

Socialist Call

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Workers
Move For
Unity, Page 6.

THOMAS BLASTS FASCIST HAGUE'S DICTATORSHIP

(Speech by the National Chairman of the Socialist Party addressed to the American people, President Roosevelt, members of Congress and to the members of the National Committee of the Democratic Party over radio station WJZ of the National Broadcasting Company.)

There are times when a particular local situation acquires a symbolic significance. So it is with Jersey City. Other American cities may be actually or potentially as bad as Jersey City. Probably they are. But various factors, including the political prominence of Mayor Hague, have combined to give Jersey City a national importance. It is a mirror in which other cities may see what they may become. It is a warning that neither the Declaration of Independence, the climate of America, nor the inherent qualities of Americans is a sure antidote against dictatorship. It can happen here because it happens habitually in Jersey City.

Of this my own recent experiences in Jersey City give evidence. They have been well reported in the press of America. I shall not dwell on them at length. And certainly I do not intend to try the various legal proceedings which I have begun and shall begin under advice of my counsel, Mr. Arthur T. Vanderbilt of Newark. He is not a Socialist, but his legal services to civil liberty have been equalled by few men in America.

I summarize my own experiences, therefore, only for the light that they shed on the problem of true democracy in America.

PERMIT DENIED

The Socialist Party of Hudson County, New Jersey, made a routine application for a May Day meeting on Saturday night in Journal Square, Jersey City. Socialists for decades have held such meetings in scores of American cities. The place and the hour of day chosen were precisely the same as the Democrats had used for a monster election rally.

Hague's Director of Public Safety, Mr. Daniel Casey, first denied receiving the application; then admitted receiving the application but refused it. Later he expanded his refusal by saying that he did so to prevent disorder. Still later, not officially to me or to the Party, but to the Jersey City press, he explained that he denied the application to avert trouble threatened by the Catholic War Veterans if I should be allowed to speak.

I publicly asserted that there would be no disorder except by the police at their incitement, or with their approval. I expressed doubt that Catholic war veterans as a body, either as Americans or members of a church which has tasted persecution from dictators, would want to put themselves in the invidious position of copying the precise methods of Hitler's Brown Shirts before he acquired supreme power in Germany. I recalled that I had spoken in Jersey City soon after the war against Black and Tan outrages in Ireland with the high approval of many of these veterans, and that in speaking literally thousands of times in hundreds of American communities I had found no Roman Catholics who had betrayed true Americanism by threatening to riot in order to break up my meetings. I have since been told by a responsible citizen that the police themselves circulated petitions, especially among Catholic veterans, against my meeting.

Finally, I gave the strictest possible instructions to Socialists and Socialist sympathizers to afford not the slightest excuse for

the most overzealous policeman to charge disorder.

RIGHT OF ASSEMBLAGE

Thus prepared we were ready to test our constitutional right of assemblage and free speech in the only way in which it could be tested in time for a May Day meeting; that is, by holding the meeting, submitting if necessary to arrest, and then testing the Jersey City ordinance and still more the manner of its enforcement, through all the courts.

As all America knows, I went to Journal Square and was at

once given what can only be described as the "bum's rush" to a waiting car. The car, with detective Harry Gauthier in command, was driven to the Jersey Central ferry slip. There I was forcibly prevented from leaving at my own pleasure and was compelled to go on the boat where I joined some five or six others who had been similarly deported.

Some of them were residents of New Jersey. None of the officers in civilian clothes would give his name, and uniformed officers concealed their shields. The action was appropriate to kidnapers or to men ashamed of their job.

RETURN

I at once returned from New York to Jersey City by the tube, got out at Journal Square and went unmolested past ten or twelve policemen to the office of the Observer. Here I went in-

side to inquire what had happened to my wife and other comrades and to give a statement to the press. At this office my wife and brother rejoined me. She had been hit in the face by a policeman at the time of my kidnapping but was not seriously hurt. She had had various adventures trying to find me.

We finished our business in the Observer office and were escorted by the police to the tube station. A friendly crowd which called for a speech was badly manhandled by the police.

I at once wrote to J. Edgar Hoover of the G-men to inquire if what had happened to me was not kidnapping. I wrote to each member of the Democratic National Committee to inquire whether they felt that their Vice Chairman, Mayor Hague, was a worthy exponent of their democ-

racy? I made similar inquiry of President Roosevelt. Later I telegraphed Senator LaFollette asking his Committee on Civil Liberty to investigate Jersey City. From the beginning I had the invaluable services of the Workers' Defense League and its counsel, Morris Shapiro.

FEDERAL ACTION

On Tuesday I retained Mr. Vanderbilt as my counsel. On the same day I made formal complaint under federal statutes against Deputy Inspector John Underwood and Detective Henry Gauthier and got from District Attorney Quinn's office assurance of immediate action by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I did not insist on immediate arrest of the officers because I was primarily concerned to start investigation with a view to comprehensive action. I shall not be satisfied by the sacrifice of scapegoats for the higher-ups. On Thursday I renewed application for a meeting in Journal Square on May 17th. Other legal steps will be taken in due course on advice of counsel.

I am not fighting a personal battle; I have no private vendetta against Frank Hague or any of his henchmen. I am doing what I can to help in the struggle for an American democracy which is neither hypocritical, corrupt nor impotent. I am acting on one of the deepest of my convictions; namely, that America is in danger not from invasion by fascist armies from abroad but the growth of dictatorship from within. Jersey City with its pint pot Hitlerism is an almost perfect example of what we have to fear.

FOR INDUSTRY

As one enters Jersey City from any direction signs proclaim that here is "Everything for Industry." The sign is literally true if one remembers that politics of a certain brand is also an industry. Jersey City is a town of powerful industries, potent politicians and poor people. One of the powerful industries is book-making which flourishes unmolested in Hague's Kingdom on the payment, it is said, by the gamblers of an extra legal tax on tribute money.

Taxes are higher than in any comparable municipality in America and it requires only sight, sound and smell of Hague's city to know that the taxpayers get no conspicuous return in social income for their outlay. The outstanding exception is the elaborate and well equipped medical center which the taxpayers support and Hague exploits much as

(Continued on Page 3)

NORMAN THOMAS IN ACTION



Workers Back Anti-War Congress

Coal, Steel, Garment and Auto Unions Elect Delegates

WASHINGTON — When the NATIONAL ANTI-WAR CONGRESS opens here May 28, the first of a long list of outstanding thinkers in the field of international and domestic problems will sound the keynote of the Keep America Out of War movement—"The Fight for Peace Begins at Home."

Hubert C. Herring, author of the recent book, "And So To War," will open the Saturday afternoon session with an analysis of the present drift towards war and the parallels with 1916-17. He will be followed by Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary, National Council for Prevention of War, Franklin C. Littell, chairman of the Youth Committee Against War, and Homer Martin, international president, United Automobile Workers of America.

Speakers

Other speakers who will participate in the three-day affair include: Devere, Allen, editor, No-Frontier News Service; Jacob Baker, president, United Federal Workers of America, and chairman of the President's commission to study Cooperation; Catherine Bauer, authority on housing; Dorothy Detzer, executive secretary, Womens International League for Peace and Freedom; Sherwood Eddy; Mary Fox, secretary, League for Industrial Democracy; Louis M. Hacker, historian; George W. Hartmann, editor, The Social Frontier; Ben Marsh, director, The Peoples' Lobby; H. L. Mitchell, secretary, Southern Tenant Farmers union; A. Philip Randolph, international president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Jeanette Rankin, first congresswoman; Stephen Raushenbush, chief investigator, Nye munitions probe; Brendan Sexton, secretary, Workers' Defense League; Norman Thomas; Tucker Smith, and Bertram W. Wolfe.

Latin America

With the struggle for control of Latin America coming out into the open, the NATIONAL ANTI-WAR CONGRESS sessions on "The United States As a 'Good Neighbor'" assume great importance.

Salomon de la Selva, noted Latin-American revolutionary and lieutenant of Sandino, will come to the Congress from Mexico City where for a number of years, since his exile from Nicaragua, he has been active in political and trade union affairs.

Noted experts on relations between "the Colossus of the North" and its southern neighbors will discuss: "The March of the Imperial Dollar," "Is the Dollar Retreating?," "What Shall We Do About Fascism in South America?," and "What Shall We Do About the Economic and Political Liberation of Our Southern Neighbors?"

Other commissions for discussion at the Congress are: National defense; How Can We Help Build A War-Less World?; What Are the Alternatives To "Armaments Economics?"; Can We Keep the United States Neutral in Foreign Wars? Combating War Propaganda, and Education of Children for Peace.

Auto Workers

Vote Support

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich. — Hearty endorsement of the NATIONAL ANTI-WAR CON-

GRESS was voted May 9 by the membership of Local 498, United Automobile Workers of America.

Clothing Workers

Endorse Call

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — The local joint board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has endorsed the NATIONAL ANTI-WAR CONGRESS.

Coal Miners Elect

Delegates

CRAIN CREEK, W. Va. — The call of the Keep America Out of War committee has been heard in the smallest mining towns in the isolated valleys of this state. Local 5954, United Mine Workers, has elected delegates and members of other locals are seeking ways and means of sending delegations.

Steel Workers Pass

Resolution of Support

JOHNSTOWN, Pa. — Unanimously, the steel workers in Conemaugh Valley lodge, 1074, adopted the following resolution on war:

"Whereas in the present stage of affairs another World War is at the point of breaking out, and

"Whereas the only ones that want war are the munitions manufacturers,

"Be it therefore resolved that we endorse the program the NATIONAL ANTI-WAR CONGRESS."

Fraternal Order To

Send Delegates

PORTLAND, Me. — The local lodge of the International Order of Good Templars, large and powerful Swedish workers fraternal order, has elected five delegates to the NATIONAL ANTI-WAR CONGRESS.

