

Socialist Call

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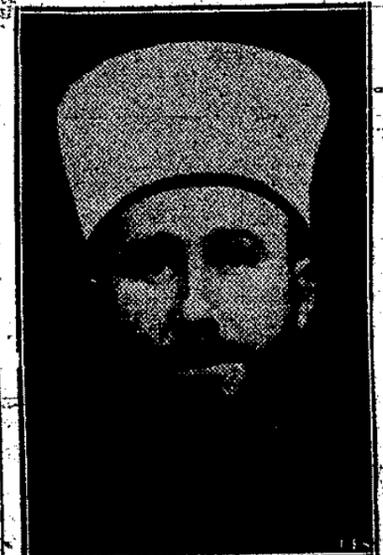
Report
on
Caballero

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VOTE SOCIALIST

ITALY'S PLEA IN PALESTINE MOVE TO WAR

Mussolini's pet newspaper, *Popolo d'Italia*, opened an attack against British imperialism in Palestine this week. Copying the method of the "democratic" imperialisms in shedding



Haj Amin el Husseini, Mufti of Jerusalem, who escaped from British troops. He was charged with arousing strife among Moslems against British domination.

crocodile tears for the aggressions of other nations, Mussolini asserted that "laws which for thousands of years guaranteed justice to civilized mankind are openly trampled on and innocent citizens are punished for deeds for which they bear no responsibility."

These words, coming from the butcher of Ethiopia, are spoken in the best style of British and French diplomacy, the slave-holders of a black domain.

Behind Il Duce's move to have "the pot call the kettle black" is the implied threat to British and French imperialism in the event of a war.

In his program of empire building, Mussolini is doing now what Britain did in the last war: promising to aid the Arab people in their war for liberation. England used this as a weapon against the central powers. Now Italy uses it as

a weapon against the British Empire.

Mussolini's action is not an isolated instance of how the imperialist powers pose as the friends of oppressed peoples in order to advance imperialist purposes. England did it in Ethiopia. Roosevelt is doing it in China.

The workers of the world must put no trust in these imperialist politicians who weep these crocodile tears. These rulers for capitalism will never liberate anybody. The liberation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves.

The masses of the world will be free when the workers of the world in both the democratic and dictatorial capitalist countries rise to take power for themselves, to build an international community of workers' nations.

Boycott Japan!

Workers throughout the world are applying their independent sanctions against Japanese imperialism.

The picture at the left shows a sign in a British shop:

An effective boycott of Japanese silk in America would be a heavy blow struck against the imperialism of the Mikado.

The Japanese Government is frightened by the prospect of an

American boycott. Important silk establishments in America have been circularized with an address made in the Japanese parliament by Mr. Koki Hirota on September 5th, 1937. This is a lengthy document intended to prove that Japan "exerted every effort to effect a speedy solution."

American workers can not leave it to the judgment of American capitalists as to whether or not Japanese goods is bought by the United States.

American workers, who know that China has nothing to gain but much to lose from this war, can not be taken in by the clumsy propaganda of Japan. This is a war of imperialist aggression undertaken against a semi-colonial nation still interested in developing its home economy.

American workers must aid the anti-imperialist struggle of China, through their own efforts—without putting a little of trust in the imperialists and the imperialist government of America.

Boycott Japan!



The workers of New York have a rare opportunity in this election. With one stroke, they can accomplish a host of purposes which are of prime importance in the struggle for economic security.

When they cast their votes on the election machine and indicate their preferences for councilmen in the various boroughs, they can serve several causes with the one straight Socialist vote.

For years, the Socialist Party has been driving home the importance of building a labor party. Now at long last, it has made its appearance on the political scene in New York under the name of the American Labor Party. Last year, Socialists who witnessed its birth could offer it no support—for it was directed merely at the re-election of Roosevelt and Lehman, a task that was properly the function of capitalist parties.

Even at that time, the Socialist Party stated that it would cooperate with the American Labor Party in the election of any independent labor candidates it might nominate for office. This year, the American Labor Party has offered to the electorate just such candidates, and the Socialist Party has been happy to place them on the Socialist row, thus adding its strength in the effort to put across labor candidates.

In the Bronx, for example, Isador Nagler of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is now the joint candidate of the ALP and the Socialist Party—as are assembly candidates in various districts.

So far as the ALP's candidates, who appear on the Democratic and Republican tickets, are concerned, the Socialist Party obviously cannot endorse them. It cannot support Mayor LaGuardia, to take one illustration, both because of his identification with the Republican Party and his record on many issues. Nevertheless, in deference to the wishes of labor, the Socialist candidate for mayor has been withdrawn—in order that labor might carry out its wishes.

Naturally, the responsibility for LaGuardia's future conduct in office will rest with the ALP and not with the Socialist Party which will continue to render to labor the honest service of criticizing the mayor.

It is the conviction of the Socialist Party that, while the American Labor Party has rendered a service in awakening the masses of New York's workers to the importance of organized political activity on their part, it has erred in not putting forth its own completely independent slate. Labor should have selected its mayoralty candidate from its own ranks, instead of taking the head of its ticket from a capitalist party. But the American Labor Party, in nominating its own candidates for other offices has given promise of becoming the independent party which the workers need. It is essential that all workers cooperate to effect that purpose. That is another reason for casting a straight Socialist vote as the workers' sure way of indicating that they are intent on establishing a workers' government in city, state and nation. When the Socialist levers are pushed down on the election day, the voter accomplishes three purposes:

First, he helps the electoral campaign of the ALP by adding to the totals of their candidates for office who have no ties to the Democratic or Republican parties.

Second, he affirms his desire for a genuine independent party of labor and indicates that desire by voting for the Socialist Party's candidates—all of whom are unfettered by links with the old parties—and for the independent ALP candidates whose names will appear on the Socialist row.

Third, he expresses his conviction that Socialism is the goal for which he is striving and that in the present city campaign he desires the application of Socialist principles to municipal government.

The straight Socialist vote on the election machine serves to effectuate all these ends.

And in addition, the voter has at last a real opportunity to elect Socialist councilmanic candidates. Under the system of proportional representation, minorities have an open door to representation in the municipal government. Now, at last, the voice of Socialism can be heard.

The workers of the city should indicate their preferences for Socialist representatives, confident that no vote will be lost under the new system. The Socialist candidates are Harry W. Laidler in Brooklyn, S. John Block in Manhattan and Aaron Levenstein in the Bronx. Write the number 1 in front of the name of the candidate in your borough and then go on to the respective ALP candidates, marking them 2, 3 and so on.

A straight Socialist vote is the perfect vote. Vote Socialist on the election machine and on the councilmanic ballot!

Sentiment For Unity Powerful in CIO-AFL Rank-and-File Labor

By Arthur G. McDowell
National Labor Secretary, Socialist Party

CHICAGO, Ill.—Overshadowing every other development in either camp alone, CIO and AFL gatherings last week both ended with the proposal for a joint conference in Washington on October 25th winning a reluctant but definite acceptance.

While individual credit for the move cannot be denied personalities like

David Dubinsky of the ILGWU in the CIO in forcing the issue, the real credit for this peace confab goes to the underlying sentiment, even instinct, of the rank and file of workers which called for unity at any price, short of surrender by the CIO of the program of (1) organization of the unorganized; and (2) the principle of industrial organization as the only basis of such organization in the mass production industries.

The attitude of this local rank and file of organized workers found humorous expression in the Kenosha Central Labor Union in Wisconsin where last week the largest union in the city was divided almost evenly between the CIO and AFL in a labor board election. "Kenosha Labor" ran a front page box reading "Denver 1,000 miles, Atlantic City 1,000 miles Kenosha Right In the Middle."

Ironically enough it was the insistence of the CIO forces in pursuit of 100% industrial unionism upon the inclusion of the office workers in the Simons Local which gave the AFL forces the small margin of victory.

Rank-And-File Background

This attitude of the rank and file of workers was not perhaps responsible for the original offers for negotiations exchanged by the CIO and AFL national meetings. In fact these offers were so couched and formulated on both sides as to give the greatest umbrage and reason for dropping the matter to the other side.

It was the knowledge of this sentiment however, which made it more and more difficult for both bodies to adjourn without trying to be clearly in the public eye as the champion of unity, and which finally made impossible the dodging of at least a formal conference in spite of mutual eloquent insults.

It is this same underlying sentiment which is the guarantee and almost the sole guarantee against the early breaking off of the Washington negotiations. Neither side will dare shoulder the blame for breaking off peace proceedings. It is well that this is so, for the difficulties to be surmounted are great.

Point Of Friction

It is absolutely necessary that the success which constitutes major justification for the CIO rebellion with the AFL be acknowledged if any peace in the labor movement is to be worth negotiation.

The complete industrial organization of Auto, Steel, Rubber, Textile and Radio unions must be recognized without substantial modification at any point, and probably will be after some maneuvering, with electricians, machinists as the chief obstacles.

There will be some flurry over miscellaneous jurisdictions, absorbed hurriedly and illogically by some CIO Internationals; but the real gripes will come over the really new CIO unions which will include the Radio and Electrical Workers to some degree, but above all such unions as the Marine Ship Builders Industrial Union versus the metal trade crafts, Woodworkers (Lumber) and Furniture versus the Carpenters reactionary front, and the



Matthew Woll, chairman of the resolutions committee of the AFL, reads the Committee for Industrial Organization out of its ranks, by empowering the Executive Council to expel William Green (at the right) listens to and approves the report. Under pressure from the CIO, AFL leaders accepted a call for a peace conference.

