

# ALL OUT MAY DAY!

## Socialist Call

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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Socialist Anti-War Resolution, Page 8 and 9

# FORWARD

# FOR

# WORKERS WORLD!

Flesh of our flesh,  
Bone of our bone,  
No worker anywhere  
Battles alone.

No worker anywhere  
Suffers in vain,  
For everywhere workers  
Are stirred by his pain.

No worker anywhere  
Looks to the skies  
But everywhere workers  
Take heart and arise.

And wherever workers  
Are roused against  
wrong  
They march into battle  
Singing a song:

Giving their struggle  
A name and a voice  
So everywhere workers  
Will hear and rejoice  
—By Sam M. Friedman



# Explosion Wipes Out Many Miners In Virginia Pit

## BULLETIN

GRUNDY, Va. — A total of 45 charred and blackened corpses have been recovered so far from the ruins left by the explosion at the Keen Mountain mine near here. There are a number yet unaccounted for.

GRUNDY, Va., April 26. — This small coal town is burying the shattered remains of three coal miners today, the known victims of a disastrous explosion in the Keen Mountain mine of the Redjacket Coal Company near here. The explosion may have sent more than 75 workers to their death.

The known dead, and scores known to be injured, were all outside the mine when the blast, described as a "dust explosion," occurred Friday afternoon. But 75 miners were in the shaft, and whether any of them live is not yet known.

Witnesses reported a rain of timber as the blast took place. A house near the mine was blown to bits. Three electric motors, each weighing over 8 tons, were sent careening down the mountainside to crash below.

### Women Silently Watch

Rescue squads could not begin to penetrate the poisonous gases and smoke until four hours after the explosion. Emergency calls for rescue aid were sent to surrounding towns in this state and West Virginia. What the final tally their search for the living will yield no one yet knows. And no one even dares hope!

While the rescue squads push their way over cave-ins and debris, crowds of women and children stand silently watching.

Initial terror and panic have given way to expressions of dull exhaustion. In their eyes is the tragic hopelessness of those who know that win or lose, alive or dead, their men are tied to the wheel of class oppression and class rule.

And there are some who know that carelessness and lack of precaution behind the Keen Mountain explosion can be ended — but not so long as men are permitted to own for private gain.

## PICKET POLO GROUNDS

NEW YORK CITY. — With spring in the air, and the baseball season getting under way, officials at the Polo Grounds here are having difficulties.

For the guards at the Polo Grounds have thrown a picket line around it, refusing to join a scab-herding private detective agency, engaged by the management to police the grounds.

Class-conscious workers are cutting down on the attendance at the Giant's opening games.



MAYNARD KRUEGER, Chicago, was reelected to the National Executive Committee at the recent convention of the Socialist Party, who delivered the majority report on the Labor Party.

# Socialists Unyielding In Jersey City Fight

By R. BERTHOLD

JERSEY CITY, N. J. — Constitutional rights are slowly but surely making themselves felt in Hudson County, New Jersey, domain of Frank Hague. On April 21 John Palangio, member of the State Committee of the Socialist Party, succeeded in distributing leaflets advertising a Party meeting, even though he had no permit. Stopped by the police, he was taken to the station house and held until an opinion could be obtained from the town's attorney, who ruled that anyone could distribute literature on the streets of West New York.

The meeting advertised by Palangio took place Monday, April 25, at the West New York Labor Lyceum, where Dr. George W. Hartmann, professor of psychology at Columbia University, spoke on "The So Called Democratic Party." Telegram of invitation were sent to Mayor Frank Hague in Jersey City, as well as to the mayors of Union City, Hoboken, West New York and North Bergen.

Comrade Palangio said that the police sergeant who released him after speaking to the attorney, commented: "O. K. you fellows are right as usual."

Socialist Party members in Hudson County are in the forefront of the fight to establish

civil rights in New Jersey. The strange spectacle of handing out leaflets on Journal Square, in the heart of Jersey City, may be observed almost any day now. Freedom of assemblage has yet to be won completely, but the opening wedge has already been driven.

## Littell To Tour For Youth Anti-War Group

WASHINGTON, D. C. —

Frank Littell, national chairman of the Youth Committee Against War, will be on a speaking tour for the Youth Committee from May 5 to May 26th, on the Atlantic seaboard. Several dates are still open, Alvaine Hollister, executive secretary of the committee, reports.

Besides his post in the youth committee, Mr. Littell is Social Chairman of the National Council of Methodist Youth, a graduate of Cornell College in Mt. Vernon, Iowa, and at present a student at Union Theological Seminary.

Littell's testimony before the House committee on the super-navy bill brought on his head the wrath of the big-navy men and reactionaries, particularly when he told the committee that young people in large numbers would not support the war of aggression for which the bill was preparing.

# Resolution on Spain

(Adopted unanimously by the National Convention of the Socialist Party.)

At this time when embattled workers and farmers of Spain are facing the most crucial moments in their heroic struggle for freedom, the Socialist Party, U. S. A., greets them with a pledge of its undying solidarity. The fight which is now being carried on in Spain will live eternally in the annals of working-class history as a beacon light to all future generations of workers in their struggle for emancipation.

The Spanish fighters have been confronted not only with the combined forces of national and international Fascism, but also with the connivance and at times with the overt opposition of the so-called democracies of capitalist Europe and America. This reactionary unity of international capitalism provides concrete proof of the consistent Socialist contention that the only salvation of the Spanish workers lies in the essential to awaken the workers of the world to their obligations to their Spanish brothers. To this end the Socialist Party, U. S. A., pledges its continued efforts.

Just as the unity of the international labor movement is essential outside of Spain, so is the unity of all working-class forces within Spain indispensable to the ultimate victory. Consequently, the Socialist Party acclaims all efforts to achieve that unity within Spain and gives its political support to all forces in Spain working to that goal. Particularly do we greet the Left Socialists of Spain, under the leadership of Comrade Francisco Largo Caballero, for their heroic struggle on behalf of militant Socialism and for working-class unity.

Since no valid unity in Spain is possible as long as leading anti-fascists are held in the jails of governmental Spain, the Socialist Party demands once more that all anti-fascists be immediately released from prison so that they may take their places at the fronts in these crucial days. We condemn the actions of the Communist International and the conservative political elements of Loyalist Spain in denying civil rights to the left forces and intensifying the disunity which has been so harmful to the workers' cause.

While the capitalist press of the world gleefully proclaims the "certain" victory of Franco and his Fascist allies, the Socialist Party, U. S. A., reaffirms its confidence in the ultimate victory of the workers and farmers of Spain.

The sacrifices of the past twenty-one months will not be in vain! Long live the unity of the Spanish working-class!

# WORLD NOTES

By JOHN MILL

## MAY DAY IN EUROPE

Hunted by the police, forced to secrecy, threatened by deadly danger, literally risking their lives—underground—will the workers in the fascist countries celebrate our international holiday of proletarian solidarity—May Day. Even under the despotism of the Czars in Russia, the Hohenzollerns in Germany, and the Hapsburgs in Austria, the workers were by no means to be oppressed and enslaved as under the rule of the modern political adventurers and parvenues a la Hitler and Mussolini.

Nevertheless, optimism will not fail them. In the limited possibilities will they assemble and will find ways and means to express their unshattered faith in the ultimate defeat of fascism, in their own final victory, in the sure rise of our Messiah—the Messiah of the poor, oppressed, exploited—Socialism.

### Anxiety Everywhere

But also in the democratic countries where the workers more or less still enjoy civil liberties, freedom of assembly, press, organization—the hearts of the masses are filled with anxiety, with fear for the future, with the certainty that the danger of aggressive fascism is at their thresholds.

And in some countries adjacent to Germany, the masses having the Austrian debacle before their eyes, are in a state of mind that may be called panic.

The fascists in these countries, supported by Hitler and Mussolini's agents and by their millions of marks and lira, do not find it necessary to hide their occult plans and aspirations.

The Rexists in Belgium, the "Hooded Men" (Cagoulauds) in France, the "National Front" in Switzerland, etc., all come out openly against democratic institutions and advocate totalitarianism, national chauvinism, suppression of the class movement of the workers.

### Fascist Plot

The French Socialist daily, "Populaire," has just published sensational and alarming details of a fascist plot to overthrow the government with the help to the "Combatants" (world war veterans).

And not only the official fascists, but even those reactionaries who deny their connections with the fascists, aim to destroy all that has been left of democracy and above all to destroy the labor and Socialist movement.

In this respect much attention has been drawn lately by the Paris Catholic-conservative paper, "Epoque". Its editor of not enviable fame, Henry de Kerillis, has urged immediate adoption of the following measures: a new government of "National Safety" consisting of 5 or 6 "prominent" men without any party connections, dissolution of parliament,

press censorship, suppression of the trade unions and of political parties, revision of the constitution, friendship with Germany, Italy, and the fascist part of Spain, severance of friendly relations with Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia.

### Cynical Preachings

This open, cynical preaching of a fascist revolution is unfortunately being met with sympathy and approbation by many members of the army, industrialists, financiers, and even by some elements of the Radical-Socialist party of the People's Front.

Thus, even in the democratic countries the workers are in danger of being attacked by fascist forces and to lose all the achievements they have gained by strenuous efforts and countless sacrifices for years and years.

In addition, the fear of foreign invasion, the threat of war—all a direct result of spread of fascism—aggravate the situation.

All these circumstances will influence the scope and the contents of the May Day demonstration. Millions of exploited, oppressed, unemployed, all of those to whom economic chaos and political persecution cause misery, loss of jobs, loss of shelter and bread for themselves and for their families, will demonstrate for work and bread.

### Workers' Slogans

Freedom of organization, less working hours, higher salaries, real social security—will be some of the workers' slogans.

Fight reaction, fascism, militarism, war, imperialism—will be the outcry of the masses.

No racial or religious discrimination, no anti-semitism—will be the demand of the workers of national minorities.

The "non-intervention" policy in Spain—reactionary, hypocritical, and shameful—will be most energetically denounced by the workers in every country.

Admiration and love to our brethren in Spain, who are fighting not only their battle but also ours, will be expressed by the entire international working class.

More than ever will this year's May Day demonstration be a demonstration for unity of the working class and for Socialism.

The boycott of Japanese goods in England caused the increase in the sale of goods from Germany. The Women Shoppers' League, through a joint meeting of the British and World Anti-Nazi Councils, made a proposal to form a league for the boycott of goods from aggressor nations. This proposal is now under consideration of the general council of the English Trade Unions.



PHOTO SHOWS young members of the Spanish republican army manning a big gun in the Aragon mountains.

**Keep America Out of War!**  
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# Working Class Philosophy

## May Day Thoughts

By Joseph M. Coldwell

"These are anxious and trying days for us all. Testing days for the men and women who are upholding the banner of the working class, in the struggle of the working class of the world against the exploiters of the world. A time in which the weak and cowardly will falter, and fail and desert, they disappear as if they had never been. They lack the fibre to endure the revolutionary test. On the other hand, they who are animated with the unconquerable spirit of the Social Revolution, they who have the moral courage to stand erect and assert their convictions; stand by them; fight for them; go to jail or to hell for them, if need be; they are writing their names in this crucial hour; they are writing their names in fadeless letters in the history of mankind."

Have you heard or read those words before? Those are words uttered by Eugene Victor Debs, on June 16th, 1918, in Canton, Ohio, at the time this country was in the throes of war hysteria. Members of the Socialist Party, members of the Industrial Workers of the World, members of religious sects opposed to war, conscientious objectors to war, persons who would not buy Liberty Bonds, in fact any one whom the super patriotic war mad zealots wanted to have arrested were charged with violating some war laws.

### The Real Slackers

Those were trying days for many who had convictions against war and against the existing economic system. Cowardly slackers who were too cowardly to go to war, and too cowardly to protest against conscription, got bomb proof jobs in the department of injustice. It was called the slacker's retreat. They covered all public meetings and reported any speaker who in their opinion was not 100% in favor of war.

Gene Debs had been warned that what he said would be used against him and that he would be sent to prison as others had been. His answer to that was "I may not be able to say what I think, but I am not going to say anything I do not think. I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than to be a sycophant and coward on the street."

### Gene Debs Arrested

Well, Gene was arrested for that Canton speech, convicted and sent to the Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia, to serve a sentence of ten years imprisonment. There he met many others who had preceded him as guests of Uncle Sam. Their crimes had been violations of war laws, the same as Gene's. A couple of months later I joined him in the Penitentiary. I had been the State Organizer of the Socialist Party of Rhode Island, and in objecting to the conscription of our American youth to be used as cannon fodder I had offended some of our super-patriots.

As my meeting was covered by some of the same cowardly type of slackers who had joined the department of injustice, I also was convicted of violating a war law, the Espionage Act. I had known Gene since 1898, when I joined the old Social Democratic Party, which later became the Socialist Party, it was not long before we found each other. We were finally released on Christmas Day, 1921.

### Keep Out of War

"These are anxious trying days for us all" today, even as they were in 1916-17-18. We are now fighting to KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR. We have a man size job on our hands to KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR. Flag wavers, constitution savers, and some of our so-called saviours of mankind, Nazis, Fascists, even those who while living physically in America, are mentally living in an European country, all want the United States government to

make alliances with European powers which will eventually get this country into another world war, with its aftermath of dead, maimed and gased victims, paupers and millionaire war profiteers. Were Gene Debs alive to day I know he would say, KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR.