Auto Workers Elect

Scores of Delegates

DETROIT, Mich. — Scores of delegates to the Washington Anti-War Congress are being elected by the largest and most important locals of the United Auto Workers Union as well as by other unions, church and youth groups in Michigan. Flint Local No. 156 is sending ten delegates; the executive board of Dodge Local voted to recommend the sending of five delegates; the West Side Local Joint Council voted by an overwhelming margin to send three delegates despite bitter Communist opposition; and the Hudson, Chrysler and Briggs locals, among others, are considering sending delegations. Outstate locals now considering sending delegations to the Congress include Pontiac, Saginaw and Bay City.

Local No. 156 of Flint is preparing a gigantic anti-war demonstration with national anti-war speakers to initiate its drive against war. Similar actions are also being prepared by many other locals.

Carload Of Students

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — Don Royer, organizer for the Student Peace Service, is bringing at least one carload of students from Western Pennsylvania to the Keep America out of War Congress in Washington.

SPEAK IN CHICAGO SATURDAY



Delegation representing the Spanish people who will speak in the Orchestra Hall, Chicago, Saturday, May 21, 8 P. M. The group is touring the United States appealing for medical aid for Spain, for the Medical Bu-

reau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Will Rogers, Jr., who became friends with the delegation while crossing on the Queen Mary, is seen in the center above. From left to right they are

Ojier Preteccille, journalist and UGT representative; Carmen Means, social worker; Will Rogers, Jr., Ramon Sender, noted novelist and Jose Bergamin, Catholic writer and editor.

Unity of Mexican Labor Pushes Cardenas Ahead

BY S. FANNY SIMON

(Concluded from last week)

Lombardo may refuse to share control over the trade union movement with the Communists but ideologically he follows the "party line". His personal organ, El Futuro, is indistinguishable from the New Masses in its point of view on the popular front, on collective security, and on fascism. On world affairs, and especially on the American labor scene, El Futuro takes its information almost entirely from the Communist controlled press. It denounces those whom the C. P. controlled organs denounce, using exactly the same epithets. Thus, Benjamin Stolberg is a Trotskyist fascist agent because he does not like the Communist tactics. Tactics against which El Futuro ranted with a great deal of heat and called criminal when used by Mexican Communist become endowed with a peculiar virtue when used by American communists. Taking its cue from the Communists, the C.T.M. has vigorously denounced the Trotskyists and Trotsky. It was and still is opposed to the asylum which the Cardenas government has offered to Leon Trotsky. Lombardo insists that it is opposed to Trotsky because the C.T.M. believed in the Popular Front and that the presence of Trotsky would cause disorientation in the ranks of labor in Mexico.

In spite of outspoken opposition to the coming of Trotsky to Mexico, the C.T.M. instructed its affiliated organizations not to demonstrate publicly against Trotsky since then. It has attempted occasionally through indirect means to discredit Trotsky with the government by accusing him of mixing in the internal politics of Mexico. The C.T.M., however, has taken no overt action because these are the wishes of Cardenas and the C.T.M. has scrupulously avoided in any way offending Cardenas. The C.T.M. is itself a creature of Cardenas and although it has often criticised state officials

and even cabinet members, it has at all time made it clear that it was solidly behind the President.

The C.T.M. has renounced independent political action and has been willing to subordinate its political activity to the official party which Cardenas controls. In 1937 the C.T.M. was given a direct part in the government when the P.N.R. invited workers to nominate their own candidates in the P.N.R. primaries. Although the invitation was extended to all workers and their organizations only candidates nominated by the C.T.M. and having its support were successful. Other labor groups like the once powerful CROM failed to elect even one candidate. The C.T.M. elected 33 deputies to the National Congress but insisted that in some cases its candidates failed of election because they were double-crossed by the bureaucratic machine.

Although a creature of the government, the C.T.M. has been powerful and has been able to obtain concessions because the government knows that it must have worker and peasant support in order to retain power. The recent oil expropriation indicates that Cardenas has decided to rely even more closely in the future upon the organized labor movement. In view of recent events, it will be necessary more than ever that the Cardenas group continue in control of the government.

The first step to assure continued control was taken on April 4, when the P.N.R. was dissolved and a new People's Party as established. While the change is more nominal than real, the new party has within it representatives of the army, the peasants and organized labor. The formation of the new party has resulted, according to all available reports, in the final isolation of Luis N. Morones, once the most powerful political figure in Mexico next to Obregon and Calles. Some of the men who were closest to him are reported as having deserted him because they wish to give

direct support to Cardenas and to participate in the new party. If these reports be true, then, practically all organized labor is in the Cardenas fold.

In the formation of the new People's Party, the C.T.M. and particularly Lombardo played a leading, if not a decisive role. The political control, however, remains where it has always been—in the hands of the professional politicians, many of whom are merely interested in lining their pockets. The C.T.M. leaders are, of course, aware of that; nevertheless, they are convinced that the new party is better than the old. They see in it a Mexican version of the "Popular Front". The Mexican Popular Front would have of necessity to be different from the French Popular Front, for Mexico has always had a one party system. The C.T.M. leaders expect that the new party will serve as the means whereby workers' democracy will be extended and ultimate socialization will be brought about. Let us hope that they are not suffering from optimistic delusions.

Hoan, Amlie To

Speak At Convention

MADISON, Wis. — The state convention of the Farmer-Labor-Progressive Federation will be held here beginning May 12, according to Henry Rutz, state secretary. The convention will hear keynote speeches by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist, of Milwaukee and by Congressman Thomas R. Amlie, Progressive, of Elkhorn.

Hoan and Amlie, along with Progressive Congressman Gerald P. Boileau have been mentioned as probable candidates for United States Senator.

Travel In Trailer

LOS ANGELES, Cal. — A trailer load of young people is making the trip from California to the Washington Anti-War Congress. The trailer belongs to the Christian Youth Council.

"President Roosevelt: You are hero and leader to millions of Americans. You have repudiated for yourself, your party and your country the degradation of lands where men are slaves to dictators. Flood you no responsibility both as our chief executive and leader of your own party for some of the things that have happened under Democratic Party rule, let us say in Tampa, Florida, where Shoemaker was killed, or the barony of the Vice-Chairman of your National Committee? Is it only foreign dictators whom we are to fear and fight?"—NORMAN THOMAS.

Thomas Issues Challenge to the American People

(Continued from Page 1)
Hitler exploits similar services to the German people.

Mr. Hague has been Mayor of Jersey City since 1917, a longer period than any other Mayor except the Socialist, Daniel W. Hoan, in Milwaukee. A whole study of the strength and weakness of American democracy could be based on Milwaukee and Jersey City.

HAGUE'S POWER

Of recent years Mr. Hague's power has spread from Jersey City and Hudson County to the state, from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party. He has successfully defied or defeated legislative investigation. The last Republican Governor was, many say, his man almost as much as the present Democratic incumbent.

Steadily Frank Hague has increased the number of elected and appointed officials in all departments, including, it is often asserted, the judiciary, who acknowledge allegiance to the man who boasted "I am the law." His private fortune has grown with his years of office-holding out of all proportion to savings from his salary. But his power has grown faster than his wealth. Only the other day citizens of New Jersey told me that Frank Hague was immune to any action by the Federal government or the President as leader of his party because of the support Hague has instructed his representatives in the Senate and Congress to give to the New Deal in Washington in return for his right to be the sole dealer in Jersey. Personally I cannot yet believe that a local dictator has reduced the federal and state governments to subservience.

But the mounting legend of Hague's power is enormously sinister. If the stories told of him in the recent series in the New York Post are true, it is idle to speculate about fascism or democracy in Jersey City. Democracy has already lost. Men and women vote in Hague's domain, but so do they in Mussolini's, Hitler's and Stalin's—and the immense majorities for the dictators are manufactured in much the same way. It doesn't matter much how often you count noses if the dictator by fear, favor or false information can control the man behind the nose. There is no democracy without civil liberty, only a dangerous and pathetic nobocracy.

The new magazine, KEN, has a vivid story of the kind of control Mr. Hague has established over his subjects under the forms of democracy. I cannot corroborate those stories in detail. But I can testify that on Saturday, April 30th, and since that date men in Jersey have drawn me aside to whisper furtively, after looking around as if for spies or secret police. "We're with you" or "This can't last forever."

FEAR POLICE BRUTALITY

But they are afraid to speak out, afraid even to fight police brutality or false arrest lest some relative in these hard times lose his place on the payroll or their tax assessments be raised or some ordinance be enforced in discriminatory fashion against them. It is legend how Hague brought the Jersey Journal to heel when it was criticizing him. Is not Jeff Burkett, Hague's critic, in jail for six months, allegedly for obscene and abusive language? Was not Hague's political foe, Longo, the only man brought to trial for irregularities in primary petitions after he had charged the Hague machine with possible frauds?

On these matters I am not an authority. But I know how the American rights of assemblage, free speech and free press, have been denied to those whom Hague dislikes. His government gave only reluctant, belated and formal consent to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upholding the right to distribute non-commercial literature in the streets. In fact, men were beaten and deported Saturday, April 30th, for exercising that right. Hague, his subordinates or his government are now involved in proceedings alleging tampering with U. S. mails, assault, kidnapping, illegal denial of civil rights to the C. I. O., etc. I do not predict the outcome of these legal actions. That they have been brought is a sign of revolt against the long continued policy of breaking up meetings and deporting or kidnapping American citizens whose opinions are disliked by Hague's police. Unless this revolt is successful, the differences between Rome or Berlin and Jersey City in respect to liberty are unimportant and not all to Jersey City's advantage.

Of course, like every dictator, Hague wraps himself in the flag! He is fighting Communism. So is Mussolini. So is Hitler. And they all fight it by emulating the worst features of Stalin's rule, by copying not the best but the worst in that which they denounce! Dr. Johnson said that patriotism was the last refuge of the scoundrel. It is the first refuge of the dictator. Hague and some other Americans need no lessons from Hitler in stirring up the prejudices, the fears, the greeds which mask themselves as national or local loyalty. Long ago he learned the Roman maxim: "Divide and govern" and applied it to divide the exploited workers and set the browbeaten citizens in rival camps.

