from his attitude toward the reactionary mayor of Chicago at the time of the massacre, when he denounced Kelly for his cold-blooded sanction of the killings.
Nicholas Fontecchio, chairman of the meeting, in introducing Alderman Rowan, declared: "His appearance here is a demonstration that the times do change in Chicago."
"Rowan added his voice to the paean of praise for Kelly, Roosevelt, and company, saying, 'The people are working out a new program around the New Deal. I would suggest that Big Business do a little collective bargaining around the table with President Roosevelt.'
"I am coming," said Rowan, "as chairman of the City Council Committee on Labor and Industry to express our desire that there shall never be another riot in which men shall lose their lives trying to get collective bargaining."
In reporting his speech, the Stalinit "Daily Record" omitted the unfriendly word "riot" and substituted "incident."
Several speakers took Tom Girdler and the Republic Steel corporation over the coals for their responsibility in the killing of 11 strikers and wounding more than 100 others. Bittner denounced Girdler as a "common thug"; he also denounced scores for their shameful alliance with the corporation's strikebreaking.
The crowd was dotted with C.

Senate Civil Liberties Committee Needs Aid

Socialists and laborites generally should do everything they can through mass organizations to encourage the United States senate to allow Senator La Follette's request for an appropriation of \$100,000 with which to complete his work of investigating labor espionage, strikebreaking and the use of industrial police and munitions in strikes.
The request for \$100,000 for the Senate Civil Liberties committee is in the hands of the Senate Audit and Control committee, headed by Sen. James F. Byrnes of North Carolina.
The La Follette committee, whose work is at a standstill until the money is obtained, has returned to the United States Treasury one and one-half times the amount it spent, since its investigations began several years ago.
The return, totaling \$232,000, was levied against persons and corporations whose tax evasion activities were discovered during the course of the committee's investigations.
Resolutions urging the appropriation should be addressed to Sen. Byrnes at the Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C. and copies sent to Senator La Follette.

Wagner Act Supported by Illinois Labor Licks Big Biz In Senate Fray

By a Special Correspondent.
SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—The power of organized business and organized labor clashed in the Illinois senate last week, and after the smoke of the battle had cleared organized business had dealt a knockout blow.
By a vote of 28 to 16 the Lantz bill, which sought to curb labor strikes, and enforce other restrictions, was effectively scuttled.
Reason for this labor victory was due to the solid ranks in the Illinois labor movement—American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations and Railroad Brotherhood—which stood to a man against the proposed act.
Laborites did not content themselves with letters and telegrams. Leaders of the organized labor movement from one end of the state to the other converged on the state capitol, talked to their senators and sat in the galleries of the chamber when the bill came to a vote.
There were more than 45 votes for the bill, but when a clear majority was in the bag against the proposal several wavering senators hopped on the bandwagon.
Unity in labor's ranks works. In Illinois as elsewhere, labor wants more of it.

Retires



Tom Girdler of the Republic Steel Corporation who was described as a thug by speakers who commemorated the 2nd anniversary of the killing of 11 steel workers at South Chicago. Girdler retired as president of the American Iron and Steel Institute, E. T. Weir of the National Steel Corporation succeeds him.

Legionnaires Attack Anti War Fighters

NEW YORK—Members of the American Legion brutally attacked a group of New York young Socialists who were attempting to distribute an anti-war leaflet at the Bronx Memorial day parade.
Six years to the day after the disgraceful assault upon Y. P. S. L. members in Mitchell Square by members of the same legion, the old story of intolerance and denial of civil rights in the name of patriotism and democracy was re-enacted.
The legionnaires left the line of march at 17th st. and the Grand Concourse, attacked the 450 assembled young Socialists and then returned to the parade after they had destroyed the leaflets and placards and had so seriously hurt six young people.
In 10 minutes time the legionnaires had completely forced the Y. P. S. L. demonstrators off the avenue.
The police watched without intervention.
Turn to Page Two, Column One

British League Formed to Combat War Conscription

BY FLORENCE BREWEE BOECKEL
If you are interested in guessing the future, don't look for it in the big headlines of today but in the small stories in the inside pages. In them you will find the forces that are just beginning to rise.

From this point of view the most interesting and exciting news of the week was the report of the strike against the conscription law recently passed by the British government.

Reports have come to my desk which show that it was only one expression of a powerful movement going on in England against the whole idea and plan of conscription. One of the strongest British peace organizations, with something like 150,000 members, the Peace League, union, is displaying posters throughout the country the first lines of which are "Conscription; For what are you asked to kill and die? Another Versailles victory? How long will the next victory last? Stand firm against conscription!"

And when my expression showed that I could not believe it, he said, "They will have to do that in an attempt to frighten the thousands of other young men who will be ready to refuse to fight." These stories from England seem to hear out what he said.

In this country there are now measures before congress demanding a referendum before conscription or making conscription illegal except for national defense. I have never worked for an organization that has sought to make individuals pledge themselves not to take part in war and for myself I have always felt that no one, certainly not a woman, has any more right to try to persuade men not to go to war than to persuade them to go to war.

Freedom for Humanity
But what I do see in the growing opposition to conscription is the emergence of a new force, a new idea, seeking freedom for the human spirit. I see in it a continuation of the century-old struggle for human freedom from whatever would use man as tools or machines or cannon-fodder, if you will.

Too often the struggle to abolish war is thought of as a struggle to escape the dangers and hardships of war. That is not what it is. It is a struggle to open the way for the development of all that is finest and best in mankind to make human progress possible.

A friend of mine has just come back from several months of travel in many of the countries of Europe and he tells me that the thing that impressed him most was the sense that he got of a light breaking through the brutal surface of life today.