Transport Workers Union as against the Street Railwaymen etc.

Many a heart breaking compromise will be the price of unity in these fields; but unity, if it permits the reentrance of the new big industrial unions into the AFL with even a measure of autonomy, will be worthwhile working for by every Socialist and progressive trade unionist in the American Labor Movement.

Backward steps may be taken; but in view of the price of a real trade union civil war, it will be one step backward in order to take two steps forward. Every

eye and every hope will be glued on Washington as CIO and AFL sit down together. Unity must not be permitted to fail either thru continuance of conflicting ambitions and interests or thru any surrender or abandonment of the drive to organize the unorganized.

The background of these particularly thorny problems will be sketched in the SOCIALIST CALL in the next few weeks as the unity negotiations stretch out to considerable length as they must for peace worthwhile will not be immediately or cheaply achieved.

Tammany Rules United-Laborites Off Socialist Row

By Jack Altman

Desperate at the prospect of labor victories at the polls, the Democratic Party in the Bronx, through its Tammany-controlled Board of Elections, has ruled the name of Isidor Nagler and other joint candidates of the American Labor Party and the Socialist Party off the Socialist row.

S. John Block, prominent lawyer and Socialist candidate for City Councilman in Manhattan, will represent the party in a court action to save the designation of the candidates who include, besides Nagler, assembly candidates Nathaniel Minkoff in the 5th Assembly District, Herman Weinkrantz in the 6th A.D., and Gerard Muccigrosso in the 7th A.D.

In conformity with its policy, the Socialist Party has combined forces with the ALP in a drive to elect the independent candidates

of labor. Faced with the certainty of labor victories as a result of the united working class drive, the Democrats have resorted to a wanton disregard of the Election Law.

The Board of Elections claimed that the designating committee of the Socialist Party was not competent to make the nomination because not all of its members resided in the Bronx. The Election Law, however, clearly provides that the only qualification for such a committee is that its members be enrolled voters in the party making the designation. It is sig-

Non-Partisan Govt. Is A Fake, Declare Socialists of Detroit

DETROIT, Michigan.—The editorial attacking Norman Thomas' visit here appearing in Saturday's NEWS brought a counter-statement from the Wayne County organization of the Socialist Party today.

Thomas will be here Tuesday at a campaign meeting, sponsored by the Socialist Party, at 51 Sproat Street at 8 P.M. Walter Reuther will also speak at the meeting. Other candidates have been invited.

The statement issued by Ben Fischer, executive secretary of the local Socialists, follows:

"A leading Detroit newspaper, the NEWS, has seen fit to comment editorially on Norman Thomas' visit here Tuesday evening. The announcement that he will speak under the auspices of the Socialist Party in behalf of the Labor Slate is the occasion for this editorial.

"Mr. Thomas and the Socialist Party do not believe in what is called 'non-partisan government.' We believe that all government is operated in behalf of either the employers or the workers. There is no middle road though there is much talk of one. In every crucial situation where the interests of labor and capital conflict this becomes apparent. That is why Socialists say that there is no such thing in real life as 'non-partisan' government.

"There is non-partisanship so far as the Democratic and Republican parties are concerned. Why not? There is not enough difference between the two parties to make it difficult to serve both. But between labor and capital, there is no non-partisanship.

"The NEWS is right. Socialists do look upon this election in Detroit as the occasion for developing the idea among workers that they should act on the political field as workers. It is obvious that the forces of the employing class are on one side (witness the entire daily press and its vicious anti-labor bias). It is even more obvious that the overwhelming majority of workers in the Labor movement are on the other side. The labor movement is learning the truth about government—that if it is to be fair to labor it must be based on the political expressions of labor.

"Mr. Thomas has upheld this viewpoint for many years. If he lived in Detroit, he would believe this just as thoroughly as he does now. Detroit offers outstanding proof of how government when not controlled by labor is used against the workers."

PENNSYLVANIA

The Germantown Branch is sponsoring a forum on alternate Friday nights beginning October 22, in the Assembly Building of the Woman's Club, Washington Lane, Germantown. The first speaker will be Colston Warne pres. of Consumers Union of "Consumers Organize."

nificant that the Board accepted designations made by the committee for Queens though none of its members reside in that borough.

Attorneys for the Socialist Party and the American Labor Party who conferred immediately after the decision of the election board are agreed that the courts will sustain the Socialist nomination. The only effect, they are convinced, will be the further awakening of the workers to the political situation in New York.

Meanwhile, the prospect of labor victories has stimulated the working-class in the city. Socialists are pushing forward in the drive to roll up a tremendous vote for their candidates and to elect three city councilmen—Harry W. Laidler in Brooklyn, S. John Block in Manhattan, and Aaron Levenstein in the Bronx.

Monopolize BSAU Offices

Carrying out their policy of grabbing all the power they can in the trade unions, despite Earl Browder's recent statement that the Communist Party was not aiming to control the labor movement of this country, Communists in the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union of New York elected their entire slate in the balloting held on October 8, achieving their purpose of removing as officers and executive board members a number of office workers who had been active in the union for a long period. Included among the defeated candidates of the United Progressive League were Murray Nathan and Leonard Bright, organizers, and Rose Fischer and Harry Fox, board members, and Ernest Ettlinger, who had played a leading role in putting new life into the organization within recent years and in organizing office workers in private industry.

Out of 18 places on the Executive Board the so-called Non-partisan slate prepared by the C.P. nucleus in the BS&AU listed 16 candidates and two of the opposition were chosen as "acceptable." Similarly with the five positions for organizers four were administration candidates and one selected from the opposition as "acceptable."

Only 1238 members participated in the election, practically the same number that voted last year. On the basis of a claimed membership by the administration of 4,000 only 30 per cent were interested enough to vote in the election, but it is apparent that membership gains were exaggerated by the Merrill-Aronson-Yanoff-Hawley forces as an election maneuver.

Prior to last year's election Lewis Merrill and others of the C.P. committee who negotiated with the Progressive group committee advocated the idea of a "collective leadership" as the best means of advancing the welfare of the union. Subsequently, an Executive Board was elected which included a substantial number of the opposition, and Bright and Nathan were elected as organizers unopposed. When the United Office and Professional Workers of America was set up and Merrill and his hand-picked Executive Board assumed control of the international union the line was changed against the Communists determined they would brook no opposition and would eliminate from active participation in the building of the union those who would not accept the dictates of the C.P.

An amusing incident of the election campaign was a statement by Merrill that he was an enrolled Democrat.

WATCH THE WRAPPER

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135 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

CABALLERO WING CONTROLS SPAIN'S LABOR MOVEMENT

By Sam Baron

Comrade Baron sent the following important dispatches from Paris, dated October 12th. His source of information was Spanish emigres, close to Largo Caballero, revolutionary Socialist leader in Spain. Sam Baron is, at present, in Spain. His regular reports will constitute one of the major features in the CALL. Translations of important documents sent to us by Baron, dealing with the political situation among the working class forces in Spain, will appear in the forthcoming issues.

PARIS, France.—Largo Caballero, contrary to inspired reports in the public press, remains the most powerful, single political factor in Spain. The desperate and at times hysterical attempts to discredit him since last May, when he submitted his forced resignation, has reached a climax—in the Communist inspired drive—in splitting the U.G.T. wide open.

Well informed Spaniards contend that the very nature of the drive against Caballero and his followers, reveals the panic of the opposition.

If they go to such extremes

when Caballero remains silent, there is every reason to believe that the Spanish people do not take kindly to the new turn to the right and to the ensuing campaign of terrorization and character assassination.

The people also realize that Caballero, Araquistain and Pascual Tomas are the expression of their dearest hope: "No foreign domination, whether that nation be Italy, Germany or Soviet Russia, England and France; winning the war and the realization of the true Socialist economic and political democracy."

The drive to discredit Caballero is fast becoming a boomerang to the Communists and the Government and it is felt that the attempt to seize control of the U.G.T. illegally, (in typical dual union Communist third period style) will dramatize the contention that the Communists use the cry of "Unity" as a cloak for their manouvers in crushing the "left."

Stairway Putsch

On October 1st the UGT dissidents, consisting of the Communists, those supporting their policies and "representatives" of suspended federations that hadn't paid dues since previous to 1934, visited Largo Caballero and insisted that he call a meeting on that very day, precisely on the day of the opening of Parliament. Caballero pointed out this fact and charged that the "visit" was inspired. When the "delegates" insisted, he closed the offices.

The dissidents then decided upon a sitdown strike, sitting down and blocking all stairways in the building. From that vantage point they held a "convention" and decided to form a new "executive" committee.

After the smoke cleared it was apparent that the "stairway putsch" was inspired and had two objectives.

First, to seize control or to split the UGT.

Second, to prevent Caballero appearing in the Cortes, that same day, which would result in a crisis, and the probable fall of the Negrin government.

Both objectives were obtained but there is tragic irony in the second. Despite the pleadings of his own following to speak out—which he hasn't since his resignation—and the insistence of the CNT that he break his "eloquent silence", Caballero had no intention of going to the Cortes.

He contends that the Communists have divided the working class to the extent that the winning of the war is endangered and the revolution shipwrecked. He doesn't think that unity can be achieved by speaking at this time.

