

Socialist Call

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Girdler's Terror Met With Mass Action of Labor

By JOE CIANO

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—While the eighth victim of Chicago's Memorial Day Massacre was lying on his death bed, the undaunted workers of seven states were making new sacrifices that steel may be organized.

The "steel semi-circle" that swings from the southernmost tip of Lake Michigan to the northernmost point of Lake Erie was a veritable battlefield, speckled with blood and enshrouded with tear gas.

"Tough" Tom Girdler, boss of "little Steel," discovered this week that the Gary methods of yore—the law and the thugs—can no longer down the organized worker.

And "little Steel's" political henchmen—the mayors, sheriffs, and police chiefs of the Bessemer towns—are learning that unless they withhold their riot guns and tear gas they will have to appeal to those in the highest places to save them from being stamped out under the feet of angry workers mobilized from several states.

When the Newton Steel Co., subsidiary of Republic, announced that it would reopen its plant last week in Monroe, Mich., Mayor Daniel A. Knaggs—true to his colors—made haste to organize a force of armed deputies. These "shock troopers" were to shoot the way clear for the scabs to cut the picket lines.

Against the tear gas and guns of Knaggs' deputies, the strikers with their bats and sticks were helpless. The Republic mills prepared to puff smoke again.

Pontiac Replies
But a long pin was jabbed into the pouting bosom of Tom Girdler and Dan Knaggs when auto workers in Pontiac, Michigan, the very same night, declared a "labor holiday" and prepared to

march on Monroe. Within hours, the wave of working class resentment had risen so high that there was danger lest Monroe and its thugs be swamped under a deluge pouring in from surrounding Michigan towns and cities, from Indiana and Ohio.

Terrified, Dan Knaggs threatened to throw a cordon sanitaire around his city, a sort of Chinese Wall against these unwanted visitors. He appealed to Governor Murphy for troops to keep out the invading horde. The city was in arms and even Daniel, himself, cast into his modern lion's den, scurried about with a billy club.

Only through the intervention of Homer Martin, auto workers' president ("You can't go around closing plants whenever you like it," he told the Honkio men), and through the action of Governor Murphy in despatching his militia to Monroe to assure the peace of a monster protest meeting, was a head-on clash avoided.

Mayor Evans
In a minor form, the gasping at Monroe was reenacted at Youngstown. When a food truck tried to gallop through a CIO picket line at the high speed of sixty miles an hour, a struggle ensued. Again the tear gas. Again the formation of a picket corps—the name this time is Evans, Mayor Evans of Youngstown. Again the voting of special powers to the provisional dictator to keep the "peace."

The refusal of the Girdler "conspiracy"—that is, Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Metal, and Inland—to put on paper any agreement they may arrive at with the workers ("get even 95% of the votes; we will not sign a contract") is considered a flagrant violation of the National Labor Relations Act. Girdler's stony determination not to move an inch from his tyrannical position of the last decade has shipwrecked every attempt of Governors Davey and Murphy to mediate a settlement.

But even while violating the most patent clauses of the Federal law, Girdler utilizes the local "law" to shoot and gas workers, appeals to the gubernatorial power to "protect" his property, and demands of the Post Office department that it continue its services—acting as a supply-rescue division to the entrenched "stay-in" scabs.

Strike Spreads
Instead of abating, the steel strike is spreading, covering new branches of the industry. When employees of the Conemaugh and Black Lick Railroad—a Bethlehem sub—walked out, SWOC leaders called the workers of the Cambria plant out in sympathy.

Right To Strike Must Never Be Surrendered

An Editorial

A NUMBER of liberal papers—especially the Scripps-Howard chain—are weeping copious tears over the misbehavior of the workers of America in breaking the truce they were supposed to have made with capital upon the passage of the Wagner National Labor Relations Act.

And since the workers—whom we love, you know—don't seem to know how to behave, and all the bosses in part, we must have compulsory arbitration. This "compulsory arbitration" would, according to the proponents of it, bring real industrial peace.

On one point, we must agree with the Scripps-Howard line: compulsory arbitration will bring peace in industry. In Italy and Germany it has really done wonders along that line.

If one wishes peace alone, the peace of the graveyard with each union just a white sepulchre and each worker a spiritual corpse, then compulsory arbitration is the road to it.

What Strikes Mean

The present flood of strikes does not spring from the cussedness of the worker. Some of our good bourgeois editorial writers may not yet know it, but a strike is not fun for a worker. It means loss of income; it means hunger, danger and even death. Workers strike because it is either fight or—slave and starve.

If the strikers today number tens and hundreds of thousands, it is in part because they see profits rising, in part because they have growing confidence in their power, and in part because they feel that the National Labor Relation Act gives them the right to organize and get a settlement from the bosses.

Right To Strike

The right to strike is the basic right of a worker in capitalist society.

Those liberals, who may think that they are being frightfully impartial by their proposals for peace by force, are playing the game of the worst reactionaries. Whatever contracts, agreements or settlements may be signed to-day, once labor is placed in a no-strike strait-jacket it is the capitalist who will dictate terms finally.

You Must Act Now To Save The CALL

The SOCIALIST CALL has only eight pages this week, instead of the usual twelve.

This is not due to the fact that we have changed our policy. It is due to

the fact that we just do not have enough money this week to put out twelve pages.

We are compelled to cut our pages at the very worst time. Our correspondents are flooding us with interesting and valuable reports on the strike struggles across the country. We have several of these set up in type, but have no place to run them.

Unless money comes through during the week, we shall have to cut the size of the CALL still further.

