

Sharecropper Refugees Stranded Along Missouri Roadsides

Wealthy Owners Refuse to Share Relief Grants

Son of Man Hath No Place to Lay His Head—Preacher-organizer says.

NEW MADRID, Mo.—Hovered around open fires along highway 61 in the immensely fertile cotton country of south-east Missouri this week are some 1,000 men and women who raise too much cotton but themselves can't afford enough clothing to keep their bodies warm.

They are the former sharecroppers who have been evicted from the land. Some simply aren't needed any more because the plantation owners have retired some of their land from cultivation.

Miners To Ask For Pay Raise

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The United Mine Workers of America will ask a flat 20 per cent wage increase, a six-hour day and a guaranteed annual wage with vacations for its 612,000 members at the expiration of the Appalachian bituminous wage agreement which expires March 31, 1939, the Sun-Telegraph reported last week.

It was pointed out that John L. Lewis, president of the U.M.W.A. and his international officers are under convention mandate to:

- 1. Bring about changes in district and local agreements.
2. Establish the six-day and 30-hour week.
3. Abolish wage differentials between northern and southern producing fields.
4. Increase wages.
5. Reduce the problems of mechanization.

A nation-wide walkout was averted two years ago when the operators raised wages from \$5.50 to \$6 a day and decreased hours from eight to seven-hour day, 35-hours a week.

The biennial wage conference between the U. M. W. A. and the coal operators association is scheduled to open in New York March 14.

Support of the Progressive Miners of Illinois for this program will mean that 98 per cent of the coal miners in America are solidly behind this program and stand prepared to take the necessary economic action to attain the demands.

Australia Will Raise Parliament Salaries

CANBERRA (U.P.)—Members of the federal parliament are to have their salaries raised to the pre-depression level of \$4,000 a year. The prime minister's salary and allowances will also be raised to \$16,000 annually.

The federal government, struggling to maintain cotton prices at a level that will prevent bankruptcy for cotton raisers, pays benefits to the landlords to keep a portion of their land idle.

But the landlords, many of whom in this area are wealthy, refuse to share these benefits of non-production with their tenants. The tenants have either been hustled off the land, or invited to cultivate the production areas as day laborers at wages of \$1 or less per day.

In desperation, the underfed and poorly clothed sharecroppers moved with their hungry children and scanty belongings to the public highway.

A Negro Baptist preacher, who is also an organizer for the Southern Tenant Farmers' union, led the mass migration.

"The foxes have holes and the birds of the heaven have nests, but the Son of Man hath nowhere to lay His head," the preacher told his followers.

Huddled along two of the nation's major highways—60 and 61—they have accomplished a part of their purpose. They have won national attention. Their plight, typical of hundreds of thousands in the cotton belt, has suddenly become front page news.

Gentlemen and ladies of leisure from St. Louis, Chicago, and St. Paul, riding behind chauffeurs to southern beaches, found themselves face to face with some of the underfed third of the nation that "that awful man Roosevelt" has been talking about.

In New York, H. L. Mitchell, secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers' union, appealed to the department of agriculture to withhold benefits from landlords who refuse to share the wages of non-production with the tenants who have been doing the work.

Officials of the department in Washington indicated that they would withhold benefits as requested by Mitchell.

BENES HERE FEB. 15 CHICAGO — Dr. Eduard Benes, former president of Czechoslovakia, will arrive at the University of Chicago Feb. 15, to begin a three-months term as visiting professor on democracy's problems, officials announced.

Teamsters Picket Neb. Legislature

LINCOLN, Neb.—When the 1939 Nebraska legislature assembled in its new one-chamber state legislature in its modern capitol building it found members of the striking teamsters of Omaha and friendly unionists picketing the assembly in protest over the anti-picketing statute of Nebraska, the worst law of its kind in the United States.

Entering their twentieth week of strike and lockout local 554 continued to wage their battle against truck operators who have chosen Omaha as the testing ground of the ability of the Teamsters' International union to make its "11 states over the road drivers contract" stick. The local in fighting the anti-picketing ordinance has been using the facilities of the "Farmer-Labor Press" at Council Bluffs to put out a weekly strike bulletin under that heading and have been distributing 50,000 copies in the cities and towns of Nebraska and Iowa. Twenty-five thousand were put out in Omaha alone.

Not only did Lincoln unionists help the capitol picket line but support is being brought up steadily from other locals. Kansas City teamsters have assessed themselves \$200 per week for the Omaha strikes. Local 710 of Chicago uncovered a dummy for three Omaha concerns operating in Chicago and promptly folded the outfit up and pointed but firmly referred them to the Omaha local for settlement.

The meeting which will be held about March 1, will be the first legislative conference of its kind in the state since 1931.

Those attending the three-day session of the board were Henry Ohl, Jr., president, and John J. Handley, secretary of the federation; and board members, Louis Butterfield, Sr., Green Bay; J. F. Friedrich, Milwaukee; Fred E. Gastrow, Madison; George E. Hanner, Milwaukee; William Nagorske, Milwaukee; Edwin Nelson, Manitowish; Harold Newton, Kenosha; Raymond A. Richards, Wisconsin Rapids; George J. Schneider, Appleton; and David Sigman, Two Rivers. Board member William H. Sommers of Racine was absent.

A Personal Message From Norman Thomas

For us, the New Year holds forth the golden opportunity of building for the world of tomorrow in our native land. But for thousands of political and religious refugees, 1939 means another year of hopeless desperation as they wander in foreign lands, outcasts in a barbarous world. They look to us for help. Exchange your dollars for lives! Contributions will be received for political and religious refugees by the Committee for International Labor Solidarity of the Socialist Party, 348 Third Ave., New York, N. Y.

—NORMAN THOMAS.

Jersey Strike Spreads to Chicago Area

CHICAGO—When the Elizabeth, New Jersey, plant of the Wilson Jones' loose leaf and blank book factory tried a squeeze play against the CIO union in that city by firing three union members over a framed-up tussle at a Christmas party, they found they had caught a bear by the tail. The solidly organized Chicago plant upon hearing that 150 of the 300 workers at Elizabeth had walked out, called a union mass meeting to which non-union members were invited and allowed to vote and voted overwhelmingly to strike, unless the company agreed to reinstate the New Jersey worker by 10 a. m. the following morning. When 10 a. m. came around and the company tried to parley further, all but three of the 600 employees walked out and at the first strike meeting 67 new members representing practically all the non-union workers in the plant signed up in the union.

In anticipation of a move of the company of this kind the Chicago local which was organized in a militant 17 week strike in early 1937, in its 1938 contract traded a closed shop contract in the Chicago plant for a joint contract covering both Chicago and New Jersey plants.

The keen young workers of the Loose Leaf and Blank Book Workers for a single local with vice presidents in charge of each division. When the company tries to divide, the joint organization works like a charm. Roy Burt, Art McDowell, Maynard Krueger and other Chicago Socialists who aided the original strike in 1937 have been lending their services as speakers in the present scrap which is steadily winning larger support in the party organized Jersey plant.

State Executive Board Favors Compulsory and Voluntary Insurance

MILWAUKEE—Plans for a legislative conference in Madison to which will be invited delegates from all AFL unions of the state were announced last weekend by the executive board of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor meeting here in its semiannual session. The conference will consider legislation favorable to labor, and will

Workers' Action Made Tom Mooney World Famous

Labor's Living Martyr Leaves San Quentin to Become Most Influential Leader in Our Era

BY TRAVERS CLEMENT A Special Correspondent of the Socialist Call SAN FRANCISCO—Tom Mooney, convicted 22 years ago on perjured testimony for a crime he did not commit, has at last been freed on his own terms—a full and unconditional pardon.

