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Labor Laws In Britain

By Trevor Williams

(Research Staff, British Independent Labor Party)

Editor's Note: When John L. Lewis refused to name a C. I. O. representative on the Roosevelt commission, which recently completed a "study" of labor laws in Britain and Sweden, he knew in advance that this commission was in response to the tremendous pressure which organized business had brought upon the New Deal government. Lewis smelled a rat and without prejudging the commission's report we believe it is always best for workers to conduct their own investigations. The Socialist Call, therefore, invited Comrade Williams to write an article on the experience of British workers with "labor laws." This is an article which should be read by every active trade unionist in America.

The one fundamental law that cannot be ignored by either class in capitalist society is the dynamic law of movement that a given state of economic organization inevitably produces. Any consideration, therefore, of formal anti-labor legislation must be made with this concept in mind. In other words the portent of "legality" is qualified by the degree of intensity that the class-struggle might have reached at any given moment. On the other hand any examination of British anti-labor legislation, must become to some extent an examination of the perfected use of the State apparatus in the class-struggle by in this case, the capitalist class.

The British ruling class have for a long time been regarded as the most astute in the world and a perusal of their labor legislation would confirm that impression. Even legislation that might be regarded as favourable to the working-class is in reality an extremely subtle and clever form of adding to the efficiency of capitalism. Such legislation for example as the National Health Insurance Acts and the Unemployment Insurance Acts, was made acceptable to the employers on the grounds that in the long run they would receive the greatest economic advantage.

THE TRADES ACT

Perhaps the most famous and the most reactionary of the English labor laws is the Trades Disputes Acts, 1927. This act was prompted by the experiences of the General Strike of 1926, and to some extent it is a measure of the panic that our 'masters' were thrown into at that time. It ought to be emphasized, though, that this act was not the first of its kind; on the contrary, in many ways it was an addition to, and a tightening up of previous acts. For example it was regarded in parts as an amendment to the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Acts of 1875. Together with the Emergency Powers Act, 1920, and the Public Order Act, 1936 the Trades Disputes Act forms the basis of legal repression of the workers in their labor-unions and in their labor disputes.

Previous to the introduction of the Trades Disputes Act, trades unions were entitled to pay a bloc political affiliation fee to the Labor Party. One of the strictures of the new act was that in future affiliation fees to the Labor Party from a T. U. could only be paid on the basis of 'personal inclination of the individual member; this was the famous "contracting in" clause and there is no doubt that it placed grave restrictions on the Labor Party at a critical moment in its career.

RESTRICT STRIKES

The most disquieting feature of the Act, however, was the legislative limits it placed on any strike of the workers. It was made an indictable offence for any person or persons, or organization, to advocate the extension of a strike beyond its own industrial confines. If the coal miners for example, were on strike it would be a criminal offence for the cotton workers to engage in a sympathy strike. The Union's funds can be confiscated, and any leader or person who advocated a sympathy strike can be arrested and sent to prison for two years. When we remember the remarkable solidarity that exists in this country among the different sections of the workers, this clause is of a very important character.

In May 1937—"Coronation" month—the bus workers of the London Passenger Board came on strike for a reduction of their hours of work. This strike was characterised by a fine spirit of militancy. A corresponding militancy began to spring up in the tramway and underground railway sections, also under the control of the L. P. T. B. At one period it appeared that the strike would spread to the whole of London passenger transport. The confusion and dislocation this would cause in the "centre of the world" can easily be imagined. The advantage that would accrue to the bus workers is also fairly obvious. There is no doubt at all that this tendency to combined action was smothered by the conservative T. U. leaders because of their fear of the Trades Disputes Acts. Had the strike extended to the colossal scale indicated above, it is possible that the Government would have construed it to be an act "calculated to coerce the Government either directly or indirectly, by inflicting hardship upon the community," and they could have taken proceedings either under the Trades Disputes Act or under the Emergency Powers Act. The bus workers strike collapsed with very little gain to themselves. This is one example of how the British labor legislation works, not only in inflicting penalties for striking, but also in actually preventing a strike from taking place.

CLASS COLLABORATION

Trade Union leaders who are not renowned for their disposition to conduct a labor dispute in the spirit of the class struggle, but rather in the spirit of class collaboration, seem to take a cowardly delight in sheltering behind the Trades Disputes Act. It will be easily seen from the above that a political strike of any kind is immediately ruled out of legal possibility. Time after time, on important issues of a political nature to the Labor movement action has been demanded; or, as in the case of the Spanish workers struggle, some form of industrial action, but always

(Continued on Page 4)

New York Socialists Rap ALP-Republican Alliance; Run Independent Ticket

WILL TESTIFY



Tom (I've Got Guns) Gidder, Republic Steel Corp. head, has been called for a personal appearance before the Senate civil liberties committee, where he will have an opportunity to account for the murders and beatings of steel workers during the Little Steel strike.

Last of Houston War Victims Free

LEAVENWORTH, Kansas. — Released here from the United States penitentiary July 20, at the direction of President Roosevelt, was William Burnett, last of the 152 members of the U. S. Twenty-fourth Infantry, who were sentenced to death and life imprisonment back in 1917 on charges of rioting in Houston Texas.

Of the original "Houston Martyrs" imprisoned in 1917, thirteen were summarily hanged, and six executed after a review of their case by President Wilson.

Following the Kansas National Association for the Advancement of Colored People convention of 1924, the organization organized a nationwide protest campaign for the release of the fifty-four soldiers then in prison. Burnett was among those whose terms were reduced to 19 years by President Coolidge. He later was paroled from 1924 to 1936, when he had to return to prison because of a parole infraction, and remained at Leavenworth until the President had him released. He had served eight years, three months and eleven days of his original sentence, when he was freed.

Talking about books "Socialism on the Defensive" a new book by Norman Thomas will be out in the fall.

NEW YORK.—Following publication of the news that the American Labor Party in New York had made unprincipled agreements for a coalition with Republican county organizations, the state executive committee of the New York Socialist Party issued its call for the regular Socialist convention for the purpose of nominating a complete slate of candidates, adopting a platform and planning a vigorous, independent Socialist campaign.

The New York Socialist Party had made it plain that it was willing to cooperate and even considered joining the American Labor Party while retaining its integrity as a Socialist organization, affiliated with the Socialist Party of the United States. The action of the A. L. P., however, in retreating from the principle of independent political action by consummating a deal with the Republican Party in Manhattan and Kings county, requires the maintenance of a Socialist ticket, says the state executive committee.

CONVENTION CALL

The text of the call to the convention, signed by the State Executive Committee of New York, reads:

"To all Locals and Branches of the Socialist Party of New York,

"Dear Comrades:

"You are hereby officially notified that the New York state convention of the Socialist Party will be held on Saturday and Sunday, September 17th and 18th 1938, in New York City. Among the major items on the agenda will be the nomination of a complete slate of candidates for public office in this state, the adoption of a platform and the planning of a vigorous independent Socialist campaign.

"The Socialist Party is as firm as ever in its conviction that among the most immediate tasks confronting the workers today is the building of an independent labor party in state and nation. By its willingness to cooperate with the American Labor Party in the direction of independent political action, it has demonstrated its loyalty to the concept of a genuine labor party movement. It had begun negotiations with the A.L.P. looking toward the admission of the Socialist Party into the labor party on such terms as would preserve the integrity and organization of the Socialist Party and would make

the A.L.P. the electoral agency of Socialists in this state.

BACKWARD STEP

"However, well-substantiated reports that the American Labor Party has just entered into a formal agreement with Republican county organizations in some cases and Democratic in others obviously puts an end to any further negotiations for affiliation at this time.

"The A. L. P. will probably proceed next to endorse the Democratic state ticket as part of its support of the New Deal. The Socialist Party believes that a sound Labor Party can be built only on a program in the interest of labor on an independent basis and not by making deals with old line Tammany politicians in some counties and leaders of the decrepit Republican Party in other counties.

"This kind of horse-trading does not advance the cause of straight thinking or of straight acting for the growth of the right sort of labor party but merely adds to the confusion of the American political scene. The Socialist Party cannot support such policies.

"Workers in this state, who have come to recognize the need for an independent political party of workers of hand and brain, will welcome the appearance of a full Socialist ticket in this campaign. While the Socialist Party will continue to give its cooperation in the independent activities of the American Labor Party, it can best serve in the development of a genuine national labor party and in the building of the A.L.P. in the direction of independence by raising high the Socialist banner, by waging a vigorous campaign for its own ticket, in support of those socialist principles in which alone is hope of plenty, peace and freedom.

"Fraternally yours,

"State Executive Committee,
"James Lipsin, Secretary."

In Next Week's Socialist Call—

THE WORLD'S OLDEST SOCIALIST

The story of a 104-year-old comrade who voted for Abraham Lincoln, Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas.

WAGES AND HOUR BILL DIAGNOSED—By Frank Newton.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF OREGON LEAVES THE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION

A classic statement enunciating the principles in the light of a rapidly changing world.

WORLD NOTES

Miners Convention in France—Labor Sport International Convention—Trade Unions in Norway, Holland and Argentine

By JOHN MILL

It seems that the days of pure and simple trade-unionism have gone forever. It is not any more taboo in the trade-union movement to discuss and take a stand in political questions—domestic as well as international. It has become a matter of course. This change in the attitude of organized labor is primarily a direct result of fascist aggression.

The workers everywhere have had an object lesson of the hatred fascism has for their organizations and of the gangster-methods it uses in order to suppress them and to lower the standard of living of the working class. A free labor movement side by side with fascism is inconceivable—this is clear now even to the politically most unconscious and passive worker.

