

Socialist Call

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BIG BUSINESS BLACKMAILS NEW CONGRESS

Taxes on corporation profits must be cut, big business demands. Or else—

The threat of big business is to withhold capital. Unless the new Congress, which is to meet November 15th, comes across, the big moguls of American capitalism propose to manufacture an artificial minor crisis.

The Public Utility Industry publicly stated this week that it is ready to invest over one billion dollars immediately, provided the government repeals its "punitive" measures. And if the Government refuses, the power boys are going to call a sitdown of capital.

The power trust has declared that it holds a "vast untapped reservoir of jobs outrivaling the program of the PWA and WPA." But, the Utility captains insist, the administration has "so frightened capital that it has proven impossible to finance most of the needed construction."

The same threat was repeated, somewhat more subtly, in an editorial contained in the Scripps-Howard, one-time liberal, press.

In describing the law taxing surplus profits, a lead editorial declares:

Halt Reinvestment

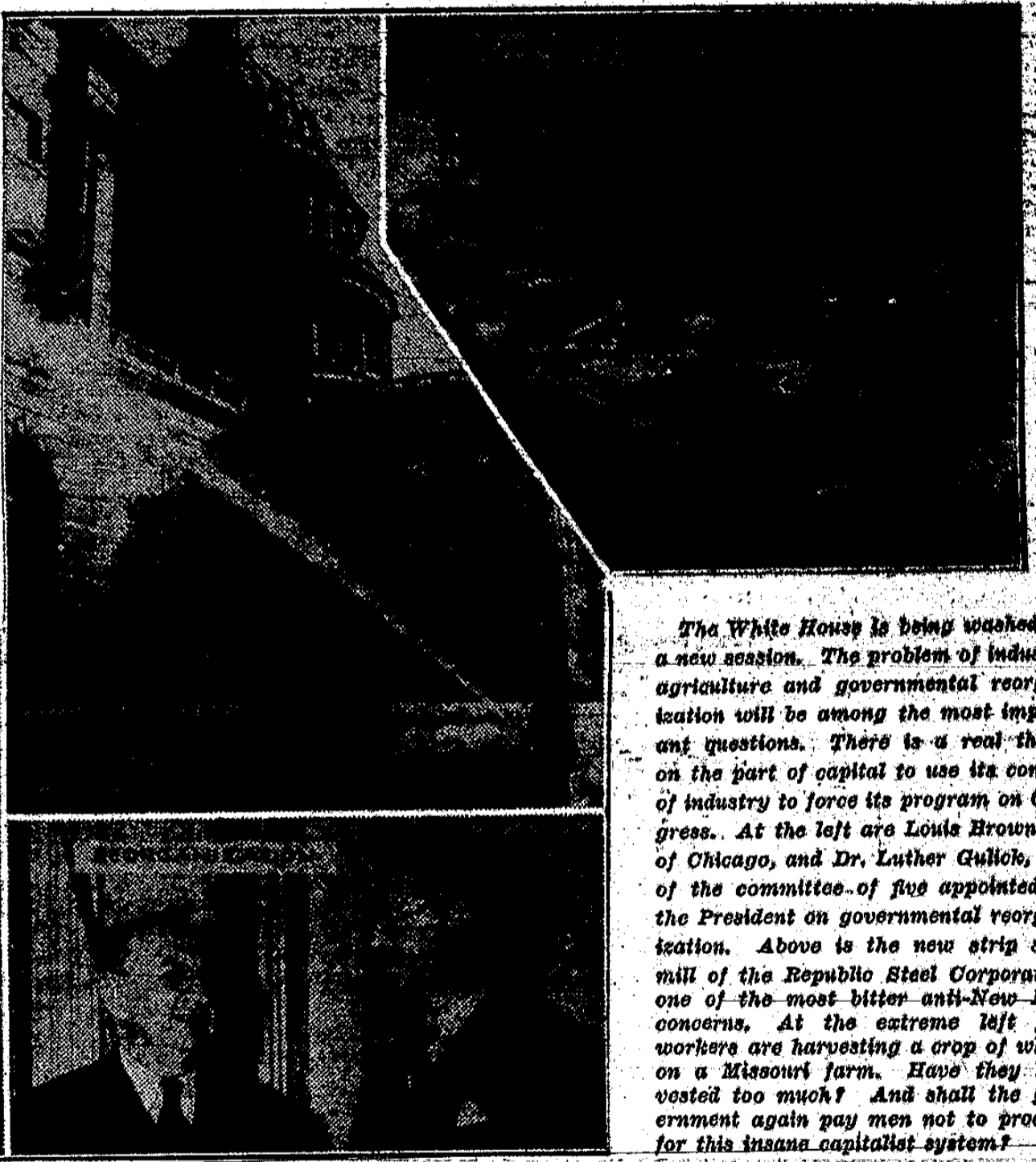
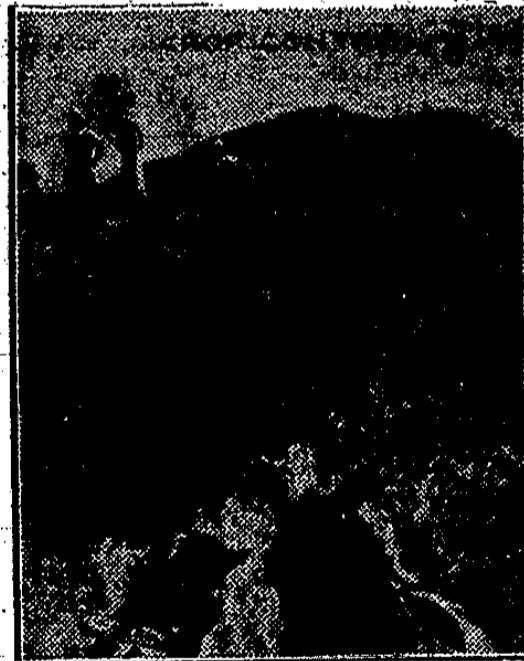
"The effect of the law is to compel the declaration of all profits each year into dividends by prohibitive penalties. IT WIPED OUT THE IDEA OF FLOWING BACK ANY RESERVES."

The check on reinvestment is today being artificially cultivated. America faces the possibility of a cruelly calculated depression, manufactured by Wall Street—to bulldoze Congress.

The Scripps-Howard press blames the new crisis on the tax policy, whereas in reality it is in part, at least, a result of the capitalist attempt to sabotage governmental legislation.

"Capital is being frozen," shouts the press. Quite true! Capital is being frozen to force Congress along Chamber of Commerce lines.

difference. And if he can be shown that revisions of capital gains and corporate surplus lev-



The White House is being washed for a new session. The problem of industry, agriculture and governmental reorganization will be among the most important questions. There is a real threat on the part of capital to use its control of industry to force its program on Congress. At the left are Louis Brownlow, of Chicago, and Dr. Luther Gulick, two of the committees of five appointed by the President on governmental reorganization. Above is the new strip steel mill of the Republic Steel Corporation, one of the most bitter anti-New Deal concerns. At the extreme left field workers are harvesting a crop of wheat on a Missouri farm. Have they harvested too much? And shall the government again pay men not to produce for this insane capitalist system?

Cut Relief

The capitalist sabotage is not merely directed at paring down taxes, but also at slicing social relief. If Roosevelt is going to balance the budget—after the big tax reservoirs are exempted—he can do so only by a severe reduction in government expenditures. This will mean further cuts in jobless aid.

The President has, meanwhile, indicated that his chief guide in the new Congress will be his budget proposal. He has said, according to Washington Correspondent Arthur Krock of The New York Times, that "his test of most legislation, including taxes, will first be its effect on the budget, and not its relation to social or economic concepts which may be held by groups of New Dealers."

"No matter how completely a crop control bill fits into the Administration's agrarian policy, the President has said he will veto any bill that upsets budget estimates unless Congress levies new taxes to supply the

les will safeguard legitimate business and raise—or at least not reduce—Federal revenue, he will not oppose these."

Big business is now trying to show how downward revision of taxes on the rich will help business and will therefore increase federal revenue.

American workers know this old trick. During the darkest depression years, Hoover was busy rushing aid to the railroads and the banks, on the theory that this would increase employment and trickle down to the lower classes. It did not happen, because without a market, without purchasing power in the hands of workers and jobless, no business can long operate.

Workers everywhere must make whatever efforts they can to keep Congress from falling completely into the hands of the banker's program. The wage-and-hour bill must pass; relief for the jobless must be increased, not cut; taxes must be

Ford Fascism Hits Dallas Again

DALLAS, Texas—Ford Fascism reasserted itself again in Dallas, Texas, this week, when Henry Bowen, former CIO organizer in Kansas City was kidnapped in front of the local Ford plant, taken to a lonely road and flogged with a rubber hose.

The attack on Bowen is another incident in a series of brutal gangster assaults in Dallas during the last two months. It is believed that these beatings are part of the Ford campaign to terrorize labor into submission.

"Were it not for the fact that Bowen is a strongly built man, his beating might have had much

borne by those who can and not by the masses who cannot.

more serious consequences. As it is, he has a broken nose, several broken ribs, many deep bruises and contusions on his hips and back," reports Carl Braunnin, Secretary of the Socialist Party of Texas.

Bowen has identified three men as among those who were in the attacking party.

Governor James V. Allred threatened to send the entire state police force to Dallas if necessary to stop the beatings. The Dallas Typographical Union has wired a protest to the Governor of Texas.

Allred Honored By Fascists

Governor James V. Allred of Texas received the dishonorable title of a Knight Commander of the Crown of Italy. The Italian consul, Marquis G. Chisverri, issued a statement declaring the Governor of Texas to be sympathetic to the Italian Fascist regime.

Latest Ford Victim



Harry Bowen

Italy Tightens Alliance with Japan-Hitler

By Gus Tyler

Italy became the pivot of foreign affairs this week by its actions in extending its hand publicly to both Japan and Germany in the fight of these latter powers for their current demands.

