

SOCIALIST PARTY IS FOR—
Labor Unity.
30-Hr. Week and 40-Hr. Pay.
Organization of the Unorganized.
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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NO BLACKOUT FOR U. S.!

The Socialist party and the Young People's Socialist League stand united in their determination to keep America out of war.

The workers of America have no stake in the tragic conflict for empire and commercial advantage which masquerades as a crusade for liberty and democracy in Europe.

The immediate cause of this war is the resort to armed force by the German dictator, leader of an intolerant and brutal cult. He has gained the hatred of workers throughout the world for his part in this war.

But this does not make the war a "good" war; it is simply a new and brutal phase of the long-standing conflict between rival imperialisms and clashing sets of national interests.

The Treaty of Versailles may have ended the military hostilities of 1914, but it like-wise gave Europe a peace in accordance with the imperial interests of England and France, now exploited by Hitler to rebuild the

German empire. This peace we Socialists denounced as the "peace to end peace."

The sins of the capitalist democracies paved the way for Hitler's triumph. These "democracies" were partners with the dictators in the destruction of Ethiopia, the Fascist conquest of democratic Spain, and the partition of Czechoslovakia. In the hour of Czechoslovakia's need, the Poland they now defend took by force her slice of booty.

Victory by either set of imperialist powers will no more solve Europe's problems in 1939 than in 1918.

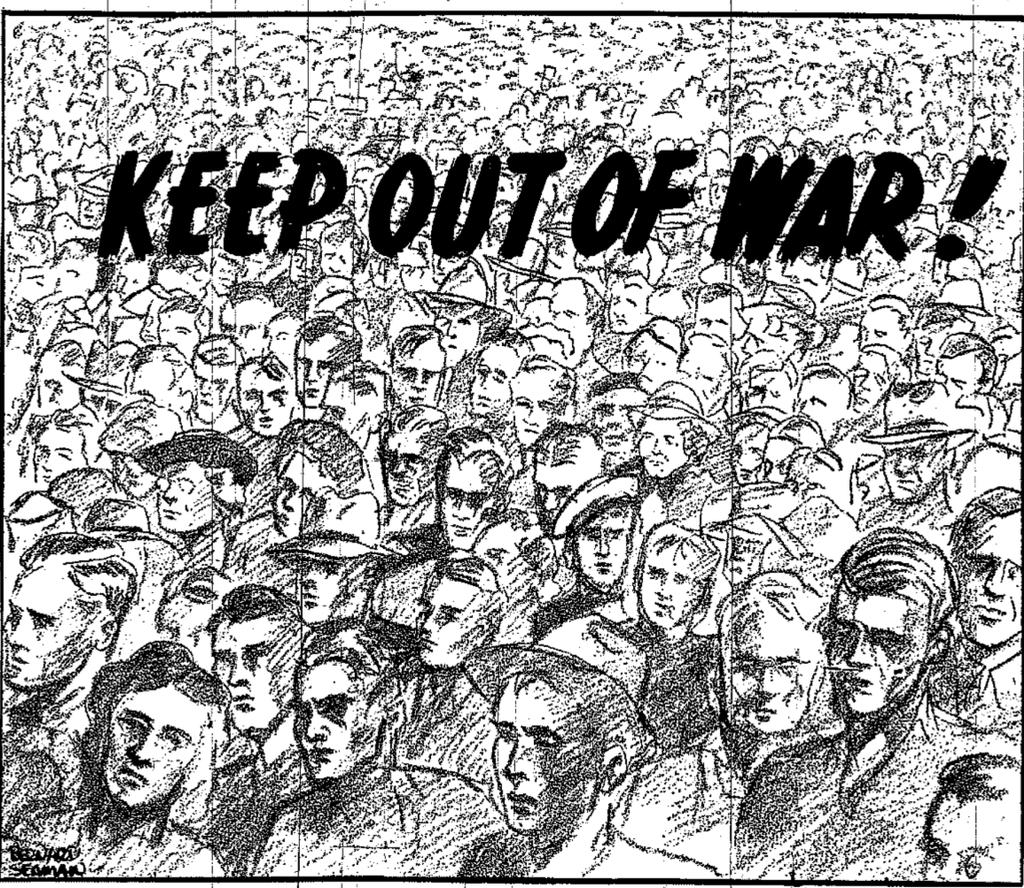
The one hope of Europe and of mankind is that the masses of Europeans shall see to it that the men and the forces responsible on both sides for beginning this war shall not end it; that it will be the people, not the Daladiers, Chamberlains, Hitlers, and Stalins, who will write the peace—a peace which can establish a United Socialist States of Europe, wherein exploitation by

private capitalism and the totalitarian states shall be forever abolished. We declare our support of every force in Europe working toward these ends.

We in America must stay out. This is our first task, first duty, and dedication. It is not inevitable that America be drawn in—provided we keep America from war trade, loans, and credits, provided we strengthen neutrality legislation, provided we build stronger organizations on the economic front, provided we guard our civil liberties, provided we begin NOW to lay the basis for a Socialist world where war is no longer necessary.

Let the millions of us who want peace rise united! Let those who will be called upon to do the dying and the killing affirm in ever-swelling chorus: "There is today no state whose cause demands the spilling of the blood of Americans. This is not our war, we want no part of it. KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!"

American Labor Speaks



Latest Peace Bulletins!

CALL Bureau May Be Moved

By a Foreign Correspondent
BRUSSELS, Belgium—Your correspondents' plans are being made day by day but we aren't running to cover. We may have to go to Oslo or Stockholm but for the time being we are sitting tight. We will keep sending as many articles as possible to the CALL.

No More War!