The many fine letters that have come in to us during the week are, of course, cheering. The demand for orders of the CALL from our comrades on the strike front proves the value and worth of our paper.

For a number of weeks we have been making desperate appeals. Each week, we just skimmed through and some of our most ardent admirers came to the conclusion that maybe things are not so bad as we paint them, since we do come out after all.

Well, we have reached the end of the rope. We do not intend to exhort you with hysterical words. We have put the case cleanly before you. We want you to imagine your Socialist activities—without the CALL.

Now reach down deep and GIVE. Immediately.

Steel Profits Jump 250%

By JOHN BALL

Dividends distributed to the coupon-clippers of the iron and steel industry increased by over 250 percent from 1935 to 1936, while the average annual earnings of iron and steel employees increased only 12 percent during the same period, according to the annual report of the American Iron and Steel Institute for 1936.

Dividends paid during 1936 totaled \$109,240,183, compared to \$30,737,731 in dividends for 1935. The average annual earnings of iron and steel workers, on the other hand, amounted to something less than \$1,435 in 1936, compared to annual incomes of \$1,272 in 1935.

Wages Up 8 Percent

A large part of the paltry increase in employee income was due to increased employment and longer hours of work. The average work-week rose from 35.5 hours in 1935 to 41.6 hours in 1936. At the same time the earnings of iron and steel employees per hour of work increased from 72.3 to 78.4 cen—or a little over 8 percent.

The figures released by the Institute indicate that had the industry turned back its extra 1936 dividends to its employees, it could have granted at least a flat 10 percent increase in wages, while well over one hundred millions still went to the coupon-clippers.

"Captive" Miners Strike in Support Of Steel Workers

9,000 captive miners, producing coal for steel companies on strike, were called out by John L. Lewis in a flank attack upon the Republic, Youngstown, Inland, Bethlehem combine.

This move, aimed largely at Bethlehem, is probably motivated by the fact that Tom Girdler, boss of Republic, is being backed by Eugene Grace of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

The mine strike is part of a general campaign to encircle the "little Steel" bosses and to paralyze every sector of their industrial empire.

A strike of maritime workers on the great lakes would further cripple the anti-union steel firms, preventing the shipment of raw materials.

The captive miners have concluded an agreement with the railroad men on strike against the Bethlehem roads not to return to work without a settlement for the railroad men, as well.

THE SPIRIT OF '37—
Womenfolk of the Monroe
strikers stand shoulder
to shoulder with their
men against the armed
strikebreakers.



AN EYE WITNESS TELLS OF FRACAS IN ANDERSON, IND.

By ED ADAMS

Members of United Automobile Workers successfully prevented an attempt to break up a mass meeting here last Sunday and routed a mob of company union men who tried to seize a car containing sound equipment belonging to the union.

The meeting was a big success and Homer Martin spoke to a crowd of more than 3,000 people.

During the week before the meeting, there had been rumors that the company union was going to try to break up the meeting and "throw Homer Martin in the river." The meeting had originally been scheduled for 11 A.M. in the grand stand in the Athletic Park.

At 10 o'clock, it began to rain and the meeting was changed to the Union Hall. The hall was soon jammed full and the crowd still coming when the rain ceased just after 11 o'clock. So the decision was made to go back to the Athletic Park which was only a couple of blocks away.

In the meantime the company union had been assembling its men in a vacant theatre nearby. Just as the crowd began to leave the hall to go to the park, about 75 of the 'loyals' gathered on the corner across the street from the H.A.W.A. Hall. Seeing that they were hopelessly outnumbered, they made no attempt to start anything.

Mob Attack

As the crowd was leaving the hall, the sound equipment belonging to the union was carried down the back stairs and was being loaded into a car parked in the alley behind the hall. A mob of the company union men formed in the alley and started to attack the car containing the sound equipment.

There was a short scuffle by the car and then the union men began to rain down empty pop bottles and other handy missiles. The company union men fled back up the alley and the car containing the sound equipment went on over to the park where it was used during the meeting.

The crowd of 'loyals' hung around across the street for a while and then dispersed so that by the time that the crowd came back from the meeting there was only a handful left. They made no further attempt to start anything.

A number of the company union men were treated for minor cuts and lacerations. One of the leaders of the mob was struck with a blackjack by one of the policemen who arrived on the scene after the fracas. He was

listed by some of the capitalistic press as one of those "shot" during the scrap.

Union Gains

The U.A.W.A. members are jubilant at the success of the meeting and at the defeat of the company union. In two previous occasions, union meetings had been broken up by such mob violence. The Union members are certain that these anti-union tactics are a thing of the past.

The union victory in this little brush is the thing that will cause a large number of the fence-sitters who have been afraid in the past to take their place on the side of the union. The U.A.W.A. has been growing rapidly in the last two months and this victory will undoubtedly greatly accelerate the speed of organization.

Flint Rejects Scab Steel

By Genora Johnson

FLINT, Mich.—Flint factory workers are turning back all scab steel from Monroe.

Three carloads, turned down at Chevrolet by Plant Committeemen, were sent to Buick, where workers investigated and followed the same procedure.

Resolutions refusing to work on scab steel have been passed unanimously.

Telegrams of support have been sent to Philip Murray, chairman of the SWOC.



Phila. Parley Shows Socialists in Mass Movements of Labor

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Clearly demonstrating that the Socialist Party in this region is deeply rooted in the labor movement, trade unionists from Western Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Baltimore, and Washington met in this city last Saturday and Sunday to discuss problems facing Socialist unionists and to map out programs of future activities.

