

By Norman Thomas

The manner and substance of the testimonies of Messrs. Frankfurter and Murphy in connection with the confirmation of their appointments to high office by the senate represented real advance in political sincerity over some other hearings.

Both gentlemen, yes, and Mr. Hopkins, too, with dignity and candor stated their minds in pleasing contrast to the rather highbrow smart-aleck performance of some of their predecessors among left wing New Dealers.

The confirmation of these gentlemen is definitely to the good. Mr. Frankfurter's confirmation, especially was an overwhelming rebuke to racial prejudice of a most contemptible kind.

Along with the satisfaction, however, goes some feeling of shame that so many bigots and whatnot witch hunters and anti-Semites should have taken up public time of the senate committee with their misunderstandings and prejudices.

Group openly sponsored so ugly an exhibition. The occasion ought to remind all decent Americans to make active and continuous in every organization and circumstance their disapproval of the kind of thing that the senate committee had to hear.

Prejudice in Congress

Prejudice of another sort of a primary factor, I think, in the reduction already voted by the house in the WPA appropriation and which is likely to be voted by the senate. The house, without record vote, cut \$150,000,000 from the president's WPA request, which itself was some \$40,000,000 less than the majority—and they ought to know—thought would be necessary.

Neither congress nor the committee had enough evidence to justify the cut. They acted on a purely class irritation plus figures showing that the president's money allotment was greater now than at times when the productive index was lower. That is not enough evidence for such a cut.

WPA has faults which should be remedied. In sum total its expenditures have been below not above the country's needs. All possible pressure should still be put upon the senate to raise the WPA appropriation.

Incidentally, in the light of experience, it is a great mistake to think that in local communities bipartisan boards empowered with a greater degree of control over WPA and relief funds, would cut out politics. What would be more likely to happen would be an agreement between local Democratic and Republican politicians to stir up a mixture of bipartisan concessions and local prejudices.

Economy at the expense of the unemployed went along with the visible evidence of dismal misery given by more than 1,000 sharecroppers and their families who, under the leadership of a member of the national executive committee of the STFU, trekked from the fields from which many had been evicted to a miserable camp beside a federal highway in southeast Missouri, from which place the state finally moved them to concentration camps not too much better. Such exhibitions of bitter poverty do not show that the United States is spending too much on relief. They do show the need of support for the STFU. It needs funds and backing in its struggle for the right to organize. There is already manifest in the press a dangerous tendency to denounce this demonstration in Missouri simply as so much red agitation by the CIO. That's not the way to deal with human problems.

Armament Economics

Economy in relief comes also from a congress more likely to raise taxes to finance the president's defense estimate. We move toward armament economics which has no end but war or intense economic crisis. As has often been remarked, armament economics is like riding a bicycle—you have to keep going to stay on.

To be sure the president's message was more moderate in tone and the total asked was less than he had led us to fear. Perhaps there was a certain exaggeration of what it was predicted that he would recommend in order to face the passage of his more moderate recommendation. Nevertheless he still asked an enormous increase, probably amounting to \$9 per cent at least, in appropriation, without giving assurances concerning what we are to defend or how, or what guarantees we have that swollen armaments will not be used for imperialist ends in aggressive wars. The appropriation he requests will probably give us a great many more than 3,000 airplanes, even at the present rate of cost, and this number is to be added to the already big number now under contract for the army and navy. So we are likely to get 10,000 planes after all, and who knows how long they will stay up to date!

The proposal to half fortify Guam is dangerous. It is not related to a defense of America. The mere fortification or partial fortification of Guam will not defend the Philippines. It will promote counter fortification by Japan and a dangerous situation. In short, it illustrates the lack of the president's comparative moderation must not lull our opposition to armament economics. It goes along with his own avowed neutrality policy. That is to say, for even greater power than he now has over the life and death issue of peace or war.

Communists and War

From the record it is impossible to understand the extraordinary confidence which Communists and others give to the president in regard to foreign policy. In the case of the Communists, it is only because they are persuaded that any war which the United States might engage in would be bound to help Stalin. For people without this background, the situation is more difficult to explain. A great many left wing liberals and Communists are now apparently trying to tie up the hands of the Spanish embargo with presidential discretionary power. It is the president who was responsible for an embargo, which would not have been imposed to keep America out of war and which was thoroughly unimportant in all effects. The president himself was responsible for the utter failure to do anything about the neutrality law which he was sworn to enforce in the Far East. Whatever the faults of that law, under it, practically, he could have gone a long way to prevent America from becoming Japan's partner by the purchase of Japanese gold and by supply of various types of armament and raw material. In realistic terms, China would have been little hurt, because China was not in a position to get American supplies. Moreover the president and his state department have given the tacit support to the Anglo-American boycott of Mexican oil which in turn has given so dangerous a turn to Mexico's barter arrangement with Germany.

Lift the Spanish Embargo

I have never believed that the president wanted to make himself dictator. The famous reorganization bill which was piecemeal strangled by hysteria about dictatorship may have had certain faults but it never would have made a Hitler out of the president or out of any president. On the other hand, the kind of foreign relations, the president seeks for himself and his successors in foreign relations, the intensity of arms being piled up, the discretionary power over neutrality which he seeks—these things do establish a dictatorship in foreign affairs and on the issue of peace and war, and that must be fought.

One way to fight it must be dealing with the Spanish embargo on the one hand and the general issue of neutrality policy. On the other, should be to lift it up with the general issue of neutrality policy.

Once more let me remind you that in no accurate sense is our Socialist program one of isolation. We want to develop a policy which is different from moral isolation on the one hand and a league of capitalist states in new war on the other. That sort of league is no collection of security. It is no true internationalism. We want to build up world wide sentiment for peace and justice by every possible means. We do not want to appease dictators by bribe; we do seek for the economic justice which will make it harder, not easier for them to appear before the peoples as champions of a greater share of economic justice. Finally we must give all possible aid to refugees and underground movements in Fascist lands.

Prof. Haber's Letter

Readers of this column may be interested in an important paragraph from a letter from Prof. Haber of the University of Michigan, who was quoted in the press as saying that only a good war could end unemployment. I think most of us understand how this remark was made but I want to put his own statement on record:

I spoke before the American Public Welfare Association in Washington on Dec. 10 on the problem of relief and its permanent character. I emphasized that I did not see any opportunity in private industry for the employment of most of the persons now on the WPA. During the discussion which followed, in answer to some questions I suggested that a very active labor market might offer employment not only to all the unemployed, but even to the marginal workers who have been on the WPA for three years. Quite parenthetically I said that I did not see any likelihood of an intensely active labor market except, of course, that a good deal of it we got involved in it might increase the demand for labor to such a degree.

This, of course, is somewhat different from suggesting that I thought that was a good solution, or a solution at all. As indicated above, I believe quite to the contrary. Unfortunately, the remark made in answer to a question from the floor became the lead story in the Associated Press release.

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Planters Terrorize Refugees

Sheriffs Stop Religious Students from Giving Aid to Sharecroppers

Funds for the militant sharecroppers of southeast Missouri may be sent to their organization in care of H. L. Mitchell, secretary, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, Box 5515, Memphis, Tenn.—Editor.

Special to the Socialist Call MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Plantation owners, local and state officers resorted to the use of violence and general mayhem to evacuate scores of sharecropper refugees, H. L. Mitchell, secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, charged last week in a telegram to President Roosevelt.

From other sources came reports that union officials had been abducted and deported across state lines, union members had been beaten, impartial but sympathetic relief agencies had been intimidated and a reign of terror had been unleashed against anyone who showed solidarity to the sharecropper victims.

Mitchell stated he had reports that the sharecropper demonstrators were in a number of cases forced into county-owned trucks over their protests, their household goods scattered, and set down on back country roads with no houses in sight. In other cases it was found that from four to seven families were dropped at vacant houses and were told by the landowners that they were unwanted and must leave the plantations at once. Other evicted families were dumped in cotton houses (small sheds where cotton is stored during picking season).

Cause of Conflict The sharecroppers, numbering about 1,500, were evicted by plantation owners two weeks ago. The government pays benefits to landlords to keep a portion of their land idle as a means to maintain cotton prices. Conflict between the sharecroppers and the landlords arose over the latter's refusal to share these benefits of non-production with their tenants.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, a CIO affiliate, is directing the sharecroppers' struggle. According to STFU officers 150 families were dumped at the Homeless Junction camp near New Madrid, Mo., by state and county authorities without being told where they were going to be taken. It was reported that local union headquarters that men were beaten and threatened with violence and jail terms in this forcible eviction.

Another group camped at the Sweet Home Baptist church near Wyatt, Mo., composed of 133 families, stood on their rights as members of the church and refused to allow state troopers to move them off property which belonged to them.

Hover Around Camp Fires A camp composed largely of white people near Dorena, Mo., just across the river from Hickman, Tenn.

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Chamberlain's 'Peace Policy'



London police drag one of the jobless from an unemployed demonstration where Chamberlain was advised to "feed the unemployed, not Mussolini."

Labor Movement Must Act to Free Warren Billings

Mooney's Partner Also Not Guilty of 1916 Preparedness Day Bombing

BY TRAVERS CLEMENT A Special Correspondent of the Socialist Call

SAN FRANCISCO—With Tom Mooney out of jail, the freeing of his co-defendant, Warren Billings, becomes one of the first orders of business of the entire labor and socialist movement.

Billings' case presents a complication which makes it an even harder nut to crack than the Mooney affair. Due to a prior conviction on a felony charge and the nature of the California law, Billings cannot be pardoned by the governor without the consent of a majority of the California Supreme Court.

