

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

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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## A DECLARATION AGAINST WAR

Unanimously Adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States.

Again, for the second time in less than a generation, Europe is in the grip of a war which brings sorrow and loss to all mankind. Upon the nations involved in it will be heaped immeasurable suffering, and individual and social demoralization.

The immediate occasion of this conflict is the report to armed force by the German dictator, fanatical leader of a cult which has proclaimed to the world its intolerance, its brutality and its glorification of bad faith. The anger of workers throughout the world and of all decent people is justifiably directed at Hitler and his fascist clique for unleashing the vast Nazi war machine.

But great as is Hitler's guilt, it does not follow that this war is a conflict between dictatorship and democracy. Still less is it true, as many voices are already proclaiming, that it is a war which springs out of some biological quality of evil inherent in the Fascist peoples which can only be dealt with by crushing those peoples under the heel of the virtuous English and French.

On the contrary, all the great empires were acquired and are maintained by force and fraud. Hitler's peculiar wickedness in the minds of many derives largely from the fact that he treats minority groups of the white race which have fallen under his power as older imperialisms have treated the colored races of Africa, Asia and America.

What we are witnessing now is a new and brutal

chapter in the long conflict of rival imperialisms and opposing sets of national interest. The first World war grew out of that conflict. Allegedly—and by thousands of individuals sincerely—it was fought to end war, and make the world safe for democracy. The capitalist democracies, professing these ideals, won the war, and made the peace of Versailles which, at the time, we Socialists denounced as a peace to prepare new wars. This peace, in order to maintain the status quo and British and French imperial supremacy, increased the disorganization of Eastern Europe and created the resentment which was exploited by Hitler to develop his empire. The nature of his fascist imperialism and German acceptance of it were determined by the pressure of rival imperialisms upon the German people and by the internal failure of capitalist democracy to provide jobs and security.

The powers now at war with German Fascism contributed to its rise. They shared the guilt of the Fascist dictators in the rape of Ethiopia, the conquest of democratic Spain, and the destruction of Czechoslovakia. A year ago Poland, now the symbol of resistance to forcible aggression, played jackal to the Nazi lion and by aggression, not agreement, took her share of booty at the partitioning of Czechoslovakia.

What finally brought Chamberlain and Daladier to their present stand was the necessity of defending their empires. Under these circumstances, regardless of

our relative sympathy for the belligerents, truth compels us to insist that the victory of one set rather than the other will no more solve Europe's problem or the problem of colonial peoples in 1939 than in 1918.

It is perhaps the most lamentable part of the present tragedy that the international working class movement was neither able to prevent the crisis nor can it now confront a war-mad Europe with a positive and powerful program of peace and justice. Its failure does not imply a betrayal or abandonment of Socialism. It is the result of the various weak or inadequate policies followed by a divided international working class movement since the first World war.

The Third International developed in Russia under a totalitarian government, a state capitalism which ultimately became enough like the Nazi system to permit an alliance of mutual convenience between two unscrupulous dictators.

Certain of the parties connected with the Second International put too much hope for peace in a capitalist League of Nations, organized to protect the status quo. They failed effectively to fight the imperialism of their own countries or to advance to the extent of their ability the freedom to colonial peoples. In certain cases they took office in the capitalist democracies without sufficient power or adequate program to solve the problems of poverty and unemployment.

Failures and mistakes such as these contributed to the present situation in which many European Social-

ists feel that they have no choice except the lesser of the two evils. It is not for us to denounce the immediate choices of our European comrades in their present terrible dilemma, but it is our duty to insist that international Socialism will have perished in the house of its friends unless it can present to the masses of Europe a basis for peace not to be found in the military triumph of any imperialist nations.

The men and forces responsible for this war must not make the peace. The peace must not be written by the Hitlers, Stalins, Mussolinis, Chamberlains or Daladiers, and the varied interests for which they are spokesmen, but rather by the people of Europe. The peace to be lasting must establish a United States of Europe in which exploitation, whether by the private capitalism of the western democracies or the collective capitalism of the totalitarian states, shall be abolished.

This great end will not be won by putting the United States into the war. Roosevelt's war would not cure what Wilson's war did so much to cause. The American government, under Wilson, tried to play God to Europe by means of war; and failed. Neither then nor in this crisis has the American government the wisdom or the power to deal with the bewildering power politics of Europe. The extraordinary duplicity of Stalin's deal with Hitler has had, and is likely to have, its counterparts in other shifts of purpose and alliance which America will not prevent.

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### Latest Peace Bulletins!

#### World Communist Movement Weakened

BRUSSELS—The Nazi-Bolshevik alliance has dealt a blow to the World Communist movement from which it may never recover. Defections are already large in number, and serious in effect.

Organizations such as the League for the Rights of Man have joined hundreds of working class organizations in denouncing the pact.

#### Borah Against America's Entry

POLAND SPRINGS, Me.—"For every dollar you lose by staying out of this war, you'll lose hundreds of thousands by going in," declared Sen. William E. Borah of Idaho.

"How do you think the average American family feels about losing all its savings, if necessary, compared with having an insane or crippled boy on their hands for the next 20 years," Borah said.

The elderly statesman pointed out that in the last war "we spent \$40,000,000 and our boys are dead, maimed and insane. Those who did not go and who do not intend to go now are the very ones most anxious for our boys to try it again."

#### German Miners Strike

The New York office of the Friends of German Freedom report they have received word from underground contacts in Germany since the war began.

Local strikes broke out soon after war was declared, especially among the miners of the Rhineland. The strikes were immediately suppressed but it could not instill the masses with enthusiasm for the war.

Hundreds of Socialists and trade unionists have been rounded up by the Nazis and again imprisoned; many had served sentences in concentration camps before.

### One for the Record...

#### Bolsheviks Support Ku Klux Klan

TAMPA, Fla.—Local Communists carried out the latest Stalinist line of rapprochement with fascist and semi-fascist forces by offering their support and influence to Mayor R. E. L. Chaney, Ku Klux Klan candidate for reelection in the municipal primaries this week.

Chaney is the mayor who was indicted in 1935 when Joseph Shoemaker was brutally beaten to death for running a candidate in opposition to this corrupt city administration, which the Stalinists now claim is liberal and "friendly" to the working man.

Corrupt Machine  
These local Stalinists joined hands with Pat Whitaker, Klan attorney in the flog cases and brother-in-law of Mayor Chaney, to re-elect one of the most corrupt city administrations in American municipal politics.

Although the local CP unit did not officially endorse Chaney's candidacy, their leading members campaigned openly for him and they used their influence in the Communist union to secure an endorsement for him.

The vote was close enough for the labor vote to be the deciding

#### AFL and CIO Are Both Certified

WASHINGTON (F.P.)—Both AFL and CIO locals were certified by the NLRB as collective bargaining agents for employees of the National Can Corporation at its plant, N. Y. Dist. 15, International Association of Machinists.

The union will represent the plant's machinists and Lodge 1670, Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, will represent all other em-

## Crossroads of the Crisis

By Devere Allen  
A Foreign Correspondent  
of the Call

BRUSSELS, Belgium—Objective facts about the crisis are well known, of course, in the United States. But how the crescendo of events moved to a climax here in Europe can never be portrayed by "spot news" from radio or press. What are the emotions that steer the European masses? How reliable has been the press and radio as interpreters of events? What do the people really think in their organized and individual lives? On such

In this illuminating article Devere Allen deals with:  
Attitude of French and Belgium Masses to Crisis—People Not Indignant Over Munich Pact—War Pomp Leaves Workers Cold—250,000 in Belgium Anti-War Manifestation—Reactions to Nazi-Bolshevik Pact—French Labor Supports Government Repressions Against Communists—Communists Make Deal With Austrian Monarchists.

Nationalists gathered around a huge and lofty monument for the twentieth anniversary of their initial struggle, at the end of the last war, for economic and cultural and political rights they feel denied them—denied even now, in very measure, by the Walloon "overlords" who have adapted themselves far more to French foreign policy and cultural influence.

But let no one think that Flemish nationalism, whatever its early excesses and however uncrystallized its immediate aims, can be compared with jingoism. It is, in effect, just the opposite. Imagine such a crowd (even the most hostile estimate put the number at 150,000) standing before hundreds of huge banners bearing the black dragon of Flanders on a golden background, singing a patriotic song so universal that it is used at weddings, with hands upraised in a pledge of loyalty to Flanders unto death.

Nationalism? Yes, but on behalf of a democratic impulse, organized in free will, yet in pagantry and mass improvisation, manifesting a spontaneity fully as amazing as the well-trained crowd demonstrations of the Italian Fascists and the Nazis.

#### "No More War"

Where could such a crowd burst forth in a great cry, as from one throat, of "Peace and Freedom"? Where could that many citizens be brought together voluntarily, some paying their way from pennies put in little boxes through the whole year, to stand on the brink of war and send their young girls in a tremendous procession, bearing large wreaths and crosses made of brilliant flowers, to hang them on a memorial to the Flemish

#### First War Strike

Searchers signing up for work on the S.S. Roosevelt after a brief walkout in demand of war bonus and insurance protection. The union has been promised by the steamship company that negotiations will be opened and any agreement will be retroactive.

fallen, crying at the same time the words engraved in four languages on the stone shaft, "No More War?"