In every country he found men and women resisting current evils but resisting them not with evil but with good. One of these men said to him, "If you want to make a dark room light, you do not go into it with a broom to sweep the darkness out—you light a candle," and as my friend put it, we can see candles being lighted today throughout a darkened world.

100 Labor Unions Aid DuQuoin Boys

Continued From Page One
tributed to trade unions. A new pamphlet giving the history of the case, listing quotations from various organizations and showing how they should be done to support the campaign to free the boys is now being prepared and will be ready soon.

While the Chicago committee has been going full blast, strong support has been coming from Local No. 1, Progressive Mine Workers, Gillespie, Ill.

Many downstate mine locals and city councils have taken action in behalf of the boys. Much support in this connection has been obtained through the work of John Battuello, PMA board member from the Gillespie district, and the large Socialist bloc in Local No. 1.

Financial Support
Financial support for the committee's work has come from District 1, Progressive Mine Workers, \$100; Local 1, PMA, \$200; Chicago Ex-Coal Miners' club, \$50; Collinsville PMA aux-

Governor Asked to Free Miners

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Representatives from several organizations, including the Progressive Mine Workers, United Mine Workers and the State Federation of Labor, conferred with Lt. Gov. John Stelle here last week on the matter of the five Du Quoin miner prisoners.

The laborites petitioned Stelle for a pardon for Ollis Battagello, Sam Ferro, Barney Bossetto, Emory Albers and Robert Shingleton who have been imprisoned since 1932 on charges which grew out of the Illinois mine difficulties of 1932-1933.

Stelle suggested that the group submit a new petition stating that clemency for the victims would go far to promote peace between the two miners' unions.

The unionists agreed and a petition was promptly drafted and signed by Dave Reed, president of Progressive Mine Workers of America, and Ray Edmundson, president, United Mine Workers of Illinois.

Stelle said he would submit the petition to Gov. Henry Horner who has been ill for several months.

Present at the conference with Reed and Edmundson were: Rueben Soderstrom, president, Illinois Federation of Labor; John Battuello, PMWA board member; Marjorie Kipp and Maynard Krueger, Du Quoin Miners Defense committee; Charles Ross, in behalf of the family; Howard Skelton, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit fund; John Di Flotti, Italian Columbian Federation, and Jack Ciasgow, UMWA board member.

Reading Picnic
June 11
READING, Pa.—The first of a series of summer picnics sponsored by local Socialists will be held Sunday, June 11, in the Socialist park.

Wall of Placards



To be sure that participants in the celebration of the National Maritime day in New York were aware of the CIO seaman's strike against the oil, tanker companies, unionists hemmed in the meeting with a wall of placards.

Negroes' Right to Vote Again Upheld By Supreme Court

25-Year Struggle For Suffrage Waged By Negro Association

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The attempt of the state of Oklahoma to dodge a United States supreme court decision in 1915 which outlawed the grandfather clause in its constitution was in turn outlawed by the United States supreme court here May 22.

In rendering its opinion in Lane vs. Wilson, he court held that Oklahoma had an unconstitutional law in the 1916 statute requiring persons who had not voted in 1914 to register within a period of 10 days or forever thereafter lose their right to register and vote.

The 1916 registration law was passed immediately after the grandfather clause was declared unconstitutional, and was designed to catch Negroes off their guard and restrict their suffrage.

The opinion, written and delivered by Justice Frankfurter, held that the fifteenth amendment to the constitution "nullifies sophisticated as well as simple minded modes of discrimination." The opinion represented a 6 to 2 decision with Justices McReynolds and Butler dissenting and Justice Douglas not participating.

Win 12 Out of 13 Cases
The case, which was carried to the high court by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, represents the twelfth victory out of 13 cases carried to the supreme court by that organization.

The case which is now thrown back to the supreme court of Oklahoma, involves a \$10,000 law suit filed against the registrar of Waggoner county, Okla., in 1934 by I. W. Lane, who charged that he was refused permission to register to vote in that year.

Case Goes Back to 1914
This case had its birth in the old grandfather clause cases of 1914 whereby the constitution of Oklahoma and several other states provided strict educational qualifications for voters unless they could prove that their grandfathers had voted prior to 1868.

Since no Negroes were qualified to vote prior to 1868 the discrimination in the constitution was apparent and the United States supreme court in 1915 held this provision unconstitutional in a case fought by the N. A. A. C. P.

Immediately after this decision Oklahoma attempted to get around the fifteenth amendment again by passing an act Feb. 26, 1916, that all persons eligible for registration had to be forever barred from registration. But the act provided however, that all persons who voted in the 1914 elections (when Negroes were excluded by the grandfather clause) were not affected. This act was challenged on constitutional grounds in 1934 by the N. A. A. C. P. When registration was refused I. W. Lane.

History of Cases
Officials of the N. A. A. C. P. pointed out that the court's decision can be hailed not only as a great gain for Negroes because it establishes their right to vote under the fifteenth amendment to the constitution, but it also gives broader interpretation to the so-called civil war amendments. Not only is the right to vote established by the old grandfather clause cases, and the right to vote in primaries established by the Texas primary cases, but now the right to register has been established.

Twelve out of 13 cases carried to the United States supreme court by the N. A. A. C. P. have been won. This record extends over a period of almost 25 years, from 1915 to date.

The first case in 1915 'struck down' an unconstitutional law which excluded Negroes from voting in many states.

The second case, declared the Louisville segregation ordinance unconstitutional in 1917. This ordinance similar to those in other cities prohibited whites and Negroes from living in the same districts.

Tars Act To Check Textile Workers C.P. Raid In Union Drive

By a Special Correspondent
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—The recent attempt of Harry Bridges and the Communist party maritime machine to move in on the Pacific coast and establish a union dual to the Sailors' Union of the Pacific has been stopped in its tracks for the time being by quick action of the sailors.