### An Appeal to Labor

If you are part and parcel of the organized labor movement in the United States you have a job that must be done. It can only be done by the men and women who are in the organized labor movement. This is a big job. It will require every ounce of energy, thought, and action, that you can put in to it. You will meet with opposition from the members of your own union. You will meet with ridicule, yes and with abuse, from some of the so-called labor czars. Your job is to do everything in your power to get the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. together and form one big industrial union. The time is ripe and rotten ripe for a change from the trade or craft form of organization to the industrial form of organization. This must be attended to at once. Organized labor must not be used to fight the employers battles. Gene Debs was one of the pioneers of industrial unionism in America. Some time I will tell you of the work he did along the line of organizing an industrial union.

### It Can Happen Here

Then we must mobilize our voting strength as wage workers. We simply must get behind a united political labor movement while we still have the opportunity to vote. If we do not do this we may wake up some fine morning and find ourselves without a vote. Don't say it can't happen here. It has happened in other countries and it can happen here.

So on this May Day of 1938, we of the working class, we of the Socialist Party, we who boast of the heritage of Gene Debs, we who sorrowed when he went to prison, we who rejoiced when he was released, we must carry the banner of Socialism to the working class, even as he did to the day of his death.

Our objectives today are, KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR. A UNITED LABOR MOVEMENT. A UNITED LABOR PARTY. Our methods are agitation, organization, and education, both on the industrial field and on the political field. Our motto is: Fight on to victory!



DANIEL HOAN, mayor of Milwaukee, Wis., for more than 20 years, who presided over the last day's session of the Socialist National convention.

# Convention Reaffirms Fight Against Capitalism, War; Starts Party Building Drive

KENOSHA, Wis.—The 21st national convention of the Socialist Party, U. S. A., adjourned here late Saturday night after a strenuous three-day session which deliberated on problems dealing with policy, program, tactics, and strategy.

It was the most harmonious convention in recent Socialist history.

On the most vital issue—that of war—the convention reaffirmed its complete faith in the uncompromising principles of Socialism and avowed that the Socialist Party would fight to the bitter end to defeat any and all plans designed to provoke this country into war.

Three old-time Socialists dominated the scene of the convention as the reiteration of revolutionary action against war was affirmed. Dan Hoan, mayor of Milwaukee, was in the chair. Devere Allen of Connecticut reported the resolution and moved its adoption. Joseph M. Coldwell, Rhode Island, nationally known prison partner of the late Eugene Victor Debs, made a stirring speech in which he briefly related the story of Debs and the struggle of the Socialist Party against the world war. Without further ceremony the convention unanimously adopted the resolution. A spontaneous and prolonged ovation greeted this action.

### Keep U. S. Out of War

The convention heartily endorsed the Keep America Out of War Committee as a step towards building wide united front action on a minimum program of opposition towards war and the war plans of the government.

Growing interest among the masses of America for independent political action along class lines was keenly felt in the convention. A Labor Party committee deliberated diligently to explore the ramifications of this development. There were no fundamental disagreements; the committee and the convention fully appreciated the desirability of working class action on this question. There was a division on tactic and approach which was presented to the convention in a minority and majority report. The majority report was carried by a narrow margin.

One of the special highlights

of the convention was the rousing response of the delegates to an appeal of National Secretary Roy E. Burt for financial assistance to carry the Party's enlarged program into effect. After a half-hour's caucus by states, the delegates pledged \$4,365 to be paid within a month and contributed \$400 in cash.

### Party Schools

With renewed enthusiasm the convention voted to initiate a campaign for 5,000 new party members, to be recruited on the basis of work in mass organizations and party campaigns, and voted to establish training schools in various parts of the country to train party members in methods of party organization and work.

Among the major campaigns of the party in the next year will be anti-war work, a campaign for AFL-CIO unity, raising aid for Spain, a fight for more adequate care of the unemployed, a struggle against wage-cuts and the high cost of living, and a campaign to safeguard workers' rights.

Concentration points for carrying on party campaigns and recruiting were set by the convention in the following fields: anti-war elements, auto workers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers, the Workers Defense League, unemployed organizations, concentration in localities on the most important industries contained therein and cooperatives.

### Labor Unity

The convention voted to campaign for AFL-CIO unity as a major necessity for preserving the gains made by the workers in recent years as well as a prerequisite for successful independent labor political action, but insisted that the right to industrial organization in mass production industries must be maintained. The delegates also adopted a 10-point program of aggressive support for militant, democratic, progressive unionism and disciplined Socialist work to secure and maintain it.

Enthusiastic cheering greeted the unanimous re-election of Norman Thomas to the post of National Chairman of the Party and the election of John Fisher, militant mine worker of Illinois as Vice-Chairman.

### N. E. C. Members

The National Executive Committee elected by the convention is one of the most representative in the recent history of the Party. The members are Devere Allen of Connecticut, Roy Reuther of Michigan, Maynard Kreuger of Illinois, Harry Laidler of New York, David H. H. Felix of Pennsylvania, Ward Rodgers of Arkansas, Paul Porter of Wisconsin, Travers Clement of California, Frank McAllister of Florida, Max Raskin of Wisconsin, Gus Tyler of New York, and Al Hamilton of the YPSL.

Alternate members are: Gerry Allard of Illinois, Lee Morgan of Ohio, Ben Fischer of Michigan, Sam Baron of New York, and Harry Miller of Wisconsin.

The convention adjourned after final speeches by National Chairman Thomas and Vice-Chairman Fisher, the singing of the Internationale, and the delegates and visitors sped homeward to carry out the convention decisions.

## Unionists Meet To Confer On Socialist Work

KENOSHA, Wis.—Scores of Socialist trade-unionists, hailing from the four corners of the nation, gathered here for a successful trade-union conference at the Central Trades and Labor Hall, on the eve of the Socialist national convention.

Leading Socialists in the United Automobile Workers of America reported to the conference on the activity and problems of the Auto Workers Socialist League, recounting the success of the Socialists in helping to build the union, and their fight to keep it democratic and on a militant, progressive plane. Relations of the Socialists with other inter-union groups was discussed at length.

Particular attention was given to the role and problems of the Socialists in the Agricultural Workers, the Workers Alliance, the United Office and Professional Workers, and the Workers Defense League.

Unity between the CIO and AFL assumed basic importance at the conference, especially in light of the menacing drive of American imperialism toward a new war. Unity must be based on freedom for industrial unionism in the mass production industries, the unionists agreed.

Other major problems were unemployment relief problems and tactics; anti-war work and support of the Keep America Out of War Congress in Washington, May 28-30; and political action developments such as the Labor Party developments and Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Plans were mapped for renewed recruiting for the Party, building the Socialist Call, and pushing the sale of "Unions Face The Depression" and other Party literature.

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# THE SOCIALIST CALL

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## Third Party or Labor Party

Gov. Phillip La Follette met this Thursday with liberals from many sections of the country to discuss a new political party.

The workers and farmers of this country need a new party of a mass character that can rescue them from an increasingly miserable situation. But the party they need to do a real job is not a "third" party. What they need is a Labor Party—a party that stands for their own class—not one that stands for both workers and bosses. No Party can adequately help both the man on the assembly line, and the man who owns the factory. No party can truly represent the farmer and the banker who holds his mortgage.

Governor La Follette correctly criticized Roosevelt when he said that what this country needs is more production, not less. A higher standard of living is the governor's objective, which is all to the good. (He probably learned that from the Socialist Party). But how does the governor propose to increase production and bring about a higher standard of living? He is strangely silent on this point and the reasons are obvious. The governor does not have a program for a real party of workers and farmers.

Governor La Follette is reported to have said that he does not want a class party—a party which stands only for workers and farmers. He wants a party to represent all classes.

This ought to give workers and farmers food for thought. A "union" which says it stands for the workers and bosses is a company union. A third party which says it stands for all classes must, therefore, be a company union party!

La Follette's present conception of a new party is not just a "third party"—it is a third capitalist party. Since this is precisely the governor's perspective at the present time it is timely for us to serve warning to progressive workers and farmers. A third capitalist party will act to the detriment of the common people. It can't possibly play a progressive role in this day of capitalist decay.

Workers of hand and brain need an all inclusive party of their class and their class alone. On the entrance of the new movement must be inscribed in letters for all to see: "Bosses Keep Out!"

It is superfluous at this point to agitate workers about capitalist parties. Workers who have lived through the most deplorable conditions in this nation's history are not going to get excited about La Follette's new plan for a new capitalist party with the old program. We want a party that will abolish the capitalist system; that will eliminate the danger of fascism and war; that will give to the workers and farmers the full social value of what they produce.

As a big step towards this goal let's build a genuine Farmer-Labor Party.

## The Socialist Convention

Socialists everywhere, class conscious workers, have every reason to be heartened by the Party convention just completed at Kenosha. The decisions adopted, the enthusiasm engendered, the response of the delegates to the organizational demands made upon them, are sufficient indications that the Party is preparing to assume an increasingly greater leadership in the working class' struggle against its oppressors.

Not only did the convention reaffirm the Party stand on war, but it also laid the basis for the continuation of the leadership of Socialist Party in every field of activity in the fight against capitalism. Socialists will be leading and teaching the workers in the trade unions, in the unemployed organizations, thru the independent Labor Parties that they will help to promote. Above all else, in its activities the Party will continue to be the most steadfast standard bearer of Socialism.

The convention was a real step forward in the realization of our goal. From it we go forward, better able than ever to fulfill our role of that force in the working class which promotes its militancy, unity and strength. For only a strong, united, militant working class can throw off the bonds which shackle it and win the emancipation of all mankind.

## Moscow Post Script

After executing more than 1200 Communist leaders, functionaries, technicians and industrial experts for alleged "wrecking, sabotage and espionage," the official organ of the Russian Communist Party, "Pravda," informs the world that armament production in Soviet industries showed a tremendous increase in 1937.

Armament production increased 20.3 per cent over 1936, the official organ reported.

Facts keep piling up against the prosecutors and killers of the old time Bolsheviks. Twenty point three speaks more convincingly than the flood of "enlightening" evidence the Communist International has turned loose on the world public.

## For Socialism in Our Time!

**SOCIALIST FURRIERS' LEAGUE**

New York City



## Two May Days In Spain: A Tragic Lesson In Unity

BY JAMES LOEB.

As workers throughout the world lay down their tools and leave their shops to express solidarity in the cause of labor's emancipation, the heroic struggle of their Spanish brothers will once more occupy first place in the demonstrations in all lands. For the second time, May Day will have as its primary purpose the mobilization of action for Spain. On this occasion it is well to recall the circumstances surrounding the celebration of May 1, 1937, and draw from those circumstances lessons for action in the immediate future.

One year ago May Day in Spain and throughout the world was an occasion for justifiable optimism; it was the celebration of victory and a re-affirmation of a working class unity which seemed to have been forged with ties of blood. Only a few weeks before May 1st, 1937, the workers in Spain had won their most notable victory. The mercenaries of Mussolini had been routed at Guadalajara; victories had also been won in the south in the region of Pozo Blanco which justified the hope of an early victory over the fascist rebels. These victories were accomplished under the leadership of a preponderantly working class government representing all the anti-fascist forces in Republican Spain.

**Barcelona Incident**

But two days later occurred the May Days of Barcelona, and these tragic events have had a devastating influence on the course of the war, since that time. The May Days marked the decision of the Communist International that the war in Spain must be carried on under its exclusive direction and on its own terms. These terms included the suppression and liquidation of the left forces in Spain and the dependence upon the assistance of the capitalist democracies of the world. The Negrin coalition of moderate Socialists, Communists, and Republicans succeeded the united government of Largo Caballero.

May Day 1938 comes on the heel of crushing defeat of which these policies have been largely responsible. Dependence on the "democracies" of Europe and America has not only proved itself a delusion as regards Spain, but the imminent four-power alliance (Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany) means the complete isolation of the Soviet Union. If May 1st 1938 is to have significance for the Spanish workers, it must presage

a return to the policies of over a year ago.

Two fundamental principles traditionally characterize May Day, principles which are particularly important in critical days. In the first place, May Day is symbolic of independent working class action on an international scale. May Day is essentially anti-capitalist in the sense that it is a holiday taken by the workers and not given by capitalist governments. In the second place, May Day represents united action of labor in its independent struggle for freedom. If these two principles are once more applied in the Spanish struggle, victory of the Spanish workers will result in spite of the recent defeats.

But if May Day is to mean anything to the working class, its message must not be confined to speeches, resolutions, and articles like this. It must be a day of action! In memory of those comrades, of whatever political tendency, who have given their lives in Spain, and also on behalf of those who are so heroically continuing the struggle in the face of overwhelming odds, let each Socialist and progressive worker in America pledge himself to action for Spain! Let each comrade make an additional financial contribution for material help to Spain! And let each one write a letter to our "great liberal" President, demanding the revocation of the vicious embargo against the legitimate government of Spain.

May Day 1938 must demonstrate once more our undying solidarity with our brothers in Spain. Long live the unity of the Spanish working class! Long live the unity of the international working class!

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## SQUIBS

BY GENE LOMAN

You Don't Say—

Here's one you can write your own editorial about: A prominent New York bookseller in a recent prospectus on material of social

and economic importance lists this: MARXIST LIBRARY. Complete set of 32 columns. 8 vo. cloth. International Publishers, N. Y. 1927-1938. Mint. set. \$40.

Then the announcement adds by way of description: Included in this set are the volumes that are out of print and scarce. The out of print volumes, the best titles in the series are not expected to be reprinted for political reasons.

Reducing

Our hats are off to Justice of the Peace Louis Hicks of St. Louis who figured out the sentence for George Jamerson who plead guilty to stealing \$2 from a filling station. On the basis of stock broker Richard Whitney's five year sentence for stealing \$225,000, he figured out that the sentence would be 24 minutes in custody of the sheriff.