The Fascist Government has expressed its sympathy for the Nazi claim to colonies and has signified its intention to join Japan in an open "anti-Communist" pact.

The attempt of Anthony Eden to warn Italy against seconding the Hitler demands brought a sharp retort from Mussolini. Il Duce claims that he did not get his share of the post-war peace settlement and may, therefore, speak with Germany against the victors of Versailles. The Italian Foreign Office News Agency writes:

Italy's Claim

"The power Eden does not mention by name is Italy. In the British Foreign Secretary's ledger Italy has three faults on the debit side: first, she fought on the Allies' side in the World War and by the confession of the enemy itself she brought about a common victory. Second, she brought about her national unity and conquered an African empire with her own forces and with her own blood alone. Third, she has uttered a word of justice for the German people.

"As for Africa, what Italy obtained, while Britain and France divided the German colonial empire among themselves, was nothing but a very sorry compensation. To be more precise, Italy obtained from Britain 35,000 square miles of territory, having doubtful value, in Trans-Jahaland and from France 44,000 square miles of authentic desert sands, for which Italy gave adequate compensation in the matter of Italian rights in Tunisia, the French Government having insisted upon haggling up to the last minute. And all this, despite the solemn colonial commitments France and Britain assumed to Italy in the Pact of London when it was a question of securing Italy's intervention in the war.

"As for Ethiopia, Italy conquered it alone, against every

one and, in the first place, against her former allies. The very last to be able to speak on this subject is the British Foreign Office, in the files of which Eden will find abundant documentation on the work performed by him and the British Government to halt Fascist Italy's march.

"The arguments Eden puts forward, therefore, have no value. Italy may freely express her disinterested opinion on the German Reich's just aspirations for the very cogent reason that Italy has taken nothing away from Germany."

Rome-Berlin

There is more to this quarrel than is apparent on the surface. Underneath the superficialities is the fact that Britain has been making an attempt to make a deal with Italy such as will break her from the Rome-Berlin alliance.

Writing in The New York Times on November 1, 1937, Angus, unofficial spokesman of the British Government wrote:

"Now perhaps the object of the persistent efforts of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain to effect a rapprochement with Il Duce becomes clearer. The Rome-Berlin axis must be prevented from developing into a permanent menace to the balance of power in Europe. Mr. Chamberlain is convinced that this can be done more easily by way of Rome than by way of Berlin."

The Italian action means that the Western Powers will have to deal not only with Italy but with Rome and Berlin together. The tightening of the agreement between Japan and Italy may likewise mean that the deal will have to include Japan as well.

Joint Demands

The anti-Versailles group (Japan, Germany and Italy) have apparently made up their mind to

act jointly in pressing their demands.

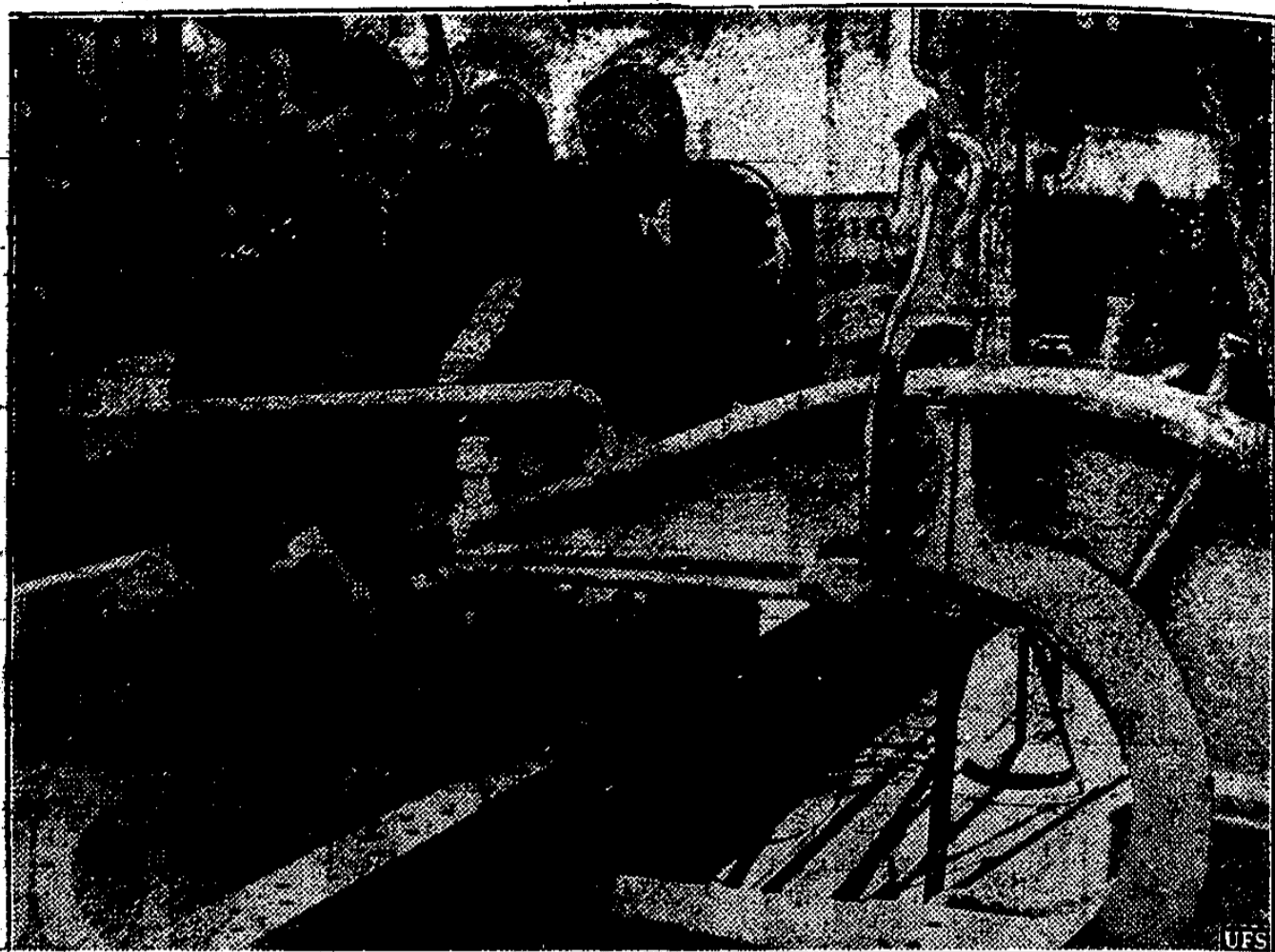
The Nine-Power Conference, now meeting in Brussels, is giving serious consideration to the appointment of a sub-committee which shall mediate in the Far Eastern situation. Such a mediating group would probably have to take into consideration not merely the merits of the conflict in China but also the pressures of the new anti-Versailles bloc.

Soviet Action

The Soviet Government is threatening economic reprisals against Japan should it go through with its anti-Soviet alliance together with Italy.

Such reprisals would include the withholding of fishing rights in Soviet waters from the Japanese. This would be a severe blow to Japan, as fish from Soviet waters

SEARCH FOR PEACE



Following on the heels of President Roosevelt's declaration to make an active "search for peace," the United States Government rushed the building of the mammoth war ship North Carolina. Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Charles Edison, is at the left. With him are Rear-Admiral Clark H. Woodward and Lieutenant Governor Wilkins P. Horton, of North Carolina.

This giant ship will be a graphic example of how the United States, like other imperialist powers, prepares for war while talking peace.

Will the new Congress find so much money lying around to be used on behalf of the jobless?

Peasant Revolt In Japan Likely

The war-making imperialist government of Japan faces the danger of revolution at home, according to a survey of the American Council of Pacific Relations.

is a large item in Japan's food supply.

"The loss which Japanese interests will suffer as a result of her new demonstrations of aggressive policy is only a part of the problem, however," says Izvestia. "The Italo-Japanese-German triumvirate agreement shows an increase of aggressive activity by the whole bloc of the incendiaries of war."

Deal With Call Advertisers

CHINA INVESTMENTS FIX CHINA POLICY OF USA

(Reprinted from Milwaukee Leader)

That economic interest, and not humanitarian sentiment, is at the bottom of the present propaganda for war in the Far East, is evident from Uncle Sam's course in the Philippine Islands, as well as the financial and industrial stake of his citizens in China.

For that matter, the cloven hoof of political interest is enough to explain the propaganda. The "new deal" has succeeded in bringing recovery from the depression to the economic royalists, but it has not succeeded in bringing recovery to the workers, about 8,000,000 of whom are still unemployed, while the wages of those employed suffer from the competition of the unemployed.

A war, with the drafting of many men for overseas service, and the production of war supplies tremendously increased, would afford employment for all. This is enough in itself to explain the sudden tender-heartedness toward the women and children of China. As Smedley Butler says, war is a racket. It purports to be one thing, and it is quite another thing.

For some time Uncle Sam has had a military man in the Philippines creating a great army there. While the Tydings-McGuffie law provides that absolute independence shall accrue to the Philippines in 1946, both Filipinos and Americans are beginning to hedge on the proposition.

It is true that President Quezon of the Philippines suggests complete independence in a year or two, but he also secured the appointment of a joint preparatory committee to work out recommendations as a future trade relations between the two countries. The reniging process begins. The committee is also to report on what effect an advancement of the date of independence would have. This opens the question. It may find that no independence at all is desirable.

In any event, Uncle Sam is still involved in the Philippines, and some of our citizens have investments and trade opportunities to lose in China. An imperialistic nation is always on the lookout for the strengthening of trade and investment opportunities. It seldom talks in those terms but talks in terms which sound much better. Often it deceives the very elect, so that even those who speak in humanitarian terms do not realize their own hypocrisy.

Even before the war, the report declares, "the financial position of the Japanese government was somewhat precarious." The strain of the war may well exhaust the financial strength of the government. This will make it difficult for Japan to pay for imports.

The peasantry of Japan is extremely restless. The report concludes that "there are undoubtedly present the makings of an agrarian uprising."