Several years ago, the Billings case became front page news in the nation's press, temporarily taking precedence over the Mooney case, when Billings applied for pardon and was granted a hearing by the State Supreme Court. This hearing took on the aspect of an inquisition rather than an impartial inquiry to determine the facts. Billings was hounded for hours by Justice Preston, who took on himself the role of prosecutor, as to his attitude on every conceivable and irrelevant subject. The whole tenor of the hearing was to smear Billings as a violent "red," a dynamiter, and labor racketeer, thereby obscuring the real issue which was whether or not he—like Mooney—had been convicted on perjured testimony of a crime he did not commit.

Court Changes Since this hearing the composition of the Court has changed slightly—Preston, for one, has resigned. Whether it is more liberally disposed than formerly, however, is highly questionable. Only tremendous pressure, one feels, can cause it to reverse its prior action in denying pardon consent by almost unanimous vote. Only one justice, William Langdon, dissented from the majority opinion.

Several forces, however, are operating in Billings' favor. Mooney out of jail can give fresh impetus to the campaign to free Billings. Governor Olson has already committed himself as anxious to grant the pardon and thus has placed the full responsibility for continuing the injustice squarely upon the shoulders of the Court.

Action Needed Billings himself has never played such a stormy petrel role within the labor movement as has Mooney. Thus, while Billings has the disadvantage of being a more obscure figure—he has had but a fraction of the publicity which Tom has received—he has made fewer enemies and it should be possible to rally great forces to his support.

"No one must take for granted for an instant, however, that because Mooney is now free, Billings' release is assured. Any one who knows anything about the California courts—and most of those who have been following the Mooney-Billings case know plenty—will realize that. Every Socialist must do his utmost in his trade union, unemployed and fraternal organizations among workers everywhere to see to it that Warren Billings shall not become a "forgotten man" and that the gates of Solomons penitentiary shall swing open for him at the earliest possible moment.

Norman Thomas to Broadcast February 1

NEW YORK CITY — Norman Thomas will participate in a radio symposium, Feb. 1, 3:15 to 3:45 p. m. (EST) (NBC blue network) the General Federation of Women's Clubs announced this week. The subject: "To Arm or Not to Arm?" Thomas will present the position of the Keep America Out of War Congress.

Other speakers are Louis Johnson, assistant secretary of war who will present the administration's arms program, and Prof. Harry Goldstein who will present the case for collective security.

Left Wing Wins In Miners' Poll

Party Labor Committee Meets Feb. 4

CHICAGO — The National Labor committee of the Socialist party will meet in Chicago Feb. 4, 3 p. m., according to National Labor Secretary Arthur G. McDowell. Members of the National Executive committee of the Socialist party will sit in with the labor committee during most of its three and a half hour meeting.

The agenda will cover such items as the continuing fight for unity of the trade union movement, a campaign for national ownership of the railroads, reports of Socialist leagues, policy in the organization of the unemployed, farmer-labor relations, antiwar and antimilitarist agitation and workers' education movements.

Members of the labor committee are the national labor secretary, Gerry Allard, Hyman Schneid and Maynard C. Krueger, of Chicago, Harold Gibbons of Louisville, Ky., Paul Porter and Eric Bjurman of Kenosha, Chris Jorgenson of Racine, Eugene Johnson and Stanley Sudney of Milwaukee Wis., John Fisher of Gillespie, Ill., Tim McCormick of Toledo, Ohio, Douglas Anderson of Kansas City, Paul Presbiter of St. Louis, J. R. Butler of Memphis, Tenn., Michael Harris of Philadelphia, Joel Seidman and Murray Gross of New York, and Roy Reuther, Tucker Smith and Ben Fischer of Michigan.

There will also be an important conference of representatives from branches and locals of the Socialist party in the Middle West. The conference will be held Feb. 4 and 5.

National Secretary Burt in a letter to all branches and locals has asked that the national office be informed as to the number of representatives coming to this important conference.

Labor Party Expels Sir Stafford Cripps

LONDON—Sir Stafford Cripps, advocate of the Democratic Alliance—English version of the Popular Front—was expelled from the British Labor Party last week by the party's executive committee. The vote was 18 to 1.

Cripps sought to organize a coalition of Tories, Laborites and Liberals against Chamberlain. His proposal had been rejected by the Labor Party and when he refused to abide by the majority's decision he was summarily expelled.

IL PROLETARIO AFFAIR

NEW YORK CITY—A concert and dance will be held at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, LaFayette ave. and Ashland pl., Sat., Feb. 11, 7 p. m., under the auspices of the "IL Proletario" and the Alleanza Hispana.

Two Admit Perjury In Ky. Mine Trial

Defense Appeals for Aid to Free 1931 Mine Strike Victims

LEXINGTON, Ky. — Following the announcement of Gov. A. B. Chandler of Kentucky that he would have no objection if Lieut. Gov. Keen Johnson pardoned the four Harlan miners who are serving life terms for alleged participation in the Battle of Everts May 5, 1931, friends of the framed union men saw renewed hope for their freedom.

But with three weeks gone since Chandler's statement and the holding of pardon hearings before Johnson without any word of a decision, the Kentucky Miners' Defense today emphasized the importance of greater vigilance and continued pressure from the labor movement and friends.

Governor Chandler, who has granted no pardons to anyone during his entire term of office, declared, in turning the cases over to Johnson: "I have heard their (the miners') cases several times and never could bring myself to grant the pardons, but if Lieut. Gov. Johnson pardons them while I am out of the state I will have no objection."

Perjury Admitted This statement followed a four-hour pardon hearing before the lieutenant-governor at which sensational new evidence of perjury and intimidation was disclosed.

A full confession of perjury was made by Lawrence Toney, Everts' taxi driver, who testified in person at the hearing. Toney a union sympathizer, had been a defense witness at the trial of W. E. Jones. Later he was himself indicted as a participant in the battle and was threatened with death in the electric chair unless he changed his testimony.

He named the special prosecutor hired by the coal operators and a mine guard deputy sheriff who was also a prominent state witness as being the persons who

Dave Reed and Jack Battuello Elected by Progressive Miners' Rank and File

GILLESPIE, Ill., Jan. 30—A dissatisfied rank and file, smarting under five years of mismanagement and misuse, staged an electoral revolt last week and elected two outstanding members of the left wing bloc to important positions in the state and international union of the Progressive Mine Workers of America, an AFL affiliate. The left wing bloc is a coalition of Socialist-Syndicalist forces.

Elected were Dave Reed, Maryville, who now heads the PMWA as state and international president, and Jack Battuello, Wilsonville, stormy petrel in miners' affairs and the intellectual leader of the left wing, who won a seat on the union's executive board. Battuello's election was significant because he will represent the most important district in the Progressive organization.

John McCann, Gillespie, a liberal who had left wing indorsement for the position of secretary-treasurer, was defeated by Earl (Nip) Evans, Harrisburg, former sheriff of Seaside county.

Reed defeated the reactionary Claude E. Pearcy, retiring secretary-treasurer, for the presidency.

Leads By 1,000 Votes Reports from 100 of the 154 affiliated locals showed that Reed was leading Pearcy by an approximate majority of 1,000 votes. Battuello had a majority of 300 votes according to complete returns from 16 large local unions in the Gillespie district.

Although the union tellers had not made an official report on the election returns, a survey by a dozen correspondents of the Socialist Call gave the foregoing results. The Associated Press, United Press and several daily newspapers confirmed this report.

New officers will be installed this week. According to the organization's constitution new officers take office on Feb. 1 following an election.

Collinsville Conference Eight local unions of the PMWA were represented at a conference at Collinsville, Ill., Sunday, which was attended by 150 visitors and delegates. Foremost on the conference's order of business was an invitation from 31 local unions of the United Mine Workers of America asking all local unions of the PMWA to convene in a joint conference at Du Quoin Feb. 5, to discuss joint wage scale negotiations and other mining matters.

John Fisher, socialist vice chairman of the Collinsville conference and delivered a report on the economic situation in the coal industry.

The conference after a long debate in which Reed, Battuello, Fisher, William Fulton, Howard Skelton, Bill Campion, Mike Campion, Joe Burrell and others supported the program for joint negotiations referred the invitation to each local union for the consideration of the rank and file. Lester De Wall, Mt. Olive, and Joe Turner, Belleville, opposed the program for joint negotiations.

Battuello's Speech Highlight of the conference was a forceful address by Battuello who traced the record of the left wing in the PMWA. He pointed out that many proposals advanced by the left wing in the past had been rejected only later to be confirmed as being correct by events.

He predicted that events would again prove the reconciliation with the United Mine Workers of America would eventually be wholeheartedly supported by many who now oppose it because of past differences with John L. Lewis and his organization.

What Battuello feared, however, was that a definite decision would prove too late to protect the economic interests of the miners and he urged speedy action on this proposition before the contract expires March 31, 1939.

"The choice is before you," Battuello said. "By all means let this be determined democratically by the rank and file. Either we join forces or we degenerate into serfs. You right wingers are opposed to this proposition but you offer no better program in its stead. You hurl epithets at Lewis but you forget Bill Green to whom we now pay dues. Our problem does not begin or end with personalities. It begins and ends with masses, economic forces and our ability to apply our best intelligence to meet an overwhelming problem that threatens to send thousands of us down the road without jobs. The left wing stands firmly on its program. It will not budge from its announced objective."

The invitation was referred unanimously to all local unions.

One of the features of the Collinsville conference was its enthusiastic support of a resolution of the National Labor Relations act and its vigorous opposition to the amendments proposed by the Chamber of Commerce, the National Manufacturers' Assn., and other reactionary agencies.

British Workers Strike for Spain

LONDON — Employees of London aircraft factories, including the De Havilland and Handley Page, voted to strike Jan. 30 in support of a demand for supplying arms and food to Loyalist Spain, the United Press reported.