Unable to make headway under their own steam, the Communists are now trying to ride over the SUP by utilizing the machinery of the federal government. The recent conflict between the Bridges and Harry Lundberg forces was over the proposed Wallgren bill. This bill states:

"Neither the maritime commission nor any operator receiving and operating differential subsidy shall call upon any government agency to furnish it qualified license or unlicensed seamen to perform any duties required of them on board merchant vessels as long as the certified, collective bargaining agency can furnish from among its membership only qualified persons to perform any duties required of them as members of the crews of American merchant ships."

Quick Action by Sailors
This is seemingly a bill favorable to seamen. At hearings before the house merchant marine committee in Washington, however, it was revealed why the Communists are so wildly in favor of it.

Four ships owned and operated by the maritime commission, at present on the Atlantic coast, are in the near future sailing for Seattle to be put in the Seattle-Oriental run. These ships have been manned by National Maritime Union, CIO, seamen.

If the Wallgren bill became law, however, without any check on its provisions, the national labor relations board would be called upon to certify these ships for the N.M.U. West coast, they would provide a base for the N.M.U. gaining a foothold there in opposition to the SUP.

Quick action by the sailors forced an agreement under which N.M.U. crews on these ships will be paid off in Seattle and brought back to the Atlantic coast by the maritime commission.

Legionnaires Attack Yipsels
Continued From Page One
terfering, and refused to heed the repeated requests of bystanders that they put a stop to the callous beating.

Will Miren, district secretary of the Young Peoples Socialist League has issued a strenuous protest to the press condemning the police department and the American Legion. Steps are now being taken to determine whether any action is possible against those responsible for the outbreak.

The young Socialists were at the parade in order to display their opposition to war and their certainty that war will bring with it all the evils of fascism. They received startling confirmation of their predictions in the news and unfavorable attack of the legionnaires.

Miren announced, "It is particularly ironical that the veterans who offered their lives in defense of democracy in 1917, should be so anxious to infringe upon the democratic rights of others in 1939."

McDowell Tours East June 10-25
National Labor Secretary Arthur G. McDowell will be on the east coast for a tour of party centers and conferences with Socialists active in the organized labor movement June 10 to 25. Local wishing speaking dates should contact the national office in Chicago if possible before June 8. The party labor secretary gives the following general schedule:

June 10-15—New York, New England or eastern Pennsylvania.
June 15-18—L. I. D. conference at Forest Park, Pa.
June 18-23—Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond or Roanoke.
June 23-25—Washington, D. C.
June 26—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Party actions must act quickly in view of shortness of time.

Hillman's Address
President Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, leading genius of the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee as well as head of the clothing workers who bore the main brunt of the textile organizing drive, pledged a continued drive for unity of the CIO and AFL predicted the achievement of unity within a year and declared that unity would not only unite 8,000,000 workers under one banner, but run their numbers up to 10,000,000 overnight.

The peace negotiations committee.

Massachusetts Convention, Sunday, June 11
WORCESTER, Mass.—The state convention of the Socialist party of Massachusetts will be held here at Workmen's Circle hall, 194 Harding pl., Sunday, June 11.

Arthur G. McDowell, labor secretary of the national organization, will address the convention.

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Report on Auto, Coal, Aluminum, Textile, Jobless, Farmers, Heard At S. P. Labor Committee Meeting

Close Co-operation Between Farmers, Workers Emphasized
CHICAGO—The national labor committee held an extremely successful and fruitful session in national headquarters here all day Sunday, May 28.

Members in attendance included the national labor secretary, McDowell, and Gerry Alford, John Fisher, Paul Porter, Eric Bjurman, Hyman Schneid, Ben Fischer and Paul Preisler.

Members unable to attend but who sent reports included Murray Gross and Joel Seidman of New York, J. R. Butler of Arkansas, Stanley Budny of Milwaukee, Chris Jorgenson of Racine, Tucker Smith of Michigan.

The committee endorsed the detailed plans for the trade union information service for progressive unionists soon to be issued under editorship of Paul Porter and A. G. McDowell and asked all Socialists to co-operate.

After careful discussion as address to the membership and sympathizers of the Socialist movement in the trade union movement was adopted and appears elsewhere in the Socialist Call.

As Comrades to Comrades let us advise you that it pays to be insured where it pays
JOIN
The Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund
(A Non-Profit Seeking Fraternal Organization)
RELIABLE—SOUND—PROGRESSIVE
Protect Yourself and Your Family
Against the Hazards of Life. We Pay
SICK—ACCIDENT—DEATH BENEFITS
We Provide for Medical and Hospital Care
Emergency Relief—Juvenile Insurance
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For Further Information Write to
WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND
718 Seneca Avenue Brooklyn, N. Y.

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25c a line one insertion, 15c a line a consecutive insertion, 10c a line for every insertion thereafter. Minimum 10 lines. Estimate six words to a line. No charge accounts accepted. Address communications to: Classified Dept., 540 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

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CREDIT
CREDIT amounting to \$200 for sale of a car on the purchase of a new car. Write to National Socialist Party, 540 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill. State 3250.

EXHIBITION
ANTON ROMATKA, well known artist, will exhibit his work and will have an exhibition of his letters and original poems and books. Address: National Socialist Party, 540 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill. State 3250.

PUBLICATIONS
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We Won't Starve' Declare Aroused Michigan Jobless

Relief Allowances Now Average Five Cents a Meal

By a Special Correspondent
DETROIT, Mich.—In the face of a welfare crisis which becomes more intense every day, Michigan workers have not set back and started quietly. Under the slogan "We won't starve," "Save WPA" and the slogan on the basis of which WPA was brought to Detroit "for the Right to Live" demonstrations have been organized. Workers set up a tent colony where city officials could see them, and an extremely effective indoor demonstration was held at WPA headquarters in its new Ford building.