Outstanding were the reports of activities in the CIO textile drive, anthracite mining, the steel drive, organization of white collar workers, and participation in the numerous campaigns now being waged by the CIO. More than twenty international unions were represented by the delegates.

This was the fifth in a series of industrial conferences held by the national office and various Party locals. Roy Burt, executive secretary; Frank Trager, national labor secretary; and Brendan Sexton, eastern labor secretary, helped guide the discussions. First

Academic

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—(FP)—Wearing caps and gowns, 200 teachers and professors from a dozen colleges picketed a meeting of the Yale Corporation executive committee asking re-instatement of Prof. Jerome Davis to the Yale Divinity School staff from which he was fired for liberal views and activities.

PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS



MONROE STRIKERS ON GUARD

WA Set For Milwaukee Convention

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—More than 500 delegates, representing units in 43 states, will gather here Monday to participate in the National Convention of the Workers Alliance of America.

The Convention, third of its kind, will bring together the delegates elected by the artists, writers, bookkeepers, stenographers, bricklayers, laborers, and all the other classifications of workers employed on WPA, as well as the representatives of the totally unemployed.

Since the last meeting in Washington, D.C., during the Spring of 1935, the Workers Alliance has created a single powerful organization of the unemployed and project workers of the country, under the leadership of its National President, David Lasser.



DAVID LASSER

It has obtained the support and endorsement of organized labor including both the AFL and the CIO. It has run effective demonstrations, among them the famous state house siege at Trenton, New Jersey, which gained national publicity marches on the state capitols of Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania and the recent stoppage in New York in which more than 30,000 workers were involved.

A company deputy at Monroe wrecks the car of workers who came to the aid of embattled strikers.



Socialists Fight N.Y.C. Sales Tax

Norman Thomas and Harry W. Laidler, state chairman of the Socialist Party, were scheduled to represent the Socialist Party, during a picketing of the City Hall on Wednesday of this week as a protest against the continuance of the sales tax as a means of raising relief funds. One hundred and fifty trade unions are protesting the tax.

A plea to Mayor La Guardia to substitute a tax on personal incomes, on inheritances, and on corporations was made Monday night by Dr. Laidler in an address over WQXR.

Dr. Laidler quoted Mayor La

Guardia's statement, while Congressman in condemnation of the sales tax as "unscientific and difficult of administration," as "contrary to the American system of taxation" and as imposing a "burden out of all proportion on a large majority of our people."

He declared that New York and New Orleans stood alone among the larger cities of the country in imposing a sales tax on its citizens and called attention to the recent report of the Twentieth Century Fund of which Dr. A. A. Berle, City Chamberlain is one of the Directors, urging the reduction or the complete repeal of sales taxes imposed by states and cities.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

Three weeks ago notices were sent out to all subscribers whose subscriptions had run out at that time, with a warning that they would be dropped from our lists if they did not send in a renewal.

The address stencils of all these readers are being withdrawn from our files this week. If you received such a notice and have not renewed, this will be your last copy.

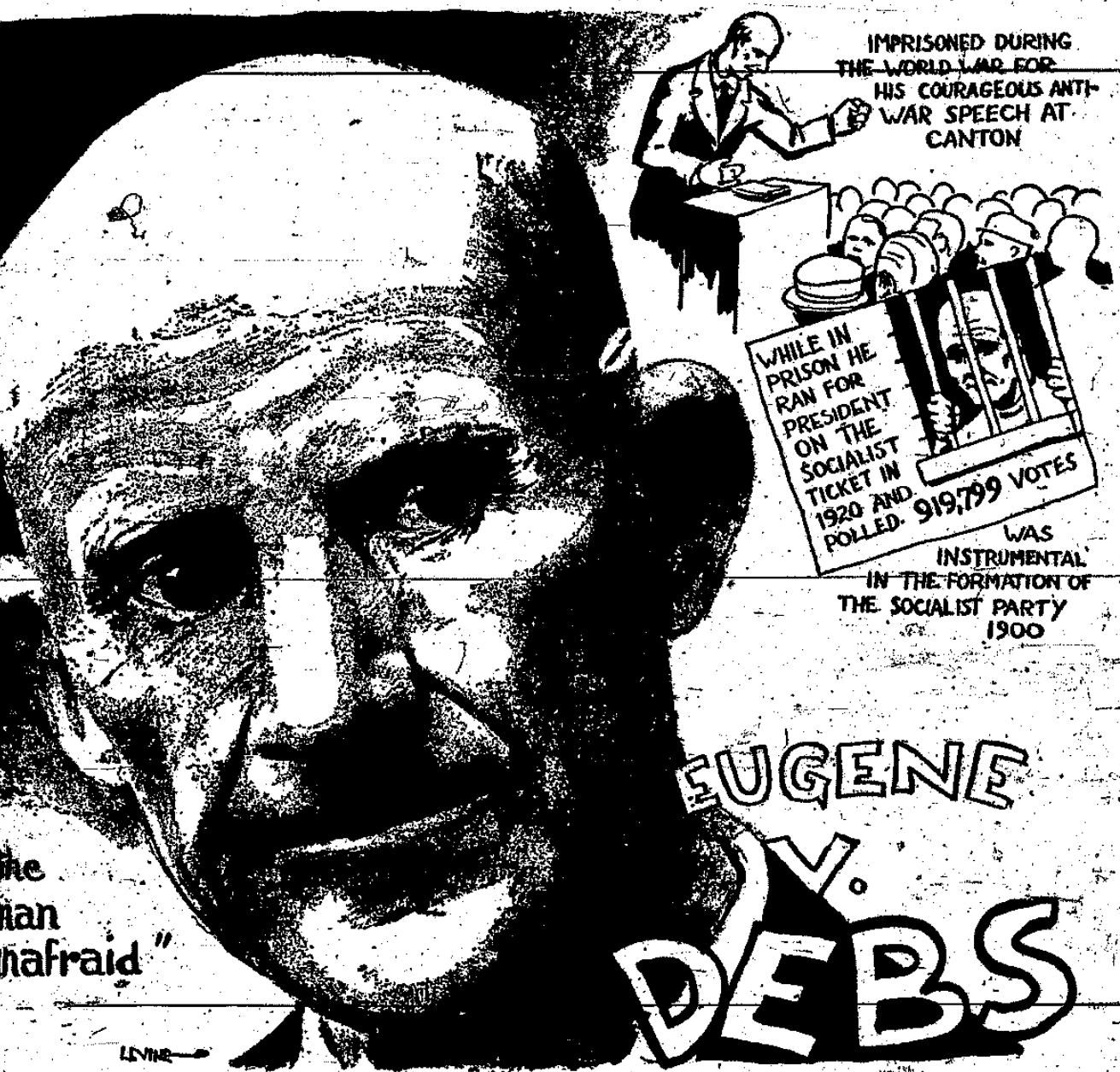
Look at your address label on the wrapper. If the number is 118 or lower, renew your subscription immediately in order to insure getting the CALL regularly.