JACK BATTUELLO



DAVE REED



JOHN FISHER

Toward Labor Unity

BY ARTHUR M'DOWELL. KENOSHA, Wis.—The Committee of a Million for Unity whose petition of the rank and file of labor to their leaders to get into conference and get a united labor movement, is still in circulation, reported continued response with the week's mail bringing in filled petitions from a local of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO in Parkersburg, West Va. and an equally long list of signatures from members of the Typographical Union in Oklahoma City where unity sentiment continues very strong in AFL quarters. Edgar Clemens of Oklahoma City posted his copy of the petition on the shop bulletin board and returned to find the petition signed and a long list of additional signatures, clipped on a piece of newspaper. Copies of the petition can be secured from the Committee of a Million for Unity, Schwartz Edge, Kenosha, Wis., or from the National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph st., Chicago.

Auto Union Rivals



Homer Martin (right) and R. J. Thomas (left), former pals who now lead rival factions in the United Automobile Workers' union. Martin has called a convention in Detroit, Thomas one in Cleveland.

Movie Shows How Cooperatives Work

NEW YORK — The Harmon Foundation announced this week the completion of its movie, "The Lord Helps Those Who Help Each Other," the dramatic story of how the miners, farmers and fishermen of eastern Nova Scotia are lifting themselves out of dire poverty and destitution through a program of adult education and cooperative organization. The movie, based on the book "The Lord Helps Those Who Help Each Other" by Bertram B. Fowler has been in production more than six months. A camera crew spent several months photographing the study circle program which has enlisted more than 10,000 people in an intensive program of practical education and the cooperative credit unions, stores, lobster and fish processing plants, marketing, housing and handicraft associations which have grown out of that program. Following a preview showing of the film, E. R. Bowen, general secretary of The Cooperative League of the U. S. A., declared, "This is the first movie based on the cooperative movement I have seen which describes dramatically the principles, methods and purposes of cooperation. The photography is beautifully done." Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, chairman of the Committee on the Church and Cooperatives of the Federal Council of Churches, said, "I was greatly impressed by the reality of the pictures and the actual presentation of the educational procedure which underlies the

when he divided the \$10 pay for 22 years of loss of freedom evenly between the striking AFL retail clerks in San Francisco and the CIO Newspaper Guild on strike against the Hearst newspapers in Chicago since early December.

Tom Mooney SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—When Tom Mooney was released from San Quentin penitentiary after serving 22 years on a false charge he was given a total compensation of \$10. Mooney, who has set forth as the main desire of the remaining years of his life the reunification of the American trade union movement, symbolized his aim

Consumers' Cooperation

British Cooperatives To Spend \$15,000,000

MANCHESTER, England — The Cooperative Wholesale Society, Britain's largest distributive business, owned by 8,000 members of co-operatives will spend \$15,000,000 for new building and modernizing existing plants during the year. Included in the program will be a new seven-story men's wear building in Manchester, a new furniture and furnishings building in London, and a new cabinet factory in Pelew. New buildings and modernized quarters will be provided for glass works, rope and twine factory, printing, cycles, boots and shoes, furniture and food production. The Cooperative News, published in Manchester, declared in describing the program, "Next to the railways, the Cooperative Wholesale Society in 1939 will probably be the biggest builder in the country for peace time productive purposes."

British Co-ops Compete With Ten Cent Stores

MANCHESTER, England — The British cooperatives have long stood idly by while Woolworth's and other limited price variety stores "skimmed the cream" from the "Bazaar" and novelty trade. Woolworth's recently declared a 50 per cent dividend on its shares of stock and a 15 per cent bonus on its 1938 trade. But things will be different if a proposal presented to the board of the Cooperative Wholesale Society is accepted. According to the plan under consideration the co-op wholesale will open a series of limited price variety stores to bring back to the cooperatives part of this very lucrative trade.

Finnish Co-op Plan For 1940 Olympic

HELSINKI, Finland — Finland's newly founded Cooperative Housing Society in Helsinki will soon start construction of its first housing project which has been designated by the city council as the "Olympic Village" to be used in connection with the Olympic games which will be held in Finland in 1940. When completed the cooperative project will provide first class dwellings for about 2,500 persons. The apartments in the project will be provided with heat and hot water from a central plant and its stores and other business enterprises will be provided by the Elanto cooperative society.

Midwest Confab at Racine, Feb. 24-26

RAVINE, Wis.—Organized labor in the middle west, faced with the problem of cutting the cost of living, will send representatives here Feb. 24, 25 and 26 to discuss the possibilities of increasing their buying power by organizing as consumers.

Planters Terrorize Refugees

Ky. was also reported still in possession of a small plot of land on the Mississippi river levee. Shelter for these remaining encampments were only makeshift blankets and quilts used as a windbreak while people hovered around camp fires.

Nearly all the refugees whether scattered in vacant houses on back plantation roads or remaining in the camps are without food. About the only relief being given is what has been supplied by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union which after failing in an effort to establish a central relief distributing point at Sikeston has set up temporary headquarters at Elythville, Ark. where food contributed by union members in Arkansas and friends elsewhere is being taken into Missouri by automobile, usually under cover of darkness.

Union Uses Local Organizers

Due to terror and constant danger of violence at the hands of planters or arrest by local authorities, local Missouri organizers are being used exclusively by the union, which with difficulty has established its present line of communication with its members in Missouri.

According to the STFU of 20 local unions in Missouri report 262 families belonging to the organization were involved in the demonstration along the highways. Of this number 175 were sharecroppers, all of whom had been told by planters to look elsewhere for crops in 1938. Despite claims by planters that all the demonstrators were itinerant cotton pickers, only 74 families were day laborers or wage workers and they were residents of Missouri.

Commenting on this report, Mitchell said: "This is conclusive proof that these people were and are evicted sharecroppers, tenants and farm laborers."

From St. Louis, students at the Eden Theological Seminary reported that their attempt to distribute food to the homeless workers was stopped by deputy sheriffs of Mississippi county, who told them that relief "makes the situation worse."

German Underground Work Shows Steady Growth

Evelyn Lend Declares In League for Industrial Democracy Pamphlet

The steady growth and development of a cohesive underground movement within Nazi Germany during the last two years, stimulated by "the difficulties and dangers within Germany herself," is described in a 64 page report, entitled, "The Underground Struggle in Germany," by Evelyn Lend of London, and published in this country today by the League for Industrial Democracy, at 112 E. Nineteenth st., New York City. Accompanying Miss Lend's pamphlet, the League includes several pages of verbatim reports from one of the active groups

Liberal Group Sponsors Play For Labor Fund

NEW YORK—The John Dewey Labor Research Fund announced this week that it is sponsoring an evening's performance of the comedy on education, "What a Life!" Dr. Dewey, America's foremost philosopher and educator, saw the play recently and was so pleased with its sharp insights into the stupidity of "standard" mass education—the entire play takes place in a high school principal's office—that he agreed to have the John Dewey Labor Research Fund arrange a theater party.

The fund is sponsored by Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, J. L. Childs, George S. Counts and George W. Hartman of Columbia University; Sidney Hook of New York University; Hillman Binswanger of the College of the City of New York; Ernest Sutherland Bates, Alfred Bingham, Margaret DeSilver, S. Feinstein, Suzanne LaFollette and Benjamin Stolberg. Its purpose is to provide funds for research studies which in Dr. Dewey's judgment will be useful to the American labor movement. The awards will be made by Dr. Dewey, at the office of the John Dewey Labor Research Fund, room 914, 22 E. Seventeenth st., New York City.

to protest the barbarous tactics of the planters and authorities. A resolution was adopted calling upon the federal government to increase appropriations for additional resettlement projects in

which from 1933 has worked in the belief that "an illegal technique had to be consciously developed to cope with the extremely efficient and methodical procedure of the enemy."

Asserting that the underground anti-Nazi movement has itself acquired a "more efficient and consistent character," the author stresses the following recent significant developments:

- ORGANIZATIONS GROW 1. The traditional antagonisms inherited from pro-Nazi Germany have been largely subordinated due to the common bond of suffering and persecution of the last five years under the Hitler regime. 2. Organizationally, the underground groups have made headway in developing techniques of communication between various localities and between the German

WPA to Be Used in War Plans

Special to the Socialist Call DENVER, Colo.—That the WPA will be a military unit of national defense under a semimilitary, if not full military control by July 1, is the belief and statement of Raymond V. Holwell, who recently resigned as state director of WPA employment in Colorado. He also said that all but those fit for military duty will be laid off and none but physically fit employed if more workers are needed.

While Mr. Holwell was unable (or reluctant) to give a definite source of information regarding the statement that WPA would become a part of the military of the nation, he stated that his own conclusions reached several weeks ago coincided with the beliefs and conclusions of other well-informed people in the administration of WPA borne out by the recent appointment of military men as national administrators of the work relief setup. "It is also the belief of myself and others who see so plainly the militarization of WPA that the United States will be at war before the summer's end. The scene of the conflict will not be in Europe or China. It will be in South America, where, under the guise of saving our Latin-American neighbors from Fascism—of driving Hitler or Mussolini out of South America—we will be waging a war to reclaim for American industrialists the markets that have been taken over by the totalitarian governments of Europe," Holwell declared.

"After we have reclaimed these markets we can come home to find a beautiful drop of American Fascism ready for reaping. "The trend of militarization of work relief was but one of the straws," he stated, in announcing his resignation to his friends. "I had already become sick and tired of being unable to help those who needed help so badly, and the high and low and plain and fancy chiseling that permeates the national relief setup. Some papers in Peru are worried about the exact meaning of continental defense. Will it mean increased armaments? That fear is expressed repeatedly and in an "Impartial" of Chile declares that its "more useful, more humane, and more beneficial to work for moral disarmament rather than to embark on an arms race."

News From Other Lands

Students Laugh; Nazis Growl

A group of students at the University of West Virginia broke up the monotony of student life by staging a "Hitler Party" several weeks ago at which the boys came attired in the habiliments of Der Fuehrer plus the Chuck Chaplin mustache. The student prank passed with little notice outside of the campus; students took to bed after cutting up and laughing merrily, but far off in Nazi Germany the affair provoked the ire of Das Schwarz Korps, official organ of Hitler's Elite Guards. "Unverschamt, Scamlas, Albern" (insolent, shameless and silly) growled the Nazi organ, headlining the initials U. S. A. in large type so as to give special emphasis to the incident.