BRUSSELS, Belgium—Nearly a quarter of a million Jewish nationalists staged a powerful demonstration here Aug. 25, insistently yelling "no more war" to the last man.

Green Opposes Entanglement

DULUTH, Minn. — William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in a Labor day address here called for keeping America out of war.
"There must be no European entanglement and no involvement in European wars," Green declared. "We call on our government to scrupulously avoid the commission of any overt act, to maintain a strictly neutral attitude and to avoid a tragic and unhappy experience through which our people passed during the World war."

Marceau Pivert in U. S.

NEW YORK CITY — "The Socialist Workers and Peasants' party of France will fight for the peace to the end of its ability," Marceau Pivert, French Socialist leader asserted to a CALL correspondent last week.
The French labor leader is in the United States to attend a conference of the Independent Labor League.

Auto Workers Flay War

DETROIT — Despite a tremendous downpour, more than 30,000 marched in AFL and CIO parades in Detroit Labor day. The CIO, according to the Detroit Free Press, was loose with a vigorous anti-war campaign in signs asserting that "War will kill democracy here." "We can't live in battleships," and "War will only fatten the bosses."

Defense League Flays Hoosier Hitler for Breaking Labor Strike

NEW YORK—Close on the heels of a flossy pamphlet put out by "Paul V. McNutt for President" which contends that McNutt was a friend of Hitler during his term as governor of Indiana, the Workers Defense League issued a leaflet assailing McNutt's labor record. The leaflet plans to distribute 100,000 copies.

The title, "Keep Labor's Freedom Out of the White House," leaflet recounts the story of McNutt's strike in Terra Haute, Indiana. It states that McNutt's claim that he was a friend of Hitler is based on the text of the general statement in the leaflet: "I have always known its author to be a friend, however, not during an election campaign when politicians seek the support of every vote, every picket line and every labor union, every approaching campaign of which has already brought forth

KEEP OUT OF WAR!

'Red Front' Greeting Formerly Forbidden, Now O. K. in Reich

BERLIN—The Russian Communists are tops today in government offices of Nazi Germany.
Civil service officials meeting each other say jokingly: "Heil Hitler—Rot Front!" "Heil Hitler—Red Front!"
A few weeks ago such a greeting would have meant the concentration camp.

Joe Worker Begins Paying Cost of War

CHICAGO, Ill.—If Joe Worker wants to know who's going to pay for the blood bath in Europe he can get a quick answer by comparing the price of today's groceries with that of last week's.

John L. Lewis Flays War

OGDEN, Utah—John L. Lewis, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, attacked war mongers in his Labor day address. Said Lewis:
"Labor in America wants no war nor any part of war. Labor wants the right to work and live—not the privilege of dying by gunshot or poison gas to sustain the mental errors of current statesmen. . . . Let those who will seek the votes of workers of America be prepared to guarantee jobs for all Americans and freedom from foreign wars."

Posters

BASLE, Switzerland — Reports from this border city indicate that the German underground Socialist movement is active agitating against war. Posters have appeared on the walls of several Bavarian cities reading: "Down With Hitler."

Send a dollar today for an annual sub to the SOCIALIST CALL.

Seize Belgian Revolutionist

BRUSSELS, Belgium—The labor newspaper, Peuple, reported Sept. 2 that Walter Daugne, a revolutionary anti-war fighter, had been arrested on charges of publishing posters inviting soldiers to participate in a social revolution.

Socialist Youth Against War

America's Duty in the Present Crisis

By Norman Thomas

The blow we have dreaded so long has fallen. Europe is at war. In a world which we have called civilized, the greatest cities and all their treasures lie at the mercy of destruction rained from the air. So far as possible, children have been sent out of the cities which men once had established for safety and convenience. No man can tell what will be left of Europe; of its civilization; of its mighty empires when this war is over.

The immediate occasion of the war is, of course, the resort to armed force by the German dictator, the fanatic leader of a cult which has proclaimed to the world by word and deed its intolerance, its brutality, and its Machiavellian glorification of bad faith.

Such slight possibilities as might have existed of negotiated peace before war had begun, were frustrated by the understandingly unyielding suspicion of the authoritarian rulers of the Polish state—a state which only a year ago, when Czechoslovakia was partitioned, played jockey to Hitler's lion, and in alliance with the force which it now resists, grabbed its share of the booty.

Hitler's Guilt
This statement of the immediate occasion of war is an inadequate analysis of the situation. Great is Hitler's guilt, it by no means follows that this war is a conflict between dictatorship and democracy. It is a conflict between rival imperialisms all of which have won and maintained their empires by a greater or less degree of force and fraud.

The last war was allegedly—and

Greets Yipsels



Prof. George S. Counts of Columbia University who defeated the Stalinist Jerome Davis for the presidency of the American Federation of Teachers. Professor Counts sent felicitations to the national convention of the Young People's Socialist League last week.

cause, or that at a new Versailles, after some far worse suffering, we shall have a power and wisdom we so conspicuously lacked before.

This is no simple conflict which we are asked to join. It is a game of completely cynical power politics. Had we fought for Czechoslovakia a year ago, we might have helped to partition Poland which helped to partition her. Only a few weeks ago it was the Communists who were the most vociferous war-mongers among us. Their one thought was that the United States should help to save Stalin's Russia by fighting Hitler's Germany.

National Convention In Session When War Breaks Out in Europe

Delegates Cheer Norman Thomas; Appeal to American Youth

CLEVELAND, Ohio — It was a portentous chance—or possibly fate—that the tenth national convention of the Young Peoples' Socialist League met in this city at the moment when war blacked out Europe last week-end.

The 180 young comrades, who had started out on the morning of Sept. 1 to hitch hike or drive to Cleveland, traveled in an atmosphere of war news, of bombardment of Polish towns.