TO DEFEND DEMOCRACY

All this means death to democracy. The fight for democracy is the fight for the liberties that Hague in Jersey City and the Ku Klux Klan in Florida have denied. In the name, then, of the freedom of America, of all our hopes for ourselves and our children in this most favored of lands, I raise these specific questions:

President Roosevelt: You are hero and leader to millions of Americans. You have repudiated for yourself, your party and your country the degradation of lands where men are slaves to dictators. Have you no responsibility both as our chief executive and leader of your own party for some of the things that have happened under Democratic Party rule, let us say in Tampa, Florida, where Shoemaker was killed, or in the barony of the Vice-Chairman of your National Committee? Is it only foreign dictators whom we are to fear and fight?

Members of Congress: Have you no responsibility for the vindication of liberty against peonage in the cotton country and the boast of a local politician that he is the law? Will you starve the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee before its work is done?

Members of the Democratic National Committee: How dare you prate of economic royalists and claim to be foes of special privilege while you keep Frank J. Arm-the-Law Hague as your Vice-Chairman?

People of America: Yours is the final court, yours the decision. Will you make democracy real, will you save the civil liberties without which all our talk of the American way is sounding

Chicago Memorial Day Victims To Be Honored

CHICAGO.—Unionists and friends will assemble about a block from the scene of the Chicago Memorial Day murders here May 29, in observing the first anniversary of the death of the eleven Chicago steel workers.

An auto parade is to precede the memorial services at which Phillip Murray, S. W. O. C. chairman, will speak.

The auto parade will commence at 88th street and Buffalo avenue, at 1 o'clock, May 29. The foot parade will assemble at 114th street and Greenbay avenue, after the meeting.

Socialists Hold Convention In Indianapolis

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — The Socialist Party of Indiana held its annual state convention here on May 14 and 15.

The convention, which was marked by fine working class enthusiasm, reached its high point on Sunday when it named Comrade John Kingsbury of Indianapolis as the Socialist candidate for U. S. Senate. An immediate campaign is to be launched for the securing of the petitions necessary for the party to be on the ballot in the 1938 election.

Comrade Kingsbury is a veteran Socialist and attorney who is well known as a fighter for civil liberties and workers rights. He was active in the Terre Haute case two years ago when the Socialists defied the rule of Indiana's Hitler, Paul V. McNutt, then Governor of Indiana.

Campaign Committee

Comrade Kingsbury is well known throughout the state and will make an active campaign. The State Executive Committee was made the campaign committee and plans are under way which will carry the Socialist message and program to every part of the state.

One feature of the convention was a dinner on Saturday, addressed by Roy E. Burt, National Executive Secretary.

The convention enthusiastically endorsed the resolution of the National Convention on Trade Union Unity and directed party members in Indiana to take action in their unions to that end.

The anti-war program of the party was heartily approved and support to the Washington Anti-War Congress was pledged.

S. E. C. Members

The following were elected as members of the State Executive Committee:

L. R. Halvorsen, Evansville, Ind.; Eugene R. Cole, Vincennes; Arthur B. Frame, Crown Point; Henry S. Newlund, Indianapolis; H. Lockyear, Evansville; C. H. Owen, Crown Point; Wm. Rabe, Sr., Evansville; Mrs. J. B. Miller, Terre Haute; Milton W. Schowe, Columbus; Ira Eshleman, Elkhart; Frank Baker, Elkhart.

brass and tinkling cymbal? You and you can see to it that the slogan of our towns and hamlets is not "Everything for Industry"—but everything, including industry, in the service of a fel-

Notes On The Jersey Front

THE WORKERS Defense League is leading a courageous struggle for the restoration of workers and ordinary civil rights in Jersey City. American workers, individually and through their unions, owe more than gratitude to this fighting defense organization. Let the masses of liberty loving people demonstrate their solidarity in this fight by writing to the Workers Defense League and by contributing funds so that the good work may be speeded on.

NEWSPAPERS OF all political and religious faiths were practically unanimous in their denunciation of Mayor Hague and his fascist thugs. Norman Thomas was loudly hailed for his splendid fight to restore Jersey City within the confines of the American constitution. Big daily newspapers like the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Baltimore Sun, Des Moines Register, New York Herald-Tribune, New York World, New York Post, New York Times and others expressed indignation at the National Democratic Party's Vice-Chairman's (Mayor Frank Hague) gangster rule.

TYPICAL OF THE editorial comment which blasted Mayor Hague last week was this statement in the "Commonweal," national weekly edited by Catholic laymen, under the heading: "Hague Sticks His Neck Out"—"Mr. Thomas deserves praise for his courage in making vivid, through his own case, the principles so wantonly denied on the west shore of the Hudson."

JUST WHAT happened in the efforts of the International Labor Defense to get Representatives Jerry O'Connell (D-Mont.) and John T. Bernard (F-L, Minn.) to speak at Jersey City the other night is not clear at this writing.

Representative O'Connell, on his return to Washington, said he was disappointed and disgusted at the leadership of the International Labor Defense.

"By God, I'll be back in two weeks to live down this fiasco," he said. "It wasn't our fault."

REPRESENTATIVE BERNARD was more pessimistic. He said: "This is another triumph for Mayor Hague. We're going back to Washington, where we belong. To hell with this."

MEANWHILE NORMAN Thomas, cool and unruffled by his deportation from Jersey City two weeks ago, lay careful plans to break the fascist rule of Mayor Hague. The Socialist leader praised the effort of the two representatives and called for a

united drive for the restoration of civil rights in Jersey City.

Thomas HAS applied for a permit to hold a public meeting in Jersey City the night of May 17.

SEVEN JERSEY City ministers were listed in a newspaper story as favoring Mayor Hague's tactics. Three of them, according to the New York World-Telegram, denied this.

A DAMAGE SUIT for \$30,000 against Mayor Hague and two police chiefs of Jersey City was scheduled to come up in Federal District Court in Newark May 17. The suit is brought by the Workers Defense League on behalf of its officers, David Clendenin, A. S. Gilmartin and Murray Baron.

The action grows out of a seamen's strike on the Dollar Lines during February, 1936. The three complainants were assaulted by Jersey City police when they tried to picket. Hague and the two police heads, Casey and Walsh, will be subpoenaed as witnesses by the complainants.

Arthur Garfield Hayes, noted champion of civil liberties, will represent the Workers Defense League.

Fraternal Order Asks Spanish Ban Be Lifted

NEW YORK CITY—President Roosevelt and Cordell Hull were urged to lift the embargo against Loyalist Spain by the Workmen's Circle, fraternal organization representing 70,000 members, in a telegram signed by J. Weinberg, president, and J. Baskin, secretary, officers of the fraternal order.

"The present Neutrality Act creates a situation which helps the fascist forces in Spain, not democratic Republican Spain," the Workmen's Circle statement said.

Illinois Labor Party Convention June 18

CHICAGO.—A state convention for the purpose of nominating a full slate of candidates for state-wide offices was announced in a call issued by the Illinois Labor Party. The convention will convene on Saturday, June 18, at the ILGWU Hall, 174 N. Franklin St., Chicago.

According to George Meade, secretary of the Labor Party, the call is being sent to 500 affiliated organizations, most of them labor unions.

A New Pamphlet!
"Last Night In Jersey City . . ."
By America's Unflinching Champion of Workers' Rights . . .
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OBITUARY: League of Nations

By GUS TYLER

On Wednesday, May 11, 1938, the United Press carried an important obituary. Thus did it read:

"Professor James T. Shotwell, president of the League of Nations Association today conceded defeat of the League's 20-year effort to abolish war by collective action of nations.

"He forecast that the appeals of Ethiopia, China and Spain to the League Council now in session at Geneva would come to naught.

"The initiative of Great Britain and France in arranging recognition of Italy's conquest of Ethiopia, a League member, was the last nail in the coffin of League hopes, at least for this generation, he believed.

"Mr. Shotwell, original sponsor of the Kellogg Pact to outlaw war, a foremost League advocate since its inception termed this action 'betrayal of the League by its friends.' He said the nations 'apparently are crossing the path leading to the bankruptcy of civilization.'

A FUTILE DREAM

Here is the obituary for the League of Nations, for the Kellogg Pact, for the system of collective security—written by a close, dear friend, Dr. James T. Shotwell.

Thus is the last futile dream of the capitalist idealist dispelled, a vain dream of peace in a world of imperialist conflict, an empty dream of world justice enforced by capitalist bandits.

One detects a note of bitterness in Shotwell's obit. He feels that this hopes have been "betrayed."

"Betrayal," and ever "betrayal," is the charge of the liberal who conceives bold dreams but who lacks the courage to create the means whereby the world may realize those dreams. These poor folk, who hope that the leopard will change its spots, who hope that a capitalism built on a world struggle for markets and raw materials and spheres of exploitation will change its essential character, these half-way dreamers are always "betrayed."

AGAIN AND AGAIN

They were "betrayed" after the Spanish-American War. They were "betrayed" after the World War. And now they are crying "betrayal" again.

They are "betrayed" and will continue to be "betrayed" because they have not learned the most elementary fact about governmental policy: Never take the diplomats at their word.

They'll always TALK peace; sign Kellogg Pacts; join Leagues of Nations; promise to guarantee international justice. Such talk is cheap, a cheap price to win the unsuspecting confidence—and votes—of a Dr. Shotwell.

Those who take these mild-mouthed diplomats at their word are fools, even if they are edu-

cated fools, with Ph. D. s. attached to their name.

Governments must be judged by their acts, by the kind of system they represent, by the inherent characteristics of their society.