Observers think, however, that the time will shortly come when he will answer the character assassination by the Communist press and the foreign press by virtue of its censorship control. He will also deal with the campaign of terrorization. It is said that the political and economic questions involved will be aired for the first time.

Some two weeks ago, the world was informed with pride that M. Portela Valladares accepted the invitation from the Loyalist Gov-

Socialists, Trade Unionists, Republicans, Youth Protest

The united struggle of the Spanish masses against Franco continues to be seriously injured by the sectarian and divisive tactics of the Communist Party. A Spanish Cheka (secret terrorist body) has been organized by the

Communist Party to exterminate all elements which refuse to follow the conservative policy of the Spanish Stalinists.

The following letter to the Minister of Justice was drawn up by the parties of the anti-Fascist front in the province of Albacete, Spain:

The Letter

Most Excellent Sir:

We, the undersigned, representing the anti-fascist Organizations of Albacete, lay before you the following account of certain events that took place in this town to which we are strongly opposed since they are opposed to our political creeds and against all justice and equity.

On the 17th and 18th of this month (August), a number of individuals came to Albacete calling themselves officers of the law, although this is yet to be proved, accompanied by members of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Albacete. Among them were Jaime Nieto, Secretary of the Provincial Committee of said Party, at present serving in the Air Force, Angel Orтели, Francisco Fernandez, Aniceto Molina, Alfonso Navalon and a number of others. Stating that they intended to destroy the "fifth column" in Albacete, they proceeded to arrest people, search the houses of some of the residents, requisitioning money and jewels, etc.

From the manner in which the

ernment to return to Spain and take his seat in the Cortes sessions of October 1st. Much ado was made over this, to the surprise of all who knew Valladares role during the struggle of the Spanish people for freedom in past years.

At the outbreak of the war, Valladares had good reasons to flee the country. All this may be water under the bridge but imagine the chagrin of the authorities when on October 8th of last week, the now fascist Basque newspaper, El Diario Vasco, celebrated the anniversary of a certain letter written by Valladares to Francisco Franco, fascist generalissimo, by printing a photostatic copy of that letter. In this letter, written on October 8, 1937, Valladares offers his services to the Fascist cause.

The question occurs to the minds of all anti-fascists... Why is it that such proven men as Caballero, Araquistain and Tomas are slandered and persecuted by the Communists when such "patriots" as M. Portela Valladares are heralded with a fan-fare of trumpets?

arrests were being made, the police in most cases being absent and in others "controlled" by them, the alarmed townspeople began to ask themselves if this were an attempt to establish a new Cheka, as in other towns.

These "officers of the law" chose the early hours of the morning to make their arrests, waking many families in order to find the whereabouts of the persons they were seeking. Not only did they arrest heads of families, but they "raided" entire families, respecting neither age nor sex, which was rather an illogical procedure on the part of those who have such "responsible" ideas.

Brought to the police headquarters, the arrested persons were questioned by the aforementioned members of the Communist Party in Albacete, thereby considerably lowering the prestige of the police authorities, who, in our opinion, deserve the confidence of all the citizens of our town. When the declarations made by the persons arrested did not meet the approval of these elements, they insulted them, and some were brutally ill-treated. The regular police were forbidden by the civil "officers of the law" to go to the lavatory so that they should not hear the cries of the victims.

These Communist Party elements, together with others who had come from Valencia, as well as the "officers of the law," carried on to such a degree with their policy of abuse and outrage that the entire police force was on the point of handing in their badges and identification warrants. They only refrained from doing so because of the inevitable conflict that would necessarily arise, with an end that nobody could foresee.

Legal Handling

We must begin with the premise that all the undersigned are among those most intensely interested in seeing that all who are opposed to the regime shall be exposed and dealt with, but—legally.

That is to say, that all arrests shall be made by the legally constituted police authorities, that arrested people shall be tried by the competent Tribunals and in the proper manner without abusing or ill-treating anyone. For all justice, if it shall be justice, must be administered with decorum. A proof of this is that all the members of the anti-fascist front have been cooperating in its administration in the Popular Tribunals, correctly and with a sense of decency, without insulting or torturing any of the prisoners.

Yet the latter have received the punishments that their crimes

merited, in many cases the death sentences. The facts that we have just given have been verified by members of the Socialist Party and trade unionists of the UGT and the CNT.

They were all greatly surprised, the more so, since on the very day that these events began, namely, the 17th, the Civil Governor presided over a meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Frente Popular and gave no indication whatever that there existed members of the "fifth column" in Albacete.

Upon expressing this astonishment to the Civil Governor, pointing out that all the anti-fascist organizations were prepared to offer their cooperation, he replied, at first, that he would look into the matter. Later on he declared that he did not deem the police force adequate and had therefore asked for the assistance of trustworthy people, these last, it appears, being members of the Communist Party.

Protest

In view of this, we, the anti-

fascist organizations of Albacete, feel bound to protest, considering that the confidence of a Civil Governor must of necessity be based on the forces that compose the Popular Front, and never upon merely a certain section of same, for that would mean that he is not the governor of a province, but of a political party in the province where he performs his duties.

In addition we believe that the governmental authorities should not overlook the police department; since all of its members have been admitted or confirmed in their posts by the previous endorsement of an anti-fascist organization.

We therefore ask your excellency to institute an immediate inquiry and appoint a special judge to investigate the activities of all those who have taken part in the recent events that we are denouncing, for only in such a way, can justice be done and the victory obtained by the loyal forces over the fascists.

Albacete, August 21, 1937

For the UGT, signed by Juan Llorente.

For the ONT, signed by Sebastian Cuesta Fernandez.

For the FTJL, signed by Jose Marie Jover.

For the Left Republican Party... Illegible.

For the Socialist Party... Vidal Ayala Frances.

For the FAI... Juan Montoro Garcia.

For the United Socialist Youth... Virginio Sanchez Navarro.

For the Republican Unionists... Jose Scher Torrecilla.

Crosswaith Attacks Divine Stooge of Negro Exploiters

By Frank R. Crosswaith

(Frank Crosswaith is a General Organizer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and chairman of the powerful Negro Labor Committee. Crosswaith is at present Socialist candidate for Comptroller in the City of New York).

"Father Divine, the religious clown of our time, is again demonstrating his use value to the forces of reaction generally and to the exploiters of Negro and white labor in particular."

"For some time it was widely known in Harlem that Father Divine was opposed to trade unionism for Negroes. In a recent strike of workers in a Harlem Dep't store, the employer apparently furnished Father Divine with a list of the striking workers.

"The Divine clown thereupon addressed a letter to each of the striking workers. Beneath the mumbo-jumbo of the contents of the letter, we were able to learn that Father Divine was advising the strikers to return to their employer who was described as embodying all the qualities of a terrestrial being.

"At present Father Divine is showing his true colors even in a more convincing fashion. The Harlem Joint Board of the I.L.G.-W.U. has called a strike of the workers employed by the Hudson

Dress Company of 204 E. 107th St. Some of these workers are Negroes; a few of them belong to Divine's queer cult. Two of them refused to heed the strike call of the Union. Now trucks bearing the label of Father Divine's PEACE Mission are busy carrying scabs each day to the factory. These trucks are guarded by dusky and husky male angels whose powerful arms and stout bodies testify as to their faith in the principles of Peace.

"The workers in the Hudson Dress Company are being ruthlessly exploited by their employer who is said to have political connections with an organization whose emblem is a resident of the jungle. The workers are striking to increase wages. Some of them receive as little as \$1.00 per day."

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Jack Altman, Sam Baron, Robert Delson, Herbert Zam

12 Saturday, Oct. 23, 1937 No. 135



Liberals and the Coming War

Those who remember the last war also remember the part played by the liberals in that war.

Wilson was one of those liberals. He said that America was not going to war for imperialist reasons, but to overthrow Kaiserism and autocracy—to free the German people, to liberate oppressed nationalities.

When the war ended, the nations that won the war—the liberal democratic nations—wrote a peace treaty that scandalized every liberal in the world. That treaty was a pirate's pact, an ugly dividing-up of the booty by a bloodthirsty, vengeful pack of gangsters.

The liberals wept. They had been betrayed. Somehow, liberals are always being betrayed by their spokesmen.

And the liberals will be betrayed again and again, unless they learn a simple fact:

History is not made by individuals with good or bad purposes; history is made by classes fighting for class objectives.

The Treaty of Versailles was a crying shame because it was an imperialist treaty. And it was an imperialist treaty because it was written by imperialist countries.

America, France, and Britain are imperialist countries. Norman Davis, Roosevelt's delegate to the Nine-Power Conference, is Morgan's man. America's foreign policy is controlled by, limited by, and motivated by the imperialist aims of America's financial lords.

The liberals who are preparing the way for America's going to war in the Far East are sowing the seeds for their own sorrow.

This week we have in mind particularly *The Nation*; not because its record is the worst—*The New Republic* is far worse, and *The New Masses* is the worst jingo sheet in America today—but because *The Nation* has been among the best of the progressive weeklies in its anti-war stand.

In its October 16th issue, however, page one has two editorials calling for collective security against Japan; page 3 has a full page editorial urging the President to act against Japan; page 6 contains another full page argument for collective security; and page 7 is given over to Louis Fischer for another call to collective security.

The saddest page of all is that of Villard. This old-line pacifist comes out against war—but for collective security. He wants Roosevelt to "reassume the moral leadership of the world which Woodrow Wilson abandoned when he surrendered to the 'peacemakers' at Paris."