One can only raise the question in his mind, in this sacred region, whether the dead of the new war to come will be buried as fast as those who were slaughtered for democracy and peace, a quarter of a century ago, will be blown out of their graves by the rain of high explosives.

At Dixmude we find a Belgian friend. He takes us out once more to the twisting trenches where, as a young man, he faced the Germans across the narrowest of No Man's Land one Christmas night. No, he expostulates, the stories of heroism are not legends. For "I was one who laid aside even an imposed animosity with many others."

Speaking over the tops of trenches to "Fritz," the Allied troops asked the Germans to take messages back, when they went on leave to their families, but to stay away from their sweethearts. Souvenirs, letters to the families of opposing soldiers, and tid-bits were put in empty meat tins, swung on the end of long strings and slung across the Yser canal.

But there was soon an end to that: on both sides along came officers with drawn revolvers and ordered it to cease. What could more accurately symbolize the experience of the bitter 20 years since the "end" of this devastating conflict?

#### Not For Democracy

"We fought," said my friend, "for our masters. And Europe is fighting again for its masters. There will be no more peace and democracy in the new war than there was when we fought here." He traced a line across the alpine-pretty clay here he had had to struggle up to the front trenches with cold food, through a continuous hail of death that cut away his comrades one by one.

"It was necessary," the terrain still lends vivid confirmation to his words—"to have a card go back from one of us to each one behind, for we were continually falling into shell holes and otherwise would have drowned in them."

He talked little of heroic exploits, but much of things which the ardent war apologists seldom mention—how finally, after repeated requests by a young fellow-soldier, he had shot the latter in the leg, sending the bullet first through a water bottle lest doctors find it came from near by. His friend thus escaped from further conflict, but has a lameness that will persist to the end of his days.

#### "Remedies"

Standard "remedies" were adopted by many another who could not bear the slaughter more: boiling milk dropped on bare feet by "accident"; emery paper to make sores on skin into which poisonous herbs from the fields were pressed; potatoes compounded of laundry soap and bad water; and a dozen others.

As toward? Though he talks about them little, my friend has six medals for heroism under fire. They hang in the peace monument at Dixmude under a sign reading, "I Curse War!"

For two days in the early part of the week there was only that crisis tension now familiar to most Europeans. It is almost tangible, but indefinable—something that seems to float on the very air and which tends to make people cling together in little knots, discussing vehemently and forever asking questions. The tension is punctuated by a note of sincerity on Tuesday night when King Leopold broadcasts the appeal.

Switzerland (in which nations it prudent not to join) for a peaceful settlement.

(Continued next week.)

## Canadian Labor Federation Splits On Issue of War

### National President of C. C. F. Opposes Any Aid to Powers

TORONTO, Canada—Although the Canadian government has declared a state of war exists between it and Germany and it is supported by the majority of the national council of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, there are powerful forces opposed to Canada's participation in any European war.

#### Riled

The commonwealth federation's outstanding leader, National President J. S. Woodsworth, spoke and voted against the government's war program in the house of commons and it is believed that he has strong support among the rank and file members of the federation.

The majority of the national council of the federation is opposed to Woodsworth's position, as revealed here when H. J. Well, a federation member of house of commons, stated the official position of the federation approving economic aid to Great Britain and France but opposing military participation abroad.

Denise Woodsworth Report that Woodsworth had signed as national leader of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation was denied by "The New Commonwealth," official organ of C. C. F.

"Mr. Woodsworth declared himself to be in agreement with the national council's statement regarding the European war," newspaper said, "but his own conscience demanded that he call all forms of Canadian participation."

With the full approval of colleagues, Mr. Woodsworth then spoke for himself and those who agree with him when he delivered a speech in the House of Commons on Friday night (Sept. 21).

In stating his position on the present European struggle the national council of the C. C. F. declared that Canada is implicated in a war "which might well mean the survival of democratic institutions."

"We consider that in the case of the allied powers we have a better building European peace on a more secure foundation because, in at least, the people of Britain and France are waging a war against aggression."

In defining its policy, which is counter to the position of the national party of the U. S. A., C. C. F. national council said aid to the allied powers should be limited to economic assistance militarization confined to the fence of Canada.

In opposing military participation the statement said: "Any attempt to send an expedition abroad would rob us of money necessary for the defense of shores and for home production, would gravely endanger our unity, would threaten our life and democratic institutions, would ultimately lead to capitulation."

FORCED EQUITY—AUSTIN, Tex. (F.P.)—A court ruling that Negroes receive equal opportunities for education forced the Texas legislature to appropriate money for out-of-state students.

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—The executive council of the Southern Tenant Farmers' union declared last week that the rise of the cost of living threatened thousands of cotton workers with starvation.

The council adopted a resolution asking that a minimum of 31 per hundred pounds of cotton picked be paid by mid-south planters with additional increases in accordance with increases in the price of cotton.

# The Capitalist War Guilt

BY HENRY HASKELL

Observers have freely predicted that this time the United States will be in the war inside of six months. This is not necessarily true. Such a disaster will be less likely to occur if we Socialists do a good job of keeping certain generally accepted facts before the American public.

The propaganda with which the Allies are bound to flood this country will receive a ready hearing. The American public has been profoundly shocked by the tactics of the Nazis from the time Hitler came to power. This feeling has grown steadily as Hitlerism unfolded and exposed to view its barbarism, culminating in the present attack on Poland. It will be very easy to whoop it up for the Allies, for support will be instantaneous. It also may be quite profitable.

The counter-propaganda of the Germans will have little effect in this country, in all probability. Since the Nazis use the lie as the fisherman does his hook, even when they tell the truth the American public will shrug its shoulders and look to see what England says, being only too glad to find the Germans wrong.

## A Difficult Job

Our job as propagandists is extremely difficult. Americans will not be glad to be reminded of the seamy side of the Allies' past, since they have already made a moral judgment and found Germany guilty of starting war, and England noble in fulfilling her "obligation" to Poland.

But this is precisely what we must do. We have the difficult task of constantly attacking the imperialist democracies for their share in this war, without at the same time permitting anyone to make the most serious error of thinking that we are pro-Nazi.

If no one else were going to attack the Nazis, we would naturally devote most of our energies to doing so. But since anti-Nazi propaganda will flood the country it will be a comparative waste to devote much of our energy to this job.

There will be plenty of people eager to accuse us of favoring the Nazis. All those who are anxious to see us go into the war on the side of the Allies will try to smear us right away. All those opposed to any radical movement will try to link us to the Germans. This means that in order to protect our movement, we must devote more space and time and energy than we would like in joining in the attack on the Nazis.

## A Product of Capitalism

After making ourselves clear on the subject of our anti-Nazi feelings and activities, our particular job will be to remind Americans that the Allies are far from angels under the best of circumstances. Already we must begin showing that capitalist imperialism brought this war about, rather than the mere accidental rise to power of a man named Adolf Hitler, as many would have us believe. We must start now the work of preventing any peace from being signed at the end of this war which would lay the sole guilt for the war on any one person or nation. England, France, yes, and Poland, too, are jointly responsible for this war with Germany.

We can easily gain a first favorable ear by mention of the Versailles treaty. That is generally accepted in this country as one of the major sources of Hitler's rise to power, and of the present war. But many people don't realize that England and France damned republicanism in the eyes of the German people when they permitted Hitler to rid Germany by force of the heavy burdens they had enforced on the German republic.

## Allies Wrecked Republic

The republic was forced to pay heavy reparations at the point of a bayonet; Hitler refused to pay them and got away with it, since he had troops. Socialist Austria and republican Germany were not permitted to unite peacefully, but the English and French did not bar the way to Hitler's troops. The orderly requests of the peaceful German re-

public were met with constant refusals. England and France taught the Germans that they would respect force alone. Hitler gave Germany that force, and appeasement came seven years too late, strengthening Hitler instead of the republic.

Isn't it well to remind the American public that England and France have condoned aggression even in recent years? It wasn't many years ago that the United States begged in vain for support when it wished to oppose Japanese aggression in Manchuria in a concrete manner.

Wasn't it England and France who proposed the first appeasement when the Hoare-Laval plan came out for giving Ethiopia to Italy? Didn't England almost openly support Italy and Germany against republican Spain? Just a short year ago, didn't Poland join in the partition of Czechoslovakia by taking a piece for herself? Where was this great altruistic fervor against aggression on the part of France and England when Mussolini over-ran Albania?

## War No Solution

These and similar questions must be asked by Socialists as they encounter people who suggest that we join the Allies in their "war against aggression," in their "war to end war," in their "war for democracy." If we can help large numbers of Americans to remember these facts, there is less danger that they will be swept on the tide of emotion into joining the present world catastrophe. Many Americans who might be willing to fight the aggressor Hitler at the side of "noble England" would be unwilling to fight him at the side of his co-culprits and spiritual fathers Chamberlain and Daladier—if they recognize them for what they are.