The nations that wrote the Treaty of Versailles, that composed the League of Nations, that signed the Kellogg Pacts could not maintain a world of peace—even if they wanted to.

These were capitalist nations, owned and run by a class of bankers and industrialist, who underfed, undershed, and underclothed the nation while they rushed madly about the world looking for markets for the disposal of their goods. For many years up to the World War, they fought with one another for these foreign markets—while folks starved at home.

—LUST FOR MARKETS

When unemployment came at home, they felt an even stronger urge to find markets, to sell, to keep up their profits. When unemployment came at home, they found that their loose capital was also unemployed. They had to penetrate and conquer lands where they could invest their capital.

They—the capitalists of all the world—were all doing it. They began to step on one another's toes.

The choice for them—with the capitalist system to preserve—was simple: war abroad or bankruptcy at home.

They chose war. They will always choose war. They would sooner send mankind to a bloody death than cease their suicidal struggle for the maintenance of their capitalist system.

After the last war, they wrote a treaty. It was a treaty to make the world slaughter worthwhile—for them. The winners picked up the marbles, the markets, the raw materials, the colonies of the world. And they let the losers grovel in the dirt.

The winners made a League of Nations, through which they could rule the world, at which the defeated powers could beg, at which they could cook up new deals to skin one another.

In the place of that real League of Nations—the trading table of the imperialist lords—some mistaken idealists like Dr. James T. Shotwell visualized an imaginary League of Nations interested in justice, in equality, in peace.

A CYNICAL SYSTEM

That league has never existed, can not exist in a world torn by capitalist rivalries. Dr. Shotwell has not learned that lesson even now. He sees the League act like what it is, the cynical expression of a cynical system, and he can do nothing more than throw up his hands in despair and foretell the "bankruptcy of civilization."

Dr. Shotwell sees nothing but

Workers' Forum

Contributions to the SOCIALIST CALL must be accompanied with the name and address of the writer as a matter of good faith; not to be used for publication if the writer prefers that the name be omitted. Short, snappy letters will receive first consideration.

The Columbia Meeting

YONKERS, N. Y. — I should like to correct an erroneous report which appeared in the May 7 issue of the CALL in regard to the student anti-war strike at Columbia.

It was stated that the collective security demonstration was "a very small Communist meeting." Actually, it is generally agreed to have been attended by about one thousand people. We are particularly anxious to have this error corrected in view of the annoyance that has been caused by many misstatements made by the Communists.

Although the existence of so large a body of war sentiment on the campus is of course extremely alarming we feel that

this fact in no way detracts from our right to be very proud of the Youth Committee Against War strike and to consider it highly successful. When we consider that our opponents controlled the official Peace Council machinery, that they had the traditional, centrally located, and only available outdoor site, and that they indulged in all sorts of suterfuge and slander beforehand to make themselves appear representative of the entire campus and to brand us as practically non-existent, we find their attendance of 1,000 not particularly overwhelming. We do think, on the other hand, that our attendance of 500 (some of us were sure it was 700) is encouraging evidence of the genuine anti-war sentiment that still exists and that can be mobilized even in the face of such opposition.

Warren Theisen,

Chairman
Columbia U. Youth Committee
Against War

Editors' Note: The CALL regrets that this error crept into its columns. We sincerely hope that the publication of this letter will amend the error. The CALL pledges increased vigilance in protecting its pages from exaggerated reports.

Renounce Lovestoneism

Editor of the Socialist Call:
The undersigned, active members of the Automobile Workers' Union in New York City and formerly active in the Independent Communist Labor League (Lovestone Group), announces our resignation from the Lovestone

"bankruptcy" because he can think only in terms of a capitalist world. But those who see more than capitalists and their capitalism will not agree with this forecast of doom.

There are also workers in this world. They, through their unions, can crack the war machine; they can unseat the lords of finance and industry; they can take over the marvellous machinery of production and harness it to meet man's needs instead of a clique's profits; they can create a world based upon free exchange and true international cooperation.

In such a workers' world, in such a Socialist world, a League of Nations would have meaning.

Dr. Shotwell's dream has come to naught because his attempt at being practical has proven most impractical. He thought he would be practical by seeking ways of international cooperation without simultaneously creating an economic society which had a will to cooperate. Look where it brought him!

The Socialist way may be the hard way, but it is the only practical way. Socialists refuse to waste their energies dreaming about capitalist deals for peace; they seek a realistic basis for world peace in a system of economic plenty and cooperation.

Group and our intention to join the Socialist Party.

We, together with a number of other auto workers constituting majority of the ICLL auto unit in New York, have just resigned from this organization. Our resignation was conditioned not only by our differences with the policy of the ICLL in the auto field but also with its increasingly opportunistic policies handed down to the membership by a closed bureaucracy.

In the last two years the ICLL has attempted to establish itself in the labor movement by intrigues and deals on top. This policy has also expressed itself in the work in the U. A. W. This hunt for important allies has led to sacrifice of principle and has not always been based upon the need of the unions. To justify unprincipled alliance all sorts of reactionaries and red-baiters have been given the label of "progressive" to the detriment of genuine progressivism and genuine administrations in the trade unions. This can only lead to ruin and not to the building of the type of labor movement revolutionists look for.

We are joining the Socialist Party because we are convinced that it is the only organization that can rally the American workers for an effective fight against war, fascism and capitalism and work for a unified and progressive labor movement.

Gene Sorenson,
Stephen Dimitroff.

Teacher's Anti-War Meeting, May 20

NEW YORK.—The Educators' Division of the Keep America Out of War Committee is operating among teachers throughout the United States against vast unwarranted armament programs, against "collective security"

pacts, which are really imperial military alliances, and all actions, forces, policies, and sentiments which might involve us in war.

All who believe that war is the greatest evil of our age, and that any possible good that America could do by participating in armed conflict is far outweighed by the certain harm to ourselves and others, are urged to enroll in this concerted effort to maintain peace.

Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, columnist, Dr. Harry A. Overstreet of C. C. N. Y., and Alexander Fichandler, junior high school principal, who have identified themselves with this anti-war program, will address a public meeting at the Manhattan Trade School, 22nd Street and Lexington Avenue, Friday evening, May 20, at 8:15. We hope to persuade teachers—whether nursery school or university instructors—that war for our country is not yet inevitable, and to give all those who dread it the encouragement of working together, in effective organized fashion, against it.

—George W. Hartmann
Associate Professor of Education
Teachers College, Columbia University.

Sinclair To Roosevelt

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, D. C.

(By Telegram)
Referring to your statement that Mayor Hague's kidnaping of Norman Thomas is quote a local police matter unquote I call your attention to Federal statute 8 U. S. C. A. Depriving citizens of rights or privileges, subdivision 3, paragraph 47. Under this statute it is your power and duty to prosecute the Vice Chairman of the Democratic National Committee for conspiracy.

—Upton Sinclair.

Indiana Youth

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — A carload of delegates to the Anti-War Congress is being sent by youth organizations from this city.

Hunger Stalks Illinois While Millions In Funds Idle In Horner's Coffers

CHICAGO, Ill.—Thousands of men, women and children are hungry this week in Illinois as a politician-made relief crisis closed relief stations from one end of the state to the other.

Lack of funds or authority to allocate funds was given as the reason for the shut-down of dole offices, but behind the scenes loomed the factional struggle within the capitalist family of the Democratic Party. Mayor Kelly and Gov. Horner were loud in their pledges that "no one would starve," but their procrastinations and utter contempt for the jobless provoked the crisis.

Sales Tax

Illinois has a three cent sales tax on all commodities which was forced down the throat of the workers of this state by the same Gov. Horner who pleaded that the sales tax had to be increased to meet relief needs. Now it has been proved that only one-third of this tax has been used for relief purposes. The citizens of Illinois pour something like \$7,000,000 a month in sales taxes into the coffers of the state, only \$2,900,000 of this amount is used for relief.

While faces grow thinner, coughs become more acute, children stay home from school and parents become frantic every hour, \$80,000,000 of unspent tax money lies idle in the "humanitarian" Governor's state treasury.

While Gov. Horner and other high-hat politicians were idling and babbling about in meaningless

conferences, the Illinois Workers Alliance announced that it had planned to stage many demonstrations everywhere it could rouse the workers to action. Sit-down strikes and delegations to the offices of city, county and state officials were planned on a wide scale.

Union Take Action

The Chicago local of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America adopted the following program to meet the relief crisis:

1. Immediate appropriation of sufficient funds to meet present relief crisis pending setting up of permanent relief program.
2. Removal of limitations on sales tax funds to allow allocation of enough funds to meet needs of jobless.
3. Rescinding of those laws which put relief into the hands of about 1200 township supervisors.
4. Passing of laws putting relief under county administration and state control.
5. Passing necessary bills and amendments to allow federal grants to special categories such as dependent children, blind, ill, widows, etc.
6. Abolish the sales tax and institute an income tax.

The union, made up entirely of employees of the Chicago Relief Administration, is planning mass meetings, sending delegations to Springfield and is working in every way with the Illinois Workers Alliance. Ina White, Socialist leader, is chairman of the special legislative committee.



AT THE FRONT

with Norman Thomas

As I understand the facts, the controversy between Secretary of State Hull, and certain newspaper correspondents about exports of arms to Germany, involves two elements: (1) How many arms have been sent for use in Germany or re-shipment to Spain, and (2) is there a legal right for any export of arms?

The second question has been raised primarily on the basis of work done by a committee of the National Lawyers Guild. The legal right to export any arms to Germany, contrary to the previous stand of Hull himself, rests upon the contention that the Treaty of Versailles has been knocked out anyway and that our treaty with Germany referring to it therefore does not apply; that if other nations sell arms to Germany we might get our share. This is a case where I think the legal argument might well be interpreted strictly to prevent re-arming Germany, and in this connection I am glad that no helium is going for German airships. If those ships were used only for commercial work, by all means they should have helium, but they can be used for war and would be so used undoubtedly. We ought to keep out of this trade in implements of war and in things that can clearly be used for war by Hitler.