The Nazi article foamed in characteristic super-Aryan style: referred to America as a land of bandits and other such stuff. The unexpected attention delighted the West Virginia students who replied in The Daily Athenaeum, campus organ, that "a country that bears Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck so obviously lacks humor. A government which can interpret the capering of a duck as subversive propaganda certainly lacks the saving grace. To such people the story of Ferdinand the Bull assumes all the implications of the Communist Manifesto."

The Nazis still refused to laugh. When the students satirically called that they had "severed diplomatic relations with Germany," Das Schwarz Korps replied: "No body can expect that the so-called sprigs of war profiteering Babbitts would make less frivolous play with 'diplomatic relations' between two nations than would Jews and Free Masons around President Roosevelt, Prossit."

Austrian, Sudeten Germans Imprisoned

When German troops invaded the Sudeten area early in October, 1938, some 100,000 Sudeten German workers were employed in the Reich. A substantial part of these had gone to Germany at the instance of the German Nazi Party to join the Sudeten Legion there. They were first chiefly employed in building strategic roads and nearly all of them hoped to return to their homeland with the German troops, as most of them had enough of the "German paradise." The 100,000 Sudetens have suffered a grim disillusionment. On Oct. 1 began the occupation by the German troops of the Czechoslovakian territory which had been surrendered to them. Ten days later Goering announced that the Sudeten German workers employed in the old Reich would have to

stay where they were (Angriff, No. 243, Oct. 11, 1938). Today they are still not allowed to return to their homes. The Nazis dealt even more ruthlessly with the Austrian workers. In the case of the Sudeten area at least a part of the workers had gone voluntarily to the Reich, but after the occupation of Austria by German troops tens of thousands of Austrian unemployed were without ceremony transported to Germany by the Nazi labor exchange. Practically all these Austrian workers have had enough of the heavy work and poor fare and want to go home. "Austrian workers employed in the old Reich have tried to return to their homes in the Eastern March (Austria) on their own account... when the speed of work the manner of cooking potatoes or other matters were not to their liking... If such attempts were tolerated, the result would be that before long the majority of the Eastern March workers employed in Reich territory would have returned to their homes," admits the Volkische Beobachter of Dec. 22.

The Nazi paper called for stern action against illegitimate reparations and ordered the police to forcibly re-transport those who had returned to their homes. The Nazis are anxious to prevent Austrian and Sudeten workers from reporting at home on the condition prevailing in the "Nazi paradise."

Bad Bread in Italy

Since orders were issued in Fascist Italy in the autumn of 1937 forbidding the sale of unadulterated flour and requiring white bread to be made of wheat flour containing an admixture of maize or meal of peas and beans, there has been no end to the complaints about bad bread. It is true that since the introduction of the so-called people's bread hardly any complaints have been heard in public about the better quality (and dear) white bread which was once more allowed.

Nazis Raid Vienna's Butter

The Vienna Volkische Beobachter (owned by Hitler) complains of having received a number of letters in which the Reich is in no uncertain terms accused of grabbing all Austria's butter and fattening itself at Austria's expense. The Nazi paper has to admit that butter is scarce, in some places unobtainable or some days... the production of butter was in December, 1938, more than 50 per cent lower than in December, 1937. Yet, the paper said, it was wrong to say Austria was being drained of all its butter, seeing that the fat supplies of Vienna were comparatively larger than in other towns of the Reich. And for the

rest grumbling would not help matters: "We shall not choose the easy way of importing butter. The Viennese know from the speeches of Hitler and Goering the Reich's views in this respect." Guns before butter is still the slogan of the Third Reich. (Vienna Volkische Beobachter, No. 276, Dec. 18, 1938.)

Enthusiasm Wanes In Japan

As the war drags on wearily week after week and no "victory" seems to be in sight in spite of "advances," a sort of hopelessness has settled down over the Japanese people. Even the patriotic groups show little enthusiasm, though the military clique does not need it to put the war over. This is characteristic of totalitarian states.

Nazi Raid Vienna's Butter

The dissolution of all existing political parties and the formation of a unified national organization based on the "national spirit" is urged by the Current Situation Council, composed of rightists. Gradually, facts are beginning to seep into Japan in spite of a strict censorship of mails. The outrages after the capture of Nanking are known. Several Japanese have said that the number of Japanese soldiers who have lost their lives so far in the war amounts to 400,000. This is in spite of the fact that the number enlisted in the great shrines at Kusan is only a fraction of the real number. Many progressives of various types are exceedingly pessimistic about the future. Some say that all their correspondence is opened that there are spies in all trolley cars listening to conversations that there are dictographs connected with GHQ in all public places.

The birth rate in Japan for the three months of April, May and June, as recently reported, fell from that of the same period a year ago. The 401,605 births during the period were fewer by 43,165 than last year.

Saving the "Best People"

Instructions for the protection of the civil population against air raids are evoking satirical comment from numerous British sources. When the authorities in one instance announced that they would send children from the city to the country side in an "emergency" but would of course see to it that "nice" homes would be requested to billet only the desirable type of children one family replied that they were in a measure relieved, but still had rather expected nothing less than the duke of Windsor.

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Give Us Jobs—Not Guns! Say Illinois Jobless

CHICAGO, Ill.—Strong protests against an WPA cuts and against the militarization of the federal works program were voiced in a statement issued by the executive board of the Illinois Workers Alliance. The Alliance also objected to the President's appointment of Col. F. C. Harrington as head of the WPA and urged Congress to extend projects, social security and relief expenditures rather than piling up armaments. The action of the Illinois division of the Workers Alliance of America on the militarization program was directly opposite to the position of the national officers of the Alliance who have endorsed the armanent program under the pre-

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

Yes! By WILLIAM CAMPION, President, Local No. 1, Progressive Miners of America. We held a conference of nine local unions Jan. 15 for the purpose of trying to stabilize working conditions in and around the local mines. This was a beginning and we hope soon to call a state-wide conference of all local unions. Competitive forces are fast bringing the miners around to realize that unless something is done at once speedup conditions generally will reach a stage of slavery. As for the announcement by Jack Battuello that arrangements ought to be worked out so that the scale committees of both the United Mine Workers and Progressive Miners will act together to effect a new contract, that is a sensible idea and I endorse it. Heretofore the coal operators have used the division of the two miners' union to pit one against the other. The coming scale negotiations will be no different if we permit our division to weaken us again. We can overcome this if we work quickly for joint action. Any program along this line, however, should have the consideration and approval of the rank and file of both unions.

Yes! By HENRY BUSIERE, Member P. M. W. A., Collinsville, Ill. Our one object in organizing was to promote our own welfare. Since we are fighting a common enemy the coal operator—it is essential that we act in unison with the United Mine Workers to secure the best possible conditions. Irrespective of our personal feelings in this matter we should make our demands jointly with the U. M. W. A. It is a duty we owe ourselves

tense of "national defense." "The Illinois Workers Alliance is not a company union," Frank McCulloch, state secretary, asserted. "We are not going to take this lying down. Our members want jobs, not guns." The executive board statement said that the President, Congress and the people of Illinois must realize that the means of unemployment and low wages and the growth of the military establishment in the United States are a much greater menace to peace and democracy than any foreign dictator can ever be. The AFL and CIO were commended by the board for supporting the jobless workers in their struggle.

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

regardless of our affiliation and our obligation to our own union. In fact, the matter of mine should not interfere with putting up a common front against the bosses. Some effort must be made to improve the workers' conditions and only by a united effort can we hope to be successful. Another feature that may have been overlooked in this new program is the financial saving this will bring about if it is given careful consideration by both scale committees. To oppose this move would be like an ostrich that hides his head in the sand and considers himself well protected.

Yes! By JACK BROWN, Member United Mine Workers of America, Zeligier, Ill. I understand the power of solidarity. I know the weakness of di-

Millions Honor Vandervelde

Continued from Page One Harry W. Laidler in the name of the Socialist Party of the United States, a L. S. L. Loyalists Send Condolences Spanish workers, whose Vandervelde had vigorously planned, sent messages from front line trenches of the Spanish war. Vandervelde's widow, Jeanne, a statement to the L. S. L. agency thanked the spokesmen millions of organized workers had paid tribute to her husband's message in part read: "Thanks to all, in his name, detected a pomposity, touched him was emotion, pressed with reserve, simple combined with elevation, sincere affection. And you brought him all this. This Malson du Peuple, for long hours workers, the ble folk, have come to bring out of their love and tears, been like one of those old drals whose meditative as his used to love. Everyting good, in the magnificent man homage paid to him, been just as he would wished it."

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

vision and discord. I want to see the former. Now if any man, whether he is a member of the working class or a man who is paid to protect the interests of that class, opposes action that will foster solidarity, then it can be said that that man is a racketeer. At this writing I am busy sending out resolutions adopted at the Herrin conference which called for the joint action of my union and the Progressive Miners organization before the next contract expires. We have held a series of rank and file conferences—at West Frankfort, Dec. 18; Harrisburg, Jan. 8; Herrin, Jan. 22. We plan to hold

another conference in Du Feb. 5. Our committee is inviting local of the Progressive union to attend the Du Conference. Joint conferences pave the way to better understanding of our common problems. I sincerely hope that nothing will be left undone to make the union again, a united, fighting organization.

ORANGES FOR SALE Natural tree-ripened. No artificial coloring used. Delivery prices: Foreign, oranges, per 25 lbs. \$2.50; grapefruit, \$2.25; lemons, \$2.50; mixed fruit, \$2.50. A. H. BUSKETT ORANGE GROVE, Sebring, Florida.