Villard, like the rest of the liberal crew, has not yet learned that Roosevelt, the man, is not something apart from American imperialism. To build up trust and confidence in Roosevelt as a man to "reassume moral leadership" against Japan is just to build up for a great let down.

Roosevelt is another Wilson; he is the liberal front for reactionary American imperialism; he is both a stooge and bait, a stooge for banker investments and a bait for the liberal fish.

To entrust Roosevelt with the task of bringing morality into the capitalist world is to make impossible the realization of true international peace by a revolutionary working class struggle against American imperialism, expressed today by Roosevelt.

The Nation articles, it is true, warn strongly against any move by the government in the direction of increased armaments or naval blockades. *The Nation* wants no military sanctions, yet.

This is all to the good, of course. It puts *The Nation* to the "left" of *The New Masses* which is just itching for military sanctions.

The Nation fails to realize, however, that by painting the US Government as a moral instrument, acting in the interests of world peace by punishment of the aggressor, the liberal journal is preparing the public mind for support of a war.

If Roosevelt can act and is acting out of regard for international morality, then the question of how to gain it is a secondary matter.

The real point is that Roosevelt is unable to pursue a foreign policy except as it accords in major lines with the interests of American imperialism.

For that reason, we do not trust the anti-imperialist speeches of Roosevelt; we must indicate the imperialist origins of FDR's sudden declaration of moral purpose; we must indicate that a foreign war will ultimately involve the US and that the US will act in that war as it acted in 1917—to fasten the shackles of imperialism on the masses of the world.

That's the job to do; that's what the liberals are not doing. Indeed, the liberals are doing just the opposite: they are building up faith in a new Wilson.

AT THE FRONT



By NORMAN THOMAS

By all odds the best news of many weeks is the announcement that there will be a peace conference between representatives of the CIO and the AFL. Of course there are enormous difficulties in the road to a worthwhile peace. But that peace is of such transcendent importance to all workers, it is so vital to the success of the struggle against the rise of an American fascism, that every union man must put whatever pressure he can upon responsible officials to see that negotiations do not fail.

Peace is worth any price except one. The one price that cannot be paid even for peace will be the sacrifice of the principle of industrial unionism and any sort of disruption of existing industrial unions, especially, in the great mass production industries like steel, rubber, automobiles, ship building, boots and shoes, etc. We want peace. We want it desperately. We want the unity of the working class movement of America. We want no wars of revenge. But we cannot have the peace of death or inaction, and so far as organizing the unorganized on an important scale in the mass production industries is concerned we had almost the peace of death in the AF of L before the CIO began its work.

Socialists in CIO unions and in AF of L unions will struggle for peace on the basis of an organization thoroughly committed to, and properly organized for, the aggressive organization of all workers on the principle of industrial unionism, which principle, of course, does not require the unnecessary dissolution of all the existing AF of L craft unions, for instance, in the building trades.

THE C.P. AND WAR

At the great National Negro Congress in Philadelphia I heard two representative Communist speakers discuss issues of war and peace and international problems. The first, William Patterson, just back from Russia, declared for unqualified support for President Roosevelt and the line he had laid down in his "great Chicago speech," which speech, he said, backed the peace policy of Soviet Russia. (Apparently Earl Browder gave even more authoritative expression to this same idea in a speech on Sunday in Pittsburgh in which he went the length of pledging Communist support to President Roosevelt until "a new political instrument to defeat reaction" could be devised!)

At Philadelphia, Clarence Hathaway elaborated the ideas of the Communist Party on collective security. This, again without qualification, he accepted as the correct policy and one that could be enforced simultaneously against Japan, Germany and Italy if the United States would join with Soviet Russia, France, and other nations later he included England—to enforce it. Collective security, he claimed, could be enforced solely by economic pressure without the slightest danger of war! The menace to peace he concluded, might ultimately be capitalism, but immediately it is the aggression of fascist nations with which, of course, he classed Japan.

A more thoroughgoing repudiation of Leninism could hardly be imagined. What is more important is that a more thoroughgoing repudiation of any vital socialism in favor of the Stalinist

foreign policy could hardly be imagined.

The nations to which Hathaway looks for the enforcement of collective security, with the exception of Russia, are capitalist nations. They are imperialist nations. They do not love and serve true democracy. They seek each its own advantage in profits and prestige. They went through the solemn farce of sanctions against Italy and deliberately refused to impose effective sanctions, this not because of any particular iniquity of the statesmen but because of the nature of capitalist nationalism. Even Russia, it will be remembered, continued to sell indispensable oil to Italy all through the Abyssinia adventure. It is absurd to say that if the capitalist United States should join these other nations the picture would be changed.

It is absurd to the verge of dishonesty for an intelligent man to declare categorically that effective sanctions can be enforced by a capitalist alliance at one and the same time on Japan, Italy and Germany without any danger of war. Walter Lippmann, who has argued the same case in his column, knows better, and Walter has had experience in the past in getting nations into wars for democracy.

No nation has a right to undertake effective economic sanctions which is not at least, ready to enforce them by war. Almost certainly today effective sanctions would lead the desperate nations against which they were applied to undertake war, and in such a war it is likely that the dictators and the militarists would have the support of despairing population, including the workers.

The same danger does not exist if and when the workers—let us say of Japan—realize that a boycott is a popular boycott, an expression of the failure of their fellow workers in other lands. Workers sanctions will not be enforced by navies. But true a workers' sanctions should be accompanied by genuine and sincere assurances that the same workers want to cooperate with their fellow workers in Japan or Italy or Germany to end the capitalist-nationalist system and its division of the nations into the House of Have and Have Not. It is this division which is precisely the thing that capitalist America, capitalist Britain and capitalist France would want to defend by these alliances.

WORKERS' ACTION AGAINST JAPAN

No service that a capitalist American government will or can render to China is worth the cost to us and to mankind of American entry into world war, that means universal conscription at home for the workshop as well as for the trenches. That means virtual military dictatorship here with no reason to expect from the outcome anything better than followed the first world war to make the world safe for democracy. That also was at the time glorified by an idealism, at least as sincere as the Communists and Wilsonian liberals would put at the service of a "new world" war, this time against fascism.

To argue like the Communists

and Dorothy Thompson that the admitted fact of world interdependence must make America sacrifice the relative advantages of its historical, yes, and its geographical position, in order to rush into war, is to abuse the whole concept of true interdependence which demands a unity of workers for peace, not a league of capitalist national governments for war. The Communists have the excuse that the one thing that matters to them is to follow Stalin. The liberals of the Dorothy Thompson school have not that excuse.

Already it is perfectly apparent from the closing paragraph of Roosevelt's last fireside speech that what he wants is that we shall trust him, as we trusted Wilson, even although he himself has as little of a clear-cut program as Wilson did in the years preceding our final drift into war.

It is time for the great masses of America to awake to the real facts. If they do not want their sons conscripted for war in China or Japan let them say so, and then let them bring the pressure that can more reasonably be brought, without such extraordinary danger, through an application of the boycott against the easily distinguished silk and other imports from Japan.

Such a boycott may cost us something; it will not ruin us. If women, for instance, do not wear silk stockings they will wear rayon or cotton stockings and the hosiery workers will be employed. A popular boycott is practicable and can be made constructive. An alliance of America with other capitalist nations to preserve the status quo is likely to mean new war.

Of that war in Far East we shall bear the heaviest burden. Let us keep out! From the government we want a better neutrality program; from the workers help to their exploited brothers.

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Lest We Forget - Debs!

By MacAlister Coleman

THROUGHOUT the nation this week in Terre Haute and New York, in Philadelphia and San Francisco, in city union headquarters, and in remote mining camps, Socialists revere the memory of Eugene Victor Debs. Debs died eleven years ago in a sanitarium in a suburb of Chicago. He was seventy-one years old. His health had been broken by the harshness of the prison regime imposed upon him for his heroic defiance of the war-lords of America. His had been a life of devotion to the cause of the nation's workers unparalleled in the history of the country.

As the years pass, his figure looms ever larger. More and more, we are coming to understand that there trod the American soil in our own time one of the greatest and bravest spirits of all time. Men and women who, when Debs was alive, could find no words bitter enough to express their abhorrence for the man and his ideas, today loudly sing his praise. Their censure is reserved for those living ones who carry on the work of Debs.

For them the Debs of 1926 is now the martyr. It is we Socialists of 1937 who still carry high the red flag for which Debs gave his life, who are the latter-day villains. Debs would have smiled his ironic smile could he have heard some of the eulogies paid him after his death. Eulogies from those who did their best to destroy him. But this would not have greatly distressed him. He knew, as few men know, how the hated radical of today becomes the honored hero of tomorrow.

Debs is dead, eleven years now, but how amazingly his philosophy comes alive! No major phase of today's class struggle but what is affected by it. From the problems posed by the lowering menace of capitalist war to the very nature of the organization of labor in this country, you can, if you know the man's utterances and writings, find in them forthright interpretation and courageous clarification. What he had to say in 1905 about industrial unionism, in 1914 about war, in all his long life about the cruelties of the capitalist system—these have stood the stern test of time. They ring true today.

Debs, An Inspiration

Younger Socialists, new members coming into our party, must not think of Debs as merely one of our "martyred dead." Let them think of him rather as the inspiration for a way of life today that makes the adventure of being a Socialist the most glorious thing in human existence. Let them remember that many of the most heartening developments in the radical and labor movements had their origins in the philosophy and activity of Debs and the small group of pioneers of Socialism who stood shoulder to shoulder with him in the first days of our Party.