Most of my readers will agree with what I have just written. Some of you may not agree when I go on to say that I should like the United States to keep out of trade in military airplanes and other implements of war with Britain and France. I do not like to hear the tip going around: "Buy airplane stock, they're bound to go up."

I do not like the beginnings of war trade. It is too likely to lead to war. And I do not at all share the assumption that if Britain and France fight in world war it will be only for democracy. It will be for French and British imperial interests, and trade with those countries is likely to lead us into war as it did before. It may be politically impossible to stop this trade but protest is in order.

THE SPANISH EMBARGO

"Why, then," some of you may ask, "are you in favor of lifting the embargo against the Spanish Loyalists?" The answer is that I do not think that lifting the embargo on trade with the Spanish Loyalists is in the least likely to draw the United States as a nation into war. I do think the embargo should not have been imposed as it was imposed because its effect was to aid Franco and fascism. In the Spanish case the government changed the rules of the game in the middle of the war adversely to the forces resisting fascism. This was the realistic effect, whatever the legal argument, and to do an act of comparative justice even belatedly is important. It does not or need create a precedent for the future. Probably I should add that the outlook for lifting the embargo looks much darker than it did when I wrote last week. Pressure is in order.

All Socialists should actively favor the Wages and Hours law in Congress. Imperfect as it is it is useful beginning and the chance of the passage of the law

is better than it looked a while ago.

I think all Socialists should also favor in general the President's spending campaign—certainly that which relates to relief. Some amendment or some increase must be made to the relief provisions to provide against such tragedies as are now occurring in Cleveland and other Ohio cities where relief funds as distinct from W. P. A. funds have completely run out. In the long run it is the federal government, which must provide the larger part of such relief funds. The attempts to distinguish between the unemployed but employable and the unemployable have not worked out well in practice.

But in favoring the Wages and Hours Bill and federal spending socialists should do it with their eyes open and they should make it as clear as they can to others that in the Roosevelt program is no guarantee of permanent increase in production or of prosperity or of salvation of the capitalist system. Roosevelt and his New Deal program can't save the capitalist system. Hoover and the reactionaries who call for the return of the good old days can't save it any more than they could save it before. Neither can the LaFollettes with their vague program of increasing production.

SOME LESSONS

FROM HITLERISM

It would pay Americans, especially including American workers, to consider some lessons from the German experience. Germany before Hitler had excellent social legislation. It had collective bargaining and maintained relatively high wages. It had social insurance, though not work relief. There was no challenge to the power of the union. But what happened? Collective agreements between the employers and the unions did raise or maintain at a fairly high level wage scales, but the employers promptly passed the costs along to the consumers in high prices.

Union members were protected in bad times by seniority but the result was a large army of young folks who were completely unemployed and had little or no protection even from unemployment insurance. There was no good understanding between the agricultural population and the unions. The result was that when the great depression hit Germany middle class discontent, the discontent of the farmers, the discontent of the unemployed—especially the young—were all exploited by Hitler and fascism.

Even among the workers there was discontent of high prices, and the unions which were able to maintain union conditions fairly well had no strong popular appeal to offset this discontent. Surely there is a lesson here for Americans.

That lesson is made doubly strong when one remembers that in Germany the working class was sharply divided by the struggle between Socialists and Communists. In America it is sharply divided by the struggle between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. George West's article in the current Saturday Evening Post, whether or not it gives it truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, is an ominous sign of middle class reaction against being made victim of labor's civil war.

The answer to all this is that there must be a united working class movement; that that working class movement must take account of the interests of working farmers and cooperate with them; that it cannot afford to ignore the question of prices, and that it must learn that no reform within capitalism will enable our modern age to obtain genuine abundance. In other words, Socialism that is Socialism must be the answer.

One of several books which shed light on this problem of

Pocketbook Union Saved By Truce

By a Special Correspondent
NEW YORK.—After a week of separate sessions conducted by two groups, a united convention of the International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union met last Saturday in the Center Hotel in New York City and adopted a peace pact drafted by Max Zaritsky, president of the millinery workers union acting as representative of the American Federation of Labor.

The controversy in the union reached fever pitch as a result of the formation of a combination between Communist elements and the followers of Ossip Wolinsky, formerly in an official position in the union, who had been expelled after being found guilty by an impartial labor committee of being in the employ of a manufacturer while an officer of the union. The Communists and their allies were attempting to elect Wolinsky president of the International.

Delegates Assaulted
In their effort to control the convention, the Communist-Wolinsky group, which dominated the General Executive Board, had padded representation from locals sympathetic to their aims and denied representation to others. The five locals of luggage workers in the East, headed by Murray Baron, were allowed no delegates.

When the convention opened, anti-Wolinsky delegates were barred from entering the hall and were assaulted by a group of persons at the entrances who were non-delegates and outsiders. Even Isidor Laderman, president of the International, was denied admission into the convention. Two conventions resulted.

Week's Negotiation

After a week of negotiations, with Max Zaritsky as impartial chairman, a formula was worked out: the luggage workers are to have an autonomous department, to be headed by Murray Baron as general manager; and a General Executive Board of 19 was elected, consisting of 11 from the pocketbook section and 8 from luggage. Samuel Reinlib was elected president; Isidor Laderman, secretary; Harry Gevertzman, treasurer; Murray Baron, Samuel Laderman and Philip Lubliner, vice-presidents.

While not content with all the terms of the agreement, the Progressive Group, announced its acceptance on the ground that its major purposes had been effected: the establishment of the luggage department; the maintenance of the union as an

MID-WEST POPULISM STRONG IN ORIGIN OF LAFOLLETTE'S PARTY

BY FRANK NEWTON

(Concluded from last week)

what happened in Germany is Eduard Heimann's thoughtful book, "Communism, Fascism, or Democracy" (W. W. Norton, New York). It isn't always easy reading but it repays thought.

President Roosevelt has done much to deserve the affection of the workers. He jeopardizes it when he says that things like Hague's rule in Jersey City are only local police issues. He jeopardizes it still more by his foreign policies. Let the workers meet these dangers in their own strength. Build the Workers' Defense League. Build a mighty anti-war Congress at Washington on the Memorial Day week-end.

This program will be subject to a promised convention the details of which are not yet announced. But the speech which went along with the program, while an improvement in its descriptions of the possibilities for an "abundant economy," is in most respects an extension of the same vagueness, confusion and demagoguery.

It calls for a new party founded on a capitalism of petty businesses and property owners. It would give back to private industry the job of railroading and housing as examples of getting government out of business. Yet it would have government "act" because "prosperity or hard times, liberty or dictatorship will be made by government." It attacks what it calls Socialism, by deliberately avoiding the concrete economic character of socialist planning, and speaks of it only in terms of socialism's final rewards, in terms of need and abilities. It rejects communism—(already the Daily Worker opposes LaFollette not because he is on the "left" but because he would break the united support "for the New Deal and Roosevelt's program.") It also opposes fascism, but as one worker remarked to me after he read both the program and the speech: "If this stuff didn't come from a LaFollette it would sound a helluva like the fascist program without the attack on the Jews!"

Certainly it is too early to give a final summation of this movement; but it isn't too early to point out that any political realignment in America, with or without the blessing of F. D. R. (there may be some ground to the contention that the present move has had White House blessing in order to force the Democratic Party to nominate a F. D. R. man in 1940 on pains of a split which would throw out that Party and its Federal patronage control even in the reactionary South), which still calls for a petty capitalist organization will not solve our problems or meet the needs of workers and farmers.

Only a full-fledged Farmer-Labor Party based on the trade unions, having a workers program, anti-capitalist in direction and purpose can fill the present bill. And the Socialist Party, as its recent convention reaffirmed, will work for that kind of Farmer-Labor Party against all of the confusion brought on by the LaFollettes, the "new Dealism" of the Communist Party and the trend in Labor's Non Partisan League which would tie in with capitalist candidates from either of the two old parties.

As a sort of postscript to this article and as an indication of what socialists must do not only in the midwest but thruout the country I want to cite this story: As one of the speakers for the organized unemployed in the trade union May Day Demonstration in Baltimore I faced a situation in which other speakers, leading spirits in the Maryland Labor's Non Partisan League and Communist Party, openly proclaimed the deal in that state which is to throw LNPL and C. P. support in the coming elections to the Republican governor, at least one Republican congressman candidate, and one Democratic candidate for the senate to oppose Tydings. This means not only confusion but betrayal of the cause of workers in Maryland and thruout the country.

Only in the fight for a real Farmer-Labor Party, only in the fight for Socialism will there be a solution to our present problems.

industrial organization of all leathersgoods workers and not merely pocketbook workers; and the elimination of Wolinsky, still under the cloud of his conviction by the labor movement, from any of the major posts.

Progressives In Minority

The peace proposal was accepted by the Progressive Group even though it leaves the Progressives as a minority in the General Executive Board. Addressing the united convention, Murray Baron, as spokesman for the Progressives, declared that he and his colleagues had voted unanimously to accept any peace consistent with the maintenance of a clean, militant unionism even if it left them in a minority in view of the chaotic conditions in the industry and the need for preventing what would prove to be a catastrophic split.

The Communist - Wolinsky group, however, balked at the proposal. President Zaritsky in presenting the formula was heckled and interrupted but finally in a good-humored yet fervent address swayed the opposition. Even after the pact had been signed, however, Lester Diamond, fraction leader of the Communists, took the floor in an effort to amend its terms and to plead for action from the convention in behalf of Wolinsky.

The physical merger of the two conventions was not unmarked by bitterness. As the Progressive delegates finally entered the hall to take seats from which they had been forcefully barred exactly one week before, they were greeted by booing and hissing. They replied by singing "Solidarity Forever" in which large sections of the other delegation finally participated.