Behind this simple statement lies one of the most dramatic stories of our era, the heroes of which are not Tom Mooney and Warren Billings—a fact which both of them would be the first to admit—but rather hundreds of thousands, even millions, of obscure workmen and women throughout the world.

It is the spirit of these men and women, the symbol of the international working class, which has lifted the events of the past week in California out of the realm of sentimentality and changed them with real meaning. From the moment Mooney walked through the iron gate at San Quentin into the arms of his family and a barrage of camera men and reporters, it is these unseen guests at this all subsequent ceremonies who have really counted.

DRAMATIC HEARING From San Quentin, Mooney was whisked by fast auto to the State Assembly chambers in Sacramento. Crowds jammed the entrance and corridors and police had difficulty getting him through. The most dramatic moment in the hearing was the complete silence that followed Governor Olson's request that anyone who had any evidence to present as to why the pardon should not be granted step forward.

In the course of his review of the case, Governor Olson declared: "There is no doubt that Mooney was convicted on false and perjured testimony."

Immediately after receiving a pardon, Mooney pledged himself to dedicate his life for a better social order, secure freedom for Billings, and work for unity in the labor movement. A few hours later he visited Billings in Folsom penitentiary and then returned to Sacramento to attend the inaugural barbecue at which Olson collapsed while speaking to an audience of some 140,000 guests.

On the following day, Mooney was escorted to San Francisco by a cavalcade of autos. En route, he planted a tree at the grave of Mother Mooney which overlooks San Quentin prison. Mother Mooney's efforts to obtain release of her famous son continued right up to the day of her death several years ago. She, Tom's wife, Rena Mooney, his sister Anna, and sister-in-law Belle Hammerberg constituted the backbone of the Mooney Defense Committee for many years.

In San Francisco, Mooney headed a parade up Market Street to the Civic Center, the same route of the Preparedness Day Parade in 1916, the bombing of which

Courts vs. Mooney

How labor's fight for Mooney's freedom was consistently prevented by the various courts of law deserves the serious study of the workers' movement. Following is a chronology of the highlights of the legal phase of the battle:

Oct. 7, 1916—A home-made bomb killed 10 people and injured 40 in San Francisco's Preparedness Day parade staged by Spanish-American war veterans.

Feb. 1917—Billings convicted of murder, sentenced to life imprisonment.

Feb. 9, 1917—Mooney convicted, summarily sentenced to death.

April, 1917—State Witness Frank C. Oxman, who committed perjury against Mooney, acquitted.

June, 1917—Rena, Mooney's wife, acquitted of murder.

Oct., 1917—Taxi driver Israel Weinberg acquitted.

Dec., 1917—Prosecutor Charles M. Fickert defeated in a special election.

March, 1918—State Supreme Court sustained death sentence for Tom Mooney.

Nov., 1918—U. S. Supreme Court refused to review case. Gov. W. D. Stephens commuted death sentence to life imprisonment at Pres. Woodrow Wilson's request.

Feb., 1921—State Witness John McDonald swore his testimony was false.

Sept., 1921—Trial Judge Franklin Griffin and Assistant Prosecutor James F. Brennan urged pardon.

March, 1925—State Witness Estelle Smith admits perjury and later retraced statement.

Dec., 1929—Sixth juror expressed belief Mooney innocent.

July, 1930—Gov. C. C. Young turned down appeal to pardon Mooney.

Sept., 1931—Mooney attorneys unsuccessful in attempt to set aside conviction through suit in equity.

Feb., 1932—House of Representatives

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Thomas J. Mooney

Mooney's Release Speeds Harmony Among Miners

United Mine Workers Invite Progressives to Wage Scale Parley at Herrin, Ill., Jan. 22.

GILLESPIE, Ill.—The Progressive Miners' Executive Board by a vote of 6 to 2 qualified Local No. 1 for the run-off election here Saturday. Election date was set for Jan. 25.

HARRISBURG, Ill.—Representatives from 25 large local unions of the United Mine Workers of America met in conference here last week to approve the movement to unite the two Illinois mine unions' scale committees for joint negotiations before the wage agreement expires March 31, 1939. The action followed a declaration by Jack Battuello, left wing leader of the Progressive Mine Workers of America, calling for united action for an increase in wages, better working conditions, a uniform production quota for mechanized mines and security against plantment.

G. R. Price, president of U. M. W. A. Local 3, announced that the Harrisburg conference had approved the harmony movement and also called a meeting at Herrin, Ill., Jan. 22, where local unions of both organizations may confer on a preliminary program. Price announced that invitations would be sent to all progressive local unions asking them to attend the conference. The U. M. W. A. local unions, Price said, were inspired by Tom Mooney's statement appealing to organized labor to unite their forces.

"We are showing Mooney," he said, "that the Illinois coal diggers are not 'leaping on the job.'"

Progressive Rank and File Hold Conference

Local unions from Gillespie, Belleville, Collinsville and Edwardsville areas sent delegates to a conference Jan. 16, called by Local No. 1, Progressive Miners of America, to discuss the problems of mechanization, unemployment and the need for joint wage negotiations.

Miners Invite Mooney to Springfield, Illinois

Ray Edmondson, president of the Illinois district of the United Mine Workers of America, telegraphed Tom Mooney asking him to visit the Illinois coal fields and to speak at a huge rally at which thousands of Illinois miners and other trade unionists would attend. His telegram read: "A telegram cannot convey adequately the rejoicing which prevails in the homes of tens of thousands of Illinois miners tonight your liberation from San Quentin. We who have steadfastly believed in your innocence and fought for your freedom since 1916 most cordially invite you to celebrate our triumph at a huge mass meeting in the center of the Illinois coal fields when a convention of our people will discuss our cooperation in the noble objectives to which you have dedicated your life."

William Cecil Gillespie, recently elected president of Local No. 1, P.M.W.A., also wired Mooney inviting him to speak at a mass meeting planned by the local union had called.

Progressive Miners Election Postponed

The executive board of the Progressive Mine Workers of America last week postponed a run-off election of state officers which had been scheduled for Jan. 30 after the local union had called.

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WDL Asks Prisoners' Release

NEW YORK—Calling upon the Governors of Alabama and Kentucky to emulate the action of Gov. Olson of California in freeing Tom Mooney, David L. Clendenin, secretary-treasurer of the Workers' Defense League has asked Lieut.-Gov. Keene Johnson of Kentucky to free the four Kentucky mine prisoners, and Gov. Frank Dixon of Alabama to free the Scottsboro boys.

"Gov. Olson's pardon of Mooney not only corrects one tragic injustice, but it throws a glaring spotlight on other injustices that remain uncorrected," Clendenin said. "The Workers Defense League congratulates Gov. Olson on his eminently just action, which four of his predecessors either did not dare or did not want to take. With much more emphasis and feeling, we pay humble tribute to Tom Mooney, a gallant and courageous man, who through years of persecution never for a moment considered his fight as one merely for his own personal freedom but who regarded it always, and correctly, as a fight for the rights of all working men and women. Mooney's freedom is a victory for the working people of the world."