The welfare crisis, one of the worst in years, has been brought about almost directly as a result of the WPA and the consequent impossible burden on welfare rolls. WPA projects had been opened in Detroit, taking in tens of thousands of unemployed automobile workers, as a result of the gigantic Cadillac Square demonstration at the beginning of 1938 in which Detroit workers left no doubt as to their need or desire for a federal works program.

\$700 Laid Off

After more than a year of attempting to make ends meet on the basis of \$60 a month, WPA workers in Michigan are once again plunged in the face by a congress which is hell-bent on balancing the budget at the expense of the unemployed.

35 Per-Cent Relief Cut

Up to the present, as a result of the WPA layoffs and consequent additions to welfare rolls, budgets have been cut approximately 25 per cent—bringing present welfare budgets down to approximately 50 per cent below the danger level.

Figures Show Rich Don't Get Soaked

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Recent reports of the U. S. treasury indicate where the largest incomes are to be found. These could easily stand rates of taxation higher than the rates against which the rich constantly complain.

British Laborites Spurn Communists

SOUTHPORT, England—The Labor party's annual conference June 7 rejected a proposal for a united front with the Communist party by a vote of 2,360,000 to 248,000.

Young Socialists At Work

The treatment received by the New York Young Socialists at the hands of the American legionnaires on Memorial day, the use of the militia in Harlan county to intimidate the mine workers, the continuing abuses of Hague and his cohorts, make it very clear that the fascism that we fight against is a very immediate danger.

United Labor Action Wins Speedy Victory For Barge Workers

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The power of labor unity was again shown here last week when the CIO and AFL dock and river workers scored a speedy victory in a strike against the Federal Barge line.

A Brilliant Example

The strike, officials of the two unions declared, was a brilliant example of what can be accomplished by labor unity when carried into action.

Government Owned

The council handles all problems affecting both unions on the waterfront.

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On to the convention!

Have you sent the copies of leaflets, bulletins, posters and other materials that we need for the convention exhibits? Have you elected a convention journal director? Are you beginning to plan to have every available comrade at the convention? Have you settled up on dues, charters and registrations?

Remember: Cleveland, Sept. 1 to 4.

Tenth national convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League.

taxed to the limit. But the work was carried on. There were two conferences in Switzerland, participated in by anti-war Socialists in Germany itself a congress was held to plan activity against the war, under the guise, of all things, of a swamp clearance conference. Speeches and papers were actually delivered on the clearance of swamps, but only when the circumstances demanded.

Mississippi river and in river ports. The Federal Barge line is government operated and under the supervision of the war department of the United States.

Miners Aid Strikers

The Inland Boatmen's division represents the unlicensed members of the crews of the barge line boats and the longshore workers of New Orleans, Vicksburg, Baton Rouge, Helena, Ark., and Mobile.

Typos, News Men Urge Labor Unity

NEW YORK—The International Typographical union, affiliate of the American Federation of Labor and largest of the unions in the newspaper industry, joined with the American Newspaper Guild, an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organization, in demanding peace between the AFL and CIO.

Workers United and Confident in Fight to Maintain Union

DETROIT—The struggle of the Briggs workers against the parts manufacturers in the auto industry has given new spirit to the labor movement here.

Fascist Mercenaries Return to Own Lands

CADIZ, Spain—Nine troopships which sailed for Naples June 1 carried 20,000 Italian soldiers. An unknown number remain.

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Auto Worker Pickets



Striking members of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) picket a Briggs body plant in Detroit while 70,000 workers were idle in the biggest labor dispute in the automobile industry since the 1937 sit-down. Baseball tactics are out as a means of settlement, the picket sign indicates. Briggs is the owner of the Detroit Tigers, American League baseball team.

Briggs Strike Adds To Power of United Auto Workers

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On the Map With the Socialist Party

Official Notice

In line with a recommendation of the national executive committee, the national secretary is reducing the amount of mimeographed material sent out in special mailings to locals and branches.

Finances:

Every local, branch and individual party member must become familiar with the new plan of financing the national activities of the party. The plan is simple and must be put into effect with all possible speed.

Michigan:

Michigan is rapidly completing arrangements for its annual state convention. Travers Clement, national secretary, will address the convention which will be held in Flint, June 11. Also plans are being pushed for the Michigan summer school at Saline Valley Park.

Illinois:

An enthusiastic reception greeted Travers Clement at the welcome dinner given in his honor last week by Cook County Socialists.

Pacific-Northwest Conference

Socialists of the Pacific-Northwest are planning an all day conference for June 23 at Portland, Ore. This is during Norman Thomas' visit there in connection with the Northwest Institute of International Relations.

Southern Socialist League

Comrade Bradley Smith has been named secretary of the Southern States Socialist League by the national executive committee. Comrade Smith is undertaking very important work. He heads the party's first experiment with the new district form of organization.

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Indiana:

The state executive committee of Indiana, by invitation of Professor Shannon of Terre Haute, recently held a meeting in the home of the late and beloved Gene Debs. The meeting, in fact, was held in the room Debs used as his study.

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Socialists, Attention!

You are invited to attend

25th June Conference

League for Industrial Democracy

Thursday, June 15—Sunday, June 18

UNITY HOUSE, Forest Park, Pa.

(Summer Home of the I. L. G. W. U.)

Subject: "ORGANIZING THE FORCES FOR DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA"

Including discussions on Dictatorship vs. Democracy, Organizing the Consumers for Democracy, Unity in the Labor Movement, Building for Democracy and Socialism, not Fascism, Means and Ends in the Fight for Democracy. Paper on Building for Socialism, not Fascism, by Norman Thomas.