When the initials CIO first sprinkled the front pages of our newspapers, there was widespread confusion as to the meaning of industrial unionism. Many thought that here was something new under the labor sun. There seemed to be the impression that labor was inventing a fresh technique to meet the onslaughts of the united front of capitalism. Yet precisely because of this issue, in 1886, fifty-one years ago, Debs, then a brilliant young editor-organizer for the Railroad Brotherhoods began his long march leftwards that was to end behind the bars in Atlanta prison.

Debs was editor of "The Firemen's Magazine," in 1886 by all odds the most influential labor publication of its time. Although but thirty-one years old, he had behind him a performance as labor organizer for the railwaymen which had made the man from Terre Haute a leading figure throughout the movement. But he was unhappy over the sharp divisions within the Brotherhoods which kept firemen and engineers,

conductors and maintenance men apart at times when the need was desperate for them to stand together.

When Debs brooded over the scorn with which the engineers regarded the fireman in the same cab, he invented the phrase "Aristocrats of Labor." All his democracy was roused in resentment against this snobbishness. But more than that, he saw how vastly the employers benefited by this splitting of labor's ranks. It had gone so far, that some of the richer Brotherhoods were urging their old guard membership to "ignore strikes."

At the convention of the Firemen at Minneapolis in the history-making year of 1886, Debs pressed his idea of what was then called "Federation" i.e. an alliance of the Brotherhood formed for offensive and defensive purposes. He wrote "The motto must be 'United We Stand; Divided We Fall.' For purposes of protection the throttle and the scoop, the switch and the brake, must be in close alliance and equally firm and defiant. When corporations see this federation accomplished, no strike will occur, because a strike under such circumstances would mean an immediate cessation of railroad transportation on the line or system where it occurred."

In their vague, mystic manner the Knights of Labor, the official movement of the time, was teaching such a philosophy. But the Knights went too far afield and the more practical men of Gompers in the newly-formed American Federation of Labor came into power with their philosophy of no-philosophy and their opportunistic doctrine of "pure and simple" business unionism.

Leads Militant Minority

It was Debs' fate early to lead a militant minority. He could no longer stay within an organization founded upon the undemocratic principles of craft organization. To the astonishment of some of his closest friends he resigned his position as editor of the Firemen's Magazine, incidentally giving up a salary of \$4,000 a year and the perquisites that went with the office.

He went out to organize the American Railway Union at a salary of \$75 as the first president of the first and only industrial union of all railway workers. Though Debs was not a Socialist at that time, the Socialists welcomed this step, as they have always welcomed every move towards genuine unity of the workers. In their paper, "The People," the Socialists wrote:

"From this deliberate or instinctive recognition of the identity of the class interests of all the railway employees golden fruits may be expected. It is a step in the direction of clasping hands with the whole working class in all other industries, of recognizing the solidarity of its interests; and of taking a position before which all false impressions must vanish, and the question, the real question, appears in its only practical light and its full grandeur—the abolition of the capitalist system of production, the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth."

The story of the American Railway Union is one of the most dramatic chapters in the dramatic history of American labor. It began with a startling victory of Debs' determined forces against the powerful Great Northern Rail-

way in the strike of 1894 and ended with the glorious defeat of what was called "The Debs Rebellion"—the strike of the Pullman workers and their railroad allies in the same year.

A "glorious defeat" because though it resulted in the jailing of Debs for the defiance of one of the first important injunctions ever issued against organized labor in this country, it drove home the lessons of industrial unionism and gave to the Socialist Party its greatest leader.

For Debs came out of jail when he had served his sentence, soon to devise a Socialism as indigenously American as the needs of the rank and file of his loyal railroaders. And at the very heart of his Socialism was the philosophy of industrial unionism.

Few speeches of his from then on that did not underscore this need for unity against the unified bosses. He would lean from the platform, hold out his hands to cheering railroaders and miners and garment workers, and say:

"The workman today does not understand his industrial relation to his fellow workers. He has never been correlated with others in the same industry. He has mechanically done his part. He has simply been a cog. Now, we teach him to hold up his head and look over the whole mechanism. If he is employed in a certain plant, as an industrial unionist, his eyes are opened. He takes a survey of the entire productive mechanism, and he understands his part in it, and his relation to every other worker in that industry. The very instant he does that he is buoyed by a fresh hope and thrilled with a new aspiration. He becomes a larger man. He begins to feel like a collective son of toil."

"Then he and his fellows study to fit themselves to take control of this productive mechanism when it shall be transferred from the idle capitalist to the workers to whom it rightfully belongs. . . With the education they will have received, the industrial workers will be drilled and disciplined, trained and fitted for industrial mastery and social freedom."

Debs said that in the Fall of 1905, the year when he was active in helping organize the Industrial Workers of the World, the fighting, proletarian organization of industrial unionists, whose early days gave rich promise of turning the American labor movement into the revolutionary upsurge that is the inevitable concomitant of the class struggle.

Read it again and you realize that it contains the fundamentals of a philosophy, lacking which trade unionism is no more than another phase of the American love for organization for organization's sake.

Debs and the War

When the first guns in Europe in 1914 were heard this side the Atlantic, the American labor movement and the Socialists alike were on the high road to the goal of which Debs had dreamed. Everywhere, as Jack London told a shocked academic group at Yale University, men were writing to one another in the name of revolution, not the violent insurrection that is the bugaboo of the reactionary, but the more significant revolution in the processes of production and the forces engaged in them, which leads to the cooperative commonwealth.

In our participation in the European chaos American capital-

ists saw, or thought they saw, the opportunity to stem the rising tide of labor and Socialism and at the same time reap unholy profits for themselves. The preparedness parades began their deadly march. Debs and his loyal followers were put to the sternest test that has ever confronted radical America. And they met that test like the true proletarians they were.

In the historic St. Louis Declaration in April 1917, a few days after the declaration of war on Germany, the Socialist Party declared its unequivocal opposition to the war. A referendum on the Party's stand was adopted by a vote of 21,000 to 350. Then on June 16th, 1918 Debs made his famous speech at Canton, Ohio, which is among the most cherished of our Socialist archives.

He was speaking on behalf of Kate Richards O'Hare, Charles E. Ruthenberg, Alfred Wagenknecht, Charles Baker and Tom Mooney, radicals sentenced to long prison terms because of their implacable opposition to the war and its capitalist fomenters. It was courage incarnate to make such a speech at such a time with agents from the Department of Justice everywhere in the audience and the certain knowledge that the wrath of the war-mongers would be loosed upon the speaker.

"I abhor war," thundered Debs, while the working-class audience cheered him to the echo. "The heart of the International Socialist never beat a retreat. Socialists are pressing forward, here, there, everywhere, in all the zones that girdle the globe. They are making history that will light up the horizon of coming generations, for their mission is the emancipation of the human race. They have been reviled; they have been ridiculed, imprisoned and have suffered death, but they have been sufficient unto themselves and their final triumph is but a question of time."

Again he reverted to his favorite theme, that of the industrial organization of the workers. He said:

"When we unite and act together on election day, we shall develop the supreme power of the one class that can and will bring permanent peace in the world. We shall then have the intelligence, the courage and the power for our great task. In due time industry will be organized on a co-operative basis. We shall conquer the public power. We shall then transfer the title deeds of the railroads, the telegraph lines, the mines, mills and great industries to the people in their collective capacity. We shall take possession of all these social utilities in the name of the people. We shall then have industrial democracy. We shall be a free nation whose government is of, by and for the people."

"And now for all of us to do our duty," he concluded, with the shadows of the prison already closing down on him, "The clarion call is ringing in our ears and we cannot falter without being convicted of treason to ourselves and our great cause. Do not worry over the charge of treason to your masters. Be concerned about the treason that involves yourselves. Be true to yourselves and you cannot be a traitor to any cause on earth."

Four days after the Canton speech, Debs was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury for violation of the infamous Espionage Law. At his trial he again denounced war and its makers. Debs took back no word of what he had said at Canton. He added to his indictment of his indictors. He said, "The minority are right. In every age there have been a few heroic souls who have been in advance of their time, who have been misunderstood, maligned, persecuted,

The dangers of a rapidly approaching war have thrown into the limelight Militarism on the Campus

The Socialist Call, beginning next week, will run a brilliant expose of how the war machine runs rough-shod over the American schools.

Robin Meyers, former editor of "Campus News," and chairman of the Peace Club of the New Jersey College for Women, and present Business Manager of "Student Advocate," tells of the struggle of anti-imperialist students against militarism in the schools:

sometimes put to death. Long after their martyrdom monuments were erected to them and garlands were woven for their graves."

It might have been a description of his own destiny.

William Ellery Leonard wrote of him:

He lights (like Socrates) on no defence Except reiteration of his cause."

When he went through the gates of the prison to which he had been sentenced for ten years, he turned to his comrades and said:

"I enter the prison a flaming revolutionist—my head erect, my spirit untamed, and my soul unconquerable."

Eleven years have gone and in the course of those years our Party has faced crises that would have shattered any organization, not blessed with such a heritage as Debs and the pioneers handed on to us. Today our comrades are living the Debs way of life as he would have had them live it. In the great forward march towards industrial unionism and its concomitant industrial democracy they are in the van.