Of course disillusioning the American public on the nature of their proposed allies is only a small part of our job. Our propaganda must be more far-reaching.

The idea of preserving one isle of civilized sanity in a war-crazy world has great appeal to many people. Many of these recognize that warfare will not solve Europe's problems, whoever is the "victor," but will only make them more difficult to solve. They also recognize that an America which has kept aloof from the war madness will have much more to contribute to justice in the ultimate peace than one which became a part of it. Finally, there is something very attractive in the thought that although the civilization which gave us birth may be perishing in Europe in this war, America at peace can preserve the best of that civilization.

## Our Special Function

Readers of the CALL will reinforce these few suggestions with many others for which I have no space. We have no time to spare. If we are to do our part in keeping America out of the war we must start right out and work day and night. The odds are frankly against us, but as long as the possibility for carrying on such propaganda exists, we must use it.

The one great slogan for the Socialist party today is "Keep America Out of War." Every Socialist speaker should open and close his speech with this slogan, and a permanent headline across the front page of the CALL would help to popularize it as a slogan.

The job is difficult and exacting, and requires a high degree of willingness on our part to trade blow for blow with our opponents. We must not permit them to label us successfully in the public mind as pro-Nazi.

Our excellent record in this respect is, of course, our major asset in countering such a slander. But the danger that our opponents will try to slander us must not prevent us from exposing the war-guilt and war aims of the Allies as well as of Germany. In the war of propaganda descending upon us this is our special function.



# Socialists Declare Against Slaughter

Continued From Page One

Yet there are men and forces already at work to put America into war. We applaud the president's statement of his purpose and desire to keep America out of war. To accomplish it requires, of course, more than words in praise of peace. We must wage peace. If we want to keep out of war we must keep out of the roads that lead to war. Those roads are an American imperialism; a resort to armament economics; a pursuit of a dangerous temporary prosperity out of the profits of war trade instead of organizing to conquer our own poverty at home. If we would keep out of war we must build a resistance to foreign propaganda and to our own emotionalism. Our justified anger at Hitler's crimes must not render us incapable of analyzing the relations of the means of international war and its cost to the end we wish to achieve.

Never was it more important than now to struggle to maintain and increase civil liberties and the rights of workers; to promote racial fraternity at home; and to prevent the militarization of our own youth in CCC camps or elsewhere. We look with apprehension on such developments as Jesse Jones' announcement that despite the Johnson law our RFC can find ways to loan money to aid the war trade of the allies. We view with even greater apprehension the war department's blueprints for the regimentation of America in new war, and the powerful place given to Wall Street, particularly to Morgan men in the various commissions which are making plans for the organization of industry in war.

The American people can keep out of war, but only if they assert their power to control their own destiny; to vote on their own wars; to find their prosperity in production for peace and not

in war trade. It is a dangerous error which may contribute to the coming of war to believe that American participation in war can be limited. This is impossible. Our entry into war would probably take our boys under conscription by the millions to Europe and even Asia. It would immediately bring us military Fascism. Our liberties had a narrow escape in the first World War and they will fare even less well in the second. Our first duty to the ideal of democracy, as well as to the interests of 130,000,000 men, women and children, is to keep America out of war. To this task the Socialist party summons the American people.

It is a task consistent with our best service to mankind. Only in an America at peace can the masses make democracy work so well that it can inspire our brethren in the rest of the world to new faith in it. Only in an America at peace can we offer the maximum possible succor to the victims of Europe's madness. It is an America at peace which can best offer to the world help in those conferences which will lead to peace, disarmament, economic readjustment, justice to minorities and to exploited colonial peoples the world around.

It is from an America at peace that citizens can best give their aid to underground movements of the workers for democracy and peace. It is to these movements, weak as they may be in the first days of war, but which war of itself will nurture, that we must look for the ultimate triumph of the peoples of Europe over the forces which would destroy them. To the great task of keeping America out of war and of co-operating with those constructive forces which eventually will put war out of the world, the Socialist party pledges itself and its members. In that task it seeks the support of all men and women of good will.

# A War for Profits

BY HERBERT ZAM

The German invasion of Poland was rapidly converted into a war of the German empire on one side and the Franco-British empires on the other. At present, apparently only these four powers are involved. However, if the continues any length of time, it is bound to spread, involving one "neutral" another, including even the United States.

This war, like the one in 1914-18 is an imperialist war. It is not a war for the independence of small nations. It is not a war for democracy. It is not a war against Hitlerism. It is not a war to put an end to force as an instrument of international policy. The very nations which condemn these unspeakable methods and the atrocities of the totalitarian systems, practice the same methods and perpetrate the same atrocities in their own empires.

The present war was started by German Fascist imperialism as the final act in the 20-year campaign of the German capitalist class to overthrow the Versailles treaty, embodying the peace dictated by the victors in the last war. But German Fascist imperialism is not concerned with the iniquities of the Versailles treaty. It is concerned only with the fact that this treaty limits the sphere of operation of rapacious German imperialism.

## Allies Fear Nazis

England and France are defending their own imperialist interests against a Germany whose competition in the world market they fear; against a Germany to which they were brutally uncompromising and oppressive when it was a democracy, but extremely conciliatory when it became totalitarian. They were not disturbed by the brutal oppression of the German and Austrian working class by the Nazis and Dolfuss, but are seriously concerned with the growing threat to their own world power which the Nazi regime offers.

Like Belgium in 1914, Poland is today a victim of the system of imperialist alliances and counter-alliances which rule Europe. But Poland can hardly be considered an innocent victim. It itself contributed to the present situation by its constant flirtation with the Nazis; its brutal oppression of workers and peasants; its suppression of racial minorities, especially the Jews and Ukrainians, its dictatorial, militarist, semi-Fascist government. A year ago Poland participated in the dismemberment and partition of Czechoslovakia, making Hitler's task easier. Today it is itself a victim of the system it helped establish and maintain.

## Stalin Starts War

Stalin and his totalitarian regime in Russia crowned their long list of betrayals of the international proletariat by the most dastardly of all acts—the Stalin-Hitler alliance. Twelve hours after this alliance was officially ratified by the "Soviet" congress, Hitler gave the signal for the advance into Poland. On the very day when England and France were entering the war against Germany, a Russian military mission arrived in Berlin for further deals. It is clear that the Stalin-Hitler pact made Hitler's war on Poland possible. It was the signal for this war.

Nazi Germany is immediately responsible for the outbreak of this war, but Nazi Germany, the Fascist system, are themselves products of imperialist rivalries, are out-

comes of the imperialist system of "peace" through oppression. Today, one group of nations are "dissatisfied" with the national status quo and try to overthrow it. Tomorrow it may be another group. Imperialist system, there must always be "dissatisfied" nations; there must always be imperialist rivalries, which feed national race hatred and promote strife; there always be war.

Therefore, it is the imperialist system which is responsible for this war, which always be responsible for all wars as long as imperialism lasts. This is an imperialist war—that is its principal feature. All other wars are subsidiary and even unessential.

The masses of people everywhere are nothing to gain from this war. They are not being fought in their interests, or their benefit. They will merely do the fighting and dying. The workers know this instinctively. They show no enthusiasm for the war, neither in the totalitarian nor the democratic countries. They still remember the slogans under which the last war was fought and note how similar they are to the slogans of today.

The masses unconsciously see that the last war overthrew the Kaiser, it gave Hitler; this war may overthrow Hitler to give us a worse system. Therefore, in the interests of the masses to have war end differently than those who do it desire. The imperialists began this. The workers must finish it—not by the victory of one imperialist power over another, but by overthrowing imperialism everywhere.

Already the forces which are trying to drag the United States into war are at work. The air is charged with propaganda. A Lusitania incident is in the making. American banking house is once again coming the financial agent of one of warring sides.

## War Must Be Resisted

American workers must resist with their might these attempts to extend war to this country. If the European workers have nothing to gain from participating in this war, how much less is it in the interests of the American workers.

We are bitterly opposed to Nazism and totalitarianism, and we can conduct our effective struggle against them by defending civil liberties, free speech and press and the right to organize against all assaults in the country.

We are bitterly opposed to imperialism in all its forms, and we can struggle against it by organizing and fighting for Socialism. Every other solution is false. Every other road is a blind alley.

If the European workers are repeating the folly of 1914, the American workers must not be stampeded into repeating the folly of 1917.

If we are to have no more Hitlers, let us have no more Versailles treaties. Not imperialist war but Socialism and democracy is the road to progress.

## 200,000 Leaflets

The war crisis resolution adopted by the convention and adapted for use in last week's CALL under the title NO BLACKOUT FOR THE UNITED STATES is the text of the leaflet that the league has printed and is now busily distributing. 200,000 are now off the press and more will be run off as they are necessary. All Y. P. S. L. districts and circles are distributing them and party sections may order them at \$1 per thousand from the national office.