Speakers Include:

Jacob Baker	Henry Pratt	W. Jett Lauck
Roger Baldwin	Fairchild	Edward C. Lindeman
John Bauer	John T. Flynn	Paul Porter
Berney Bliven	Clint S. Golden	Joel Goldman
Leroy Bowman	Edward Heilmann	Adolph Stormthal
Wallace Campbell	Darlington Hoopes	Report from
Lewis Corey	Harry W. Laidler	Norman Thomas

Write at once for reservations to

Harry W. Laidler, League for Industrial Democracy

112 East Nineteenth St., New York City

Union Labor Organizes Against War!

Mass Installation Meeting

Needle Trade Division

Labor's Anti-War Council

Speakers:

Rose Pesotta, Joseph Schlosser, Louis Nelson, Norman Thomas, Jay Lovestone

Saturday, June 10, 1 P. M.

CENTER HOTEL

108 W. 43rd St., New York City

Illinois Jobless Meeting June 10 in Chicago

An Illinois Conference on Unemployment and Relief, called by the Illinois Workers' Alliance, will be held at the Chicago Commons in Chicago Saturday afternoon, June 10.

The conference is being sponsored by a large number of civic and labor leaders including representatives of the AFL, the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

The program of the conference will be covered by a series of talks and discussions on current issues, "The Better Situation in Illinois," by Joel D. Hunter, director of the United Charities; "A Program of Tax Reform," by Charles F. Williams, member of the executive board of the Chicago Federation of Labor; "Housing in Chicago," by D. H. Mackeliman of the Metropolitan Housing Council, and "A Program for Providing Jobs," by E. L. Adams, Jr., member of the executive board of the IWA.

The summing up of the conference will be by Maynard Krueger of the University of Chicago.

The conference, according to Frank W. McCulloch, secretary of the Illinois Workers' Alliance, will mobilize support for a program of adequate relief and socially useful public works.

SOCIALIST CALL

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the road to India and Australia. In these circumstances it had to make some gesture to counteract the strenuous efforts of the Italians and Germans to win the support of the Arabs. It is unfortunately true that the Zionists have made possible the use of a divisive policy against them. It has been made to appear to most Arabs that the defeat of the Jews is their victory, and vice versa. The Jews in Palestine, and even those who were the majority Socialists, the Laborites, have discriminated against the Arabs in employment and in organization. Every gesture toward the Arabs has been accompanied by an action that was hostile in the extreme. Such for instance was the picketing of Jewish enterprises that employed Arabs.

Dr. Mitchell's Resignation

In the Baltimore Sun The dinner which was tendered last night for Dr. Broadus Mitchell, who has resigned after serving some 20 years on the faculty of the Johns Hopkins, was a curiously moving affair. It was so final. Here were assembled some hundreds of, for the most part, substantial citizens. Soberly they ate. And when they had concluded, they turned toward the speakers' table and listened to a series of orations which, had the victim been dead, would have served beautifully as obituary notices.

To the Labor Activists Statement by the National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party

This is an appeal to Socialists and friends of the Socialist and workers' cause. The Socialist party is rooted in the faith that the workers will build Socialism. Events of recent years in every sphere have created confusion and despondency but they have not destroyed the Socialist confidence that the workers will build Socialism.

or information of the majority but the interests of the major portion of the organization's membership, and for which that membership knows nothing to which it may even be opposed.

Pendergast: No. 55295 Mayor Hague: No. ???

Boss Thomas J. Pendergast ruled Kansas City and western Missouri with an iron hand for more than two decades. A notorious political machine under his control connived in racketeering, vote stealing, insurance frauds, fixing, and gangsterism to roll up impressive majorities at the polls.

Now that Britain's role is so obvious, and the impossibility of dependence upon it so clear, all Jews and Arabs must see that if they are to achieve a democratic, co-operative, non-exploiting economy in the eastern end of the Mediterranean, they must act together to achieve it. Their major obstacle in the achievement of this is the British rule that dominates them all.

Dr. Jacob Hollander, who as head of the department of political economy at the Johns Hopkins has been Dr. Mitchell's chief, was the toastmaster, and in his opening remarks he made reference to a number of Baltimore's eminent departed, such as Severn Teackle Wallis, Dr. Gildersleeve and Dr. Gilman. A representative of the undergraduates of the Johns Hopkins dwelt briefly and tastefully on the beauty of Dr. Mitchell's soul and his valor in battle; others spoke of his diligence as a champion of lost, or unpopular, causes. One constantly expected the conventional phrases which are used in speaking of one who was near and dear and who has passed on: "the supreme sacrifice," "in our great sorrow," "he departed," "the city he loved so well." And so on.

By democratic discussion, our party has absorbed the experiences of ourselves and those around us and has made a realistic estimate of present social, political and economic conditions. Surrounded by a world rampant with confusion, hypocrisy and shortsightedness, we have nevertheless succeeded in keeping our roots deep in the traditions of labor and internationalism.

2. The destruction of the independence and integrity of the basic working class organizations as a result of such policies, the splitting and disintegration or the ing and dispersal of the membership which is conscious and capable of understanding what is happening and of maintaining and strengthening the organization.

Opposition to Pendergast in western Missouri was silenced, often by force. His power seemed impregnable. Advocates of clean government became discouraged and cynical. Pleas for government investigations fell on deaf ears. The Boss had votes, and that's cold turkey in any man's politics.

If Arabs and Jews alike are to establish their freedom from imperialist rule, their right to develop their economy and culture as they please, their right to freedom of migration, they must join hands in the common struggle against British imperialism.

