





# A Letter From a Gallant French Anti-War Fighter

**Editor's note:**  
The following letter from Marceau Pivert, secretary of the Front Ouvrier International Contre la Guerre (International Workers' Front Against War), demonstrates that the forces of internationalism are much alive in Europe. Active workers' organizations, such as the French typographers, gas workers, revolutionary students, syndicalists, anti-Fascist intellectuals and other organizations, are active in the bitter struggle against war.

Recently, the Daladier government, which broke the French general strike and since has steadily drifted toward Fascism, decreed harsh penalties under the guise of fighting espionage.

Daladier's latest decrees make it an offense punishable by death for those who "shake the faith" of the armed forces in any way. Such crimes, all considered as treason, are judged by military courts.

Comrade Pivert's organization and other French anti-war groups are being savagely persecuted by the "democratic" Daladier government. Dispatches of last week reported that several French anti-militarists had been arrested.

## To the Keep America Out of War Congress: Dear Friends:

We are well aware of all the worthy efforts which you have undertaken to resist the current of madness which is carrying humanity toward war. The role which you are playing in your great country, with the object of keeping it out of war, has considerable importance, for all the European

governments are obliged to take into account this determining factor in their plans for war.

But it is also the vastness of destruction which the intensive preparation for war accumulates and the sum of terrifying losses which it would engender which furnish us with a certain base for resistance to war. It is impossible to remain indifferent to the veritable collective suicide which such a crime against civilized humanity would constitute, and that for the sole purpose of profits for the economic and financial oligarchies. That is why we have taken the initiative in calling upon all the pacifists of good will in the world to come together in common action with the end in view of lessening the danger of war.

By encouraging news which we have received, particularly from Germany, Italy and France, we know that the common people do not want war, that they do not understand why they should be made to undergo this absurd sacrifice at a period of history in which all the resources of science and technology could bring well-being and freedom to all men.

We know that these sentiments are also yours, and that is why we take the liberty of writing to you, in order to find out how far your efforts and ours may lend each other mu-

tual support. We congratulate you on all that you are doing to raise the level of consciousness of your people and to enlist them in the struggle to better their level of existence.

For our part, we act everywhere we can, within the framework of narrow limits at our disposal, to make articulate the profound resistance of the masses to militarization and to war.

We refuse to allow the workers and the lovers of peace to be dragged into any imperialist camp whatsoever; we are well aware of the fact that behind the diplomatic and political maneuverings there are questions of markets, of colonies, of profits, which may plunge the world into bloodshed, and we will not have the people massacred for such reasons.

Moreover, far from blocking the advance of Fascist barbarism, we believe that preparations for war actually create a sort of irresistible contagion which is a powerful encouragement to the victory of totalitarian methods in all countries that are still democratic.

From all the reports that come to us from those of our comrades who work in misery under the yoke of German and Italian Fascism, the fact stands out strikingly that the best aid we can give to these heroic fighters in

our common cause is the conviction that other peoples do not want war, any more than they.

Our International Workers' Front was made up in the beginning of workers' organizations, but its aim being to struggle against war, it is ready to collaborate with all organizations and all persons who have definitely decided to oppose war for the purpose of maintaining and developing well-being and freedom among all peoples. Within these limits, our comrades of the Independent Labour party in England are participating in a powerful movement to oppose conscription, in collaboration with important trade union forces; likewise in France the Socialist Workers and Peasants' party is participating in a coalition against war (Centre de Liaison contre la Guerre), organized by syndicalist and pacifist organizations.

We hope also that you will be interested in our work, which the enclosed documents will enable you to understand, and we will receive your publications with great pleasure. Please believe, dear friends, in our strongest fraternal sympathy and in our absolute devotion to the cause of the well-being of humanity and of peace.

For the secretariat of the International Workers' Front,

MARCEAU PIVERT

## A Positive Program For Neutrality

BY ANTON GARDEN

That a war psychosis exists on the so-called "left," among social democrats, and Stalinists, and their fellow-travelers, is, unfortunately, true. Their press is full of it; there is not even a slight trace of critical reasoning. They are ready to repeat the tragedy of 1914, this time, of course, to defeat fascism.

The coming war, they say, will be different. In this holy mission of destruction they are even ready to risk fascism in the so-called "democratic" countries, which is inevitable once we plunge into war.

These new converts deny this, of course, by denying the historical sameness of capitalism and imperialism. "The only imperialists," they maintain, "are the fascist countries." Thus they overlook the fact that any difference between fascist and non-fascist nations would disappear as soon as war is declared.

In this connection the question of American neutrality looms large at home and abroad.

### Position Negative

With the historic Socialist position on war I am in complete agreement. However, on the question of neutrality, our position, which is purely negative, is open to serious attack. Especially so when Berlin and Rome are elated when congress smoothers the president's revision of our present neutrality act.