And Ed Wieck adds that if the basis had been the millions which Whitney actually stole, diverted, or misused, the Justice would have owed Jamerson money!

L'INTERNATIONALE

When Jeff Campbell, Boston's eloquent field secretary for The Student Christian Movement and your comrade, led sessions of a student Christian conference at Lake George, New York, the lassies planned to conclude their session with a pageant.

The girls were to dress in national costumes, and being serious misses, some were worried because there was no note of internationalism. They came to Jeff.

"Well," said Jeff, "there's an old hymn . . ."

Jeff taught them the hymn; they liked the music, loved the words. And at the end of the pageant, the little group stood up in Chinese, Russian, Spanish, Mexican, German, Italian garb and burst into song—with the "International."

Half a dozen Socialists, scattered through the audience, stood up as though they had been shot. The audience, being polite, followed suit. The Socialists raised clenched fists; the singers, seeing something wrong, did likewise. And that's how the revolution came to the student Christian conference at Lake George.



# AT THE FRONT

with Norman Thomas



There have been more cheerful May Days for the workers. But even in these hours when our cause in many lands is sorely pressed, let us remember certain things. The first of them is that when the first May Day was proposed it was to help the struggle for the eight hour day. Men still alive remember these beginnings. Not many then dreamed that so soon the power of the workers would challenge ancient kingdoms and empires; that Asia as well as Europe would echo to the tread of the awakened masses on the march through victory. Yes, and throughtemporary defeat, to the promised land of plenty, peace, and freedom for all.

The second thing to remember is that the larger part of our present troubles is due to our own internal divisions; not to the strength of a dying capitalism, but to the indecision and confusion of those who are the builders of the future. I do not say this to preach the false doctrine that we can get unity simply by wishing it. We cannot overcome important differences by ignoring or ignoring them. "Workers of the World Unite" does not mean "unite to aid capitalist nations in world war."

But I do say that we should seek in friendly spirit the widest possible agreement and cooperation. Certainly, to use only one illustration, there are no differences of principle so deep that the schism between C. I. O. and A. F. of L. cannot be honorably healed. That's one thing to consider on May Day!

### CONVENTION WAR RESOLUTION

The Kenosha convention produced general resolutions of a high order and excellent debate in the right sort of Socialist temper. Read the War Resolution for proof of what vigorous, constructive and unified thinking our Party is capable of!

Our biggest problems of organization and finance in order to meet our opportunities faced by the convention and helped by its action, but they must be solved practically by deeds. So, too, must the evils of permanent power caucuses be solved by wise and firm action in every division of the Party where they may exist.

Our thanks go to the Kenosha comrades for splendid hospitality, and for the example they are setting in labor unity and labor and Socialist activity.

### LAFOLLETTE'S 1940 PLANS

Gov. Phillip La Follette seems to be taking vigorous and carefully planned leadership for a progressive party by 1940. Socialists will watch it sympathetically, without false hope for miracles, and with keen appreciation of the danger of a party that merely is "progressive", without philosophy or primary root among the workers and working farmers. We want to know more about Phil La Follette's plans.

But already it is clear that he is to the left of the Communist proposals for a "democratic front within the Democratic Party." His criticisms of the failure of Roosevelt to use the billions he is spending constructively to produce more wealth are all to the good. We may, however, remind the Governor that there are limits to what the government can do within the capitalist system, and that the effort to use the government

may lead against his intention to fascism unless he bases his strength primarily on the power of conscious appeal to the solidarity of workers with hand and brain, aroused to the tasks of social ownership and planning and planning and the ending of the class system.

### BRITAIN'S TREATY WITH IRELAND

One among the treaties the Chamberlain government is so vigorously signing is all to the good. I refer to the trade and peace agreement between Great Britain and Eire (the Irish Free State). It will be a blessing to mankind when one of the great, historic, blood cursed national feuds is ended.

The Chamberlain-Hitler pact on its face seems to give England all the assurances she could want. Seemingly, for the time being, Chamberlain has saved both his class and his national interest and temporarily lessened the risks of war in Western Europe. France is indirectly coming in. Quite obviously, des-

pite protests to the contrary, these deeds show Italian fear of Hitler and the weakness of the Berlin-Rome axis.

Of course this agreement, blessed recently by President Roosevelt, is no agreement at all to save democracy. It is an agreement to save empires. It is the kind of collective security—if any—which we must expect between rival capitalist states. It solves no fundamental problem. But it ought to open the eyes even of Communists to the falsity of teaching collective security between empires for democracy. When you can use the elements and the formulae for making TNT and by mumbling a prayer over the process, get out of it an elixir of life, then, and not till then, can you use alliances of capitalist nations in the House of Have, and the method of war to get true democracy and true peace.

Make Socialist cooperation a mighty fact in the Memorial Day Anti-War Congress in Washington! Follow the admirable directions the Kenosha convention adopted!

## McALISTER COLEMAN

RABDURN, N. J.—Our own Eddie Levinson has written the story of the C. I. O. in readable, authentic manner and I urge you to get a copy of his book by sending three bucks to Harper's, the publisher, in New York.

Eddie manages to be tops as a labor reporter and still to maintain his radical integrity. That's a rare combination. Because nowadays, it seems that every one who starts in to write about the C. I. O. either pulls his punches, or swings wildly, or just tapers down to silly gossip. It's no easy job to tackle a controversial subject like this when things are in flux as they are today, and still keep one's head. Levinson has done it though, in great shape. When that vague creature called the "future historian" get around to writing about the most significant movement this country has seen in the past three years he will have to go to the Levinson book.

**Far-Flung Movement**  
Writing about such a far-flung, frequently uncoordinated enterprise as the C. I. O. is the more complicated because of the apparent lack of any program outside of the immediate organization of the workers in the mass industries. A reporter is well-nigh forced to resort to the personality stuff with which the news weeklies are overfull. Evidently there is a good deal more to the C. I. O. than the habits, idiosyncracies and politics of the leaders. Yet with the exception of books like Levinson's it is this tittle-tattle that we have been fed.

I suggest that a realistic approach to true evaluation of the C. I. O. might be made through consideration of the principal unions that make up the Committee, their history, their peculiar problems, their underlying policies. This involves, of course, a vast amount of spade-work which would bring the author or authors into fields seemingly remote from the immediate business of organizing unions.

### The Case of Coal

Take coal, for example. If you want to know why the United Mine Workers are what they are, you have to know the economics of coal. Reading the history of one bitter strike after another,

the story of the pioneers etc. is exciting but not necessarily enlightening. We could do our Socialist planning a lot more intelligently if we knew something of the production and distribution problems of the industry, problems which concern everyone in the industry and the consumers as well. This sort of fact-digging is not necessarily the most thrilling work in the world. It takes you into the gray world of dull statistics. It takes a disciplined mind that can grasp the meaning of those statistics and it takes a writing hand to make them understandable. The same is true of railroads and oil and power.

So instead of writing just an hooray-for-our-side piece for May Day, I am urging the undertaking of a concrete Socialist job. It will take time, money, energy. It will require the patient collaboration of engineers, technicians, researchers, writers. It means going out into America and finding out what goes on.

### Research Restricted

Ordinarily you would look to the big unions themselves to tackle a job of this sort through their own research departments. In some cases an approach to it is being made. But generally, there are too many immediate matters of hours, wages etc., to permit any such long-view approach. And there is no general distribution of what specific information there has been gathered.

Someone will now arise, and say, "Poor old Uncle Mac. He is crawling back into a swivel-chair. His idea of being a militant is to copy out in long-hand what has already been neatly printed in thousands of reports, surveys, bulletins and pamphlets. To blazes with that. I have to go to a caucus and then I have to go out and march around with my fist clenched, and in the meantime I have to earn a living."

All of which is all right by your Uncle Mac. But as I remember my Socialist history, we won the respectful attention of great cross-sections of America at the time when we were doing just such work as I have outlined in my dreary way above.



MRS. AMALIA CARDENAS (at left), wife of the president, receiving contributions of gems and money in the palace of fine arts in Mexico City at the inauguration of a campaign to help the government meet its obligations, including indemnity for expropriated oil properties and running expenses.

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MAY DAY GREETINGS

from the

Workers of

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- Plazman
- Ida Berstein
- Barneth Dmochen
- Gold
- H. Koenig
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- Charles Silverman
- A. Glickstein
- Fanash Fanbiayh
- N. Pinsker
- S. Walfish
- Mania Boobar

Collected by Mania Boobar

# Chicago Labor Forgets Its Martyrs

## ANTON GARDEN

Since last May Day, many things have occurred of profound significance to labor at home and abroad. While we shall again raise high our standard of International Socialism on this great working-class holiday, pledging anew our irrevocable hope in the ultimate victory of workers over the master class, we shall also evaluate those policies which are impeding the march toward this victory by devitalizing and corrupting our labor movement.

The American workers have fought many battles since last May Day. The most bitter was in the Little Steel last spring and summer. Eighteen workers gave their lives in that strike for their union; eleven of them in South Chicago, the rest in Ohio steel towns. Hundreds were wounded on the picket line for the right of organization supposedly guaranteed by the law of the land.

As in so many strikes in the past, almost invariably, the entire might of the capitalist state was brought against the steel strikers. Everywhere: in Johnstown, Youngstown, Warren, Massillon, Cleveland, Chicago. Its most brutal manifestation occurred at the Republic Steel mill in South Chicago on the Memorial Day when eleven strikers were murdered and scores wounded in one of the most cynical police massacres in the history of boss violence in this country. In Ohio steel towns and in Johnstown, Pa., the violence did not lag far behind that of the Chicago police.

### F. D. R. Plagues Labor

Yet when the strike leaders appealed to their Great President against the bloody violence and suppression of civil liberties, we heard the murmur from the White House: "Plague on both your houses!"

One would think that labor, especially the CIO with its Labor Non-Partisan League, has learned a great political lesson from the bloody struggle in the Little Steel. The least of all it should have learned was, not to give any consolation to the local and state political machines of the "New Deal" party which sold out to Girdler and perpetrated those massacres upon the steel workers.

Alas, such is not the case. In Chicago and Illinois at large, the Labor Non-Partisan League has already forgotten the eleven graves of the murdered steel workers in South Chicago; the cries of loved ones they left behind; the scores of wounded, some of whom will nurse their wounds for life; the vicious campaign of the Chicago kept press against the strikes and in justification of the massacre; the white-washing of the murderers by State's Attorney Courtney; Van Bittner's public accusation that Mayor Kelly received \$100,000 from the Republic Steel for breaking that strike; the threats of the CIO leadership that labor will drive from power all responsible for the dastardly massacre and place them in jail.

### Award Their Enemies

All this is forgotten. The entire crime against the workers forgiven by those who shape the political policy of organized labor in Chicago and Illinois.

Even more: The very political machine which perpetrated that unpeakable crime against the steel strikers was actually AWARDED at the recent primary election by the very forces who were denouncing it the loudest for its brutality and striking corruption.

It is almost unbelievable, yet true. The forces that control the Labor Non-Partisan League in Chicago and in the State have not only forgotten the murderers of South Chicago steel workers but also AWARDED both fac-

tions of the corrupt Democratic party, Kelly-Nash's and Courtney-Horner's, by endorsing and supporting their candidates at the recent primary. (The League also endorsed a few republicans, to show its "nonpartisan" character.)

### Moves Further to Right

One hardly knows which crime is greater: the Memorial Day massacre or this sinister betrayal of its victims and the very integrity of the labor movement. Moreover, Labor Non-Partisan League is now preparing to go one step further and eat its own entrails. In the logical pursuit of its unprincipled policy, it is planning to support for U. S. Senator the victorious Horner-Courtney candidate, Congressman Lucas, whom it termed in the primary campaign as "the greatest menace!"

One consolation in this sordid mess of unprincipled horse trading with Chicago Tammany Hall is the sober fact that organized workers in this State refused to swallow this sinister political betrayal, the result of which was that the League was almost 100% defeated with "its slate" at the primary.

### Communist Influence Seen

Needless to say, the Labor Non-Partisan League here, as elsewhere, is pursuing a 100% "People Front" under the painstaking directions of "communists" and their satellites who are devoting all their Stalinist and near Stalinist souls to its promotion, yelping for their Great President Roosevelt, and sabotaging the Illinois Labor Party. As a passing fad, they are now raving at the "reactionary" speech of Homer Martin at the recent Labor Party mass meeting in Chicago.

As for organized labor in this as well as in every other state, the lessons of history, the present and future perspectives should be plain. With out a party of its own, labor, the broad masses of common people will continue to be dragged down in the quagmire of corrupt, unprincipled politics and serve as cat's paws in the hands of their political and economic exploiters.

### Changed Course

Labor's Non-Partisan League at its inception showed some signs of turning toward independent political action; now with strong C. P. inspiration, it is rapidly becoming part and

parcel of the corrupt Democratic party. And while it is pretending to fight Tories, it is actually, altho unwittingly, serving their ends by preventing the workers from cutting themselves loose from the capitalist parties. Imagine a "reformed" Democratic party with the Southern Bourbons as its backbone! What a prospect for the guiding spirits of the CIO and LNPL!

Workers of Chicago, of Illinois, of America: Build your own party, a party of labor, by labor, for labor! Not only for the immediate reforms, which are but a makeshift in a decaying social order, but also for the overthrow of capitalism and for building a new, classless society free from exploitation, injustice and war!

Join the Socialist party which is an indispensable instrument in your day-to-day struggles as well as for the great historic battle facing the entire working-class!