You Are Invited to DINNER AND RECEPTION To the Members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party Saturday, February 4th—6:30 P. M. At WORKERS LYCEUM—2733 W. Hirsch St. Chicago, Ill. Home Style Dinner Tickets 75c Per Person Program of Labor Songs by Elizabeth Morgan of Yellow Spots Ohio; Brief Addresses by Norman Thomas, Devers Allen, Mary Krueger, Paul Porter, Travers Clement, Frank McAllister, Tyler. TOASTMASTER—DANIEL W. HOAN Telephone or Write Reservations to 549 Randolph St.—St. Louis Local Cook County Socialist Party—Host to the N. E. C.



New York Wins Lead in Drive To Build Call

New Yorker Enlists 27 \$8 Pledges; Regular Weekly Publication New Goal

The CALL's drive to enlist 100 comrades who would pledge to contribute \$1 a week for a period of eight weeks in order to resume publication as eight-page tabloid newspaper is achieving bangup success. Now in the fourth week of the drive the campaign has enlisted pledges from 68 CALL boosters. Instead of an eight-page tabloid we are now printing four pages in regular newspaper form which is equivalent to an eight-page tabloid.

Several of those who have pledged to contribute \$8 have joined the drive on condition that we get our quota of 100 donors. If we fail to get this quota it means that we will lose at least a dozen pledges. We are \$2 pledges short of the quota of 100. We appeal to our readers to see all the total to at least the desired quota and more if possible.

Jack Altman, former secretary of Local New York, read our last appeal and the result of his appeal efforts is that New York's pledge stands at \$1.00. "New York's record for supporting the CALL is bad," Altman writes. "We plan to correct this situation. A drive is now on to see that New York does its share."

Altman issued a letter to a number of comrades and friends and the result is that 27 pledges of \$8 each came romping in from New York. Altman's cyclonic campaign is most inspiring to the CALL staff, his efforts are a good example of what can be done. A few more Altman's and the CALL is off to regular weekly publication.

Illinois deserves special mention in this campaign, too. The comrades initiated the drive by pledging to initiate a minimum of 25 contributors to this special fund. Illinois now is second on the list with 12 \$1 a week contributors.

Many comrades with big families, part-time jobs or who are unemployed are unable to join in the \$1 a week drive. The CALL fully appreciates this fact. The drive was launched as an emergency measure to save the CALL. Now that we are beginning to see our way out of present financial difficulties there is still a big job to be done. Every single member and friend of the Socialist Party can help in this job by contributing whatever amount he or she can afford, by selling bundle orders, and/or by getting subscriptions. Another way to help the CALL is to renew your 1939 subscription.

The following is a record of those who have paid or pledged \$1 a week for eight weeks (up to and including Jan. 24):

- CALIFORNIA**
 - Joseph Alet, Los Angeles; Erma Aronson, San Francisco; \$8; Travis Clement, Los Gatos; \$8; Lloyd Graham, Los Angeles; and Ben Kaplan, Los Angeles.
- ILLINOIS**
 - G. Allard, Chicago; \$8; Anonymous, Gillespie; \$8; Giuseppe Bertelli, Chicago; \$8; Tony Camboni, Chicago; \$8; Alma Curry, Chicago; \$8; C. S. Curtis, Chicago; \$8; Vincent Fiorentini, Carlinville; \$8; Arthur Gerden, Chicago; \$8; Arthur McDowell, Chicago; \$8; Emma Kay, 11 John Mill, Chicago; \$4; J. & E. Miller, Chicago; \$2; Monroe Park-er, Chicago; Vernon Runge, Chicago; Hyman Schneid, Chicago; \$5; Roberta Schneid, Chicago; Ruth White, Chicago; \$8; Ina White, Chicago; \$2.
- INDIANA**
 - L. R. & L. S. Halvorsen, Evansville; \$8.
- KANSAS**
 - Vivienne Ballenger, Wichita; \$2; Della Eakins, Wichita; \$2; and Clara Miller, Wichita; \$2.
- KENTUCKY**
 - Harold Gibbons, Louisville; \$1.
- MASSACHUSETTS**
 - M. L. Nevens, Haverhill; \$1.
- MISSOURI**
 - Lacy Henschel, St. Louis; \$8; and Samuel S. White, Kansas City.
- NEW YORK**
 - Albert Abraham, NYC; Jack Altman, NYC; \$3.50; Anonymous, NYC; \$1; George Baron, Brooklyn; \$1; Murray Baron, NYC; \$1; Isaac Becker, NYC; Mania Boobar, NYC; David L. Clendenin, NYC; \$1; Ethel and Winston Daniels, Brooklyn; \$1; Saul A. DeWitt, NYC; \$2; E. Doerfler, G. Coleman, E. Stern and S. Saltzman, NYC; \$1; Jacob Drachler, Brooklyn; \$1; Virginia Duff, Bronx; \$8; Carl Schneider, NYC; \$8; Joseph G. Cass, NYC; Murray Gross, NYC; Ben Gutchin, NYC; \$1; Helen and David Harrison, Long Island; \$1; Leonard H. Hirsch, NYC; \$1; Harry W. Laddler, Brooklyn; \$2; Harry L. Laddler, NYC; \$1; Owen Lurie, Brooklyn; \$1; Fanny Simon, Bronx; \$1; A. D. Kings, Brooklyn; \$9; Minnie Blagstein, NYC; \$1; Harry T. Smith, Hollis; \$1; Abe Straussman, Brooklyn; Lena Tulchen, NYC; \$8; and Harry Wynn, Bronx.
- PENNSYLVANIA**
 - Andrew Panatich, New Kensington; \$2.
- SOUTH DAKOTA**
 - Marvin Halvorsen, Sioux Falls.
- TEXAS**
 - Mr. and Mrs. Carl Brannin, Dallas; \$1.
- WISCONSIN**
 - Jack Harvey, Racine; \$4; and Paul Porter, Kenosha.

The following is the financial report for the period from Jan. 11 to 17, inclusive:

- CALIFORNIA**
 - Subscriptions: Ben Garcia, Glendale; \$1; E. F. F. and Anne Wages, San Francisco; \$1; J. N. Thurber; \$1; and Doris Anderson; \$1.
- ILLINOIS**
 - Subscriptions: J. N. Thurber, San Francisco; \$1; and J. N. Thurber, San Francisco; \$1.
- INDIANA**
 - Subscriptions: J. N. Thurber, San Francisco; \$1; and J. N. Thurber, San Francisco; \$1.
- KANSAS**
 - Subscriptions: J. N. Thurber, San Francisco; \$1; and J. N. Thurber, San Francisco; \$1.
- KENTUCKY**
 - Subscriptions: J. N. Thurber, San Francisco; \$1; and J. N. Thurber, San Francisco; \$1.
- MASSACHUSETTS**
 - Subscriptions: J. N. Thurber, San Francisco; \$1; and J. N. Thurber, San Francisco; \$1.
- MISSOURI**
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- NEW YORK**
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On the Map With the Socialist Party

Pennsylvania

The Philadelphia Labor Seminar is holding a dinner in honor of the seventy-fifth birthday of Jessie Holmes, director of the seminar, state chairman of the Socialist party of Pennsylvania and a leader in the trade union and progressive movement. The dinner will be held Friday evening, Feb. 10, 6:30 p. m., at Childs' restaurant, 1425 Chestnut st., Philadelphia. Representatives of labor, church, educational and community organizations will be on hand to greet Comrade Holmes and honor him for his work with a series of two-minute speeches. The Philadelphia local of the Socialist party is participating in the national campaign to lift the embargo on Loyalist Spain. Jan. 29 members of the party and with post cards to be sent to congressmen, senators and Secretary of State Hull.

Cards were printed for the mass campaign. Telegrams have been sent by the party as well as many trade unions and other organizations demanding the lifting of the embargo.

Maryland

Baltimore comrades write that their local campaign is on. Fifteen hundred signatures have to be secured on petitions to place their candidates for city office. Five hundred names have to be secured for councilmanic districts. They have seven weeks to secure the required names. The enthusiasm of the local has been increased by the attendance of former branch members and we have no doubt there will be an increased activity and a growth in membership.

Illinois

The Downers Grove-Hinsdale branch writes that they have completed their registration drive. All members have responded. They made their pledge to the sustaining fund and also a pledge for the Socialist Call for the next 12 months. A membership drive has been launched. Money raising affairs have been planned for the Call during the coming months.

Cook county Socialists are busily engaged in preparing to play host to the national executive committee and mid-west party membership conference in Chicago. In addition to the executive sessions of the national committee which will start on Friday, the third, there is an open meeting of the national labor committee Saturday afternoon, Feb. 4, and the reception dinner at the Workers' Lyceum on Saturday evening. All day Sunday, Feb. 5, will be devoted to a party membership conference.

New York

New York local reports that there will be a state and city convention soon. A membership city meeting will be held Jan. 30, for pre-convention discussion. A vigorous "Lift the Spanish Embargo" campaign is going on.

New Mexico

Local Clovis has sent in its pledge to the national sustaining fund.

Ohio

The "Miami Valley Socialist" has been revived. After using carbon copies for reports, then a mimeographed bulletin, they have graduated to a printed paper, which

Farmer, Labor Delegate Relate Experience in Economic Struggles

BY SUDAR DROB
The National Youth Anti-War Congress was a new indication of the vitality of the youth movement against war. Held in Columbus, Ohio, from December 27 to 30, it gathered together 175 delegates, 51 visitors and seven observers from 28 states. The delegates came from as far away as California, Texas and Georgia. The sessions were spent in discussion from Kentucky, described the difficulties of organization in the South where "everyone outside one's own kintfolk is considered a foreigner."

Mary Moore of Colorado described the arming of the sugar beet growers against their striking workers and the attitude that was developed toward the Mexican strikers. "As a grower, I have the right to shoot any of those damned Mexicans that I want to. Then the Mexicans has a right to shoot you," said Miss Moore. "He does not," was the reply.