And, of course, the obituary note was precisely the right one to strike. For something dies when Dr. Mitchell leaves the Johns Hopkins university. Dr. Mitchell has been (we had almost said "was") irritating, cantankerous and wrong. He has stirred up hatreds both on and off the campus. He has been accused of discouraging, by his presence, the wealthy from contributing to the Johns Hopkins endowment. (Will the endowment begin to increase by leaps and bounds, now that he is leaving?) But if the ability to excite students and drive them to books is any criterion, he has been first rate teacher. And about that beyond question he has exercised a constant sanitary effect on both the university and the city. By stretching it very nearly to the limit, he has kept the concept of academic freedom very much alive at the Johns Hopkins; and the discerning know very well that academic freedom exists only in the process of being put to test. Offhand, we think of no one on the faculty at Homewood who will step into Dr. Mitchell's shoes.

Our movement has a sound program and in these times that means much. But our movement needs more. This is an appeal—give our movement new life among the workers and by so doing, give the workers' movement new vigor and power in the fight for security and happiness.

3. The systematic fostering of the rot of deception within the working class movement by a tactic which, as a matter of course, calls upon precisely those individuals operating under the most explicit and instructions of the Communist party and its organization and policy aims to most vigorously deny any relationship with quite powerful and important Communist party press and organizational apparatus.

On the east side of the state, however, the crusading St. Louis Post-Dispatch, a saga in American journalism, continued its tireless campaign to bring Boss Pendergast and his machine to account. Last year the machine began to crack. Many of Pendergast's henchmen were sentenced to prison for election frauds.

In this struggle they can join hands with the real anti-imperialists of the British and French empires, with the militant workers of the industrial nations, and altogether we can build a mighty and victorious movement.

Yet it was refreshing to discover that, despite the obituary, Dr. Mitchell is still alive. In his response he touched on a subject of an extremely tender and controversial nature—namely, whether Negroes shall be admitted to the Johns Hopkins University and Medical School. This was a lively legacy indeed to leave to his alma mater and wholly in character. It is no secret that, even now, the question stands before President Bowman and his advisers for decision.

Labor needs Socialism! Socialism needs Labor! Every party branch and local—place labor work first on the agenda.

4. The advocacy in words and, above all, in action, of the philosophy of the "end justifies the means" with the result of lowering the ethics of even the most idealistic members of the labor movement which they invest the level of a pigsty and reducing any politics to a ruthless struggle for power, the logic of which is the destructive principle "rule or ruin."

Pendergast himself now has been convicted for tax evasion, probably the least vicious of his crimes, and for fifteen months or less he is to be known as prisoner number 55295 at Leavenworth.

What attitude the Jewish Palestinian Socialist movement will take is still a matter of conjecture. It is certain that in a few months a policy of years cannot be reversed nor its effects eradicated. But only if that turn is made, if a real effort is undertaken to reach a basis for common struggle with the Arab masses who are not committed forever to be led around by the reactionary feudal lords, will it be possible to avert that bloody civil war that in the past decade has threatened so often.

Truth to tell, only one thing was lacking to make the occasion a perfect thing of its kind. Though many members of the Johns Hopkins faculty were present, there was no message from President Bowman testifying to the value of the past services which Dr. Mitchell has contributed to university and city. It is pleasant to think that President Bowman sent no word because he still hopes to find some way of persuading Dr. Mitchell to withdraw his resignation.

For Vigorous Work Every member—apply yourself in your own field to do the patient, intelligent, vigorous job that can win ever-greater respect for organized Socialism. Do the job that will add new spirit to the labor movement.

5. The defense of the practices of totalitarianism in the case of the Soviet Union and the application of the tactics of totalitarianism in the labor movement by the Communists which does inestimable moral material damage in the labor movement at a time when the greatest defeats of labor humanity have been recorded in the totalitarian one-party state in Europe.

Like Mayor "I am the Law" Hague of Jersey City, Pendergast's personal fortune rose all out of proportion to what he could possibly save out of his salary and private business, unless swindling the public can be called a business. Pendergast lost nearly \$2,000 a day on horse races in one year. He bet \$2,000,000, lost \$600,000 in 1938.

Palestinian Socialists have a long hard job ahead of them. They can only succeed if they undertake a militant struggle against Britain, inaugurate a movement of non-support for Britain's wars among Jews the world over, and if they join hands with the really anti-imperialist forces of the world.

Support War Referendum

To the Editor of the Call: Church news may not be Socialist news ordinarily, but this may interest the comrades. Minneapolis Baptist church to which I belong has just voted to circulate the War Referendum petitions. Also a stand was taken for neutrality in Europe's affairs.

A Socialist member here and there is clearly limited. Together, each doing a share—building steadily, we cannot fail.

Call to Action Every effort has been made by Socialists in the field to co-operate with comrades elements to build strong unions free from internal division and based on true democracy.

Hague's corrupt machine is even more contemptible than Pendergast's. For twenty-two years the Jersey City mayor, who brags "I am the Law," has held sway in northern New Jersey. Under Hague's dictatorship workers have been cruelly beaten, labor organizers have been kidnaped on the streets and deported.

Will they? Time alone can tell. We can hope that the lessons of their bitter experience will convince them.

I think that is a big step for a rather conservative church. I caused some excitement when I proposed the war referendum petitions two months ago. The committee appointed to study the matter unanimously recommended its adoption. My pastor, who is a pacifist, was very much in favor of circulating the petition.

We want democracy in unions, militancy in the shops, a realistic Socialist attitude which can guide labor in the struggle against war and Fascism.

Through bitter discouraging experience we have come to an unwavering conviction echoed by Socialists in every state and labor organization—unity in the labor movement can be won only on the basis of democratic Communist domination and political dictatorship of any kind over the unions.

Bookmaking thrives at a price, machine politics tampers with the judiciary, legislative investigations are stopped or bought off, and men of criminal reputation are used to silence opponents.