Our position is unrealistic, first, because it is untenable in the present world situation, even in the mind of an average American on the street and accounts to burying one's head in the sand, and second, because the whole peace front will cave in as soon as the powder keg explodes in Europe. The latter will be accomplished by the unleashing of tremendous war propaganda, paid and unpaid, and partly by an overwhelming majority of the American people are psychologically already genuinely on one side of the bloody conflict to the extent that they favor material aid to non-fascist countries.

### Favored by Geography

A more realistic neutrality policy for the American people, particularly for the American working class and its allies, would be the question: On what political basis should the United States offer material, but not human, aid to a belligerent nation or nations?

Because of the fortunate geographical position of the United States, and its tremendous resources and power, and because of its experience in, and the consequences of, the last war, it could, and should, dictate the basis for a peace treaty before war breaks out in Europe, as the condition for supplying material to such belligerent nations, as are willing to agree to its political conditions beforehand.

### Uncle's a Sucker

There are more reasons than one for such a procedure. One of them is purely financial—yes, important even to workers. Our allies in the last war still owe the United States a tremendous war bill, close to \$12,000,000,000. Long ago they forgot about this debt, for they consider Uncle Sam a great but dumb sucker.

Commonsense, therefore, would dictate not only to the peace forces here but to the government as well, the need of exacting from any belligerent such political conditions as would prevent the repetition of the present post-war situation, before the United States is willing to send a single cargo of war materials to anyone.

### Conditions for Aid

Every European nation wanting to receive war materials—for a

## It Was Done



—Federated Press Photo  
President Philip Murray of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO), who announced that, after three years' work at the "job that couldn't be done," the union has signed contracts covering 75 per cent of the industry.

## Buffalo Teachers Meeting

Continued From Page One  
a body is a spook, the teachers' union will have to strike a balance between fire and earth.

There seems every good reason to believe that a living compromise will be secured. The union will probably increasingly turn its efforts and attention to building its own organization and functions as the only economic organization for teachers in the United States and cut short the interest and attention in the past, paid to the various organizations outside the labor movement, particularly the various popular fronts and innocent organizations like the American League for Peace and Democracy, etc., through which the Communist minority in the union have exploited and abused the idealism and progressive tradition of the teachers' union.

### None Would Accept

Space does not permit us to indicate which foreign powers would assent to or reject the foregoing principles, absolutely essential for the maintenance of peace in Europe and elsewhere, as a condition for American aid in a war.

None of them would accept the entire list, save perhaps later in the war when pressed against the wall, or when the exhausted, bleeding and rebellious masses would be gaining the upperhand. And no country should get a single cargo of war supplies from the United States, for which the American people will most likely pay in the end in any case, unless it accepts in toto this or similar program beforehand.

### No AFL-CIO Fight

The issue of CIO as against AFL affiliation will be definitely dealt at this convention and the convention can be expected to take a strong stand for labor unity, much needed in view of the damage done to unity by certain sections of the AFL in their factional position on revision of the National Labor Relations act and by President Lewis of the CIO in setting out on a course of complete dual unionism in the building industry.

### War Stand

A continuance of the stand against war and militarism in education, will be sound trade union policy for the teachers because large scale military expenditure a la Roosevelt and the late and unlamented congress will soon exclude large scale public education.

Because free public education is the program of the majority of wage and salary earners and the unemployed for their children and the attack on the public schools by the privileged classes is obvious and inevitable, the teachers have more to gain than lose by taking the lead in encouraging labor to independent political action, beginning with local school boards where organized labor has any strength.

### Line-Up of Forces

There will be two easy barometers of the reactionary influence of the CP forces in the convention: now that the main drive to "capture" has been broken up, "capture" will be the attempt to smear all proposed successors to the retiring president, Jerome Davis, who have in clear conscience aligned themselves with the "Committee for Cultural Freedom" in united opposition to all forms of totalitarianism, Soviet as well as Nazi and Fascist, as the enemy of the free mind, and all cultural progress.

This undercover drive to penalize even beyond Soviet borders all critics of the rule of Stalin the terrible will be especially directed against George Counts, one of the outstanding leaders in the progressive education movement and in the field of advanced ideas in the United States.

C. P. Hates Real Liberals  
Counts, whose name has been increasingly linked with that of the illustrious John Dewey in the new current among American intellectuals, which seeks to resist all forms of dictatorship and tyranny over the mind of man, is a point of

## General Krivitsky Is the Real McCoy

GPU Trails Former Soviet General Who Escaped Purge

BY JULIUS EPSTEIN  
In the New York News Volkszeitung

General Krivitsky's articles in the Saturday Evening Post have aroused an extraordinary amount of comment all over the world. The Communist press claims that he is himself a swindler, and never was what he claims to have been—a general in the Red Army and an official of the Russian Military Intelligence Service.

The writer is in a position to prove that General Krivitsky is genuine, through a man who knew him while he was still a Soviet official, and has been in constant contact with him since his arrival in America.

This man is Dr. Paul Wohl, whom I have known for 15 years, and I have not the slightest ground to doubt his statements, which he is, in addition, ready to verify by affidavit.

