

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

SOCIALIST CALL

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States

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.

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Your World And Mine

By Norman Thomas

Of all possible arguments against the WPA strike the president chose the worst when he said, "You can't strike against the government." That's what Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin have said. In an age when the government must do more and more work and hire more and more men, directly or indirectly, this is a principle of serfdom—not even of benevolent paternalism.

The cure for strikes is justice. In specific cases it is better machinery than strikes for redressing grievances.

Meanwhile, specific strikes must be judged on the basis of their merits, and the tactics used in a specific situation; not on the question "Who's the boss?"

In the present crisis of the WPA it is encouraging to find so much solidarity of workers, skilled and unskilled, whether of the CIO or AFL, and so clear a recognition of the danger of destroying the prevailing rate of wages.

WPA Differential
An even more serious situation is ahead. By Sept. 1 WPA wages in the North will be cut all around in order that they may be raised a little in the South. They ought to be raised in the South, but not cut in the North, where already all serious workers have agreed that the standard is too low, not too high.

In this case, the government will not be dealing with a comparatively small number of skilled workers and the complications of various schedules of hours; it will be dealing with a standard of living for American families over wide areas.

Great pressure should be put on congress to revise the law and on the president to fight as hard for his revision as he is fighting for his desirable legislation!

Role of Farmers
Strikes carried beyond the stage of demonstrations probably won't do much good under present conditions, but political pressure on congress may get results. Part of the task must be to convince farmers and others that any reduction in WPA standards in the night simply means a further reduction of purchasing power for farmers in that area.

While the workers are about it, it is good that they should consider also the restoration of white projects now abandoned or in jeopardy.

In the matter of neutrality, the president and Secretary Hull are right in pointing out that merely to embargo arms won't prevent war. But the answer is not "no embargo." It is to prevent a big trade in war supplies with one group of belligerents. That can be done by a quota system limiting exports of oil, scrap iron, etc., to a peace-time basis.

It is hypocrisy for the administration to agree that we should be free to trade. In the past it has shown us with all who can "come and get it" when it has shown us clearly its desire to help Britain.

The defeat of the Bloom bill (so far) is good for its psychological effect, not because of itself it solves anything.

In jeopardy. In some of them we may need reform in administration; there is no justification for abolishing them.

Real Jobs
I do not want to distract the attention from the importance of the immediate fight when I point out the indefinite continuance of the present combination of WPA relief cannot be made a secure satisfactory solution for unemployment.

I do not want made work; not a good made work. We want increase production and to put workers on normal tasks.

Anything else means an inevitable pulling and hauling over the question of what will certainly be reduced as subsidies by taxpayers.

The great failure of the last six years is our failure to end unemployment, or even to offer such relief as a proper housing project could afford. Here we lag far behind what the best of the European countries have done.

The Hoosier Hater
The president has made a good many unfortunate appointments to important offices, but few, if any, have been so shocking as the appointment of Paul V. McNutt as federal security administrator.

The appointment may or may not be to good politics from the president's point of view. Certainly it puts the administration in the government functions which concern the lives of millions of Americans in the hands of a ruthless and ambitious politician who used an ingenious and unscrupulous system of military law to make the civil courts, and who hesitated to use political influence, social security legislation, and a tax on office holders to build his own political machine.

The appointment was rushed through before any of us demanded a public hearing which we were denied. As the next thing I wrote an open letter to the president demanding a vigil-



ant watch upon McNutt's administrative acts.

Youth and Age

One of the interesting impressions which I brought back from my long trip was the possibility of a definite conflict in American politics between youth and old age.

Already I was told that in Colorado the educational budget had been cut expressly to help finance the old age pension system in that state, which system and its administration are under considerable fire.

We have the resources and the machinery to provide enough for young and old, but capitalism reformed or unreformed, can't do the job. Now is the time for Socialists to make that clear.

N. Y. Education

The cut in the educational budget of New York, both by the city authorities and by the state legislature was not for the purpose of increasing the state's inadequate pension to the aged. It was a part of a general economy drive.

It still leaves per capita expenses for education higher in New York than in any other state, but too low for the job that should be done.

The board of education in New York however claims, with much show of reason, that owing to mandatory provisions regarding salaries, etc., it can only meet the cut by abolishing such necessary educational services as kindergarten and evening classes.

For this tragic situation neither of the major political parties is without responsibility.

Coughlin and Radio

Readers of this column may remember that I have several times urged that time be allotted by force of law or custom over every radio station for a fair and adequate discussion of public issues, but that no time should be sold to big advertisers and demagogues for propaganda.

The new code of the National Broadcasting association is a long step in this direction. But as I understand, a great many stations are outside the association. I suspect that some legal ruling will still be necessary to deal with such a problem, for example, as Father Coughlin presents.

It is one thing to have some time on the air; it is another thing to build up a propaganda machine over stations enjoying one or more of a limited group of licenses. It is a practical impossibility to require that such organized propaganda over the air be answered by counter-propaganda; hence, the necessity of limiting controversial discussions to periods provided so as to give all sides a chance.

How important this is I found

Turn to Page Two, Column Three

Letter Distorted

I sympathize, of course, with the bitterness Father Coughlin's tactics have aroused, but when the magazine "Equality," sold in opposition to his "Social Justice," deliberately distorts my open letter to him by omission of vital sentences, it reduces the conflict to a bitter choice between brands of unfair intolerance and makes one skeptical of its own trustworthiness as the agent of tolerance and democracy.

I shall have much more to say on this subject unless "Equality" does me the justice of apologizing for an attack which is in the worst style of the Communist press.

It is quite possible that this gross distortion, which could not have been an innocent act, was the work of one subordinate on the magazine. In any case, it is up to the board of editors to make amends. It is an ironic fact that before I was aware of this unfair attack on me I had in my travels commended "Equality" as a magazine to use against Father Coughlin.

Police Injure Forty Unionists

20,000 Coal Field WPAers Joined Strike

Workers Angered By Government's Anti-Labor Line

DU QUOIN, Ill.—We had a strike in Southern Illinois—a WPA strike. Rarely was a walkout more spontaneous; seldom were workers more enthusiastic.

So spontaneous was the strike, in fact, that labor leaders and unemployed leaders alike were caught napping, with no preparations made, with little idea of what was actually going on.

Exception was William Hackleman, president of the Illinois Workers' Alliance, and a small group of Socialist-led IWA members in Du Quoin, who when the first news came up their own Perry county fight as a drum, then pulled out neighboring Randolph county, sent speakers to two other counties farther north, dispatched flying squads to Jackson and Franklin counties to help the strike movement there.

Strike Effective
So effective was the strike that at one time 20,000 of the 21,000 WPA strikers in the 10-county district which includes Perry county were out, according to an admission by Fred Austin, district WPA administrator.

The effectiveness of the walkout becomes more clear when you consider the fact that many isolated and rural areas are included in the district.

The newspapers and the administration stooges in every county did their bit, too, by circulating rumors hatched only in their own minds, by playing up the penalties which might be involved, by spreading back-to-work movement stories and by dusting off the charges of "coercion and violence" which they have on hand for every such occasion.

Workers Angry

But the workers were fighting mad. They defied charges they were un-American; they defied political and family pressures; they defied the suggestion of the publicity chairman of the Workers' Security Federation, the organization they helped set up, that the strikers return to work within the five days allotted them. They struck.

They set up a speakers bureau at Du Quoin to help provide capable talkers for nightly meetings which were scheduled in all key cities. They set up a strike headquarters at West Frankfort, from which flying squads were sent to various projects. They set up committees in each town to solicit merchants and professionals for financial support.

Scout Cars Active

And they did a good job. Three scout cars toured each county, reporting projects on which men were working. Trucks loaded with pickets were then sent to pull them out. They pulled them out. The administration concentrated foremen and timekeepers on certain projects to give an appearance of working.