THE MANAGEMENT.

Industrial Unions Needed Fight Junkers of U.S. aid Debs in Canton Talk

On June 16th, 1918 Eugene Victor Debs, fearless leader of the American working class and of the Socialist Party took his stand against the imperialist war, upon which the U.S. had embarked. For that speech he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment. We are herewith reprinting several passages from that speech.

ARE we opposed to Prussian militarism? Why, we have been fighting it since the day the Socialist movement was born and we are going to continue to fight it, day and night, until it is wiped from the face of the earth. Between us there is no truce—no compromise.



But, before I proceed along this line, let me recall a little history in which I think we are all interested.

In 1869 that grand old warrior of the Social revolution, the elder Liebknecht, was arrested and sentenced to prison for three months, because of his war, as a Socialist, on the Kaiser and on the junkers that rule Germany. In the meantime the Franco-Prussian war broke out.

Liebknecht and Bebel were the Socialist members in the Reichstag. They were the only two who had the courage to protest against taking Alsace-Lorraine from France and annexing it to Germany. And for this they were sentenced two years to a prison fortress charged with high treason; because, even in that early day, almost fifty years ago, these leaders, these forerunners of the international Socialist movement were fighting the Kaiser and fighting the junkers of Germany. They have continued to fight them from that day to this. Multiplied thousands of Socialists have languished in the jails of Germany because of their heroic warfare upon the despotic ruling class of that country.

I hate, I loathe, I despise junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the junkers of Germany, and not one particle more use for the junkers in the United States. They tell us that we live in a great free republic; that our institutions are democratic; that we are a free and self-governing people. This is too much, even for a joke. But it is not a subject for levity; it is an exceedingly serious matter.

American Democracy
To whom do the Wall Street

junkers in our country marry their daughters? After they have wrung their countless millions from your sweat, your agony and your life's blood, in a time of war as in a time of peace, they invest these untold millions in the purchase of titles of broken-down aristocrats, such as princes, duke, counts and other parasites and no-accounts.

Would they be satisfied to wed their daughters to honest workmen? To real democrats? Oh, no! They scour the markets of Europe for vampires who are titled and nothing else. And they swap their millions for the titles, so that matrimony with them becomes literally a matter of money.

These are the gentry who are today wrapped up in the American flag, who shout their claim from the housetops that they are the only patriots, and who have their magnifying glasses in hand, scanning the country for evidence of disloyalty, eager to apply the brand of treason to the men who dare to even whisper their opposition to junker rule in the United States. No wonder Sam Johnson declared that "patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel."

He must have had this Wall Street gentry in mind, or at least their prototypes, for in every age

it has been the tyrant, the oppressor and the exploiter who has wrapped himself in the cloak of patriotism, or religion, or both to deceive and overawe the people.

Tom Mooney

I know Tom Mooney intimately—as if he were my own brother. He is an absolutely honest man. He had no more to do with the crime with which he was charged and for which he was convicted than I had. And if he ought to go to the gallows, so ought I. If he is guilty every man who belongs to a labor organization or to the Socialist party is likewise guilty.

What is Tom Mooney guilty of? I will tell you. I am familiar with his record. For years he has been fighting bravely and without compromise the battles of the working class out on the Pacific coast. He refused to be bribed and he could not be browbeaten. In spite of all attempts to intimidate him he continued loyally in the service of the organized workers, and for this he became a marked man.

The henchmen of the powerful and corrupt corporations, concluding finally that he could not be bought or bribed or bullied, decided he must therefore be murdered. That is why Tom Mooney is today a life prisoner, and why he would have been hanged as a felon long years ago but for the world-wide protest of the work-

Capitalism Cause War? Never!—Says 'Old Guard'

The Social-Democratic Federation, a reformist split-off from the American Socialist Party, boasted at its recent convention in Pittsburgh that the well known Charles Edward Russell had joined their ranks.

Mr. Russell, during the last war while Eugene Debs was in jail, was busily championing the cause of American imperialism. And Mr. Russell has not recanted. We reprint below a letter he sent to the editor of the *American Legion Journal* in April of this year.