No wonder that at all labor conferences and conventions recently held in Europe, not only the purely union questions—of shorter hours, higher wages, social reforms—were on the agenda, but also the situation in Spain, China, Czechoslovakia, the enslavement of German-Austrian masses, the tragic fate of Jews in fascist countries, etc. The spirit of militancy prevailed.

MINERS' CONFAB

The thirty-third convention of Mine Workers' International, held in Luxembourg, was very impressive. Delegates came from many parts of Europe: England was represented by 68 delegates, France—25, Belgium—26, Czechoslovakia—9, Poland—4, Holland—2, Luxemburg—2, Spain—3 and Sweden—1. In all, 873,500 workers sent delegates to this convention.

As a million miners are unemployed, the convention decided to start an intensive struggle for shorter working hours and thus give many idle miners a chance to find jobs in this industry. A decision was also taken to fight against the noticeable increase of accidents in the mines.

Under the impression of the heroic war the Spanish masses wage against the fascist rebels and the Italian and German invasion, the convention staged an enthusiastic ovation to the Spanish delegates.

It expressed the sentiment of solidarity of the miners with all those who fight fascism and bring sacrifices in this struggle.

The action committee of the miners' union of South Wales donated 250,000 dollars for republican Spain. This sum may be increased to 400 thousand.

JOUHAUX SPEAKS

The convention of the union of postal and telegraph employees in France, which counts 110,169 members, criticized very sharply the Radical-Socialist Party for the gradual abolishment of all the achievements of the first People's Front government under Blum's premiership. The speech, delivered by the Secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, Leon Jouhaux, was a clear threat to Daladier's government: put in force the clear economic program of the Confederation and the reorganization of the country, or the trade unions will realize their plans by their own means and force.

The Trade Union International, England, Belgium and Spain, were represented at this convention by fraternal delegates.

RAIL WORKERS MEET

Many important questions filled out the French railroad workers' convention. Its agenda: 40-hour working week, old age pension for the retired workers, social insurance, medical service, a moving salary scale dependent upon fluctuations of the living expenses, support of the railroad workers in North Africa and in

the French colonies in their struggle for the right of organization and for equal salaries. One of the main demands made by the convention was the immediate nationalization of key industries.

This convention lasted four days. It was attended by 1,114 delegates representing 425,000 railway workers.

An elaborate resolution was adopted unanimously. It was a manifestation for peace and for unity of the working class, an expression of sympathy and solidarity with Czechoslovakia, the suffering masses of Spain and China, a vigorous declaration of war against the mad dogs of fascism.

The Secretary of the International Federation of Transport Workers, Fimmen, greeted the convention in the name of railway workers of 32 countries.

LABOR SPORT

The Socialist Labor Sport International—The ninth convention of the Socialist Sport International was to take place in Amsterdam, but the "hospitality" of the "democratic" government of Holland could not go so far as to allow the chairman of the International, Julius Deutsch, now a general in republican Spain, to enter the country and—the convention was not permitted to be held. At the last moment Brussels (Belgium) was selected as the place of the convention instead of Amsterdam.

About 100,000 members of labor sport organizations were represented by 47 delegates from Belgium, Holland, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Poland (the Jewish Sport Organization "Morgenstern"), England, France, Norway, Spain.

F. Adler greeted the convention in the name of the Socialist and Labor International; Vandervelde in the name of the Belgian Labor Party.

Resolutions, expressing sympathy for the heroic fighters in Spain and for Czechoslovakia threatened by Nazi Germany, were adopted.

The tenth convention will be held in Switzerland.

The fourth international gathering for the Labor Olympic games will be in Finland in 1943.

Julius Deutsch was again elected chairman of the Sport International.

NORWAY CONCLAVE

The Norwegian Trade Union Convention was attended by 600 delegates. The trade union movement in Norway shows an enormous development. In 1934 the organizations had 172,000 members, in 1937—323,000, in 1938—340,000. Among the organized very many are farm workers. A sharp protest against the so-called "nonintervention" policy in Spain was adopted. The Norwegian workers will by all means help the Trade Union International in its struggle against war and fascism. One hundred thousand kroner were voted for the international "Solidarity Fund" to help Spain.

The Convention of the Trade Unions in Holland vigorously protested against the plan of the government to limit woman labor. Together with the Socialist Party the trade unions will take care of 230 Spanish children.

Three hundred thousand workers are organized in the unions.

"Fraternidad" and "Union Feroviaria"—both trade unions of the railroad workers in Argentine—with a membership of 120,000, have just taken a clear position against war and fascism.

The "Fraternidad" made the following declaration: "Taking into consideration that the totalitarian and fascist states are a

Nazis Make Fight on Co-Op Stores

Konrad Henlein, Hitler's agent in Czechoslovakia, has launched a campaign against consumers cooperatives, calling them "breeding holes of Marxism", according to Ludwig Lore, foreign news editor of the New York Post. He is starting a boycott of the stores in the German-speaking sections of Czechoslovakia, with women Nazi party members picketing the co-ops.

In one village in the Sudeten area a housewife asked; "Why cannot we buy from the cooperatives to which we belong and the goods of which are cheaper?"

Henlein's reply was: "You must buy from the private retailer even if an egg costs four times as much. Cooperatives are un-German."

Because of Nazi terrorism in the Sudeten district, many members visit the co-op stores at night. German women have been clubbed by young Nazi bullies in broad daylight when Czech police were not present to protect them. Henlein says that every one of the 700 German co-op societies within the Czech nation must be smashed as Hitler smashed them in Germany.

SOCIALISTS ASK FOR FAIR TRIAL

PARIS, France, July 17—(By Air Mail)—The organization of lawyers belonging to the French Socialist Party passed the following resolution in respect to the POUM trials which are to be held in Spain in the near future:

"At this time, when the trials of the POUM seem imminent, French Socialist lawyers ask of the Government of the Spanish Republic, cordially but earnestly,

- "1—That all guarantees be granted to the defense;
- "2—That the greatest possible publicity be given the discussion.

"We are convinced that by so giving satisfaction to the demands of human conscience, at the very moment when the heroic struggle of the Spanish people inspires the fraternal sympathy and the admiration of all free men, the Spanish people will best disappoint the enemies of democracy.

"For the Committee:

E. Depreux,
Betty Brunschwigg,
J. Jamois."

danger to the freedom of democratic nations, we consider as our task to fight vigorously against the adoption of a similar political regime. The struggle against fascism and war must be intensified and all illegally armed formations broken up."

BASTILLE DAY AND THE FRENCH POPULAR FRONT

By JAMES LOEB

PARIS, July 17 (by Air Mail) —"The Popular Front Is Dead! Long Live the Popular Front!" That cry, borrowed from the time-worn terminology of monarchist countries, could well have been the chant of the thousands upon thousands of French workers who last Thursday marched from the Place de la Bastille to the Place de la Nation in exultant celebration of the revolutionary act of the people of Paris 149 years ago.

The monster demonstration, following the military display at the Arc de Triomphe in the morning (as usual accompanied by the Fascist salutes of the bystanders), was somewhat less stupendous than in the past few years, largely because this is not an election year, but it was nevertheless sufficient to demonstrate that the French workers' movement is not yet dead.

A fairly accurate picture of the political situation of the moment was offered by an analysis of the slogans shouted and the organizations represented on this occasion. Specifically, the purpose of the demonstration was to renew the oath of fidelity to the Popular Front program, an oath originally taken three years ago by the political and trade union organizations represented in the Rassemblement Populaire.

STATE OATH

High above the reviewing stand this oath was printed in huge letters. It read as follows: "We swear to remain united to defend democracy, to disarm and dissolve the Fascist leagues, to safeguard our liberties from the threat of Fascism. We swear to defend the democratic liberties conquered by the people of France, to give bread to the workers, work to the youth, and universal peace to the world."

While the oath was that of three years ago, it was abundantly clear that the entire political development had changed. The working class of France now finds itself at the end of an epoch, and perhaps at the beginning of another stage of development. The Popular Front, as it was originally constituted, is dead. No one has any illusions about that.

Of particular significance is the fact that the Radical Socialists were not represented on this occasion, except unofficially by a few individual dissidents on the left. In past years, Daladier, Herriot and the others were present on Bastille Day, and their absence was a matter of continual comment that afternoon on the reviewing stand, where your correspondent was privileged to witness the demonstration.

ATTACK DALADIER

Many of the marchers shouted for Daladier's resignation. Whatever the program of what is now

still called the "Popular Front," the movement is distinctly and exclusively working-class in composition. The Socialist and Communist Parties, the General Confederation of Labor, and the various innocent organizations were alone represented in this afternoon's demonstration.

The slogans, too, clearly indicated the changed situation. The most frequently shouted was for the "Application of the Popular Front Program," which has of course been completely forgotten by the Daladier government. The functionaries, or government employees, shouted for their "full salaries or strike."

The Socialists, having twice experienced the reactionary power of the Senate, called for the elimination of that body, which, like the Supreme Court in America, has always been the bulwark of capitalist interests in the Third Republic. They also called for governmental control of finance, without which no further reform is possible in France.

"SANS CURE"

The Communists, in addition to their constantly reiterated cry of "Thorez in Power," called for unity, much as the New York Communists used to shout for unity when Socialist delegations passed in May Day parades.

The Communist cries for unity were answered by the Socialists with "Unite sans cures," or "Unity without priests," a reference to the Communist desire for reconciliation with the Catholic Church. A huge Socialist youth banner carried another answer to this same policy: "Outstretched hand—Never! Clenched fist—Always!"

The dominant theme of the entire demonstration was solidarity with Spain. From all sides came cries of "Open the Frontier!" The most effective Spanish display was put on by the Secours Socialiste which was discussed by this correspondent last week. The four huge Socialist trucks were preceded by the Cobla Catalunya playing the International and the Spanish national anthem. Another truck carried Spanish child refugees singing Spanish revolutionary songs.