Foremen visited workers at their homes each night, trying to get them to return to work.

They closed down all Perry county projects. Randolph county came out 100 per cent. These two counties are IWA strongholds. In Franklin and Jackson counties, which have both IWA and Lasser locals, the strike was about 95 per cent, thanks to the vigilance of Perry county flying squads.

In Williamson county, which has only Lasser locals, the strike was complete save for the sewing projects and a few isolated jobs.

Still Defiant

But when the five days were up, Williamson county workers, after many passionate appeals from their CP-Lasser leaders, voted to return to work.

Franklin, hearing of this, took similar action the following day. But in Perry county, although they had been striking even longer, the workers turned down suggestions of their leaders that they return to work because they couldn't carry on the fight alone, and refused to return to work. Most of them received 403's. Most of them are still defiant.

A conference with State WPA Administrator Miner is being held this week to work out arrangements for returning the strikers to their jobs. The Southern Illinois workers are still against the 130-hour clause, against the 30-day layoffs, against the reduction of Northern wages to the Southern slave scale; most of them are against the New Deal and its anti-labor twistings. Most of them are ready to fight again.

And that time is not far off!

Auto Net Profits 910 Per Cent Up

NEW YORK—Striking gains in profits of motor and auto equipment companies were noted in the first quarter of 1939, a compilation of the National City bank revealed last week.

Nine automobile companies reported combined net profits of \$65,531,978 in this period, compared with \$6,498,065 in the first quarter of 1938, a gain of 910 per cent.

I Break Strikes!



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Who smiles when he says it . . .

So Do I!



COOL F. C. HARRINGTON

A "Dog Law" administrator . . .

Me Too.



DAVID LASSER

Stalin's office boy . . .

New York Police Arrest Socialists in Gag Drive

Mayor La Guardia Silent to Mass Protests

NEW YORK CITY—Despite the decision of the supreme court in the Hague case, New York police have opened a determined drive against public meetings.

Two prominent Socialists have already stood trial on charges of disorderly conduct as a result of refusal to discontinue their meetings when ordered to do so by the police.

From various parts of the city reports have come that the police have forbidden the holding of street meetings at places that have always been used for that purpose.

After conferences with the police, no satisfactory agreement has been reached and Socialists are continuing their meetings.

Friedman Arrested

First to be arrested was Samuel H. Friedman, state committee member of the New York Socialist party, while addressing a meeting of the Workers' Defense League at Kings highway and Seventeenth st. in Brooklyn.

At the trial, held before Magistrate De Andrea, the police admitted that there was no disorder, that traffic had not been obstructed but that they had made the arrest merely because the meeting was held.

Levenstein Nabbed

At the time, Socialists in another part of Brooklyn were ordered by the police to discontinue their meetings along Flatbush ave. A test case was arranged, with Aaron Levenstein, chairman of the Socialist party's speakers' bureau, as the principal speaker.

Despite the fact that great care was exercised in seeing to it that traffic was not interfered with, the police testified at the trial that 200 persons were gathered around the platform, that they reached across the unusually large 25-foot sidewalk from building line to curb and that they stretched back from the platform over a distance of 150 feet, blocking the entrance to a near-by drug store.

Witnesses for the defense, including Levenstein, Atty. Joseph G. Glass and Howard White, registrar at the New School for Social Research, testified that at all times a lane was kept open for pedestrians.

On Glass's motion to dismiss the complaint, Magistrate Folwell indicated his decision would rest largely on the legal question of whether or not the police have the right to forbid all meetings in a given area. Briefs are to be submitted.

Police interference with meetings has not been limited to these instances. In the Bronx, similar police regulations have been made, and though no arrests have taken place, threats of such action have been made by officers at meetings conducted by the Youth Committee Against War.

Faced by this menace to civil liberties in New York city, the Workers' Defense League some weeks ago registered its protest with Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia whose secretary notified the league that the police would be asked to report on the situation. No real action, however, has yet come from the mayor's office.

Joseph G. Glass and Milton Weinstein, Workers' Defense League attorneys.

Special counsel for the league bureau of the police department appeared to prosecute. The Kings highway board of trade intervened on behalf of the prosecution and was represented by counsel, while the New York civil liberties committee appeared as amicus curiae, filing a brief by Victor S. Gettner, one of its attorneys. Decision was reserved, after lengthy argument on the law.

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Self Determination For the Red Belt

ALBANY, N. Y.—The Red Belt region again. This time New York's Seneca Indians, in a resolution passed by the chiefs and sent to Governor Lehman, declare they will no longer permit themselves to be ruled by the laws of the state.

The defiant Senecas stated they are descendants of the mighty Iroquois, who established a real democracy centuries before the white man came.

Said the resolution: "No man or body of men is as well qualified to direct the affairs of our nation as the Council of Chiefs."

Milwaukee Strikers Defy State Board

Allen-Bradley Workers Continue Fight for Union

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The fiercest attack on labor in Wisconsin is the Allen-Bradley company strike.

Here the new state employment board, formed under the employment peace act of 1939 and manned by one of the governor's cronies, has concentrated its force to break up the strike.

After months of company chiseling on labor standards, Local 1111 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers was formed with a 99 per cent membership.

A contract brought fairly good conditions for the union. Since then, all demands for union security have been blocked.

When the company winked at flagrant violations of rules by union deserters and the rumors spread that it was harmful to health to belong to the union, the union appealed in vain to the company for fair treatment according to the contract. After many rebuffs, the union was forced to call a strike on May 11.

The strike had been deadlocked for weeks when the union appealed to the governor, Julius P. Heil, to act as mediator as he did in the Allis-Chalmers strike a few days previous. Heil refused.

Cease and Desist

Called into the strike, the state employment relations board ordered on July 14 the union to cease and desist from mass picketing of the plant, and ordered not more than 15 pickets at any one time, nor more than six on one street around the plant. The board disclosed its hand, some think, at the back of the company.

The union responded with a mass demonstration and is president, Fred Wolter, said that the union would not follow the Wisconsin employment relations board to succeed in its role as a strike-breaking agency for the Allen-Bradley company.

Board Is Spragged

Balked by its lack of power to enforce its orders, the board is at present in court, seeking an injunction to restrain the union. The ability of the board to make its order stick is being closely watched and may be the pattern of anti-labor activities everywhere in the country.

Political Implications

Despite the tremendous pressure on the union, it has stood firm. Two strike votes recorded more than 95 per cent in favor of holding out for union security. With such spirit, it would seem good advice to the company to meet the rock bottom demands of the union.

As Police Battle Pickets



ROUGH-AND-TUMBLE duel as police attack pickets and strike sympathizers at the Fisher Body plant, Cleveland, Ohio. The cops used guns and gas.

Cleveland Cops Attack 5,000 Auto Workers

CIO Strike Spreads to 12 Plants of General Motors

CLEVELAND, Ohio — Hundreds of police attacked more than 5,000 pickets of the United Automobile Workers of America (CIO) near the big Fisher body plant of the General Motors corporation here Monday.

Hague's a Sport Says Roosevelt

JERSEY CITY—Mayor Hague is a "good sport." Who says so? Why none other than Franklin Delano Roosevelt. At least that's what he told CIO Counsel Morris Ernst recently.

Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, in their syndicated "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column on July 4 said this:

"He took it as I thought he would remark the president, referring to Hague, 'like the good sport that he is!'"

"The same column called attention to the fact that 'John L. Lewis and Mayor Hague have kissed and made up. They are now working together for a Roosevelt delegation from New Jersey in 1940.'"