In response to the war that crashed around them they declared, "Let the millions of us who want peace rise united; let the youth who and the killing affirm in ever swelling chorus: 'This is not our war, we want no part of it. KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!'"

The statement on the war crisis was ratified as the final business of an exciting convention. The ratification was accompanied by heart-tugging speeches of support by delegates from every part of the country and by prolonged applause and the solemn singing of the International.

Demonstration
This demonstration was the climax to three tense days. One of the major features of the convention was the parade of delegates and visitors to the public square. An anti-war rally was held while thousands of Clevelanders passed by in the Sunday rush. It continued on Sunday evening when a huge mass meeting heard Norman

Turn to Page Three, Column Seven

Turn to Page Two, Column One

Miners Presidents Reply to Socialist Plea for Unity

Accept Without Reservation, Says UMWA--Up to Rank and File, Says Progressive Head

Last week the national executive committee of the Socialist party, meeting in New York city, addressed a joint letter to President Ray Edmundson of the United Mine Workers of Illinois (CIO) and President Dave Reed of the Progressive Mine Workers of America (AFL), suggesting that they take the initiative in reuniting the ranks of the Illinois miners' unions. The full text of the letter was carried in the Sept. 2 issue of the SOCIALIST CALL.

The letter, signed by Norman Thomas, national chairman, and Travers Clement, national secretary, emphasized the election of officers, democratic conventions, compensation for the orphans and widows of the mine strike, justice for the miners who lost their jobs and freedom of mine prisoners as conditions which might lead to unity. The Illinois miners rebelled in 1932 against a wage cut which has since kept their ranks divided. Violence, bitter legal struggles and much suffering have marked the Illinois coal fields in the last seven years. Recently, however, the two miners' unions launched a national campaign for the release of five young miners who are serving long prison terms at the Menard, Ill., penitentiary on charges growing out of the mine conflict. Socialists in various parts of the country have been aiding in this campaign. It was in the belief that the two unions could inspire American labor generally to unity by composing their differences that the Socialist party addressed its appeal.

The following letters are the replies of the presidents of the two unions:

Mr. Norman Thomas, National Chairman, Mr. Travers Clement, National Secretary, The Socialist Party of the U. S. A., 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

I herewith acknowledge receipt of your letter dated of Aug. 26, setting forth at length your views and ideas relating to the hardships and suffering caused by the division within the ranks of the employees of the mining industry of Illinois and the benefits which would accrue to the men who work in the mines if unity would be effected upon a basis of honor, justice, and fair dealing. I deeply appreciate your expression of satisfaction and gratification on the results obtained by joint action on behalf of the young men who are incarcerated due to the unfortunate and regrettable circumstance at Duquoin, Ill. To obtain the objective as stated in the original resolution adopted by the executive board of District 12, United Mine Workers of America and sent to the Honorable Henry Horner, governor of the state of Illinois, and to the board of pardons and paroles, we pledge our continued support and co-operation.

We join with you in deploring the division in the miners' ranks of Illinois and state to you that the reactionary forces of political interests and employers have and are taking advantage of this situation at the expense of the men employed in the industry. I wish to state to you that the officials and members of the United Mine Workers of America definitely desire unification of the ranks of the Illinois miners. To effectuate this objective we do not intend to follow a short-sighted or a selfish policy. We accept without reservation your suggestion that we negotiate with the officials of District No. 1, Progressive Mine Workers of America, of which Dave Reed is president, or with such officers or representatives of individual local unions to the end that a settlement will be effectuated.

I agree with you that, in my judgment, an agreement upon negotiations of the points at issue would be heartily received by the rank and file of the membership of both unions and would be the most constructive labor day greeting to the miners of Illinois that they have received for many, many years. In closing I wish to thank you personally, also members of the national executive committee and through you and them, the membership of the Socialist party of the United States for the interest you have shown for a solution of this controversy. I am ready to meet at any time with Dave Reed, president of District No. 1, Progressive Mine Workers of America, or such representatives as he may select to immediately work out the details for such negotiations.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) RAY EDMUNDSON, President, United Mine Workers of America, District 12, Springfield, Ill.

Mr. Norman Thomas, Nat'l Chairman, The Socialist Party of the U. S. A., 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Mr. Thomas:

This will acknowledge receipt of your communication of Aug. 26 which was adopted by the executive committee of the Socialist party of the United States.

In replying to same, let me assure you that I, as an individual, concur wholeheartedly in what was contained in your letter. Division in the ranks of labor is one of the most destructive things that can take place in the labor movement. I, for many a year, have been an advocate of one union, one enemy and one purpose to be filled by organized labor. No one will be more gratified than I when this desire is fulfilled. I hope I will live to see this brought about.

True, there has been a great deal of strife in the miners' organizations in the state of Illinois for the past seven years which created a tremendous burden, sorrow and hardship on the coal diggers. This possibly had a bad effect on the entire labor movement of the United States.

I will devote my energy and ability to bring about peace and unity within the ranks of labor, not only in the coal industry, but also in all other industries in order that the workers will be able to more effectively obtain the things that they so sorely are in need of, namely, better remuneration, shorter hours, and better working conditions. It is only through united action those things can be obtained.

My theory of the labor movement, has always, or at least for many years, has been this: If it is necessary for the workers to be organized, it likewise follows that they should be organized in the most effective way possible. That, in my opinion, should be on a compact, liberal and democratic basis.

While I realize that unity is very essential, there is one point still more essential than unity, and that is the program on which they unite. We have complete unity in the totalitarian countries. That form of unity is not a benefit to the workers. So I say again, unite on the proper program and I can endorse this wholeheartedly, but I cannot endorse any program that will continually divide and disrupt the workers.