The general impression given by the July 14th demonstration can be summarized by the statement that the Popular Front created in 1935 is a movement of the past, that the workers remain faithful to the original program of unity of action against Fascism, that the middle-class elements have fallen by the wayside, and that the next step in the development of program and tactics is a matter for the next few months to decide.

Socialists should therefore be careful to distinguish what is now called the Popular Front from what has existed in the past. The strength and general popularity of the united working-class movement that remains with the old title can be judged by the fact that the new Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party, organized by Mabeau Pivert after his expulsion from the Socialist Party last month, had its first convention yesterday and voted only by the close margin of 100 delegates to 85 against full adherence to the Popular Front. It was decided that the new party was sufficiently divided on the question to warrant a general referendum in the near future.

PURITY

In the town of Koenigsdorf, Germany, it has been decided that "Cows directly or indirectly bought from Jews, are excluded from intercourse with the Community Bull."

MUSSO

Although openly supporting Japan in its attempt to plunder China, Mussolini is claiming £4,000,000 compensation from China for loss of trade and factories arising from the invasion by the Japanese.

WITHOUT A COUNTRY



Refugees from Germany and Austria, who were driven out of their homes by the Nazis, find a temporary haven of refuge in Bruenn, Czechoslovakia, where they are being cared for by their co-religionists. Photo shows a group of new arrivals at work on kitchen detail peeling potatoes.

Labor United In Fight On Finks

A Tribute to Comrade Frank J. Weber 69 Years Service to the Labor Movement

By ELMER BECK



FRANK J. WEBER

He wrote the first Workmen's Compensation law presented to the legislature and fought with the aid of other Socialist legislators for its adoption for six years until the law was enacted. He played an important role in having enacted pensions for the blind, in setting up the vocational school system, in laying the foundations for the old age pension law, the state labor code, as well as many other measures for the improvement of the lot of the common man.

It was a principle with Weber to refuse to stand for any public office except the legislature, and consequently his political career was confined to the state legislative service. His strict sense of loyalty to the labor movement led him to decline numerous important political appointments. He turned down posts offered to him by "Old Bob" LaFollette, when the latter was governor, and by Gov. Emanuel Philipp.

One of the weaknesses of the American labor movement has been—and is—the fact that many of its leaders have deserted the workers' struggle to take the bait of big-paying jobs in gov-

ernment service or private enterprise.

LOYAL TO LABOR

Weber's loyalty to labor, and the example it set for his successors and associates, has been a significant factor in the constantly increasing strength and progressivism of the Wisconsin labor movement—which is not to deny that Wisconsin has had some leaders who have used the shoulders of the labor movement to climb into lucrative jobs with the bosses.

It was shortly after the end of the Civil War that Weber joined the ranks of organized labor. He became a sailor, and working on the old clipper ships, he visited all the important seaports of the world. He sailed on the Great Lakes, too, and at various times captained boats on the Lakes. He learned and worked at the carpenters' trade. He was a schoolmaster, although he had never had a complete common school education.

For twenty years Weber was active in the old Knights of Labor, joining that organization when members were passed upon by committees of Unknown Knights, and leaving it in 1889 to throw his lot with the then up-and-coming American Federation of Labor. In 1891 Weber organized the brewery workers in Milwaukee on an industrial basis. This group has included a large and important number of the city's workers both before and after the prohibition era.

Weber founded the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor in 1893 and served as an officer of that organization from its inception until 1917, when he declined further office. For thirty-four years he was executive secretary of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, retiring from that position six years ago.

Now in the twilight of his days, Frank J. Weber looks back upon a life's work well done. His job was tough, the obstacles many—in his organizing days his footsteps were dogged by thugs and sluggers, he used to travel by freight-car and by walking—but his accomplishments were many and noteworthy. And they will not soon be forgotten!

CIO-AFL Back Workers Defense League; Green, Pressman Join Fight

NEW YORK—Both the C. I. O. and A. F. L. national organizations have stated their intentions of contesting the renewal of a license authorizing the Railway Audit & Inspection Company to operate in New York state as private detective agency, according to letters received today by Brendan Sexton, secretary of the Workers Defense League, from Lee Pressman, general counsel of the Committee for Industrial Organization, and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

Immediately on learning of the R. A. & I.'s application for renewal of its license, which expired July 18, the Workers Defense League filed a formal intention to contest the renewal with A. S. Wechsler, Director of Licenses for the New York Department of State, and urged officials of C. I. O. and A. F. of L. unions to do the same.

Sexton's original letter to Wechsler said that the strike-breaking and labor espionage activities of "this company have been such as to result in the disturbance of the peace of the community and have been inimical to the general public welfare." R. A. & I. was one of the companies exposed by the La-

Follette Civil Liberties Committee. (See last week's Call).

PRESSMAN'S LETTER

Mr. Pressman's letter to Sexton said in part:

"I appreciate your efforts and your activity to prevent such license from being issued. I have requested Mr. William Leider, attorney for the C. I. O. in New York City . . . to either appear personally or to file appearance before the Department of Licenses of the State Department of New York to object to the issuance of any such license to this organization which has been so active in industrial espionage and in the breaking of strikes throughout the country."

GREEN'S LETTER

Mr. Green's letter follows: "The American Federation of Labor protests the renewal of a license to the Railway Audit & Inspection Company through the New York State Federation of Labor representatives. We will present the opposition of the American Federation of Labor to the Licensing of this objectionable espionage organization through the New York State Federation of Labor which was created and chartered by the American Federation of Labor."

Socialists Name Turner To Oppose Phil LaFollette

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Glenn P. Turner, Madison attorney, will be the Socialist candidate for Governor opposing Phillip F. LaFollette.

In announcing Turner's candidacy, William F. Quick, Socialist campaign manager, said: "The Socialist party has indorsed Glenn P. Turner as a candidate for governor. This action is in accordance with the mandate of the Socialist party state convention held in Milwaukee June 25 and 26. The nomination papers for Mr. Turner are being circulated and will be filed."

"As the Socialist party is functioning politically in the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, the Federation has been requested to indorse Mr. Turner as its candidate. Mr. Turner will be a candidate whether this indorsement is forthcoming or not.

"The Socialist party, having relinquished its column on the ballot when it became a part of the Federation, Mr. Turner is compelled to run in the Progressive column."

VETERAN SOCIALIST

Turner is a veteran Socialist. In 1916 he was elected to the state assembly from the Tenth district, Milwaukee. He was three times the party's candidate for attorney general and four times a candidate for justice of the state supreme court.

Running first in 1933 for the supreme court, Turner pledged that he would not vote legislation which is a power usurped by the courts he charged. In 1936, Turner polled 262,000 votes for justice. Last year, in a three corner race, Turner received 156,000 votes to 179,000 for Alexander Yulie, right wing Progressive, supported by the LaFollette machine.

NOT A GESTURE

Several weeks ago, the Dane County Old Age Pension league,

with over 500 members, passed a resolution asking Turner to make the run against LaFollette. The resolution charged LaFollette forgot his campaign promises of "adequate care for the aged."

In accepting the Socialist nomination Turner said that he was not running simply as a "gesture."

"I am going to vigorously campaign with one purpose in mind to sell Socialism to the farmers and workers in the state," Turner said.

The state executive board of the Farmer Labor Progressive Federation was scheduled to meet (after the Call went to press) to consider the request of the Socialist party to endorse Turner.

AMLIE FOR SENATE

The original FLPF gubernatorial candidate, Secretary of State Theodore Dammann, is a candidate for reelection since Gov. Phil LaFollette is out for a fourth term. This leaves the FLPF Federation without a candidate for governor.

Congressman Thomas R. Amlic, 1st district Progressive, has accepted the FLPF endorsement for U. S. Senator, which Mayor Daniel W. Hoan declined two weeks ago. Amlic has already begun a vigorous primary campaign to defeat the LaFollette candidate, Lt. Governor Herman L. Ekern.

George A. Nelson, who was Norman Thomas' running mate in 1936, is the FLPF candidate for lieutenant governor. He is opposed by two LaFollette Progressives.

For the first time in the history of San Francisco the workers in Chinatown have succeeded in organizing an all Chinese local of the I. L. G. W. U. The first strike was won after fifteen weeks of militant picketing.

Coal Diggers To Receive Social Wages

By EDWARD PINKOWSKI

MT. CARMEL, Pa.—For the first time in the history of anthracite industry miners are going to receive the full product of their toil. But not for long.

After a layoff since last February, having wages still due them, eleven hundred miners will operate five mines at Lattimer near Hazleton in the middle coal fields which they will work until they have paid themselves \$65,000 in back wages.

The United States District Court ruled that the employees of the Lattimer Coal Corporation should operate the five mines, receiving all profits until their claims are paid out. Instead of a company board of directors, the same foremen who were in charge will take orders from local district supervisors of the United Mine Workers of America.

In the meantime a moratorium has been declared on the bankrupt company until the miners have received their back pay without handing out dividends,

Time Mag Recants For Using "Darky"

NEW YORK. — Time magazine apologized this week for use of the term "Darky" in a recent article appearing in the news magazine, describing a Michigan horse show in which Joe Louis took part.

In a letter addressed to Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who protested use of the epithet, I. Van Meter, editorial secretary of the publication said:

"... I can assure you that your frank criticism has had the careful attention of all those who contributed toward the preparation of Time's report on the Orange, Virginia horse show.

"Our attempt at a pun (on the race-track slang 'dark horse') in the caption was, we now realize, objectionable to many of Time's good friends—and hence in bad taste.