North and South, in the embattled Valley of Democracy where Debs was born, on the Pacific Coast where he fought many of his most strenuous battles, they are acquitting themselves like Socialists. The Committee for Industrial Organization has for its militant nucleus great unions towards whose upbuilding Debs gave so much of his tremendous energy. In the work of obtaining relief for the millions still in desperate need despite the hypocritical optimism of the Fat Boys, our comrades carry on in the Debs spirit. On the political field they are fighting courageously against the old parties of capitalism and striving to bring about that genuine party of labor and the working farmers which Debs so pressingly urged. And last but not least, they are fighting against war and its inevitable precursor Fascism.

We pause this October to revere the memory of Debs. But we do not tarry long. He would not have us do so. As he said at Canton:

"Do you wish to hasten the day of victory? Join the Socialist Party. Don't wait for the morrow. Join now. Enroll your name without fear and take your place where you belong. You cannot do it yourself and do it squarely. And then as you look yourself in the face, you will have no occasion to blush. You will know what it is to be a real man or woman. You will lose nothing, you will gain everything. Not only will you lose nothing, you will find something of infinite value and that something will be yourself. That is your supreme need—to find yourself—to know yourself and your purpose in life."

Communists on Trial

SEN. BURKE (Mass. Red Baiter): Do you believe in defending your country in case of war, would you fight?

DAVE GRANT (Young Communist): Yes!

By Al Hamilton

There are times even today, when reaction in the United States drops the recently acquired benevolence of President Roosevelt's administration and openly seeks the suspension of working class organizations.

The most recent unity of reactionary forces in an attempt to suppress "radicalism," is in Massachusetts, where the Knights of Columbus, the American Legion and business interests united to force through the state legislature the creation of a Commission to Investigate Subversive Activities. Its definition of subversive was typical of the Hearst mind—Communist. A Party seeking the overthrow of capitalism, a party that is truly revolutionary, expects such periodic campaigns on the part of reaction, and prepares for them. It is normal to expect that the forces of reaction at times will attempt to take away from a working class party its right to legality, its freedom to speak, to publish, and to meet.

At such a time, it is expected that a revolutionary party will keep its integrity, and will use the stand as a forum for the condemnation of the forces and the society responsible for the "red raids." Always it is expected that a party will emerge from such a situation secure in the knowledge that the reactionary drive has been turned to as good advantage as possible for the

presentation of the principles of the party.

Such was the conduct of Debs during the war when tried for sedition following his speech at Canton, Ohio. His name is recorded as one of those who used a capitalist court as his soapbox for the rallying of support to the position he held. Such has been the conduct, firm, unwavering and principled, of countless Socialists and workers brought before capitalist courts and commissions. Such has been the conduct of the Communist Party in the past.

There can be no doubt that the attempt of the Legislature of Massachusetts to remove the Communist Party from the ballot and to suppress it was a menace to all militant workers. Because of the seriousness of the situation and the threat to the labor movement embodied in the creation of the Commission, Alfred Baker Lewis for the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Mass. appeared before the commission. He spoke against the anti-democratic nature of the Commission, and for the right of the Communist Party or any other group to be "subversive" if it desired.

Guard, the C.M.T.C., the ROTC and turning any war into civil war according to the resolution of the 8th Congress of the CP?

Daye Grant: No. Senator Burke: Do you support the resolution of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party calling for the abolition of R.O.T.C.?

Dave Grant: No. Senator Burke: The resolution calling for the abolition of the National Guard, and the C.M.T.C.?

Dave Grant: No. Senator Burke: Do you believe in defending your country in case of war, would you fight?

Dave Grant: (With emphatic shake of head) Yes!

Groves: Do you know what the Oxford Pledge is?

Grant: Yes.

Groves: Do you know that Young Communists support the Pledge which urges students to refuse to support the government in war?

Grant: No, We don't.

Groves: Do members of the Y.C.L. take the pledge in the American Student Union?

Grant: No they don't.

Holmes: Do you differentiate as did your leader Lenin between imperialist democracy and soviet democracy as quoted by another member of the Commission. (The Commission had quoted a speech by Lenin to the C.P. of the Soviet Union).

Grant: No we don't differentiate.

Thus ended the struggle of the C.P. against war, and against imperialism. I may be naive, and simple, but I can draw absolutely no difference between the answer of the Y.C.L. to the questions on the national guard, the R.O.T.C. defense of the country, the Oxford Pledge, and the answers expected from an American Legionnaire, or a member of the war department.

The Communist Party is for war, and will support American business interests abroad when they go to war. The Communist Party now can be expected to talk war, national defense, protection of American "interests" along with the reactionaries, the red-baiters, and the militarist.

Among the workers, the Communists can now be expected to call off the struggle against war.

Among the youth, particularly the student youth where there has been a great anti-war movement in the past, the Y.C.L. can be expected to support the R.O.T.C. and to support the ends and purposes of the R.O.T.C.

The answer of some old Communists may be, the role of "our spokesman at Boston" was a maneuver. Not at all, it was the unspoken answer of what the Communists believe.

Conduct of the Communists

Such threats on the part of the reactionaries must be fought openly, with the mobilization of mass sentiment and not by abject submission. But such was not the conduct of the Communist party of Mass. nor its national spokesman who appeared.

The Communist Party that came before the Commission was not a party that the reactionaries need fear, and certainly not the kind of a revolutionary Party pictured in the speeches of the legislators who created the commission.

Rather there appeared a party abject, willing to cooperate, a party that conducted itself in a manner that seemed to say to the Legislature and reactionaries, "We try to satisfy."

The C.P. did not object to the commission itself, but rather to one or two members of the commission, who, because of their ignorance and illiteracy were not quite as smooth and clever as the other members of the Commission.

What was tragic about the conduct of the spokesmen of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League was however, not near as much the attitude toward the commission but rather the sentiments that were expressed before the commission.

The appearance of the CP was preceded by a speech by Earl Browder before the State Convention of the Communist Party

of Mass. where the new line of the CP reached its peak, or at least so it seemed.

The importance of Browder's speech was his complete alignment of the Communist Party with Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. The speech of the President at Chicago and the presentation of the CP line on war by the President changed overnight the attitude of the CP. They became completely a supporter of the present administration.

"I have no hesitation in declaring, for the C.P. and its followers, that with the central thought and direction of President Roosevelt's Chicago speech we are in PRACTICAL agreement and on such questions with which we disagree, these are not questions for immediate and practical solution."

(On the day I visited the commission hearings, the question was asked, "you support dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, you support Socialism in Russia, you support the rule of the Communist Party in Russia, do you want those things for the United States?" The answer was "no we believe in American democracy")

Young Communists for War

The most tragic, and yet the most significant turn of the C.P. from revolutionary leadership of the working class as given before the Commission was witnessed by your correspondent, when Dave Grant, Y.C.L. State Secretary of Mass. appeared:

Senator Burke: (The illiterate who was opposed by the C.P.) Do you believe in teaching boys they shouldn't be connected with

the National defense of the country?

Dave Grant: I have never said anything of the sort. I don't believe it.

Senator Burke: Do you believe in doing away with the National

Devere Allen Dissents On "Neutrality" Position

Editor, Socialist Call:

I must dissent from your editorial against the application of the Neutrality Law in the Far East. No realistic Socialist believes capitalist neutrality legislation is, or can be, a satisfactory safeguard against war or imperialism. Nevertheless there are certain things in the present situation which cannot wisely be ignored.

First, neutrality embargoes will not aid Japan and harm China, as it appears on the surface, unless there comes about at some future time a drastic change in conditions as they actually exist. Nothing but armed might on the part of the great powers, including the United States, can break through the Japanese blockade of the China coast, and hence the imposition of trade bans will harm Japan far more than the cause of China.

Japan, whose financial structure is weak (though stronger than often rumored), will not be able to finance the importation of as much war goods from this country, after a ban on war credit; taxation in Japan cannot be pushed much further, because there has been stubborn resistance already; the public debt is now so heavy as to make funds raised by bond issues insufficient without credit abroad.

Second, while it is true, as you say, that "in no sense of the word, can one speak of China as an imperialist country with warlike aims against Japan," it is equally true that in no sense of the word can one regard China under its present regime as a defender of democracy against fascism or imperialism, or the protector of the Chinese masses.

Emotional sympathy, however justified, with the victims of Japanese ruthlessness need not blind us to the ruthlessness of Chiang Kai-Shek, his reactionary associations, or the fascist implications of the New Life Movement which he has so tenderly nurtured in recent years.

Chinese Democracy? Third, an excellent opportunity exists, and should not be missed, for Socialists to point out to all and sundry the logic of capitalist development in the Far Eastern conflict. The peculiarly brutal nature of Japanese militarism is a compound of mediaevalism, imitativeness, and a mass sense of inferiority; this on the psychological side.

On the economic side, however, which is far more fundamental, the Japanese had only two alternatives. Either they had to find more territory, more soil for raw

materials, more markets, and more opportunities for trade balance, or abandon capitalism. This aspect of the war should be shouted from the housetops, rather than indignation at Japanese aggression.

Less Glib Phrases

Finally, though this is in some degree a general rather than a specific problem, Socialists must use less glibly such phrases as "Socialist anti-imperialism also necessitates an active—oftimes military—struggle against imperialism . . ."