## Introducing

Comrade Al Spire of Los Angeles has come to Chicago to act as part time administrative secretary of the league and part time district organizer for Chicago.

Comrade Leo Johnson, a product of the Y. P. S. L. national training school which was held in South Haven, Mich., this summer, has taken over the job of chief clerk in the party national office.

## Utah

The state convention of the Utah party met in the Hotel Temple Square at Salt Lake City July 24. Official delegates were present only from the Salt Lake City, Ogden and Duchesne locals.

Organization plans and resolutions for special session of state legislature to act on relief and condemnation of congressional action to destroy labor standards on

WPA, occupied the attention of the gathering. State Chairman A. Bushnell presided and O. Kennedy of Ogden remains state secretary.

## New Pamphlet

A new pamphlet on the written by Al Hamilton, will be published. Advance orders 50 copies for 50 or more are invited. The advance orders help cover the cost of publication and advance the date of appearance.

The principle of free thought means not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom of the thought we hate.

# The Struggle Of The Empires

BY PAUL PORTER

Our understanding of the war now ranging in Europe will be clearer if we think of it as a new stage in a series of wars that began in 1914.

The fighting of 1914-18, as we can now see, settled no basic problems. The peace was a truce during which the major combatants recuperated for a return to battle.

The terms of the peace, the Treaty of Versailles, by disrupting the German economy and by imposing on the German people a burden of debts and reparations far greater than their ability to pay, made a new outbreak of hostilities virtually inevitable.

Underlying both wars—or rather, both stages of the same war—is a struggle for the mastery of Europe and of those far scattered colonies that European industry and finance have come to depend upon. On the one side are the empires of Great Britain and France; on the other, an aggressive Germany seeking to become again a great empire.

## Struggle of Empires

The struggle of the empires is the skeleton of the warfare that shades the civilization of our time. To this, of course, are added other factors: the Poles' struggle to exist as a nation, and a widespread fear that democratic forms of government will be overwhelmed by Fascist or other totalitarian forms.

The rise of the militaristic slave state, which we call Fascism, is an outgrowth of the first stage of the war of empires. The fear that it may dominate Europe and encroach upon the rest of the world is the chief thing that distinguishes the present conflict from that of 25 years ago.

It is for this reason that labor movements of England, France and Poland are giving full support to their governments. In a similar situation the workers of the United States would no doubt respond the same.

In common with the great majority of the American

people we fervently wish to see the Hitler regime, the spearhead of industrial slavery, defeated.

But then what? Another treaty of Versailles, followed by another great conflict in the next generation?

If this should be the outcome, the war of empires will probably drag on through the century until the resources of Europe are exhausted, and European civilization falls into a deathly decay.

## Living Room

The people of Germany AND the people of Poland, indeed all the peoples of Europe, are entitled to what the Germans call "lebensraum"—living room. They cannot find living room within the boundaries of European national states—not in a machine age that must draw its raw materials from all over the earth.

Two dozen European nations, none of them (aside from Russia) as large as our state of Texas, do not make sense in our time. A United States of Europe would make sense, and this is the solution that we hope the common people in all warring countries will seek as the outcome of the present fighting.

To picture the plight of divided Europe imagine our United States carved up into 25 jealous sovereign nations, each with a huge standing army and high tariffs. Picture a Maginot and a Siegfried line on the Illinois-Wisconsin border, and a tariff that bars Wisconsin milk and automobiles from the Chicago

market. Across the lake is our traditional enemy, Michigan, with whom we have twice fought for the control of the upper peninsula.

That is Europe.

As long as Europe is thus divided its ground will tremble with the roar of cannon.

## Labor Movement of Europe

A United States of Europe is not likely to emerge if any of the warring governments are able to dictate the peace, but it may come when the common people in the warring nations grow sick of war and sick of the prospect of war again in the next generation, and for their own peace and security reach out across old boundaries to create a new nation and a new social order—the co-operative commonwealth of Europe.

The only group which has both the natural interest and the strength to perform this task is the labor movement of Europe.

The rival groups of industrialists, bankers and war lords will oppose this, even as the feudal barons oppose the unification of England, of France and of Germany. They would be deprived of their power and privileges.

Today many workers are prisoners of the nationalist propaganda of their rulers, but war weariness may change this. While they fight in the trenches, and their families go hungry, they will see profiteers make new millions. Then will come the time when the workers will assert their own needs, and will perhaps establish in their own lands governments that, like our own colonial governments in 1787, can come together in a congress for continental unity.

## Change by Revolution

The nature of the present struggle is such that the workers of Germany cannot act to end the war system until Hitler and his colleagues are swept from power. The German government can be changed only by revolution. The Nazis have arranged it so.

But if and when Hitler is overthrown we hope that workers of England and France will not permit Chamberlain and Daladier, or their kind, to dictate the peace.

It was British and French governments headed by men like them which helped crush the German workers' republic and who by writing the treaty of Versailles drove the German people into the arms of Hitler. Except for Lloyd George and Clemenceau, Hitler would be unknown.

For the sake of an enduring peace we hope that the fall of Hitler will be accompanied by the fall of the present British and French empire regimes, and that labor governments will be established as their successors. There is still prospect that this can be done by democratic means, but the Chamberlains and the Daladiers, like the Fascists, they selves close the door to peaceful change.

Perhaps the fall of all warring governments might have happened in 1918, or soon after, if the United States had not entered the war in the previous year. This we should remember as the propaganda swells to take us in again.

We think it is permissible and desirable that the American people, without going to war, should help the oppressed people of Germany rid themselves of the Nazis. But it is never be our policy to preserve one set of empires as against another.

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WE CATER TO PARTIES

# Mexico in Transition

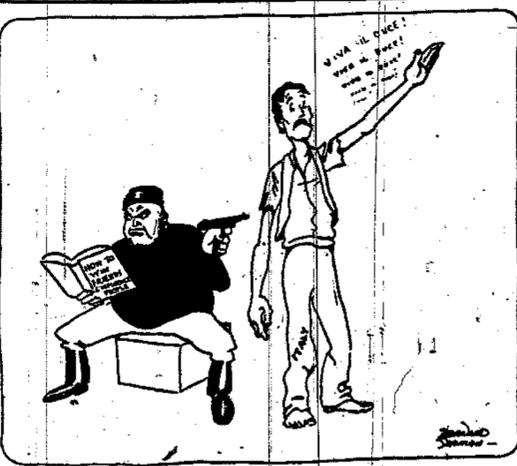
"Mexico in Transition," by Clarence Senior, 56 pages. League for Industrial Democracy, New York, 15c.

That Mexico under Cardenas is engaged in a significant struggle for increasing political and economic democracy, and an attempt of Americans to interfere with Mexico's reforms is the surest way to strengthen Fascist forces below the Rio Grande, are among the contentions of Clarence Senior, in his Mexico in Transition, a 56 page pamphlet just published by the League for Industrial Democracy.

In this pamphlet, Comrade Senior, who has spent several years in Mexico studying social and economic conditions, presents in "Mexico in Transition" a clear and well-documented survey of the struggle of the Mexican people leading to the overthrow of the Cardenas regime, followed by chapters on the land problem, Mexican labor, the state and church, the relations of Mexico to the interests of other countries.

On the other hand, its struggle toward the collective control over the new sources of power will some day free the Mexicans "from the hunger, the disease and the fear of centuries."

The pamphlet contains numerous notes and an excellent bibliography. It should be read by all who want the United States to deal justly with its southern neighbor and to assist it in Mexico's struggle for a thoroughly democratic political and economic system.



# On the Map With the Socialist Party

## S. P. and the Crisis

On Oct. 1 the party starts its selective recruiting drive. That means increased activity and responsible, carefully organized work on the part of every section of the party. It means turning our faces outward, meeting new people, getting into the thick of the fight of other organizations whose members may not see eye to eye with us on every question but who are moving in our direction.

It means particularly rooting ourselves in the mass organizations—the unions, unemployed workers, the anti-war struggle and the fight against fascism at home and abroad.

It means hammering away at our sympathizers among the workers and among those liberals who are beginning to learn what it is all about and, therefore, though they may not realize, no longer "real" liberals.

## Free Discussions

We have tremendous advantages over all other revolutionary forces in the United States, especially all brands of radicalism with totalitarian tendencies. We have made our mistakes and freely admit them. We'll doubtless make more. But the inner-channels of the party are wide open for criticism, for free discussion among comrades. There is, and always has been, democracy in the Socialist party. And just so long as that is true, we can correct our mistakes.

We have a clean, militant record—a reputation for honesty and decency with thousands of working men and women—other than party members—with whom we have fought on thousands of picket lines and thousands of strikes from day of Debs right up to the present hour. We have never supported an imperialist war. We opposed the World War with every resource at our command; we'll oppose this one no matter what the consequences.

## Never Gave In

We have had our periods of doldrums, have known set-backs and despair. But we have never given in.