Jersey City workers who have actively fought Hague are wondering how Jersey City's Hitler, champion of the Chamber of Commerce against the CIO, can now be in the same bed with the CIO. And they wonder how the CIO finds itself supporting a candidate who thinks Hague a "good sport," and who seems to approve the administration of his patronage through the Hague machine.

Wisconsin Picnic August 20

MILWAUKEE, Wis. — A state picnic, sponsored by the Socialist party and the Farmer-Labor Progressive federation will be held Sunday, Aug. 20, at Barnegat park, C. J. Holz, chairman of the picnic committee, announced today.

This will be the first time that the Socialist party has entered into dual sponsorship of its traditional annual picnic. The Socialists have solely sponsored picnics for the past 38 years, Holz said.

Last year, when the Socialists and the F. L. P. F. held separate picnics, the Socialist affair drew an attendance of more than 10,000, while the F. L. P. F. picnic drew nearly as many, Holz said.

The following representatives of both organizations comprise the committee which Holz heads: Harold Beck, Ald. John Brophy, Stanley Hudny, Mrs. M. Hutchinson, Herbert Kuechle, Wendell Kraft, Paul Rosin, and Frank Zelder.

Ruth Ritter is secretary.

100% Union Bakers PINE BLUFF, Ark. (F.P.)—Local bakers here now 100 per cent union, the last open shop having been signed up after a spirited 24-hour strike.

Forty union men and women were reported to have been injured, several seriously.

Police had tried to rough up the pickets on a number of occasions during the six-week strike of tool and die makers and the vicious assault was precipitated by police who tried to render ineffective the strikers' mass picket lines.

Tool and die makers, engineers and maintenance men are directly involved in the present controversy between the union and the corporation. The union has followed a new tactic, termed "creeping paralysis," which threatens to tie up the corporation's 1940 models.

Workers Fed Up

Unionists say they are fed up with stalling tactics and bad faith of General Motors' officials who have kept the UAW from extending union protection to tool and die makers, engineers and maintenance men.

The rivalry between the AFL and the CIO plays an important role in this situation and the UAW regulars are eager to sew up General Motors with a collective bargaining agreement covering all workers. General Motors, on the other hand, is trying to play one group against the other.

Cleveland was tense as battered strikers, incignant at the police onslaught, contended to call out 20,000 additional CIOers to augment the strike lines. 5,500 workers are involved in the Fisher plant strike here.

New Development

Twelve tool and die plants at the General Motors are on strike including various parts of the country, including the famous Fisher No. 1, scene of the titanic sit-down of 1937.

The Flint walkout capped a week of momentous strike developments:

1. Powerhouse workers from all General Motors Michigan plants authorized the UAW-CIO to call them out on strike.

2. President Knudsen of General Motors admitted that the corporation is tied up tighter than a drum and cannot complete its tools and dies for 1940 models until the strike is settled.

3. General Motors lost the two weeks' advantage it had gained on Chrysler from the Briggs body strike. Chrysler stock jumped seven points in Wall Street. General Motors stock remained stationary.

4. General Motors tried to make job show owners force their employees to cease work on Chrysler and other jobs because the men refused to handle General Motors work.

5. The union negotiators, R. J. Thomas, George F. Addes, Walter P. Reuther and William Stevenson, called General Motors bluff after the corporation had stalled negotiations for over a week. The U. S. government proposed arbitration on the wage issue. The union agreed at once, but General Motors said no.

Union Will Sign

UAW officials outlined the union's position on the strike in a statement which charged that the corporation had stalled negotiations for 18 months and it branded as nonsense the company's propaganda that the strike was factually inspired.

"The CIO is the only union in the industry today," R. J. Thomas, president of the union said. "Therefore, it is nonsense for Mr. Knudsen to talk of strike for factional reasons."

"The UAW-CIO has been reasonable right along. It will sign a fair agreement today if Mr. Knudsen snaps out of his day-dreams."

No Vote!

The Independent Labor party of Britain offered the following amendments to the military training (conscription) bill in the house of commons. No vote was permitted on them.

1. A referendum vote is to be taken of those to whom this act is to apply. It is to go into effect only if two-thirds assent.

2. Conscription is to be limited to boys whose parents have an income of 500 or more pounds annually.

3. The age limit for conscripts is to be from 55 to 65 years.

4. Scotland is to be excluded from the operation of the act.

5. Training is to be limited to seven days.

6. The fine for not registering is to be 5 shillings, not 5 pounds.

Labor Scores Again In Two Year Fight Against Hagueism

Boss Who Aped Louis XIV Can Be Decisively Licked by Workers

BY SAMUEL ROMER

When Mayor Frank "I Was The Law" Hague of Jersey City finally surrendered to the victorious forces of labor and progress at a public hearing before his own city commission Thursday morning, July 6, 1936, it marked the end of a hard-fought two-year war by labor for its elementary rights of free speech and free assembly in one of America's most notorious "open-shop" havens.

Future historians will rank the war in northern New Jersey as among the most bitter of this country's class struggles and as a complete victory for the legions of labor.

Although David L. Clendenin, secretary-treasurer of the Workers Defense League, one of the leaders in the anti-Hague fight, warned of too great optimism in the first flush of victory and declared that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating and it is with this reflection that we await the actual enforcement of the new ordinance," it seemed generally agreed that the Jersey City boss—who had once declared, aping Louis XIV, "I am the law"—had taken it squarely on the chin.

Factory Gates Free

The new ordinance allows meetings on every street and every section of Jersey City, subject to public convenience. Although a permit must be obtained from the Jersey City police, it is believed that such permits will be had for the asking.

Sections in the ordinance, which had limited such meetings to four public squares and demanded permit applications four days in advance, were thrown out by the dictator when Morris Milgram, New Jersey state secretary of the Workers Defense League, and Spaulding Fraser, counsel for the Congress of Industrial Organizations, had voiced their objections at the hearing. The new ordinance specifically approves of meetings at factory gates.

And winning the right to speak and meet freely doesn't necessarily mean that the main job—that of organizing Jersey City's 100,000 nonunion workers—is done. Mayor Hague's surrender to labor on the question of street meetings doesn't end his alliance with Jersey City's employers to continue their system of low wages and long hours.

But the new ordinance opens the door to an intensive organizing campaign in which Jersey City workers will band themselves together in free, powerful labor unions to smash the system and open the open shop into the Atlantic ocean.

Up to Workers

Nor does the new ordinance wipe out the fear of Hague's vengeance in the hearts of Jersey City workers, the fear that the boss' powerful political machine will penalize men and women who dare oppose the "iron heel" dictatorship of the employers. This job will be done by courageous New Jersey workers who will speak out for their rights, militant and unafraid, secure in their knowledge that even the most political machine is puny and weak against the organized might of labor.

Chief credit for the victory in the two-year war for free speech is due to the general staff of the anti-Hague army—men like Norman Thomas, David L. Clendenin and Morris Shapira, secretary-treasurer and counsel for the Workers Defense League, Arthur Garfield Hays, Morris L. Ernst, and Roger Baldwin, counsel and director of the American Civil Liberties Union—and to men like Morris Milgram, state secretary of the Workers Defense League of New Jersey who commanded field operations in Jersey City, and many like Milgram who inspired masses every day in the week to carry through the fight.

Labor Flayed Hague

Although the actual warfare did not begin until the spring of 1937, Mayor Hague had for years during his 20-year reign fought efforts of labor unions to better conditions of workmen in his city. When in March, 1936, Hague had ordered the anti-injunction bill, sponsored by the N. J. Federation of Labor, killed in committee, the Hudson County Central Labor Union condemned him strongly, declaring that: "Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City does not think much of the workingman, Hague bestows nothing upon organized labor but his traditional and effective hatred. 'Shall New Jersey be the dumping ground of cheap, coolie labor, the last refuge of reaction and

Tourism in America, the medieval state of the union, because Frank Hague says, and the New Jersey Chamber of Commerce says, and the cool browed operators of sweatshops say, that nobody shall take away from the powers of industry and the courts of chancery, and that these shall remain supreme over the people."