"Frankly, we had not known that feeling was so strong against this traditionally kindly Southern expression. But we know it now, and won't forget it, you may be sure."

interests, royalties to the absentee owners of the coal corporation.

For Governor



GLEN P. TURNER

who was named by the Socialist Party of Wisconsin to oppose Gov. La Follette in the coming state elections.

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Labor Laws In Britain

(Continued from Page 1)

"legality" has been of more importance than anything else. The classical example of this kind of argument is the famous one of Sir Walter Citrine, who stated that any suggestion of a General Strike against war is out of the question, because it would be illegal! It's strange what this so-called "labor legislation" can do even to labor leaders themselves.

A general strike of all organized industries can only be used now as an illegal method of struggle.

Employees of the Civil Service or of the Municipalities cannot belong to a union that is affiliated to the Trades Union Congress. Thus a great deal of the advantage of combination under modern conditions is taken away from this class of workers. Under such headings come postal workers, (mail workers) clerical workers in mail depts., workers in the Labor Exchange, or any worker even remotely connected with State employment.

HIS MAJESTY MAY

The Emergency Powers Act, 1920, is another piece of legislation that is aimed at the working class in their industrially organized form. Under this Act "If at any time it appears that any action is to be taken or is immediately threatened by any person or body of persons of such a nature and on so extensive a scale as to be calculated, by interfering with the supply and distribution of food, water or light or with the means of locomotion, to deprive the community of the essentials of life, His Majesty may, by proclamation, declare that a state of emergency exists." The next paragraph provides for the perpetuation of the "state of emergency," subject to periodic renewal of the proclamation.

Clause 2 (1) provides for the conferring of dictatorial powers upon a Secretary of State, or any other persons in His Majesty's employ, during the period of proclaimed emergency. It was these provisions that enabled the Government to act as a strike breaking agency in 1926, when Mr. Winston Churchill boasted of his ability to place a 'perfect machine' at the disposal of the Baldwin Government; when this same gentleman edited the only newspaper (except the strike paper) that was published in those memorable days; and when the government themselves organized the University scions to operate transport and so on. (Incidentally, I have heard it said since that the Railway companies are still getting over the shock that they got when they discovered the damage done to their rolling stock by these blue blooded amateurs!)

1926 GENERAL STRIKE

The 1926 General Strike and the more recent Smithfield (London) Meat Market strike has shown that the British Government is generally well prepared for an emergency and that, in fact formal legislation is only a veneer for a well thought out plan of campaign. Under the two Acts already mentioned steps can be taken to

- protect property.
- protect industrial profits, by preventing the spread of strike.
- maintain or establish a Government organization to break a strike.
- penalise individuals BEFORE a strike occurs.
- confiscate Trade Union funds.
- centralise authority in the hands of one or few persons, if despite the foregoing an extensive strike takes place. (In 1926 well known business men who had an active pecuniary interest in breaking the strike acted on the advisory committee that controlled the Government strike breaking organization).

THE PUBLIC ORDER ACT

These two acts are not all, however. In 1936 the Public Order Act was passed. Ostensibly it was introduced for the purpose of dealing with Fascist rowdiness and gangsterdom. It did, in fact, prevent the Fascists from wearing their black-shirts, but that is about the only thing it has done in relation to its original intention. It was pointed out at the time by the British ILP that the terms of the Public Order Act would inevitably react to the detriment of the left wing organizations and individuals. This contention has been proved right up to the hilt since, but we are not here interested in the broader aspects of the Act, but only insofar as it effects the industrial organization of the workers; and that it is used to cripple the workers in an industrial struggle the following illustration will show.

In April 1937, a little mining village in Notts, called Harworth, found the whole of its men-folk on strike. For ten years the Notts miners had been separated from organized labour by a scurrilous, scab or bosses union which the miners could tolerate no longer. They were continually being betrayed and their so-called "leaders" were just simply playing into the hands of the employers.

The villagers of Harworth decided to down tools and demand their right to determine for themselves the organization they wanted to serve their interests. It was obvious that the whole of the miners wanted to revive the local branch of the Notts Miners Union, which was affiliated to the Miners Federation of Great Britain. As the dispute proceeded, minor disturbances occurred, largely as a result of the provocative behaviour of the police.

RAID DANCE HALL

On April 27, a dance was being held in the village, presumably

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.

Alfred Baker Lewis on Collective Security

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — John Mill's article on "World Notes" in your issue of July 23, sets forth the belief of Otto Bauer and the Dutch and Swiss Socialists in "collective security." He then goes on to deplore such beliefs by saying that it is inconceivable that the faith of European Socialists in collective security as an instrument of peace should remain unshakable.

It seems to me a little presumptuous for us in America, considering the size and influence of our party, and the long distance separating us from any foreign Fascism, to show such complete assurance in telling our European comrades, who are far more influential and responsible than we and are living under the shadow of Hitler's guns, what their foreign policy should be.

But apart from that matter, the attitude of John Mill poses fairly the question of why we oppose collective security and what we mean by collective security.

PACIFISTS

There are complete pacifists who feel that it would be better to suffer the overthrow and destruction of a labor or Socialist government by a combination of foreign Fascist invasion and internal Fascist revolt, even though such Fascist invasion and revolt would involve the destruction of all working-class institutions and all democratic civil and political rights, rather than to resist such a Fascist invasion by military methods.

But, that has never been the official position of the Party. Except for Socialists who hold such an extreme pacifist position, I do not see how any other Socialist could possibly object to labor or Socialist governments banding themselves together in an agreement to resist collectively any Fascist, capitalist or imperialist aggression upon any one of them.

Such a league of labor and Socialist governments agreeing to settle peacefully all disputes among themselves, and determined to stand together defensively to protect their borders, their Socialist policies, their working class institutions and their democratic rights, against capitalist or Fascist invasion would seem to me in strict accordance with Socialist principles, and both wise and necessary in view of the existing state of the world.

SOCIALIST STATES

Please note that I have spoken of a collective agreement between labor or Socialist states. As Socialists in America, it seems to me that our proper and sound objection to "collective security" is that we could not

for the purpose of raising funds for the strikers. Without warning the police invaded the dance hall and carried out a very dangerous raid. Five men were arrested "because of the previous night's rioting." These five men were in fact the actual leaders of the workers engaged in the dispute. Thirty-one other persons were taken into custody. Finally, twelve were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. Among those sentenced were a woman Labor Councillor and Mick Kane, the acknowledged miners' leader in the locality. The heaviest sentence was given to Kane, who received two years hard labor.

The evidence at the Court was interesting, the police being more concerned to prove that Kane was "a bad workman" and "that he had played a prominent part in the dispute at Harworth" than they were in proving that he was actively concerned in the riots.

So we find that in addition to the Trades Disputes Act (which deceives nobody by its twaddle about "lockouts" as well as strikes) and the Emergency Powers Act (which one would imagine from its title would be vastly different in character from what it actually is) organized labor and in the process of organizing, is now confronted with the possibility of its leaders being arrested and sent to prison upon the flimsiest charges under the terms of an Act that was supposed to have been directed against the Fascists!

American Labor would be wise to be chary of accepting legislation modelled upon the British. And any Commission that may be coming over to inquire into the working of British labour laws would do well to make the bulk of their investigations in the industrial areas, and not of placid officials in London.

trust capitalist governments in general and our own government in particular to enter into collective security agreements for the purpose of genuinely protecting peace, democracy, or labor and Socialist principles and institutions.

We might get a capitalist government, such as the Daladier government in France, or a government such as Eden might have headed in England, to oppose the Fascist nations. But if they did so it would not be because they hated Fascism and loved democracy and the working class. It would be because they wanted to protect the rich prizes of their own past aggressions against the more recent, but no more voracious, imperialist greediness of the Fascist countries.

A GOOD CASE

Specifically, Daladier might oppose Hitler and Mussolini's invasion of Spain. But we may be sure it would be because he feared that the growth of their prestige and power threatened the French North African empire, not because he had any love for the Spanish working class and their Socialist or libertarian principles. The same applies even more obviously to the Conservative government in Great Britain. Any war that might result from vigorous opposition by France and/or England to Hitler and Mussolini's adventures in Spain or elsewhere could probably be won by the so-called democratic powers. But the war would not be for democracy and the working class, but to crush Hitler and Mussolini.

The peace, therefore, would be as unjustly burdensome to the vanquished, and as certain to perpetuate and intensify nationalist hates and quarrels, as the Peace of Versailles which embodied the victory of democracy over Prussian militarism.

In America we might find the Roosevelt administration vigorously opposed to Japan's aggression upon China, instead of allowing American exporters to make money by selling war materials to Japan. But, if so, the reason would be, not because of any objection to imperialism as such, but simply because Roosevelt and his capitalist advisers thought that Japan's imperialism was a threat to American imperialist interests in China.

FORCES OF HATE

Any peace our government might enforce on a defeated Japan under such circumstances would be sure to be so unjust that it would simply perpetuate and justify in their own eyes Japan's hatred of America. And a victorious capitalist government could be relied on to exact from China such a price for our friendship that Chinese patriots in a few years would be hating

Office Workers Summer School Ends Session

CHICAGO, Ill.—The Summer School for Office Workers, which just completed its sessions at the University of Chicago, under the auspices of the Affiliated Schools for Workers, elected Pearl Weiner of Cleveland, Ohio as its student body representative on the National Board of the School. Comrade Weiner was elected for a term of one year.

This election is significant because the candidates were well known for their views, and the ballots were cast because of general agreement with their principles.

The National Board has the responsibility of determining policy and of setting up the organization of the school. The Board will hold its annual meeting in New York City at Christmas time.