Today, there are thousands of people in America who know this. There are thousands who proudly and openly proclaim themselves Socialists but who are not members of the party. We're not going to get all these people into the party in three months. We'd be fools to try it. But we can get the most militant and wide-awake among them—not by handing them an application card and asking them to sign up even though that is a very important part of the process and not to be neglected.

First, however, we've got to get right out among them, line them up for the fight against war, for democracy and militancy in the unions, for help to the European underground movements, for defense of workers' rights.

## On the March

Only on the field of struggle which is going on every day along a thousand fronts will we find those comrades who are seeking—men and women who have already received their baptism of fire and are the material from which all good revolutionary fighters are made.

The job right now is one of rapid preparation. To launch a recruiting drive without a weekly CALL would have made failure almost a foregone conclusion. BUT TODAY WE HAVE A WEEKLY CALL. We need new literature. We'll get that too, even if we have to burn out the bearing on our mimeograph machines to supplement what we can afford to print.

Quotas will be laid down and full plans for the recruiting drive developed at the next meeting of the national action committee. Watch this column and your national office bulletins. Once again we march!

## Colorado

Local Denver is reopening its weekly class in Marxism, led by Ben Hurwitz. Many anti-war leaflets and pamphlets are being distributed. The possibility of securing a full-time YFSL organizer is being discussed by the Colorado comrades.

## Illinois

The fall term of the Debs Labor school in Chicago starts Monday, Oct. 2, and continues every Monday evening up to Dec. 18 at 549 W. Randolph st. Instructors in the school are Judah Drob, Ina White, Arthur G. McDowell, Gerry Allard, Maynard C. Krueger and Harry Fleischman. In addition a weekly forum with prominent speakers will be held. Inquiries should be addressed to Eva Cowan, chairman of the school, room 404, 549 W. Randolph st., Chicago.

Travers Clement, Gerry Allard and Judah Drob addressed a special anti-war membership meeting

# NATIONAL ASSESSMENT

Attention all state offices, locals and branches!

At its New York meeting the national executive committee authorized a 25 cent national assessment to be levied in September for support of the party press.

Assessment stamps are not available from the S. P. National Office, 549 Randolph st., Chicago.

Please place your orders immediately. This stamp must be in the dues book of every party member in order to maintain good standing.

It is a small, blue stamp which does not require a separate place in the dues book, but is to be pasted horizontally across the face of your September dues stamp.

Like dues stamps, the assessment stamps are of three varieties: regular at 25 cents, duals (sold in pairs only to husbands and wives) at 12 1/2 cents each or 25 cents per pair, and unemployed (for those on relief or without means of support) at 5 cents.

These stamps count the same as dues stamps in determining convention representation.

For the maintenance of a weekly CALL, for an effective Socialist party in this hour of world crisis, buy your assessment stamps at once.

TRAVERS CLEMENT, National Secretary.

## Maine

of the Cook county local Sept. 15. Plans for intensive anti-war work and party recruiting in trade unions, co-operatives, unemployed and fraternal groups plus a report on the recent N. E. C. meeting featured the well attended meeting.

## Maryland

The state convention was held on Sept. 10 in Baltimore. A congressional ticket and eight presidential electors were nominated. In addition Edwin E. Abbott, SWOC secretary in Baltimore Steel's Sparrows Point plant, was nominated for state senator.

## New York

Local New York is planning to distribute 1,000,000 copies of the NEC anti-war manifesto. On Sept. 11, the largest and most successful membership meeting in years was held with Norman Thomas leading the discussion on war and the role of Socialists. In this period, many new members were recruited and hundreds of comrades signed work pledge cards. Speakers notes are being sent to all party speakers.

## Ohio

A membership meeting will be held on Oct. 1 in Cleveland and a Debs Memorial meeting will be held on Oct. 20. A membership recruiting campaign is planned in connection with the anti-war drive.

## Pennsylvania

An overflow anti-war mass meeting in Philadelphia was addressed

## Washington, D. C.

Local Washington is devoting its main energies to anti-war work. The largest membership meeting in years was held last week, and plans developed for increasing anti-war work in the nation's capital.

## Joins Union

by Norman Thomas and Lillian Symes. More than 700 attended the meeting and hundreds of anti-war pamphlets were sold. Many new members joined the party.

"Workers! Defend Your Rights!" is the title of an attractive pamphlet published by the joint labor defense committee representing the AFL and CIQ unions of Reading. The pamphlet calls upon all workers to rally to the support of the Socialist city administration in the block elections. Hundreds of block workers are actively campaigning to defeat the Republicans, and nine registration street meetings are being held this week. Mayor Stump and Darlington Hoopes will address these meetings.

Frank Trager concluded the summer season's lecture series with an excellent speech on "Socialism and the Farmer."

## Join Union

Local Washington is devoting its main energies to anti-war work. The largest membership meeting in years was held last week, and plans developed for increasing anti-war work in the nation's capital.



VILEMALMUR STEFANSSON  
Famous arctic explorer, joined the American Federation of Teachers (AFL), because he said "there is no union for polar explorers yet."

## Mexico in Transition

By CLARENCE SENIOR

A New Pamphlet on the Valiant Efforts of Our Southern Neighbor to Create a Real Democracy.

56 Pages 15c

Published by the League for Industrial Democracy  
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# Young Demos Meet; Ignore Vital Issues

Special to the Call  
PITTSBURGH—Showing a profound disinterest in important social and economic problems, the 1939 convention of the Young Democrats ended on the same tune which dominated the gathering: "Mr. Roosevelt, won't you please run again?"

Resolutions passed by the "young" Demos, many of whom will never again see the flighty side of fifty, ignored the labor board, housing, relief, unemployment, co-operative and farm projects. In fact the "young" convention as it was dubbed by one newspaper man, acted on but two specific policies: (a) endorsed President Roosevelt's efforts to modernize and equalize freight rates of the nation and (b) endorsed President Roosevelt's "splendid and successful foreign policy... which... has kept the United States free from entanglement and has contributed... to the averting of a world war."

This endorsement had the okay of Communist and fellow-traveling borers-from-within who were found sprinkled among the delegates (particularly in the California and Illinois delegations) whooping it up for a third term and blessing Chicago's Mayor Kelly of Memorial day massacre fame.

Mayor Kelly, like presidential possibility Paul V. McNutt a professed liberal now, beat the third term drum because America cannot afford to sacrifice the liberal and humane social policy. McNutt, for his part, associated himself "with a tradition that is venerable but virile... the philosophy and practice of liberalism." Forgetting Terre Haute, the Hoosier Hitler affirmed his devotion to "the vigilant protection of the civil liberties which are the life blood of our democratic system—the right of the citizen to say and publish what he thinks, to worship in his own way, to acquire and to possess property, to be secure in his home, to petition his government, to be tried for crime only by his fellow citizens, and to vote for whom he pleases."

Despite the obviously-staged demonstration put on for McNutt by 600 Indiana office holders including a life and drum corps in tin hats (!) and green shirts, this newly-converted "liberal" failed to generate any enthusiasm among the delegates and failed to hold the attention of his listeners by reading his speech in a loud rasping monotone.

Senator Josh Lee of Oklahoma stole the show from him by thumping for a third term in these words: "It is not for Roosevelt to tell us that he wants a third term; it is rather for us to tell him that we want a third term. Now is the time to raise the banner for Roosevelt in 1940."

The convention was directed by "Uncle Charlie" Michelson for the Democratic national committee and the third-term keynote was hit by Florida's Senator Pepper.

Roosevelt did his bit in a message which declared that an overwhelming majority of younger men and women throughout the United States are on the liberal side of things and hurled his challenge at the conservative Democrats who buried his message in congress by declaring:

"If we nominate conservative candidates of lip-service candidates on a straddling platform, I personally, for my own self-respect and because of my long service to and belief in liberal democracy, will find it impossible to have any part in such an unfortunate suicide of the old Democratic party."

Significant was the fact that the young Democrats took little interest in the proceedings. Emulating their elders, they enjoyed the sights and the free-flowing spirits considerably more than the convention sessions. And why not? All the business was conducted, all the decisions arrived at by the small group of administration-supervised and administration-blessed officers, with the aid of the chairman of the larger state delegations. Only the chairman of a delegation, incidentally, could address the gathering.

# Congress Comes and Goes

## An Evaluation of the 76th Congress

By Meadow and Newton

The first session of the seventy-sixth congress talked economy and passed the biggest peacetime appropriation bill. It talked civil liberties but curtailed political activities through the Hatch bill. It wept crocodile tears over the plight of the unemployed, refusing to liberalize immigration on this ground, then dealt a disastrous blow to the WPA program. In this F. D. R. played a major role, for he sliced the funds necessary for the WPA in anticipation of both a rise in the industrial index and the passage of his "lending-spending" bill. A reactionary congress accepted his curtailed estimates and then went to work on its own economy program.