Organizers Deported

In the spring of 1937, Hague first began exercising his illegal rights of "deportation" of labor organizers he didn't like during the seaman's strike. In this period Clendenin, then treasurer of the Workers Defense League, and Arthur Garfield Hays were forcibly deported across the state line into New York for their activity during the strike.

A major battle in the war was fought when the C. I. O., announcing an organizing campaign in Jersey City named Nov. 23, 1937, as the day for mass distribution of leaflets.

The Workers Defense League offered its services and 15 league members volunteered to help distribute the leaflets. The Jersey City police went berserk that day, forcibly deporting every labor organizer including Clendenin and Sidney Hartberg, a member of the W.D.L. national executive committee, and arresting many, including Milgram and Dick Spina, a league member from Newark.

Supreme Court Decision

The Supreme Court decision in March, 1938, in the famous Griffin-Lovell case, in which the Workers Defense League has appeared as "friend of the court," declared that interference with the free distribution of leaflets was a violation of the constitutional guarantee of a free press and declared invalid a Georgia city ordinance prohibiting the distribution of leaflets.

The Workers Defense League seized the opportunity and for several days defied Hague police through mass distribution of leaflets on the streets of Jersey City. Although Jersey City cops in the beginning seized all leaflets and one time ordered Milgram arrested, the perseverance of the league finally won the day and Hague attorneys admitted that their ordinance was invalid.

The next battle raged front page headlines throughout the country. Norman Thomas was announced to speak at a mass meeting April 30, 1938, at Journal Square under the auspices of the Socialist party. Thomas was met by a cheering crowd but nevertheless, was forcibly deported by Hague cops across the river to New York.

Draws National Attention

The spectacle of one of America's leading public figures denied the right to speak in Jersey City excited the entire nation and Hague began losing ground. Three weeks after the Thomas episode a United States congressman, Jerry O'Connell of Montana, who had been scheduled to speak, was also "deported" and columnists throughout the nation were wise-cracking about passports to Jersey City.

The C. I. O., aided by the American Civil Liberties Union, filed a suit for an injunction against Hague interference with their campaign to organize Jersey City workers.

Among those who testified at the injunction suit were Milgram, Clendenin, Hertzberg, Bella Kussy, a Workers Defense League member from Newark, and Aron Gilmartin, league executive secretary. The league also mentioned the Norman Thomas, represented by Arthur G. Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar association, and the Workers Defense League, filed suit to force the Hague chief of police to grant him a permit for a meeting.

Federals Fear Boss

The uproar was so great by this time that two representatives of the Federal Department of Justice conducted an inquiry into Hague's repeated violations and brought the matter before the federal grand jury. When the grand jury, fearing Hague's vengeance, refused to indict the political boss, the federal investigators left, promising to

Eugene Debs—Labor Day Issue of the Socialist Call

- Prepare Now for Mass Distribution
- Send Greetings to the Labor World Through the Call

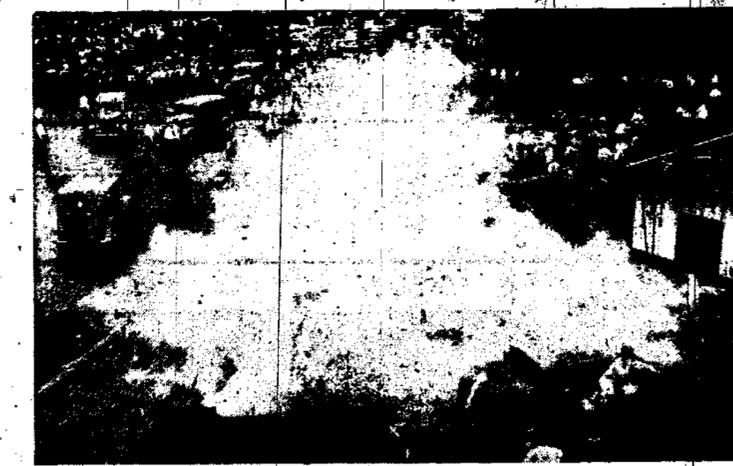
\$2.00 Per Column Inch

Remit to

SOCIALIST CALL

549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois

Death for WPA Workers



Tear gas was the answer of Minneapolis police worker was slain, 20 others wounded in this outbreak.

Thomas' Column

Continued From Page One

out when I discovered that Father Coughlin is almost without influence on the Pacific coast because his broadcasts do not go beyond the Rockies.

Coughlin's Violence

Father Coughlin never answered my personal inquiry to him concerning his stand toward his followers who have been guilty of repeated acts of violence. A subordinate wrote me a letter enclosing directions to salesmen of Social Justice, exhorting them to proper standards of conduct.

This is good as far as it goes, but it goes by no means far enough in view of outrageous situation which the so-called Christian Front is creating in many districts. Indeed, Father Coughlin can hardly use the language he has used about Jews without stirring up violent physical expression of anti-Semitism. Here his church can be expected to act officially without improper restrictions on freedom of speech. And its failure to act makes it a partner in intolerance.

\$250 For Du Quoin Miners

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The recent national convention of the Workmen Sick and Death Benefit fund, a national fraternal society, voted to contribute \$250 to the Du Quoin Miners' Defense committee.

The recommendation for this donation was made by Thomas O'Leary, Livingston, Ill., delegate in behalf of the society's 5,000 members in southern Illinois.

Contributions were also made to Tom Mooney, Spanish refugee, Kentucky miners and other cases.

10,000 at Meeting

The CIO-ACLU injunction suit was granted by the federal district court and Hague carried it through the United States supreme court where a 5-4 decision invalidated Hague's ordinance and established the right of the people to free speech and free assembly.

By this time, Hague was in full retreat and a victory rally, organized by the American Civil Liberties Union was held peacefully in Journal Square, having as chief speakers those active in the anti-Hague fight.

More than 10,000 enthusiastic Jersey City workers cheered Norman Thomas, Hays, Baldwin, Milgram and others. A similar meeting sponsored by the CIO in Pershing field, Boston, represented by Arthur G. Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar association, and the Workers Defense League, filed suit to force the Hague chief of police to grant him a permit for a meeting.

Hague on Run

When representatives of the Workers Defense League and the CIO attacked the new ordinance which would have prohibited meetings at factory gates, and announced their determination to continue the fight, Hague turned and fled.

At a public hearing, he announced modifications of the proposed ordinance to allow factory gate meetings and assemblies throughout the city.

The new ordinance, Clendenin declared in a statement afterwards, "allows sufficient leeway, if adhered to in spirit and letter, for the protection of the rights of ordinary citizens to free speech and free public assembly. We would have preferred, of course, that Mayor Hague accept the suggestion of Morris Milgram, that no permits at all be required but that meetings take place upon proper notification to the police authorities, as is the case in New York city."

"But the new ordinance represents a great victory for the forces that have been fighting for more than two years for the elementary rights of free speech and free assembly in Jersey City."

The war for free speech is over—the war to organize Jersey City

Kentucky Unionists Framed

PADUCAH, Ky.—Released from jail here Saturday on bonds furnished by the Workers Defense League, C. A. Kerth, Socialist and business agent of the Hodcarriers and Common Laborers' union (AFL), and Robert Matheny, rank and file union member, now face trial under Kentucky's viciously anti-labor "banding and confederating" law for picketing a floodwall construction project here.