The Summer School is well known for its provision of a valuable background in workers education to white collar workers from all over the United States. The attendance this year was 35, including students from England and Mexico. The Director of the Summer School is Miss Eleanor Coit.

American imperialism as much as they now hate Japan.

In favoring and opposing such kinds of "collective security", we are not very far off from the attitude of our European comrades. The British working class, for example, does not favor or expect collective security action from the Chamberlain government. They know that any actions that that government might take will be only to further British capitalist interests.

The British Labor Party opposes the Chamberlain government because (among other reasons, of course) they know that he will not take collective or any other sort of action in foreign affairs for the genuine purpose of preserving and advancing the cause of peace, democracy and working class rights.

FORM AND CONTENT

As Socialists, our main emphasis in foreign policy should not be in opposition to collective security. For we cannot and do not oppose the principle that all nations or as many nations as possible should agree to stand together to defend themselves mutually against attack. And many sincere believers in collective security mean only that by collective security.

What we oppose is collective security action when carried out by a capitalist government. For we know that even when the foreign policy of the capitalist government takes the form of collective security, its content and purpose is never the preservation of democracy and working class rights, but always the preservation and advancement of capitalist and imperialist interests.

SOUND SOCIALISM

In other words, we are opposed to capitalist governments, our own included, just for the reason (among others) that we cannot trust them to carry out a genuine and honest collective security policy on behalf of peace, democracy and working class rights, not because we oppose collective security action for working class purposes, which necessarily implies action by labor or Socialist governments only.

Such a stand seems to me sound Socialism. It has another practical advantage as well. For many of those in America who still support capitalism, but who are genuine believers in collective security as a method of peace, can be won to agreement with it, instead of being driven into the arms of the Communists, as too often happens now.

—ALFRED BAKER LEWIS.

AT THE —
FRONT
with Norman Thomas

An Unprincipled Deal

This column is about American politics and it can't be long enough to do more than hit the high spots of a crazy story.

Let's begin with the American Labor Party in New York. I am writing in advance of official action, but I have no doubt that negotiations to enter the A.L.P. for electoral purposes will at least be suspended until after the 1938 election, and that New York Socialists will push their own campaign, which may involve the endorsement of some A.L.P. candidates who are neither Communists nor members of capitalist parties.

The conditions under which many of us had hoped that we might enter the A.L.P. have not been met. We cannot possibly enter a party for electoral purposes after its ticket and policy for a campaign have been definitely shaped by complicated deals with both of the major parties. We shall best serve the cause of a genuine labor party, best aid those in the A.L.P. who want such a party, as well as best advance socialism, by keeping our own banner flying in the forthcoming campaign.

Unquestionably in these deals the A.L.P. has gone backward, not forward, since 1937. That year there were no comprehensive deals. A very high percent of A.L.P. candidates were strictly A.L.P. men. LaGuardia himself had declared his general allegiance to the A.L.P. in 1936 and registered as a member of it in 1937. The A.L.P. vigorously repudiated Harvey in Queens and it ran its own councilmen.

Economic Royalists

This year the A.L.P. has a comprehensive deal with the Republican Party—the Party commonly regarded as the Party of the "economic royalists"—in Brooklyn and Manhattan, covering most of the candidates for the State Legislature, several judicial nominations, and probably even a few congressional nominations. They have no such deal in Bronx, chiefly because the Bronx Republican Party is controlled by Eddie Flynn, the Democratic boss. The chances are that the A.L.P. will endorse the Democratic state ticket as it has already endorsed four Democratic congressmen who are politicians of no high standing, but with sense enough to have acquired a pretty good record of votes on New Deal measures.

Power Politics

It's no good for Socialists simply to denounce this sort of political horse-trading without trying to understand it and its significance in the struggle to build a genuine Labor Party. The A.L.P. bureaucracy, quite frankly, made its deal with the Republicans as a piece of smart power politics, in order to teach the Democrats a lesson. The Democratic machine felt itself strong enough and strategically placed well enough to refuse to bargain with the A.L.P. on any candidate or plank. Avowedly the machine was out to break the A.L.P. on the theory that if the A.L.P. got fewer votes than last year and elected fewer Assemblymen it would begin to disintegrate.

This deal with the Republicans means that probably the A.L.P. will elect State Senators who will hold the balance of power in Albany and elect a few more Assemblymen. Already the Democratic machine is somewhat chastened and will probably be more willing to consult A.L.P.

wishes on the state ticket and platform. Theoretically, more labor men will get office. And it is piously hoped that the Republicans, endorsed by the A.L.P. under this deal, sight unseen,—they are not yet nominated—will be "liberals". So much for the official case for the A.L.P.

What's wrong with this argument? Simply this: smart power politics, even should they be immediately successful, cannot build the kind of labor party with the clear vision, grim determination, and enthusiastic loyalty to a purpose and a program, which the times demand. Human beings are not pawns on a chess board to be moved through the complicated measures of power politics, unaffected by them. Neither are most of them so sophisticated that they can play the game cynically, always keeping the real end in view.

Follow the Leader

Alex Rose says that the A.L.P. is the only New Deal party in New York. Overlooking the fact that the New Deal itself has no adequate program, what must the voters of America think of a labor party which in the financial capital of America, can make formal deals with "reactionary" Republican bosses, not even in terms of the occasional "good man" but purely of power maneuvers? To the average voter the whole business will come like a fresh and unusually startling evidence of lack of principle in politics. What kind of principles have any of the parties in this Republican-Democratic A.L.P. triangle which enables them to make these complicated deals without reference to any comprehensive program of any sort?

The whole hope of making an intelligent use of political action for fundamental change is terribly weakened when the bosses of two capitalist parties and of a labor party, can enter this dance of power politics on terms equally devoid of the handicap of principle. How can Republicans belong to a party of progress in Brooklyn and of reaction in Albany and Washington?

In the truest sense of the word "education", it is upon the right sort of education of the masses that we must depend for any real progress, and under deals like this such education is frustrated, and politics becomes a quasi-fascist game of follow-the-leader.

I do not say that there is no further hope for the A.L.P. There is hope, but it is a hope that depends upon the capacity of the party to learn what neither Communists, careerists, nor labor politicians, will teach it; namely, that no victorious army of the workers can be organized simply on the inspiration of maneuvering for jobs. This year, in New York, those who want a real labor party or who want the A.L.P. to develop into such a party, will vote the Socialist ticket.

No Roosevelt Purge

Outside of New York State everything goes to show that, while Roosevelt keeps his own personal popularity, he will not even seriously try to purge his own party of its reactionaries and crooks. None of the primary campaigns in which he has actively intervened, has had real social significance. The victory of Thomas, in Oklahoma, or of Barkley in Kentucky, if he wins, means nothing in terms of principle. The Pennsylvania situation in the Democratic Party

ILLINOIS SOCIALIST CONVENTION ENDORSES LABOR PARTY, AID TO SPAIN, UNITY, CALL BUILDING

Socialist Contest.

MILWAUKEE, Wis. — The state executive board of the Socialist Party has offered a \$10 scholarship for an essay not to exceed 250 words on the position of the Socialist Party with respect to war. The contest will be open to members of the Young Socialist League and the Young Socialist Federation. The scholarship will take the form of a week's vacation at the peace camp at Byron, Wis.

The country will soon be Jack London conscious as evidenced by the popularity of the biography of America's greatest Socialist author appearing weekly in the Saturday Evening Post. Motion picture rights have been purchased by M. G. M. and several large book publishers are putting out competing biographies in the fall.

is an unholy mess, and the C.I.O.'s venture into practical politics in the primaries, with Communist blessing, was not a success.

Maury Maverick, perhaps the best of the left wing New Dealers, blessed, but not too hard, by the President, was defeated by the candidate of a reactionary machine; and what is far more sinister, that machine candidate had the support of William Green and the A.F. of L.

The popular O'Daniel swept the Texas primaries with his demagogic combination of hill-billy singing, ten-commandment endorsing, issue-evading, salesmanship. His one popular plank was old age pensions. Now that he has been nominated by tactics which show what an American fascist can do with the masses, the conservatives in both old parties are reminding themselves complacently that after all O'Daniel is a businessman, former president of a local Chamber of Commerce, and unfriendly to labor unions. But he is in President Roosevelt's party along with Frank Hague of N. J., the Louisiana oligarchy Pat Whitaker of Tampa, Pendergast of Missouri, and other incipient fascists.

Daily it becomes clearer that in this kind of a mess Roosevelt will feel himself compelled to run again in 1940. He will probably be renominated and re-elected despite the opposition of certain elements in his own party, and the third term prejudice. But he will have neither a clear cut philosophy nor program, and the party behind him will be held together mostly by desire for office. The Communists may see in such a situation a chance for popular front maneuvers. We Socialists see a confused alliance that will have to be fought. But it's no good saying this; not much good being theoretically right, unless we can go to work successfully to develop our own strength and to impart a clearer understanding of issues.

War Anniversary

In a troubled world there is a little good news. Spanish Loyalists have gained some ground. Every advance of the Japanese militarists involves them more deeply in a bog from which they will never emerge really victorious. There is still some chance that Czechoslovakia will be saved from Hitler without a ruinous European war.

We can best observe the anniversary of the First World War by a steadfast resolution to keep America out of another world war. Under these conditions we can help refugees, fill that food ship for Spain, develop worker's sanctions, and save and increase what democracy we have at home. On any other terms we shall have the curse both of war and of fascism in America.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Complete harmony featured the Illinois Socialist Party convention which met here last weekend.

The cause of Loyalist Spain occupied a main point on the convention's order of business and a resolution was adopted calling for increased support to Loyalist Spain. The convention pledged vigorous and wholehearted support to the campaign of the Spanish Relief Ship which the national organization of the Party outlined last week.