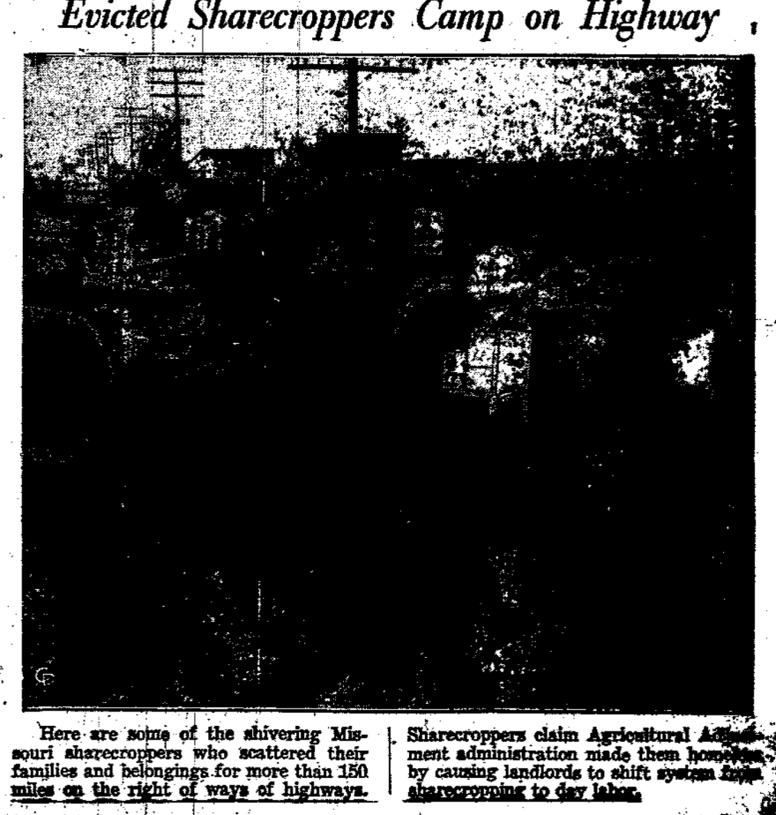
Phil's Ticket Got 2,120 Iowa Votes

DES MOINES—An official canvass of votes cast in last November's election reveals that the National Progressive candidate for governor sponsored by Philip La Follette, John F. Wirth, received a total of 2,120 votes.

ILLINOIS MINERS' DEBATE

Should the Coal Miners of Illinois Join Forces to Effect the Best Possible Wage Scale?

Debate with four columns: YES! BY JOE BURRELL, YES! BY DAVE REED, YES! BY CRAIG EASTON, YES! BY WILLIAM FULTON. Each column discusses the merits of joint action for miners.



Here are some of the shivering Missouri sharecroppers who scattered their families and belongings for more than 150 miles on the right of ways of highways. Sharecroppers claim Agricultural Adjustment administration made them homeless by causing landlords to shift system from sharecropping to day labor.

# Auto Workers Demonstrate Against WPA Cuts Jan. 20

## Militant Union Takes Lead in Defense of Nation's Jobless

BY ARTHUR G. M'DOWELL

The growing rumble of complaint and protest over the shoving of a million workers off WPA back onto unemployment relief rolls or into starvation proposed in pending congressional cuts in WPA funds appropriations has burst into the open in Detroit.

The Auto workers union from the first fought to get its unemployed members on WPA and poured forth in the largest demonstration for unemployment relief action ever seen in the United States when over two hundred thousand workers poured into Cadillac Square last fall. The Auto union organized its own members on WPA in Michigan into an Auxiliary and avoided the undermining of militancy which characterized the organized WPA workers in most other sections where the principal organization was the now over-mild Workers Alliance of America under Communist and New Deal Democratic leadership.

### ON THE MARCH

The Detroit Auto Workers are again in the march with the rest of the Detroit workers who on Friday, Jan. 20 at 3:30 p. m. will come piling into Cadillac Square for another solemn demonstration. The first cut has already been put through in Detroit sweeping a thousand workers off the lists, while thousands more out of jobs with the last down in auto production at the mid-year, clamor in vain for reinstatement.

In the nation, the Workers Alliance has awakened to some degree from its Rip Van Winkle sleep in its New Deal Fools' Paradise and called its units to demonstrate Saturday, Jan. 25 for a billion dollar emergency appropriation which will prevent any cuts, while Roosevelt asks an appropriation which will cut a half a million from rolls and his fellow Democrats would improve on him by cutting a hundred thousand more.

### CRIPPLE MOVEMENT

The Workers Alliance got off to a lousy start and only had their spine fortunately stiffened by a strong CIO stand against any cuts whatsoever. The attempt of President Lasser and Secretary Benjamin of the Alliance to turn the Alliance from an organization for struggle for the unemployed into a New Deal political vehicle has involved them in contradictions that cripple their effectiveness as unemployed leaders.

### MILITARIST APPOINTED

When Roosevelt put a military officer in actual charge of the WPA, who promptly chose two other army officers as aides, most of the country had their attention diverted by the genial magician in the White House who at the same time shifted Harry Hopkins to Secretary of Commerce and appointed Frankfurter, the overwhelming favorite of even conservative lawyers according to the Gallup poll, but whose appointment seemed a daring piece of liberalism to many. Ladd and Benjamin could not pretend to be so diverted in the same release they bewailed the "tory pressure" on Roosevelt which caused Harrington's appointment and at the same time congratulated Harrington and pledged cooperation, having already approved Roosevelt's militarization program.

It is small wonder that independent organizations of the unemployed and WPA workers like the New York Unemployed and Project Workers' Union are shooting up in many localities between the very feet of the political pipe dreaming of the Alliance leadership.

## Courts VS. Mooney

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April, 1932—Appeal for pardon rejected by Gov. James Rolph.  
March, 1933—Directed verdict of acquittal entered in remaining murder indictment.  
May, 1934—U. S. District Court denied habeas corpus writ.  
July, 1934—Habeas corpus writ denied by U. S. Appellate Court.  
Aug., 1934—Appellate justices twice more refused writ.  
Jan., 1935—U. S. Supreme Court refused appeal.  
March, 1937—Legislative pardon granted by State Assembly of California. Senate killed bill.  
Oct., 1937—State Supreme Court refused habeas corpus.  
March, 1938—California legislature repealed action of 1937.  
Oct., 1938—Review of case refused by U. S. Supreme Court.  
Oct., 1938—Gov. Frank Merriam refused to pardon Mooney.  
Dec., 1938—Plea for habeas corpus writ three times rejected by the U. S. Sup. Ct.  
Jan. 7, 1939—Gov. Culbert L. Olson grants Mooney full pardon.

## Dutch Admit Child Refugees

AMSTERDAM—Upon orders of the government, Dutch frontier guards last week began admitting Jewish child refugees from Nazi Germany without making them wait for an examination of their cases, as in the case of Jewish adult refugees. Many child refugees crossed the Dutch border in a state of complete exhaustion after wandering aimlessly around for days.

## English Unemployed Protest



Unemployed men, bearing posters demanding work or bread, lie in the snow on the road in Oxford Circus, London, to draw attention to their pleas. Traffic was stopped until police pushed the men out of the road. Clearing the road, however, doesn't provide jobs for hungry men.