In a session remarkable for its cynical hypocrisy, in the face of crucial conditions at home and abroad, the economy issue stands out as the greatest humbug of them all. The biggest "economy" measure was the paring down of the president's lending program from \$3,860,000,000 to \$785,000,000. Included in this slash was the appropriation for slum clearance, which was eliminated in its entirety.

It was for reasons of "economy" again that the relief appropriation was set at \$1,775,000,000, with the provision that this sum must cover all relief needs until June 30, 1940. Along with this the Federal Theater project was abolished and the white collar projects were so seriously limited as to lose their value.

## Wages Scuttled

The prevailing wage scale was thrown overboard. So busy was congress worrying about the public debt the next generation will have to pay off, that it could not heed the cry of the children who will make up the next generation, for better food and clothes and housing.

The result of all this "economy" talk and these "economy" measures, was an appropriation of more than \$13,000,000,000, a total which has not been exceeded since the days of the last war.

Of this \$13,000,000,000 \$2,000,000,000 has been officially set aside for national defense, providing for the greatest army, navy and air force expansion since the war, because this sum does not include certain concealed appropriations diverted from other funds and certain other unexpended funds that have been left over from previous years.

## Preparedness

Once again the cry of preparedness is heard throughout the land. Unabashed by the testimony of military and naval experts that such enlargement of the military machine is almost entirely superfluous in terms of national defense, President Roosevelt for once found an issue on which congress was ready to go along with him. The new jingoism gained around, as was evidenced too, by the number of alien-baiting bills introduced at this last session. Band wagons have ever been a popular and comfortable mode of travel for our lawmakers.

A slight ray of hope in the very murky maneuvering to get the United States into war, was the refusal of the senate to make the changes desired by Roosevelt in the neutrality act.

It does not do, however, to be too reassured by this action. While the defeat was partly due to a genuine anti-war sentiment in the senate foreign affairs committee, the unreasoning hatred of the president, extending to all legislation that had his blessing, and knowing no party lines, must not be discounted. It was this latter sentiment that led five conservative Democratic senators to vote against the proposed amendment.

## Hate a Factor

This hatred of Roosevelt was one of the intangibles of the last session that played a substantial part in determining the kind of legislation that was enacted. It was certainly a factor in the passage of the Hatch bill.

The disgruntled southern conservative Democrats who failed to get a big enough slice of WPA funds for disposal, and the even more embittered Republicans who have had very lean pickings these

past few years, have effectively hamstrung political activity by federal officeholders and persons on relief. The Hatch bill prohibits all officers and employees in the executive branch of the federal government, its agencies or departments, to take any active part in political management or in political campaigns. In effect, it forbids any contribution to political purposes by persons on relief.

## Social Security

To return to the credit side, congress approved a slight liberalization of the social security act which increased the maximum monthly federal contribution for old age assistance from \$18 to \$20 and for help to the blind from \$2 to \$3, extended the law to cover dependent children, and included Puerto Rico within the national civil welfare, public health and vocational clauses of the act.

The old age benefits provisions now include sailors. However, the social security act still retains its original outlines despite the trenchant criticism made by experts such as Abraham Epstein and others who have repeatedly called for a fundamental revision of this act lest it topple over by its own inadequacies and thereby blight the movement for elementary social security.

Again to its credit, though only after a stiff fight resulting in the reduction by half of the amount asked, Senator La Follette's committee to investigate violations of civil liberties, succeeded in getting an appropriation of \$50,000 to carry on its work.

## Alien Bills

Certain of the matters on which congress failed to act were at least as significant as the things they carried through. That the trend in congress was more reactionary than is generally known is evidenced by the passage of the Smith anti-alien bill by the house of representatives. This bill was the culmination of the introduction of a hundred such bills, and contains nearly all of their worst features.

Its most vicious provision makes mandatory the deportation of aliens who have at any time (for five minutes or for five years) and no matter what their present political beliefs may be, been members of a "subversive" organization. The Hobbs bill which passed the house and has been favorably reported by the senate judiciary committee provides that certain deportable classes of aliens, such as criminals, narcotics law violators, "anarchists" and the like, may, when their country of origin refuses to issue a passport permitting them to return, be confined indefinitely by the department of labor in some place of detention.

Thus, a person who has already paid the legal penalty for his crime by serving a jail sentence, may be put in a concentration camp for perhaps the rest of his life and is given no chance to rehabilitate himself.

## Refugee Children

The holocaust amongst those unfortunate enough not to have been born in this great democratic nation, extends to 20,000 refugees children who would have qualified under the Wagner-Rogers bill.

The reason given for the failure to act on this measure was that these children would, when they grew up, add to the unemployment problem. Thus congress acknowledges in advance its incapacity effectively to deal with this problem within the next generation.

## Labor's Future

Finally, the war in Europe presented a challenge which was not met at the last session. The forthcoming special session which will deal with the neutrality legislation and which will probably make it easier for this country to get into war, cause coming days to be very serious ones for all Americans.

On the record therefore there is little reason to believe that the problems of war and peace will be met with the strength and sanity necessary to prepare our peace and our democratic liberties. Only an alert and alive working class, sufficiently aware of its strength and eager to make allies of its own program, can bring about the necessary change in the present situation.

Wagner national labor relations act by such men as Hoffman of Michigan. The wage-hour act, too, came through relatively unscathed. The senate committee endorsed the general outlines of a national health program, but postponed specific action to the next session, thus falling to meet the challenge of one of our most pressing national problems.

Sadly enough the American Federation of Labor saw fit to lead its valuable energies to the general attack on the Wagner national labor relations act. In this it was dominated by a misguided policy that found its origin in the narrow vision of Joseph Padway, attorney for the A. F. of L., who handed this matter.

Although the wage-hour act came through relatively unscathed, it still failed to cover literally millions of workers who are receiving less than the minimum wage and working more than the maximum hours per week.

## Lewis vs. Garner

As a by-product of the wage-hour act hearing came the now famous John L. Lewis characterization of Vice President Garner as a "labor-baiting" poker-playing, whisky-drinking, evil old man."

There are those who feel Lewis hindered Garner in his aspirations toward power with the Democratic party and there are those who feel the opposite. In any event, it is certainly true that Lewis wanted the spleen that literally millions of organized workers felt against the machinations of the Garner group on Capitol Hill.

But the personal habits of the vice president were not the salient aspects of Lewis' testimony. Nonetheless what in the shuffle was his proper, if ironical, castigation of the house for its desire to lower the minimum wage provisions of the wage-hour act and at the same time to create a series of exemptions which would eliminate several hundreds of thousands of workers who now enjoy its meager benefits.

## The Hoosier Hitler

The first session of the seventy-sixth congress was, above all, a test of strength for the 1940 elections. Party loyalties were thrown overboard in the voting on every important issue. It is now quite clear that no matter what presidential candidates are chosen, though the labels may remain, the division will be liberal-conservative.

The leaders of the "liberal" have thus far shown in their program and activities not much more ability to deal with the grave problems that face us than have their opponents. The liberals led by F. D. R. have made a number of unholy alliances, including the most recent one with Hoosier Hitler McNutt. To put this man in charge of one of the large social agencies of the New Deal is tantamount to blasting the agency even before it gets started.

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## Plastic Workers General Strike

NEW YORK—Fifteen hundred plastic workers, members of local unions of the I. L. W. U. declared a general strike Aug. 24 and voted to stay out until their demands were met.

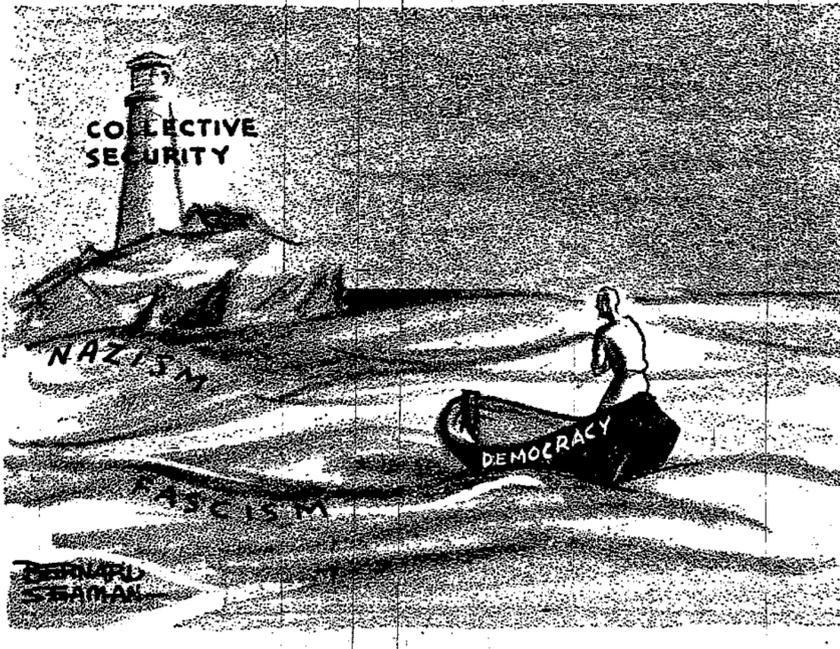
The strike followed breakdown negotiations for a contract and refusal of the employer to submit the dispute to an impartial commission appointed by the I. L. W. U.