Cleveland comrades write that they are active in the work of rebuilding the local committee of the Keep America Out of War Congress. An oratorical contest is being conducted. A Peace Institute will be held March 1. Cleveland's Call bundle order has been increased to 200.

Devere Allen will speak in Cleveland in February. Telegrams, letters and other messages have been sent to Washington urging the lifting of the embargo against Loyalist Spain.

Local Cuyahoga county has made its pledge to the national sustaining fund. Several comrades are planning to attend the NEC meeting but plans have been delayed because of Comrade Lee Morgan's illness.

California

The Los Angeles local has signed a 13-week contract with radio station KMTR for a series of broadcasts beginning Feb. 5. Comrades Ayrwit and M. Goldberg constitute a subcommittee to plan the radio programs and advertising items for the radio committee. Registration is going full speed throughout the state. The state convention is to be held the last Saturday and Sunday in February in San Francisco.

Massachusetts

The state organization is making arrangements to move state headquarters from Cambridge. A drive to aid the sharecroppers in the South is in full swing. We are sorry to hear that State Organizer Pincus has resigned to do other union work. Massachusetts Socialists elected a committee to find another organizer. Comrade Herbert Zam, editor of the Socialist Review, will speak before the Cambridge-Boston local Feb. 15-17.

Colorado

The Colorado organization reports that the comrades have completed their registration of both locals and members-at-large. They are very much pleased with the new make-up of the CALL and hope that the fortnightly arrangement is only temporary.

National Youth Confab Opposes FDR Arms Plan

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Among those represented were the National Farmers and Education Union, as well as the Colorado and Wisconsin sections of the organization; the Southern Tenant Farmers Union; National Council of Methodist Youth; the New England Federation of Cooperative Youth Clubs; Local 155 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; many local clubs of the Young Circle League; Yale Divinity College Student body; Iowa Intercollegiate Peace Commission of the Student Christian Movement; the Fellowship of Reconciliation; the War Resisters League; the Independent Labor League; the Young Peoples Socialist League.

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Wisconsin News and Views

Legislature

According to Ed Kiefer and Herman Wegner in the assembly the coalition steamproller seems to be going badly. However, it is still dangerous to labor, and it may wipe out all the progressive legislation that has been passed. The floor leaders for the Progressive minority. He and Jack Harvey are effective men on parliamentary procedure.

Concert

One of the finest events of the year for Socialists will be the Young Socialist Mixed Chorus in their Mid-Winter Concert. This concert will be Friday, Feb. 24, at 8 o'clock at the Milwaukee Art Institute. There are a limited number of seats available. General admission is 35 cents and reserved seats are 50 cents. This is not a bit too high for the quality of music to be presented. The chorus is under the direction of Alfred Hiles Bergman who has a wide reputation for his work with the Lyric Male Chorus, the Symphonic Male Chorus, and the Women's Symphonic Chorus. William Eberl is the accompanist. Harold Schrubbe is the business manager. There are 40 young people in the chorus.

Squibs

Frank Bottom, Sixteenth ward, is a Milwaukee road fireman, who on occasion fires the Elawatha. Ask Frank about the ride. Max Weber, Seventh ward, is chairman of the largest branch of unemployed and WPA workers in the county. Br. 15 of the American Workers Committee. Max is also county chairman of the same organization. He succeeds Ed Gunz, Thirtieth ward, who is a long time president. We billed Herb Meyer as the man with the bit degrees (Ph.D. and C.E., Chicago and Armour Tech.) Herb blushed furiously as he is modest.

Leonard Van Bossche, Madison, has three degrees in agriculture. Edward Weston is the new chairman of Kenosha local and Hilda Roberts, secretary. In the 16mm. film, "Life of Debs," there is a scene of an audience in Seelig Zoo Park, Los Angeles, listening to Debs in 1923! Mrs. Leo

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powerful collection of quotations from Nazis which beats anything for pure fancy. For your inspection a copy is available in the party office.

I'll See You At—

The Old Timers' Night. The annual old timers' night for Socialists will be celebrated Feb. 19 at the West Side Turn hall. Those of you who remember our last affair will look forward to this one with great anticipation. Heinrich Bartel is going to be asked to describe our world origins, and Fredric Heath will be asked to describe our local origins.

Pictures of old time functions will be on display, and there will be a lot of time to talk over the past. There will be refreshments and music. A small entrance fee will be charged for covering expenses.

We are expecting such old timers as Ed Ziegler, George Indra, Emil Seidel, Arnold, Frank Weber, August Strachow, Bob Buech, Sam Emnick, Charles Whitnall, Chris Tuttrup, Martin Plehn, Charley Welby, Rich. Bayer and John Work. All branch secretaries can personally invite their old timers to attend.

Kenosha, Thursday, Feb. 2, Danis hall, 63rd st. at the Northwestern road. Frank McCallister, Southern Secretary Workers' Defense League, is scheduled for an address: "America's Refugees; the Sharecroppers." A personal appeal for personal attendance.

Radicalism Revaluated

The Modern Quarterly publishes in its current issue a Symposium on the Russian Revolution. Was the Bolshevik Revolution a Failure? Contributors: Ernest Sutherland Bates, David P. Berenberg, Alfred M. Bingham, Theodore Brameld, John Chamberlain, Max Eastman, Lewis Gannett, Henry Hazlitt, William Knickerbocker, Charles Malamuth, Paul Mattick, Gorham Munson, Max Nomad, Liston M. Oak, Benjamin Stolberg, Norman Thomas, Joseph Zack, Herbert Zam.

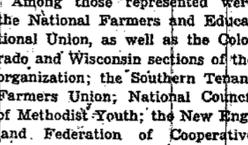
Other outstanding features in the Fall number of the MODERN QUARTERLY:
Science and the New Obscurantism Sidney Hook
Towards a New Beginning Lillian Symes
The Making of America V. F. Calverton
Britain's Eternal Interests Joseph Davidson

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EVERY NATION OUGHT TO BUILD A NAVY SECOND TO NONE



The section on "The Advancement of Real Internationalism" was strengthened to include provisions for aid to refugees, recognition of the common cause of the anti-war movement with the anti-imperialist movements and warring fascist movements in fascist countries and of our particular closeness to the Latin-American anti-imperialists.

FARM UNION

Dick Joyce, representing the National Farmers Union described the economic plight of the farmer. "War arises from causes that are economic," he said. "We need to ferret out and know each other's problems better."

COMPOSITION

There were many delegates from local and regional church organizations, student groups, including delegates from four American Student Union chapters (YMCA and YWCA and Student Christian association groups.

Of the young people represented at the Congress a little over a half were from the church group, a shade more than a quarter from the farm and cooperative groups, and the remainder from labor, student, regional and local Youth Committees Against War and from the peace and political groups. The total represented comes to approximately 2,500,000 young people.

NEGRO SPEAKER

Cecil Tarrance, of the Louisville chapter of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People, listed the problems of the Negro—education, legislation, disfranchisement.

Jack Kwalek, union organizer

Jack Kwalek, union organizer

"I am an American." Mary Moore concluded her speech with, "The only way we can bring about a lasting peace, not an armed peace, is through attacking an economy that absolutely denies such a thing."

The commission sessions that dealt with the fight against the Industrial Mobilization Plan, with the assistance that can be rendered to the anti-imperialist and anti-war movements abroad, with the relation of the fight against war to labor, to the farm groups and to the cooperatives, did excellent work in linking up the struggles that are being carried on all over the world against oppression and misery, with the fight against war. The young people who attended the Congress left with a greatly broadened understanding of the nature of the world today. Many are coming to understand the Socialist slogan "fight against war on every front and you find yourself fighting for Socialism."

Joseph Klein of the Religion and Labor Foundation of the Hebrew Union College described the discrimination that is being practiced in the United States against Jews. "Let's keep anti-semitism, a form of war, out of America," was the conclusion of Klein's address. The Congress adopted a statement of organizational principles which announced that the YCAW

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SOCIALIST CALL

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Action on Congress

Spanish Blackguard reactionaries under the leadership of Father Coughlin ganged up on congress for their friend Franco last week. Consistent with the line of the international hierarchy, the Royal Oak prelate took to the air and exhorted his fanatical followers to pressure the solons into retaining the embargo against the Spanish republic. More than 100,000 telegrams, the Associated Press reported, bombarded senators and representatives asking them to comply with pro-Fascist Coughlin's request.

Liberal, Socialist and plain Americans were aroused with such a shameful exhibition. It proved to be the tonic they needed. The reply to Coughlin took the form of 250,000 messages which swamped the offices of the law makers, urging them to execute the will of the vast majority of the American people on the Spanish question. Lift the embargo! became a slogan that reverberated throughout the length and breadth of America.

The government's foreign policy has aided the armed forces of Hitler and Mussolini in their war against the Spanish masses. While normal commercial relations between Loyalist Spain and the United States have been disrupted, the international Fascists in Japan, Italy, Spain and Germany have had access to practically everything they needed in this country.

The fight must go on. Roosevelt's technical excuses with regard to the neutrality act were merely a maneuver for time. Now that he knows that Chamberlain and Daladier will continue the policy of aiding Franco and strangling the Loyalists we can expect the state department to follow suit unless sufficient pressure is brought about by large numbers of Americans who genuinely despise Fascism.

Activists in the labor movement have a duty to sustain vigorously the campaign to raise the embargo. Mass organizations of workers and farmers which have been beaten into silence by blackguard pressure must be aroused from their apathy and fears. Chamberlain may write the government's foreign policy but it is our job to see to it that Coughlin and his ilk don't hamstring the labor movement.