## Dr. Frank and Frankfurter Both Reds, Frank View of Mrs. Dilling

### Lady from Winnetka Sees Moscow Control Of Supreme Court

Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, Winnetka's lady of the fancy imagination who devotes her worthy life to finding the reds in America, might have found a few red faces in Kenosha this week.  
The red faces belonged to some of the gullible local folks who have used her book, "The Red Network," as a reliable inventory of radicals, as dependable and handy as Dr. Miles well known liniment.  
The embarrassment was caused not so much because she told a United States senate committee Wednesday that Felix Frankfurter, soon to wear the robes of a supreme court justice, was a dangerous revolutionary—perhaps even they believe that—but because she also exposed none other than Glenn Frank, the man of the Republican party's national program committee, and close adviser to Gov. Julius P. Heil.  
Wisconsin's Little Stalin, Dr. Frank, according to Mrs. Dilling, "ran a little Moscow at Wisconsin" when he was president of the university.  
"He is a dangerous man," she went on leading Republican senators who are depending on Dr. Frank to write a program which they hope will carry their party to victory in 1940.  
She said she considered "both Dr. Frank and Prof. Frankfurter to be reds."  
"That isn't All, Either"  
Pleased with an opportunity to talk, Mrs. Dilling was prepared to go on and on about the red menace.  
There was, for example, President and Mrs. Roosevelt, who she was sure, were Communists.  
And two of the nation's most dangerous reds were sitting there before her as members of the committee that will be expected to recommend approval of Prof. Frankfurter's appointment. They were Senator Borah and Senator Norris. She identified them, both, perhaps from their pictures, and was ready to tell the country all about them.  
Doesn't Like Norris  
To Senator Norris she pointed an accusing finger:  
"I'll be glad to go into your record, if you wish, senator. I object to you, Senator Norris, because of your policies."  
Senator Tom Connally, of Texas

said he knew about Senator Winnetka and asked the lady from Winnetka to stick to the subject, which was the appointment of Prof. Frankfurter.  
Well, then, about Mr. Frankfurter; why, he was qualified even to be a lawyer much less a member of the supreme court, she said.  
"Frankfurter belongs to a section of society which defends all murderers—if they are reds," she announced with a knowing air. She was particularly indignant because he was an officer of the American Civil Liberties Union, of which she doesn't approve.  
Hughes a Red, Too  
And speaking of the supreme court, reminded her of some other folks that weren't all they ought to be.  
There was that dangerous radical, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, And Associate Justices Louis D. Brandeis and Harlan F. Stone, whose names are now recorded in the hearings of the senate judiciary committee as radicals, and consorts of Communists.  
Posterity will have Mrs. Dilling's word for it.  
Attorney, I. W. Dittman is one of the local folks who has publicly quoted Mrs. Dilling's opinion to "prove" that somebody was a red.

the French local unions, there is a varying degree of democracy.  
At the Teachers' Union congress which I attended, two minority groups were each given as much time to present their positions as the majority. On the other hand, there was no proportional representation in a reform which the minorities are working for. In general, the unions controlled by the Communists have less democracy than those controlled by the reformists.  
The importance of the CGT congress held at Nantes during the week of Nov. 14, has been obscured by the General Strike Call, its partial failure and the aftermath. Before the congress were the legitimate claims of the civil servants, 250,000 of whom received no wage increase to match the fast climbing cost of living, the decrease of the 40-hour week, the adjustment of wages to the higher cost of living, the Popular Front, the question of collective security, the role of the Communists. Perhaps on the decisions and leadership of the CGT, more than on those of any of the political parties, rests the future course of French history.  
The End.

## The French Trade Union Movement

BY RUTH SCHECHTER

IV.  
The technique by which the Communist party exerts its influence is well known to American trade unionists. Secret political fractions ("cellules") organized in the local unions flourish despite the resentment of many trade unionists imbued with the anti-political tradition of the CGT. The scores of peripheral innocent organizations, the large sale of "Humanite," the Communist daily newspaper, and of "Ce Soir," the camouflage Communist evening paper, and particularly the prestige of the Soviet Union—which represents not merely the "Socialist Fatherland" but also the Soviet army and air force combine to heighten Communist influence. The technique of labeling opponents as disrupters, fascists, and Trotskyites is equally current.  
The most interesting aspect of Communist tactics in the CGT is the method of using the trade unions for political ends. One might expect that the CP, since it supports rearmament would also support a watering down of the 40-hour week to increase armament production. However, Premier Daladier did not consult the Communists. Moreover, in a cabinet composed of Anglo-philes and Russo-philes, Daladier represents the pro-English orientation.  
CP TACTICS  
Consequently, this very summer, the Communists used the issue of the 40-hour week to create intense anti-Daladier sentiment among the workers. In the unions they controlled, e.g. the building trades, the Communists encouraged strikes both in Lyons and in Paris. In the Miners' union, the Communist minority refused to recognize an agreement extending the hours of work.  
Having confidence in their control, the Communists pushed these strikes until the Czech crisis. When war seemed about to break, the building workers called off their strike and the Communist miners publicly acceded to the agreement in the interests of national defense. But with the end of the war scare and the full blown Munich agreement, the Communist-controlled metal workers announced that

they refused to work more than 40 hours a week.  
SOCIALIST PARTY  
The Socialist party, to counteract the influence of the Communist "cellules," established Socialist clubs, "amicales" in the trade unions. These, however, are propaganda groups open to non-Socialist trade unionists and do not consider inter-trade union questions. Centers of Socialist strength are the civil servants, teachers, industrial workers of the north, and peasantry.  
"Syndicate" is a weekly newspaper edited by Rene Belin, one of the assistant secretaries of the CGT and is the voice of influential veteran trade unionists who are opposed to Communist colonialism in the CGT. It includes among its leading figures pacifists like Du-moulin, former Communists like Ray, and reformists like Belin who support national defense.  
SYNDICALISTS  
"La Revue Syndicaliste," a weekly trade union newspaper, also opposed to Communist influence in the CGT is the organ of the most extreme syndicalist elements in the CGT. It includes diverse left tendencies and differs from "Syndicalist" in its unyielding revolutionary position. Its program calls for complete independence from all political parties and from the influence of the Free-Masons.  
It is completely opposed to government interference in industrial disputes. It bases itself on the class struggle. It calls for complete industrial democracy. On the question of war, it recognizes only the civil war. Its outlook is proletarian internationalism. "La Revue Syndicaliste" has some strength in the union of Post, Telegraph, and Telephone Workers, as well as small fractions in the Building and Metal trades. "La Revolution Proletarienne" is the monthly theoretical organ most closely associated with it. Both journals hark back to the pre-war days when the CGT was a revolutionary body.  
DEMOCRACY  
There is far more rank and file participation and control in the CGT than in the British trade union movement. Each local union has its own voice in the national convention. In England, the national unions vote by block and

minorities, get no voice. Within the French local unions, there is a varying degree of democracy.  
At the Teachers' Union congress which I attended, two minority groups were each given as much time to present their positions as the majority. On the other hand, there was no proportional representation in a reform which the minorities are working for. In general, the unions controlled by the Communists have less democracy than those controlled by the reformists.  
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## Workers Released Mooney