Dr. Wohl made the acquaintance of Krivitsky in Berlin several years ago. The man through whom he made this acquaintance is also in America at the present time. He was Herman Jacobs, at that time president of the Berlin Communist Youth.

In August, 1936, Dr. Wohl had a long conversation with Krivitsky in the Soviet embassy on Unter den Linden. At the time of his residence in Paris, Dr. Wohl came into contact with Krivitsky through no one else than Egon Irwin Kisch.

After Krivitsky's break with Stalin, Dr. Wohl arranged his flight from Paris, taking him to south France to the home of the wife of a well-known anti-fascist writer, Rudolph Leonhard, at Hyeres.

Wohl, as well as Dr. Friedrich Adler, aided him in securing a French passport. The Blum government gave Krivitsky two detectives for protection, but in spite of this, an attempt at assassination was made.

Leon Blum recommended Krivitsky to Bullitt, the American ambassador. Wohl came to Amer-

## Cultural Committee Jars Stalinist Fronts

Continued From Page One  
other founders of the committee, long hailed as friends of the Soviet Union, as "individuals who have for years had as their chief political objective the maligning of the Soviet people and their government."

On another page is revealed the story of current Communist machinations against the Committee for Cultural Freedom. It seems that shortly a flock of innocents organized by Stalinist hacks will assure us that Stalinism is the exact opposite, not the same, as Hitlerism. It seems they protest too much!

### Stalinist Censorship

Another interesting passage is one which denounces Nazi book-burning while praising the Soviet regime because it has published so-and-so many copies not only of Gogol, Hegel and Tolstoy, but even of Homer and Aristotle. No mention is made of the fact that Hitler did not burn Homer, nor are statistics given as to the number of copies of the works of John Dewey sold in Russia since the eminent educator condemned the Moscow trial. Not is mention made of the suppression of works formerly issued by the State Publishing house, such as the writings of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Rakovsky, Victor Serge, and—where they spoke in praise of those of Stalin has since killed or exiled—even the writings of Lenin.

### Movement Spreads

But the attempt of Moscow's minions to control the cultural front in America is facing disaster. Secretary Ferdinand Lundberg reports that the Committee for Cultural Freedom is increasing constantly in membership and is planning a broad range of activities.

The committee has certainly captured the imagination of thinking liberals and radicals. Its program is basically sound. It is broad enough to include many diverse elements but the sum of its activities must add up to less and less Communist prestige among writers, artists, educators.

In attacking the Committee for Cultural Freedom, the Communist party has caught a Tartar.

## Re-Elected



—Federated Press Photo  
President A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, who was re-elected president at the union's quadrennial convention.

## IFTU Bars Russian Unions

BY HAL SIEGEL

PARIS, France — At its last meeting in Zurich, the executive congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions refused to admit the Soviet unions into the federation.

That fact alone would not be startling in view of its past actions in this regard. What is important though is the manner in which the question was again raised, the division in the voting, and its apparent meaning. It will be remembered that the last time the admission of the Soviet unions was before the council it was the British delegates who took the initiative in defeating the proposition.

Since that time the international situation has changed. And now we find the British delegates in the forefront of the fight for taking them in.

The vote was fairly close. But the alignment reflected clearly the present diplomatic intrigues surrounding the negotiations for the Anglo-French-Soviet pact.

The English and French delegates together with those of Norway and Mexico voted for admission, while the delegations from the countries now trying hard to preserve their neutrality and to prevent their getting involved in the struggles between the two groups of powers voted against.

The alignment was even more clear on the resolution concerning the maintenance of peace. The resolution first introduced greeted the Franco-Anglo-Soviet pact.

The Danish, Finnish, Swedish, American and Swiss delegates declared that they would be unable to vote for any such resolution, whereupon the resolution was sent back to the sub-committee, which brought out a compromise containing a mild hope that the pact would provide a basis for peace. This was adopted unanimously with the Swedish, Finnish and Danish delegates still abstaining.

## Socialist Denial

PARIS, France — The Socialist party of Spain has issued a statement to the Labor and Socialist International denying any complicity in the Spanish revolt which took place shortly before the end of the Civil war.

## Workers Repressed In France

Daladier as Good As Hitler in Suppressing Reds

BY JUDAH DROB

(See Letter from France, Page 2)

The government of Edouard Daladier, ruling by decree since the virtual abdication of the French parliament, has been engaged in proving to its workers and to the world that it is democratic by imprisoning those who dare assert that the French empire is not democratic. During the past several months the courts have been proceeding against the opponents of the policy of the "democratic front" and already many have been imprisoned for terms ranging from several months to two years.

The chief victims of laws which were passed in order to combat espionage and race hatred propaganda are the writers and editors of the revolutionary section of the French working class. These include anarchists, syndicalists and revolutionary Socialists. The usual procedure has been to charge these writers with the authorship of articles that encourage disobedience in the armed forces, or that reveal information about espionage cases, or that assert that the empire is not democratic.