Outgoing President Laderman, in an address to the convention, pleaded for unity. "Let us forget everything that happened this past week," he told the delegates, "and remember only the unity we have built today. We have a common enemy, the employers who would beat down the conditions of the workers. We must reserve all our energies for that fight."

Police Brutality In Detroit Steel Strike

DETROIT, Mich. — Renewed police brutality and attacks upon civil liberties marked the fourth week of the Michigan Steel Casting Co. strike here. The strike was called by Local 281 of the United Auto Worker after the company cut wages ten percent.

Political Jitters In California

By TRAVERS CLEMENT

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. — "Progressive" Democrats, including the Communists, in California, have been thrown into a dither during the past two weeks by the announcement of Governor LaFollette that he may come to California to campaign for Raymond Haight for Governor of the State and to establish a functioning organization of his new Party here.

As a result of this announcement, Democratic "progressives" — as opposed to the Haight Progressives — are despatching telegrams and delegations to Wisconsin to head off the invasion. Just as they had got the hosts of progress—the Epic and Utopian remnants, the Los Angeles reformers, the Labor's Non Partisan-League (the heart of which is Harry Bridges' maritime machine), the Young Democrats, including the YCL, and the Communist Party, nicely lined up behind Senator Culbert Olson, the moribund candidacy of Raymond Haight was given a progressive shot in the arm by the launching of the National Progressive Party.

Sinclair's Epic

Ever since Sinclair's Epic campaign for governor, Democratic politics in California have been hopelessly scrambled. Though Sinclair was defeated, some of the legislative candidates who jumped on the Epic bandwagon when it seemed headed for success, were elected. Though Senator Olson, an experienced politician, sought to cement his relations with the regular Democratic Party machine, the more "leftward" Epic assemblymen became the white-haired boys of the new Popular Front in California and have been featured at practically every Communist mass meeting since 1935. (One of them had jumped straight from the Socialist Labor Party into Epic Democracy.)

In the 1934 election, Raymond Haight, running as candidate of the Progressive Party, polled the votes of those Democrats too conservative to vote for Sinclair and of those Republicans who couldn't quite stomach the odor of the Merriam candidacy. Among these latter were some of the most conservative elements in the state. Haight had no program but "good government" embellished with a few vaguely technocratic slogans. His campaign was conducted on the basis of saving the state from the wicked Merriam and the radical Sinclair and was addressed directly to the middle-classes.

Nothing But A Name

The Progressive Party in California is nothing but a name. It has been maintained as a legal fiction ever since the Bull Moose days in order to provide Hiram Johnson with a place on the ballot in case he should fail to receive the regular Republican nomination. Usually, Hiram runs for the Republican, Democratic and Progressive nominations and gets all three. Haight was run as a Progressive gubernatorial candidate in 1934 only because Merriam was too much for even an honest reactionary to swallow.

When Labor's Non-Partisan League was organized in California last May, under the complete domination of the Communists and their Popular Front allies, it gave a blank check endorsement to President Roosevelt and definitely committed itself to the Democratic Party in this state.

It was obvious that the "middle of the road" Olson, who has disassociated himself from the more "extreme" Epic slogans and would therefore draw a large section of the "regular" Democratic vote, would receive

the League's endorsement as Democratic nominee. In the meanwhile, a state-wide committee of footloose liberals—including the former Socialist, Stitt Wilson—had organized a Committee of One Hundred for Political Unity for the purpose of unifying the middle-class liberals behind a "liberal" candidate.

The forces of this Committee were divided between the members of the Progressive Commonwealth Federation, led by Al Sessions of Bakersfield, who supported Haight, and another group of liberals, including a number of Communist stooges, working for the endorsement of Olson. After the formation of the Labor's Non-Partisan League, an effort was made to amalgamate the two movements. At the present time, the Committee of One Hundred is either defunct or dormant, with the Haight progressives still determined to run their own candidate against Olson.

Not A Radical

The backing of Haight by the Progressive Commonwealth Federation, which like the Progressive Party, is little more than a name in California (in spite of an intensive campaign for individual membership) is as illogical as the scrambled Democratic picture. Haight is nothing of a radical, in any sense of the word, and has never committed himself to the national perspectives of the Federation, so far as those perspectives have been formulated in such journals as Common Sense.

His backing by Al Sessions, a former Socialist and former Epic, can only be explained by the fact that Haight has a lien on the name of the Progressive Party in California and that Sessions believes it possible to use that name as a vehicle to build an agrarian-middle class third party in the state.

With the CIO and former Epic forces rallied behind Olson, it seemed altogether probable that a deal would be reached before the primary elections whereby the Sessions group would swing behind the Democratic nominee. The launching of the LaFollette movement and LaFollette's threat to invade California has put new life into the third party—as apart from labor party—movement and revived the hopes of the Haight supporters.

Thwart Labor Party

LaFollette's support of Haight in California will confirm some of the worst suspicions of his radical critics that LaFollette like the Communist Party—is out to head off, if possible, any development of a genuine labor party in this country, by tying the political insurgency of the labor and lower middle class forces to the defense of the status quo.

In the meanwhile, Sinclair, in his Epic news, is viewing the LaFollette moves with "sympathetic interest." If Olson is defeated in the Democratic primaries by another Democratic labor nominee—Daniel Murphy, backed by the A. F. of L.—it is quite possible that the Epic-Utopian-liberal-Communist-LNPL combination will swing to the support of Haight in the final elections.

Dr. Lapp To Speak In Racine May 25

RACINE, Wis. — Dr. John A. Lapp, national chairman of the Keep America Out of War Committee, will speak here May 25 under the auspices of the local KAOW committee, headed by William Lloyd, secretary of the local Consumers Cooperative association.



It happened in New Jersey, where Mayor Frank Hague says: "I am the law." These drunken stooges of his, recruited from Democratic wardclubhouses, filled the city's Journal Square and threatened Congressmen Jerry O'Connell and John T. Bernard. This is the mob which Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party faces in its fight to restore civil rights in a vital section of America.

Auto Union Board Lays Basis For Real Unity; Maps Building Program

By a Special Correspondent

DETROIT. — A 20-point program dealing with union activity and union policy was adopted here last week by the General Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers of America. Homer Martin, UAW president, hails this action as the end of factionalism and the basis for a united auto union.

Every real friend of progressive unionism hopes that it is true that factionalism in the UAW is dead and that the basis for a deep-rooted unity has been established. But hoping that factionalism is dead does not kill it.

By the time the CALL is printed, the board meeting will be over. The weeks following the meeting will determine whether or not the basis for a united organization has been established.

The program adopted by the executive board of the powerful auto union does offer the basis for ending the present factional fight. It will fulfill this purpose, however, only if the international administration carries out vigorously, encouraging participation of all elements in the active affairs of the union, rather than excluding groups from the opportunity to play an active role in the work of the union.

Challenging Problems

The auto union is faced with the challenge of possible wage cuts, the need for organizing the unorganized, the latest General Motors offensive against the union, and numerous other problems. It is on the basis of this that the GEB program was developed. The program provides for cleaning up the accumulating grievances in the G. M. plants. But this leads to the question — will these grievances be cleaned up and will the union take a militant stand in the face of the arrogant G. M. position? The program provides for a militant fight against wage cuts. Again, will the union rally all its forces in a courageous stand against the attempts to cut wages that are being made and that loom in the offing? The program calls for a drive to organize Ford. Will the Ford campaign be revitalized? The program promises a vigorous effort to organize competitive shops. What will be done?

Competitive Shops

This problem of competitive shops is one of the most vital of all the union questions now. Independent and semi-independent parts plants are still unorganized to an alarming degree. These shops have a competitive advantage over the union shops. Orders tend to be shifted to the

non-union plants because these plants can offer lower prices. Unless these shops are brought under the UAW banner and unless wages are increased to bring them in line with the union scales, the organized parts plants will be compelled to intensify their opposition to the UAW; the G. M. and Chrysler parts divisions will be shut down in part or completely and the work will be farmed out to non-union plants; and the union will lose in every way as a result.

Reuther Presents Program

Walter Reuther, president of the West Side local in Detroit, has taken the lead in mapping an extensive and comprehensive drive to organize these competitive plants. He presented a very full report on the situation and the plans to grapple with it. There is need for national and regional councils to deal with the problem of each parts division with a view toward developing national negotiations and national agreements with the manufacturers' groups in each division.

The steps that will be taken by the board and by the international officials after the board meeting to actually cope with this problem will be vitally important in determining the future course of the UAW and will have direct bearing on the internal situation in the union.

No solution of these problems is possible without the united support of the membership and leadership. But in like fashion, no solution of the problem of ending factionalism in the UAW and rebuilding the solidarity of the membership is possible without a real change on the part of the administration as regards union democracy.

The GEB program calls for greater emphasis on local union democracy. Apparently, Martin feels that he has been made the goat for many local situations, as he has. There is no question that local officials, fearful lest they be eliminated by a dissatisfied local membership, have called in the UAW president to save their necks. In some instances, Martin has gone so far as to place international administrative boards in the locals, thereby creating intense resentment.

Must Develop Loyalty

Until the membership feels confident that the channels of democracy are open to those who have a policy and program to advocate, even to the point where they can succeed in getting their policies adopted, it will not be possible to solidify the membership. When the union begins to respond to the desires and the needs of the rank and

file, even though it be slowly, then the membership will feel a loyalty and a confidence which comes to a group of people who know that their problems must and can be settled by themselves.

The adoption of this 20-point program by the GEB will give heart to many militant members. Essentially this program has

been developed by the membership over a long period of time. Every point in that program has been debated in local unions, in district councils, in the convention of the international at one time or another. Essentially this program expresses what the West Side local, the strongest link in the Unity Group, proposed for the board meeting when it instructed its president Walter Reuther regarding its desires in the field of international union policy.