Socialist and progressive coal diggers of Gillespie, Ill., were commended by the convention for their generous contributions of several thousands of dollars to Loyalist Spain.

Support and active participation in the Illinois Labor Party campaign was approved unanimously. It was pointed out that three Socialists had been nominated by the Labor Party as candidates for various offices. Arthur G. McDowell, nationally known Socialist leader, was recently named campaign manager of the Illinois Labor Party.

SOCIALIST UNITY

The convention approved the editorial carried in the July 30 issue of the "Socialist Call" on Socialist unity and pledged the full support of the Illinois Party in bringing about a united Socialist front nationally.

Plans for the maintenance of a full time organizer in Southern Illinois was approved. The state executive committee later voted to invite Ward Rodgers, N. E. C. member, who is now in Oklahoma, to serve as an Illinois Party organizer.

CALL DRIVE

The Michigan Socialist Party was invited by the convention to join Illinois Socialists in a friendly contest to build the "Socialist Call." The Illinois comrades challenged Michiganders to beat them in a drive to secure 500 subscriptions by October 1. Coal digger delegates came with their sleeves rolled up for the campaign, they remitted fifteen new subscriptions making a total of 40 subscribers they have secured in recent weeks.

The state executive committee and officers elected by the convention are:

Arthur G. McDowell, chairman, Ben Williger, Elmhurst, state secretary; John Fischer and Wil-

Wisconsin UAW Members Await Trial Decision

MILWAUKEE, Wis. — Warring factions in the Allis-Chalmers local of the United Automobile Workers union quietly awaited results of the Detroit trial of suspended officers.

George Kiebler, appointed administrator of the local by Homer Martin, said that he would open an office and begin collection of dues in the coming week.

Meanwhile Christoffel, ousted president, sought warrants against Kiebler for "robbery and grand larceny," unlawful conspiracy and "unlawful assemblage and riot." Herbert J. Steffes, district attorney, believing that the right to the union records was a matter of civil controversy, has asked Attorney General Orland S. Loomis for an opinion.

Because of delay, Christoffel and other CIO leaders criticized Steffes for playing politics. Steffes is supported by the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation which they charge is dominated by the AFL.

(Christoffel withdrew a large local from the AFL to form the present UAW local at Allis-Chalmers about the same time that Kiebler, president of the UAW district council, was expelled from the Federated Trades Council, AFL county central body, for CIO activities.)

The rank and file of the union has not evinced much interest in either faction up to the present time.

A Correction

The Socialist Call regrets that the story on Socialist Summer Schools in the July 23 issue omitted the names of comrades Aaron Levenstein, Brendan Sexton and James Lipsig as teachers.

Jiam Fulton, Gillespie; Ina White and Anton Garden, Chicago; Anton Zager, Waukegan; Joe Tonelli, Marseilles; and representatives of the language federations and the YPSL.

FOOD, CLOTHING, MEDICINES FOR LOYALIST SPAIN

Thousands of Spanish men, women and children will look to the west in September to see the smoke pouring from the funnels of the American Relief Ship.

Food! Clothing! Medicines! Such will be the cargo that fills the hulls.

The Socialist Party of the United States has pledged its membership to a vigorous drive in support of the relief ship. Money and goods are being collected.

Readers of the Socialist Call must pitch in and cooperate with Socialists and progressive workers in giving the heroic people of Spain the essentials of life. Get in touch with your local Socialist party or write the Spanish Sub-Committee of the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

No friend of the anti-fascist

cause will refuse his aid. Let the world know that you are supporting the Relief Ship, and in doing so you will not only help yourself but inform others of their duty to help. The sponsors of the ship have issued a beautiful enamel pin, with a white cross on which appears the picture of a steamer, over the words: American Relief Ship for Spain. Be the first in your community to display the relief ship pin.

Your duty lies in Spain! Aid to the Spanish masses is aid to the workers of the world in their fight for freedom.

RELIEF SHIP EMBLEMS

You can get your relief ship pin by ordering it from the national office of the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill., or the Socialist Party of New York, 11 West 17th Street, New York City, at a cost of 25 cents. The beautiful emblem will some day have historic significance.

HOLD McAllister Coleman

THAT

Lillian Symes

LINE!

Hague War Prisoners

A letter has just come from one of the few free souls in New Jersey. It is written by John Longo, the youngster whom Hague has locked up in his concentration camp in Secaucus. In that most depressing of all the depressing little towns in Hudson County, set out on smoking garbage heaps on the dank Jersey flats, Hague has his penitentiary where he puts John Longo and Jeff Burkitt and other men of integrity who dare to defy his will. There Longo and Burkitt must serve for months, taking the rap for all of us who take democracy seriously.

To paraphrase Debs, we are not free while Longo and Burkitt are in jail. Young Longo and middle-aged Burkitt are pictured by Hague's hired press as cranks and the attempt is made to convince Jerseymen that because these two have not taken their jail sentences meekly they

are incorrigibles who are better off behind the bars. I haven't corresponded with Burkitt, though I intend to, but I'm here to say that I've never received a letter that conveyed the sense of the writer's essential courage and dignity as convincingly as that which Longo wrote me. Let's have more "cranks" like Longo. Jersey needs them, all the country needs them.

Incidentally take a few minutes off and write John Longo, Hudson County Penitentiary, Secaucus, N. J. Tell him that you're with him, that he's a man after your heart. Don't put politics in the letter, or John won't get it. And don't expect an answer because the boy may only write one letter a week, according to the rules of that filthy hole where he's stuck for nine long months.

Perennial Socialism, Not Seasonal

A while back I referred to the pernicious effects of reading liberal books about hooray for our democracy and ain't America lovely? In comparison to the dictator countries, of course. It gets the ordinary independent so thoroughly that he has a brand new argument for not doing anything. Now he says that, after all, we're so much better off than we would be under Hitler or Mussolini, that it's no time to be going around raising hell about things we don't like here. A neighbor of mine who spent a tragic Spring listening to the stories of Austrian refugees and who ordinarily would be with us, has just been in with this argument.

Discounting the fact that most liberals delight in any alibi that will let them out of action, this America-is-good-enough-for-me stuff, is insidious. It is prelude to the sort of defeatism that is now the major thesis of the Stalinites. It leads to the sort of shoddy compromise just effected by the New York American Labor Party which now proposes to hitch up with the local Republicans. Why should you fellers stick to your Socialism, say the A. L. P.-ers, especially in times like these when fundamental democracy is in dangerous balance and Fascism is just around the corner?

Well boys and girls, it's like this. We're not seasonal Social-

ists. We're on the American map for the purpose of abolishing rent, interest and profit and establishing a Socialist America in our time. It we thought that this was "the best of all possible worlds," we'd sit around and enjoy it with the other old folks. America is good, but not good enough. We're choosy when it comes to social quality. We have no lethal yen for self-destruction. Playing a lone wolf game is not in our line. But we don't want any truck with the rich Republican riff-raff in New York or the tricky Democratic plug-uglies in Philadelphia. You won't read any letters from us urging a united front with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. None of us writes Hicksian lyrics about the glories of the profit system under the Star Spangled Banner. And we don't figure that a genuine labor party will go out and sell its rank and file to the old party outfit that can deliver jobs. So while we agree that for some of us life has been good in these United States, a darned sight better right now than in other parts of this unhappy world, it still is so far below the level of the sort of Socialist living we have in mind that to compromise now on the ground that we should let well enough alone is to betray the one thing that makes life worth living.

McAllister Coleman.

UNION MEMBERS ATTEND WORKERS SCHOOL



Members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union from all parts of the U. S. are shown on the University of Wisconsin campus where they attended a special two-week session arranged by the ILGWU to train them in labor

problems. A similar school, held under the auspices of the Affiliated Schools for Workers, was held at the University of Chicago. More than forty office workers of the progressive garments workers' union enrolled for the classes.

Civil Liberties Committee Exposes Youngstown Steel

Intimidation and economic pressure were disclosed as methods used by the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company to bring pro-union citizens into line against the union, before the Senate Civil Liberties Committee here last week. Chairman LaFollette of the committee questioned workers, and a business man and a minister to show how the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company had attempted to coerce them to oppose the unionization drive of the S.W.O.C.

The week's testimony concerning the anti-union drive of the "little steel" companies revealed how steel organizers were trailed by armed thugs, how the companies had increased their company police, built up large arsenals, spent huge sums for anti-union publicity and browbeat and threatened citizens of the community who were friendly to the union.

Rev. Orville C. Jones, who was pastor of the Plymouth Congregational church of Youngstown in 1936 related how the ministers of Youngstown had been invited to be the company's guests at a "social" dinner where they were asked to urge their members to help defeat the "menace" of "outside organizations" who would "exploit" the workers.

PRESSURE

Dr. Jones told the committee that after he had publicly espoused the cause of the union Mr. W. B. Gillies, the Company's operating vice president, had resigned from the church and had brought pressure on other employees to withdraw. He stated that this pressure made it impossible for a minister to take an "independent stand".

Mr. Burke, a coal dealer in Youngstown and a member of the Mahoning Coal Council, stated that the members of his organization had also been invited as the guests of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company where they were told that the company would never sign a contract with the S.W.O.C. and that if a strike occurred it would last several years — destroying the business opportunities of Youngstown.

SLANDER

Mr. Burke revealed how the company through approving charge accounts for coal for the company's employees could freeze out certain dealers. He said that because he had worked

openly for the C.I.O., vicious slanders were spread about him and that his coal business had fallen off two-fifths, during the year.

Several steel workers who had been members of the company union told how they resigned and joined the S.W.O.C. after they had found the company representation plan absolutely worthless. After they joined the C.I.O., they were called in and asked if they wanted to be "sent to the front"—or be fired.