China is momentarily united. The report declares that "history teaches us that nothing rallies a people to the support of their government so powerfully as resistance to a foreign invader.

Once the imperialist invader is driven out, however, there are indications that class war will flare again in China. "There are those who predict that the landless peasants will refuse to accept the burden of a prolonged war unless he is compensated by a fundamental agrarian reform."

ASTORIA, I.I.

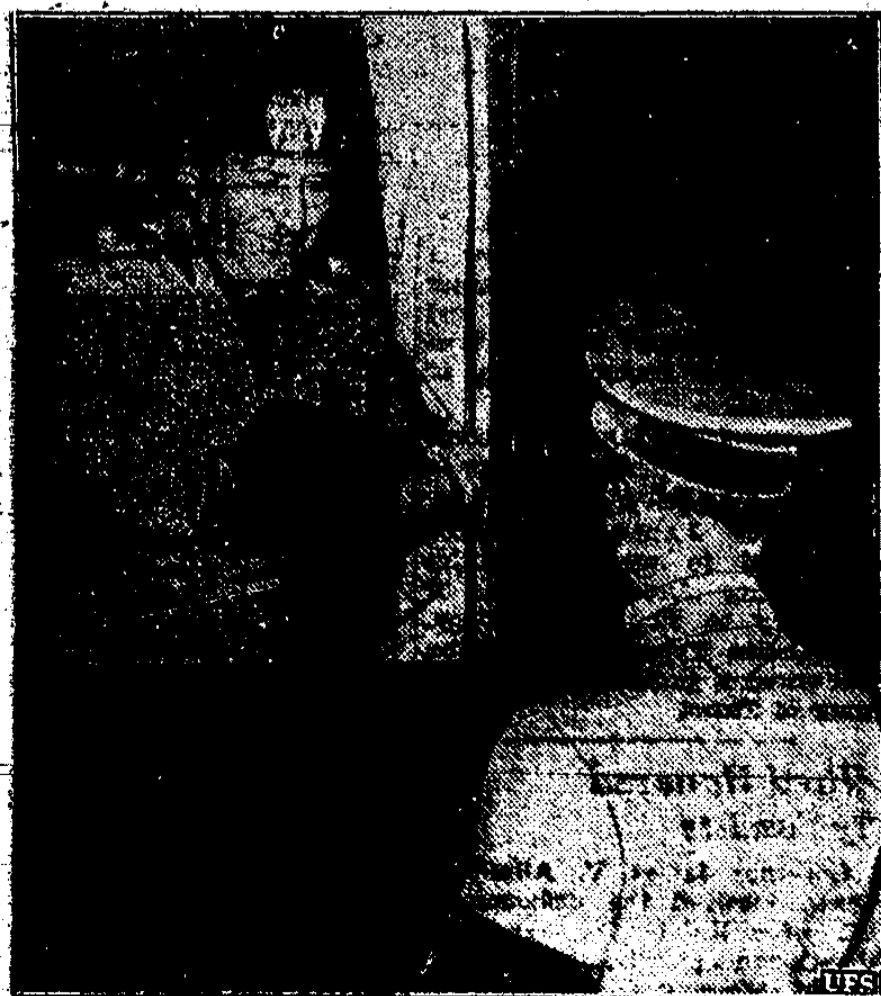
"Night of Mystery" game party scheduled to be held Saturday, November 6, 1937, by the Astoria Branch at their headquarters, 33-34 30th Ave., Astoria, has been postponed until the following Saturday, November 13th, due to the party being given by Rebel Arts at their new headquarters on that date.

SUNDAY AFTERNOONS AT 4
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on your copy of the Socialist Call. If the number on the lower left of this notice, or any number less than this number appears on your wrapper it means that your subscription has expired. Renew immediately.

137 EXPIRED!
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The Fascist handshake. The world wonders whether this Rome-Berlin axis shall become the center of a French-British-Italian-German understanding—minus the Soviet Union.

Problems of Union Democracy—2.

Garment Union Ban Against Groups Blow To Union Democracy

(This is the second of a series of articles on trade union democracy. Subsequent articles will deal with specific problems in varying industries. Readers of the CALL are urged to send in accounts of their own experiences and problems in their unions.)

THE International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—which has the reputation of being one of the most progressive labor organizations in America—

has written a resolution into its minutes which would virtually outlaw all effective expressions of trade union democracy. This resolution forbids the organization of groups within the union.

The right to organize internal union groups is an elementary and basic union right. To outlaw groups is to undermine the

whole structure of union democracy.

When any political party or group of individuals in power in any country outlaws all opposition political groups, we refer to such action as dictatorial and Fascist. What is true of democracy in a nation is true of democracy in an organization. To outlaw opposition groups is to lay the basis for dictatorship.

Need for Groups

THE argument is occasionally offered by those who seek to outlaw groups that the action affects all alike: those in power and those in the opposition.

This is not so at all.

A group in power has various ways of influencing the membership to follow its leadership. Those in power are, by virtue of their very position, known to the membership. At trade union meetings, those in power can speak from the platform with the authority of position to present their attitude.

From the executive boards and special committees of the union reports are issued which embody the program and practices of those in office. The trade union publications, the utterances of the union agents, the public actions of the union—all of which tend to mold opinion in the union—are in the hands of the officers.

Even where the officials are most honest, their mere operation in office gives them a position of leadership and internal propaganda which no other individuals in the organization possess—unless those in the opposition can organize a group, with publications, with preliminary meetings, with common proposals of its own.

But where dishonest or unwise leadership is in office, with opposition groups outlawed, a miniature Fascist regime can quickly assert itself.

The union leadership can resort to various tricks, to outright theft, to unscrupulous betrayal. The only way to expose these evils is by the organization of an opposition group. Such an opposition group must have the right to summon its own meetings, to publish its own press within the union, to elect its own executive committees. Without these rights any leadership—and especially a dishonest leadership—can tyrannize the union membership.

The membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union may not feel the full effect of the anti-democratic ruling outlawing union groups. Conditions won today by the union may not be intolerable; the public policies of the union leadership may be comparatively progressive; the membership, because it may generally agree with these policies, does not feel the need for building great oppositional groups.

Protect the Future

BUT the membership must remember that there is no guarantee that conditions will remain as they are. In several locals of the union the membership is not at all pleased to have its present officialdom. In various trades, the best possible conditions have not been won. And, in the future, a new and worse leadership, a dishonest or corrupt leadership, a politically reactionary group may very well come into power.

What will the workers do, then, if they permit trade union groups to be outlawed now?

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' ruling is a gag against all effective work to affect, or modify, or reverse the decisions and policies of the union.

It is a shame that the ladies' garment workers should be bringing this reactionary practice to the fore at present. Unions which are far more conservative in their traditions permit the existence of organized parties within their

ranks. It ill behoves the ILGWU to be in the van of those unions undermining trade union democracy. This ruling will be used, perhaps, leniently in those locals where the leadership is of a progressive character. But where the leadership is today—or becomes tomorrow—conservative, or in danger of losing position, this ruling will be used most drastically.

What is even worse, from the viewpoint of the labor movement as a whole, is that the ILGWU ruling may be imitated by other unions, especially the more progressive unions of the CIO.

The membership of the Ladies' Garment Union must preserve the tradition of democracy. The ruling outlawing groups must be smashed. It is the beginning of dictatorship in the unions.



Stay-Down Miners

Gillespie Socialists Aid Miners

By Ed. Adams

GILLESPIE, Ill.—In spite of the removal of John Fisher as President of the Local for supporting a stay-down strike last summer, Socialists in Local 1 of the Progressive Miners at Gillespie are conducting a successful fight for better conditions in the mines. Upon the removal of John Fisher, all but two of the other officers and pit committeemen resigned in sympathy with him, and in protest against the action of the district organization. Great difficulty was experienced by the local in finding members who would accept election to the places that had been vacated.

Local 1 PMA has jurisdiction over four mines of the Superior Coal Co. which are located around Gillespie. These mines are being mechanized. Since early in the spring, the union had been demanding that the miners who had been displaced by the mechanization should be taken care of by means of equal division of work among all the mines.

There was no demand to stop the mechanization. The coal company stalled along. In May, the miners, tired of the company's tactics, stayed down in Mine No. 4 until their demands were met. This action was in technical violation of the contract with the company. John Fisher who was President of the Local refused to order the men out of the mine and supported them in their demands.

Immediately after the end of the stay-down, the company brought charges against Fisher before the Joint Committee of Operators and the Union. Due to the temper of the members of the union, no action was taken at that time.

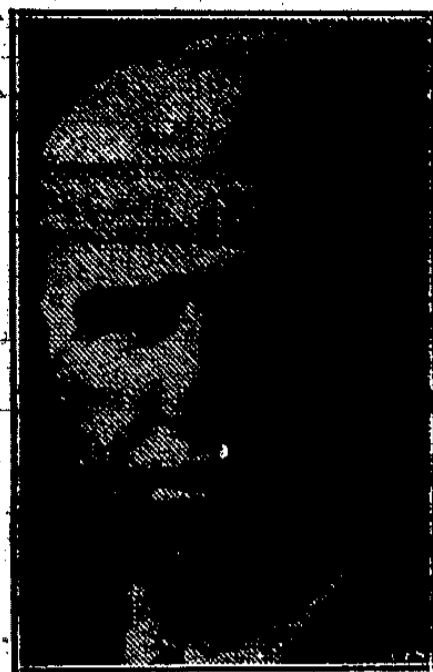
Joint Conference

On September 12, a joint conference on the relief situation was held in Gillespie. This conference was called by Local 1 of the PMA and was participated in by the United Mine Workers and the Workers Alliance. The district officials of the PMA tried to block this conference which aimed to bring about joint action by the two rival unions in a matter that was of concern to all the miners.