Little Essays In Socialism

BY JOHN M. WORK

Richard Elsner, a devoted Milwaukee comrade who died in 1938, bequeathed \$500 to be used in buying two or three hundred Socialist books for the public library and its branches.

Perhaps in time these same people will learn to believe the capitalist system is the cause of war and work for something better.

These being the things we want, we must work for them. It is not for Socialists to regret, to carp, to grumble. What we want we must build! The shortcomings in the labor movement are milestones of our own failure and inadequacies.

The national labor committee of the socialist party calls upon all Socialists and progressive union members to work for crying need of the hour—UNITY.

Hague's machine still has a lot of votes bottled up in parts about Jersey City. As a recompense the national administration still lets him dish out federal patronage to his machine.

A true believer in the co-operative commonwealth, he was troubled by the slow mental progress of the masses. Nevertheless he never ceased his efforts to educate them. Every now and then he would bring me a letter for publication and as he handed it to me he would say, "I have had a little explosion of my heart." Invariably the "little explosion" was educative and was calculated to lead the reader toward Socialism. He secured subscribers for Socialist papers and enlightened many a benighted mind in conversation, and when these methods left him still pent up with the desire to reach others with the message he had a "little explosion" and reached them in print.

Avoid personalities and libelous matter. Write plainly and on one side of the paper, leaving margins at top and sides. Keep the lines apart and do not crowd the writing in any way. Often a letter is thrown in the waste basket because it violates one or more of these hints rather than from any desire of the editor to cast it aside.

Turn understanding into action, comrades! Our tasks should be clear. First and foremost, Socialists want labor unity. "Workers of the World, Unite!" is still our basic slogan.

We feel confident that out of such will come new reserves of power and domination. We foresee that out of the efforts of workers in their own organizations come the unity of labor against the exploiters of labor. It is when labor is strong and united that it can forge ahead.

But now Hague's political power is cracking. His grip over Jersey City and adjacent communities is piece by piece being pried loose. In the city of Bayonne, which is separated from Jersey City by a narrow canal, citizens defied Hague's machine by electing five commissioners under the slogan "Home Rule Not Hague Rule." In the 1938 election Hague's candidate for U. S. senator was defeated.

It is an excellent thing to do. All Socialists who feasibly can do so should write letters to the papers. Make them short and to the point.

Comrade Elsner's bequest was also an excellent method of helping the cause. Perhaps I am prejudiced, since it was a library book that gave me the push into Socialism after conditions had made me ripe for its influence; but there can be no doubt about the effectiveness of books. Not all can give so liberally as Comrade Elsner but there is many a comrade who could present one or more good Socialist books to the public library or the school library in his vicinity. It all helps.

Labor Wants Unity Not only do Socialists want labor unity; LABOR wants unity.

A united labor movement, with an Socialist force rooted deeply in its must fight—

In line with Washington's past procedure of cracking down when corrupt politicians begin to lose votes, it would seem that a sweeping investigation of Hagueism, long overdue, is now timely and in order.

While the right kind of public ownership is a desirable goal to be attained, the most important and urgent aspect of the railroad problem is employment—to be provided both by the railroads themselves and by the vast network of railroad equipment industries. The railroads were undermanned today and are running at least a billion and a half dollars per year below the physically necessary rate of expenditure for equipment and maintenance.

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Peace between the two great bodies of labor, the AFL and CIO, is a vital necessity. But we must go ever further. Unity must be built in the great unions that make up the labor movement.

For a 30-hour week and 40 hours industry. For 100 per cent unionism in industry.

Somewhere in Leavenworth or Atlanta there must be a prisoner's number not in use.

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Factionalism in labor organizations and dictatorship over labor unions constitute twin cancers that threaten the life of every organization in which they appear. Factionalism and dictatorship must be wiped out.

For a better life for the masses and their final victory—Socialism.

The Jew: Catspaw of British Imperialism

What Britain gave to win one war it has taken away to win another. There is nothing strange about this. Only those, for whom "perfidious Albion" had suddenly become a defender of justice, a respecter of treaties and a guardian for the oppressed, have the least reason to shout "Betrayal!"

An Immediate Program of Employment To Head Off the Railroad Crisis

Introductory Note

The Socialist Call in earlier issues this year carried articles on the mess which private capitalist administration of the railroads of the United States has brought about.

companies on the raillet role) is thoroughly deflationary, federal courts. To all intents and purposes these roads are wards of the government. Many of these roads are entirely, or in part, main-line roads which would survive even the most drastic consolidation bill.

It cannot keep up bond prices which follow railroad earnings, and it siphons this money out of the channels of production, employment, and trade into the already swollen and stagnant cash reserves of the savings bank and insurance companies.

The difficulty, therefore, is that the employment and production situation need too great a stimulus of this kind of small and exceptional phenomenon to have much effect on the over-all business picture.

The decision to maintain the minority status of the Jews of Palestine is a frank effort on the part of the British imperial lion to placate the Arabs of the eastern Mediterranean area in order to win their support in the impending clash for empire.

These articles by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan and Harry W. Laidler set forth both Socialist criticism of present railroad administration and decline, and the Socialist alternative program of democratic collective ownership, administration and planned new construction in line with the already government owned and administered system of national motor highways.

The government has the power, therefore, to arrange to finance large scale rebuilding and modernization of these properties. As a matter of fact, roads like the Missouri Pacific, ruined by bankers, have been brought back to relatively good working order in bankruptcy (which really is an interest and dividend moratorium), so that they are now credit-worthy corporations which could profitably absorb capital for new equipment.

Moreover, if this new policy were adopted roads like the B. and O. have let their properties get into seriously dangerous and costly disrepair in order to keep up their interest payments (even the B. and O. has just held up its bond holders forcing them to take an interest cut), go into bankruptcy and thus release \$ to 4 hundred million dollars a year of money now being wasted on unearned interest; this money would of course be free to go into deferred maintenance, which is estimated by railroad spokesmen themselves as totaling some two billions of dollars.