Writers Jailed  
To date the charges have been leveled against writers of articles in "Solidarite Anti-Fasciste Internationale," a left wing united front organ of the campaign for aid to Spanish revolutionists and refugees from Spain, and against articles appearing in "Jeune Garde," official organ of the revolutionary Socialist youth organization, Jeunesse Socialiste Ouvriere et Paysan, youth section of the Pivertist P.S.O.P.

Among those imprisoned are three members of the J.S.O.P., five writers in the "S.A.I." Many others are in jail awaiting trial, including Lucien Weitz, editor of "Jeune Garde" and well known to American Socialists.

Syndicalist Leader Arrested  
The persecution of revolutionary opponents of the warlike plans and imperialist policies of the French government began late in the spring with the arrest of Chambelland, leader of the syndicalist group in the General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.), for an article printed in "S.A.I."

Marceau Pivert has been questioned with regard to the activities of the Socialist Workers and Peasants' party and the articles printed in its organ "Jeune Garde."

These repressions have been repeated by the anti-war forces in France, grouped around the "Centre de Liaison Contre la Guerre" (Center for Co-operation Against War), which includes the Trade Center for Action Against War (C.S.A.C.G.), the Committee of Vigilance of Anti-Fascist Intellectuals, and other influential groups.

## France's Democracy a Fake

The French anti-war forces have been engaged in publicizing the fact that the leaders of the movement for the freedom of Morocco and Tunisia are languishing in jail; that the French government intends to apply its mobilization laws in a manner calculated to destroy all labor's rights and democratic liberties; that the outcome of the war against Germany for which preparations are being made will be another imperialist world settlement.

Strange proof of France's democracy!

## Calling Your Shots

Then, if you haven't gotten around to them yet, read "The Letter Than You Think," by Max Lerner, and "Democracy Wrecked" by Arthur Garfield Hays. Lerner is "letter" and less statistical than Hays who takes the middle ground, liberal attitude.

There's plenty to chew on in both these books, but I'd like to see a bit more specific in their directions. It's all right to be wary of the use of labor, sooner or later you have to use your shots and if it's too late you're shooting at, why not?

## Contribution

BY JAMES BOULTON

I want to know I've sown the seed, and tilled  
The fertile ebon soil that fed the womb,  
And nursed the cotyledon unto bloom,  
A cardinal nasturtium flamed, that thrilled  
All life; and that I've seen hold Luna form;  
The quarter, half, three quarters, and the whole,  
A white gold platter firmly in the coal  
Blue sky where this vague voice dissolved the storm.

I want to feel the new world rise, in strife  
From chaos crystallized; and feel that, a slave  
Unchained, this feeble form and lifeless life  
Without that end magnetic, wholly gave  
Its strength invisible to doom decay  
In molding moving Time's millennial clay.

## Come on Out, Stevie

Born to Comrades James Loeb in New York, Steven James, and no announcement drawn by Sean the poet appreciative head out of a long bag and asks: "Is it come out?"

Come on out Stevie, but can pass the Socialist test without subscribing, you're better man than your pal

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Allen Bares European Imperialist Intrigue

Else why the sending of a military mission to Russia and France in early August with the careful announcement that staff talks preliminary to any final act, would then the September Nazi congress alone for the German-Polish terrain over which military operations of a mechanized Nazi force would have to be conducted against the Poles, is of such a nature that an invasion late in September might be extremely difficult and is stated by some experts to be impossible.

Default Irks Britain

Stiffening attitudes in Great Britain or Danzig coincided, whether accidentally or not, with the cessation of payment, on July 3, of interest on certain British loans to the Free City. The Danzig state loan of 1925, the tobacco monopoly loan of 1927, the electric tramway loan, and the wharfs and railway works loans, on which interest was choked off, are all held by British investors. Capitalists in Britain and France, well-shocked already by defaults which have been extensive everywhere—those in Danzig being the most definite on loans issued through the League of Nations up to \$200,000,000—did not disguise their irritation.

Imperialist Collaboration

Nevertheless, between those whose fists are shaken at each other over the barbed wire boundaries, actions quite other than warlike continually proceed. Bonnet, Chamberlain, Hitler, Mussolini and Smigly-Rydz have things they dislike about each other but they have some things in common. One is the preservation of class privilege; another is the salvation of decadent capitalism; another is the suppression of any embarrassing aspirations toward self-rule on the part of colonial peoples; still another is the prevention of labor aggressiveness on domestic economic policy.

Offer Germany a Loan

I can positively state, because I have direct information, that the conversations about a loan to Germany in return for disarmament (the idea was far more detailed than generally reported in the press) was not a mere casual talk between Mr. Hudson, secretary of overseas trade, and Herr Wohltat, a direct errand boy of Goering's. The scheme in at least a general way was known by Mr. Chamberlain, his denials notwithstanding.

Daladier Shifts Lines

France has now agreed to permit German exporters to use the words "made in Bohemia" or "made in Moravia" on goods shipped into France for sale. This follows naturally the recent extension for two years more of the 1937-1939 trade agreement; France gets coke and Germany gets iron, and Germany gets the right to use, for Nazi goods the half million dollars of Czechoslovakia's credit still in France. All this just 17 days after Daladier said publicly that there would be a ban on all shipments of iron to the Nazis!