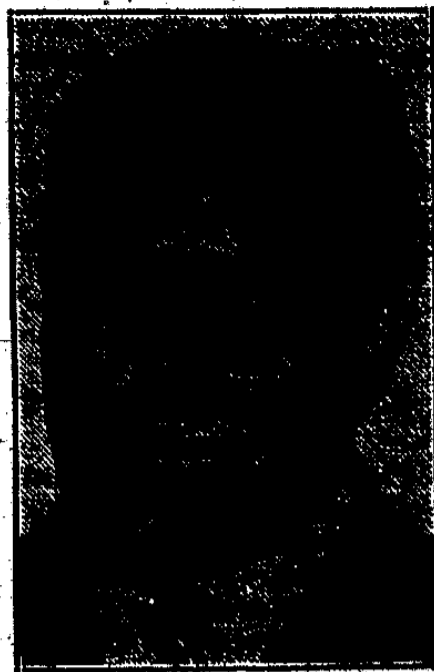
President Ozanic of the PMA even went so far as to call a protest meeting and threaten to break up the conference. The protest meeting, however, was never held and the threat was never carried out.

The conference was a big success and a joint committee was elected to carry on the work. This was the first time that effective cooperation between the two groups had been achieved. Immediately, the higher officials of the PMA intensified their drive against John Fisher and the other Socialist leaders of Local 1.

Morgan's Partner Heads Steel Trust



Edward R. Stettinius Jr.



Myron C. Taylor

Myron C. Taylor (Right) the man who is held to be responsible for assisting in the settlement of Big Steel with the C.I.O., has been displaced as head of U.S. Steel. In his stead will be Edward R. Stettinius Jr. (left).

Behind the change in personnel, it is believed, there lurks a change in policy.

Taylor's settlement with the union has been criticized in steel circles. For some time, there has

been a move to put a tough man, like Girdler of Little Steel, in charge of the big trusts. The election of Stettinius may well represent this change.

A scurrilous sheet was printed and distributed in an attempt to defame the character of Fisher; all the old emotional appeals that had been used to keep up the hatred against the UMWA were directed at the Socialists because of the attempt to bring about united action with the UMWA.

Under the cover of this barrage, the Joint Committee of the Operators and the Union handed down a decision that John Fisher should be removed from office for violation of the contract. To have defied the edict would have been to enter into a fight both with the coal company and the officials of the union.

Wisely recognizing that the membership would not support such a fight at this time after the struggle in the summer, John Fisher complied with the order and resigned. In resigning he stated that he was not renouncing his action in supporting the stay-down but that in the interests of peace, he was willing to step out in order to comply with the re-

quirements of the contract.

Protest Action

In protest against the action, all but two of the officers of the Local resigned. This included the Pit Committees of the four mines. Great difficulty was experienced in getting members to accept nominations to fill the vacancies. Many of the members declined, stating that they would not swap on their brothers. The Communist Party issued a blast condemning the Socialists for resigning, stating that they should have remained and done their best to cooperate with the reactionaries. This would have been in effect the taking of responsibility for policies over which they had no control and would have been fatal.

As matters stand, the Socialist leaders of the Local are in a strong position. The membership is already dissatisfied with the actions—or lack of them—of the present officers. The regular election will occur in December and the former officers are almost sure to be returned.

Seek Industrial Unity



George Harrison (left) representing the AFL shakes hands with David Dubinsky (right) of the CIO. Philip Murray, chairman of the CIO negotiations, is in the center.

The AFL proposals for peace call for:

- 1. The readmission of the CIO unions formerly affiliated with the AFL;
- 2. A common working out of jurisdictional claims between other CIO unions, newly organized, and the old AFL unions;
- 3. A settlement by the AFL convention of any such jurisdictional disputes that can not be settled.

The CIO peace proposal calls for unity on the basis of recognizing industrial unionism in the basic industries. The CIO claims that the AFL proposal would make possible the redivision of the workers into craft unions once again.

REBEL ARTS

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SAT. NOV. 6
NINE O'CLOCK

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CAPITALIST SABOTAGE

A strike of capital to mass pressure governments is nothing new.

The Macdonald Government of 1928 in Great Britain, despite the mildness of the liberal-labor reform program, was challenged directly by open financial sabotage on the part of the banks. The French Popular Front Government, after the conclusion of the Matignon agreements in June guaranteeing wage increases, was stunned into reverse of its policy by a flight of capital.

It is not at all impossible that in America of today big business will gang up against the new Congress. There are indications of that even now.

Writing in *The Nation*, star Washington correspondent Robert S. Allen reports:

"Inner White House opinion is firmly convinced that there was more to the precipitate stock-market nosedive than adverse economic factors . . . All are insistent that certain 'intangible' elements also had a big hand in causing the stock market crash. These 'intangible elements,' they charge, are powerful Wall Street interests engaged in a deliberate campaign to smash the Securities Exchange Commission and to force either the repeal or the modification of the capital-gains and undivided-profits taxes."

It is doubtful whether a conspiracy on the part of Charles Gay, head of the New York Stock Exchange, and of Winthrop Aldrich, head of Chase National Bank, to create a crash would have been effective if the market were not in a weakened condition. It is likewise doubtful whether the Public Utilities Industry could be bullying the government about were production flourishing.

The thin market, however, and the thinner stock exchange make it easy for a handful of financial conspirators to create artificial panics.

Max Lerner, who rejects the theory that there was a conspiracy to hang the drapes on "Black" Tuesday, grants, however, that although "these two men (Gay and Aldrich) were not conspirators" still, "given slight market disturbances, they used them consciously or unconsciously to frighten the Administration and extract concessions from Mr. Roosevelt, who was already showing signs of weakening on the budget issue, along the lines of tax alleviation and changes in the SEC."

An artificial crisis, a conspiracy for the creation of unemployment, a capitalist class lockout are not unusual weapons for the ruling class to seize upon. They are old in the arsenal of international capitalism.

What is the working class answer to such tactics?

So long as the factories are the private property of the bosses, they can shut them down any time they please. As a rule, the capitalists keep the shops running—while they yield a profit. But it is not at all excluded that the capitalist class, finding itself with its political back to the wall, may decide upon a halt to production to bully the nation.

It is even easier for the banks to declare a war of financial sabotage against a nation. By refusing to make loans to a government, to big and small business—the banks can bring the nation's producing machinery to a virtual standstill.

There is only one real, secure solution to this: the banks and the means of production must be torn from the hands of the bosses and run democratically by a workers' society.

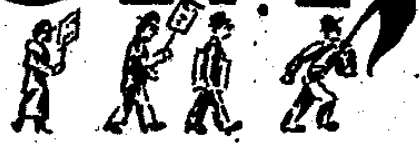
While the boss class owns the producing wealth of the country, the big club is in their hands. In a showdown they will wield it.

The fear of capitalist sabotage, of man-made depressions, of bank-ridden budgets and finance-dominated governments will end when the workers have risen to claim what is rightfully theirs: the wealth of America.

AT THE FRONT



With *Woman on the March*



This is written the day before election. It is principally significant because of municipal contests of outstanding importance in New York and Detroit. Comment on both of them must wait. In

the case of New York it may not be generally realized even by some New Yorkers that we may have to wait as long as thirty days to know the results of the councilmanic election under proportional representation.

The job of counting at best is slow and it is well understood that the Democratic machine wants to make not only voting at the polls as slow as possible but also the job of counting the ballots.

CATHOLIC POLITICS

Concerning two last minute campaign developments in New York a few words of comment are in order.

On the Sunday before election at a great many Catholic churches throughout New York City small leaflets were given out entitled: "Catholics, Your Duty." Inside the leaflets proved LaGuardia was a Communist by publishing a photograph of a Communist headquarters sign with his name on the ticket. The leaflet then denounced Communism as Atheism. It further attacked LaGuardia for keeping in office Dr. Fama, an enemy of the church, and Paul Blanshard, a Red. It urged readers to vote for Judge Mahoney, a "God-fearing man," in order to smash Communism.

I do not know what Catholics are responsible for this. It is so serious an offense against truth, decency and the sound principle of the separation of Church and State that if the Catholic hierarchy is well advised it will repudiate it. This is nothing but Catholic Ku Klux Klanism.

NAZI PARADE

In certain Jewish districts in New York on the Saturday night before election for hours on end Democratic speakers were denouncing LaGuardia and asking support for Mahoney, because LaGuardia permitted a Nazi parade. This parade was not a parade of people in uniform or of masked people. A few hundred marched a few short blocks in Yorkville districts, and in granting them permission, LaGuardia denounced the Nazis in no uncertain terms.

As far as fascism is concerned, it must be remembered that Mahoney and his clerical allies are in turn allied with the Nazis in Spain; that Mahoney went on Columbus Day to speak on the same platform as the Italian Consul-General and, unlike LaGuardia, did not try to take the curse off by going later to a non-fascist Italian meeting. It is pure hypocrisy to portray the Democratic Party as the uncompromising friend of the Jews as against the Nazis. Look at the South, for instance.

But what is more important is the fact that in granting the permit for this parade LaGuardia was right. I do not hold that there is an absolute right for groups, themselves opposed to civil liberty, as a matter of civil liberty to parade any time, anywhere, under any circumstances.

I do hold that under our theories of civil liberty the presumption is in favor of the right of an orderly parade of unarmed, un-uniformed men, and that all minority groups, political or racial, should—as a matter of practical wisdom hesitate to attack that right lest they themselves be made the victims of its denial. LaGuardia wisely advised people to stay away from the parade, to treat it with silent contempt, and under present conditions in Amer-

ica that is far more effective than an official prohibition of a sort which may create a precedent in the end more dangerous to Communists for instance, than to the friends of Nazi Germany.

BRITAIN-FRANCE AGAINST SOVIET

Our Communist friends who put such faith in an alliance of capitalist democracies against fascist nations are invited to consider candidly the bitter fact that today Great Britain and France are siding with Italy and Germany as against the U.S.S.R. in their program for Spain, including the granting of belligerent rights to Franco. So far that is the outstanding result of Stalin's departure from Leninism in foreign policy. That very influential writer, Augur, in today's New York Times discusses the Rome-Berlin axis in characteristic British conservative style.