REMEMBER THE SOUTH CHICAGO MASSACRE! REMEMBER ITS VICTIMS! ONWARD FOR SOCIALISM!

PAUL PORTER, editor of "Kenosha Labor," newly elected member of the Socialist Party's National Executive Committee.

PLAN VISIT BY NAVY  
NEW YORK CITY — In order to show the fervent desire of the United States government for "peace", plans are being made for the bulk of the U. S. Navy to visit the World's Fair in the summer of 1939.

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# How I Became a Socialist

By JACK LONDON

Author of "Call of the Wild," "Martin Eden," etc.



**MAX RASKIN, Milwaukee attorney, lectured to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at the recent convention.**

It is quite fair to say that I became a Socialist in a fashion somewhat similar to the way in which the Teutonic pagans became Christians—it was hammered into me. Not only was I not looking for Socialism at the time of my conversion, but I was fighting it. I was very young and callow, did not know much of anything, and though I had never even heard of a school called "Individualism," I sang the psalm of the strong with all my heart.

This was because I was strong myself. By strong I mean that I had good health and hard muscles, both of which possessions are easily accounted for. I had lived my childhood on California ranches, my boyhood hustling newspapers on the streets of a healthy western city, and my youth on the ozone-laden waters of San Francisco bay and the Pacific ocean. I loved life in the open, and I toiled in the open, at the hardest kinds of work. Learning no trade, but drifting along from job to job, I looked on the world and called it good, every bit of it. Let me repeat, this optimism was because I was healthy and strong, bothered with neither aches nor weaknesses, never turned down by the boss because I did not look fit, able always to get a job at shoveling coal, sailorizing or manual labor of some sort.

And because of all this, exulting in my young life, able to hold my own at work or fight, I was a rampant individualist. I was very natural. I was a winner. Wherefore I called the game, as I saw it played, or thought I saw it played, a very popular game for men. To be a man was to write man in large capitals on my heart. To adventure like a man, and fight like a man, and do a man's work (even for a boy's pay)—these were things that reached right in and gripped hold of me as no other thing could. And I looked ahead into long vistas of a hazy and interminable future, into which, playing what I conceived to be man's game, I should continue to travel with unfailing health, without accidents, and with muscles ever vigorous. As I say, this future was interminable. I could only see myself raging through life

without end like one of Neitzsche's blond beasts, lustfully roving and conquering by sheer superiority and strength.

As for the unfortunates, the sick, and ailing, and old, and maimed, I must confess I hardly thought of them at all, save that I vaguely felt that they, barring accidents, could be as good as I if they wanted to real hard, and could work just as well. Accidents? Well, they represented fate, also spelled out in capitals, and there was no getting around fate. Napoleon had had an accident at Waterloo, but that did not dampen my desire to be another and later Napoleon. Further, the optimism bred of a stomach which could digest scrap iron and a body which flourished on hardships did not permit me to consider accidents as even remotely related to my glorious personality.

I hope I have made it clear that I was proud to be one of nature's strong-armed noblemen. The dignity of labor was to me the most impressive thing in the world. Without having read Carlyle, or Kipling, I formulated a gospel of work which put theirs in the shade. Work was everything. It was sanctification and salvation. The pride I took in a hard day's work well done would be inconceivable to you. It is almost inconceivable to me as I look back upon it. I was as faithful a wage slave as ever capitalist exploited. To shirk or malingering on the man who paid me my wages was a sin; first, against myself, and second, against him. I considered it a crime second only to treason and just about as bad.

In short, my joyous individualism was dominated by the orthodox bourgeois ethics. I read the bourgeois papers, listened to the bourgeois preachers, and shouted at the sonorous platitudes of the bourgeois politicians. And I doubt not, if other events had not changed my career, that I should have evolved into a professional strikebreaker (one of President Eliot's American heroes), and had my head and my earning power irrevocably smashed by a club in the hands of some militant trades unionist.

Just about this time, returning from a seven months' voyage before the mast, and just turned 18, I took it into my head to go tramping. On rods and blind-baggages I fought my way from the open west, where men bulked big and the job hunted the man, to the congested labor centers of the east, where men were small potatoes and hunted the job for all they were worth. And on this new blond beast adventure I found myself looking upon life from a new and totally different angle. I had dropped down from the proletariat into what sociologists love to call the "submerged tenth," and I was startled to discover the way in which that submerged tenth was recruited.

I found there all sorts of men, many of whom had once been as good as myself and just as blond-beastly: sailor-men, soldier-men, labor-men, all wrenched and distorted and twisted out of shape by toil and hardship and accident, and cast adrift by their masters like so many old horses. I battered on the drag and slammed back gates with them, or shivered with them in box cars and city parks, listening the while to life histories which began under auspices as fair as mine, with digestions and bodies equal to and better than mine, and which ended there before my eyes in the shambles at the bottom of the social pit.

And as I listened my brain began to work. The woman of the streets and the man of the gutter drew very close to me. I saw the picture of the social pit as vividly as though it was a concrete thing, and at the bottom of the pit I saw them, myself above them, not far, and hanging on to slippery wall by main strength and sweat. And I confess a terror seized me. What, when my strength failed? When I should be unable to work shoulder to shoulder with the strong men who were as yet babes unborn? And there and then I swore a great oath. It ran something like this: All my days I have worked hard with my body, and according to the number of days I have worked, by just that much am I nearer the bottom of the pit, but not by the muscles of my body shall I climb out. I shall do no more hard work, and may God strike me dead if I do another day's work with my body more than I absolutely have to do. And I have been busy ever since running away from hard bodily labor.

Incidentally, while tramping some 10,000 miles through the United States and Canada, I strayed into Niagara Falls, was nabbed by a fee-hunting constable, denied the right to plead guilty or not guilty, sentenced out of hand to 30 days' imprisonment for having no fixed abode

and no visible means of support, handcuffed and chained to a bunch of men similarly circumstanced, carted down to Buffalo, registered at the Erie county penitentiary, had my head clipped and my budding mustache shaved, was dressed in convict stripes, compulsorily vaccinated by a medical student who practiced on such as we, made to march the lock-step, and put to work under the eyes of guards armed with Winchester rifles—all for adventuring in blond-beastly fashion. Concerning further details deponent sayeth not, though he may hint that some of his plethoric national patriotism simmered down and leaked out of the bottom of his soul somewhere—at least, since that experience he finds that he cares more for men and women and little children than for imaginary geographical lines.

To return to my conversion. I think it is apparent that my rampant individualism was pretty effectively hammered out of me, and something else as effectively hammered in. But, just as I had been an individualist without knowing it, I was now a Socialist without knowing it, withal, an unscientific one. I had been reborn, but not renamed to find out what manner of thing I was. I ran back to California and opened the books. I do not remember which one I opened first. It is an unimportant detail anyway. I was already It, whatever It was, and by aid of the books I discovered that it was a Socialist. Since that day I have opened many books, but no economic argument, no lucid demonstration of the logic and inevitableness of Socialism affects me as profoundly and convincingly as I was affected on the day when I first saw the walls of the social pit rise around me and felt myself slipping down, down into the shambles at the bottom.

**Sincere Fraternal Greetings**  
To The "Call" on  
May Day  
Branch 726, Workmen's  
Circle  
Passaic, New Jersey

**FOR THE NEW DAY OF FELLOWSHIP AND JOY**  
Socialist Party Branch  
Downers Grove, Illinois

**Long Live the International Solidarity of the Working Class!**  
Jim and Ellen Loeb  
New York City

**Greetings From**  
Gershing Branch 153,  
Workmen Circle  
M. KAUFFMAN, Sec'y

**WORKERS' GREETINGS**  
from  
**Bakers' Union**  
Local 22, N. Y. C.

**With Best Wishes**  
Workmen's Circle, Br. 145  
B. SIEGEL, Sec'y

**Labor Greetings on May Day**  
from the  
**Suit Case, Bag and Portfolio Makers Union**  
I. BOKAL, Pres.  
New York City

**LONG LIVE UNIONISM!**  
Baker's Union Local 507  
1258 Boston Road  
New York City

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John Burish, Racine Wis.

**For Workers World!**  
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SAMUEL S. WHITE

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# An Analysis of the War Danger and a Program of Action for the Working Class of the United States

Twenty years after a victorious war to end war and to preserve democracy, the menace of new conflict grows daily more acute. Reactionary dictatorships multiply and make new bids for power. Democracy is everywhere on the defensive. Universally, militarism thrives as never before. In the capitalist democracies as well as under the tyranny of fascist despots, imperialism is rampant, driving the world toward new and more devastating warfare.

In 1917, when the United States was stamped into a war which is regarded today by almost everyone as futile, the Socialist Party stood firm. Together with those sections of the world Socialist movement which remained steadfast in their peace allegiance, it refused to support the war. Its St. Louis resolution, reaffirming its internationalism and its loyalty to the world-wide solidarity of the working class, is not only a matter of historic record but a source of pride to Socialists of the post-war generation.

Today the Socialist Party repudiates isolationism and narrow nationalism in all its form. We declare the struggles for justice and peace, wherever the workers wage them, to be our struggles. In no part of the globe can the workers become the victims of capitalist rapacity, of race prejudice and reactionary repression, without our sharing in their set-backs, their hopes, and their efforts at emancipation. At every advance of the working class toward freedom we rejoice; and to every form of cooperation we can effectively give them in their struggles, we are wholeheartedly committed.

## The Roots of War

War has its roots in imperialism, which springs from capitalism and its predatory basis in the profit system. Under capitalism, the world is dominated by an incessant economic warfare which is separated by a thin line from combat of the trench and battlefield. Since the workers in any country are unable to buy back all of the goods they produce, the capitalist investors, owners, and exporters of that country seek markets in less developed lands. Certain countries which by nature have been denied raw materials essential to the full development of capitalist industrialism, engage in a world-wide search for sources of supply, becoming even keener and more desperate rivals of other countries when these raw materials are necessitated for the maintenance of armaments and national prestige.

Not only does imperialism seek outlets for capital investment in colonial areas where labor is cheap and profits high, thus spreading the danger of war to the four corners of the earth; but the use of financial weapons in world diplomacy, the demands for territorial changes on the one hand and the insistence on the status quo on the other, continuously fan the flames of nationalism and enable imperialists in all parts of the globe to delude the masses into giving them support.

## The Foe is Capitalism, Not Merely Fascism

With its brutal suppression of civil rights, its incendiary use of racial bigotry, its swashbuckling militarism, its ruthless attacks on labor organization and living standards, fascism everywhere, under whatever label, is the enemy of everything the working class conceives to be worthwhile. Against fascism in every aspect the Socialist Party has been working and will continue to expose the proponents of fascism and to educate the workers about the sources in which an American type of fascism may come. Indeed, there is no sounder and more fruitful method of combatting fascism than the promotion of socialism and the concrete program of the Socialist Party.

But fascism alone is not at the bottom of war, and the world struggle among capitalist nations is only superficially a conflict between democratic and fascist powers. Imperialism, not merely fascism, is at the root of war and imperialism springs from capitalism, whether of the democratic or the fascist form. Not only the fascist countries, but the capitalist democracies also, oppress colonial peoples and despoil them of their wealth; not only the fascist countries, but the capitalist democracies also, maintain their economic privileges by force of arms. In the vanquishment of imperialism everywhere, and not solely in the vanquishment of fascism in one or several countries, lies the eventual hope of a warless world.

## Collective Insecurity

Centered in the League of Nations, a collective security program has for two decades captured the imagination and caught up the hope of large sections of the peace and labor movements. Its advocates insisted that through the League machinery, world peace could be achieved without any shift from capitalism to a Socialist system. But increasingly these unrealistic peace workers have been confounded by events. Not only did the League of Nations see treaties of military assistance, based on the old-time balance of power philosophy, entered into openly and secretly among its leading powers; not only did it come to see its provisions defied at its own council table; but eventually it reached the point where, in deference to imperialistic compulsions, there was open trading among many of the League nations entirely outside the League to which they were pledged, and even cynical attacks on the League by some of its most prominent spokesmen.

And yet, in the face of this wholesale collapse, there are those who put forward the idea of collective security—which might be a fruitful method under proper conditions—as a program for peace for nations obviously ready for war, as a basis of unity for nations motivated by greed, suspicion and economic contention, and as a means of crushing fascist aggression by so-called democratic countries which have perpetually given aid and comfort to the dictatorships they are now romantically expected to oppose.

Even if capitalist governments could be counted on to work against fascism, collective security in our present-day world would mean lining up a part of the world to make war, if necessary, on the rest. Its practical application is a revival of the old systems of alliances which so long made war inevitable.

Not only did the system of collective security, with its half-hearted application of economic sanctions, break down when Mussolini invaded Ethiopia; that buccaneering conquest is rapidly receiving endorsement by leading sanctionist powers, who are willing to make deals with the very fascists they sternly denounced when the Ethiopian adventure threatened their own advantages.

From Great Britain, France, United States, and other capitalist democracies, and even in some cases the Soviet Union, have gone the war materials that have made possible the triumph of clerical fascism over the Austrian workers, Japan's war on China, the assault of Mussolini, Hitler and Franco on Democratic Spain, and the Nazification of an already prostrate Austrian nation. Loans and credits have flowed from the capitalist democracies into the coffers of tottering dictators. Fearful lest their own working classes benefit from a forthright stand against foreign fascism, the ruling classes in the democracies have put their class power foremost and begun a series of agreements with fascism less in the cause of peace than the preservation of their domestic and imperialistic privilege. Against such forces as these, the cry of collective security is not only futile but a means of betraying the workers into a false hope of effective action.