New Russian Surge

But while Left critics fire blasts at these concessions, they find themselves in no slight dismay at certain other things which happen. Just as the coveted

(and important) pact with the Soviet Union makes headway at last, comes a new purge of Russian army officers; at this moment Lord Rothemann's "Daily Mail" which has always aroused radical and liberal ire for its benign attitude toward Hitler and Mussolini, flares forth in a description of the Soviet Union as a "democratic obstacle to Axis dreams of world domination."

Russian Oil to Axis

Russia is now selling the bulk of its oil exports to the Axis. Count Ciano not long since inspired his minister of propaganda to send out an article making a bid for Stalin to join the Axis, which would be better than to sign up with "the plutodemocracies." Germany wants a new trade treaty with Russia, and talks are supposed to be going on, looking toward a credit of \$55,000,000.

The balance turns, then, between exasperation which may still push Europe into war, and the universal clamor for economic aid which often transcends prejudice and politics. Not yet have the Axis powers the need to feel that what they require for their arms program or their subsistence is denied them. In terms of months, or a year, this may tend to keep the war to its present level of nerves, raw materials, trade and bluff. Peace must come another way.

Little Essays

BY JOHN M. WORK

How long does it take to find out that unemployment cannot be abolished by patching the private profit system of capitalism?

It has been tried for 10 years and there are still about 12,000,000 unemployed.

How much more time do the tinkers want?

It is high time they were getting down to brass tacks and doing something to provide permanent employment for all able-bodied and able-minded citizens.

They talk of distributing wealth more evenly so as to afford adequate purchasing power to the people. Surely anyone with an atom of common sense must know that under the private profit system the industries will not and cannot operate without profit for parasites; and this profit for parasites makes a fair distribution of purchasing power impossible.

The only remedy for unemployment is the socialization of enough industries to guarantee employment.

Personally I would like to have complete Socialism as quickly as possible. I know, however, that the average man is not willing to go that far at one jump.

But any person who is out of work, or who is running the risk of being out of work, should be willing to go in for production for use—socialization—to the extent necessary to furnish employment to the unemployed.

Labor, both employed and unemployed, should insistently demand that this be done. Labor should fairly haunt the White House and the congress with this demand, until it is granted.

\$750 Prize Offer

Prof. Sidney Hook has announced a contest for the first award of a \$750 fellowship for a piece of original research work or a constructive analysis of a labor problem.

The award will be made by a committee of judges consisting of Professors John Dewey and Sidney Hook, and Julius Hochman, well-known labor leader. The name of the winner will be made public, and the chosen manuscript will be published by the John Dewey Research Fellowship, of which Professor Hook is chairman.

The fellowship was founded by friends and admirers of Professor Dewey in honor of his approaching eightieth birthday, in appreciation of his contributions to the labor movement and to human progress, and in the hope of stimulating wide interest in the labor movement. The contest is open to everyone under the following rules:

- 1. A full detailed outline of a proposed manuscript,

Liberal and Left Wing Press in Review

BY LILLIAN SYMES

Our excursion among the liberal, left-wing and labor journals began last week with the Nation and New Republic—otherwise known as "the liberal weeklies." We will now move on to the "leftist weeklies," using that term in its general, rather than its factional sense, and in time we'll get to the labor press, the Communist press, the various monthlies and quarterlies—from Common Sense to the Parisian Review.

The New Leader

Of all the radical papers—the New Leader, the American Guardian, the "Socialist" Appeal (quotation marks, mine), the Workers Age, the anarchist Challenge, our own Socialist Call—the New Leader is by far the most impressive, physically.

It is a far cry from the old starved and smudgy New Leader which once served as the voice of a united Socialist party (many times the size of the present Social Democratic federation) to the present eight to 12-page journal with its excellent makeup, its prominent non-Socialist contributors and its paid columnists. The New Leader today gives every physical evidence of being the organ of a great mass movement. Officially, it is the organ of a comparatively small group, the Social Democratic federation, and its paid circulation is probably smaller than that of the Call.

Forward the Angel

Let this contradiction between expensive format and modest circumstances inspire suspicion of the lady's virtue, we hasten to add that the "angel" in the case is a close relative—the largest and richest foreign language daily in the world, the Jewish Daily Forward. The Forward contributed, much less generously, to the old Socialist New Leader which didn't always follow the Forward line. Today, however, the New Leader is practically an English edition of the latter and could not exist without its aid. This helps to explain some of the contradictions in the New Leader policies.

The New Leader is unquestionably the most implacable and effective foe of Bolshevism in the entire radical movement. To those who share its contempt for the Communist party (and the writer of this column does) most of its columns and news stories on this subject are a source of keen amusement and satisfaction. Most of these columns and stories are written by former members of the Stalinist and Trotskyist periphery—Eugene Lyons, Charles Yale Harrison, Ferdinand Lundberg, James Rorty, James Farrell, etc.—who do not necessarily share in the New Leader's editorial views on foreign and domestic policy.