He deprecates the mistakes which alienated Mussolini from Britain and applauds Chamberlain's overtures to Mussolini and the need to avert the danger of what he regards as an unnatural alliance between Rome and Berlin. Under these circumstances just where does this idea of American participation in a league of "democratic" capitalist states against fascist states come off?

A few practical experiences I have had in various places convince me that it may literally be easier to get a lot of women—and men too—to support national collective sanctions of the sort that may lead to war against Japan than to persuade them not to buy what they want; that is to say, silk stockings. Some enterprising manufacturers and merchants might find that it actually pays to put on the market stockings not made of Japanese silk but of silk produced elsewhere, or better made rayon stockings, or something of the sort. Couldn't the Hosiery Workers' Union help out in this matter of putting on the right sort of pressure?

FOR UNOFFICIAL BOYCOTT

Some good people say that a popular boycott, if at all effective, would be as dangerous and as much a breeder of hate as an official boycott of capitalist nations. This is not the case. An unofficial boycott is the refusal of consumers to use their dollars in a way that will help Japan wage war on China. It is entirely consistent with active advocacy of a solidarity of the workers, including the Japanese workers. It does not depend on navies or the threat of war.

It does not depend upon capitalist-nationalist governments which will not function as crusaders for democracy. It does provide a practical outlet for emotions which otherwise may be utilized consciously or sub-consciously to produce a war psychology; that is to say, a popular boycott properly organized and propagandized may be made to a certain extent a substitute for war and not a preface to war.

ON RUSSIA

Eugene Lyons' "Assignment in Utopia" (Harcourt, Brace & Co.) is an absorbing and interesting book, almost every page of which furnishes food for thought for socialists. I read chapter after chapter wishing that I could refute its testimony concerning the darker

side of things in the U.S.S.R. Alas, in the main it fitted in with what I saw and heard in Russia and with the testimony of Victor Serge in his important book, "Russia Twenty Years After" (Hillman-Curl), yes, and with the testimony of that less important book, Fred Beals' "Proletarian Journey" (Hillman-Curl).

On the facts that Lyons himself presents one might perhaps make some significant changes in proportion and emphasis. But the answer to these books is not abuse of the authors and not blanket denial. If the Stalinist Communists have a real answer it is high time they gave it. They are not giving it in terms of almost daily reports of such executions. The critics whom they must answer are not renegades or supporters of fascism or of capitalism. They are not all Trotskyists. Quite the contrary. They are men who say that the totalitarian state under the dictatorship of one party, headed by one leader, has not established, and cannot by its very nature establish, a satisfactory socialism in the U.S.S.R.

They say that the Communist Party with its record in Russia has a lot of explaining to do when in America it advances its new slogan: "Through Democracy to Socialism." Most emphatically to say these things is consistent with intense opposition to any fascist attack on the U.S.S.R. and doubly consistent with a hatred of fascist methods no matter by what dictator they are practiced.



Louis Arthur Johnson is slated to become new secretary of war. This is the beginning of a new shakeup. Fascist-minded Harry Woodring, now head of the department, is to go to the Philippines to replace Paul V. McNutt, who, is to become president of Indiana University and — maybe — candidate for president of the U.S.

BRANCH DIRECTORY

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GERMAN Branch. Meets second Tuesday of each month during summer. Yorkville Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. G. Hoffman, Organizer

Chelsea Br. Meets every Wed. at 312 West 24th St., Victoria Hakin, Sec'y.

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8TH A.D. Meets every Wed. 7 West Burnside Ave. Roberta Sugarman, Sec'y.

DETROIT

BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday, 8 P. M., 1110 West Warren.

Campus Militarism—2

THE PEACETIME RECORD OF THE ARMY AND LEGION

By Robin Meyers

Emphasized in the annual report of the Secretary of War for 1936 as part of the gigantic preparedness drive launched by the military departments, ROTC is given standing in the war plans of the government. Officially, it is a part of the war machine, with similar tactics and ends.

The attention of the democratic world has been focused upon its military establishments with some foreboding since the outbreak of civil war in Spain, for the rebellion there was possible only through the connivance of the sworn defenders of the country, Spanish army officers who betrayed the Spanish people. It has become necessary for each democratic country to ask and to ascertain, "Could that happen here?"

For the United States, the answer is, yes. Our present military set-up is a bureaucratic, military clique; it is graft-ridden, and its tie-ups with Wall Street are close; its time is devoted to anything but soldiery, and it concentrates on the mental preparation of the United States for war.

An Independent Military

Changes of political administration in Washington are of no consequence to this clique. Its members do not care how many Roosevelts proclaim "I hate war!" so long as the hugest armament budgets of all peace-time are passed. Why should they?

Nor need they worry how many investigations of their activities are made. Have not 18 commissions in 18 years attempted to ferret out graft without success, though Consolidated Aircraft of Buffalo profited so much on aircraft contracts that in 1922 it gave fifty planes at \$1 to help square accounts; though it was proven that 92% of the army's aircraft contracts from 1926 to 1934 were illegally negotiated?

Had not the chief of the air force himself (Brig. Gen. Benjamin B. Foulois) been charged with the most serious offenses, graft and incompetence, by the House Military Affairs Committee and then placed on the War Department Committee which investigated the charges? And should they bother about the people?

The dominant group of these glorified muscle men is a West Point clique. Its laws and loyalties are group laws and loyalties, comprising a different culture from that of the people whom it feels qualified to rule rather than to serve. And the chief concern of the West Point bureaucrats is their own maintenance as "most favored class."

Secure as they are, there is always a chance that the man in the ranks may take it upon himself to do some thinking; that the man in the country ask questions that cannot be answered; that the one force greater than the armed power of the United States may warn—"Remember Spain!"

Quite naturally, the allies of the war machine are found among those whose interests rest in the maintenance of the status quo, chiefly big business. This tie-up is growing. Wall Street's bill collector in Central and South America is our marine corps; and the old age insurance program of the army and navy bosses is a job in Wall Street.

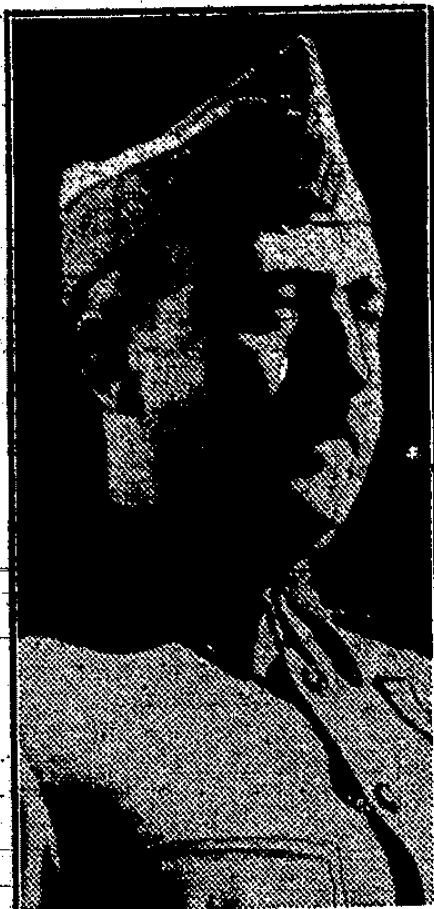
The entire ship-building industry of the nation depends upon the navy; and the founders of the Navy League (to secure mass backing for naval appropriations) includes Charles Schwab of Bethlehem Steel, J. P. Morgan of U. S. Steel, S. F. Tracy of Carnegie Steel and S. S. Palmer of Lackawanna Steel. Big business, controlling the movie industry, tries to censor strike-breaking pictures, and enjoys full use of naval facilities to create stirring "Join the Navy" dreams. And the National Guard (by the Defense Act of 1920 controlled and largely financed by Washington) has moved up into the position of national strike-breaker number one.

This is almost enough. But the ghost of that vitally necessary, but somehow quite undefinable, "national defense" still haunts us. How much of this is essential for national defense, and can it provide such a thing?

"The object of (military) training," according to the training regulations of the Army, "is to enable the Army to wage offensive warfare. While training must cover certain phases of defensive doctrine and police doctrine, the Army must definitely understand that these are only means to the definite and

The attention of the democratic world has been focused upon its military establishments with some foreboding since the outbreak of civil war in Spain, for the rebellion there was possible only through the connivance of the sworn defenders of the country: (General Franco, at right) Spanish army officers who betrayed the Spanish people. It has become necessary for each democratic country to ask and to ascertain, "Could that happen here?"

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—offensive warfare—and every individual must be imbued with the spirit of the offensive."

The "Fundamental policy of the Navy," as outlined by the General Board of the U. S. Navy, "is to maintain the navy in sufficient strength to support national policies and commerce to guard the continental and overseas possessions of the United States." Translated into tactics, this is to fight the ships of other countries; to blockade hostile countries, stop their trade and starve them into submission; to continue to function as bill collector and profit maker for the bosses back home.

Thus it should be no cause for surprise that our present army is not at all a small and efficient force, adequate for defensive purposes, but rather the skeleton of a vast paper army which, when mobilization comes, will rush millions of citizens to the colors and beyond our borders to their death. It should be no cause for surprise that the domestic work of the Military Intelligence is a red-busting army, a drag-net conspiracy to block social change.

It should be no cause for surprise that air bases are planned in Alaska and suggested for the Canadian border. It should be no cause for surprise that M-Day plans have gone so far as to put dummy contracts for a variety of 2,500 articles ranging from breakfast food to boiler plates into the hands of factory owners who are thus bribed to join the war march. It should be no cause for surprise that the millionaires of the next war are already made—for exactly those forces which drove us into the last war are hurling us into the new maelstrom.

A more thorough job is being done this time, and the ROTC is part of it. In its own sphere, ROTC perfectly reflects the general set-up: the war-mind, the status quo, business interests internationally and domestically, against some hypothetical enemy or against the picket line. Their little war machine may be the Achilles heel of the national war-mongers. When we attack it, we attack the roots of war.