## The Peace Struggle in the U. S. A.

Socialists warn the working class not to blame all the dangers of war on the policies of some foreign government. For the progressive workers of this country, the capitalist and imperialist policies of the United States must be their special concern. We can never afford to forget that, according to the National Defense Act of 1920 and numerous official pronouncements since then, our War, Navy, and State Departments are committed to wars of offense as well as of defense. The present administration is drawing our line of naval defense close to the Asiatic mainland, while the Secretary of State asserts that we can tolerate no naval frontiers.

Bitter opposition has been shown by the administration toward any measure to let the masses, who do the dying and the sacrificing, decide whether or not the country should enter a foreign war or itself make war on foreign soil. The administration even refused to accept a proposal forbidding the use of our fleet beyond mid-Pacific. The administration publicly promotes such legislation as the Sheppard-May Bill and organizes M-Day plans which in time of war would prohibit the right to strike, subject labor to the rule of military officials and industrialists, and fasten on American life a virtual fascist dictatorship. Such labor conscript bills would provide reactionary elements with a convenient excuse for keeping the working class in perpetual subjugation.

## Resolution Unanimously Adopted By Socialist Party National Convention in Kenosha, Wis., April 13, 1938

In the Far Eastern war the administration has sought to make as much as possible of every "incident" for the furtherance of its preparedness program; such episodes as the sinking of the Panay, involving oil tankers for exporting firms, have been publicized in an inflammatory manner with governmental approval, to excite popular opinion and prepare it for support of the administration's armament plans.

Under the slogan of the "good neighbor" policy, the administration has aided Can fascism in suppressing all working class and democratic forces under the iron heel of reaction. It has played the game of imperialistic give and take with dictatorial regimes throughout the Latin American world. In Brazil it has sought to aid the regime of the reactionary Vargas by official praise, by military and naval missions, and by aid in the creation of a fighting navy. With the help of a reactionary majority in Congress, it went out of its way to deny aid to the legitimate Spanish government, which was legally entitled to purchase materials, while permitting the free shipment of munitions to Mussolini and Hitler and through them to Franco. It has fostered compulsory military training in schools and colleges and sought to militarize youth in the C.C.C. camps, in rifle clubs, Citizen Military Training Camps, and wherever it could bend the minds of youth toward war.

Against these trends, whether in this or any other administration, the Socialist Party will contend with all its ability. It calls upon the workers throughout the labor movement to take concerted and effective action to thwart the warlike aims and methods of the administration, and instead, to demand peace policy that is genuine, unequivocal, and based upon fundamental insistence that America keep out of war.

## Neutrality—Its Uses and Dangers

Neutrality legislation seeks to prevent trade in the materials of war with either side. At its best, and when faithfully enforced, neutrality laws can halt war-time trade with belligerents and prevent naval incidents which threaten to draw us into war. Neutrality legislation can prevent the development of a situation like that of 1917, when our credits and trade had become so involved in the fate of one set of belligerents that the need of security for our commercial and financial interests swept us into the war to safeguard those economic stakes. Sound neutrality legislation can do much to prevent the cooperation of our own ruling class with aggressors and dictators whose aims are now so often furthered by cooperation received from within our frontiers. It can serve as a deterrent to nations contemplating war. So far as these objectives of neutrality can be accomplished, it deserves the support of all elements desiring the maintenance of peace.

But neutrality laws alone cannot keep America out of war. A capitalist government can, and probably will, obstruct the carrying out of such laws, and wink at their violation, as the administration has done in regard to Japan. Furthermore, under a capitalist government, neutrality laws can be jammed through Congress, and, as with regard to Spain, give direct aid to fascism.

The working class must, therefore, qualify its support of current and proposed law for neutrality. In no case can they permit such legislation to become a substitute for agitation on behalf of the needed changes in the social order. They must not allow any efforts on behalf of neutrality to supersede working class attempts at war prevention, which develop the ability of the workers to take on their own part concerted and effective action for peace.

## Workers' Sanctions

Workers and those who wish to aid the cause of peace in definite action against warring states can go over the heads of governments and use their power in organized but non-governmental sanctions. Applied to a specific and limited situation such as Japan during its invasion of China, a vigorous consumers' boycott of goods produced in an offending country can help to thwart reactionary ambitions. By refusing to buy goods from the

fascist dictators or imperialist aggressors, we can reduce proportionately their ability to purchase the war materials they need for their huge military machines.

Socialists look forward to and encourage the development of that solidarity and common determination in the rank and file which will enable workers to prevent the manufacture and shipment of destructive weapons and munitions to imperialist countries in time of war. Such a policy will require discipline, understanding, a clear-cut and far-reaching policy, and a high degree of coordination. We hail those numerous beginnings of workers' sanctions by transport and dock workers who, through strikes and refusal to load or carry war goods to fascists, have bravely been pioneering in a method of war prevention which ultimately holds great promise for the workers everywhere.

The fight for peace and the fight for social justice are not two separate struggles, but one united cause. In that cause the workers have a mighty power. The Socialist Party will help them organize that power for the banishment of war.

## War and the Political Parties

The primary forces preparing for a new war are in the administration.

The bigger navy bill, the Sheppard-May Bill, the militarization of the youth, the drive for a diplomatic and military alliance with Britain and France, the boycott of Loyalist Spain and the simultaneous refusal to apply the mandatory neutrality law to the Sino-Japanese conflict all issue from the administration.

Rooseveltian "liberalism," like Wilsonian "liberalism," is a prelude to war, part of a system to charm the workers by a few concessions to lay down their lives for capitalism.

The struggle against war must be converted into a political struggle against Roosevelt and his henchmen. The struggle must be converted positively into a broad political movement for an anti-war program against the pro-war New Dealers. Among the primary henchmen of the Roosevelt regime are those who work for his support within the labor movement.

One section—the present leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League—in return for "concessions" won primarily by their own efforts, continue to back a government which is preparing to deprive labor of its hard won economic gains, its life, and its liberty. Another section—the Communist Party—backs Roosevelt because they believe his policy would make the U. S. an effective ally of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party, unlike other sections of labor who mistakenly back Roosevelt while criticizing his pro-war policies, actively work for the endorsement of the Rooseveltian war program.

The Socialist Party calls upon the working class to reject the Communist proposals for a collective security program and to make the defeat of this pro-war perspective a meaningful move by giving political support to an independent working class program against war and the capitalist system, which breeds war. The pure capitalist isolationist forces in America are roughly represented by the Republican Party of America.

Their attempts to "isolate" America from the world are utopian, because they simultaneously refuse to dissolve the American empire or to challenge the forces of capitalism. They attempt to isolate America by surrounding it with an iron wall of ships and guns.

Instead of a world federation of cooperative commonwealths, exchanging their wealth freely, they propose a reactionary system of nationalism, and tariff controls which increase the frictions that lead to war. Under Republican administrations, the United States has its greatest development of American imperialism in Latin America.

The isolationist proposals for a "defensive" war are, furthermore, merely another justification for supporting imperialist wars.

The working class cannot base its support of a war on the incalculable estimate of who attacked whom first, but must base its policy on the refusal to support any war waged by a capitalist-imperialist nation.

The Socialist Party, furthermore, rejects the sectarian concept of a struggle against war which limits anti-war organizationally to a political revolutionary party.

Although the Socialist Party reiterates its belief that there can be no successful conclusion to the struggle against war short of the overthrow of capitalism, we pro-

pose to unite with all elements in a broad struggle against every aspect of the capitalist preparations for war.

The creation of a mighty movement against war can weaken the war-machine—the military base of the capitalist state—and make easier the Socialist struggle for a cooperative society.

While cooperating fully with all genuinely anti-war forces on a minimum program, the Socialist Party will incessantly work for enlistment in the revolutionary struggle for a workers' world.

## A Program for Action

As a means of keeping war out of America and of advancing the peace of the world, we urge the following program:

1. The immediate withdrawal of American ships and marines from Chinese territory and the evacuation of American nationals, who, if they stay, remain at their own risk.
2. A people's boycott of Japanese goods. Agitation among the workers to refuse to supply the Japanese with war materials. Enforcement by the government of the Neutrality Law in the Japanese-Chinese conflict.
3. The immediate lifting of the embargo now directed against the democratically elected Loyalist government of Spain. Generous aid by the American people to the Spanish Loyalists in their fight against the international forces of fascism and to the workers in the underground movements abroad in a heroic struggle against fascist oppressors.
4. Opposition to the huge army and navy bills; national and international action toward disarmament; refusal to vote the military budgets.
5. Abandonment of all existing plans, such as those outlined in the May, formerly the Sheppard-Hill bill for industrial mobilization, and defeat of new plans for universal conscription, thus warning those who would plunge America into war that the American people will not tolerate involvement in another war and war dictatorship at home.
6. The abolition of military training in the public high schools and the removal of military supervision from the C.C.C. and from all other civilian institutions.
7. An amendment to the Constitution providing for a war referendum, so as to give to American citizens the right to vote on war, a question that affects as do few other questions the welfare and lives of every inhabitant of the United States.
8. The abandonment by the United States of all imperialist ventures, whether of an economic, financial, or military nature, in Latin America.
9. The granting by the United States of independence to its colonial possessions.
10. International cooperation for the lessening of economic friction between the nations of the world resulting from the struggle for trade, investment areas, raw materials, or from credit or currency policies but no alliance with any nation or group of nations for war, declared or undeclared, under any name or on any pretext. Socialists call for freedom of the colonies and not their redivision among the imperialist powers.
11. A continuous struggle in the United States for the preservation and extension of civil liberties, for the eradication of unemployment, insecurity, poverty and economic exploitation, and for the attainment of a cooperative society based on production for service and not for private gain.
12. The strengthening of the forces of organized labor and farmers on the economic and political fields and the development among those organizations of a genuine program for international peace.
13. Should, despite these efforts, war imminently threaten, agitation among the workers for whatever effective economic and political pressures they can bring to bear—including the general strike—to prevent the outbreak of war. In case of such outbreak, the use of political and economic pressure by the workers for the bringing about of a speedy peace; the organization of labor for higher living standards and in opposition to military conscription; the development of international working-class solidarity across military lines; and the strengthening of all forces leading to the abolition of capitalism and to the emancipation of mankind.
14. The refusal of support to all wars conducted by capitalist government.



# May Day And Labor Politics

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

It was the message from American labor to the International Socialist Congress at Paris in 1889 which led to the setting aside of May first as labor's international day, as a holiday dedicated to labor's emancipation, as a day which in the words of Gene Debs, brought "the gleaming promise of industrial freedom and social justice of all the workers of the world."

Every May Day since the early nineties has presented new and challenging problems. Labor's chief demand at the inception of May Day was the Eight Hour Day. Since those days, revolutionary changes have taken place in industry. Labor's power to produce has multiplied beyond the dreams of former generations. If the workers of today were able to utilize to the full the productive machinery and the skilled intelligence of the nation, and to distribute equitably the fruits of industry, poverty, destitution, unemployment, starvation, would be a thing of the past, and all willing to do their share of work would be living lives of security, of decency, of comfort.

### Masters of Capital

But labor has left the great instruments of production in the hands of the few. It has left government in the hands of the masters of capital.

By its organized strength, it has, indeed, achieved a number of advances but under the rule of the few, labor finds itself facing today the ninth year of the worst period of unemployment in the history of the nation, with 12,000,000 men and women unable to obtain work in private industry. It finds the feudal lords of industry, in state after state, attempting to suppress the workers in their every fight for better life. It finds this and other nations facing the ominous threat of war.

In the light of these developments, the forces of labor today are faced with unparalleled responsibility and unparalleled opportunity.

### Must Drive Forward

Labor must take advantage of that opportunity before it is too late. It must organize as never before on the economic field. During the last few years, it has doubled its organized strength, and has made tremendous gains in organization in some of the giant industries of the country. It must now unite its disunited forces, and press forward until all industry is organized.

Labor has developed increasingly effective organizations on the cooperative and cultural fronts. Great possibilities present themselves before it for the development of the consumers' cooperative movement and the workers' education movements during the coming year.

It is becoming ever more conscious of the need for effective organization on the political field. It is beginning to recognize the truth of the saying of that great miner and Socialist, Keir Hardie, that labor will have "friends" in politics when it becomes so strong that it does not need "friends" and that it will attain such strength only when it has a party of its own.

### Labor Party Growth

During the last two years, labor has made significant strides in the direction of a mass labor movement in the development of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation of Wisconsin, the American Labor Party of New York, the Labor Parties of Illinois and New Jersey, in the activity of the Socialist Party throughout the country, and in local and regional labor developments in Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, and many other states.

The next great development in this field should be the organization of a mass party of city workers and farmers on a nation-

wide scale. The Socialist Party declared on this important question: "The great awakening of the workers requires as its logical next step the development of independent political action. The Socialist Party, therefore, renews its advocacy and support of a genuine farmer-labor party" and urges its members "to give all possible support to the proper formation of such a party on a national scale."

### Labor Strong In Europe

In Europe, labor and Socialist parties are now the largest single parties—although not the majority parties—in Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium, Finland, and New Zealand, and the second largest parties in Great Britain, Holland, Czechoslovakia, and other nations.

Many of these parties are under pressure to devote their primary energies to a defensive warfare against fascism.

Labor in America, organized in a powerful farmer-labor party, would also have as an important task the fight against war and fascism. It could never bring

peace and democracy, however, unless it gave its tremendous reserves of energy to the central task of bringing about a cooperative social order, under which permanent peace, genuine democracy, economic security, and plenty would be the heritage of all.