Let us say, for your benefit, that the Du Quoin Boys' case is not the only thing that the United Mine Workers and the Progressive Mine Workers have united on in the past few months. There are other things that the miners in this state were confronted with and that we jointly agreed and have taken action on to eliminate them, namely, the multiple shift, shooting-on shift, partial examination of mines, and recently, the last, we united on the security of the miners under the compensation act. Those are all matters of vital interest to the coal miners of this state. Our co-operation on those matters has been friendly and honestly executed.

As far as unity of both organizations at this time is concerned, let me point out the fact that the Progressive Mine Workers of America is a very democratic organization. The powers of the officials and the executive board are limited. I, as president of the Progressive Mine Workers of America or the executive board, do not have the authority to call any conference for the purpose of bringing about unity of these two groups. This power is vested exclusively in the rank and file who must be assembled in a convention and cannot be brought about in any other way. Let us hope that hatred, fear, bitterness, and suspicion will be eliminated from the minds of the coal miners to a point where somewhere in the near future, they will be able to get together and agree on a program that will bring about this unity that you so much desire on a liberal and democratic basis where the rights of the workers will be protected at all times.

With best wishes, I beg to remain
Fraternally yours,
(Signed) DAVE REED, President, Progressive Mine Workers of America, Springfield, Ill.

Education in Imperialism



School children test the seating capacity of a concrete bomb proof in St. James Park, London. Similar shelters have been built in Hyde Park and other garden squares throughout the metropolitan area. —Federated Press Photo

On the Map With the Socialist Party

N. E. C. Meeting

At a zero hour in history, with the world shaking from the impact of the Russian-Nazi trade agreement and so-called non-aggression pact and the rapid-fire events leading up to the second World War, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party met in New York City, Aug. 29-28.

In such an atmosphere and against such a background, it was inevitable that the war crisis would take precedence over all other items on the agenda of the 3-day meeting.

Anti-War Statement

Anticipating early outbreak of war, the NEC drafted a skeleton statement to be elaborated later by Comrades Thomas and Hamilton, in consultation with other members of the NEC, and released immediately upon the beginning of armed conflict. This statement will appear in full in the next issue of the CALL.

In executive session, the NEC also took up the vital matter of party operation in war time. In relation to the Stalin-Hitler pact, a statement was prepared and immediately released to the press. This declaration was featured as an editorial in the Labor Day issue of the CALL.

Once-a-Week CALL

If anything were needed to bring home to the NEC and the party generally the necessity of a weekly

In Memoriam

The Socialist Call has been informed of the deaths of Mrs. Mary Cochran, Wichita, Kan., and George W. Epper, Bellingham, Wash.

Comrade Cochran, according to Pearlina Briggs, local Wichita secretary, was a member of the Socialist party for many years. Rosalee E. Thompson, of the Bellingham local writes that over a hundred comrades, relatives and friends gathered at the residence of Comrade Rosser. One of the speakers hailed Comrade Rosser as a highly revered citizen who devoted a lifetime in the service of humanity.

The Socialist party of the United States extends its deep sympathy to the relatives and friends of the bereaved and it fully appreciates the services the two comrades rendered to make this a better world.

Win Slow-Down

COLUMBUS, Ind.—A "creeping paralysis" strike blocked attempts of the powerful Morgan Packing company to force through a wage cut here.

When workers in the tomato and corn cannery reported on Aug. 24, they found an announcement of a 20 per cent cut in wages, immediately all but two quit.

When the night crew came on, they consented to go to work since none of the 650 cannery workers here are organized. But they started a "slow down" strike which clogged the plant with uncased cans and paralyzed activity.

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CALL, the rapid-fire developments in the international situation did the trick. A special press assessment of 25¢ per member to be levied during the month of September was authorized. Assessment stamps are now being prepared and will be available to all state organizations, locals and branches in the near future.

1940 Campaign

To investigate the possibilities of a 1940 campaign conducted under some such slogan as "Labor's Candidates in 1940," a special committee was set up. This committee will explore the practicability of interesting the more militant labor, farm and liberal groups in a concerted labor campaign on a basic anti-imperialist program of resistance to war, to political and economic reaction, adequate work and relief program, a referendum on war, etc.—this campaign to be centered in presidential and vice-presidential candidates owing no allegiance whatever to capitalist parties.

If there is not sufficient response for such a broad labor campaign, the Socialist party, according to the decision of the NEC, shall proceed with its own nominations and its own vigorous independent campaign.

Recruiting Drive

During the three closing months of the year beginning Oct. 1, the party will conduct a selective recruiting drive. The quotas of the different sections will be set at an early meeting of the National Action committee. The national secretary was instructed to prepare thoroughly for this drive with special literature, bulletins to locals and branches on methods of recruiting, and frequent reports on progress.

Reports on the plans for fall campaigns of the various party committees—labor, anti-war, international labor solidarity, workers' defense, negro committee, etc., were discussed at considerable length.

Greetings

Edna S. Seligman
Baltimore, Md.

LOUIS (LINN) RESTAURANT

HOME COOKING—HUNGARIAN STYLE
Reg. Dinner 50c Supper 55c Luncheon 35c
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JOINT BOARD DRESS & WAISTMAKERS' UNION, I. L. G. W. U.

BEN EVRY, President
JULIUS HOCHMAN, General Manager
PHILLIP KAPP, Secretary-Treasurer

Candidate McNutt A Labor Enemy Says Defense Groups

Continued From Page One

was deemed a non-partisan, militant organization to defend the rights of these workers, the Workers' Defense League was born. Labor's stand at Terre Haute was but an incident in Indiana's labor history. There have been other historic strikes in Indiana—the strike of the mine workers in Sullivan county in 1933, the strike of the women and girls of the shirt factories in New Albany and Jeffersonville in 1936. Ask any of these strikers how friendly McNutt was to labor—and they will tell you that because they dared strike for a living wage, they were forced to face the Indiana National guard, sent in to break the strike by Paul McNutt.