Continued From Page One  
resulted in the death of 10 and injury of some 40 persons. The parade was scheduled to move up one side of the street, but the thousands of marchers who joined in filled it from curb to curb and all traffic was at a standstill.  
FUTURE PLANS  
At Civic Center, Mooney addressed a huge throng estimated at 25,000. He repeated the pledges he had made at the end of the Sacramento hearing. Afterwards he retired to the seclusion of a local hotel to rest several days while he is undergoing a complete medical checkup. His future plans, attendance at the convention of California's Labor Non-Partisan League which opens soon at Sacramento and a trip to Los Angeles. There is talk of an eastern tour in the spring.  
One thing is clear. He faces an opportunity to render a tremendous service to the labor movement at this time, when his prestige and influence are so great. It is greatly to be hoped that he will resist any pressure to dissipate this prestige and influence for any partisan and factional objectives within the labor movement itself. Genuine unity can only be achieved by working with the labor movement as a whole.  
This victory is now a tremendous inspiration to the mighty forces of the labor movement. Now is the time for workers everywhere to increase their efforts to free Warren Billings, the Kentucky miner, the Scotch boys and other working class political prisoners.

lenged the election of Local No. 1. Members of Local No. 1 had successfully challenged the election of the Taylorville local union when it had used irregular methods in conducting the election.  
William I. Eck, conservative, has been replaced on the ballot by Dave Reed, left winger, as a candidate for president of the state organization. Reed is opposed by C. E. Peary, conservative, incumbent secretary-treasurer, and indications are that the left winger will win the election if it is held along traditional lines.  
Another highlight of the election is the race between Jack Battuello, left wing mine leader, and Lester De Wall, right winger, who are candidates for the position of board members in the Gillespie sub-district. Five thousand miners reside in this sub-district and it constitutes the backbone of the Progressive union.  
Socialist miners in this area expressed dissatisfaction with the executive board's ruling in postponing the election. They characterized the board's maneuvers as "horse-play" and "an attempt to provoke Local No. 1 into extreme action against the state organization."  
"If we are given an honest vote, the left wing slate will sweep the election. The antics of the reactionary majority to confirm this only too vividly" one of the Socialist spokesmen said.

## Mooney Spurs Miners

Continued From Page One  
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William I. Eck, conservative, has been replaced on the ballot by Dave Reed, left winger, as a candidate for president of the state organization. Reed is opposed by C. E. Peary, conservative, incumbent secretary-treasurer, and indications are that the left winger will win the election if it is held along traditional lines.  
Another highlight of the election is the race between Jack Battuello, left wing mine leader, and Lester De Wall, right winger, who are candidates for the position of board members in the Gillespie sub-district. Five thousand miners reside in this sub-district and it constitutes the backbone of the Progressive union.  
Socialist miners in this area expressed dissatisfaction with the executive board's ruling in postponing the election. They characterized the board's maneuvers as "horse-play" and "an attempt to provoke Local No. 1 into extreme action against the state organization."  
"If we are given an honest vote, the left wing slate will sweep the election. The antics of the reactionary majority to confirm this only too vividly" one of the Socialist spokesmen said.

the radio question is pretty sure to be brought up before congress. One of my readers has written me criticizing my tentative proposal in the CALL the other week in a way which makes me wonder if I made myself clear. Of course I want to provide for the discussion of public issues over the radio, only I want that discussion to be in what is called "sustaining" time.  
I do not want it to be controlled by what powerful interests or skillful demagogues can manage to pay for at high rates. I want discussions to be part of the price stations pay for a license and I want that discussion, by law, to be many-sided. Most emphatically I fear government censorship of the censorship of the private owners of radio stations. This we can best avoid by the plan I have outlined. While recognizing the difficulties, I do not think it impossible to extend the law of libel so that speakers can be made reasonably responsible for false or malicious statements which injure racial, religious or other groups.

## Liberal Weekly Honors Men Who Fought Hague

Prof. C. A. Elvehjem, and Playwright Clifford Odets and Editor Jonathan Daniels.  
LIST UNIONS  
The Congress of Industrial Organizations and the International Ladies Garment Workers' union were cited for 1933 honors, the former for "charting the course of a rejuvenated labor movement" and the latter for its successful "strategic venture, 'Fins and Needles'."  
The Columbia Broadcasting System, the Medical Bureau and North American Committee for Aid to Spanish Democracy, the American Friends Service committee and the American Red Cross received honorable mention.  
The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was commended for "crystallizing and giving voice to progressive forces in the old South" and the National Emergency council were also listed for "its bold and thorough report on the South."  
District of Columbia  
Local Washington is functioning through three well-organized and working branches.  
They have already launched a recruiting drive and in that way are leading the Party.  
"The Socialist," which they put out each month, is becoming increasingly important as a means of Socialist information and education.

## Socialists Thomas, Vladeck, Mattson Listed in Merit Roll

Norman Thomas, John Longo, Jeff Burkitt and Herman Mattson, prominent fighters for civil liberties and workers' rights in New Jersey, were listed in the "Honor Roll for 1933" in The Nation, liberal intellectual weekly, which annually presents a list of American individuals and organizations deserving honorable mention for their activities during the year.  
The four men were honored "for carrying on at great personal risk a war for independence against Frank Hague's dictatorship in Hudson county, New Jersey."  
American Volunteers to Spain were hailed "for their front-line defense of democracy."  
Others listed for meritorious public service were: Secretary of Interior Henry L. Ickes, Journalist Paul H. Anderson, Communist Dorothy Thompson, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Writer Thomas Mann, Columnist Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, Editorial Writer, Le Monde of the St. Petersburg (Florida) Independent, Justice Hugo L. Black, the editors of the Catholic Commonweal, Inventors John and Mack Rust, Socialist B. Charney Vladeck, Politician Stanley M. Isaacs, Prof. Jabez C. Street, Dr. Edward C. Stevenson, Dr. Carl D. Anderson and Seth Neddermeyer.

# YOUR WORLD AND MINE

By Norman Thomas

The President and the country are to be congratulated on his recent appointment to high office: Frank Murphy to the Attorney General's office; Felix Frankfurter to the Supreme Court; Dean Clark of the Yale Law School to the Circuit Court. These appointments could hardly be improved. Harry Hopkins is of course greatly superior in brains to the political "stuffed shirt" whom he succeeds. It was probably good politics, but otherwise very unfortunate that the President should appoint an army man; who promptly made two other army men his assistants, to fill Hopkins' place. It is to be hoped the President will try to maintain the same high standard of judicial appointments when he fills the vacancy on the Federal bench in New Jersey. Rumors are still persistent that he wants someone who has the okay both of Hague and of Senator Smathers. These two Democratic leaders who fell out over patronage, both presented very inferior candidates as their first choices. Under the circumstances, no one should be appointed in Jersey who in any sense is Hague's candidate.

## President Roosevelt's Message

The President's policy, in general terms, was clearly and very ably stated in his address to Congress. The terms have been made less general by his budget message and his statement of what he wants for defense.

As against his Republican critics of the right, the President does well in stressing the advantages of governmental spending, but I see no reason except hope to believe that under the capitalist system the government can spend the country into more than a very temporary prosperity, or avert the crises inherent in the system. The President is right in bringing up again the reorganization of the Federal government. His opposition to the Dies Committee does him credit. That Committee, of course, has found out certain things that are true and which are worth making public, but its methods are wholly unscientific, wholly political, wholly based on the hopes of a few Congressmen to ride to glory, and perhaps to higher office, on a wave of what they narrowly call "Americanism," regardless of truth or of that fair play which is the best part of the American tradition.