Let labor on this May Day close ranks, mobilize full strength on the political, economic, and cultural fronts, begin its historic march along the road that leads to its emancipation of labor and to the freedom of mankind.

### LAIDLER ON FARMER-LABOR PARTY.

CLEVELAND, Ohio. — Dr. Harry W. Laidler addressed the City Club here on the sixteenth and got favorable publicity for a national Farmer-Labor Party. The author of the new pamphlet, "Towards A Farmer-Labor Party" (League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19 Street, New York City 15c) spoke on the broadcast program emanating from the City Club every Saturday noon.

DEVERE ALLEN, Wilton, Conn., editor of No-Frontier News Service who delivered the report on the war resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Socialist Party's convention. Allen was overwhelmingly reelected to the National Executive Committee.

### THOMAS AROUSES CLEVELAND

CLEVELAND, Ohio. — The National Chairman of the Socialist Party, Norman Thomas, was in town Tuesday. He spoke to the local Keep America Out of War Committee nuclei, and to students at Glenville and Collinwood High Schools.

## MAY DAY GREETINGS

### Joint Board Dress and Waistmakers' Union

JULIUS HOCHMAN, General Manager  
BEN EVRY, President  
PHILLIP KAPP, Secretary-Treasurer

### Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local No. 10

SAMUEL PERLMUTTER, Manager

### Dress & Waistmakers' Union, Local No. 22

CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN, Manager-Secretary

### Dress & Waist Pressers' Union, Local No. 60

MAX COHEN, Manager

### Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 89

LUIGI ANTONINI, General Secretary-Manager

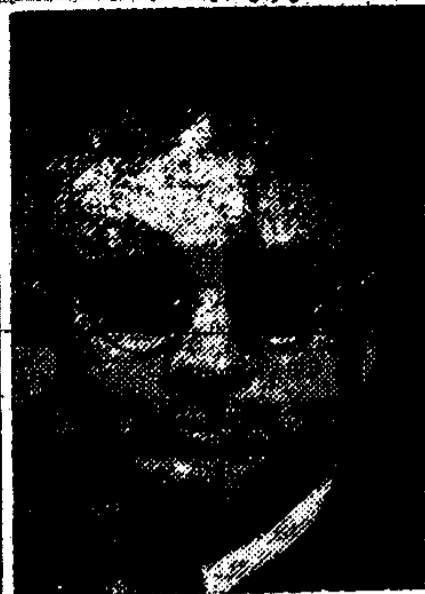
## MAY DAY IS OUR DAY

## The Expression of the INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT

For Peace and Democracy  
Against War and Fascism  
Let's March, For Our Sake,  
**UNITED!**

## WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND

714 SENECA AVE., BROOKLYN



### The Cloakmakers' Branch, S. P.

Extends its greetings to the observance of May Day and may our small part be instrumental in combating fascism and bringing about the Socialist Commonwealth.

A. WAGMAN, Sec'y

Yours for a Better World

Via SOCIALISM!

DAVE SMITH

Member-at-Large

Luverne, Minn.

### Towards a Workers' World!

SOCIALIST PARTY  
18TH A. D., KINGS

267 Schenectady Ave.  
BROOKLYN

(Near Eastern Parkway)

Meets Every Thursday  
Evening

### May Day Greetings

from

### Camp Three Arrows

A Socialist Co-operative!

SHRUB OAK, NEW YORK

### Long Live the Spirit of May Day!

AKRON BRANCH  
SOCIALIST PARTY

Akron, Ohio

Greetings From

BRISKER BRANCH 286

WORKMEN CIRCLE

New York City

### Forward to a Workers' World!

CIRCLE 1-13 SRS.  
KINGS

CHARLES WEINBERG, Org.

May 1st Greetings!

23 A. D., KINGS

SOCIALIST PARTY

JACK LIPSCHITZ, Org.

### For Social Revolution!

8th A. D. Branch, Bronx  
Socialist Party

7 W. Burnside Ave.  
Bronx, N. Y.

### MAY DAY GREETINGS

—from—

Goldfarb's Gift Shoppes  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

GREETINGS!

Progressive Dressmakers' Br.  
122 W. C., New York City

### May Day Greetings

Grace W. Curtis  
Claremont, California



# Thomas, LaFollette Urge Action to Keep U.S. Out of War

CHICAGO, Ill. — "Fascism cannot be defeated in the world by going to war against the fascist nations" said Norman Thomas in a speech at the Anti-War Rally sponsored by the Chicago Keep America Out of War Committee last Sunday. More than 2,000 people heard Thomas and Senator Robert La Follette point out that the way to avoid war was to create a world society that was capable of meeting the needs of the masses of the common people.

Both speakers stated that they did not advocate the policy of isolation for the United States in those matters that would promote peace but were unalterably opposed to any alliances for war. It was emphasized that the problems of Fascism must be solved by the people of the nations involved and that they certainly would not be solved by another treaty of Versailles.

Senator LaFollette condemned the war preparations of the present administration and showed clearly that there was no justification for these preparations. Especially did he condemn the excuse that the armament program would bring about an economic recovery. "If we would

spend the same amounts for a program for solving our domestic problems," said LaFollette, "we would go a long way towards making war unnecessary". The way to fight fascism is to solve the problems of jobs, security and peace within our own country and not to prepare for war against fascist countries.

Dr. John A. Lapp, national chairman of the Keep America Out of War Committee, was chairman of the meeting and explained the program and purposes of the committee and invited all organizations represented to send delegates to the National Anti-War Congress that will be held in Washington on May 28-30. Reverend Albert B. Coe spoke on the work of the Chicago Committee and asked for financial support.

Among the sponsors of the meeting were Grace Abbott, Rabbi Louis Binstock, Charles Boss, Jr., Preston Bradley, John Fitzpatrick, Lillian Herstein, Maynard Krueger, Sam Levin, Robert Morse Lovett, J. W. P. McGuire, Frank McCulloch, Bishop George C. Stewart and Rev. Ernest F. Tittle.



**GEORGE M. HARRISON,** president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and head of the Railway Labor Executives Assn., will lead the position of the rail brotherhood to any and all attempts by the industry to slash wages.

## LAI D-OFF

BY A VICTIM

**First Stockman:** Only ten minutes to go, Jack.

**Second Stockman:** Aw, don't believe that four o'clock gag. In my fourteen years before the schedule whip I've seen 'em laid off sometimes one minute before quittin' time. If you're on the list, out you go whenever they're damn good and ready.

**First Stockman:** Well, Pete and Johnny and Sam, the porter, went to the office last Friday at four on the dot and the Friday before that, the day of the big layoff, the march started just about five to four. God! I hope we get by four, that's all. Maybe we'll get a break—its Good Friday.

**Second Stockman:** Yeh—Good Friday. Between your damn bellyachin' and the thinkin' of the Missus and kids my guts are too weak to puke. Christ wasn't the only guy to suffer agony.

**First Stockman:** It is a helluva note when you think of it—givin' these lousy bozas the best you've got for a dozen years and then to be suddenly tossed out on your can with your job goin' to a skirt at half price. But what can a guy do but take it?

**Second Stockman:** Have you thought of trying a dress on? Hell, if we had any guts we'd picket the joint and hit 'em where it hurts—the cash register.

**First Stockman:** Hey, easy on that stuff. The guy in the next aisle is a plant. But if you do get it, Jack, remember, what Mac told you—"Bury your profit sharing and run like hell to the nearest relief station and get yourself on relief."

**Second Stockman:** God, Look! That mug Miller is beckoning me! Me! Christ, what'll I tell the wife and kids. But what do these rotten parasites care what I tell my wife and kids. Well, bud, so long.

## YOUTH and MAY DAY

**JUDAH DROB**  
Educational Director, Young People's Socialist League.

To young people May Day has always been the most inspirational day in the year. It is on that day that they have seen the mighty armies of labor, gathered together to pledge themselves anew to the united fight against their oppressors. On May Day, to the excited noise of the crowds, the blare of the bands, the boom of the speakers' voices, the young workers and students in all the large cities have felt running through their veins the fire of class solidarity. Those who lived far away from such demonstrations were made to feel the electric nature of the day, even though they spent it hundreds of miles away from the centres of organized labor.

In recent years youth has become increasingly involved in May Day. From a spectator, the young person has become a leading participant in the workers' struggle for freedom. The increasing unionization of young people into the new CIO unions, the cascading of young students and workers into the anti-war movement, the development of mass support for the American Youth Act; all these things have made the youth of America actual participants in the class struggle, and hence in May Day.

### Unused and Unwanted

Young people used to feel that they had a chance to live normal lives of work, of marriage, the raising of families. In the years since the war it has become evident to young people that they are an unused, unwanted, locked-out generation. They are denied the possibility of achieving a more than rudimentary education. They are forced early in life to seek the meanest jobs

which place initiative and intelligence in the discard. In overwhelming numbers they seek work and find none.

Young people have been forced by their circumstances to engage in militant actions. These have taught them to fight against capitalism as well as against its most obvious shortcomings. They have engaged in campaigns to bring to the attention of the President and Congress the utter necessity of the passage of the Youth Act. They have supported in ever increasing numbers the militant student strikes against war and have declared their determination not to support the imperialist government of the United States in any war it may undertake. They have been in the forefront of the strikes and sitdowns of mass industrial unions.

Today young people do not merely take something from May Day. They also bring to it their enthusiasm, their militance, their devotion and their idealism. As never before, American young workers, students and unemployed are an important and mature section of the labor movement. Their struggles form a real part of the general struggles of the workers for their emancipation, whose coming they thereby hasten.

So on May Day, the young members and followers of the working class draw renewed vigor and inspiration for their sector of the struggle. They join hands in support of the demands of the entire labor movement and in particular they insist:

End Race Discrimination  
**PASS THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT**

**NO SUPPORT TO IMPERIALIST WAR.**  
**ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED.**

**May Day Greetings to the CALL**  
**LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!**  
**SOCIALIST PARTY**  
Hartford, Connecticut

**WE CAN BUILD A BETTER WORLD!**

**SOCIALIST TEACHERS' LEAGUE**  
**OF NEW YORK CITY**

*Greets the Workers of America on May Day!*

**For a Better World Under the Socialist Banner!**

**SOCIALIST PARTY, 5TH A. D., BRONX, N. Y.**  
1422 Wilkins Ave., Bronx

Meets Second and Fourth Thursdays  
**ABRAHAM STERN, Organizer**

**A Workers' Culture for a Workers' World!**

**Greetings to the SOCIALIST CALL**

—from—

**REBEL ARTS**

**ART TO SERVE LABOR**

*In Its Fight for Peace, Democracy and Socialism!*

**MAY DAY GREETINGS**  
TO THE  
**SOCIALIST CALL**

From the

**NEW YORK DISTRICT OF THE**  
**YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE**  
**IRVING BARSHOP,**  
*Executive Secretary*



# Herbert Hoover Returns From Europe

By FRANK N. TRAGER

For a long time the mining stock promoter who became president of these United in 1928 suffered deserved public eclipse for his role during the first four years of the great depression. Recently, partly aided by the inability of Landon and Hamilton to establish exclusive leadership over the Republican Party, spurred on by a successful drive to rehabilitate him in the public eye thru the sprightly energies of a new press agent and the conservative press, Mr. Herbert Hoover has been emerging from the shadows to which he had been justly committed. His current activity took him for the "fourth time" to Europe for a rapid survey of political and economic conditions. He saw and spoke to the "great" and "near-great" figures. The other day he returned to these shores and was asked to deliver an address before a large dinner gathering (1200) of "distinguished citizens" invited by the Council on Foreign Relations. The text of his speech was given a national press and wide editorial comment; it appeared on a full-page report of the "New York Times," April Fools day.

## QUESTIONS TO ANSWER

His speech on Foreign Policy deserves attention because Hoover still represents an important section of anti-New Deal big business and banking. Would he endorse a democratic referendum on the war-question which both Landon and Roosevelt oppose? Would he oppose Roosevelt's extraordinary naval building plans? Would his call for a "revitalized democracy" cause him to cry out against the fascism patent in the Administration-blessed May Bill? Would his known desire for "international trade" lead him to acknowledge the fatal character of his own Smoot-Hawley Tariff (1930) accurately reported as carrying "some of the highest rates in the history of the United States as one of the extreme protectionist nations in the world"? What were his conclusions for America on the fascist invasion of democratic Spain? of Austria? of the coming invasion of democratic Czechoslovakia?

These are the central questions the answers to which compose the content of foreign policy.

## ANSWERS GIVEN

Let us examine Mr. Hoover's speech carefully and logically draw our own conclusions.

Hoover found Europe a "rumbling war machine, without the men yet in the trenches"; a "general war" is not "in immediate prospect" because "war preparations are not complete". Dictatorships; armament race; large-scale indebtedness leading to inflation; the dying out of international trade and the general movement toward economic self-sufficiency (autarchy) characteristic of the democratic and fascist nations as well as the U. S. S. R.; failure of the League of Nations and the reestablishment of shifting alliances; fear of war; and the breakdown of morals as instanced in terror, persecutions, loss of civil liberties, bombings of civilian populations—are the seven major characteristics according to Hoover of Europe today.

Hoover maintains, however, that there has been a measure of "recovery" in Europe arising out of the boom in armaments and state-subsidized non-productive public works. Altho he is sharply critical of the rampant persecution in Nazi Germany—he is silent on this aspect of Italian fascism—he calls attention to the "average German (who) is today better off than five years ago." He is verbally aware of the failure of the last war to make the world safe for democracy, but he overlooks the role that his class played in bring-

Former President Hoover is basically in agreement with President Roosevelt's foreign policy, says Frank Trager, the author of "Parallel Action For War—'New Freedom' Wilson and 'New Deal' Roosevelt," which was published in the April 2 issue of the SOCIALIST CALL.