ARSENAL

Mr. Gillies of the Youngstown Steel and Tube Company admitted that his company was building up a big arsenal at the time the S.W.O.C. was attempting to negotiate with the company for collective bargaining.

Senator LaFollette attempted

to elicit from officials of the company what kind of espionage services Hill Knowlton and Co. had performed for the large sums paid to them and what service Sidney Sokolsky, notorious anti-labor writer for the capitalist press, had performed for one payment of \$7,000. Mr. Gillies and other company officials would only mention certain "articles" that Sokolsky had written but, when questioned more closely refused to admit that the "articles" were for Mr. Sokolsky's syndicated column.

SLIGHTLY CRIMSON

Socialist Father—What do you mean by playing truant? What makes you stay away from school?

Son—Class hatred, father.

Where To Dine IN NEW YORK

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Greet the labor movement through the SOCIALIST CALL Labor Day.

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Remit to

Socialist Call
549 Randolph Street
Chicago, Ill.

Call Building

By HAROLD MAGIN
Business Manager, Socialist Call

Build the CALL! SUBSCRIPTION BOX SCORE

	Received During 7th Week of Drive	Total Rec'd Thus Far
"Recovery" Subs	1	14
"Recession" Subs	40	528
"Depression" Subs	56	781
New Bundle Orders	5	360
	102	1,683

Contributions to the coin-card appeal fund continue to reach our office. During the past week special donations were received from Elizabeth Gilman of Baltimore, Md., David Clendenin, New York City, and Helen A. Salz of San Francisco, Cal. To these persons and to all who have responded to our appeal, may we thank them for their generous contributions and sincere interest they have shown in The CALL at a time when it is facing a major crisis.

To those of you who have not as yet already returned your coin-cards, may I urge you to do so within the next few days.

We were happy to hear that the 28rd A. D., Kings Branch of Brooklyn is sponsoring a Pie Ala Mode Festival Saturday night, August 6th. The festival is being presented for the benefit of The SOCIALIST CALL, and will be held at 99 Legion Street, near Sutter, in Brooklyn.

Those of you who are in or near the vicinity of Brooklyn should by all means plan to attend this truly worth-while affair. You will be assured of not only a most enjoyable evening, and have your fill of tasty pie ala mode and other fine refreshments, but you will also be assisting The CALL at a time when it needs and must have your support.

More locals and branches should follow after the pattern being set by this active Brooklyn branch. Festivals, picnics, parties, etc. would be a fine means of stimulating party interest, and would do much in bolstering The CALL's financial status. For assistance or suggestions in planning any event your

FAKE DEMOCRATIC FRONTIERS HOUND JOBLESS LABOR

PADUCAH, Ky. — How Communist opportunism works to turn the Workers Alliance into a veritable "company union" of the unemployed has been shown here in recent weeks as Communists and reactionary stooges of local Democratic politicians have united to PREVENT a strike on the WPA.

When the much-heralded wage increase for Kentucky WPA workers turned out to be merely an authorization of more hours of work per month, with workers still receiving the same hourly rate of 30 cents an hour, local WPA workers were outraged. They pointed out that the "raise" would not even increase their total monthly earnings, since few of them have even been able to get in the hours formerly permitted, due to bad weather which prevents work on a number of days in each month.

SABOTAGE
Immediately upon this revelation militant WPA workers demanded that the local Workers Alliance call a strike on WPA. This demand is now being sabotaged by the Communist-Democratic administration of the local, which has appointed a carefully stacked committee to negotiate with Senator Barkley and the state WPA administration. Bark-

ley, who at first promised the workers that their grievance would be remedied within ten days, later told the Workers Alliance committee that due to the pressure of his re-election campaign, he would be unable to consider their request until after the Democratic primary on August 6.

Apparently the Workers Alliance leadership is determined not to embarrass Barkley "at all costs", although a spontaneous strike of WPA workers at Ashland, Ky., a city of similar size upstate, brought a wage increase of five cents an hour on Ashland projects.

MORE C. P. HOOEY
So determined are the Communists to sabotage any kind of militant action for a wage increase that they have filed charges of "Trotskyite disruption" and "union wrecking" against four Socialist and progressive members of the Paducah WA who attempted to get the Alliance to rescind an "endorsement" of Senator Barkley which was engineered a few weeks ago.

Though the CP declares that Barkley must win the August primary and the November election "at all costs," Paducah Socialist intend to conduct an energetic campaign to remind the swindled WPA workers that there will be a working-class candidate for the Senate on the ballot under the Socialist emblem, and that it is only through independent political action that they can elect representatives of their own class and not insincere "friends" of labor.

Other comrades who are doing a right fine job of CALL BUILDING are Frank Elersick of Cleveland, Ohio, T. Title and John Petrone of New York City, Walter E. Davis, Hamden, Conn., Jerome Tucker, Baltimore, Md., George Brickner, Buffalo, N. Y., and Merle P. Bigenho of Verona, Pa.

We can and must reach our goal of 10,000 new CALL readers. This goal can be attained if we continue with the fine pace we have already set.

Thus, let us make every effort to secure many new subscriptions and unite in BUILDING THE CALL!

local or branch may decide to conduct, feel free to call upon the CALL staff at any time.

The number of subscriptions received during the past week in the BUILD THE CALL DRIVE was sharply less than of the previous week. More than 1600 is the grand total of a subscriptions received to date since the drive was launched 7 weeks ago, 102 of which were received during the past week.

Of this total one was a "Recovery" sub, 40 "Recession," and 56 "Depression" subs. New Bundle Order circulation was increased by 5.

We are pleased and honored to doff our hats to Craig Easton of Gillespie, Illinois, who is pacing the field as the most successful and outstanding CALL Builder. Comrade Easton has secured more than 40 subscriptions since the BUILD THE CALL DRIVE started—we, therefore, congratulate him on his fine work and hope, that he will continue to secure many more new subs.

Party Notes

By CLARE PINEO

The recent ten-day Socialist summer school held July 12-24 at Highland Camp in the Berkshire Hills is being hailed by all comrades in western Massachusetts as the best thing that has ever been done by the movement in these parts. The school was in every way a complete success.

Comrade Leo Vernon, ex-national organizer for the Party and veteran teacher of Socialist summer schools across the country did a superb job as director, teacher, chief chef and "com-misar of provisions." He was ably assisted in the latter two jobs by Comrade Winnie Pineo, who was recreation leader. That they did a good job is attested by the three new pounds added to the state organizer!

The isolated spot and beautiful surroundings of Highland Camp made the location ideal. It was possible to hold the group of fifteen students together and train them not only in class work but, more important, to work, live and play cooperatively.

The school work proper consisted of three courses. That on theory was divided into three parts: a rapid tracing of the evolution of the present economic system, the Marxian analysis of capitalist economics, and the conclusion to be drawn regarding state, government and transition to Socialism.

The school was an experiment in democracy. There was no individual discipline. The group made its own rules and elected a "house committee" with Comrade Leo Leopold as chairman. The committee acting with the group governed. Comrade Leopold showed tact and good judgment.

Financially the school was a success. It operated on somewhat less than the dollar-a-day tuition charge per student as originally planned. Students who could not afford to pay tuition were helped by scholarships offered by party members and branches. Comrade Vernon peeled down the cost to 13c a meal.

Last Sunday at the Confederation picnic the Western Massachusetts Socialist locals enthusiastically passed a motion thanking Comrade Vernon and Winnie Pineo for their good work.

County Labor Body Joins Labor Party

WAUKEGAN, Ill.—The Lake County Labor Council, central labor body of all A. F. of L. unions in the county, voted to affiliate with the Illinois Labor Party at the last regular meeting of the council.

The decision of the council followed an address by Arthur G. McDowell, campaign director of the Illinois Labor Party, who called upon the trade unionists to break once and for all from the reactionary forces of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Lake county-AFL unions rallied magnificently during the recent Hardware Co. strike in North Chicago in support of the strike and also condemned the violence provoked by the police.

The Labor Party is steadily increasing its influence within trade union organizations. International Ladies Garment Workers, railroad brotherhoods, carpenters, Progressive Miners, Amalgamated locals, machinists and many fraternal organizations are already affiliated with the Labor Party.

In Detroit the ban on Hemingway's "The Sun Also Rises" has not been lifted despite the efforts of a wide campaign led by the Civil Liberties Union.

Working Class Philosophy THE RED SCARE

By Joseph M. Coldwell

So they are calling us "reds," eh? Well I don't mind that so much, I have been called worse names than that. The big thing that I mind is that so many of us are not being called to dinner, or to supper, or to breakfast. That's what hurts, not being called at meal time. And despite all the fire side chats, and the well meaning plans of the brain trusters, the lending-spending plan, the plowing under of crops, and the teaching or birth control to the cows and hogs, we are still not being called in time for dinner.

Now it is well to insert here that all those plans are not the plans of the "reds." Jim Farley would have seen to that long ago, because there are not enough jobs for the hungry democrats, for you know that politicians have to live.

No, it is not the fault of F. D. R. He means well, and he has a nice radio voice, besides he is an humanitarian. No, not a vegetarian, just an humanitarian who believes in the profit system. Now, humanitarians are like reformers and reformers usually progress by taking one step forward and two steps backwards. You know, like those reformers who tried to prohibit the liquor traffic without taking the profit out of booze. We had prohibition laws on the statue books, and booze joints next door to every police station.

A POLECAT SYSTEM

Now, F. D. R. is humanitarian, and he did not like to see so much suffering, so he started out to humanize the capitalist system, just like old King Canute, who told the tide to back up. And F. D. R. has had just as great a success in humanizing capitalism as King Canute had in turning the tide back.