Such was the power concentrated into the hands of Maj. Earl Weismar, whom Paul McNutt sent in as head of the National guard, Major Weismar, who boasted of his dictatorial power, shut down the labor temple and jailed strike leaders. The strike committee was forbidden to meet. More than 150 workers were arrested for trivial offenses, held a day to three weeks and then released without trial. Machine guns were mounted on the roofs of the factory to intimidate the strikers. Tear gas and vomit gas were used to break up peaceful meetings.

Strikers were arrested on the street and taken by the military company officials in the plant. They were told to go back to work. All but four or five refused—and were thrown into jail because they would not scab.

Paul McNutt has no claim to the friendship of organized labor; he has earned its undying enmity. It was then that the Indianapolis Union, oldest labor paper in the United States, wrote: "Labor charges that a continuation of the government of such disgraceful conditions will forfeit for him all the confidence and respect of the law-abiding people of the state of Indiana, and PLACE HIM IN THE CLASS WITH THE STALINS, HITLERS AND MUSSOLINIS that

But if he tried to hold a meeting of workers as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, or urged strikers to exercise their legal right of peaceful picketing, he was arrested by the police and held under military law!

This meant that he was denied the right to seek bail or consult a lawyer. He was held without

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Down With Imperialistic Wars!

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SOCIALIST REVIEW

SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER
4 EXTRA PAGES

THE WAR IN EUROPE

Articles by Norman Thomas, Lillian Symes, A. J. Muste, Herbert Zam

"After the Soviet Munich"
By Herbert Zam

"The Challenge of 1940"
By Travers Clement

"The Need for Labor Unity"
By Joel Seidman

"Roosevelt and Latin America"
By S. Fanny Simon

"Progressive Mexico, Backward U. S. A."
By Clarence Senler

"British Policy in Palestine"
By Bezael Sherman

"Contradictions of Fascism"
By Otto Bauer

Book Reviews

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'Waiting for a Street Car'

KENOSHA, Wis.—Saturday afternoon crowd were surprised and delighted here to see 50 young and pretty girls gathered in front of the Ritz and Gateway beauty shops.

The girls are members of Beauticians' union 397B. When asked why they were gathered in front of the two shops, the only ones a Kenosha, not signed up with the union, they replied: "We're waiting for a street car."

When a skeptic asked if "they weren't picketing the shops" he was scornfully informed that picketing was against the law and you don't think we would break the law, do you?"

Another skeptic pointed out that there were no street car in Kenosha; trackless trolleys having replaced them some years ago. "Patiently one of the youngest and prettiest of the girls explained that a street car labeled "Unionism" was sure to arrive at the two shops soon and the girls were there to welcome it. After waiting over two hours the

girls decided that more Kenoshans would have to be informed of the bad service if the street car "Unionism" was ever to arrive at the two shops.

Now all union organizations of the city are being personally contacted in an effort to improve the "street car" service.



Are We Mice or Are We Socialists?

With the outbreak of a new world war, the Socialist party faces a crucial test. How sound is our party? How well-prepared are we to meet a new world situation? Have we the ability to keep a cool head in emergencies—to think and then . . . swiftly, decisively . . . to act? And, above all, have we "guts"?

These questions will be answered in the days immediately ahead. On how they are answered depends the future of the Socialist party, U. S. A.

One thing should be self-evident to every party member. Now is the time, if ever, for the utmost personal sacrifice in time, energy, money.

With this issue, the CALL returns to regular weekly publication. It must be kept there no matter what the sacrifice involved. We cannot turn back now. Every dime, every possible dollar, hundreds of subs MUST be kept pouring into the CALL office.

Every member must see to it that he is in good standing, keep up dues and assessments. The national office sustaining fund must be increased. Every pledge must be met promptly and every member who can possibly do so must pledge from \$1 to \$10 per month. This will not take money away from the CALL. Every cent in excess of the bare requirements of office maintenance during this critical period will go to the CALL.

At the same time locals, branches and state organizations must be strengthened. There is no conflict in these varied demands. They all go hand in hand and are part and parcel of an active, effective, and militant party.

It is high time now for any one who has been stunned by the on-rush of the very events which we so long have predicted to snap out of it. It is now or never for all of us.

Certainly even in this period of chaos we have a clear-cut answer to one question—the question which heads this editorial. We're Socialists! Moreover, we're out to let this cock-eyed world know it!

Intern J. P. Morgan and Company!

During the World war J. P. Morgan and company represented the British government as financial and purchasing agent in this country.

When J. P. Morgan got off the Queen Mary last week he was asked to comment on reports that the British government was considering reappointing his firm as official agent.

"I can't say one word. I know nothing about it," he replied, but after a moment's thought he added, "It would be a natural thing, if they wanted an American agent, that they would call upon us to repeat our performances."

We remember your performance, Mr. Morgan, as well as the British do, but not as gratefully. We remember your part in the propaganda. We remember your part in the selling and the financing and the part you played in getting this country into the war. And we remember the consequences of the war.

It was a good performance, J. P., for the British empire and we don't imagine that you personally lost much on the business. But the workers and farmers of this country did lose on the business, as we do in every imperialist war. One such performance was enough, J. P. We aren't demanding an encore.

There is a rule of international law that the war equipment of belligerent countries can be interned if found in a neutral country, and kept throughout the fight. The Morgan firm is British war equipment. It ought to be interned in this country and kept out of the fight.