RUSSELL LETTER

From April Issue, *American Legion Monthly*
To The Editor
Early in April will come the twentieth anniversary of the entry of the United States into the World War.

It will be the occasion, doubtless, for the renewal upon an enlarged scale of the propaganda that has sought to beamrook the motive that led this country to take up the cause of the Allies. May I suggest that if your magazine will come out then with an authoritative and definite statement of the truth of this matter, it will be a most useful service? I know that it is absolutely untrue that armament makers or financiers or any sordid interest or influence whatever had the slightest connection with the decision of Congress or the attitude of President Wilson. Immediately after the declaration, I offered my services to the President and served for seventeen months for a total salary of one dollar.

I am not willing to think that I did this for the sake of Mr. Morgan or the armament makers and I do not believe it is for the nation to think so ill of itself.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL,
Washington, D.C.

ing class. * * * Who appoints our federal judges? The people? In all the history of the country, the working class have never named a federal judge. There are 121 of these judges and every solitary one holds his position, his tenure, through the influence and power of corporate capital. The corporations and trusts dictate their appointment. And when they go to the bench, they go, not to serve the people, but to serve the interests that place them and keep them where they are.

Why, the other day, by a vote of five to four—a kind of craps game—come seven, come eleven—they declared the child labor law unconstitutional—a law secured after twenty years of education and agitation on the part of all kinds of people. And yet, by a majority of one, the supreme court, a body of corporation lawyers, with just one exception, wiped that law from the statute books, and this in our so-called Democracy, so that we may continue to grind the flesh and blood and bones of puny little children into profits for the junkers of Wall Street. And this in a country that boasts of fighting to make the world safe for democracy. The history of this country is being written in the blood of the childhood; the industrial lords have murdered.

Industrial Unionism

Political action and industrial action must supplement and sustain each other. You will never vote the Socialist republic into existence. You will have to lay its foundations in industrial organization. The industrial union is the forerunner of industrial democracy. In the shop where the workers are associated is where industrial democracy has its beginning. Organize according to your industries! Get together in every department of industrial service! United and acting together for the common good your power is invincible.

When you have organized industrially you will soon learn that you can manage as well as operate industry. You will soon realize that you do not need the idle masters and exploiters. They are simply parasites. They do not employ you, as you imagine, but you employ them to take from you what you produce, and that is how they function in industry. You can certainly dispense with them in that capacity. You do not need them to depend upon for your jobs. You can never be free while you work and live by their sufferance. You must own your own tools and then you will control your own jobs, enjoy the products of your own labor and be free men instead of industrial slaves.

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Immediately after the declaration, I offered my services to the President and served for seventeen months for a total salary of one dollar.

I am not willing to think that I did this for the sake of Mr. Morgan or the armament makers and I do not believe it is for the nation to think so ill of itself.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL,
Washington, D.C.

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2ND A.D. meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 1401 Jerome Ave. Sophie E. Nelson, secretary.

8TH A.D. Meets every Wed. 7 West Burnside Ave. (near Jerome) Rm. 20. Lester Lermond, Sec'y.

AMALGAMATED, Upper 8th A.D. meets every Tuesday. Inquire L. M. Reich, 100 Van Cortlandt Pl. 80. Apt. C 44.

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THE SOCIALIST CALL

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AID THE BASQUES

The constant bombing of Bilbao and the increasing havoc wrought by the Fascist brutes in the Basque territory stress the ever greater need to bring aid to the victims of the Spanish civil war.

The campaign to establish a Norman Thomas Home for the Basque children, undertaken by the Young People's Socialist League in conjunction with other Socialist and youth organizations, got off to a fine start at the meeting for Norman Thomas held in the New York Hippodrome.

Dzens such meetings throughout the country would go a long way toward transforming words of sympathy for the masses of Spain into concrete actions.

MUST KEEP RUNNING

"The steel mill must keep running," said Mayor Knaggs of Monroe, Michigan, as he prepared for blood against the strikers.

In these six words, this comic-opera Hitler told the workers of America what it is that makes the capitalist politicians of this country tick. Laconically, he bared the insides of the capitalist state.

"The mill must keep running." That is all the boss class and its parties know or need know. That phrase covers all and excuses everything.

While the mill keeps running, the bosses pocket profits. To keep the mill running—they call it "protecting property"—is the most sanctified duty of the capitalist-controlled police.

To keep the mill running, Mayor Kelly of Chicago murdered eight men.

To keep the mill running, Sheriff MacDonald of Lansing tore a strike leaders' wife from her bed, away from her children, and threw her into a filthy jail.

To keep the mill running, Mayor Evans of Youngstown gassed unarmed strikers.

To keep the mill running, Mayor Knaggs of Monroe organized his army of deputies and demanded that Governor Murphy send in protection.

To keep the mills running, Mayor Daniel Shields of Johnstown, Pa., announced that he would place 3,000 members of the American Legion under arms.

To keep the mill running, the lewd legislature of Michigan, with its Democrats and Republicans united, sent an infamous congratulation to the dull-witted college fops of East Lansing for their hazing of the strikers. Great fun to the collegians, dumping men into the river while their wives are mauled and the kids are hungry. Great fun, indeed! And what courage!—Deserving not only of a memorandum from the Michigan sadists, but of a specially cast Congressional medal—perhaps in the form of a Swastika.

To keep the mill running—that is the primary function of the capitalist state.

And so long as capitalism stands, and so long as the army and the police are in the hands of the bosses, workers will have to face the organized violence of those who demand that the mill keep running.

The cries that rise from South Chicago, Lansing, Youngstown, Monroe mingle into one rather distinct declaration: labor must come to power through a party of its own. Labor must vote as it strikes—against the bosses and against their parties!