Together with two other workers, W. T. Atterberry and Vernon Marshall, who were released on bond several days ago, Kerth and Matheny were charged with complicity in acts of "sagotage" which occurred at the floodwall site on the night of July 14, when, according to spokesmen of the L. O. Brayton Construction company, scabs were stoned, a water pump was damaged, and a powder house containing 400 pounds of dynamite was burned.

Picketing of the construction project, which began two weeks ago, continues despite the arrests and the strike-breaking activities of Gov. A. E. Chandler's state police, who have been patrolling the picket line and urging workers to ignore it.

Three local unions, the common laborers, the structural ironworkers, and the operating engineers, are seeking union recognition, a closed shop, and the union wage scale, which is 50 cents an hour for laborers here. The company is paying 40 cents.

Bond for Kerth was set at \$2,000 peace bond and a \$800 appearance bond on each of three felony charges. Bond for Matheny was set at \$2,000 peace bond and \$300 appearance bond.

The bonds were arranged by Joseph S. Freeland, local attorney and representative of the W. D. L., which the men are affiliated with. Kerth and Matheny are not authorized by the international. Trial of the accused men will take place at the September term of circuit court, officials stated.

Court Upholds Ruling

OAKLAND, Calif.—The appellate court has upheld an order of the NLRB against the National Motor Bearing company, directing it to reinstate 54 men fired in February, 1937, to give them back pay from that date, and to bargain with the United Automobile Workers (CIO) as exclusive agent.

American Farm Delegates See How Mexican Peasants Run Collectives

Farm Union, STF Representatives Land Social Gains

TORREON, Coahuila, Mexico.—The Mexican peasants and workers are showing the way the problems of cotton and wheat farming in the United States could be handled so that human rather than economic values get first consideration.

Thus delegates from the Southern Tenant-Farmers' union summed up their study of the outstanding collectivized farming region of the western world.

Joining with members of the Oklahoma Farmers' union, labor representatives, professors and students from 11 universities and colleges throughout the United States; the S. T. F. U. representatives, H. L. Mitchell and F. R. Heston, spent a week investigating the Laguna region.

The study conference, linked with a student "work camp" of five weeks, was organized by Clarence Senior, representative of labor, Socialist and peace groups in Mexico.

Land Expropriated The visitors found a region with a quarter of a million people in which large haciendas (large estates) had formerly enslaved their workers just as in the southern United States.

On Oct. 6, 1936, most of the land was expropriated and turned over to peasant collectives known as ejidos.

The ejidos now number over 300, own thousands of mules, tractors and harvesters of the most modern type. They are buying or building

Co-op Medicine

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Appearing before the senate committee holding hearings on the Wagner national health bill, Dr. Kingsley Roberts of the Bureau of Co-operative Medicine and Association of Medical Co-operatives, urged the expenditure of public funds to improve the health of the people of the United States.

Dr. Roberts said: "Medical care can be most effectively and efficiently administered to large groups of the population when health conservation is the primary motive of the system employed."

"Mostly spent in the prevention of disease is money which is saved in the cure of disease. Health education of the public is of vital importance to the effectiveness of any broad public health policy and there is no provision for this in the act."

He also said that distribution of public funds to the medical profession as now organized is not the most efficient method of using the money.

He urged that the services contemplated by the act be rendered not by individual physicians but correlated, co-ordinated groups of physicians under competent professional administration. "This method," he said, "known as group medical practice, has proven a very effective means for distributing medical care."

The establishment of community health centers through which service could be rendered, was urged as peculiarly suited to the needs of rural communities.

So that duplication of equipment and waste of time and money could be avoided, Dr. Roberts recommended the encouragement of voluntary health protective mechanisms. In rural and small urban communities, he said, the facilities of the voluntary association could be utilized to care for the indigent groups through the payment for such services as might be rendered.

This could operate, Dr. Roberts said, along the lines developed in connection with payments to voluntary hospitals for services rendered to indigent persons or the lines developed by the Farm Security administration in their program of arranging for medical care for low income farm groups.

One advantage of such action, Dr. Roberts felt, would be the administrative lessons that could be learned from close study of the work of such voluntary associations.

He said that nowhere in this country is there any satisfactory data that will enable the government to accurately estimate the

Smearing the Unions

BY HARRY LUNDEBERG, Sec'y-Treas. Sailors Union of the Pacific

(Reprinted from the West Coast Sailor)

As the Bridges' deportation case unravels it is becoming ever more apparent that what is really involved here is an attempt to "smear" the organized maritime unions of the Pacific coast. Even a casual glance at the testimony presented establishes this contention.

The entire case—PRESUMABLY—revolves around whether Bridges is, or is not, a member of the Communist party. And, being an alien, whether membership in that organization would warrant his deportation from this country.

What has been the nature of the most recent testimony?

The gist of this testimony has been that it was "Bridges and the Communists" who instigated the 1936-1937 strike! That it is the "reds" who fomented strikes and labor disturbances on the Pacific coast!

To anyone familiar with the record of the 1936-1937 strike, the flink book fight and the flink hall fight, these statements appear laughable! But—don't laugh too long! Don't forget there's method in their madness.

Is it mere coincidence that the Bridges case, which has been smouldering for several years, suddenly makes its debut on the Pacific coast prior to the expiration of our agreements? Agents of the shipowners have been quick to seize upon this opportunity to mold public opinion against the unions!

It is all part of the technique of "smearing"—in the bosses' game of obfuscating the real issues confronting the seamen—hiring halls, wages, working conditions.

On the other hand, the main concern of all the stooges seems to be to "play the bosses' game" by making the case appear as a case against a "militant"—when the entire record reads exactly the opposite! Remember the flink book fight—the flink hall fight—the Shepard line deal?

No bonafide union man, in maritime circles, particularly, who has been through the mill since 1934 will be fooled for long by what's going on at Angel Island.

Above all at this time we must avoid succumbing to the confusion arising out of the maze of charges and counter-charges coming from Angel Island—and keep our heads clear and cool for the real issues which will be before us for decision in the next period.

ChiTrib WPA

Smear Backfires

CHICAGO, Ill.—Out to smear WPA and prove that the "public" is down on "loafers," Col. Robert McCormick's last week sent an inquiring reporter through the streets asking folks two questions: (1) Should the government support the unemployed? (2) If so, what is a fair payment per month to an unemployed man?

Surprise! Surprise! In spite of the fact the questions were asked in business and middle class neighborhoods, 14 out of 15 replies to question one were "Yes" and 85% a month was listed by all as the minimum that should be paid.

cost of the administration of a broad community health project. These could be obtained only through close study of existing and future voluntary health protective mechanisms.

The American Youth Congress

The fifth annual conference of the American Youth Congress, held in New York city over July 4, hit a new low in chauvinism with the adoption of a creed for American youth which called for the unity of all the younger generation for defense of the United States.

This version of a youth front stronger than economics and political allegiance is the exact complement of that union sacred always used by nationalists to crush progressive struggles.

Backed by Communists and conservatives alike at the congress, it is a dangerous sign of approach to war and Fascism.

In marked contrast, delegates from 14 organizations supported a creed for youth reorganizing "our responsibility to support the worldwide struggles of the masses for liberty, economic justice, and peace."

Introduced by Robert Searle of the National Council of Methodist Youth, the creed was supported by delegates from the Youth Committee Against War, American Baptist Publications Society, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Young People's Socialist League, New England Federation of Co-operative Clubs, Metropolitan Federation of Ontario Young People, Student Peace Service and Campaign for World Government, as well as various local organizations.

Discussion of this creed was blocked by a series of parliamentary maneuvers and the original creed was rushed through.

Opposition Has Majority

Adoption of these policies does not indicate a mass support for them, even among delegates at the congress. Sixty-three national organizations were represented where once there were hundreds, with a total membership of 2,540,000. Just one of that number, the dissenting National Council of Methodist Youth, accounts for 1,800,000—three-fifths of the total.