Civil The senate committee on civil liberties has not completed its work of rooting out the enemies of industrial democracy. Legislation to outlaw industrial espionage, professional strike-breakers, accumulation of weapons and munitions by business establishments and the usurpation of ordinary civil rights by local officials hinges on a thorough report by the committee. Facts pertaining to the notorious Associated Farmers of California, the ruthless plantation owners and their police agents in the South, the Ford service department and other glaring examples of industrial and political tyranny must be brought to the attention of the American people.

Senator La Follette and his committee have done an excellent job in the Harlan, Kentucky, the Chicago Memorial day massacre, Little Steel, etc. The work of investigating all instances where labor's civil rights are abrogated must be extended and rounded out to enact preventive legislation.

Enemies of the workers' movement are attempting to stop any further appropriation for this work. Believers in social justice and industrial democracy should rally greater support to appropriate necessary funds with which to continue the committee's important work.

The Dies In contradistinction to the La Follette committee is the Dies Committee on un-American activities. Its prejudice, unjudicial conduct and irresponsibility on every issue of benefit to labor, such as Loyalist Spain, industrial unionism, the American Civil Liberties Union and its witch-hunting campaign against everyone who is in the least liberal or progressive marks it as a real threat to everything the Socialist party stands for. Under the cry of Communism it seeks to label every enemy of reaction in the style of the neurotic Mrs. Dilling.

While reactionaries plot to stifle the La Follette committee by depriving it of a further appropriation they are also exerting every pressure to effect an allowance of \$150,000 for the Dies group with which to drag the red herring across the front pages of a willing press. The issue now is plainly one of civil liberties vs. government repressions, the former magnanimously exemplified by the senate committee on civil liberties and the latter dangerously manifest by the proclivities of the house committee on un-American activities.

Wagner Another progressive act of congress—the Wagner labor dispute act—is under severe attack by reactionary business interests. Enemies of the act are skillfully exploiting the division within the trade union movement to repeal or emasculate the intent and purpose of this law.

We can expect real support from the CIO. The AFL is divided on the issue. The executive council is known for its bitter criticism but large sections of the AFL rank and file and affiliated organizations are genuinely in favor of the Wagner act. Viewed from the broad interest of the whole labor movement the Wagner labor dispute act should be retained in order to safeguard labor from company unions and to complete the unfinished job of organizing the unorganized.

Socialists should do all in their power to resist any modification of the act.

A Reply to Mike Gold

BY LILLIAN SYMES Those who have watched the attempts of the Communist party in the past to make a factional racket out of the Mooney case have been speculating recently on whether that organization would continue the practice after Mooney's release. They already have their answer and the answer is "Yes."

So long as Mooney was in prison, it was difficult for individuals and groups who have been slandered by the Communists in this process to fight back without raking up old sores and seeming to give comfort to anti-labor forces. That time is now past. The Communist party has hatched upon the decency of its political opponents long enough.

As an individual Socialist, I am concerned at the moment with a statement made by Michael Gold in a recent issue of the "New Masses" to the effect that as secretary of the Socialist party in San Francisco in 1916, I sent out a circular letter to the membership of the party stating that Mooney was "unquestionably guilty." The Communist party has been circulating this story on and off for nearly 20 years (except in 1923 when I was invited to join the Communist party). It remained for the party's most reckless neurotic to put it in print.

Slandered Mary Donovan This is the same Mike Gold who immediately after the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti wrote a vicious attack on Mary Donovan Haggood who for six years had devoted every ounce of her strength and energy to that case. It is the same official mud-slinger of American communism who denounced Fred Beals to the authorities and who has attacked everyone who has aided in his defense. It is the same twisted neurotic who, secretly humiliated before the integrity of his own personal friends like Liston Oak who have broken with the Communist party, has denounced them as "Fascist spies." To those of us who have known Mike Gold intimately, none of this has come as a surprise.

Needless to say, there is not one word of truth in this most recent Gold diatribe. The only individual I have ever known personally who believed Mooney guilty in 1916 was Fremont Older who stated so quite frankly in his autobiography. No single individual has ever done more for the Mooney case than Fremont Older after he changed his mind. If he were alive now and critical of the Communist party, the "New Masses" would be spitting venom in his direction.

History of Letter The only letter I have ever written about the Mooney case, in 1916 or any other time, was an answer to an inquiry made by a member of the national executive committee of the party about Mooney's relationship to the party in that period and our relationship to the International Workers' Defense in San Francisco. That letter stated specifically that Mooney was not guilty of the charges against him.

This did not prevent Bob Minor, then an anarchist, from spreading the story which Mike Gold has included in his "New Masses" article. But the same story has popped up in Communist circles about at least two national secretaries of the Socialist party, including one who must have been all of 12 years old in 1916. The Communists adopted it to suit their purposes at various times. A record exists of a Mooney meeting under Socialist auspices in San Francisco in 1916, at which Bob Minor was the principal speaker. This last was an error of judgment on my part.

Communist Racketeering Socialists are not the only ones, of course, who have been slandered by the Communists in relation to the Mooney case. The process has undoubtedly been a defense mechanism on their part to divert attention from their racketeering in this, as in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

At a supposed "united front" mass meeting in San Francisco in 1934, Bob Minor denounced as "traitors" of Mooney, not only Socialists but practically every labor man who had ever exerted himself in the case. Among those attacked most viciously was George Kidwell, now industrial commissioner in California, who shared the spotlight with Bob Minor himself during the recent ceremonies attendant on Mooney's release. Minor's accusations in 1934 were as false as all the others he has made, but strangely enough, the attacks on Kidwell and certain other labor leaders are not being repeated in the "New Masses" now because the Communist party wants to play ball with these gentlemen in the labor movement and in Democratic politics.

A Factional Weapon Mike Gold's article is an indication that he intends to go on abusing the Mooney case as a factional weapon and he speaks for the Communist party. It is up to Mooney—who declares that he seeks unity and good faith in the labor movement—to discourage or encourage this practice. The role he plays in the labor movement may very well depend on the attitude he takes to this type of "support."

Personally, I wish to serve notice on the Communist party that the time for dignified silence in relation to its lies and distortions on this subject is now past. Those of us who have lived in California and who have some first hand knowledge of its filthy practices in this case in the past 10 years are under no compulsion to keep silent under its provocation. The record on the

Freedom of Religion

To the average American of my generation, religious freedom was something to be taken for granted. Out of generations of bitter, and often murderous, strife between religions, we had found peace. The free church or many free churches in the free state was, we thought, an unchallenged reality in America.

To be sure, the old American Protective Association and still later, the Ku Klux Klan, made us uncomfortably aware of the way in which religious bigotry and hatred of "the Pope" could be capitalized by demagogues, but these spasms of intolerance were not long-lived.

It is part of the brutal madness of our present world that the ages of persecution have come again, and that organized religion is once more the victim, and sometimes an active agency, of man's intolerance.

Few religions in the long history of human society have been so amoral and so brutal as the religion of the totalitarian state. It does not claim for Caesar that which is God's; it asserts that Caesar is God and the only God. It brooks no rivals. In social ethics it demands for the absolute state what men owe to humanity.

The Church's Sins Persecution of the church in Russia, Spain and certain Latin-American countries can be, to some extent, explained and even condoned by the church's own grievous sins of omission and commission. The whirled which it reaped were in large part of its own sowing. Even so, persecution and denial of religious liberty cannot be justified. In Germany persecution of the churches, both Catholic and Protestant, cannot even be condoned. It is part of the arrogant brutality which the Nazi state seeks to direct all the obedience and devotion of the German people to itself. And the struggle of churchmen, both Catholic and Protestant against the state is a glorious service to mankind. Persecution of the Jews, more drastic even than persecution of Christians, is not primarily religious—it is based, nominally, upon a cruel and false science of race. This is proved by the fact that Jews who are not Christians and Christians who are not Jews are persecuted equally.

Historically, in our western world, civil liberties have flowered out of soil drenched with the blood of the martyrs in the long struggle for freedom of the religious conscience. Now that the struggle has begun again, there can be no question of any wavering in

"Land for the Landless"

Southern Tenant Farmers' Union Wages Heroic Struggle for the Oppressed Masses of the South

BY H. L. MITCHELL, Secretary, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union

The encampment of fifteen hundred sharecropper refugees on the highways of southeast Missouri resulted from these factors—membership in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, acreage reduction and increased mechanization of the farms.

The mass encampment on the highway constituted an effort by members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in Missouri to bring their condition to the attention of the nation. Although with no shelter, no sanitary conveniences and but little food the refugees determinedly protested against perpetual and increasing homelessness and against the greed of the land owners who frankly admit that they want all the government benefits for themselves.

Our organization is demanding that a special project be immediately instituted by the Farm Security Administration to give immediate aid to these hundreds of evicted victims so that the remaining workers can more easily obtain a decent wage for their labor and the plantation owners compelled to pay out a portion of the government subsidies as increased wages.

Readers of the SOCIALIST CALL may be interested in a history of our organization, its problems and program; the following account written while on the road may give the readers a birds-eye view of our situation:

Union Formed in 1934

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is over four years old, having been in existence since July of 1934. Its first local was established by 10 white men and seven Negroes near the town of Tyrone, Arkansas, largely as a result of the Cotton Flow-Up program of that year. Its leaders are now and have always been native southerners.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union has developed its program on the basis of the needs of its membership. The program has an ultimate goal of restoring to the land the landless farm population of the southern states. The union has developed the idea of cooperative farming as a solution to the problem of plantation system. In its day to day struggle it has gained higher wages for its members, secured better conditions on the cotton plantations of the states in which it operates. A new understanding of the meaning of civil liberty in Arkansas and other states has been the result of its fight for human rights for sharecroppers.

Problems of Centralization

Starting out as an independent organization Southern Tenant Farmers' Union participated in the establishment of the International Union Cannery and Agricultural Workers, chartered by the CIO in 1937. This new relationship has at times been difficult, due largely to the misunderstanding of southern problems by a strongly centralized international union dealing with problems as diverse as those of fish canners in Alaska,

Little Essays In Socialism

By John M. Work

Let no one suppose that a condition of human brotherhood—Socialism developed to its ideal stage—will weaken anything that is good in the human race.