In America this is the next great step for the working class: a Labor Party, wise to the demagoguery of the Democrats and Republicans, out to fight and lick both of them.

This is the next great step in a march toward a workers' America. The first step can not end the march. For a party of labor—like the parties of capital—cannot be in the middle of the road when fights break out.

Again the capitalist will demand that the mill keep running. They will demand protection for their property, for their right to hire whom they choose to run their machines, for their right to exclude or permit whom they wish on their premises. Each new struggle will raise the question: "Whose property is it?"

So long as those factories shall be the bosses' factories, labor will have to face beatings and death to stop the mills.

Only when labor rises to claim its own—the mills it built out of its sweat and ingenuity, out of its muscle and brain—will the mills keep running, without running over the prostrate bodies of men and women.

"The mill must be kept running," the Socialist says, but running for the workers and by the workers. The mill must be kept running as our mills.

FASCISTS BOMB A CITY IN SPAIN



Comments From Writers

Phil. Yipsels and N.J. Organize CALL Drive

Party members and various sections of the party are swinging behind the movement to give the CALL the sort of support which it must have as the official organ of the party.

The only complaint which the business office of the CALL can make at this is that not nearly enough coming as rapidly as necessary if we are to keep this venture above water.

Best news comes from Philadelphia and from the New Jersey State Executive Committee.

In Philadelphia the Yipsels are organizing a systematic campaign for CALL subscriptions. Jacob Sidenberg, Drive Director, writes:

"The Philadelphia YPSL CALL Drive is to extend from June 19 to July 19. We are going to run it in conjunction with the party drive.

"We have about 500 prospects which we are going to divide up among the circles of the city, and have each member canvass. Then we may institute a door-to-door drive.

"The Drive is being launched at a rally on Saturday, June 19."

The New Jersey SEC, meeting this week-end at Newark took up the problem of increasing CALL support and circulation in the state.

A Plan

It was voted that from the 1 per cent income tax, which was levied on every member of the organization in New Jersey at the last convention, the SEC shall pay 10 cents a month so that the CALL will reach every party member who is not now a subscriber.

As the subscriptions of members expire, the SEC will assume the responsibility of paying for their continuation so that eventually every party member will be getting the CALL as a result of paying the income tax. By this action New Jersey will become the first state organization in which every party member is a CALL reader.

Plans were also discussed for building up the bundle orders of various branches. Best work there now is being done by the trade union league in Newark, where Ed Kampf is managing the systematic distribution of 50 CALLS each week.

Beside this there was a pleasant steady stream of new subscriptions and renewals all week.

The comments which accompanied them are such that we want to pass some of them along:



Stuart Gould, San Francisco, Calif., notes: "Great paper! May its influence grow!"

Ben Sands, Glendale, Calif., wrote: "The CALL fills a real need in the movement. Keep up the good work. Wish I could do more."

Frank Petars, Little Falls, N.Y., wired \$5 as a donation and said: "Am sending \$5 more on some new subscription."

From England, Myrtle Risborough, Gillingham, Kent, writes: "You will be interested to know that I am passing on my CALL to my socialist friends in this country."

Mrs. A. M. Prescott, Sioux City, Iowa, sending in 10 new subscriptions, writes: "I feel proud of our paper and its contributors. News and education combined make it a real CALL."

Jugo-Slav Branch No. 27, Cleveland, sent in \$10 and Josephine Turk, secretary, writes: "We are working at the subscription drive at present and you will no doubt receive some orders in the near future."

Jerome Tucker, Baltimore, regrets that the Maryland comrades are doing no more at the present time, but "In the next few weeks things may break for us and then you may expect more cooperation."

Carl Brannin, Dallas, Texas, sent in \$2 as a donation to the CALL, with the hope "That the CALL will make the grade in its effort to raise funds."

From Maine, Howard Penley, state secretary, writes: "I think the CALL is 100 per cent better since the convention."

These messages are samples of the feeling the good and active comrades have who are pushing the CALL these days. They and others must bear down on the very important job of getting new readers to keep the CALL operating and constantly improving.

Dear Mr. Rorty:

I am writing to thank you for your story in the CALL of June 5th on the Writers' Congress. I had been puzzled and your article has thrown much light on the situation.

Yours with good will,

JOHN C. GRANBERY,
Georgetown, Texas.

To the Editor:

The June 5th issue of the SOCIALIST CALL is the type of paper we have been waiting to see. The paper had life and spunk, the kind of paper that is a pleasure to give to your fellow worker.

This kind of paper along with the new national and state set-up, will build a strong and efficient Socialist Party in the United States.

MERLE PAUL BIGENHO,
Verona, Pa.

Dear Mr. Rorty:

I have just read your article on the then forthcoming Writers' Congress in the June 5th issue of the SOCIALIST CALL. It impressed me so deeply; it is such a magnificent denunciation of the fraud the congress was that I find it necessary to write you this note for complete enjoyment of it.

It is a rare treat to hear these days such phrases as "writer worthy of the name and jealous of his tools," "writing with its high tradition of moral and intellectual integrity, its heavy burden of responsibility for the preservation of civilization."

Let me use a cliché and "wish more power to your passionate pen."