Labor's Fifth Column

There is only one force capable of keeping America out of a long war in Europe and that is the combined strength of the organized workers and farmers.

Labor day, the heads of the two powerful trade union movements in this country, John L. Lewis and William Green, sounded the keynote of American labor's opposition to war. The Farmers' union and the Railroad Brotherhoods have in recent years consistently opposed military and other warlike measures.

Green has long been an advocate of keeping America out of foreign entanglements, and Lewis' blast against the war makers indicated that the CIO is steering clear of Stalinist influence on foreign policy.

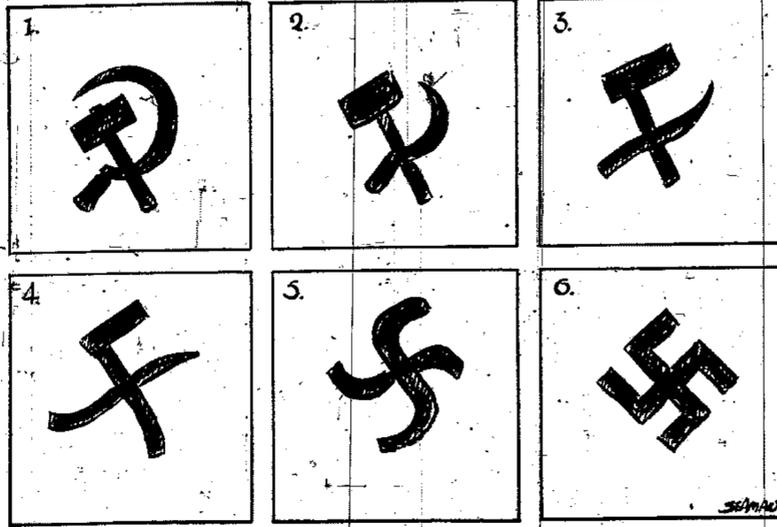
It is a known fact among those politically wise that the Stalinists have written the foreign policy of many CIO unions. Under the guise of fighting Fascism and Nazism, the Communists were able to pull the wool over the eyes of honest rank and file delegates.

Stalinist concentration in auto, steel, aviation and other industries was no accident. It didn't just happen. It was in line with the clear objectives of the Kremlin. American Stalinists fought, bought and robbed their way into key positions in these industries to do one of two things: to deliver labor to American imperialism if it lined up on the side of Russia in any war, or to sabotage it if the lineup did not suit Hitler's new ally—Stalin.

Last week, for instance, the Stalinist Trojan Horse policy worked again. The Communist line was written into the resolution adopted by the United Electrical Workers' (CIO) convention on the international situation. Only a Communist could have written a resolution on current world problems without taking note of the Nazi-Soviet pact. To have mentioned the pact would have meant to denounce it for that is precisely American labor's attitude. The Daily Worker praised the resolution highly and it played up James Carey, that union's president who is also secretary of the national CIO.

American labor will have to take stock of the fifth column within its ranks if it is to successfully keep America out of war.

The Stalin Evolution



The Myth of War Prosperity

BY MAYNARD KREUGER

The radio brings you in rapid-fire succession tense-voiced news commentators from London, Warsaw, Berlin, Paris. But when you turn off the radio, if you are like most people, you must be thinking: "What does war in Europe mean to the economic situation here in the U. S. A.?"

The man in the street remembers the war boom of 1914-18. The business executive remembers the severe economic dislocation during the first six months of the war. They may both be wrong this time.

The immediate shock to finance and industry in this country will probably not be as deep, or as long as in 1914 for two reasons. One is that this war has been anticipated for some time and anticipation of war produces in advance some of the effects of war itself. The other reason is that with the Reconstruction Finance corporation, the Federal Reserve system, the Federal Deposit Insurance corporation and the generally increased government control of economic affairs, the authorities in Washington have a much better chance to cushion the shock than in 1914.

Don't Expect War to Bring Back Prosperity

But the people who remember only that war brings prosperity are in for some keen disappointment. Here are some things to keep in your head and on your tongue.

There will no boom in cotton or tobacco for the South. The increase in war uses for cotton is not enough to offset the fact that people postpone buying clothes during a big war even in neutral countries. In 1914 cotton went down and stayed down. As for tobacco, the British and French troops, and civilians as well, will probably have to burn their tongues on empire-grown stuff.

Wheat and steel and copper and oil will probably go up. Employment in those lines may increase. Wages may even go up for those who produce these commodities.

The New Deal's present program of building 500 new merchant ships during a 10-year

period will undoubtedly be speeded up. (Incidentally, this merchant marine program means that if Roosevelt comes out for "cash and carry" he won't really mean it.)

But, you may ask, doesn't the economic effect of the war in this country depend on what the United States policy on foreign trade is going to be? The answer is that it does depend in part on whether exports to belligerents are allowed, but it depends even more on domestic policy.

Only Boom Will Be in Cost of Living

The last congress gave F. D. R. everything he wanted for military and naval and aerial expansion, except the appropriation for Guam. Now, with war in Europe no longer hypothetical, Republicans and Democrats will unite to put this country on an armaments economy basis. An administration that has gone so slowly on the unemployment problem that it is falling off its bicycle, will now grab the opportunity of making a dent in the problem by expanding war industries for both home use and export.

This type of industrial expansion is deadly dangerous. It will appear to be "prosperity," but people can't eat airplanes, nor wear them, nor live in them. Expansion of the war industries will not increase the standard of living. If it makes a dent in unemployment at all it will be by Hitler's own method of armaments economics.