The government must attack the problem on a national scale. It could sell such trust certificates as these new locomotives, etc., to the public, to the railroads or to the equipment companies themselves. The vital point here is that the roads are being forced to insure companies to hold back on this new insurance and run existing junk into the ground while the existing bonded indebtedness represents a company, and the other claims on this junk while railroads have never completely paid for.

Britain probably feels that it has lined up the Jews sufficiently well on the basis of the fight against Hitlerism and that it can now disregard them. The Arabs, even now, are hardly sufficiently placated, and in their unrest they still represent the same danger to the British that they were in 1914-1918 to the Turk.

While believing that Mr. Janeway's proposals are not as adequate as a Socialist program and would fit in better if applied after public ownership has been made the legal foundation of the present railroad system, the Socialist Call feels this article important and interesting enough to publish and solicit comment on it from railroad workers and others.

Thus the government would not be risking any money if it put into these main-line roads as it is now risking money which is put into loans to "facilitate" roads like the Baltimore and Ohio. The latter money is apparently lost—half a billion of it. No new legislation would be required for such large scale expenditures. The R. F. C. is already empowered to make such loans secured by the new equipment. This of course would be a very bold counter-thrust to the anti-Spendering dictates of congress.

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The added feature of such a government program is that the government has the power in all new equipment which it finances to specify that the new equipment must be built up and properly spent at the rate of so much a year to maintain the new property in repair and to fire it as it grows old. This new labor of a staggered overflow of yearly employment.

Whatever may be our opinion of the possibility of achieving the aims of Zionism while the present imperialist system remains in operation (and Socialists have been justifiably sceptical) or of the desirability of the establishment of a Jewish national homeland, it cannot be denied that this flouting of the aims, hopes and longings of an oppressed people is a despicable action.

While the right kind of public ownership is a desirable goal to be attained, the most important and urgent aspect of the railroad problem is employment—to be provided both by the railroads themselves and by the vast network of railroad equipment industries. The railroads were undermanned today and are running at least a billion and a half dollars per year below the physically necessary rate of expenditure for equipment and maintenance.

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The third proposal would be for the government, without seeking new legislation from congress (but merely using powers, which the southern politicians like Jesse Jones, have never permitted it to use, but which were voted by congress several years ago) to set up as subsidiary to the R.F.C. a railroad equipment corporation empowered to function like a federal housing authority.

Given the current political situation, there is danger that negotiations to buy the railroads will involve unloading these run-down properties on the government at hopeless inflated prices, impossible high burden of fixed charges on the equipment, thus increasing the debt and deficit without gaining commensurate employment and production increase. The three immediate proposals are described as judging the railroads by the market.

It is a further proof that there is no possibility of hope in the achievement of democratic or Socialist aims through reliance upon the great imperialist powers.

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A More Drastic Measure 2. Refusal of government to loan money to roads not earning their interest and recall of certain loans or arrangements for interest payments.

The federal housing authority doesn't spend its own money. Like an investment bank, it merely underwrites. When a utility company borrows money from Morgan's, Morgan's sell bonds to the public which less Morgan's commission, gives the money to the utility. It is not Morgan's money which the utility is getting. This is what the federal housing does. It underwrites, not finances.

The only longer term suggestion I would advance that the insurance companies, that is the bondholders, be given a chance to trade their worthless pieces of paper for shares of common stock in reorganized railroad companies. These shares will, sure, "guarantee" no fixed rate of return but they entitle holders to participate fully in the assured earnings of the new equipment.

Britain is busy repairing its fences so that it may be able to prepare adequately for the defense of its empire. It needs the friendship of the Arabs and the Arab states that straddle

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The second measure is more drastic. It would involve first the refusal of the R. F. C. and the I. C. C. to make and sanction further loans to roads badly in need of an interest moratorium, i. e. roads not earning their interest. (Practically all except the Pennsylvania, the C. and O., Union Pacific and one or two others.) The roads are taking poor and are not making their way; that is, they are not earning their interest charges of half a billion dollars a year.

This is precisely what a railroad equipment authority could do. The fact of the matter is that the bonded interest in the railroads is sabotaging the introduction of revolutionary new equipment which could cut the cost of transportation to a fraction of its present exorbitant level, thus enabling freight rates to come down for the benefit of city consumers, farmers and distant areas like the South, New England and the Prairies. The problem of the government in this matter is to get this equipment to work and to put to work the millions of men who would be needed to build the equipment and to make the materials consumed in the building of this equipment.

Meanwhile, it is very doubtful whether the employment crisis can be coped with except on the basis of the policy of subordinating insolvent "assets" to production. Over and above the industrial production, simply note that December, 1938, production was 20 per cent greater than December, 1937, proof while employment was slightly less. Only a really sale creation of new employment is at all likely to be this unwholesome trend and avert the cost to the acute instead of merely chronic stagnation.

Three Policies Open Three immediate attacks on the employment-heavy industry-problem are open to the government. Each would show immediate results. None of them could be put through except by overriding the railroad lobby.

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Evade Government Debt Simultaneously, still as part of this second measure, the R. F. C. should either call the hundreds of millions of dollars of loans outstanding to hopelessly insolvent railroads or establish a basis on which these railroads could begin to pay off their debt to the government.

On the basis of the reductions in the cost of transportation which are admittedly effected by all such equipment now in operation (light weight freight cars, Diesel locomotives for switching), there is no risk in advancing money secured by such equipment. As a matter of fact, in certain isolated cases of roads lacking the cash, the equipment companies have had enough confidence in their projects to do this financing themselves.

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