The removal of the brutal struggle for existence is not going to result in the enervation and deterioration of the race, as some extremely animal men have charged.

It is true that the old warlike disposition will have to go. John M. Work The man who takes delight in stealthily lying in wait for his fellow men and springing at their throats, either literally or through some graft dignified with the name of business, will have to go.

If you admire him, prepare to say goodbye to him.

Humanity will go up higher than that.

subject is quite clear and if the Communist party is looking for trouble, it will get it—with both barrels. Unlike its ex-membership secretary, Mr. Arthur Scott Kent, class-conscious radicals do not tell their stories to the Dies committee. But they can tell them to the working class. It is up to the CP. As for Mike Gold—it is doubtful if even another long session with a psychoanalyst would do him any good.

Hunger in Missouri



beet growers in Colorado and sharecroppers in the Cotton Belt.

In addition to the many types of agricultural workers the international claims jurisdiction over 57 varieties of industry allied to agriculture. The STFU sought in the beginning to have this international made a federation of autonomous organizations. The STFU has maintained its organization intact in spite of difficulties.

Wages and Knowledge

During the past year the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union has directed its efforts primarily at increasing the wage rates for farm labor, the establishment of an educational program for its membership and securing relief in the form of WPA jobs for sharecroppers and tenants. The organization now has 42,000 enrolled members in five states with 183 local, county organizations, and in the state of Oklahoma a functioning state organization.

It has become a political power in Arkansas, Oklahoma and Missouri where the bulk of the membership is concentrated. Five thousand members of the STFU paid their poll taxes in 1938 and were qualified to vote for the repeal of the poll tax law in Arkansas on November 8, Oklahoma and Missouri have no laws legally disfranchising their citizens.

A representative of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union served as a member of the special committee called by the National Emergency Council to formulate its report to the president. This report proved that the South was as President Roosevelt called it "the nation's

Brotherhood will make men gentle, fine-grained, physically healthy and highly developed mentally. They will not be the nervous wrecks whom you meet now. They will get back to simplicity.

Indeed, the human race has the choice of getting back to simplicity or becoming extinct. The present condition promotes disease and insanity which will end the race if a halt is not called.

Capitalism has robbed the world of its health and its beauty and its grace and its virtue and its poise.

Brotherhood—Socialism—will call a halt on degeneration and give people a chance to be healthy and noble and self-respecting and worthy to be.

In the golden age of human brotherhood there will be a higher measure of human values.

The servant of all will then, in fact as well as in theory, be the greatest of all.

The Military Ideal

Young Man: the lowest aim in your life is to be a good soldier. The "good soldier" never tries to distinguish between right and wrong. If he is ordered to fire on his fellow citizens, on his friends, on his neighbors, he obeys without hesitation. If he is ordered to fire down a crowded street where the poor are clamoring for bread, he obeys and sees the gray hairs of age stained with red and the life tide gushing from the breasts of women, feels neither remorse nor sympathy. A good soldier is a blind, heartless, soulless, uniformed murderous machine.—AUTHOR UNKNOWN

Pitted Against the Sharecroppers Are Powerful Forces That Reckon with Vast Changes

economic problem number 1." It also established the fact that the basic problem of the South is farming or sharecropping.

Cotton Pickers' Strike

In September of 1938, a strike of cotton pickers, the leadership of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union was called. Approximately 20,000 members of the organization were involved. After staying out of the fields for approximately 10 days, wage rates were advanced 15 to 35 per cent. Prior to the strike they were receiving 40 cents to 75 cents per hundred for picking out the cotton crop. The average can pick about 150 pounds; men, women and children are employed at this labor during season which about 60 days.

Gain Wage Increase

The union demanded \$1.00 per hundred and strongly organized localities wage levels were raised 75 cents per hundred pounds in all sections organized by the union. In nearby unorganized areas were followed the lead of the union men and also raised increases in pay.

With a greatly reduced cotton acreage this year numbers of people displaced both by the Department of Agriculture's program and the widespread reduction and use of improved machinery (tractors) on cotton farms of the South, general conditions are much worse than at any time during the current season for the sharecroppers, tenants and farm labor.

In an address at Memphis, Tenn., on August 10, Harry L. Hopkins, WPA administrator, promised that WPA jobs to sharecroppers and tenants during season of unemployment. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is calling on the WPA to make good promise and at the same time preparing for action on the part of its membership with demonstrations and mass meetings to force WPA to give.

Ask For Labor Support

A strong delegation of representatives of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union attended the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, Birmingham November 20 to 23 and these representatives urged the conference to adopt a program based on the needs of the people of the South.

We consider our present fight just and social purpose. Pitted against our people and our underpowered forces—forces that stubbornly refuse to bow with vast changes in our whole social order. Confronting the dispossessed thousands of workers in the Cotton Belt, are problems which arise from the breaking of the old feudal order due to the mechanization of farms. It is a terrific struggle and a struggle that must be fought and won. Labor and all other progressive forces in America should rally to our

To a Brave Correspondent

While others are handing out "honor rolls" bouquets of various sorts to individuals and organizations for their meritorious public services in 1938, your editor considers it his duty to mention to you he considers to be the best contribution published in the SOCIALIST CALL during the past year.

In his judgment the best article was written by Harry Fleishman, young Detroit Socialist leader, who wrote the dramatic story titled "Terror in Detroit: First Hand Story of Savage Police Raid on Am. Brass Pickets," published in the June 4, 1938, issue of the CALL.

Fleishman got his story with great sacrifice his health. While on the front line of action he was ganged by several police who worked him over and he was knocked unconscious. Even while he was lying prostrated on the street the coppers could not beat him. He was later arrested at a hospital with 23 comrades, hauled to the prosecutor's office where he was grilled until 5 o'clock in the morning and then lodged in a black hole cell where he suffocated. Bleeding and lacerated about the head, body our young correspondent was compelled to lie on a damp concrete floor.

After being released through the legal action of the CIO union he wrote his story despite police threats of retaliation and further persecution if published, given to his punishment.

To a brave correspondent, therefore, your editor presents Harry Fleishman with a copy of the Socialist Call and Balabanoff's historic document, "My Life as a Worker for writing the best story of 1938.

By Norman Thomas

Catholic Intolerance

So intolerant was the crowd at that particular hearing that for several minutes it shouted down John Haynes Holmes with its abuse because he had mentioned the Roman Catholic church. Men and women, victims of the mob spirit, did not even wait to hear that he was going to appeal to the church which was the enemy of Nazi intolerance to exert its power against intolerance in America. Despite the Pope's noble condemnation of antisemitism, this crowd of followers of Father Coughlin and readers of the Brooklyn Tablet, the Catholic organ, panted on the hall of the board of education a great many little red, white and blue stickers exhorting the readers to "buy Christian."

Not by such tactics can genuine religious freedom be preserved in America. I have already emphasized, as an American and as a Socialist, my conviction that the freedom of conscience and the right of men to associate together in their own churches is an integral part of the civil liberty without which there is neither dignity for the individual nor any hope of the good society.

An Appeal to Reason

It is, however, imprudent to restate what that religious liberty does and does not mean. It is a positive thing. It applies to believers in all religions and in no religion. Each of them has the right to try to persuade, but not to coerce his fellow men to his point of view. No church has the right to expect the state to make mandatory upon all people its own particular dogmatic point of view on such matters as divorce, birth control or the use of alcoholic liquor. So far as the law is concerned, the case for or against these practices must rest on argument which can be supported by an appeal to reason and human experience; not to some alleged divine revelation, or the dogmatic demand of the church. Believers may follow their own consciences without making it mandatory on those who do not share that belief. Some Roman Catholics and a few Protestants have done their churches no good when in the name of some sort of church rights they have opposed the child labor amendment to the federal Constitution.

I think it reasonable that churches should be allowed to give organized religious instruction to the children of parents who desire it. This principle should be extended even to the right to maintain parochial schools provided that they approximate certain standards of general education. There is, I think, some case that can be made against not only parochial schools, but private schools generally in our democracy. But cer-

Religion and Education

tainly at a time when the danger of the totalitarian state is so great, and when there is need for variety and experimentation in educational methods, the case for permitting private schools, supported by those who want them, is far stronger than the case for their abolition.

Private schools have, however, no right in the freedom of religion to claim support of public funds. That claim cannot be generally asserted without vitiating the proper support of public schools or vitiating to public education based on subsidies to sectarian schools. This would divide the young at a formative period according to the beliefs of their parents. Catholic, Protestant, Jew, agnostic and other such divisions inevitably makes for bitterness, and failure to appreciate the fact that we bind men together as workers, citizens and beings.

Religious freedom most emphatically does not mean the right of a church to be indirectly supported by public expense by tax exemption of the property that exists in a great many American states. York took a backward, not a forward step, where existing tax exemptions in behalf of churches, its new constitution. They had previously been matter of legislative enactment.

For Religious Freedom

It has recently been reported that a certain utility magnate, whose wealth, to put it mildly, is doubtfully acquired, left an estate out of which some \$10,000,000 have been turned over to the state. In one case this use of his property has almost ruined the educational and social services of a village in which his heirs were among the large holders. By giving their handsome property church they have exempted it from taxation and the entire burden of the support of the communal citizens far less able to bear it. Exemption of property from taxation, at least on the scale of it is now practiced is a form of compulsory contribution to churches not justified by the social which they render, and it is logically in opposition to the principle of the American ideal of a free and free state.

These conclusions are not new; they have been many times over by Americans and especially by Socialists. They are worth restatement when the Socialist position is so often maligned, stated and when throughout our western world so many angles and with such emotional intensity the problem of religious freedom often more occupied minds.