## Danger in Foreign Relations

The dangerous part of the Roosevelt program is precisely that which superficially commands the highest support. I mean his foreign program. Already the President of the United States has almost dictatorial power in foreign relations. The President is now asking us to increase that power by amending the Neutrality Act—which he has never enforced—so that he and he alone can judge between nations and decide with whom to trade in war time.

He wants no brake of any sort upon his power and is bitterly and relentlessly opposed to the Ludlow Amendment or any device for letting the people vote in democratic fashion on the terrible tax of war. And finally he as commander-in-chief of the army wants to double our already huge appropriation for defense, which means giving to him and his successors a military instrument which can easily be turned to aggression. Even those who trust Roosevelt more than I think his record in foreign affairs warrants, ought to realize that this immense military machine will not be ready until a new Presidential election has rolled around and that means that we do not know who will have this terribly powerful weapon at his disposal.

A labor man the other day told me that for that very reason it would be better to get into war while Roosevelt is still President. The war he envisaged would give labor higher wages, would necessitate the sending of no troops to Europe, but only supplies, and would not be thought, especially if Roosevelt were President, run the risk of bringing any Fascist dictatorship which would not end as soon as the war was over.

That is I think an honest position subjectively, but the most dangerously and falsely optimistic theory that I have heard.

## How to Fight War

To my mind it is clearer than ever that we ought to fight harder than ever—  
1. To establish the rights of the people to vote on the declaration of war. Under modern conditions that vote can be taken in plenty of time. It is democratic as is nothing else.  
2. To insist that neutrality should be the general rule of the United States and that exceptions if any, in favor of an innocent nation, can be made by congress after solemn discussion, so that the people can know what are the issues involved. The military expert, Major Elliot, who does not share our Socialist position, has powerfully pointed out the reason why American intervention in European war is bound to be futile or worse for ideal ends, and why no degree of preparedness that is thinkable will make a European nation hesitate to fight for fear that we will become its enemy.

The dictators, he insists, unless they are completely mad, will go into war only if they think they can win in short time before we, under any practicable degree of preparedness, can bring our forces in Europe. In any long range war the preponderance is clearly on the anti-fascist side in Europe anyhow. It must be remembered that especially under modern conditions, war trade with one group of nations only is a kind of war itself. Senator Pittman, head of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, is quoted as saying: "Why shoot a man with a gun when you can starve him to death?" One answer to that is that a man with a gun in his hand won't quietly permit himself to be starved to death, and certainly that is true of armed nations.

3. We must oppose what is called "rearmament" but what is really armament economics. We are not considering rearming. We are arming as we never dreamt of arming. And why? Certainly not to protect our shores which are not in danger. What then? Are we arming to protect trade and to be better able to interfere in Europe, or for the sake of "hemispheric protection" which, in practical terms, Roosevelt to the contrary notwithstanding, is the protection of a lot of dictatorships which are likely to be rendered fearful and jealous by such an armed increase of American power, and hence more—not less—receptive of foreign influence.

It cannot be too strongly insisted that armament economics is always at the cost of the worker. It may give them jobs but it produces nothing for the national wealth. From that angle it is wholly a waste. This in a country which so terribly needs housing and so many other things for the masses of the people! It is not even possible rapidly to shift any considerable number of WPA workers to the manufacture of armament, and the danger is very great that congress, with or without the president's blessing, will give the nation what it calls defense at the price of an even worse provision for the unemployed than at present. We Socialists have a work to do that challenges all our devotion and all our powers of persuasion.

## The Radio and Public Issues

The radio question is pretty sure to be brought up before congress. One of my readers has written me criticizing my tentative proposal in the CALL the other week in a way which makes me wonder if I made myself clear. Of course I want to provide for the discussion of public issues over the radio, only I want that discussion to be in what is called "sustaining" time.  
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## Tom Mooney

Mooney's pardon is a cause at once for rejoicing and for shame; rejoicing that at last justice has been done; shame that the delay was so ghastly, and that in the end Mooney is free by pardon and not by action of the courts to vindicate justice. His own faith has been magnificent and he is continuing it to free Billings.

## Russia's German Trade

Recently in my column I carelessly made the inaccurate statement that Russia was "building up her trade with Germany." That implies an increase of trade which is not the case. On the contrary Russian trade with Germany is declining and is declining sharply since the recent understanding with Poland.  
Nevertheless my main point is true: Communists for years, and with renewed emphasis lately, have been urging upon the United States and other capitalist nations a policy of trade embargo against Germany which the Russian government itself has not followed, yet the Russian government, because it has an absolute monopoly of foreign trade, is in a better position, one would think, than capitalist countries to carry out this plan.  
When I was in the Pravda building in Moscow I was shown with much pride certain printing machinery recently arrived from Germany which my guide told me was the best machinery of its sort in the world, better than could be got in America.  
Now I will not say that there was no case for purchase of such machinery; I simply say that it is highly inconsistent for Communists to have one policy for the U.S.S.R., and another policy for other nations in relation to trade with Germany. Certainly the U.S.S.R. has far more, not less reason, to use whatever economic power its purchases present to hamper the dictator who is likely to make an attack on it than have the capitalist corporations of more distant countries. As I have previously reported I am one of those who is skeptical about the usefulness of absolute embargoes. I do think a positive policy of building up trade with friendly and peaceful countries, however, can be followed and that seems to be the present Communist policy for the U.S.S.R., but not for the U.S.A.

## Mississippi Officer Kills Tenant Farmer

TUPELO, Miss.—Dan Bishop, 50 years old, a tenant farmer, was killed near here Jan. 2 by a county bailiff when he and his 30-year-old mother resisted attempts to evict them from their home. Jack Grisson, the bailiff, had gone to the tenant farmer's home to serve an eviction writ issued by a Tupelo bank.  
The aged woman was placed in jail by Grisson and Sheriff J. E. Wiygul. The sheriff said that Bishop and his mother had repeatedly told officers they would die rather than leave their home.

As Comrades to Comrades let us advise you that it pays to be insured where it pays.

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# America's Refugees

# King Cotton—Land and Mills

# War Madness

By Lillian Symes

A few months ago, a Scripps-Howard editor marked that not since 1916 and 1917 has this country been subjected to such frenzied preparedness and propaganda as at this time. The remark was an understatement. In that pre-war period we didn't have radio in every parlor, the manipulation of the news had not been perfected and we didn't have the picture magazines and the March of Time.

When the Administration and the newspaper publishers undertook, after the Panay incident, to make America war-conscious within 90 days, the effect was comparatively flat. Movie audiences sat through repeated performances of the Panay newsreel showing the slightest eagerness to do and die for old Standard Oil. Their indifference was undoubtedly a jolt to the Administration and it promptly turned attention to war wangling on another front.

During the past few months every medium of expression has been made to work up hysteria over another Holy War in Europe. The cesses of Hitler at Munich, the intensified rage against the Jews, the have of course played into the hands of Moral indignation against Hitler has skillfully canalized into alarm over fascist invasions of the Western Hemisphere, and our more fervent fascists have become so "hot with morals," to Charles Beard's phrase, that they are ready to throw themselves against the Siegried line.