The Veterans

Organized in consultation with the War Department, the American Legion has emerged a mighty weapon for reaction, a cross-section of the American people controlled from the top, nationalistic, anti-labor, with a record that spotlights like this:

backed raids of the Lusk Committee on labor reform organizations,
helped oust duly elected socialists from the New York City Board, Aldermen and the New York State Assembly,
tried to get Congressman Victor Berger deported because of his criticism of the war,
worked against Tom Mooney; opposed the re-release of Debs; opposed freeing Sacco and Vanzetti,
tried repeatedly to break up Kreutzer concerts because he served in the Austrian army,

worked for the registration and deportation of aliens,

furnished strike-breakers during the national coal and steel strikes of 1919.

allowed a bunch of scabs in a switchmen's strike in New Jersey to be chartered as a Legion post.

organized a Citizens' Transport Committee to fight New York dockworkers' strike.

questioned the Moscow leanings of Secretary Perkins.

circulated thousands of copies of the Red Network, but ignored or criticized pacifist literature.

interfered with League of Nations Association contest in Seattle as heading straight for communism.

mobilized a Legion Reserve to keep down rising sentiment in Imperial Valley, California.

Mr. A. L. Wirin, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union beaten—California.

Violent attack on Mr. Henry Sprinkler of the Methodist Church—Tennessee.

meeting to hear Rev. John Haynes Holmes broken up—Georgia.

together with steel interests, set up constitutional defense league in western Pennsylvania—distinctly anti-labor.

together with the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, backed loyalty oaths, the Kramer Sedition Bill,

the Tydings Military Disaffection Bill, and the universal conscription Bill which would draft labor but guaranteed profits in time of war.

The Legion Policy

It cannot be said that the founders of the Legion lacked foresight, that they were not fully conscious of the power they were creating. Not only did the War Department foster the organization, but such a distinct organization as Swift and Company felt called upon to contribute to its maintenance.

"The Illinois enrollment of the Legion, in comparison with other states, is very much less than it should be," Swift wrote all the meat packers of Chicago in December, 1919. "We are all interested in the Legion and the results it will obtain and the ultimate effect in helping to offset radicalism." They contributed, and the Legion delivered the goods.

Nor is it altogether coincidence that a smaller, more select body of officers enrolled in the Legion of Valor and the Military Order of the World War hold annual conventions just before these of the American Legion, to which they belong as individuals. Their records of opposition to the child labor amendment, to diplomatic relations with Russia, to the academic freedom resolution of the N.E.A. as "sugar-coating of propaganda under which to teach atheism" is not equalled by the Legion, but their influence is indubitable.

What leaders have swayed the legionnaires, and directed their actions? A list of Legion notables—and the other fields in which they have starred—is memorable. For instance:

Past Commander Franklin D'Olier, director of four banks, and worth three million dollars.

Past Commander Thomas Taylor, corporation lawyer and present legislative representative of chemical munition interests.

Past Commander Edward A. Hayes, who termed Hearst the "ideal American citizen."

P. Trubee Davison, son of a Morgan partner.

Ogden Mills, Legion organizer, Secretary of the Treasury.

J. M. Wainwright, assistant Secretary of War.

Thomas W. Miller, alien property custodian.

Edward Clifford, assistant Secretary of War.

Bibbs Graves, Governor of Alabama.

Paul McNutt, Governor of Indiana.

Henry Woodring, assistant Secretary and Secretary of War.

Past Commander Alvin Oaley, who said, "If ever needed, the American Legion stands ready to protect the country's institutions and ideals as the Fascisti dealt with obstructionists who menaced Italy . . . Do not forget that the Fascisti are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States."

(Continued Next Week)

Forward to Socialism

By McAlister Coleman

I am writing this at the Party headquarters in New York early on the morning of election day. So I can't very well sound off about the results of our campaign. But I can say this: That every Socialist candidate worked his or her head off in the true spirit of the disciplined member. Whatever the outcome, we have nothing to be ashamed of in the way the campaign went in New York.

Especially was I impressed by the zeal and energy shown by the workers here at headquarters. They get no more credit for the long hours of monotonous detail labor than a battered linesman on a football team gets for opening up the way for the star back-fielder. But it was the work they did behind the scenes, with none of the applause or mob excitement that greets the campaigning speaker, that made possible the fine fight for Socialism waged in every county in Greater New York.

And now that the shouting and the tumult dies and the Bartons and their ilk depart, we carry on with the all-year job of bringing about Socialism in our times. In every field open to Socialist activity there are such opportunities for education, agitation, and propaganda as have not been ours in many years. On picket lines, in union headquarters, in schools and colleges, in factories and on farms there is a mighty task for all of us. Now let's go to it.

Party Press

No more important job is at immediate hand than the strengthening of our party press. We are all very long on criticism. Every Party member will tell you that he can get out a better paper or write a better pamphlet than we are putting out. But when the time comes for going to press the sneering section has gone home. Personally many years of having my copy blue-pencilled or thrown away entire has made my hide tough as a rhinoceros as far as criticism goes. I can even read with some degree of equanimity letters to the editor from indignant readers demanding that I be fired instantly or at the least be boiled in hot oil.

I do get a little peeved when people who can't throw together three literate English sentences set themselves up as literary critics or managing editors. They have no idea, these self-appointed censors, of the man-sized job that is tied up in the creation of a Socialist press. There is nothing that parallels it in all the publication field. The combination of the interpretation and reporting of important news events and that of making effective propaganda requires such a nice adjustment and evaluation that it is no small wonder that it doesn't always click.

Of course, this is not to say that we are anywhere near real-

izing our ideals for a Socialist press. But it is to say that just hollering "lousy" and "awful" is not exactly what is known as constructive criticism.

We are glad to welcome to the ranks of newcomers in our field the interesting magazine, "Arise" put out by the Young People's Socialist League. The November issue has a wealth of good reading that ranges from a survey of the labor front to word from the militant student movement. You can get "Arise" for as little as fifty cents a year. Go get it.

Step Ladder Conditioning

For a time it's going to be quite a problem as to how to spend our evenings the rest of this Fall. We are so conditioned now after campaigning for many, many nights, that seeing a step-ladder standing idle, more likely than not we will be tempted to mount it and start off, "Comrades and friends." As it is, we hope to catch up on some long delayed reading and get in a couple of plays.

We have shamefully neglected both literature and the drama. We have gone a short way in Hemingway's latest, the novel about the out-of-luck and hard-boiled of Key West and Miami. As usual the man's machine-gun style fascinates us. No other writer, not even the tough young men who are denigrating the South, can so faithfully hit off the authentic feel of the sort of life lived by the hatchet-faced, slot-mouthed youths and their lady friends who infest every corner saloon and drug-store back room across the country.

But it seems to us that a little of this goes a long way. When you have read a chapter or so, you begin to get a feeling of desolate emptiness and in spite of the genuineness of the portrayal, or perhaps because of it, you begin to long for some civilized conversation and the appearance of one or two characters at any rate who are not moronic toughs.

It is difficult to place Hemingway. Mere dismissal of his stuff as gross and animalistic won't do. Nor is he writing "proletariat" literature, as a few old-line critics seem to think. These unconscious, conscienceless people are of course ruthlessly exploited by the system which they instinctively hate. But they are not proletarians in any Socialist sense. I suppose we have to set them down as pure Hemingway and let it go at that. One thing is certain however, this later novel of the man's while not in the class with a "Farewell to Arms" will flutter some more literary dove-cotes. And that is always to the good.

Socialists and Spaniards Picket British Consulate

A picket line of over 600 people marched in front of the British Embassy last Saturday to protest the Empire's "sellout" of the Spanish Loyalists.

This mass demonstration was led by the Socialist Party and was heartily supported by the Confederated Spanish Societies.

The crowd of marchers shouted such slogans as "Don't sell Spain, Sell To Spain!", "British Imperialism Supports Franco's Spain," "All Aid to Workers' Spain," and singing "No Pasaran," "La Bandera Rosa," etc.

It is now clear to the general public that Britain has been playing football with Spain, and it has now become necessary for those who have been supporting the struggle of a people for freedom

to voice strong protest at this action.

At about 2 p.m., a street meeting was held. A large crowd gathered to hear Brendan Sexton, vice-president of the Workers' Alliance; Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Councilman candidate on the Socialist ballot in the borough of Brooklyn; Sol Parker; and others. During the speaking, the picket line kept on, its ranks increasing with every minute.

PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS

End Unrest, Injustice By Ending Capitalism

BY JOHN M. WORK

A certain writer advocates a reservation for agitators, so that they may be isolated from the word. "Agitation is the cause of all the trouble," he says.

It is hard to tell just where to begin with the education of a man who is so ignorant as that.

Agitators are always effects—not causes.

When the freedom-killers prove that the caboose pushes the train instead of the locomotive drawing it, I shall believe that the social unrest is caused by agitators.

Social unrest is caused by social injustice—and agitation follows in the wake of social injustice as naturally as the caboose follows in the wake of the engine.

Orators may thrash around and hysterically saw the air as much as they like, and reactionary editors and columnists may do the same. It does not change the facts.

When we keep in mind the amount of wages the average man gets with which to support his family, and the complete lack of wages which is the lot of many, and then take a look at the prices paid for the necessities of life and for a poor place to live, and the great incomes of those who do nothing useful, the secret of social unrest and of agitation is revealed.

The private ownership of the industries enable the employers to hold back from the workers much of their earnings. That's the reason the employers are rich and the workers are poor.

Blessing Or Curse

Labor-saving machinery—which should be a blessing to humanity—increases production and the employers get the benefit. The worker is thrown out of a job if it increases production enough so that he is no longer needed.

The trustification of industry also increases production. Again the employers get the benefit. The worker is lucky if the increase production does not let him out to walk the streets in search of another job. This very thing has happened to millions.

Evil conditions produce agitators. Agitators do not produce evil conditions. The agitators try to abolish the evil conditions. That is the reason why they agitate.

If there were no one to call attention to evil conditions, and try to remedy them, things would grow steadily worse. The world would grow backward to the conditions of feudalism or chattel slavery.

The man who wants to abolish agitators is the real enemy of society.