Members of the workers include a \$14 hour week. Non-union shops as union shops have been set out and the response is excellent.

SOCIALIST CALL

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The Light That Failed



A New Big Business

BY LILLIAN SYMES

The final installment of my survey of the left-wing and liberal press will have to be postponed for another week. Too much is happening in the world this week to waste this column on a dispassionate—more or less—excursion among our left-wing monthlies. Next to the war in Europe, probably the most interesting news of the week past has been that furnished by the Dies committee in its investigation into the finances of the Communist party. As a matter of fact, this is not news at all to many of us, though it may furnish a jolt to some of the party innocents. The Dies investigators, limited by factual records and estimates furnished by the party itself, simply don't know the half of it. No bank books or other records will ever show the money "siphoned off" into party channels from the relief funds for Spain, from the Scottsboro case, from the Russian famine relief, from "strike funds," etc. Nor do the strictly "party" books give any indication of the fortune mined in Hollywood, under the guise of "anti-Nazi" activity in the past few years.

Gitlow's Testimony

Ben Gitlow, former general secretary of the Communist party and now an unaffiliated radical, has told the committee some of the things which transpired between 1919 and 1929. But it is since 1920 that the CP has become a million dollar holding company. If Russia no longer subsidizes the party here, it is because the party's resources are now so enormous (thanks to its exploitation of the anti-Fascist struggle) that it no longer needs such help. According to the testimony of William Browder (brother of Earl) and financial secretary of the New York state CP, \$1,302,177, or \$50,000 per month, passed through his hands in 24 months. This, for New York alone. As the chairman of the committee remarked, this is more than the New York Republicans and Democrats together have to spend. On this basis—New York have one-fourth of the party membership—the official national income must be around \$2,000,000 a year. (The entire budget of the national office of the Socialist party is around \$10,000 a year.)

Millionaire Members

Among the individual contributions received yearly since 1933 there are at least 12 to 15 in the \$1,000 to \$3,000 category. The millionaires and near-millionaires who belong to the Communist party pay generously for the privilege. This is as good a place as any to say a few words to some of those unaffiliated radicals who are always telling us that the trouble with us is that we are not ACTIVE as the Communists; that however mistaken their LINE, they are at least ACTIVE. Well, if we had \$2,000,000 a year to play with, we could be active too. And one of the reasons they get these \$2,000,000 is that their LINE in the past few years has been a line that is thoroughly acceptable to the upper income brackets. (The Dies committee and the readers of the CALL would be amazed to know just how far up this reaches.)

Big Business

The Communist party, in the past few years, has been Big Business. And this is the secret of its hold upon many of its members and fellow-travelers. A year ago, at a party convention, it was estimated that 22 per cent of the party members have jobs as paid functionaries in the party, its periphery organizations, or the unions under party control. Think what this means! Nearly a quarter of the membership in jobs for which they would be responsible to the party and which they would lose if they incurred the party displeasure. And for which they must kick back part of their pay to the party. No wonder they take the line, regardless of how it twists and turns! Their bread and butter depends on it. But the party is not only Big Business, it is Big Politics. This is particularly true in New York, Washington, D. C., and California. In California, for example, it is impossible to tell where the Democratic party leaves off and the Communist party begins. (I once received a communication from the Young Democrats of California, signed by an executive secretary, who is either a CP member or an intimate fellow-traveler.) In New York city, the Republican regime is similarly permeated.

The Forum

Thomas Replies to Robel

To the Editor of the Socialist Call: I will answer Comrade Robel about as follows: It seems to me to be increasingly unscientific and even dangerous to have a money system based more or less arbitrarily on the amount of gold and silver in the world. Socialists, I think, should introduce in America a different and more scientific system of managing money. If, however, we must have a metallic fetish because of inherited ideas in the field of monetary regulations, there is no particular point to have a double fetish—gold and silver. There might be a point to having a double standard if there was a scarcity of gold in America, but actually we have immense stores of gold laid away in the ground. All our silver is put back in the ground, except, of course, some which is used for what is really minor or subsidiary coinage. Potentially, this immense and growing stock of silver may be made the basis of a dangerous and unscientific type of inflation in excess of the inflation possible owing to the vast quantity of gold on hand. For this silver the government now pays an arbitrary price, far above the world's normal average, fixed by congress. It pays, to be sure, by the issuing of certificates against the silver itself, but those certificates have a money value and to maintain the money value it is necessary for people in all kinds of jobs to go on doing their work for which they get no equivalent benefit. The actual number of silver miners is far smaller than is commonly stated and the principal benefits of this act go to the mine owner and stockholders. The business of providing work for all is not much furthered when you keep up unnecessary work nor is there any particular reason why silver miners should get favored treatment. Today, we have about as much need for silver as a metallic reserve as we do for tin or iron or something else. There is only one real reason for the silver purchase act, and that is the disproportionate political power of the silver states. Incidentally the silver purchase law gave the United States undue power over foreign currency. It first almost ruined China until her monetary system was revised. At present silver purchase helps Mexico and I am not anxious to see it too summarily terminated, but the principle always has been, in my judgment, unsound. I think Socialists ought to be working for a theory and practice of money which will give the entire control to a socialized government. A socialized government should make the quantity of money, including banks' money, dependent upon the amount necessary to maintain a wholesome economic life without recurring inflation or deflation. This cannot be done while actually or potentially the amount of money is in no small degree dependent upon reserves of certain metals which tradition has constrained us to hold peculiarly sacred or valuable.

NORMAN THOMAS, New York City, July 31, 1939.

In Defense of the AFA

To the Editor of the Socialist Call: In the Call of Aug. 5 there is a criticism of Ameringer's "Abundance for All" scheme. Why call that a pipe dream any more than calling the Socialist party the same thing? To me it seems to be the best plan before the public. Your criticism does not give sufficient attention to the psychology of the matter. If people think there is a prospect of a comfortable income within a short time they will take interest in the scheme. All that is required is to get enough people to join in promoting the "Abundance for All" plan. Let us call it one of the Socialist party's immediate demands. Later we can take over all business. I like the bank credit idea, probably because I have worked in banks.

H. J. HILLIARD, Sound View, Conn.

Walter Duranty once tried to justify the terror that Stalin has maintained by saying that "you can't have omelettes without breaking eggs." It now appears that you can break an awful lot of eggs and not have omelettes.

A school teacher who had been dismissed because she told "horror" stories to her pupils has been reinstated. After all, you can't bar the telling of current events completely.

The Need for Labor Unity

The gravest problem facing American labor remains the unsolved question of unity. This continued division in labor's ranks casts the darkest shadow over the internal American scene. It spells disaster for the labor movement and any genuine social progress. And though the need for unity becomes greater daily, there is no visible sign of a lessening of hostilities. On the contrary, some elements are trying to promote the dual-union philosophy as a permanent feature in the ranks of labor. The AFL invades the automobile industry, already well organized in the CIO. The CIO announces an abortive and dangerous raid on the building trades which, while not without their violations of democratic trade union practice, are strongly organized in the AFL. No minor good effects can outweigh the generally reactionary consequences of these two cases in point.

For Industrial Unionism

The Socialist party remains a firm believer in the principle of industrial unionism. It is convinced that the continued strife is not only a menace to industrial unionism but is bound to undermine the very foundations of trade-unionism. Attacks upon the American standard of living, upon prevailing wage rates, are coming from all directions. The open-shoppers, the Chambers of Commerce, and other reactionary forces are utilizing every opportunity to lower conditions and reduce American standards. Every jurisdictional dispute is a feather in their caps, and delivers to them the support of increasing numbers of people who have been and should be sympathetic to labor. In the legislative halls this systematic attack finds an exact counterpart. Every bit of progressive legislation is bitterly fought, and in many cases, defeated. This is explained by the lack of unified pressure from the labor movement. Furthermore, because of the bitterness between the two labor camps, many genuinely progressive legislators are blacklisted because of a friendly gesture to one or the other parties in the dispute. As a result the gainer is usually the reactionary. Nationally the WPA support of employment has been kicked out from under all sections of labor even with New Deal connivance.

Masses Seek Peace

There is every evidence of a real desire on the part of the mass of the trade-union membership for a speedy unity. In many instances, successful co-operation has taken place on specific issues. On the other hand, internal warfare is driving several unions toward inde-

pendence from both the AFL and the CIO. We stand opposed to such a trend, for it may discredit and undermine the possibility of any centralized federated authority in American labor for many years to come. If the labor movement can rise above its internal conflict in specific emergencies, it can and must unite to fight the common enemy.