Locally, a federated membership of 2,450,000 is claimed with a similar balance. Adoption of the policy means, rather, increasing parliamentary and administrative control.

C. P. Chauvinism

Stalinist-New Deal chauvinism and dictatorial tactics were not the only reactionary signs at the congress. More dangerous were the red-baiting maneuvers of a small bloc of delegates, including Coughlins and other known Fascists, and many of them representing paper organizations.

This group was never before connected with the congress, and came in an attempt to capitalize on the resentment of progressive groups against Communist policies.

It had demanded denunciation of the Communists, instead of which the congress voted support for a resolution condemning both Fascist and Communist dictatorship. Supported by the YCL leadership at the congress, on the grounds that Soviet Communism was not dictatorial, the resolution showed the lengths of duplicity to which they will go to maintain leadership.

Third Termite

The new familiar liaison of Communist and New Dealers prevailed throughout the congress, with complete agreement on all important issues and the New Dealers doing most of the floor work for the Communist-controlled organization.

Particularly was this felt in the repeated third-term-for-F. D. R. bursts of enthusiasm.

And the combination of flag-waving patriotism, and Roosevelt adulation has resulted in the disintegration of the program upon which the AYC made its successful appeal to masses of American young people.

Youth Act Scuttled

Nothing summed up the tragic futility of the AYC so much as its

abandonment of the fight for American Youth act. The resolution which called for revocation of the act to make it more acceptable!

Through the American Youth act the congress was made the vehicle for youth's demands on the economic front. This act provided congressional appropriations for jobs at union wages, jobs to enable students to continue their studies, vocational guidance and unemployment service, was backed by nearly every responsible youth organization in the United States.

In the AYC program, as Stalinist influence grew, 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 unemployed young people became no longer the most, pressing problem for youth organizations, but a means of embarrassing New Deal and the Roosevelt administration which had to be stopped.

AYC policy changed slowly and cleverly. First came state youth acts, watered down but able to attract attention from the national scene. Then there were amendments to the youth act which, in any parliamentary knows, made its consideration by congress unlikely.

Next, the act was not mentioned in local mailings or national publicity. (During this time the AYC program began to concentrate on campaigns against syphilis and for war.)

This year the pilgrims were dropped, and increases in NYA were the demand (no mention of NYA wages at scab levels). Finally, this July, the main economic program of the congress has become a program of federal jobs for youth that cannot even touch the problem.

Lewis Conn, YGPL-NEC member and representative at the congress refused the nomination as one of the vice chairmen of the congress because "the dominant tenor of the convention was that of a right political rally for the New Deal."

Searle, Methodist delegate, introduced the minority creed, which likewise, their joint statement was: "We cannot assume responsibility for the administration, in the slightest degree, of a congress whose direction and orientation are leading young people toward nationalism and the kind of a superpatriotism which may lead American youth toward war."

Youth's demands for jobs, education must be heard. Duty of youth to defend the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, must be exposed as a camouflage and a snare. The enemy is at home, in the militarism of the government and the economic misery it upholds. Only a congress with a program to answer these needs can rally the masses of American youth behind it in struggle, and the American Youth congress is failing miserably to do the job.

New York S. P. Confab Hears Norman Thomas

SHRUB OAK, N. Y.—A two-day conference of Socialists, held at Camp Three Arrows over the weekend of July 15 and 16, heard Norman Thomas, national chairman of the party, describe his recent tour across the continent and discuss the subject of American neutrality in the face of coming war.

Thomas' speech came as a climax in the last of three sessions that met to discuss the problem of war. The opening session dealt with "hot-spots" in the world scene. Fanny Simon, co-author of "The American Labor Movement" reported on the Latin-American problem; Rosamond Clark, who spent a dozen years in Japan, spoke on the Far East, and Winona Dancis, former national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League, summarized the situation in Europe.

The second session, devoted to organization problems, heard Leonard Bright, secretary of the New York Keep America Out of War congress, and Jack Albert of Labor's Anti-War Council, discuss the activities of these groups. Neutrality was the topic of the concluding session.

The conference was arranged jointly by the educational committee and the anti-war committee of Local New York.

Civil War Vet Not a Citizen

CHICAGO, Ill.—A veteran of the Civil War, James Quigley, took citizenship papers recently believing himself a citizen for 35 years.

Quigley, one of the Cannon volunteers to liberate the slaves in the Southern states, not doubt his citizenship until he applied for old age assistance. The state of Illinois classed him as an alien, so he applied for citizenship.

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Some of 200 women who installed themselves on a reactionary General Calles' estate in 1936. The women demanded the whole of his hacienda to divide among themselves so they could live.

their own cotton gins and cotton seed oil plants, and have already built one modern electric power plant.

Socialized Medicine

A socialized hospital and medical service has been created in Mexico, for 2 pesos (roughly

250,000 Peons Work Together on 300-Ejidos

advances made along this line, especially since in most of the ejidos most of the peasants had never even seen a doctor before the socialized system was introduced.

False Reports Exposed

The lies spread about the Laguna region by such anti-Mexican speakers as Henry J. Allen of Kansas were thoroughly exploded in the minds of all the conferees.

Torreon, called a "dying city" by Allen, has just opened its fourth new movie house since the land was taken over!

In all sections, new beds, kitchen equipment, clothing, and other means of making life more comfortable are seen.

Almost 100 new schools have been built in the region. Nineteen U. S. students are helping the peasants of the ejido Sant Ana build their school.

International Spirit

The cornerstone was laid with a moving ceremony on July 4. Mexican and American speakers pointed out the significance of the peoples of the two countries meeting face to face, working with their hands on a common job.

All agreed that carrying on the fight against their own reactionaries and building up friendship among those who lived by their own toil was the basis of international understanding.

Newspapers throughout Mexico carried pictures of this unique venture in bridging the gap of misunderstanding between neighboring peoples.

SOCIALIST CALL

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You Can Strike

Telling a worker he can't strike is like passing a law which prohibits a man from committing suicide.

Throughout the ages there have been pharaohs, kings, czars and dictators who decreed that it was against the law to protest. In lieu of political redress, the masses were told to pray, it was supposed to be good for the soul.

Now comes the head of a government, supposedly liberal, who tells the most wretched section of society that it has no right to strike against the government. It's anti-government to strike, says King Roosevelt, and the tory press gives the statement a big play along with its blessings.

Such statements are so much balderdash, because if history proves anything, it proves that the common people always find ways and means to right wrong or injustice, regardless of the dictatorial decrees of the moment.

The foremost requisite for social existence is the things which make life possible. A worker has to have food, clothing and shelter, just like a congressman! If a worker can't feed himself and his family and is dragged into constant insecurity, government and law, whether pronounced by Louis XIV or Roosevelt II, is so much hokum.

The WPA workers struck against a public outrage. They struck against arbitrary "dog laws," lengthening of hours, wage cuts and mass layoffs. The strike was also a manifestation of indignation against the slander campaign on WPA which had been waged unceasingly by the press and a majority of congress.

The WPA strike was an impressive demonstration which stirred national attention. It was damned by the plutes and applauded by the working class. The element of surprise actuated by the spontaneous character of the national walkout added drama to the struggle.

Internally, the workers' strike machinery was weak—lack of preparation, no leadership, the double-cross of the Communists, the silly "back to work" statement of J. Clark Waldron of the Workers Security Federation, and the outright opposition of the CIO harmed the cause of the strikers, but it did not dampen the fighting spirit of the workers.

We take our hats off to the AFL. That organization did not do all that it could have done for the strikers, but the encouragement it gave the strikers and the militant tone of many official statements was unexpected, and nothing is more pleasant in a struggle than support from unexpected quarters.