The biggest boom the war will bring in this country will be the boom in the cost of living. The farmer remembers two dollar wheat, but he may forget that he paid for farm implements three times what he paid before. The worker remembers high wages, but he may forget that sugar went to 10 times what it was before.

About war "prosperity" there are two things that are certain. One is that it is sure to be followed by worse depression. The other is that even at the time, what the worker and farmer get in increased wages and prices, they lose in the increased cost of living.

There is no such thing as war "prosperity."

Stalin's Doublecross

When we warned our readers over a year ago and again last spring of the possibility of a deal between Stalin and Hitler, we were met with ridicule and abuse.

The Communists in particular said that by suggesting that Stalin would hold out his hand to Hitler, we were playing the game of the "Munichmen—the Chamberlains and the Axis," and suggested that we were doing it because deep down underneath somewhere we had a real desire to aid Fascism. It develops that not we, but Stalin, is aiding Fascism.

We had hoped that Litvinoff's dismissal meant a retreat from the disastrous collective security policy which led to Munich. We had hoped that Stalin would be forced to admit the error of Soviet foreign policy from the time it first started kow-towing to bourgeois governments, soft-pedaling the revolution, and building popular fronts.

Some Socialists studied the first announcements of the Soviet-Nazi "non-aggression" pact with interest. Any favorable sentiment was quickly shattered when the nature of the agreement became public. It is in no sense a non-aggression pact.

It is not a pact which isolates Russia from the conflict between the rival imperialisms, which we would welcome. It is a pact in which Stalin promises benevolent neutrality if Germany attacks Poland, and is involved in war with other countries as a result.

Real Socialist Policy

Benevolent neutrality, coupled with the trade agreement signed Aug. 21 means greatly strengthening the Nazis, and this we never have advocated. Real neutrality, coupled with a strict boycott on German goods, and a refusal to sell them the raw materials they need so badly would have been a truly Socialist and revolutionary policy.

A responsible revolutionary gov-

ernment would have admitted the error of the collective security policy, and asked for the approval of its constituents in a drastic change of policy toward isolation. After debate and a vote it would either have gone ahead to put into effect the decision of the majority, or falling to gain the confidence of that majority, would have made way for those who enjoyed such confidence.

Pact Fools Allies

The contrast between such a democratic procedure and that which was followed throws a searchlight on the methods of dictatorship. There were only the vaguest of hints in the Soviet press, government speeches, etc., to indicate any drastic change in foreign policy.

The Communists the world over were whooping it up just as hard as ever for a military alliance between Russia, France and England, and for us to lend that alliance a friendly hand. England and France in good faith sent military missions to Moscow, which supposedly were mapping out joint action if Germany should attack Poland. The day before Russia signed her trade pact with Germany, the well informed New York "Times" still had Russia rather securely fixed in the "democratic orbit."

International tension increased, as Hitler's "war of nerves" went into high gear. Speculation still existed as to whether or not the democracies would appease Hitler again—but even such speculation was dying down, as it became apparent that Chamberlain and Daladier were the prisoners of countries resolved to fight before suffering further humiliation and defeat.

Chamberlain a Piker

Just at this precise moment, when a great show of firmness might have stopped Hitler "once again, as it did when Poland mobilized last spring, Stalin went in for appeasement in a way that makes Chamberlain look like a piker.

First came the trade pact, by

which Russia promised to send Germany the raw materials she needs for warfare no less than she needs men and guns, to the tune of 180,000,000 marks' worth in the next two years—this when the Comincs here are shouting that we should refuse to sell such goods to Germany. Russia also is to buy 200,000,000 marks' worth of German goods, while the C. Pers here picket stores selling German goods.

Next came the "non-aggression" pact. This goes far beyond the non-aggression treaties Russia has signed with many other countries. It pledges her to "refrain from every act of force" against Germany; to give no other country aid with German support of any kind; and does not permit her to join any anti-Axis front. It carefully avoids the clause included in other non-aggression treaties to the effect that if either should aggress against a third country, the whole treaty would be void.

Stalin Plays Ball

In effect, the trade agreement and the benevolent neutrality pact place Russia in the position of a neutral; a neutral pledged not to help Poland and her allies, but to give important economic aid to Germany. It practically amounts to Stalin's saying to Hitler, "Go ahead, old boy, I'm not stopping you. And here are a couple of black-jacks, in case you need them."

Readers of the CALL do not need to be reminded that pacts are maintained only so long as they serve the interests of any state. This means that either Germany or Russia could violate the treaty tomorrow.

They won't, though. The announcement of the treaty has so weakened the democratic powers, and so demoralized the supporters of Stalin the world over, that a right-about-face in the near future is almost unthinkable. Stalin has decided to play ball with Hitler as long as he finds it profitable, and since no piker can even reach him from the disheartened faithful, he won't change tomorrow in this. Hitler will abide by the pact in the immediate future because it is all to his advantage to do so.

Later on, when this pact becomes inconvenient, both members of the unholy partnership are such past

Liberal and Left Wing Press in Review

BY LILLIAN SYMES

We had intended to deal with the Communist press, official and unofficial, in the same general terms with which we have discussed the other liberal and labor journals. But the events of the past two weeks preclude such generalities. The performance of the CP press between the signing of the Nazi-Soviet trade pact down to the day before yesterday so outshines anything it has staged in the past that one can hardly do justice to the subject in a single column.

The designation, "Communist press" covers an enormous territory—all the way from the party's three official English dailies and its numerous language organs, to its litter of weeklies and monthlies; all the way from the official New Masses to the unofficial magazines of its numerous front groups—Science and Society, voice of the Bolshevized scientific periphery; Fight, of the "peace and democracy" fellow-travelers; Equality, the new anti-Coughlinite organ (which recently launched a vicious attack on Norman Thomas); TAC, the new and very resplendent stage-screen-literary-musical organ. (The editorial boards of the last two magazines include the same creme-de-la-creme of the Hollywood and Manhattan fellow-travelers—Dorothy Parker, Dashiell Hammet and similar serious thinkers.)