And it is the New Leader's hospitality to these non-Social Democratic radical intellectuals which gives the paper whatever influence it has outside of Social Democratic federation circles. The fact that it is purported to pay cash for such contributions—a miracle which only the Stalinist press is able to duplicate in

the latter to be preferably of book size, must be submitted on or before Nov. 30, 1939, covering an original piece of research of any problem of general significance to the American labor movement, for example:

- 1—Relations of the labor movement and public school education;
2—Philosophy of trade unionism in relation to the democratic way of life.
The outline is to be signed with a non de plume. The real name and address of the contestant should be placed in a sealed envelope, with the non de plume on the outside—the envelope to be attached to the outline submitted.
3. The manuscript must be completed within one year after date of award.
4. One-third of the fellowship (\$250) will be presented to the winning contestant on acceptance of the outline, the balance (\$500) on acceptance by the judges of the completed manuscript.
Outlines should be mailed to: Hillary M. Bishop, secretary of the committee of award, government department, College of the City of New York, 17 Lexington ave., New York, N. Y.

the radical movement — indicates that an "angel" is exactly what every left-wing journal needs. Writers must eat.

Social Democracy and War

It is when one turns from these special features to its editorial policy that the dilemma of present-day Social Democracy is revealed in all its tragic-comedy. For the foreign and domestic policy of the New Leader is indistinguishable from that of the Communist party. Like the Daily Worker, the New Leader is all for a new Holy War to save democracy—the sooner the better. Like the Daily Worker, it classifies all the anti-collective security forces as "isolationists" and does not hesitate to charge that they are the objective allies of Hitler and Mussolini. Like the Daily Worker, its pages bristle with spy plots, "betrayals," hidden dangers, new Fascist menaces.

In domestic matters, it is not so hopelessly enamoured of President Roosevelt as is the Daily Worker, but it has recently announced its support of the president, if he runs in 1940, and will probably be persuaded to support his choice if he does not. (This is not necessarily the official position of the Social Democratic federation.) Like the Daily Worker's, its headlines intimate that the real enemy is not so much capitalism as the "Tories"—in short the bad capitalists who are fighting the New Deal.

Sincerity and Insincerity

It is highly embarrassing, of course, to such implacable foes of the C. P. to find themselves traveling on the same line. The editors resolve the contradiction on a moral plane: They are sincere in their policy, the C. P. is insincere. We grant and accept this distinction. But we doubt if there will be the slightest difference in the end results of these sincere and insincere activities.

Ameringer's Guardian

We now move across the country to Oklahoma and to the most persistent survival of the populist-utopian school of "Socialism" that flourished in the 90s and early 1900s. Up to 1912, when the rapidly growing Socialist party was the only political outlet for the protest against "social injustice," it fell heir to what was left of the populist revolt, Bellamy "Nationalism" and the colonizing movement. Its strength in the middlewest was based largely on this type of native "Socialism" which had no historical perspective, no basic economic philosophy, no understanding of class forces.

The new utopianism, like that of the 1840s, saw that "the system" was unjust and, above all, inefficient. It sought to find a short and easy cut to an economy of abundance. When it found it could not get this through a Socialist party with its roots in the labor movement, it turned to other schemes. Among its more recent manifestations have been the various schemes for "a planned economy"—Epic, Technocracy (a "scientific" revival of Bellamy Nationalism) the Utopian clubs and Oscar Ameringer's new brain child—the Foundation for Abundance.

The American Guardian is the midwestern "mass organ" of this new utopianism. (Common Sense might be described as its more sophisticated, theoretical organ.) It is a folksy and efficiency type of "Socialism" which appeals especially to an older generation of radicals grown tired of waiting for the revolution and to some of the younger "social planners" who have a notion that the technicians, with a little help from the middle classes, can do the trick all by themselves. All of these groups—like the populists of the 90s—tend to end up in the Democratic party.

In foreign policy, the American Guardian, like its midwestern mass base, tends to be isolationist, but like all of the "social planners" it is also consumed with admiration for Stalin's planned economy in Russia and often flirts with the Communist party in purely domestic matters. The Guardian talks the "American language," but it talks it in nineteenth century terms. It is much later than you think, Oscar

By Ruth Schechter

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Where Is Democracy?

Advocates of collective security claim that the great struggle in the world today is between democracy and Fascism. This article is devoted to puncturing that fable once and for all. We claim that the phrase "democracy vs. Fascism" is a clever propaganda device used to pull the wool over the eyes of those easily impressed by catch-phrases.

America is the most democratic of all the great states. We all know, in spite of this, how far America falls short of true democracy in such places as Jersey City, the South, and parts of California. Nevertheless, America could stand as the model of democracy for those far less democratic states whom she is supposed to aid in the name of democracy.

The alliance which is being set up to stop Hitler's drive is anything but democratic. Let us cast a brief glance at each member of that alliance.