Sincerely,

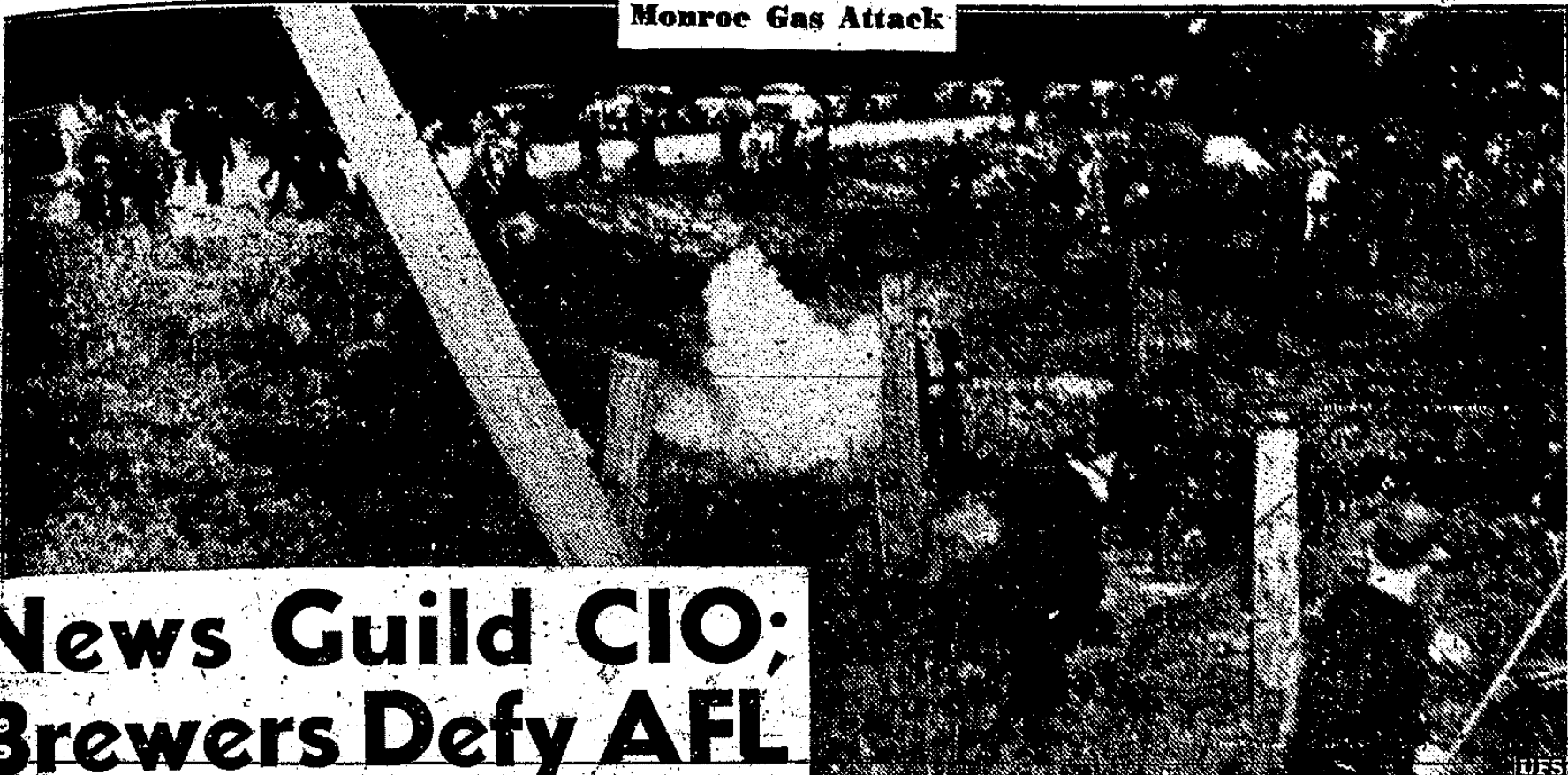
A YOUNG WRITER, UNATTACHED POLITICALLY,
WHO'LL ALWAYS REMEMBER JIM RORTY.

New York City.

GM Again

DETROIT, Mich.—The United Automobile Workers of America, which cracked the open shop front last February by signing a six-month's contract with General Motors, has announced that it will seek a better agreement effective August 11.

Deal With Call Advertisers



Monroe Gas Attack

News Guild CIO; Brewers Defy AFL

By John Newton Thurber

The American Newspaper Guild voted overwhelmingly at its St. Louis convention this week to affiliate with the Committee for Industrial Organization and to extend its jurisdiction to cover office and advertising employees in the newspaper industry.

The vote was 118½ to 18½. This action marks the departure of a most progressive newcomer from the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, as was forecast in these columns several weeks ago.

No opposition was voiced to the recommendation of the Guild's executive board for CIO affiliation. William Sentner, CIO fraternal delegate, declared that the

Guild has taken a "frank and honest stand to combat the labor splitting tactics of the AFL." The only debate at the convention was over the question of whether

jurisdiction over office and advertising workers should be assumed immediately or be postponed for later action.

Immediately after the vote, representatives of recently formed office workers' guilds in Cleveland, New York and other cities were seated by the convention as fraternal delegates. Heywood Brown, president of the Guild, has been a member of the CIO personally, but this action brings his organization into the CIO with him.

BREWERY WORKERS

Officers of national and international unions affiliated with the AFL have been ordered to begin payment of a special one cent a

month assessment on all members for the war chest to conduct the recently mapped fight on the CIO. Payments are to begin for the month of June, "even though it may entail some sacrifice," AFL officials declared.

First defiance to this came from Cincinnati, where the executive council of the Brewery Workers union refused to pay the assessment to fight the CIO. The Brewery Workers have been harried by the AFL's Teamsters ever since the legalization of beer, and in some centers have been attacked with thugs and tear gas.