The Guild Reporter

While the Guild Reporter, organ of the Newspaper guild, has no official connection with the party, it too manages to follow the party line pretty faithfully—or did up to the past week or two. We haven't seen it since Heywood Brown cracked.

However, it has been to the three official dailies and the New Masses that one has had to look for guidance in the present international crisis.

We are all familiar by this time with Mr. Browder's ringing statement of a month or so ago to the effect that the possibility of a Soviet-Nazi pact was as remote as his own election to the chairmanship of the chamber of commerce.

Browder's Dilemma

On the day following the signing of the pact, when every newspaper in the country was devoting pages to the subject, the Daily Worker—and, of course, the Midwest Record and the People's World—were struck dumb. On the following day, when the line had not yet arrived from Moscow, Mr. Browder assured the newspaper reporters and the stricken readers of the Daily Worker that there was nothing to get excited about.

This was just the old, familiar non-aggression pact, with the usual "escape clauses" which Russia had signed so often in the past. It interfered in no way with the Franco-British-Soviet alliance and furthermore "THE PACT WAS A BODY BLOW TO HITLER!"

On Tuesday night came the terms of the pact over the radio and the next morning half of New York was fighting for copies of the Daily Worker to see what Mr. Browder would say now. For not only was there no escape clause, the Franco-British-Soviet alliance had been kicked sky high.

There was undoubtedly some intensive brainwork in the wee, small hours at West

Thirteenth Street, for Obviously Mr. Browder knew less about what was going on in Moscow than did the editor of the New York Times. For a day the Daily Worker fumbled the new rationalization—1,500 words of peared. The pact was now a BODY BLOW FOR PEACE and a COMPLETE EXPOSURE OF THE NEW BETRAYAL PLANS OF THE MUNICHERS.

In short, by staging his own Munich, had beaten Chamberlain to the punch. Chamberlain had "betrayed democracy" but had saved the peace of the world.

A few days later, the pact was ratified by the Soviet Congress and four hours after ratification, Hitler invaded Poland. The ratification had been the "go-ahead signal" for *The Theological Minds*

The Daily Worker's third rationalization of the subject had been blown to bits. But this phased the Communist press—or the Communist membership? Not on your life. Sure its course has become too contrived, its "logic" too devious for anyone but a party to follow. The Communist press, in the past year or two has been the most active war-mongering force in the entire country has now become the apostle — at least headlines—of "world peace."

But while the American CP press is reporting the "president's neutrality proclamation" (which is not, of course, a neutrality proclamation) all French Communists are enlisting "defend democracy" and English Communists are enrolling behind the Chamberlain cause. All of this while the Soviet Union is furnishing Germany with war material and a Soviet military mission in Berlin is undoubtedly the basis for a military alliance!

Stalin, the Beloved

Does this mean that the Communist press of the world have cut themselves loose from Moscow? Not at all. Stalin is still the loved leader, the savior of peace, in the American, British, and French Communist press.

The new "line" is merely more devious than the old. At this stage of the game—regardless of what is to come later—the Communist press could not possibly execute a complete right-about-face in relation to Fascism without losing most of their powerful friends and that political place in the sun which they achieved on the strength of the "anti-Fascist struggle."

And so at the moment, the Moscow line provides for a program of Communist nations in which the Communist party in each country can line up behind the national struggle of its own bourgeoisie while upholding and paying Stalin's alliance with the Nazis. Another course—in the U. S. for example—would mean the loss of thousands of jobs within the framework of the New Deal, in the CIO, the various liberal organizations and so on. Without these plums, the party's economic framework and its power would be shattered.

Membership Stopped Thinking

It may be shattered anyway—in time. Party membership, for awhile at least, swallow anything. Most of them stopped thinking long ago and they cannot recover their faculties at this late date. But the party has been cracked on every front. The fellow-travelers, at least the more honest ones, are falling away like autumn leaves. Those who remain are merely time-server dim-wits, to whom fellow-traveling is a fession or an escape from reality.

By Henry Haskell
Socialist Call Writer
on Foreign Affairs

The Forum

Completely Disgusted

To the Editor of the Socialist Call: I am completely disgusted with the article in issue of Aug. 5 entitled "An Economic Pipe Dream in which you attack the American Foundation for Abundance. You have misstated facts and distorted them, only showing your ignorance and lack of understanding. Instead of crying out against this great movement every Socialist should, while holding membership in the Socialist party, also join the American Foundation for Abundance and help to push it along. Also the sendites should see the fallacy of that plan and to boost American Foundation for Abundance. I am not surprised that the writer of the Call did not put his name to it. If I lied like that I want to hide too.

W. H. RICHARDS
Indianapolis, Ind.

Editor's Note: Comrade Richards ought to be an editorial masthead which lists the names of the authors and the responsibility of the editor and/or the board. The inadequacy of the Socialist Call is not but hiding is not one of them.

Author Recovered

To the Editor of the Call: A few weeks ago you published an old poem "Five Souls," saying writer unknown. The writer was W. N. Ewer, well known in England as a young man. Also a sixth stanza was written by an English girl—

"The Sixth Soul"
I was a soldier of the Prince of Peace;
"Thou Shalt Not Kill" is written among his
So I refused to fight, and for this cause
Myself was slain. 'Twas thus I gained
I gave my life for freedom—this I know—
For he for whom I fought has told me so.
M. S. ALBERTSON
Pale Alto, Cal.

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