### Rabble Rousing

One of the most effective and subtle pieces of war rabble-rousing is being performed by The March of Time, ever anxious to work up hysteria. Here are none of your vulgar varieties of tub-thumping and flag-waving. Instead we have absorbing pictures of the Thin, Red Line—beg pardon—the Maginot Line built by a sister democracy to hold the Hunnish bay at bay. On a chronicle, in the best Boy Scout manner of young arrow-collar diplomats aiding the distressed and carrying the burden of empire in every quarter of the globe. But if the subject matter is seemingly objective, the accompanying remarks and the luscious tones of the commentator are not. (Somewhere, at some time, I am sure, those same luscious tones have persuaded me to buy Grape Nuts or Old Gold.)

They are vibrant with the great moral issues at stake, our responsibility for once more saving the Democracy from the Dragon. Fascism, one gains the impression that something has happened in certain benighted countries and from which the democracies are imperiled—except by military conquest. The sponsors are evidently out to see that we save ourselves and incidentally Europe from that fate worse than death.

Ex-employees of Time, Fortune, Life have taken to the cover of these publications, Mr. Henry Jones as a "budding fascist." Personally, I object to the loose use of "fascist" as a synonym for reactionary. But the sudden outcropping of democracy among those push-lined gentlemen may be more impressive if they cleaned up their economic backyards.

### Look! Beats War Drums

The most painful casualty of the war hysteria the picture magazine field is Look! which has since a circulation second only to Life. Less than a year ago Look! performed a distinct service to humanity publishing a series of pictures and comments depicting the atrocity pictures and stories current during the World War. It showed how some of these pictures and stories had been manufactured, in the manner of Hollywood, how others had been distorted, twisted beyond any reasonable bounds. It listed the sources, so it said, in order that it might immunize the American public against the new wave of war propaganda which was about to break over at that time.

Today, Look! is becoming an agency of just propaganda as we find in Ken, The New Masses, the news-reels, and which it denounced less than a year ago. Recently it published an atrocity picture of Japanese soldiers bayoneting their Chinese prisoners with appropriately horrified remarks. Leaving the fact that the picture was obviously posed (Japanese soldiers do not leave such films for development in a Chinese camera store—the explanation offered the scope), Look! did not see fit to mention that killing of prisoners is a good, old Oriental custom practised by both Japanese and Chinese. Nor did they limit this custom to foreign prisoners. A thousand Communist prisoners—good Chinese—slaughtered by order of Chiang Kai Chek after Nor was the practice unknown in some of the desperate fighting on the Western Front in the World War—as some of our franker doughboys admit when they came home.

### War—Supreme Atrocity

It would be silly to deny that atrocities are committed in practically every war. You can't kill sensibilities of human beings in bayonet drills without expecting some of them to run amok. But war is the SUPREME ATROCITY both against those who participate in it and against the human race.

The most important difference between the war propaganda pressure of this period and that of 1916-17 is the fact that today the most effective war-propaganda is that being performed by the LEFT—or at least pseudo-Left. Before and during the World War, revolutionary movements in America—the Socialists, the Wobblies, the Anarchists—were practically unknown against war and immune to the flood of propaganda. When war was declared a few intellectual pseudo-intellectuals succumbed. Their defection had effect upon the movement itself. Drawn together, mutual protection and resistance during the war, radicals stood firm. Today, one whole section of radical movement—by numbers, prestige, power money its most influential section—is not only winking it up for bigger armaments; and another crusade in the person of its secretary, Earl Browder, has offered its services to the government, to "liquidate" its position at home. Social democracy has produced "social patriots" and is still producing them, never pledged itself to such a job.

Living through the next World War, in opposition going to be an experience that will make 1917-18 like a pleasant dream.

## Relief for South Cannot Come While We Rely on Profit and Price

BY BROADUS MITCHELL

The South is the concern of the nation today as it has not been since the Civil war and reconstruction. In the long intervening period there were southern troubles enough, but they were generally regarded as local to the South. Some who tried to solve the puzzles offered within the South—a long and distinguished list of men and women who tried to remove the ills of sectional animosity, racial hatred, poverty, ignorance, low vitality, narrowness of economic pursuits.

Very friendly help came from the North, especially in the founding of schools for Negroes and in the whole emphasis upon education identified with the name of Robert C. Ogden. Southerners who had got a start elsewhere, partly in the matter of money and more largely in the quality of vision, deliberately and patriotically came back to the South and lent impetus to industry and to inter-sectional tolerance.

But, despite all of these efforts, mostly internal, the South had a long way to go in catching up to national standards, and the proof of it is that the president of the United States now calls the South the country's "No. 1 economic problem." On one important score, however, this very announcement evidences the progress which the South has made.

### Bill of Particulars

The indictment, except in certain expected quarters, is not resented. Instead, a committee of influential and representative Southerners subscribed, last summer, to the bill of particulars, adding suggestions toward solution. Just as the South learned earlier that it did not want to drag itself down, so now it understands that it does not want to hinder advance of the nation. The South, as was said a few years ago by President Chase, then of the University of North Carolina, has gone far toward being Americanized.

The crucial question now is as to the preservation or removal of the many remaining differentials which set the South below other sections of the country in social and economic behavior. I believe that the South is rapidly repudiating the group who would like to protect these differentials—say lower wages and relative absence of labor organization—for their own interest, or, as some assert, for the advantage of the South. We do not need to deal with the selfish ones who are thinking of private industrial profits, of a repressed Negro population, and of feudalism on the farm. Those who declare, honestly, that the South must keep its competitive advantages for the sake of its economy now and in the better future, do need to be answered. They are being answered from two quarters—from the South and from the rest of the nation.

### Labor Unions Grow

Growing labor organizations—of cotton and steel mill workers, of sharecroppers—of protesting against continued exploitation. There are many Negroes in these groups, and there are more who have registered their protests by leaving the South. These workers are saying that they cannot afford to submit to bad conditions in the interest of employers who will not pass back to them any resulting prosperity. They are unwilling to listen longer to pleas of Southern patriotism which cloak familiar capitalist designs.

From the rest of the country, particularly the industrial North, comes a chorus of objection to permitting the South to go on with sub-national standards. This is of course because exploitation in the South undercuts prosperity and stability elsewhere. Time was when northern industrialists were glad to have the South a labor slum. They transferred their plants from New England and the middle states, paid lower wages, escaped from the demands of organized workers, found lenient tax treatment. But there was an inevitable end to this. After all not every factory could move from districts with better standards, many forms of enterprise had lost by the break of their felloes, and the question arose, long before the depression, "What is going to become of New England?"

### Cost of Living

Does the question remain in the area of national volition, or is the answer determined by stubborn economic and climatic facts over which we have little immediate control? Some costs of production are really lower in the South than elsewhere, just as some are lower in the North, say, than in the South. It is often asserted by those who want to keep southern wages below those of the North that the cost of living is lower beneath the Mason and Dixon line. The specialists are by no means agreed that this is the case.

We shall now, what with the new wages and hours statute, have many more inquiries to discover the truth for different parts of the South. Similarly, there is doubt as to how much effect climate may have in other respects. Long ago, when the first cotton factories were being erected in the South in the '80's, it was said in the North that they could not succeed because the South did not have a "spinning climate," and that finishing processes could never be naturalized to the South because the rivers were too muddy. Mechanical means soon overcame the objections. So now, when climate is being presented as an advantage, not a disadvantage, to southern production, it now turns out that northern industry is not without devices to help itself.