The mechanization of modern war, the structure of military organization, if it is to be successful means from now on that almost without exception armed victory against imperialism cannot be achieved except by the previous adoption of the totalitarian method. The struggles in China and in Spain only emphasize this principle. From a democratic militia and self-governing units of combat in Spain, we have seen a progression to a unified command, one aspect of which has been the increasing persecution of minority working-class opinion. The same thing is happening in China.

Many of our traditional ideas are in for an overhauling, not least of them the idea that military methods can be made allies of revolutionary struggle. There are always exceptions to every tendency, but it will soon be true, if it is not true already, that military action and counter-revolution, in varying degrees, all but invariably and inevitably go hand in hand.

DEVERE ALLEN.

RADIO BROADCASTS

Thursday, Oct. 21—WEVD, 10-10:15 p.m., Laidler and Levenstein.

Friday, Oct. 22—WEVD, 10:15-10:30, Laidler and Blanshard.

Saturday, Oct. 23—WEAF, 11-11:15, S. J. Block and H. W. Laidler.

Thursday, Oct. 28—WEVD, 8:30 p.m., Leonard Lazarus and Harry W. Laidler.

Friday, Oct. 29—WEAF, 11-11:15 p.m., Norman Thomas.

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British Labor Party Surrenders to Policy Of Tory Imperialism

By Frank N. Trager

Again the British Trades Union Congress and the British Labor Party have completed their annual conferences. Last month at Norwich and this month at Bournemouth the trade union hierarchy led by Bevin and Citrine, Middleton and Dalton, stamped their political seal of reaction upon the British working class movement.

Not even in the McDonald-Snowden days of betrayal has the Labor Party witnessed so complete a capitulation to capitalist-Tory policies. On every issue of foreign policy: Rearmament, League of Nations and Collective Security, verbal criticism for the non-intervention policy in Spain (but no positive substitute), anti-Japanese boycott, there are few, if any real differences between the resolutions as adopted by British Labor and the acts of Foreign Affairs Chief Eden.

Fiery speeches by Major Attlee, parliamentary leader of the British Labor Party cannot hide by oratorical acrobatics the fact that British Labor today is politically closer to the Nationalist-Conservative, i.e. British imperialist, forces than at any time in its three decades of electoral life.

Tragically enough, this result arising out of the recent conferences, is not startling, nor new, nor an unpredicted event. It is consequent upon a train of policies deliberately adopted over a period of years by the conservative leadership of the trade union bloc which dominates the trade union as well as political life of labor. The collapse of the League of Nations collective security machinery so visibly demonstrated in the Manchurian affair of 1931 became the signal for ever greater British Labor Party devotion to this machinery.

The fratricidal working class conflict generated by the hopeless right wing coalitionist policies of Social democracy and the left sectarian, social fascist policies of the Comintern which prepared the successful advent of Hitler, taught the British Labor Party nothing. Neither the Fascist aggression in Ethiopia, openly launching the League of Nations (i.e. England, U.S.S.R. and France) nor the League of Nations betrayal (i.e. England U.S.S.R. and France) of the Spanish working class anti-fascist struggle added an iota of Marxist, or Socialist insight to the policy making bodies of the British Labor Party.

Daily Herald and Times It was, therefore, completely in tradition that the recent conferences reaffirmed those infamous policies which unless changed must inevitably lead to the complete liquidation of the British Labor Party as a labor or socialist party. For these resemblances between the British Labor Party and British Imperialist policies are not ones which are discernible solely by the elite critics. Any worker who is able to read the columns of the London

Daily Herald and also read those of the London Times will find little to differentiate between the two on these all-important questions.

Perhaps the style is not the same, but item for item—on Rearmament—that is giving military support to ones own ruling class; on League of Nations and Collective Security—that is assuring ones own ruling class that the workers will fight for the good imperialist (satiated) powers against the bad imperialist (unsatiated) powers; on condemnation now of the non-intervention policy in Spain—that is criticism (but still no positive action) of the year old policy which has allowed open intervention unchallenged intervention, by the Rome-Berlin axis on the side of the fascist France; on condemnation of Japan—that is by calling for a government-instituted boycott of Japanese goods to protect British exports—the style in the two papers may be different, but item for item the inquiring working class could find little to distinguish between these two great organs of British Labor and British Imperialist capital.

Path Must Be Checked

The class conscious reader may go a step further. He may ask legitimately: am I a member of a class-conscious party; and if so, of what class, worker or bourgeoisie? He would know that by tradition, song and story, by occupation, by being in what is called, euphemistically, the "Distressed Areas," he is a member of the British Labor Party which presumably represents his class—the working class. But stripped of tradition and emotional loyalty to old-symbols he must inevitably come to the cold, sober conclusion that the path upon which his party has embarked leads to the grave unless that path be checked.

This conclusion is no isolated conclusion. In the critical though not unfriendly press of the Independent Labor Party, the New Leader and of Stafford Cripps' Tribune it has long been sadly heralded. In each case, however, the Independent Labor Partyites and Cripps' Socialist Leaguers have much to answer for. Norwich and Bournemouth have added little to the conclusion. As long ago as April in one of the "Notes" in Controversy the record was sententiously summed up:

"A NATIONAL DISASTER. The national leadership of the British Labor Party, and Trade Unions is a national disaster. The recent achievements of the Transport House caucus include

the disaffiliation of the Socialist League, the decision to expel from June 1st individuals who are members of that League, and the chief part in the treacherous, cowardly and altogether criminal rejection of the Spanish Socialists' request for assistance by resolute industrial action.

"At the same time, the Trade Union leadership is endeavouring to fetter the workers by long-term agreements with the employers which renounce the right to strike for a lengthy period, and by regularly refusing to recognize and support strikes (as at the Parkhead Forge). The Labor Party has issued a Short-Term Programme which it will never have the opportunity of even attempting to put into action unless the happy wreckers at its head are dislodged from their positions of maleficent power."

United Front Rejected

One of the curiosities of the Conference was its overwhelming (7-1) rejection of a united front with the communists. Curious, because the political programs of the two are almost identical. In France, the Zyromski Center and the Blum-Faure Right within the French Socialist Party recognize, with what is supposedly typical Celtic "Clarity" the logically similar programs between them and the Communists. Therefore they act in concert opposed in any significant revolutionary sense nly by the Pivert Left. But in England, British "prejudice" still holds aloof from its political bedfellows.

The one important and progressive change in the Conference came from the debate on organization. Here again the almost dead weight of the trade union bloc controlled by Bevin almost succeeded in preventing the change that finally took place. The debate has revolved about the question of democracy in the Party. Hitherto the annual elections to the Executive Committee presumably permitted each of the groups affiliated to the Labor Party (that is, the Trades Union Congress, the Divisional and local Labor Parties, and the Cooperatives) to designate their own candidates on a proportional basis. But because all candidates were elected by general majority vote at the annual conference actually the trade union bureaucracy could, by throwing their bloc votes to their own choices, elect from the other affiliates those candidates whom they wanted.

Cripps, Laski, On Executive

The Divisional and local Labor Parties, known as the Constituency Parties, revolted at last year's Edinburgh Conference. They conducted a campaign during the year for amendments to the British Labor Party's constitution which would permit each affiliate to elect by majority its own representatives to the National Executive Committee. Thus with their approximately 400,000 votes in a conference in which the Trades Union had five times as many, the Constituency Parties were entitled to seven members on the National Executive Committee.

After a bitter debate, in which Bevin incautiously—and in the name of democracy—threatened

a split, the Conference voted to make the necessary constitutional changes which now makes it possible to achieve some degree of democratic and proportionate representation in the top committee. Among the seven elected by the Constituency Parties are Stafford Cripps and Harold J. Laski.

This victory for organizational democracy does not necessarily insure any leftward turn in the policy of the British Labor Party. It makes it possible for the local labor parties to have a minority voice in the day to day destinies of the Party. It would appear as if the former leadership of the "left" Socialist League once again achieved some share in the councils of the Party. But to-day Cripps and Laski are politically closer to the Zyromski Center in France than to the Revolutionary Left, whose anti-peoples front position is closer to that which the Socialist Party, U.S.A. adopted at the 1937 Chicago Convention.

The British Labor Party is still representative of that type of working class political organization which, in America, many socialists have advocated. This is, it has a real proletarian base in the trades union, it is federated in structure and more or less democratic in practice. Politically, however, it has been constantly moving to the right since the failure of the General Strike in the middle twenties. Its rightward direction can in no small measure be attributed to the fact that the Trades Union Congress, its most conservative section, is dominated by a bureaucracy that is hardly Marxist and less and less socialist.

It is as if the American Labor Party in New York were really a federated, democratic, labor party committed to independent working class political action but in which the trade union section, dominated by the top leadership constantly served

as a brake upon the independent class role of the party by virtue of the closeness in ideology between that top leadership and the capitalist administration in power.

This review of the recent Conferences in England may appropriately close by asking a question in the words of William Mellor, editor of the Tribune: "What of the Party? Is it an instrument created by the workers for the challenge against capitalism growing in power and strength by the application of the principles of freedom, by winning to it through its action all sections of the working class, or is it a machine, counting as the measure of its success the efficiency of its discipline against the 'Left' within its own ranks and the praise which it receives for statesmanship from its opponents?"

EUGENE V. DEBS MEMORIAL

On Sunday, October 24, old and new admirers and sympathizers of Eugene V. Debs will have the opportunity to meet together to honor his memory.

Memorial services will be held in the Terre Haute Labor Temple Auditorium, Fifth and Walnut Streets at 3 o'clock Sunday afternoon.