Universal Prosperity

If the above mentioned pitiable writer could have his way—and put all the agitators on a reservation where they could not communicate with the rest of the world—the designing profiteers and plutocrats would reap a rich harvest, with no one to say them nay, until a new crop of agitators grew up out of the conditions.

If he could only realize that he—not the agitator whom he criticizes—is the man who prevents universal prosperity from becoming the lot of the American people, he would begin to think. He would turn over a new leaf. He would help to bring about better conditions.

No, brother, the agitator is not an evil. He has his faults and

often uses poor judgment, but on the whole he is a good. He works for your good Mr. Freedom-Killer, while you curse him.

The agitator will continue to agitate so long as the evil exists.

The evil will continue to exist until the great manufacturing transporting and mercantile industries are taken over and made public property—until we have the collective ownership and the democratic control of them—in other words, Socialism, real industrial democracy.

Jobless Man Framed as Insane

New York—A member of the Workers' Alliance was held in jail five days, and has now been committed to the Bellevue observation ward for ten days with sentence still pending, because the Communist leadership in the Alliance did not want to fight his case before the elections. The Progressive Group of the W.A. (which has been organized to combat the reactionary and do-nothing policies of the C.P. leadership) heard of what happened and now has a Workers Defense League attorney working on the case.

The victimized member of the Alliance was arrested because he allegedly broke a window in a relief bureau while fighting to get his relief back. When he went to his grievance committee in the Tompkins Square local to ask

for help because he had a dis-posses and no money for food, he was told to wait a few weeks after the elections

When the marshall served the eviction notice last week, the member, in desperation, went to the bureau to fight for himself,—and now he is in the Bellevue observation ward, though his friends know that he is entirely sane.

The Communist leadership in his local knew what was happening, and failed to get a lawyer for him. He was found guilty and held in the Tombs for five days waiting to be given his sentence.

The Communist leadership in the City Office of the Alliance also knew about the case, but sent no lawyer to appear in his behalf. When the Workers' Defense League attorney sent by the Progressive Group in the W. A. went to court on the day that the arrested member was to be brought in for sentence, he found that no legal aid had been sent by the Alliance, but that the Emergency Relief Bureau had five people to appear against the defendant,—the relief bureau lawyer, the relief investigator, two probation officers, and the ERB attorney.

The W.A. official leadership and the ERB were cooperating to punish a militant member of the W.A. for fighting for his rights in the relief bureau. The W.A. Communist leadership told the militant member that he made a great mistake in breaking a window just before the election.

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The New Republic Opposes Collective Security and War

The SOCIALIST CALL is glad to be able to print the following corrections on the stand of *The New Republic* in the matters of collective security and an international war against the Fascist powers.

To the Editor:
Earlier opportunity did not present itself for me to address you in a matter which in all fairness ought to get proper correction from you. However, even at this late date, I would like to call the following matter to your attention.

In the editorial appearing in the CALL of Oct. 23, 1937, you take occasion to say:

"This week we have in mind particularly *The Nation*; not because its record is the worst—*The New Republic* is far worse"

Now I differ with the editorial position of the *New Republic* on a great many questions. But because I am a non-socialist who stands in complete accord, among other things, with the position that the Socialist Party, U.S.A. has taken with regard to war, I hail all those who take a substantially similar position and count it of the utmost importance for those of us who agree on this problem of war to give aid to and to further the efforts of all agencies that bring that position continuously to the public attention.

And in that respect, I think you do the *New Republic* a grave injustice; for it is in just the respect in which you slurringly refer to the *New Republic*. That organ has failed to take the recognized Communist Party position as well as that of theirs with respect to war; i.e. collective security, sanctions, embargo, etc.

An examination of the pages of the *New Republic* in any of the issues of the last eight or nine months will amply bear me out. It suffices, however, to quote briefly its current number (*The New Republic*, Oct. 27, 1937, pp. 327-8) the following from an editorial (p. 237):

" You cannot defeat fascism by defeating fascist nations in war. You cannot end war by waging war. On the contrary, nothing is more likely than that the United States would go fascist through the war process of organizing to defeat the fascist nations. The ravages of war are fully as horrible mentally and socially as they are in the bodies who are killed and maimed by it. And these ravages are impartially distributed among the combatants. Victory for civilization is too complex an achievement to be won by drilling soldiers and dropping aerial bombs. Whatever contribution to it we can make will be completely ruined by letting the world catastrophe spread within our borders. To keep a large part of the North American Continent isolated from this contagion is as difficult, heroic and positive a contribution to the future of humanity as can well be conceived."

The *New Republic* has consistently stated, as it has well realized, that a war waged on any such slogan as "Democracy versus Fascism" means the death of Democracy upon the altar of capitalist imperialism, and that a war of that nature has but one real victim—the international working class.

With best wishes in your great efforts to keep the easily deluded worker from becoming such a victim, I am,

Sincerely yours,
LEO BROWN
New York City

To the Editor:
In the struggle against war and fascism the Socialist Party

is maintaining the soundest and most positive of any of the several positions from which labor, liberals, progressives, and Marxists are asked to choose—must choose. In that struggle it is necessary that the Socialist Party and the SOCIALIST CALL exert every effort to persuade the labor and progressive forces of the desirability of its policy; the CALL cannot afford to make enemies either by antagonism or by accident.

For that reason I think the reference to THE NEW REPUBLIC in the CALL'S editorial of October 23rd, 'Liberals and the Coming War' was unfortunate: 'The liberals who are preparing the way for America's going to war in the Far East are sowing the seeds of their own sorrow. This week we have in mind particularly THE NATION; not because its record is the worst—THE NEW REPUBLIC is far worse.'

In the issues of October 20th and 27th, THE NEW REPUBLIC has attacked the policy of collective security. In the first editorial the editors wrote:

"If Mr. Roosevelt means anything by his words (Chicago speech), he means that he has abandoned the neutrality course laid out for him by Congress. THE NEW REPUBLIC, which has supported this course from the beginning, believes he has made a dangerous and tragic choice. And later: 'If we follow this lead, we shall bluster and work ourselves up into a state of hot indignation, until we find that we shall either have to stop bluffing or make good. And then, the very world war that the President fears will be on.'"

The following week THE NEW REPUBLIC which wrote: 'You cannot defeat fascism by defeating fascist nations in war. You cannot end war by waging war. On the contrary, nothing is more likely than that the United States would go fascist through the very process of organizing to defeat the fascist nations.'

Socialists, so far from attacking, must welcome and support clear opinions of this kind coming from liberal sources. We need not accept the Neutrality Act (which THE NEW REPUBLIC still backs); and we need not associate ourselves with other views of THE NEW REPUBLIC; but we cannot afford to attack it when it is expressing, in part at least, our own views.

The attitude of THE NEW REPUBLIC on war is one of several symptoms of its increasing distrust of Roosevelt 'liberalism.' We should hail it and pledge our support.

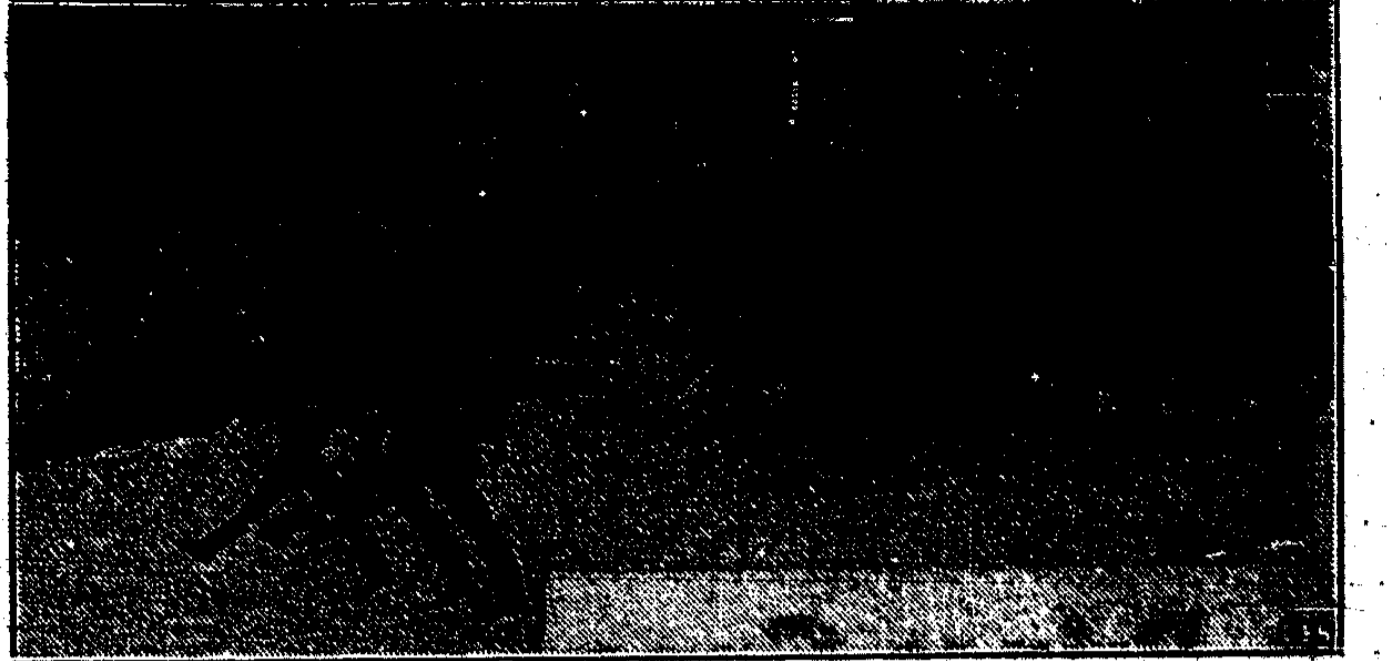
STUART GERRY BROWN
Madison Wisconsin

Mooney Work Stoppage Possible

SAN FRANCISCO—(FP)—A call for a nation-wide general work stoppage as a last resort to secure his freedom and that of Warren K. Billings was threatened by Tom Mooney.