Great Britain is the greatest empire in the world. English citizens enjoy a fairly liberal dose of democracy and freedom, but by far the major part of the empire is subject to a colonial tyranny surpassed by none and matched by few. Englishmen who point indignant fingers at Mussolini's bombing of Ethiopian savages should remember that every year border villages of India are bombed by British airmen.

The same is true of France and her empire—and the French workers today enjoy even less liberty than their English brothers do. (See article on repressions in France, page 2).

Soviet Russia may be a democracy to those who have to say "yes, Lord," when Stalin says Russia is a democracy. To Socialists, Stalinism is the living proof of the necessity of absolute democracy within a revolutionary party and within a worker's state. There is no democracy in Russia. Everyone knows that, and since history can be written freely in this country, the constant repetition of the lie that she is by the stenchenmen cuts no ice anywhere.

Poland is a dictatorship. One would be inclined to call her a Fascist dictatorship, were it not for the fact that Fascism has become associated with aggressive dictatorships. Poland does not have the strategic possibility of becoming aggressive—but Poland has no democracy.

Rumania has no democracy. This is especially true in the districts she conquered or stole just before and during the World War—Bessarabia and the Dobrudja.

Jugoslavia has only a vestige of democracy, and that has been preserved only through the fight of the Croatian minority. Now, since Mussolini took Albania, it is doubtful whether Jugoslavia could be of much value to the Franco-British alliance even if she wished to. Greece is suffering under a particularly oppressive dictatorship.

When you add up the score, the talk about "democracy fighting dictatorship" falls as flat as a week-old glass of beer. If, for the sake of argument, we admit France and England to be democracies, then we must also admit that they are willing to get anyone, regardless of political inclination, to join with them. In other words it is still the old army game, with every one fighting and jockeying for position, and words like "democracy" and "anti-aggression" thrown out for bait for the suckers.

We swallowed that bait in 1917. Let's leave the hook dangling this time.

An Imperialistic Tug-o-War

Who Is to Rule Spain, Bank of England or the Axis Powers?

PARIS, France—Before the Victory March in Madrid, it was practically impossible to obtain a visa for entry into Spain. After the victory march, however, visas were granted to tourists who could obtain a testimonial indicating that they had not "traded with the enemies of Spain."

I entered Spain by Irún where my passport was closely scrutinized and checked against a card catalogue. Then my baggage, my books, and my foreign exchange were carefully examined, and I was ushered into a small room where the matron asked me to undress. Satisfied that I had no prestatas concealed in my underwear, the matron apologized, my examination was over and I was given a "salvo conductor" pass with which I was free to visit any part of Spain.

How wise and how comfortable are those Spanish peasants who travel from village to village by donkey-cart! Travel by train was a nightmare. There were long queues of soldiers and civilians waiting interminably at the stations for their tickets. Mothers suckled their babies in the waiting room. The compartments in the trains were filled to overflowing and stank.

The seats were denuded of upholstery, so that one sat on the springs. In the aisles soldiers slept standing up, pressed one against the other. Though the train served a noon meal, it was physically impossible to get out of the compartment and through the aisles into the dining car.

Instead, during the 14 hours trip from Irún to Madrid, I shared the black bread and tortillas gener-

ously offered by my fellow passengers.

Falangists vs. Requetes

I had my first introduction to Spanish politics in the train. A little girl was playing with a doll dressed in a khaki uniform and a red beret. "That's the uniform of your party, isn't it?" I asked the soldiers.

"No, no, no," they replied grimacing. "That's the Requete uniform; we're Falangists."

"But aren't you united under Franco," I insisted.

"Oh, yes," said one, "but all the same, don't be a Requete, be a Falangist; here, wear this—" and he presented me with his five-arrow pin.

Time and again in my tour I was made aware of the undercurrent of resentment between the two groups. The fact that today, the Falange Espanol Tradicionalista, has not erased the fundamental division between the Requetes whose program is traditional, Catholic, and monarchist, and the Falangists whose program is "radical" and fascist.

The official uniform of the party like the name makes concessions to both sides. It consists of the blue shirt, the five arrow emblem, and the red beret.

But many Falangists refer to wear the red beret, and carry it instead under their shoulder straps.

False Slogans

Moreover, the program of the F.E.T. (Falange Espanol Tradicionalista) reflects in no way the position of the Requetes. The lat-

er seem to have been not so much united as swallowed whole. While they may continue to be an indigestible lump, their function is more obstructive than positive.

Nowhere did I see mention of the return of the king. The popular program of the party is a fascist program, though as in Germany, the word "fascist" seldom appears. Instead the official movement is called "national syndicalist" tradition in Spain.

On posters everywhere one reads, "National Syndicalism is neither capitalism nor Marxism; Socialism enslaves the worker; National Syndicalism gives him liberty."

The program for the worker is to raise his standard of living and concomitantly to increase the national wealth and strength. The program for the landworker is particularly interesting because the main question is the central problem in the Spanish economy: The Falange calls for farm credits, irrigation, minimum prices for farm products; reorganization of the land units (either latifundia or "minifundia"); are not economically cultivated; removal of workers from uneconomic land to more fruitful areas; and "unionization" of land workers.