I think we may conclude that if we remove the

### Hitler Anecdote

An American just back from Berlin tells us the latest story—that is going on around surreptitiously there. It reports a conversation between an enthusiastic German Nazi and a friend of his, an inhabitant of the Netherlands. Says the German: "Why don't you get yourselves a Fuehrer like us? You'd have prosperity there—factories going full tilt, everybody busy." To which the Hollander replied:

"Well, perhaps you are right. Maybe if we had a Hitler we would have better employment, factory chimneys smoking. But then again—if somebody knocks on my door at 4 o'clock in the morning, I know it is the milkman."—The New Republic.

## BELOW THE RIO Occasional Notes on Labor, Peasant, and Anti-Imperialist Movements in Latin America. By Paul Porter

Chile begins the New Year with a popular front government—the first of its kind in the new world—but it is doubtful if it will last the year out. It is dependent for its support upon forces entirely too contradictory to cooperate for any major social aims.

Those aims, if the popular front election program has meaning, are to provide jobs, raise wages, lower prices, develop public works and restore land, at least a little bit, to the peasants. To this the Socialists, who when they ran their own candidate for the presidency, Col. Marmaduke Grove, in 1927, polled 37 per cent of the votes, would add a program of extensive socialization. But they have only three members of their party in the new cabinet, and partial achievement of the campaign planks would be the utmost they can expect at this time.

Others upon whom President Pedro Aguirre Cerda must depend don't even want the campaign planks enacted into law.

Aguirre, a cautious liberal, millionaire landowner, and publisher of the daily, *La Hora*, owes his office to the united electoral support of his own Radical party (read, liberal), Radical Socialists, Socialists, Communists and—catch your breath—Nazis.

Last autumn he bested conservative former President Arturo Alessandri by 3,000 votes.

And there hangs a crazy tale of politics. The Chilean Nazis (Nazis) are a small party, smaller even than the Communists who in Chile enjoy their greatest parliamentary strength outside of Russia and France. The Nazis probably swung not more than 15,000 votes, but that was enough to clinch the election.

Why did they command their followers to vote for Aguirre? As a tactic. Last September they attempted a putsch. Alessandri crushed it. There is reason to believe that their planned seizure of power was discovered and prematurely forced by the American naval in-

## Capitalist Barbarism



lower costs in the South which are not a part of nature, but result from greed and poverty and ignorance, southern enterprise will stand on a much more nearly equal footing with that of the remainder of the nation.

### Two Schools of Thought

Concerning southern problems are two interesting juncture there are two principal schools within the section. One of them consists of the "Agrarians," who, if I understood them, would like to see the South return to the purely agricultural economy. It is not the planting economy that we had before the Civil war, but an idealized one, which omits, in literary imagination, many of the inevitable consequences of that way of life. This school will have, I take it, little or no effect upon national councils.

The other and much more hopeful school is that of the Regionalists centering at Chapel Hill. They are positive, believing in intelligently guided social action. They know that we must, in our reforms, improve what we have, and add better, not wasting time in flights of fancy which call up ancient simplicities and harmony which never, in fact, existed. These earnest and resourceful students are having a primary part in formation of national policy toward the South. They deserve every credit for high-mindedness and devotion. They are as imaginative as the Agrarians, but they look to the future, not to the past.

### Capitalist Contradictions

Unless I miss my guess, they deserve a better fate than they are likely to find. What they are up against, and what the South is up against, is not just a complication of disorders which may be treated one or several at a time, and so, hopefully, be removed.

The South is illustrating the contradictions which are bedded in capitalism, which follow the profit motive. We are stymied. The ordinary injunction to the South would be—in the past has been—make your economy more efficient, produce more, have more to distribute to your own people, the nation, and the world. But it is just here that the capitalist system cannot move. The mechanical cotton picker sends shudders along the spine of the secretary of agriculture. New and almost man-less rayon factories threaten the

### The Cowards March



## South's Problems Result From Greed, Poverty and Ignorance

whole kingdom of cotton. A sugar cane cutter looms, a fresh torment.

### A New Order Needed

The circumspection of the Regionalists will be defeated by this primary fact. The partial remedies of the New Deal—excellent in themselves as they are in so many instances—must remain partial. Other desperate efforts of the New Deal, which look not toward more output as does the TVA, but to less as with the agricultural adjustment program, cannot recommend themselves to the thoughtful observer.

Curtailed output is what we have had all along. It has been our lot because of ignorance and health, lack of skill and lack of funds, racial frightfulness on the one hand and racial tremblings on the other. Surely, we are not now to add deliberate devices for discouraging production. The only answer for the South and the nation lies in release of energies, in the application of knowledge and science, in rationalization of industry and agriculture and commerce. And this plenty cannot come while we rely upon profit and price. It cannot come until we produce for use, and improvement of the standard of living of all the people becomes the obsession of government.

## Little Essays In Socialism

BY JOHN M. WORK

I am asked why I said the price of a product, under present conditions, is usually more than the value. As I understand it, the inquirer thinks the statement conflicts with something written by Karl Marx. I have learned much from Marx but I do not believe in the infallibility of any man or book. I believe in learning all we can from all sources and then thinking for ourselves.

It is possible that in the early stages of capitalism price and value may have coincided, but do not see how that could be true in these later stages of the system when there are excrescences and artificialities to cause divergence. Costs of advertising, for example, are included in the price. There may be advertising by both the manufacturer and the retailer. Often several commissions, profits and other rakeoffs are added to the price. In some lines of industry there is more or less trustification and more or less arbitrary juggling of prices. Big steel sells its products at a given price for a while and then suddenly fixes a lower or a higher price. Both of these prices could not have coincided with the value and it is probable that neither of them did.

However, have it as you like. I don't give a rap whether you believe price and value coincide or diverge. The statement was incidental, and the repetition was only for the purpose of connecting the second essay on the subject of value with the previous one. What I was trying to say was that even though price and value may diverge under capitalism they will be approximately the same under the planned economy of Socialism, and therefore there is nothing in the assertion that hordes of experts will have to waste their time figuring out how much value each worker produces.

### YEAR END DRAMAS

The head of an \$18,000,000 corporation, McKesson and Robbins, turns out to be a swindler and crook. Two 16-year-old orphans break into the new \$1,000,000 San Francisco mint "for fun, to see if it could be done."

The house of representatives has finally been wired for sound. The best improvement would be to unwire some of the representatives.

### SAVE US FROM FURTHER GAINS, PLEA

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain of Great Britain, in a New Year message, says 1938 saw the world moving toward peace, with "trials and anxieties outweighed by gains."

### WHAT! NO LIQUOR?

And the Scotch and rye cost only \$1,000, while flowers and decorations amounted to a mere \$2,500. Ladies like no man could get anything to drink and no lady could have a cigar.

But even with such careful budgeting, Brenda should be careful to marry a man who has a steady job. No fellow who's likely to land on WPA could pay for many \$25,000 parties.

### Cooperative Medicine

First actual retreat of opponents of the Group Health Association of Washington, D. C., following the meeting of the American Medical Association, on charges came as the Garfield hospital lifted its charges against doctors employed by the cooperative.

Though Fishbein and his clique are still fighting indictment under the anti-trust act has encouraged more and more practicing physicians to approve cooperative health plans and has acquainted more with medical cooperatives than all the material opponents could distribute in a year.

Even if conviction does not follow, the fact that A. M. A. will not exert quite as much authority in the doctors and physicians what they can and cannot do. The A. M. A.'s defense will be that the monopoly laws cannot apply to a professional organization.

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