West Side Program

The West Side program was based on the belief that factionalism could be eliminated but only when its causes were removed. It believed the causes to be due to certain harmful union policies.

There will undoubtedly be much speculation as to who is winning and who is losing in the internal fight in the UAW. The capitalist press takes special delight in dealing with this angle. It is not important. The Detroit papers speak of the 20-point program as Martin's program. Maybe some one will try to prove that after all this is really the "Unity" program and the Martin administration, having lost Frankenstein's support, was forced to strengthen its position with the Unity group in order to fight the Frankenstein-Communist combination more effectively.

Victory For Labor

Whatever is said about win or lose, the important thing remains that this program carried into effect will be a victory for the auto workers, for the CIO and for the cause of labor generally. It will show that labor can use democracy intelligently and can clean its own house. It will show that progressive union forces, though slandered and libelled and persecuted, can be of service by carrying on a principled campaign for a sound and constructive program.

To a Socialist the program is not perfect. Just as Socialists praise the declaration in the program of support to all genuine efforts to keep America out of war, so also Socialists regret that this document gives support to Frank Murphy for governor of Michigan in the 1938 race. It is too bad that the auto worker still have not learned that what

(Continued on Page 8)

Office Union's Growth Stifled By Politicians

By AN OFFICE WORKER
The United Office and Professional Workers of America (C. I. O.) is to hold its second annual convention in Washington May 18-22.

Organized a year ago in Philadelphia with the majority of its delegates from locals of office workers, the bulk of the international's membership now is composed of industrial insurance agents and social workers. The UOPWA also includes locals of book and magazine employees, artists and commercial travelers.

With a potential membership of 4,000,000 or more the C. I. O. poured in much money to stimulate organization among white-collar workers. Lewis Merrill, international president, promptly placed hand-picked C. P.'ers on the organization pay roll, with dubious results. He claims a membership of 45,000 but it is obvious that this figure is highly exaggerated. At one time the C. I. O. paid the salaries of 20 organizers and Wall Street was a strong concentration point, but substantial results were obtained only among industrial insurance agents.

Play Politics

In recent months international organizers have centered their efforts in this field. Since they were chosen in nearly every instance on the basis of their politics rather than on ability and knowledge of insurance men's problems, in many cities the organization campaign has failed lamentably.

Merrill ignored demands by progressives for an early election among agents in New York City to choose a collective bargaining agency while enthusiasm was at its height. His ambitious plan called for a national election. Finally he had to yield, but the delay proved that a golden opportunity had been lost, for when the election took place the union's margin of victory was only 36 with about 5,000 men voting. Now the company is stalling on negotiations for a contract.

Gag Rule

A full C. P. slate of 10 delegates was elected by the New York office workers union, Local 16, which is flooded with members of the Young Communist League. While resolutions were under discussion at a pre-convention union meeting Morris Yanoff, one of the organizers and a leading C. P.'er, introduced a motion forbidding the

publication and distribution of points of view relating to instructions to delegates at the convention. This was clearly aimed at members of the United Progressive League who have issued "The Progressive Office Worker," a paper critical of the administration. Leading progressives then and there stated that in order to uphold trade union democracy and free press they would not be bound by such an outrageous rule. It was carried nevertheless.

Progressive Program

All resolutions proposed by the progressives except one (on Mooney and Billings) were defeated. Some of these resolutions which the C. P. administration is anxious to keep from the delegates are: for the utilization of all constructive forces in the union regardless of differing opinions; for the immediate and substantial expansion of the WPA program; for a reduction in per capita from 50 per cent to 33 1/3 per cent, for the setting up in all locals of substantial strike funds and permanent strike machinery; for an end to an administration practice of imposing its own politics and political activities on local unions, and opposition to the interjection of factional politics into trade union affairs; for proportional representation in the election of delegates to the convention and of General Executive Board members; for the immediate resumption of peace negotiations between the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. on a basis that will not sacrifice the principles of industrial union organization in the mass production industries; and against imperialistic war, militarism and preparations for war.

Arrangements have been made for the printing of a convention issue of the "National Progressive Office Worker" for the enlightenment of convention delegates.

Might Unseat Norback

Ernest Norback, progressive delegate from San Francisco, Local 34, has a dramatic story to relate about the efforts of Harry Bridges, CIO West Coast director, to besmirch the progressive leadership of the local. At a meeting on May 10 a wildly enthusiastic membership overwhelmingly upheld their officials and repudiated the C. P. and International Vice-president Leo Allen who has been sabotaging the work of the local, and con-

demened Bridges and other Coast longshore officials for interfering with the locals affairs. Knowing of this development and undoubtedly desirous that Bridges' infamous conduct should not be exposed, Merrill is likely to find some technicality to prevent Norback from taking his seat at the convention.

In view of Merrill's tight control and the fact that the convention will be dominated by C. P.'ers the usual resolutions in accord with "the party line" undoubtedly will be adopted. The task of building a sound and powerful economic organization of office workers in the interest of office workers and the labor movement as a whole remains undone. Every possible opportunity will be used to remind the political commissars of this fact and rally from the ranks support for the movement to build a genuine union movement in this strategic field.

Public Hearings On Celler Bill

NEW YORK.—Public hearings on House Resolution 9907, the bill introduced by Rep. Emanuel Celler, "To reduce certain fees in naturalization proceedings..." will be held by the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization Wednesday, May 18, it was stated here this week by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The resolution provides for the reduction of the minimum \$7.50 to \$10 fee usually paid for citizenship papers to \$2.

The committee appealed for letters and resolutions supporting H. R. 9907 to be sent to Rep. Samuel Dickstein, Chairman, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Washington, D. C., urging that the House Committee take favorable action on the bill to lower naturalization fees.

50 Youth Delegates

BAITIMORE, Md. — Over 50 youth delegates to the Keep America out of War Congress are coming from this city according to Mina Bluthenthal.

On The Co-Op Front Credit Unions

BY S. S. WHITE

Leading the way in developing a new field of related trade union activity, whereby workers are enabled to organize institutions to help themselves, mid-western, southwestern and northwestern Locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are organizing and building cooperative Credit Unions.

So far, Credit Unions have been organized and are functioning in St. Louis, Kansas City, Houston and Minneapolis, while similar organizations are planned in Vandalia, Mo. and smaller towns where the ILGWU has locals. Regional Director Meyer Perlstein has taken the lead in encouraging such institutions.

The Credit Unions are meeting with such success in filling a long needed service to workers that trade unionists are amazed that they did not make use of Credit Unions a long time ago. The average worker in the ladies' garment industry, where seasonal unemployment is part of the early cycle of work, has too often been driven into the hands of unscrupulous money lenders and loan sharks, for financial aid during the slack periods; not to appreciate the opportunity which the Credit Union offers him or her for pooling tiny amounts of savings in order to lend to needy members.

Unions Lag

Unions may have been backward in taking advantage of the Credit Union, but many employers have not. Many corporations and employers have encouraged organization of Credit Unions as a means of forestalling trade union organization. The Credit Union is used by this type of employer as one of the many types of welfare schemes intended to make workers forget the benefits of trade union organization.

Socialists also seem to have been lax in encouraging the development of Credit Unions, although Socialists are sincere believers in cooperatives. The Credit Union is a singularly easy form of cooperative to organize. Moreover, the Federal Government, through a division of the Farm Credit Administration, has set up model rules, regulations, constitutions, etc. for Credit Unions, and exercises supervision over this form of cooperatives. Most states also have Credit Union laws. The cost of incorporating under Federal laws is somewhat greater than under state laws, but the more stringent rules and control of Federal laws provides

greater safety for funds.

How To Organize

To set up a Federal Credit Union, it is only necessary to apply to the Farm Credit Administration, which has representatives in various parts of the country ready to aid workers in the actual work of forming the organization. Membership in a credit union must be limited to a group which has a common interest—such as a trade union, employees of a plant, a Socialist Party local, a social club, a neighborhood, etc.

Each member buys a share of stock, at \$5, and pays an entrance fee of 25 cents. The funds thus collected are loaned only to members. Shares may be bought by paying as little as 25c a week. Interest on loans is limited to one per cent or less per month on outstanding amounts. The set-up of the Credit Union is such that there is a triple check on funds, and officers have a hard time to manipulate funds.

Loss Very Small

It is therefore, not strange that of the three or four hundred millions of dollars lent by Credit Unions since 1912, that less than one tenth of one per cent has been lost to the workers who put up the money. This contrasts with the millions of dollars lost in banks operated by professional bankers. Workers have not done such a bad job of handling their own funds thru their own credit institutions!

And the contrast is all the

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LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

CENTRAL BRANCH meets every Thursday night in Room 517, 524 S. Spring St. Ben Sands, secretary, 500 E. Maple, Glendale, Calif.

SAN FRANCISCO

San Francisco Local SP meets every Wednesday night at 8 p. m. at 1057 Steiner street.

more striking when we learn that the greatest part of the losses of Credit Unions was due to the failure of banks in which the credit unions kept their funds!

The record of Federal Credit Unions is even better. Since the Federal Credit Union law was adopted in 1934, until last September, the Federal Credit Unions lent out \$88,000,000. Of this amount about two-hundredths of one per cent was lost.

Nationally Organized

Today the Credit Unions of the country have about one and a half million dollars. The Credit Unions have a national organization, with state and city branches. They publish their own magazine, print and sell uniform bookkeeping records, have established a joint fund to insure against loss of loans through death of the borrower, and provide a means of extending workers' credit organization.

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For information Write to
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112 East 19th Street, New York City

PHIL LAFOLLETTE'S NEW PARTY

WHO IS BEHIND IT? WHAT IS ITS PROGRAM WHERE IS IT GOING?

These unhappy times call for a new political party—one whose strength comes from the organized workers and farmers, and whose program is to operate the nation's industries and farms at full capacity, so that all persons may have secure jobs and a plentiful living.