(By Wire to the CALL)

Sam Levinger, 19, YPSL, died of wounds suffered fighting with Abraham Lincoln's battalion. A letter dated September 9 stated he was in the hospital and would return home soon. While at Ohio State University he was active in Socialist Club and American Student Union. He was active in the Workers' Alliance and had been a member of the International Seamen's Union.

A symposium on the New York Mayoralty election will be held on Sunday, October 24, in the Workmens Sick and Death Benefit Bldg., 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn.

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Tampa Floggers' Trial Gives Aid To Klan Terror

By Frank McCallister

BARTOW, Fla.—The state rested its case in the Shoemaker murder trial after having all of the evidence pertaining to the events prior to the actual kidnapping ruled out by Judge Robert Dewell. When Dewell announced that all of this evidence

was to be excluded, State Attorney J. Rex Farrior threw up his hands in amazement and exclaimed:

"Well, does the court wish us to go any further with this case?"

The Judge replied: "Mr. Farrior, you have the case in your charge and may conduct it as you see fit. It is my duty to call the law as I see it." This was an open invitation for Farrior to drop the case at this point.

In another ruling which shocked lay observers, Dewell ruled that the head was not part of the body and therefore testimony could not be introduced showing that Shoemaker was struck on the head with a blunt instrument.

The state's witnesses, including several present and former Tampa policemen, have identified all the six remaining on trial as the abductors of Shoemaker, Rogers and Poulnot. Only one, Arlie Gilliam, Orlando Klansman and member of the famous "wrecking squad," has been identified as being at the scene of the flogging by Poulnot. The defense is confident of securing an acquittal because of the scarcity of evidence introduced about the murder itself. The Judge even ruled out the introduction of testimony by

a deputy sheriff concerning his finding of a tar bucket and sack of feathers and other flogging and tarring paraphernalia at the scene of the crime.

The Questions

In his questioning of the prospective jurors, Pat Whitaker, Klan defense chief, literally put Poulnot on trial. Some of the dialogue ran as follows:

Whitaker: "Now, I want to ask you if a man goes on the witness stand who is known as an agitator and trouble maker among unemployed people, will you take that into consideration in weighing his testimony?"

Farrior objected to the question but Judge Dewell allowed it. Jurors nodded in the affirmative.

After one juror told Whitaker he did not approve of the principles of the CIO, Farrior asked him:

"Mr. Crum, just what are the principles of the CIO?"

Whitaker: "Well, you have read about the CIO, haven't you?"

"No sir, what's that?"

"The CIO, the organization that John L. Lewis is head of—you've never heard of it?"

Keen smiling: "No sir."

Crum shook his head: "I can't say that I know what they are."

Whitaker: "Mr. Keen, do you know anything about the Workers Alliance?"

Juror Keen: "Yes, when I was a boy years ago I used to hear about it."

"No, no, said Whitaker, "This is a new-fangled organization. I know what you are thinking of though. You are thinking about the old Farmer's Alliance which was entirely different."

The Thomas Charge

Aside from the trial itself the most sensational development of the week was the publishing of an advertisement in the Tampa Morning Tribune over the signature of Norman Thomas, chairman of the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, charging direct complicity of the Klan in the flogging and murder of Shoemaker.

The following day the Tribune published an editorial apologizing for carrying the advertisement and opening their news columns to those charged in the "ad" to make an answer. Thus far, no answers have been made.

The defense is expected to make a move for a directed verdict of acquittal. If this is refused even though a conviction is secured, they have announced that they are confident the Supreme Court will throw out the verdict because no evidence places the men at the actual scene of the crime. Whatever happens the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa plans to press for a retrial on the Poulnot kidnapping case.

Thomas Statement

The following statement by Norman Thomas was made today regarding the Shoemaker floggings case:

"There has been no worse disaster to justice and liberty in America and no more sinister sign

of the possibility of the rise of American Blackshirts than the directed acquittal in Polk County, Florida, of the Tampa policemen and alleged Klansmen indicted for the bestial murder of Joseph Shoemaker almost two years ago.

"The La Follette Committee which has rendered much service to civil liberties in America has a peculiar duty to investigate this proceeding, and the conditions out of which it sprang. In its prompt action lies our only immediate hope of protection against a revived and arrogant Ku Klux Klan secure in the knowledge that it can satisfy its sadistic impulses with kidnappings, beatings and murder in complete impunity.

"Nobody denies that Joseph Shoemaker, guilty of no offense except that he had dared to attack the corruption of the Tampa city government and the low levels of wages and relief in that vicinity, was kidnapped with the complicity of the police and beaten so horribly that he died.

"Nobody denies that this crime was but the climax to a long series of lawless beatings by masked men.

"Nobody denies that during the process of investigation two of the principal witnesses, both alleged Klansmen, were either murdered or committed suicide.

"Nobody affirms the innocence of the men acquitted of murder of the crime of kidnapping of which they were previously convicted, by an honest Polk County jury despite a farsically mismanaged trial. This conviction was overruled by a divided vote of the Florida Supreme Court purely on legalistic grounds.

Murder Safe In Florida

"Clearly this record means that murder is safe in Florida if practiced by Klansmen with the support both of a political machine which would make Tammany Hall look like a Sunday School and of employing interests which have established American records in the exploitation of labor.

"Even more clearly this record shows that the legal machinery

of Florida, from prosecuting attorney to the judges on the bench is either grossly incompetent or deliberately subservient to the Klan and the Tampa machine.

"Judge Dewell may have been technically right in the rulings which made it impossible for the state to present its case. Possibly he was technically right in permitting prospective jurors to be questioned about the C.I.O. and not the Ku Klux Klan. If he was right, then the legal system of Florida was wrong, the indictments by intent or stupidity were improperly drawn and the legal investigation was a howling farce. Once more, we have occasion to remember what I was told more than once, in Miami and Tampa:

"The courts will never permit a verdict that goes against Pat Whitaker and the Ku Klux Klan to stand" (Mr. Whitaker, it should be explained, is the boss of Tampa, and was counsel for the defense in these cases and is reputedly very close to the Klan.) Perhaps this Florida cynicism is unfair to the Court; in which case, it is the more sinister that legal incompetence should let murderers go unpunished to boast of the power of themselves and their allies.

"There is still a possibility that the kidnapers of Poulnot and Rogers who were originally abducted with Shoemaker may yet be convicted. We have small trust in either the will or strength of the state to bring about this result.

"We have less trust in any investigation by the Governor. Therefore, there is an imperative necessity of the investigation of the whole situation including the revival of the Ku Klux Klan by the LaFollette Committee. Above all, there is a necessity that American citizens abandon their complacency and know how precarious are their liberties in Florida."

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"THE CALL MUST BE SUPPORTED"—Norman Thomas

Word has gone throughout the Socialist Party that the branches must rally to the support of the CALL.

Throughout the country CALL readers, party branches, individual Socialists have responded.

Bundle orders are increasing! Subscriptions are coming in! Donations are being made by individuals! Branches are raising funds for the CALL!

A deluge of response to our appeals has poured into the CALL office during the past two weeks. Here are some of the sentiments we have received:

"The CALL is essential to the life and growth of the Party"—Estelle E. Fliarl, Buffalo, N. Y. "The party needs the CALL and the CALL needs the party. The two are inseparable"—Fred U. Ross, Harrisburgh, Pa. "The CALL simply must be kept going"—Clarence V. Howell, N. Y. City. "Our readers look forward to your weekly and we shall appreciate it if you should place us again on your mailing list"—Jewish Public Library, Montreal, Quebec. "We need the CALL"—Emily Palmer Stearns, Brandy, Va. "To be sure that I continue to get the CALL, I'm sending the sub card enclosed"—Meyer Halushka, Chicago, Ill. "Enclosed find contribution. Sorry we cannot send more at present"—C. W. Keyes, N. Y. C. "My first duty is to renew my sub. If the check is more than necessary, perhaps you can find use for the balance"—J. C. Pierce, White Plains, N. Y. "We still want the CALL"—Leon Shull, Philadelphia, Pa. "The CALL'S excellent work must not be interrupted"—S. John Block, N. Y. City. "Enclosed is check for \$3.00"—M. Hunter, Union County, N. J. "We can make effective use of the CALL here in Buffalo"—H. J. Hahn, Buffalo, N. Y. "Most

important is the very pressing job of building up the circulation of our press, the SOCIALIST CALL and the Socialist Review"—Anna Plecarpo, Stockton, Calif. "Quite essential to the cause"—Paul Cotton, Philadelphia, Pa. "I enclose one dollar which makes twelve dollars I have donated to the CALL"—W. W. W., New Hampshire. "Congratulations on the excellent work of the Party, under the most trying circumstances. It makes us appreciate the CALL and the Review all the more."—Charles Paddock, Eugene, Ore. "We are calling a meeting of local Alleghany County where we will again take up the question of the CALL and see what we can do to get some money."—S. M. Oshry, Pittsburgh, Pa. "We certainly do appreciate the value—rather the necessity—of keeping the CALL going and financing it, and also the resan for the tricks that will be used to destroy it."—Robert J. Pearsall, Tacoma, Wash. "Kindly send me some more order blanks."—Paul H. Shrader, Jeanette, Pa. "Enclosed find a check for \$10. contributed to your newspaper by Local 65, United Shoe Workers of America, CIO."—R. Blackman, N. Y. City.

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