Citing the U.S. Supreme Court's record of "integrity" in cases involving civil rights, Mooney declared: "This fact and the universal cry for justice that will be raised throughout the country should result in our freedom. But should the court fail to do simple justice by freeing me with honorable vindication, I shall appeal to the court of last resort—to the workers of this nation to call a general stoppage of all work."

DOES THIS MEAN WAR?



The Fascist armies are goose-stepping in Europe. The fear of a new war has aroused peoples of the democratic countries to put down the Fascist countries by force of arms. Around the slogan of "collective security," the democratic empires of the world are preparing a new war.

An armed attack by American imperialism, however, will not end war or overthrow Fascism. Those acquainted with the policies and character of American imperialism point out that such a new war involving America will merely be fought for America's bankers—whatever the reason—and that it will result in a Fascist dictatorship imposed upon the American workers.

N. Y. Elections Show Labor Is Ready For Independent Action

By Jack Altman
With election returns in New York's municipal elections still scattered, New York Socialists after a vigorous campaign find themselves stronger as a political force in the city. Three labor assemblymen, running on the Socialist and American Labor Party tickets have been elected, and the concentrated campaign for Socialist councilmen seems certain to have resulted in Socialist victory.

The three assemblymen elected are Nathaniel M. Minkoff in the Fifth Assembly District, Bronx, Gerald Muccigrosso in the Seventh, and Frank Monaco in the 23rd Assembly District, Brooklyn.

The vote for councilmen was still untabulated at press time due to the complexities of proportional representation. City-wide results, the scattered Socialist returns indicate a solid straight Socialist strength.

Meanwhile, political experts studying the outcome of the mayoralty vote are of the opinion that history has been made that will undoubtedly affect the appearance of a national farmer-labor party. New York labor has shown its political power and has

"Internationale." The appearance of Norman Thomas in the Bronx, after a day of touring the polls, resulted in cheers from the happy throngs who hailed his presence. Invited by representatives of the American Labor Party in the Fifth Assembly District to visit their headquarters, Thomas was cheered by the A.L.P. members when he called for independent action in the fight for workers' demands.

A tremendous mass-meeting in Brownsville, organized by local Socialists to celebrate the election of Frank Monaco, the joint assembly candidate, rallied thousands around the Socialist loud-speaker truck who were addressed by Dr. Harry Laidler, state chairman of the Socialist Party and candidate for city councilman, and Monaco, the assemblyman-elect.

Results in the councilmanic race will not be known for quite some time. It may take as much as a month to tally the votes and determine the outcome, but it is commonly agreed on the basis of the heavy vote cast on the preferential ballots that a strong Socialist and labor bloc will take seats.

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A Prince Goes Peddling His Fascist Wares

By John Newton Thurber

Next week Edward, Duke of Windsor, former King of England, former Prince of Wales and once called the "First Salesman of the British Empire" arrives in the United States for a two months tour.

The publicized purpose of the Windsor tour is to study working conditions and housing projects. He has just made such a trip to Hitler's Germany.

Management for the tour in the U.S. is an advertising agency, working in close cooperation with Charles Bedaux, multi-millionaire efficiency expert and Fascist fascist.

Since his abdication, Edward has more and more openly become a partisan of the fascists. He has been giving fascist salutes in Italy and in Germany and hobnobbing with fascists throughout Europe for some time.

Something Must Be Done
"Something must be done about it," Edward said of the miners of Wales. It was reported that this remark brought about his abdication. That remark of the then king expressed completely his philosophy. He recognizes that something is wrong. He feels that something must be done. He is quite at a loss as to what can be done. He has no idea of the necessity of eliminating capitalism, the cause of this misery.

Edward was born and raised

and isolated in the stodgy middle class family which rules England, a family prone to chronic alcoholism. He has never become educated about the working of economic forces. The world was shocked by the declaration of Litvinov that Edward was frightfully ill informed.

On the throne of England, Edward associated with his own crowd, a crowd dominated by such adventurers as Wallie Simpson, now the Duchess of Windsor. When he was married to the Duchess, he was married at the chateau of Charles Bedaux.

BEDEAUX

Bedaux is the inventor of the Bedaux system, a system of management and exploitation which is the most ruthless which has been devised. It has been denounced by both the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress.

The AFL report on the Bedaux system read in part:
"The Bedaux system, stripped of its pseudo-technical verbiage, is nothing more nor less than a method of forcing the last ounce of effort out of workers at the smallest possible cost in wages. An operative in the Callaway Cotton Mills,

down in LaGrande, Ga., who had been striving unsuccessfully to attain his Bedaux standard, asked his overseer for guidance. 'All I can tell you is, work like hell,' replied the harassed foreman. Reputable engineers have condemned the system as an unscientific tool for the exploitation of workers."

His system of "B-Units" makes life miserable for the rubber workers of Akron and in some 700 or a thousand other plants throughout the world. Bedaux draws a royalty from each plant which uses his system.

First Salesman Of Fascism?
Bedaux is an advocate of "social appeasement" a movement which seems to be a sort of international fascism. He seems well on the way to have recruited the well intentioned, but stupid, Duke of Windsor as the front for his fascist plan. Edward may be built-up as the head or at least the front of the Fascist International. He may become the "First Salesman of Fascism."

It is reported from Europe that the ambitious Wallis, Duchess of Windsor, is pushing Edward along these lines.

Edward allowed his tour of Nazi Germany to become a publicity machine by which the Hitlerites publicized their Fascist slavery (in its social advancement garb) to the world. In typical fascist form Edward donned a clean worker's uniform and investigated the Nazi factories in

company with Ley, the head of the German Labor Front.

Such an outcry has been raised against the Duke lending his aid to this Fascist promotion scheme that the Hearst press has felt it expedient to cable authoritative and lengthy denials. More significant has been the haste at this time of the British government to issue a statement pointing out that Edward's departure from the throne was contemplated much earlier, that his "social appeasement" statement had nothing to do with his abdication.

Fascism has to have press agents who can popularize it as a movement in the interest of the people. Edward with his mouthings of assistance for the workers can give much to such a cause. He is playing into the hands of the Fascists.

Housing Short Cut

In America his trip is being welcomed by the new head of the Housing Administration, Straus, who was appointed by the pressure of business elements on Roosevelt. His appointment was over the opposition of Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, who has the quaint idea that a housing administration should be operated for housing. Straus hopes to share in the publicity of the Windsor's barnstorming tour in order to bulldoze the American workers into thinking that a bit more than a small beginning has been achieved in the field of housing.

America will be treated to a whirl of inspection trips of the top few housing projects which have been carried through thus far; with the Windsor popularity used as a foil to cover its obvious deficiencies. American workers should not allow Edward and Wallis' press popularity to fool them into believing that a housing program has been achieved.

More dangerous, however, is the Fascist angle: Edward seems to be falling for the Hitler and Mussolini business. He is fronting the fascist schemes of Bedaux. He hopes to visit the plant of Ford, most fascist minded of American employers.

American workers should give their answer. They should not clamor to bask in the glances of the royal rosters. They should demonstrate wherever the Windsor appear. They should protest against the Fascist scheming to which they are a party. Windsor should get the same answer from American workers which was given to Vittorio Mussolini. He should be taught that American workers want none of the "Social appeasement" of Mussolini, Hitler Henry Ford and "B-Units."

N. Y. MILK STRIKERS STRONGER

Nathan Straus

(Special to the Socialist Call) NORWICH, N. Y. — Poorly organized, politically ignorant and wholly unprepared dairy farmers of Chenango County have come out with other New York state milk producers in a general strike to secure a decent price for their milk.

In spite of lack of adequate organization and inexperienced leadership, the strike is spreading until the farmers can see the glimmering of possible victory. In the counties to the north, greater successes are being won.

Only a very small percentage of the farmers were organized, and they were totally unprepared for a strike call. Nevertheless, they have succeeded in winning union contracts and recognition in two of the counties' five independent fluid milk dealers shipping to the metropolitan area, and drying up a third to the extent that a contract is shortly expected.

The major companies, however, remain but slightly hit in this county. Of the seven Sheffield Farms creameries, only two have as yet been seriously affected, although none is without some withdrawals. The largest plant in the county, Wood's Corners, is being subjected to militant picketing and each day sees the volume of milk taken in grow less, until even peace authorities admit that the union claim of only a fifty percent supply is very nearly correct. The smaller plant in Smyrna is conceded by the company, to be dry.

STOCKTON PLAN SWEEPS CALIFORNIA

The Socialists of Stockton are setting the pace for branches throughout California and the nation in getting CALL subscriptions.

Within a few months California CALL circulation will be high among the various states.

The Stockton comrades, sponsors of The Stockton Plan, believe that if their plan is adopted throughout the country, the CALL will be self-supporting within three months. It is possible!

Stockton has taken the job of building CALL circulation to heart. They not only have good intentions. They have a plan. And they are making it work!

A fund of \$50 was raised by the Stockton socialists. This was sent to the CALL.

A quota of 15 new subscriptions a week has been set by the local. As many as possible of these are sold directly and the money for them sent in.

But those who are interested in the CALL but not ready to subscribe are sent the CALL on the order of the local. These are billed for their subscriptions, with the \$50 serving as a backlog to bear the expenses. At the end of a month the local will be informed of which have paid up, and the local will decide whether or not they shall be continued, charging the \$50 fund if it is decided to keep them on the list.

Now San Francisco and Los Angeles have adopted the plan. The \$50 for San Francisco has reached us already. The \$50 for Los Angeles is on its way.

Party branches throughout the country should consider this plan for building CALL circulation. CALL subscriptions must be secured. Here is a working plan for building the CALL and strengthening the influence of the party.

Contribution

I know that a paper like the SOCIALIST CALL needs financial support beyond the small income it gets from subscriptions. I want to see that it continues and send you \$.....

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Please find enclosed \$1.00. Send me a bundle of 10 CALLS a week for the next month. (Or \$2.00 for 20 a week!)

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