It is important that this new party should be controlled from the very beginning by its own rank and file.

It is important that it shall not conceal its program behind fine-sounding though empty phrases but, on the contrary, shall state plainly its aims and methods.

It is important that in framing its program it shall face boldly the fact that the nation's major industries, banks, and transportation lines cannot be operated at full capacity under private ownership, whose main concern is profits. Industry run for the profits of an owning few is industry half idle, as nine years of capitalist depression under both Hoover and Roosevelt has made clear. Capacity operation is possible only if (1) the major industries, banks and transportation lines are owned by all the people through their government, or through cooperatives, and (2) if the sole purpose of production is to fulfill their needs.

This is the only sure way by which all the huge billions of profits that now go to the economic royalists could be turned back to the producers through means of better wages and lower prices. Thus the pocket books of the toilers would be enriched so that they could buy all they produce. More than this consumption would then be increased so as to keep these activities operating at full capacity and thus solve unemployment. This is a simple explanation of what we mean by producing for use instead of producing for profits.

II.

Phil LaFollette's new party, the National Progressives of America, Inc., is, we deeply regret to say, not this kind of a party.

It is, as yet, the personal party of a man intensely ambitious to become President. He wrote its program—such as there is; chose its name and mystical emblem, and launched it alone without the counsel or participation of the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party, the American Labor Party of New York, the Wisconsin Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, or the great labor and farm organizations. They seem to have been deliberately and pointedly snubbed.

Phil LaFollette has made plain that he seeks neither their advice nor their cooperation, but only their following.

Before the new party was formally launched at a Madison mass meeting on April 28, Governor LaFollette conferred with some 1,200 liberal, labor and farm leaders, according to his own estimate.

The conference procedure was this: the governor invited them, in groups of 100 or so, to lunch at the state house. Before them he rehearsed parts of the April 28 speech. Sometimes there were a few minutes for questions and comments; generally not. "Write me a letter," advised the governor.

All the while he was proceeding with registering the name of his new party and trade-marking its emblem in all states.

Phil LaFollette has likened his new movement to the founding of the American republic and to the abolition of slavery. It is well to remind him that the Declaration of Independence was not decreed by one man, but by rebel patriots from all colonies

in Continental Congress assembled. Neither did Lincoln found the Republican party, nor dictate its program. The people themselves brought him forward as their leader.

Phil LaFollette's manner in launching his new party is not in the American democratic tradition.

III.

Phil LaFollette's program—such as he now deigns to reveal—is a shocking disappointment. Let this be well understood: it offers the workers and farmers no more than the Republicans, less than the New Deal, nothing that would help them win the economic security that is their right.

The reactionary N. Y. Journal of Commerce applauds his new party as presenting an economic program more conservative than that of the Republicans and Democrats.

Whether or not his intentions are as conservatives as this paper thinks, they certainly lean in that direction. In his 100-minute speech at Madison on April 28, he made only three positive suggestions concerning an economic program. These referred to money, housing, and railroads.

About money and credit he said:

"The ownership and control of money and credit, without qualification or reservation, must be under public and not private control."

If he means government ownership of the banks (which is desirable) why does he not say so plainly? If he means government control of private ownership, he proposes it 25 years after it was established through the Federal Reserve Bank by Woodrow Wilson!

His housing proposal is equally vague, except on one point, which he states as follows: "Private ownership and private business must be afforded opportunities to go to work."

How? Private capital, not alone in the United States but in all countries, has grievously failed in building enough suitable homes. America is just now beginning in a small way to meet this problem as England, Holland and the Scandinavian countries have done—with government aid. And LaFollette offers nothing definite except a repudiation of this. Would he help private capital "go to work" by tearing down wage standards?

It is in regard to the railroads, however, that Phil LaFollette's program reveals how far he has retreated from real progressive principles, as championed by his father, the late Robert M. LaFollette, Sr.

Thirty-five years ago, his father, as governor of Wisconsin, made the LaFollette name nationally famous by his fearless fight against the corrupt practices of the railroad magnates—their robbers' rates, their stock-watering, and their bribery. He forced them to submit to regulation, in time saw that this was not enough, and then courageously championed public ownership.

And now, with the railroads finally brought to the verge of bankruptcy by the very practices which the elder LaFollette fought, his younger son proposes merely a refinancing. Before rates could be reduced and decent wages paid, dividends would be paid on the billions of new private capital that young LaFollette would have invested.

Only one thing emerges clearly from the new party's pro-

Statement by the National Action Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States of America.

Program: Phil LaFollette would seek to preserve the same profit system that has brought misery to American workers and farmers. LaFollette's program may well serve the owning thousands (for which the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, the Herald-Tribune, Gen. Hugh Johnson, and Walter Lippmann already sing his praises) but it holds no hope for the working millions.

IV.

Phil LaFollette's new party moves not toward a cooperative commonwealth but toward fascism.

To those millions of Americans who have long respected the LaFollette liberal tradition and admired Senator Bob LaFollette's valiant defense of civil liberties, this is difficult to believe.

Yet there are features of this new party which are haunting reminders of Hitler, Mussolini, Mosley of England, and Doriot of France. Of these, all but Hitler began their careers as radicals, and even he masked his fascist policies by calling his party the National Socialist German Workers Party.

If Phil LaFollette actually does have fascist intentions, he will find his progressive past a most useful disguise to deceive the unthinking.

Like Hitler, Mussolini, Mosley and Doriot, he now makes a highly emotional appeal to both left and right—to labor and capital—and at those points where their respective interests plainly conflict, he takes refuge in mysticism.

For example:

"There are those who will continually ask, 'How can people go to work—how can this be done.' These people will never be satisfied . . . What we believe is so clear and so fundamental that it can be told without words. It is expressed in a symbol."

The symbol is the circled X. This is Phil LaFollette's answer to those who want to know what and how. "Don't ask questions, or you will be a disrupter."

"We seek only those who come with complete conviction and without reservation. The movement that unites America must itself be united."

This has the ring of fascist demagogues. It is not the democracy of a rank and file party, or a trade union, or of a farmers' organization, or of a cooperative society.

Disturbing, too, is the prominence of Adjutant General Ralph M. Immell among the governor's close associates. The Immell who managed the Madison rally on April 28, who decked the stage with banners of the circled X like a Nazi rally in Germany, is the same Immell who directed the National Guard against Wisconsin farmers in the milk strike in 1934.

A further cause for concern is the manner in which Governor LaFollette misrepresents those who may disagree with him, which, too, is a typical fascist technique. Socialism he falsely describes as a "philosophy that proposes to reward work and achievement on the same basis regardless of individual achievement." In no Socialist platform anywhere in the world can this proposal be found. LaFollette says, too, "There is a vast difference between a Socialist theory of absolute equality and the American principle of equality of opportunity." But in truth there is no equality of opportunity in America, nor would LaFollette's program provide it.

Equality of opportunity is the goal that Socialists seek.

The governor is privileged to disagree with the Socialist philosophy. But for a person of his intelligence to misrepresent it so grossly can mean only that he does so with cunning deliberation.

With or without Phil LaFollette and his followers, a farmer-labor party must be built.

Hopeful beginnings have been made with the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the New York American Labor Party, and the Wisconsin Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation. In New Jersey and Illinois, there are beginnings of Labor parties. Many local and state units of Labor's Non-Partisan League, can also help pro-

vide the foundation for a national farmer-labor party.

The Socialist Party profoundly hopes that Phil LaFollette and those of his followers who consider themselves liberals will repudiate any fascist intentions. In that case, the Socialist Party should like to see them take their place in the ranks of a real farmer-labor party. If they are to be leaders, let them earn that honor as obedient servants of the rank and file.

But this must be clear: if Phil LaFollette and the labor movement are to join hands, he should come to the organized workers and farmers and accept their aims. If he wilfully proceeds in disregard of them he must be considered their enemy.

Auto Union Board Moves for Unity

(Continued from Page 6)

they need is an independent labor party. It is too bad that the betrayals of Davey in Ohio and now Earle in Pennsylvania have not taught labor, that it cannot trust "friends."

Rank and File for Murphy

But this is a minor consideration. Unquestionably, at this time, whether the executive board puts its okay on it or not, the majority of the auto workers are of the opinion that Murphy should be reelected in order to defeat whatever candidate the Republicans put forth.

One important phase of this board meeting is the isolation of the Communist-Frankensteen block. The efforts of this combination to outlaw caucuses and to discipline all critics of the leadership, while at the same time driving to dominate the leadership, failed utterly and miserably. Frankensteen, who

was relieved of his title of "assistant president" by Martin last week, made a bad error politically when he linked himself with the Communists at the very time when they were deserting the Unity Caucus and its program. He received all the bad effects an alliance with the Communists had on his conservative friends while at the same time assuming much of the brunt of the Unity Caucus resentment against the Communist double cross.

The Frankensteen-Communist alliance appears to be dead. Frankensteen will probably take a back seat in union affairs for a while until this whole adventure blows over. What the Communist course will be now is not certain except that more and more the CP forces are leveling their main fire against Socialists and other militant elements.

Wisconsin Young

Socialists Meet

MILWAUKEE, Wis. — The State Convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League of Wisconsin, held here on May 15 at the Young Socialist Educational Center, elected Gerald Rubin of Madison State Chairman and Andy Van Hazinga of Kenosha State Secretary. The other members of the State

Executive Committee elected were Tom Rusch and Zola Tanel of Milwaukee, Arnold Dadien and Doris Elsberg of Racine and Charles Rubin of Madison.

Quaker College Delegates

RICHMOND, Ind. — A carload of delegates to the Anti-War Congress is being sent from the Quaker College in this town, Earlham College.



Scene of the tragedy shown by this radio photo is at the pithead of the Markham colliery at Chesterfield, England, where two gas explosions killed 93 miners and injured a score of others. Disaster was viewed as the worst in recent British history.