Essentially all the embattled WPA workers had on their side of the struggle was themselves. Everything and everybody failed them but themselves. The government of Roosevelt was exposed, as in the Little Steel strike, of being extremely hostile to labor.

The government cooked up the "you can't strike against the government" slogan as its contribution to an impending national crisis. But it means nothing unless it speedily puts our industrial machine to work to feed, clothe and house millions of impoverished Americans.

Harlan Miners Win

Governor Chandler's entire state government was not powerful enough to crack the ranks of the Miners' union in Kentucky. His 1,400 national guardsmen and the Harlan County Coal Operators' association's kept court and its hired assassins, although brutal and unscrupulous, could not budge the mountaineer coal miners from their complete faith in their industrial union.

The association, after directing a reign of terror against the mine workers for more than 20 years, has been brought to its knees. It has been compelled to drop its machine guns and hold off its hoodlums and sign a truce with the United Mine Workers of America.

The agreement calls for exclusive recognition of the UMWA, the conditions prescribed by the Appalachian agreement, checkoff system of dues payment, dismissal of all eviction and house cases, the respect of meetings of coal miners, and other concessions.

The banner of unionism will henceforth fly over the tipples of the Harlan coal fields and the union men may well be proud of their Kentucky fellow workers' hard won victory. But the job is only half done: The miners and their families are an absolute majority in Harlan. Let them now establish a government that will disarm the company thugs, clean out the crooked courts and bring about a measure of political democracy to complement the gains achieved on the industrial field.

Commies at Work

Stalin's agents are out to get Eddie Levinson.

Acting through their men in the National Maritime union, the Commies have started a whispering campaign and concocted a resolution which calls for an investigation of Levinson and raises questions about his integrity, as well as his loyalty to the CIO.

Levinson is presently employed by the International Union of the United Automobile Workers of America as that organization's publicity director.

He is the author of an excellent expose of strikebreaking and labor espionage and of an important book on the development of the CIO. He has a good reputation as a news-

paper reporter and is known for his fearless convictions.

Levinson had some trouble with the commissars of the Comical party, as one of our contemporaries put it, because he wrote what he believed to be true—not what the agents of Big Joe told him to write.

So the Stalin wrecking crew is out to get him. If they were honest about their wishes for an investigation, and if they had the least evidence to back up their bushwacking charges, there is ample machinery within the labor movement to bring Levinson or anyone else to account.

But the Commies have no evidence. They haven't got a case. So they make a big splash. Muddy the water. Create confusion. Foment discord. That the United Automobile Workers of America needs all the solidarity it can muster to lick General Motors does not seem to concern the Commies.

We don't believe the Communists will get away with their nefarious plot. There are too many decent unionists in the CIO who will see to that.

Child Labor

By EDWARD LEAVITT

Overshadowed somewhat by his ruling ending Mayor Frank (I Was the Law) Hague's dictatorship over Jersey City, the U. S. supreme court's decision on the pending child labor amendment represents for the labor movement a victory on an older and equally important issue. By affirming the legality of ratification by states which had previously rejected the amendment, the court has paved the way for ratification by the eight additional states needed to bring the amendment into effect.

With the possibility of early ratification heightened by the decision, the effect to block the amendment has taken two forms. The first is the exploded argument that the child labor provisions of the wage-hour law are sufficient. The other is more plausible on the surface and holds that the better way would be to submit the question of ratification "directly to the voters."

Answers Take Arguments These arguments are concisely answered by the National Child Labor Committee, which has consistently and effectively campaigned for the pending amendment. Pointing out that enactment of the wage-hour law has not eliminated the need for a constitutional amendment, the committee says:

"To eliminate child labor from establishments which manufacture products for interstate shipment (as the wage-hour act does) is a notable advance, but it removes only a minor portion of the child labor now existing in the United States. Fewer children in recent years have been finding work in industrial establishments which ship their products across state lines. Approximately 75 per cent of the children at work when the wage-hour act became effective (excluding those in industrialized agriculture and street trades) were employed in purely intrastate industries such as mercantile establishments, hotels, restaurants, beauty parlors, garages, repair shops, offices, etc. Such employment does not come under the wage-hour act, nor can it be reached through any legislation based on the interstate commerce powers of congress.

Children in Industrialized Agriculture "In addition to child employment in the types of intrastate industries mentioned above, there are hundreds of thousands of young children employed in industrialized agriculture, including many children of migrant families, working under conditions which constitute as serious exploitation as ever existed in mills and factories."

Although not opposed in principle to the idea of a direct referendum, the committee clears up some misunderstandings.

Referendum Would Delay Action "A referendum of the voters would merely serve as a guide to the legislators and would not be binding upon them. We do not oppose the referendum idea, but believe that it is preferable to hold a referendum at the time of the general elections rather than at a special election called for the purpose, in which a relatively small portion of the electorate participates."

This gains point by the fact that most state legislatures have adjourned, thus making it impossible to have such a referendum vote before the fall of 1940, delaying earliest possible legislative action until 1941. Ratification by the other method would seem to offer earlier results.

Why McNutt?

He Used Troops to Break Strikes

By CECIL OWENS, Labor's Nonpartisan League

The McNutt appointment left Washington gasping. You can take your pick of various theories. They all agree on only one thing: That there is presidential politics at the bottom of it somewhere.

This column leans to the view that the president thinks he is taking McNutt into camp. McNutt's place inside the administration makes it difficult for him to line up with the "Stop Roosevelt" forces at the next convention.

Shortly before his appointment was announced—but after McNutt himself knew of it—he let it be known he would not run if F. D. R. is a candidate again. Would McNutt have done this if F. D. R. had left him out in the cold?

However, the appointment does put McNutt in a good spot from which to capture the second place with Roosevelt in 1940. It would also presumably build him up for 1944—but that's a long way off.

Labor is definitely skeptical of McNutt. For this it has good reason for the snow-capped McNutt did not earn the title of "Hoosier Hitler" without reason. He called out the troops against labor, and kept them out longer than any other recent governor. Labor has yet to hear a satisfactory alibi for this and is keeping its fingers crossed.

The McNutt appointment appears to have been entirely a personal appointment of the president himself. It is reported that nobody inside or outside the administration was consulted in advance.

Everybody agrees that Chamberlain and Daladier are imperialists, capitalists, self-centered nationalists, who have no love for democracy or labor. So-o-o, let's make a collective security agreement with them and the countries whose policies they represent.

The German government has now officially revealed the facts of its participation in the Spanish war. The Reich says it began to aid Franco within two weeks after the rebellion started.

This makes the record almost complete. The only thing lacking is the official report of the European "democracies" that the non-intervention agreement was a perfect success.

Thunder and drums, the march of feet; Throb and thrill of war's red heat; Ringing cheers, and flags held high; We stood and watched them all pass by. These, our boys, to manhood grown; Flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone.

In the beat of the drum is the shriek of hell; In the march of their feet, the horror of hell. The waving of flags an ominous threat, Sometimes a promise that must be met. With the blood of those who pay the price, In the stench of death—in the mud and lice.

Let us now face the ghastly truth: The world is wet with the blood of youth. War is a scourge, a cancerous growth. To war on war—God, this our oath!

Little Essays

BY JOHN M. WORK

My Uncle Doc was a pioneer physician in the heart of the corn belt—the type that sometimes had to swim his horse over swollen rivers to reach his patients. He was over 80 and still practicing when I did the chores for him a few months while getting an alleged education.