In the menacing war situation which pervades the world with ever increasing danger, it is important for the workers of America to know what the relation of forces are on this war business. Hoover is totally discredited, as far as workers are concerned; but Hoover might represent that force in American life today which would combine with the New Deal Democrats in plunging this country into war. This article should be read by all workers as it again proves with telling logic that it is only themselves and the organizations which they influence that can keep America out of war.

ing about the war and imposing the Versailles "Peace."

Rapidly surveying the post-war years he finds that "socialism hand in hand with its bloody brother communism . . . took advantage of the tolerance and freedoms of liberal institutions to mislead the people"; that "socialism and its compromisers in Europe have invariably served only to demoralize the democracies and open the door to reactionary forces."

## LEAGUE "IN A COMA"

In this new (Hoover) version of social-fascism the ex-president deliberately omits the nefarious interventions role of capitalist "democracies" against socialist beginnings in Europe during those years and especially today in Spain. "Marxian socialism," says Hoover, "is a dying faith" paralleling "the rise of the fascist philosophy." The Moscow Trials are instanced as a demonstration of the thesis that both socialism and fascism are in many ways alike; Russia "is moving steadily toward a fascist regime." Planned economy is the villain of the piece because it subjects the individual to the state and therefore deposes liberty!

This is Hoover's story. What are his conclusions? He finds the League of Nations "in a coma" and therefore useless. He opposes Roosevelt's notion of "quarantining an aggressor" because he rejects military and economic sanctions as peace-preservers.

He objects to one form of collective security: democratic versus fascist nations. But he favors as an "obligation" upon us the job "to organize and join in the collective moral forces to prevent war." He favors Secretary Hull's recent denunciation of international lawlessness and altho he is somewhat critical of Hull's theory and practice of reciprocal trade treaties on the whole he is sympathetic with the movements for international economic cooperation. Again he calls for an economic world conference (to repeat the fiasco of 1933). He would have us use some of the war-debts incurred for war-relief to establish in the respective countries, cultural projects jointly administered by

those countries and America. (This is known as peaceful penetration). Finally he wants us to "revitalize democracy within our borders."

## WHAT DOES HOOVER REALLY MEAN?

When we apply his conclusions to our original questions what do we find?

He is silent on the democratic referendum in the event of a war.

He is silent on the question of our present extraordinary war budget but calls for "adequate defense."

He is silent on the Fascist May Bill.

He moderately opposes the Hull theory of bilateral lowering of tariffs and proposes a new conference, but he is silent on the Smoot-Hawley Tariffs.

He is silent on the fascist invasion of democratic Spain.

He is silent on the failure of the Administration to apply even the present inadequate neutrality law.

He is silent on the fascist invasion (and democratic nations' acquiescence) of Austria.

He is silent on the immediate fate of democratic Czechoslovakia.

Despite his criticism of one part of Roosevelt's Chicago speech he uses words and phrases no less vigorous than Roosevelt's in Chicago speech in calling for a new effort "to organize and join in the collective moral forces to prevent war." Hoover's endorsement of Hull's attack on "international lawlessness" is a specific endorsement of Roosevelt's criticism of the "10 percent (of the nations) who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law;" is a specific endorsement of Roosevelt's insistence that the interest of the United States is "the maintenance (and restoration) of international morality."

## POLICY OF BIG BUSINESS

In other words Hoover's foreign policy today—the policy of an important section of big business and banking—is not much different from that of Roosevelt's. This is clearly recognized by two outstanding capitalist papers: The "New York Times," champion of Roosevelt's foreign policy and defender of great Britain's, allowed one of its foreign experts, Anne O'Hare McCormick, to recognize in the speech "the same attitude as Prime Minister Chamberlain" of Great Britain. (i. e. a policy of "independence" which allows for shifting balances of power and which expressly recognizes the need for dealing with the democracies and dictatorships to establish collective security). The New York Post eulogizes the ex-president as "anti-fascist" and finds "Mr. Hoover's speech heartening because it revealed the fundamental unity behind the diversity of our politics;" it sees a "comparatively narrow or unimportant difference" between Hoover and Roosevelt "from the perspective of fascism!"

In short we find that despite

domestic differences of policy between Hoover and Roosevelt, differences arising mainly out of Hoover's reiterated demand for "freedom" from government intervention in business, the two leaders see almost eye to eye on matters abroad.

This unity in capitalist political leadership of the two parties means preparedness for war. Both leaders envisage war on the horizon; both leaders recognize that capitalist America is intertwined with capitalist Europe; both leaders know that despite peoples' desire for peace their governments including our own will be involved in that war; both leaders directly or indirectly countenance those aspects of foreign policy, war preparations and collective action of a sort, which will lead to war abroad and fascism at home; both leaders prate much of "revitalizing our own democracy" but are strangely silent on almost every domestic violation of that democracy and specifically block the exercise thereof in the event of war.

## WORKERS SANCTIONS

Workers sanctions—labor against war, nationally and internationally is the only effective answer. Socialism, Mr. Hoover to the contrary, is not a dying faith despite the strains placed upon its practice by the Stalinist version of it; it is the only living force capable of establishing peace and democracy. Socialism did not bring reaction—Mr. Hoover learned this from capitalism and third period communism—but those who compromised socialism in any way with capitalism in any of its form, liberal or otherwise, helped to perpetuate capitalism and its fascist war spawnings.

Socialism is still the hope of the world. It must be vitalized to success! May Day is the occasion for Socialists and all class conscious workers to make that success thru international labor solidarity.

## Workmen's Circle Secretary Dies

NEW YORK, N. Y.—L. Rothman, 58, executive secretary Workmen's Circle, largest Jewish fraternal organization, succumbed here last week after a long illness.

Rothman came to the U. S. as an immigrant from Galicia in 1902. He left his home town at the age of fifteen and went to Vienna where he obtained his education.

Since 1909 he had participated in the various activities of the Workmen's Circle. With his brilliant pen, full of human touch and humor, he contributed to the various periodicals of the Workmen's Circle, and as managing editor of "Friend," the official Workmen's Circle periodical.

He is survived by his wife and two sons.

The Independent Labor Party of England is discussing the question of re-entering the "English Labor Party," from which it separated six years ago. There will be no unconditional reaffiliation, however, and the right to maintain its revolutionary Socialist line will not be surrendered.

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# CLASS ANGLE

In Praise Of Ezra Stone, The Critic Award; Tamiris And Etcetera . . .

By Michael C. Arcone

Huzzahs and cheers for George Abbott's production on Clifford Goldsmith's "What A Life." Comparisons are inevitable and one immediately thinks of Mark Twain, Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn. It is that kind of a play, human and poignant and touching. And a grand comedy but much more than mere comedy in the sense that "Brother Rat," "Three Men On A Horse" or "Room Service" are comedies. Rather it is in the genre of all really great comedy, which laughs with the bubbling spontaneity of childhood, fresh and innocent, whatever its theme.

Superficially it is a comedy of high school life, replete with all the comic-tragic things that can happen to a boy who has been labelled the school's bad boy . . . trouble with his teachers, the principal, his parents, the school bully, a girl friend, cribbing on an examination, paper, and everything else that can happen to a boy who feels that the strictures of an ordered curriculum are more than the human mind and body should be made to bear. But all's well that ends well . . . as all comedy must.

But the full credit for the enjoyment of "What A Life" must go to Ezra Stone's portrayal of Henry Aldrich, the school's bad boy. In the hands of a lesser actor the part would have turned out to be so much bathos. But Stone's uncanny skill makes the part exactly what the author had in mind . . . a tragic character at which an audience can laugh. And laugh the audience does, until its collective sides ache. In other words . . . a thoroughly enjoyable and grand and gay evening. Thank you, Ezra Stone, thank you Messrs. Abbott and Goldsmith, and thank you, William Vaughan Glaser, Ruth Matson Betty Field and James Corner and Jack Byrne.

And W. S. Maugham Tuesday night and a revival of W. Somerset Maugham's very fine vintage comedy, "The Circle," with Tallulah Bankhead and Grace George and Dennis Hoey. An English week-end country-house comedy of manners, of course, but infinitely better than Frederick Lonsdale's "Once Is Enough," and dozens of other week-end country-house comedies which it has been this playviewer's fortune or misfortune to witness in the past dozen years. Grace George as Lady Kitty Champion-Cheney and Dennis Hoey as Lord Porteous are per-

fection itself . . . Tallulah Bankhead as Elizabeth, wife of Arnold Champion-Cheney, M. P., only slightly less so. In no sense a great or even important comedy but very enjoyable and with something of a moral to it . . . but only because Mr. Maugham needs must point morals. Being English he can't very well help it . . . to an Englishman there is no point to writing novel or poetry or drama if he can't point a moral. But Miss George and Miss Bankhead are sufficient for us to excuse even that.

### Trojan Accident

Friday night and a revival of Shakespeare's "The Merry Wives of Windsor" and Saturday night and a revival of Ibsen's "The Wild Duck" in modern clothes. Two very good plays and favorites with this department, but both so atrociously done that there should be a law against it. Both died sudden deaths within three nights and Shakespeare and Ibsen can once more rest in peace.

And then a Federal Theatre Project production of something labelled as a dance-drama which should have been called "Trojan Accident" but was mistakenly yclept "Trojan Incident." In the second night audience nobody seemed to like it and your reviewer least of all. But it is still on the boards and both Homer and Euripides must be turning in their graves. Based on the latter's "Trojan Women," it turned out to be neither fish, flesh nor fowl . . . neither dance recital nor Greek tragedy. Tamiris, whom this column has liked and praised for her work in "How Long, Brethern," turned out to be a posturing and simpering Cassandra and her squirming maidens were no less ridiculous. The music by the usually capable Wallingford Riegger turned out to be a messy job, and Howard Bay, who did the finest setting of any current show for . . . one third of a nation . . . aborted two rather stupid and silly pieces for this production. And to top it all, the magnificent and glorious verses and chorae of the original drama were reduced to a series of inaudible squeaks. Phooie.

### The Critics' Award

No playgoer in his right mind can find much to argue with in the New York Drama Critics Circle award to John Steinbeck's "Of Mice and Men" as the best play of the 1937-38 season. If



EDWARD LEVINSON, labor editor of the New York Post and author of "I Break Strikes", has recently had another book published, "Labor on the March" (Harper & Bros., New York, \$3), which deals with the rise and growth of the C. I. O. The book has been highly praised by C. I. O. Chairman John L. Lewis.

award, this play did. And we are happy that it received the plaque. It is a really fine play and both McAllister Coleman and your reviewer found a great deal in it for a working class audience in spite of the author's disclaimer to the effect that all he was doing was telling a story and had no purpose in mind but to tell a story. Which, to our way of looking at it, is but further proof of the old axiom that virtue is in the eyes of the beholder.

But what we are even more pleased about is the fact that Thornton Wilder's "Our Town" came off second best in the balloting. To our mind the Wilder opus as pure drama is a beautiful and moving play and Frank Craven is our favorite actor. But it is just about the most overrated play on Broadway today. Wilder has absolutely nothing to say, and we are a little tired of hearing him say it. He said it once in "The Cabala" and that bored us. He repeated it in "The Bridge of San Luis Rey" and we fell asleep in the middle of it. If only someone would take that man and throw him in the midst of life, open his eyes, pound some appreciation of life with all its struggles and agonies into him. The man can write. But what he needs is something alive and gregarious and teeming to write about. A couple of weeks on a picket line, batted about by flatfooted cops and beetle-browed, bull-necked thugs would just about do for a first dorp.

Of course, our own choice was Marc Blitzstein's "The Cradle Will Rock." And we are glad to see that one of the voting critics stuck by his guns to the very end and voted for "The Cradle" down to the last and deciding ballot. It is, by general admission, the most exciting play that has been presented on Broadway in many a year. But I suppose it is asking just a little too much to expect the drama moguls from the capitalist press to see eye to eye with a Socialist on the merits of the Blitzstein opera.

And incidentally, Random House has published the full script and the most important music of the play in a beautiful edition which can be obtained through the Call Book Store, 6 East 17th Street, N. Y. C. for \$1.50. It is worth reading and owning, particularly if there is little chance of getting around to seeing the play.

# Youth Calls To Youth To Combat War Danger

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A call to "the young men of conscript age, the girls who will have to carry on any war-behind the lines, the C. C. C. boys who are being trained as expert cannon fodder, the youth in factories whose role is already blue-printed in the War Department archives" was issued this week for the Youth Section of the National Anti-War Congress in Washington May 28-29-30th.

Signed by 75 youth leaders, the call announces that there will be special youth sessions at the congress, at which the elected representatives of local and national youth organizations will meet to discuss specific plans for unified youth work to keep America Out of War.

Among the signers are: Frank Littell, national chairman of the Youth Committee Against War (youth section of the Keep America Out of War Committee); Al Hamilton, national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League; Minnie Lurye, chairman of Local 22 of the I. L. G. W. U.; Harold Chance, director of the Student Peace Service; Gladys Talbot Edwards, national director of Edu-

cation of the Farmers Union; George Murray Branch of the National Council of the Student Y. M. C. A.; Garineh Narzakian, of the National Industrial Council of the Y. M. C. A.; and Wim Meyer, youth director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Further information about the Youth Committee Against War and the youth sessions at the Congress, it was announced, can be obtained from Alvaine Hollister, Executive Secretary 1707

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# WHAT IS SOCIALISM

By GIUSEPPI BERTELLI

Since a fact as such is undeniable it is incumbent upon anyone who would draw lessons and conclusions from a fact to ascertain the truth in its ultimate nature.