It is interesting to note that neither the collectivization nor distribution of the large estates among small peasant proprietors is included in the list. The only reform of the program so far is the legal form is the establishment of a fixed price for wheat, all of which must be sold to the state.

It was told by a landowner from Almeria that in his province landlords were required to pay workers a fixed percentage of the crop rather than a specific number of pesetas a day. This measure, like the vague phrases about reorganization of uneconomic units, indicates that the direction of any actual reforms is more likely to be towards increased production than towards greater equality.

Workers Join Falanges

One measure of social legislation announced with trumpets and placards during the last week of June was the institution of a system of subsidies for large families. Eberts proclaimed "Women, you are now free; you may have children without fear."

commands over the division and distribution of the limited supplies of food and goods.

Year of Hunger

Whatever may be the ideological development of the forces in Spain, the task confronting the authorities here and now, like the 12 labors of Hercules, is the overwhelming one of providing food and work for a demoralized citizenry. Nineteen thirty-nine, the "Year of the Victory," is the year of chaos and starvation.

One fourth of the population of Madrid is fed by Auxilio Social, the Falange relief organization (through which all relief is distributed); perhaps 600,000 are similarly fed in all Spain. At any time of the day one can walk through the streets and find crowds sitting patiently and dejectedly outside the soup kitchens.

There has been no building, and those whose homes were shattered live like mice in dark holes and passages. Everywhere, children beg for coins; and in Madrid little boys come to the cafe tables and point hungrily at the roll or cake on one's plate. Prices are even higher than in Republican territory during the war, and while meat and fish can be purchased, their cost is far beyond the average purse. Butter is almost unobtainable, even at the best hotels, and rice, beans, and potatoes are rationed out to the population.

Fruit and bread are moderately cheap, but the bread is coarse and black. Instead of coffee, a substitute made of malt is used everywhere. A Spaniard who has money can feed himself quite adequately—but a Spaniard who has

Republican money is at a total loss. All Republican money must be returned to the bank by July 15, and is completely worthless. The result is utterly demoralizing. "Why should we work," some Spaniards said to me, "What if tomorrow Franco is overthrown, then his money is worthless, too. But even those who want to work, and who affiliate formally with the party, wait in vain outside the Bureau of National Syndicalism. Party through poor organization, partly through lack of capital and supplies, the striking contradiction exists that in Spain today where half the country is shattered and crying out for reconstruction, great numbers of workers are unemployed.

100,000 in Madrid Jails

The whole problem of reconstruction complicated by the purging process of "purification" are secondary to "purification." In addition to half a million Republican soldiers in the concentration camps there are hundreds of thousands of civilians in prison—at least 100,000 in Madrid alone.

to death. I was told that the death penalty is now applied to current cases of theft.

Long prison sentences are frequent, and just as frequent, under pressure of business, is indefinite detention without trial. One of the saddest sights in Spain today, sadder than the queues waiting for bread or the queues waiting for work, is the queues of women and children waiting to see their relatives in prison.

Conditions for Release

The Republican soldiers in the concentration camps are on a starvation diet. I spoke with a soldier recently released from Alicante. Some bread and occasionally sardines constituted the diet. The concentration camp, however, is intended only as a temporary residence. A soldier who obtains two civilian guarantors can be released. Unfortunately the small number of citizens courageous enough to sign the required affidavits is still further reduced by the obstacle of illiteracy.

Spain is, however, not altogether through the fashionable avenues of Madrid and Valencia and the animated groups in the cafes or strolling down the Paseo. The men are everywhere in uniform and the women have less chic than formerly, but they dance and promenade each evening.

The buildings have gaping hollow shells, but people manage to inhabit the shells. Sevilla was untouched by the war, and there life is gay; the contrast of poverty and riches is as damning now as before the war. In Burgos, sent

a moth-eaten cathedral town and deny become the center of a political intrigue, the crowds are so great that the visitor is stifled.

San Sebastian, still the pleasant seaside resort of the north coast, seems hardly to have suffered from the war. But the waters seldom go in swimming for the Church has decreed (and the police enforce the decree) that bathing costumes must have high collars, sleeves, and long trunks. The influence of the Church is evident, not merely in the decline of the bathing population, but in the mass baptism of children born under the Republic, and the remarriage of couples married under it. Furthermore, in many villages where the "voluntary" contributions to rebuild the church are not adequate, the contributions are made compulsory by law.

The most shocking experience for a tourist in Spain today is the brazenness of the "anti-fascist" propaganda. The ruins of Guernica, of Nules, of Valencia, of Madrid are attributed to the Reds—the Reds who burned down their left or who came to the towns as nationalists to destroy them.

Current history is being written under duress. In the past, Valencia all Spaniards' houses have been destroyed, who wish to claim the town must sign a paper stating that their homes were destroyed by the Reds. "ABC," daily newspaper prints two photos, Plaza before and after the war, captioned: "What the Reds have done to Madrid"—shades of Madrid!