Many stories were told and are still told about him in the community. Called to treat a woman in hysterics he gave her a dose of asafetida. She promptly recovered and said, "Doc, that was the damndest dose of medicine that ever went into a Christian." A big man's dislocated shoulder had to be set and of course there was no anesthetic. There was danger that he might fight back and injure the doctor, so Uncle Doc bled him until he fainted and then set his shoulder. Consulted about a very sick patient he told the family doctor the medicine he was giving should be discontinued. The family doctor said, "If I discontinue it he will be in hell in half an hour." Nevertheless the medicine was discontinued, and, as the community tells the story, the man did not go to hell for several years.

You may think, from these yarns, that Uncle Doc was profane. On the contrary he was very religious. As we drove about in his one-horse cart, he told me exactly what God wanted us to do.

Except in a few out-of-the-way places, the Uncle Docs of medicine no longer exist. Those were the days when individualistic medical service was in order. Uncle Doc was a hero of early medical service, and there were many others like him.

It seems difficult for some doctors to realize that "them days are gone forever." Individualistic health service just does not fit into the pattern of present conditions. Socialized health service would fit them like a glove.

When I speak of the hysteria and opportunism of our liberal weeklies, I am not referring to their differences of opinion with us on the war and popular front issues. All sorts of honest people differ with us on these subjects.

During all the year that Oswald Garrison Villard edited the Nation, the Nation's position differed widely from that of the Socialist party. Its position was, on most issues, that of a genuine and consistent liberalism and futile though we think that position is, we respect and understand it.

Today, with the social and economic base of traditional liberalism narrowing almost to the vanishing point, the current editors of the Nation consider themselves left-wingers, or at least, "left of center." The fact that on practically every issue their position is identical with that of the Communist party, does not of course mean that they are "Communists."

Neither Flesh Nor Fowl

What Freda Kirshway, the editor, does not realize however, is that she, the erstwhile rebel and left-winger of the Nation staff, now stands far to the right of Oswald Garrison Villard of whose policies she was once so loftily scornful.

Today the Nation is neither flesh, fowl nor good red herring. Its continued hospitality to the notorious Louis Fisher, chief spokesman for the Kremlin's foreign policy to the American public, its refusal to print any article which told the truth in the internal Spanish situation during the past two years, the banishment of its only left-wing editor to the literary pages of the magazine, its hysterical war-mongering, are symptomatic of the dominant Stalinoid liberalism of the late thirties.

Nation Whitewashes Kremlin

At no place, of course, has that "liberalism" so betrayed itself as on the subject of the Soviet Union—first at the time of the Moscow trials (when the Nation suggested that we must wait 100 years before passing judgment on the authenticity of the charges); more recently on the Krivitsky revelations, and most important of all, on the subject of the Committee for Cultural Freedom.

On the Krivitsky revelations, the New Republic, as is usually the case, followed the New Masses line. While admitting the possibilities of Krivitsky's existence, they simply knew that the things he said were not true, because someone in the International Brigade had told them so. That disposed of that. The Nation was a little more coy. It didn't say, "Come Out From Behind Those Red Whiskers, Sasha Ginsberg" (the Nation, unlike the New Masses, seems aware of the fact that all of the Russian leaders used assumed names). It merely indicated that neither the Saturday Evening Post nor the New Masses offered positive proof for their respective cases, so why not drop the whole subject? This is what is known as "editorial objectivity."

Expose Real Bias

The crucial test of our liberal journals came, however, with the organization of the Committee for Cultural Freedom and its statement of opposition to all forms of totalitarianism—brown, black or pink. Here, one might think, was the perfect platform for a liberal, and here is where the Nation and the New Republic betrayed their real bias.

The New Republic—as might be expected in view of the fact that its literary editor, Malcolm Cowley, never deviates from the "Party line," has been positively vicious in its attacks upon the committee, and has already manufactured imaginary feuds among its members.

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Liberal and Left Wing Press in Review

BY LILLIAN SYMES

Twenty-two years ago, when the New Republic was congratulating itself and the liberal intelligentsia on having shaped American foreign policy toward intervention in the World War, Randolph Bourne, the most promising of the younger intellectuals of that period, wrote in reply a bitter essay called "The War and the Intellectuals."

"Only in a world where irony is dead," he wrote, "could an intellectual class enter war at the head of such liberal cohorts in the avowed cause of world democracy."

Bourne died long before he could witness the even more complete bankruptcy of American liberalism in the late thirties. If he had lived, he might have written:

"Only in a world where irony is dead and buried, could you find the liberal intellectuals functioning as the champions of one bloody dictatorship against another in the name of democracy and as the conscious and unconscious of the most liberal and undemocratic forces in the American labor movement."

There are honorable exceptions of course to the hysteria and opportunism of the current liberal scene as reflected in the pages of the Nation and New Republic; and fortunately the number of these exceptions is growing—in spite of the scornful attacks of these two journals.

Hysterical Weeklies

When I speak of the hysteria and opportunism of our liberal weeklies, I am not referring to their differences of opinion with us on the war and popular front issues. All sorts of honest people differ with us on these subjects.

During all the year that Oswald Garrison Villard edited the Nation, the Nation's position differed widely from that of the Socialist party. Its position was, on most issues, that of a genuine and consistent liberalism and futile though we think that position is, we respect and understand it.

Today, with the social and economic base of traditional liberalism narrowing almost to the vanishing point, the current editors of the Nation consider themselves left-wingers, or at least, "left of center." The fact that on practically every issue their position is identical with that of the Communist party, does not of course mean that they are "Communists."

Neither Flesh Nor Fowl

What Freda Kirshway, the editor, does not realize however, is that she, the erstwhile rebel and left-winger of the Nation staff, now stands far to the right of Oswald Garrison Villard of whose policies she was once so loftily scornful.

Today the Nation is neither flesh, fowl nor good red herring. Its continued hospitality to the notorious Louis Fisher, chief spokesman for the Kremlin's foreign policy to the American public, its refusal to print any article which told the truth in the internal Spanish situation during the past two years, the banishment of its only left-wing editor to the literary pages of the magazine, its hysterical war-mongering, are symptomatic of the dominant Stalinoid liberalism of the late thirties.

Nation Whitewashes Kremlin

At no place, of course, has that "liberalism" so betrayed itself as on the subject of the Soviet Union—first at the time of the Moscow trials (when the Nation suggested that we must wait 100 years before passing judgment on the authenticity of the charges); more recently on the Krivitsky revelations, and most important of all, on the subject of the Committee for Cultural Freedom.

On the Krivitsky revelations, the New Republic, as is usually the case, followed the New Masses line. While admitting the possibilities of Krivitsky's existence, they simply knew that the things he said were not true, because someone in the International Brigade had told them so. That disposed of that. The Nation was a little more coy. It didn't say, "Come Out From Behind Those Red Whiskers, Sasha Ginsberg" (the Nation, unlike the New Masses, seems aware of the fact that all of the Russian leaders used assumed names). It merely indicated that neither the Saturday Evening Post nor the New Masses offered positive proof for their respective cases, so why not drop the whole subject? This is what is known as "editorial objectivity."

Expose Real Bias

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Holy Russia

The Committee for Cultural Freedom attacked forms of totalitarianism, and this, according to Nation's logic, is a specific attack upon Holy Russia. Holy Russia is going to be our ally in the next war and the Communist party is going to be one of the most effective agencies in helping the liberal to win Roosevelt. Follow the "Party line," boys and girls, and you can't lose.

Incidentally, the New Republic is catching up on the angle, even if Bruce Bliven does utter a few words on the subject now and then: "They get busy and fewer." Recently the New Republic carried a story about espionage in the aircraft factories in Los Angeles. Evidently our navy and army, or whoever has charge of our air program, just don't know what is going on. It seems, according to one "John Hamilton" author of the article, that YOU CAN'T GET A JOB IN AN AIRCRAFT FACTORY IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA UNLESS YOU HAVE A THICK, GUTTERAL, GERMAN ACCENT. Unemployed Germans, take note.

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