The writer has been in the United States for thirty-two years, and for thirty-two years he has belonged to the Socialist Party. Before arriving in America he belonged to the Austrian Socialist Party for five years, to the French and Swiss parties for about two years, and in the Italian Socialist Party for about six years. This autobiographical information is given, not with the intent of illustrating a glorious past, but to exclude the possibility that the author be termed an amateur.

In each of these parties he was propagandist and editor, or associate editor, for Socialist newspapers. Thus, despite his deficiencies, he cannot help but have learned something or other, about the strategy of the struggle for socialism, in his forty-

five years of socialist existence. This occasion is taken, then, to express his impressions, something which would not have occurred had he not been invited to do so by the editor of this paper, Comrade Allard.

### 90 Years of Socialism

The fact which it is necessary to ascertain is this: The Socialist International movement was organized about ninety years ago; it expanded with gigantic strides throughout all of Europe, as elsewhere; later, as though exhausted with its efforts, it fell back upon itself. This fact, suppressed or denied, remains a fact. The Socialism of Germany, of that Germany where the powerful, revolutionary appeal echoed for the first time, finally achieved the domination of the capitalist parliament, seized possession of the government, associated itself with capitalist parties, and ended by being precipitously overthrown by the fascism of Hitler.

Italian Socialism, which was

able to send 180 deputies to the national parliament, to dominate the whole trade-union movement and to sow like grain Socialist cooperatives throughout all of Italy, was destroyed by a demagogue thirsting for power and for vengeance against his betrayed comrades. The English Socialist Party has become impotent and disauthorized, an appendage of trade-unionism. The Austrian Socialist Party, one of the most promising, was crushed in the dust by the Christian-fascism of a Dollfuss. In France, the Socialist Party degenerated in a movement for the preservation of democratic-capitalistic liberties, and to an oscillation between defence for the "patrie" and a multicolored populism, between pacifism and collaborationism, between anti-fascism and the "Wilsonism" of Geneva.

Hungary, Switzerland, Poland and Holland conserve but traces of their robust Socialist movements. In the four Scandinavian regions, Socialism, allied with the

capitalist parties, although able to dominate them, is now reduced to little more than a movement for reform of the old sinister capitalism.

### The American Party

What about the U. S.?—After 40 years of valiant fighting the S. P. has not a single representative in the Congress of the supposedly most genuine democracy in the world. Today, lacerated by internal quarrels, it is split into four or five parties and in three Socialist... international! And each of these subdivisions hates and fights the others more than the old common enemy. The American Socialists, moreover, counting all the subdivisions, do not constitute more than one per 50,000 inhabitants.

There are the facts, and painful enough, but no cure is possible without a diagnosis of the disease. To hide these facts is equivalent to shutting one's eyes so as not to see the hurricane. Conditions are always the result of certain causes, and it is through the research and discovery of these causes that such consequences may be removed. Let us see if it is possible to clarify the nature of these causes.

What has been the nature of our activity in these last 45

years? We have courageously fought imperialism and war; we have fought for the defense of civil liberties; we have tried to reduce as much as possible the exploitation of the bosses; we have tried to improve the conditions of workers in general, to enroll them in unions and in our party. In short, we have tried to render life as tolerable as is at all possible under a capitalist regime. In much of all this we have succeeded, but we have not succeeded in making many Socialist. Much worse, we are in less number in our ranks than thirty years ago. Why so?

### The Nature of Capitalism

Let us see. Capitalism, like some reptiles (Lacertilla) has the faculty of reproducing certain parts of the body, if amputated. In every nation today, civil liberties are more limited and restricted than 45 years ago. Imperialism has never been more flourishing than today. During this entire period war, in one region or in another, has never bowed its ugly head. On the surface, the living conditions of workers have improved, but what little security ever existed has been wiped out by a succession of economic crises which have thrown tens of millions out of employment. Meanwhile governments have sought to organize the conditions of want, while the bosses doubled their profits. Why do we Socialist not reap the fruit of our honest and generous endeavors? The question is a natural one, since every phenomenon has its cause.

### Why?

Why then? Because, carried on by a magnificent enthusiasm, we took to remedying the effects, rather than the cause of the troubles complained of. And yet our great tutor repeatedly put us on guard against just this illusion, almost a century ago. "Political liberty," Marx told us, "is not realizable without economic liberty, and this, in its turn, is not realizable without the abolition of exploitation of man by man, and therefore, of the capitalist system." The political and economic condition of the working class will always be a deplorable slavery until they will have attained the right to work and the right to the whole of their product.

What more? Even the question of anti-Semitism, on which some delude themselves into thinking it has been solved by the capitalist democracies, Marx said could not be solved but with the destruction of capitalism. Magnificently and enthusiastically deluded, we believe we could cure, and cure quickly, the effects without removing the cause. The illusion was a general one, and fatal. Workers, professional people and small shopkeepers, attracted by the hope of immediate reform, flocked to our ranks by the thousand, by the millions. Not because they understood Socialism, but because they were attracted as it were by a radiant... illusion.

### Postpone Socialism

The conquests of Socialism became a distant vision, to be attained in some far off generation; the object was to gain however so little, provided it were done quickly. That the enemy would return to the attack if he were not deprived of his privileges, was a thought assigned to the devil. We were transported along, as by a crowd in motion, to the objective of a cooperation for rendering capitalism more tolerable, and nothing else.

(Concluded Next Week)

### WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY ON SOCIALISM

Socialism: a political and economic theory of social organization based on collective or government ownership and democratic management of the essential means for the production and distribution of goods; a policy or practise based on this theory.

**UNFAIR**  
to  
**High Prices!**



WHEN a business man is criticized for selling his wares at too low a price, that's NEWS!

And speaking for ourselves, we'd rather make news that way than any other we can think of!

Not so long ago a joint committee of the Men's Clothing Manufacturers Trade Bureau and the Clothing Merchants Association sought to determine how Crawford is able to retail clothing at so low a price... and to urge action against Crawford for lowering its price.

Read the last paragraph again... then consider that the same authoritative committee went on record—as reported in the Daily News Record—that

Crawford's price may change. But its policy will not. The price tag on Crawford Clothes always gives Crawford customers the FULL BENEFIT OF ANY CURRENT MARKET ADVANTAGE.

Others may criticize Crawford for lowering price but such criticism is the penalty of Crawford's leadership. There is no justification for charging the same price today as last year—the price of woollens has gone down.

When you go out to buy your new Spring suit or topcoat remember that at Crawford you buy DIRECT from the maker whose policy is "How much can we give—not how much can we get."

Remember that Crawford's tailors, fitters, salesmen, yes—and even window trimmers, are all union men. Crawford has been a friend of the unions for a long, long time.

If you want to get a brand new idea of what \$18.95 can buy in clothes this Spring, appoint yourself a committee of one to investigate the clothes that are always "unfair to high prices"—CRAWFORD!

**CRAWFORD**  
CUSTOM QUALITY CLOTHES  
53 Conveniently Located Stores  
LARGEST CLOTHING CHAIN IN THE EAST

**Daily News Record**  
June 25, 1937  
Director of New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange,  
Urged by Annual Meeting to Take Disciplinary Action  
Against Crawford Clothes, a Member, for Price Cutting

"CRAWFORD is selling at \$17.50\* the same sort of garment for which manufacturers on recent cost advances must get around \$17.50 to \$19.50!"

For years we've been telling men about Crawford's outstanding value... and their response has made Crawford the largest clothing chain in the East. But we never hoped to have our message so eloquently presented to the public as was done by this well-informed committee. Who is in a better position to know clothing values than Men's Clothing Manufacturers and Merchants themselves?

**CRAWFORD CLOTHES ARE 100% UNION MADE AND SOLD**

\*Clearance Sale Price



# Organize For Peace, Jobs and Socialism

## May Day Manifesto Of The Socialist Party Of The United States

### WORKERS AND FARMERS OF AMERICA AND THE WORLD!

We greet you on May Day in the name of International Labor Solidarity!

March with us! March in a mighty demonstration of working class unity—a unity of workers marching in all lands—a unity of workers seeking justice, freedom and lasting peace!

May Day comes this year at a time when the workers of many lands are waging a desperate and heroic struggle against international imperialism. In Spain, for 21 months the forces of domestic reaction and international fascism have been attempting with every means at hand to crush the young republic and the organizations of the working class. In Spain, for 21 months the workers have stood steadfastly behind their organizations and almost with their bare hands have withstood the arms and men of Hitler and Mussolini. We hail our Spanish comrades who have fought so well. We hail our comrades of other lands who have joined their fight.

To Spain, the Spanish people, the workers owe a debt of gratitude and respect which no words can ever adequately convey.

But the workers in Spain have looked in vain for aid from "democratic" capitalist nations. They have met with "non-intervention" and with our own neutrality which have acted as embargoes against them.

All workers, this May Day, must demonstrate to lift these barriers! Workers all over the world must give all possible aid to the Spanish workers!

**LIFT THE EMBARGO AGAINST  
LOYALIST SPAIN!  
EXPOSE THE FAKE NEUTRALITY  
OF THE ROOSEVELT  
ADMINISTRATION!**

In China, as in Spain, the people are engulfed in war. They did not ask this war. This war was brought upon them by the warlords and imperialists of Japan seeking new workers for exploitation. All over the world nations are arming for imperialist conquest. The workers will be made to suffer the consequences of capitalist crises and to give their strength and their very lives to preserve profits of capitalists.

Rally to the aid of the Chinese workers and peasants! The subjugation of the Chinese masses will have serious repercussions in the United States and throughout the world. It will intensify the danger of war. It will strengthen the imperialist powers. It will weaken labor.

### WORKERS' SANCTIONS AGAINST FASCIST AGGRESSION! BOYCOTT JAPANESE GOODS!

May Day, 1938, finds the American capitalist system embogged in a swamp of its own contradictions. Millions of workers without jobs, living in stark misery, while land and machines lie idle and unproductive. Millions of part-time workers live in desperate conditions, not knowing if next week they will be employed. In the midst of this class-made paradox, in the midst of this crying need for food, clothing and shelter, the Roosevelt "liberal" government girds the nation for war—for more destruction, for more waste, and for a mad rush into a situation that will bring chaos.

In the forefront of the drive for war is the Roosevelt administration.

The bigger navy bill, the Sheppard-May bill, the militarization of the youth, the drive for diplomatic and military alliances with Britain and France, the boycott of Loyalist Spain and the simultaneous refusal to apply the mandatory neutrality law to the Sino-Japanese conflict all issue from the administration.

Rooseveltian "liberalism," like Wilsonian "liberalism," is a prelude to war, part of a system to charm the workers by a few concessions to lay down their lives for capitalism.

**DEMONSTRATE AGAINST WAR!  
HOMES FOR LIFE—NOT BATTLE-  
SHIPS FOR DEATH!  
WAR FUNDS FOR UNEMPLOY-  
MENT RELIEF!  
KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!**

In the face of the rigorous onslaught of the unending depression, the labor unions have been able to hold their powerful gains in the work of organizing the unorganized. The militancy which additional millions of hitherto unorganized workers have infused in the ranks of organized labor have by and large prevented a far-flung program of wage cutting.

Labor can now complete the job of organizing the unorganized, strengthen its powerful front against reaction and take

a more aggressive stand against the industrial exploiters if it will unite on a sane program of solidarity and peace. Raids, jurisdictional quarrels, competitive and acrimonious inner labor struggles endanger the whole labor movement.

It is imperative that on this May Day the organized labor movement demonstrates for—

**UNITY IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT!  
JOBS FOR ALL!  
SIX-HOUR DAY-FIVE-DAY WEEK!  
A VIGOROUS FIGHT AGAINST ALL  
PAY CUTS!**

American labor is awakening from a long indifference and apathy towards independent labor action. The hectic years of the depression and recession are teaching ever greater numbers of workers that their economic struggles are inseparable from political struggles generally. In the fight for industrial unionism, in the fight against Roosevelt's war program and the shifting system of dele, the workers are learning that the government is controlled by the owning class.

The role of the various departments of government in breaking strikes, the dangerous trends towards forced arbitration schemes, the clandestine movement for universal fingerprinting and failure to enforce even the confused labor laws enacted by Congress—all are educating the workers to carry the fight against the bosses into the political field through independent working class political action.

**FIGHT THE CAPITALIST CLASS ON  
ALL FRONTS!  
FOR A NATIONAL FARMER-LABOR  
PARTY!  
PASS THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT!**

Throughout the world the struggle of the workers against the capitalist class is sharpening. Fascism is a direct product of this struggle. Fascism is capitalism with its democratic pretensions unmasked. Fascism, the mortal enemy of mankind, can only be defeated by the abolition of the capitalist system of wage slavery, imperialism, and production for private gain.

America is rich in resources which can bring security for all. Science has invented powerful machines to shape our resources into finished products. The capitalist system of private ownership of mass production prevents the working class from reaping the fruits of its labor.

Capitalism with its lust for profits, inevitably leads to war between rival commercial powers. In desperation at its declining rate of profits, it finally resorts to the most brutal forms of repressions against the common people.

Workers, unite to end this system of tyranny and oppression. Erect in its place a classless society, based on planned production for use and not for profit.

**SOCIALIZE THE MACHINE!  
DEMONSTRATE FOR A WORKERS'  
WORLD!  
DEMONSTRATE FOR SOCIALISM!**



Some Call It "Recession"

By Niser