Farmer-Labor Party

The coming year will be historic in the political life of the United States. The Socialist party maintains its conviction that the best solution politically, would be the creation of a national Farmer-Labor party, which would serve as the expression of the needs of organized labor, the farmer, and the jobless worker. A unified labor movement could serve as a basis for the organization of such a political party. Labor-haters are girding their loins and preparing to take advantage of labor's weakened condition. Socialists believe that there is still time for organized labor to close ranks and form the bulwark of strength and power that will stem the reactionary trend. The labor movement needs unity and it needs peace. The Socialist party believes that the will and the interest of the members of all sections of organized labor requires that the leaders of the AFL and of the CIO get back into conference and stay in conference until the basis of a single united democratic federation of all basic unions is achieved.

"Those people who think that alcohol will benefit a cold make a mistake," says Mrs. D. Leigh Colvin of the W. C. T. U. Not speaking from personal experience, we hope?

THE BIG NOISE

Now that a New Jersey inventor has found a way to eliminate 96 per cent of the static from broadcasts, all we need is some system for getting rid of employer propaganda.

The Nazis are making things mighty tough for themselves in Bohemia. They have announced that the spreading of false rumors will be considered sabotage.

HEART FAILURE

The oldest cat in the world has died at the age of 24. He was probably scared to death at the reports of the dogs of war being turned loose.

Maybe the controversy over whether the United States or New York city it to try Louis (Lepke) Buchalter could be settled by the city buying Lepke for the \$25,000 it didn't have to pay as reward.

Little Essays

BY JOHN M. WORK

If I should ever be challenged to a duel, and have the right to choose the weapons, I shall choose typewriters.

The fair lady whose letter is printed saved me the trouble of choosing typewriters for a good-natured bout with her, as she the typewriter herself. Her name is Hippie, M. D., and she practices medicine in Philadelphia. Her letter to the editor:

Who is your John M. Work who thinks "Uncle Doc" and all his kind of fellows are in the dodo status? Apparently he is the rubbish one of the closest of human beings declares obsolete the priceless faith that from the friendship and intimate knowledge exists between the true physician and his patient. Unless he plans in his "socialized health" to preserve that bond and faith—and his health is emphatically to the contrary—I feel sure John M. Work when his body and soul, ailments are inseparable, are in need of repair.

Incidentally I should like to call the attention of readers to the rhythmic nature of above letter. Whether she knows it or not the doctor is a poet.

The question she raises is one I have answered before, but not in this paper. I have her for opening the way for me to answer here. Since she kindly expresses an interest in my body and soul, I hope to be forthcoming in my reply is partly personal.

It is well known that a skinny guy is to have the barber say to him, "You don't look exactly like a prizefighter but I'll bet you're as wiry as hell." I guess that is what you are. While I cannot speak for the future, I never knows, I can say that in this year it is 27 years since I lost a day from work on account of illness. Not that I have any some small ailments, but I made this by studying the subject of health and the best of my ability and opportunity, and the knowledge I gained.

In these 27 years I have not been in touch with doctors. I have spent a considerable amount of time and money on physical inventories, on preventive medicine, and in learning how to maintain health. I covered that individual practitioners who are interested only in getting folks who what immediately ails them, that they usually teach their patients how to know and that many of them would not know to do so. I have seen quite a few doctors are the slaves of harmful habits and do not even keep themselves well, but, on the contrary, set a bad example to their patients. Yet, on the whole, I have found doctors to be "good scouts."

For the last 18 years I have been practicing a species of group medicine, and I found the doctors deeply interested in helping me how to prevent illness. Although number of the members of the group given me service related to their specialties, have had one main doctor, and I can say from personal experience that the relation doctor and patient persists on a better basis.

Under socialized health service this relation can readily be much closer than it is. The doctor is an individual practitioner. The reason is obvious, namely, there will be direct financial relation between the doctor and the patient; therefore the patient will respect the doctor of finding illnesses which do not exist, or giving unnecessary treatments making unnecessary calls or advising unnecessary operations, in order to make more money. Because it will remove the obstacles to and friendship between patient and doctor expect socialized medicine to make their relationship far more satisfactory.

Of course I do not charge that most doctors in private practice string out the treatments unnecessarily, nor that they give operations that are not needed. But that they have the ever-present financial incentive to do these things, and I do not think doctor will deny that some of them yield to the temptation. At any rate, private practice often gives patients the suspicion that do these things, whether they do or not, thus vitiates the fine relationship which exists.

There is no reason why, under socialized medicine, the individual should not choose doctor whom he or she prefers, thus laying basis for the close relationship of doctor and patient. Not only is this not always true now, but there are millions of people who no such relationship at all, good, bad or indifferent, as they cannot afford a doctor and not call one except in extreme emergency. This is the terrible condition which has caused the upsurge of the masses against the present inadequate health service and the demand for a better setup.

However, group medicine, co-operative medicine, health insurance, and socialized medicine do not contemplate any interference with the right of private practitioners to continue in private practice if they want to; neither do they contemplate barring anyone from practicing private practitioners if so desired. We insist upon it that there shall be a health service for the masses of the people.

I have answered the point made in Dr. Hippie's interesting letter, but I am not done with what I should like to say on the subject of better health service. Editor, please limit space. As a health measure I should refrain from driving Gerry Allard nervous prostration by writing at too great length. I shall reserve the remainder of my remarks for another time.

We always hurry to listen to radio reports. That's part of the world-wide from which all of us are suffering in troubled times. Our most popular program are a 15-minute program which always includes with an advertisement for a well-known headache powder. That's certainly smart manship.

Alf Landon has stated that his political outlook is the same which he had in 1912. Alf shouldn't be so conservative. His point of view goes further than 1912—right back to Neolithic times.

Congress Convenes

If President Roosevelt's war party succeeds in repealing or modifying the neutrality act so as to legalize the shipment of arms, chemicals and munitions to France and Britain, this country will have taken a big step toward America's entry into the European war.

Under the guise of keeping out of the conflict the war party will make every effort to fulfill its commitments to Britain. Then the same war party will be around again under one pretext or another for appropriations or loans to help pay ourselves for those shipments. This will cinch the war party's objective.

Once our commodities and Wall Street's money are involved, the American people can bank on the war party's final and logical demand—ship American boys to European battle fields to protect Wall Street's interest.

President Roosevelt and his war party think they can get away with it but we are of the opinion that they can not.

The American people are sensible people. They know right from wrong.

They know war is an evasion of international problems, not a solution of them.

Therefore, in one of the greatest political struggles ever to take place in this country, the American people will win and the war party will lose.

They will win because they understand and know that if the Scandinavian, Swiss, Dutch, Belgian and other peoples whose borders are dangerously close to the battlefields can remain neutral so can the United States.

They will remain neutral because they know America is powerful and no nation on earth can intimidate it in its stand of neutrality.

The American people will defeat the war party and keep America out of the quagmire of Europe because they remember the last war and how thousands of this country's best sons were massacred and how this country was gyped both morally and financially by the imperialist powers here and abroad.

The American people can keep out of war if they will continue to express their opinions in no uncertain terms as they have in the past three weeks over the radio, newspapers, mass meetings, conferences, in their homes and on the streets.

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR! was the burning slogan that dramatically throbbled through the hearts of millions who have no desire to coin blood money out of the carnage which has tragically befallen the common people of Europe.

The American people can keep America out of war if they organize their forces, articulate their real feelings and prepare to meet the war mongers in the sharpest struggle to maintain this end.

Congress now becomes the center of the struggle between the war mongers and those who want to keep America out. But the final struggle will be fought and won by the vast majority of America which has everything to lose and nothing to gain by going to war.

Mann and Freeman

The advance guard of capitalism has two recruits, according to the solemn reports of the Communist agitprop department.

One is none other than Thomas Mann, foremost German writer and militant anti-Fascist, who, according to the Communist Runt-Information Service of Zurich, Switzerland, is "a reactionary ignoramus."

This will come as a shock to many who followed the Communist line of exploiting Mann's literary reputation and heroism during the past many months. It all came about after the noted author had publicly compared Nazism with Bolshevism. They are "brothers under the skin," Mann is reported to have said upon receiving an honorary degree of Ph. D. The Communists now have discovered that he has been "bribed by big business."

The other victim is Joseph Freeman, editor of the Communist New Masses, whose "sins" have been belatedly discovered by P. Dengel in the August, 1939, issue of the Communist International.

Brother Freeman's error is that he wrote a book. An American Testament, he called it, but Commissar Dengel calls it "hackwork," "filth," and "Trotskyism."

The American and British Daily Workers are warned by the Moscow mouthpiece not to review favorably such books as Freeman's, a "mistake" they made two and three years ago. Repeat the last line, two and three years ago.

The latest dope is that the New Masses staff has been ordered to boil Freeman in oil.

To a Nine-Inch Cannon

By Anonymous

Whether your shell hits the target or not, Your cost is Five Hundred Dollars a shot. You thing of noise and flame and power, We feed you a hundred barrels of flour Each time you roar. Your flame is fed With twenty thousand leaves of bread. Silence! A million hungry men Seek bread to fill their mouths again.