But I like to compare F. D. R.'s efforts to trying to humanize the capitalist system, to the man who tried to raise skunks without getting the stink. He meant well, but his wife told him that he would have to sleep in the barn, and eat his meals off the back steps. He raised the skunks alright, but the skunks still had nature's weapon to defend themselves.

The capitalists are very much like skunks, they raise an awful stink wherever they breed. Capitalists can only live and thrive while they have the power to extract rent, interest, and profit from the men, women, and children, who do the useful work of the world. The many must live in misery and want in order that a few may live in luxury.

When F. D. R. told the capitalists that they must not raise so much stink, they said to him, "Just try to stop us." So F. D. R. and his Top Sergeant, Hugh Johnson, got a Blue Eagle to see if it could stop the capitalists from making so much stink. When the capitalists got through with the Blue Eagle it looked like a bald headed eagle with

a bad case of exema which had lost all its feathers.

WAGES AND HOURS

Then F. D. R. got mad and said, "I'll pack the Supreme Court." The capitalists said, "Just try it." Then F. D. R. said, "We must have a wages and hours bill." So the capitalists said, "Let's see you get it." Now the capitalists are very religious, and they remembered the lessons they learned in the Sunday School about the seven years of plenty and the seven years of famine. So they took the wages and hours bill and amended it, and amended it, until the workers will not have to wait 7 long years before they will get the magnificent wage of sixteen dollars a week, if they ever do get a full weeks work.

If you don't believe me just get a copy of the bill and read it. There are so many exceptions and exemptions to the bill, that you will wonder why they ever passed it at all. Remember that President Roosevelt had an absolute majority of Democratic votes in both the house and senate. The Democratic Party was in complete control of the legislative situation.

So if they call you "a red," just tell them that while you are "A RED" you are not damphool enough to try to raise skunks without getting the stink, or to try to humanize the capitalist system. F. D. R. has been trying to humanize the capitalist system for six years. But the capitalists still get their profits.

J. Smith Dies

Comrade Hollister informs the CALL that Comrade Jacob Smith, Secretary of the Jewish Branch of Philadelphia, died July 26. He is survived by his wife, Rebecca, and one daughter, Sylvia. The Socialist Party mourns the death of our comrade and extends its heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved family.

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Admission 35c FREE Refreshments

August 4th is the 24th Anniversary of the Outbreak of the World War—the Socialist Party During That War Said, and is Saying Now—

THE PRICE WE PAY

Conscription is upon us; the draft law is a fact!

Into your homes the recruiting officers are coming. They will take your sons of military age and impress them into the army;

Stand them up in long rows, break them into squads and platoons, teach them to deploy and wheel;

Guns will be put into their hands; they will be taught not to think, only to obey without questioning.

Then they will be shipped through the submarine zone by the hundreds of thousands to the bloody quagmire of Europe.

Into that seething, heaving swamp of torn flesh and floating entrails they will be plunged, in regiments, divisions and armies, screaming as they go.

Agonies of torture will rend their flesh from their sinews, will crack their bones and dissolve their lungs; and every pang will be multiplied in its passage to you.

Black death will be a guest at every American fireside; mothers and fathers and sisters, wives and sweethearts will know the weight of that awful vacancy left by the bullet which finds its mark.

And still the recruiting officers ill come; seizing age after age, mounting up to the elder ones and taking the younger ones as they grow to soldier size;

And still the recruiting officers will come;

Let them come! Let death and desolation make barren every home! Let the agony of war crack every parent's heart! Let the horrors and the miseries of the world-downfall swamp the happiness of every hearthstone!

Then perhaps you will believe what we have been telling you! For war is the price of your stupidity, you who have rejected Socialism!

• • •

Yesterday I saw moving picture of the Battle of the Somme. A company of Highlanders was shown, young and handsome in their kilts and brass helmets and bright plaids.

They laughed and joked as they stood on the screen in their ranks at ease, waiting the command to advance.

The camera showed rank after rank, standing strong and erect, smoking and chaffing one with another;

Then it showed a sign: "Less than 20 per cent of these soldiers were alive at the close of the day."

Only one in five remained of all those ladies when sunset came; the rest were crumpled masses of carrion under their torn plaids.

Many a Highland home will wail and croon for many a year, because of these crumpled masses of carrion, wrapped in their plaids, upon a far French hillside.

I saw regiments of Germans charging downhill against machine gun fire. They melted away like snowflakes falling into hot water.

The hospital camps were shown, with hundreds of thousands of wounded men in all stages of pain and suffering, herded like animals, milling round like cattle in the slaughter pens.

All the horror and agony of war were exhibited; and at the end a flag was thrown on the screen and a proclamation said:

"Enlist for your country!" The applause was very thin and scattering; and as we went out, most of the men shook their heads and said:

"That's a hell of a poor recruiting scheme!"

For the men of this land have been fed full with horror during the past three years; and though the call for volunteers has become wild, frantic, desperate; though the posters scream

Explanation

This stirring article, a reprint of a leaflet written by Irwin St. John Tucker and published by the Socialist Party during the war days of 1917, was for months during and following the World War the "evidence" upon which the Department of Justice waged its fierce prosecution and persecution of American Socialists who opposed the war.

It was cited by government prosecutors in the Chicago trials, which resulted in the conviction of Socialist leaders—Adolph Germer, Victor L. Berger, Louis Engdahl, William F. Kruse and Tucker—to 20 years in the Leavenworth federal penitentiary.

The Socialist Call reprints the leaflet in part, hoping that it will arouse the intelligent section of the generation which has matured since the war to renewed interest and action in keeping America out of war.

from every billboard, and though parades and red fire inflame the atmosphere in every town;

The manhood of America gazes at that seething, heaving swamp of bloody carrion in Europe, and says, "Must we—be that!"

You cannot avoid it; you are being dragged, whipped, lashed, hurled into it; your flesh and brains and entrails must be crushed out of you and poured into that mass of festering decay;

It is the price you pay for your stupidity—you who have rejected Socialism!

• • •

Frightful reports are being made of the ravages of venereal diseases in the army training camps, and in the barracks where the girl munition workers live.

One of the great nations lost more men through loathsome immoral diseases than on the firing line during the first 18 months of the war.

Back from the Mexican border our boys come, spreading the curse of the great Black Plague among hundreds of thousands of homes; blasting the lives of innocent women and unborn babes.

Over in Europe ten millions of women are deprived of their husbands, and fifty millions of babies can never be;

Of those women who will have their mates given back to them, there are twenty millions who will have ruined wrecks of men; mentally deranged, physically broken, morally rotten;

Future generations of families are made impossible; blackness and desolation instead of happiness and love ill reign where the homes of the future should be;

And all because you believed the silly lie that "Socialism would destroy the home!"

For these are the essence of this, as of all other wars!

Pound on, guns of the embattled hosts; wreck yet more homes, kill yet more husbands and fathers, rob yet more maidens of their sweethearts, yet more babies of their fathers;

That is the price the world pays for believing the monstrous, damnable, outrageous lie that Socialism would destroy the home!

Now the homes of the world are being destroyed; every one of them would have been saved by Socialism. But you would not believe. Now pay the price!

• • •

This war, you say, is all caused by the Kaiser; and we are fighting for democracy against

autocracy. Once dethrone the Kaiser and there will be permanent peace.

That is what they said about Napoleon. And in the century since Napoleon was overthrown there have been more and greater wars than the world ever saw before.

There were wars before Germany existed, before Rome ruled; before Egypt dominated the ages.

War has been universal; and the cause of war is always the same. Somebody wanted something somebody else possessed, and they fought over the ownership of it.

This war began over commercial routes and ports and rights; and underneath all the talk about democracy versus autocracy, you hear a continual note, an undercurrent, a subdued refrain: "Get ready for the commercial war that will follow this war."

Commercial war preceded this war; it gave rise to this war; it now gives point and meaning to this war;

And as soon as the guns are stilled and the dead are buried, commercial forces will prepare for the next bloody struggle over routes and ports and rights, coal mines and railroads;

This, you say, is a war for the rights of small nations; and the first land sighted when you sail across the Atlantic is the nation of Ireland, which has suffered from England for three centuries more than what Germany has inflicted upon Belgium for three years.

But go to it! Believe everything you are told—you always have, and doubtless always will, believe them.

Only do retain this much reason: when you have paid the price, the last and uttermost price, and have not received what you were told you were fighting for—namely Democracy—

Then remember that the price you paid was not the purchase price for justice, but the penalty price for your stupidity!

• • •

For this war—as every one who thinks or knows anything will say, whenever truth telling becomes safe and possible again—this war is to determine the question, whether the chamber of commerce of the allied nations or of the Central Empires have the superior right to exploit undeveloped countries.

It is to determine whether interest, dividends and profits shall be paid to investors speaking German or to those speaking English and French.

Our entry into it was determined by the certainty that if the allies do not win, J. P. Morgan's loans to the allies will be repudiated, and those American investors who bit on his promises would be hooked.

Socialism would have settled that question: it would determine that to every producer shall be given all the value of what he produces; so that nothing would be left over for exploiters or investors.

With that great question settled there would be no cause for war.

Until the question of surplus profits is settled that way, wars will continue; each war being the prelude to a still vaster and greater outburst of hell;

Until the world becomes weary of paying the stupendous price for its own folly;

Until those who are sent out to maim and murder one another for the profit of bankers and investors determine to have and to hold what they have fought for;

Until money is no more sacred than human blood;

Until human life refuses to sacrifice itself for private gain;

Until by the explosion of millions of tons of dynamite the stupidity of the human race is blown away, and Socialism is known for what it is, the salvation of the human race;

Until then—you will keep on paying the price!

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!