They have a record of over 50 years existence as an industrial union, and so can hardly be expected to support the AFL in its fight against industrial unionism.

"The AFL is in no way responsible for the emergency which has been created within the ranks of labor," William Green's letter proclaimed piously. "Those who set up a dual rival movement to the AFL must bear the blame and accept the responsibility." Our fight is to preserve the great American labor movement which has been handed down to those of us who compose it as a common heritage.

DEFECTIONS

Elsewhere the tactics of the AFL in carrying on a bitter fight against those who are so successfully organizing the unorganized today is receiving a cool reception. In Youngstown, Ohio, many of the AFL locals, led by the Teamsters, are giving support to the embattled steel workers.

Nineteen locals in Alameda County, Calif., have applied for CIO charters after the Oakland Central Labor Council's charter was lifted by order of William Green. The Oakland body had refused to expel the teamsters who had aided a CIO strike, although ordered to do so.

An intensive drive for organization of government employes has been inaugurated in Washington following the expulsion of five lodges of the AFL's Federation of Government Employees, and the suspension of seven others. A mass meeting of all Washington government workers is being arranged, and CIO backing is assured.

SCABBERY

Another scab contract has been closed by the Consolidated Edison Co. in New York with AFL's Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, this time for a subsidiary employing 4000 workers. As in previous cases, this was to forestall organizing efforts already under way by CIO's United Electric and Radio Workers.

The agreement provides a general wage increase of 5% for all receiving less than \$3,000 a year, and contains a no-strike clause. Through this, 16,000 Consolidated Edison workers are now members of the IBEN.

The UE and RW have entered a protest with the National Labor Relations Board against these

contracts, charging that they are illegal and are entered into by the management to prevent their employes from selecting their own bargaining agency.

TRANSPORT WORKERS PUSH AHEAD

New York's aggressive Transport Workers Union marked its first victory in its drive to organize 35,000 taxi drivers, this week when it won a NERB election among the 1100 drivers of Terminal cabs. This gives the TWU exclusive bargaining rights. A set of demands, embodying improvements in wages, hours and conditions of work is to be submitted immediately. 88 per cent voted for TWU, a CIO affiliate.

Second victory in the New York taxi drive is the agreement of the Atlas and Liberty Fleet Owners Assn., employing 4000 drivers, to hold a referendum to determine an exclusive collective bargaining agency.

TWU has already demanded that the Sunshine-Radio System, which employs 6,000 taxi drivers in New York, grant a similar election, and has announced that the Bell and Town companies, employing 1,000 are next.

900 employees of the Fifth Ave. Coach Co. have approved demands which have been formulated for a contract between the company and the union. Although the company has not yet recognized the union, it is expected that it will grant a referendum to determine employee representation shortly.

MARITIME

The bitter fight between CIO and AFL for control of the New York waterfront approaches a crisis with the holding of a referendum of unlicensed personnel employed by the International Mercantile Marine, Luckenbach Steamship Co. and the Black Diamond Line. Choice will be between AFL's Seamen's Union and the National Maritime Union.

New York Times reports of developments on the West Coast, where the Maritime Federation of the Pacific meets next week, state that CIO affiliation is expected "after a dispute between Mr. Bridges of the Longshoremen and Secretary Harry Lundberg of the Sailors Union of the Pacific as to the method has been resolved." It states further that "there is a question whether the sailors will be taken in until they have reached an accord with CIO leaders of East Coast seamen."

It is obvious to readers of the CALL who have followed these developments that this is an attempt by the Bridges-Rathbone clique to use their organizational affiliations on the east coast as a bludgeon to defeat the militant Lundberg industrial union proposal and substitute for it the Bridges craft-federation plan for the National Maritime Federation which will shortly be called into being.

An important development growing out of the great steel strike is the sending of 10 organizers into the Great Lakes district to organize the lake seamen in the National Maritime Union. SWOC leaders have come to realize that to deal effectively with the barons of steel it is necessary to organize the miners of ore and the carriers of ore as well as the workers in the steel mills.

VICTORIES

Numerous unions in all parts of the country are taking advantage of the tremendous organizational enthusiasm connected with the CIO drive. Significant victories are reported daily.

Important among these this week was the closed shop contract won by the Hosiery Workers from the Real Silk Hosiery Co., Indianapolis. Real Silk has fought unions most bitterly during the past ten years. The contract establishes union wages and a 40 hour week, and employment is to be through the union office.

WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

The Unity Campaign in England, which began with great enthusiasm in the ranks of the left sections of the labor movement is petering out without having achieved any substantial or lasting benefits for the workers. The success of this campaign was dubious from the very beginning. The overwhelming bulk of the politically conscious British workers is inside the Labor Party. Any united front movement which is not oriented primarily on work inside the Labor Party can have no positive results at the present time.

The dissolution of the Socialist League, which in the last few years has been the only revolutionary political organization working inside the Labor Party will be a serious blow to the cause of Socialism. In spite of its small size numerically, the League exercised considerable influence in the British Labor movement and particularly inside the Labor Party. The organization of the Unity Campaign was an excuse for the Labor Party leaders to move against the League, whose growing revolutionary influence they feared.

They first outlawed the League as a body, and later ruled that no individual belonging to an outlawed organization could remain in the Labor Party. Since so many of the League members are intellectuals who belong to the Labor Party as individuals, rather than thru their trade unions, the dissolution of the League became necessary in order to maintain their membership in the Labor Party? Are the achievements of the Unity Campaigns great enough to counter-balance the loss of the Socialist League?

No Revolutionaries

Encouraged by this development, the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party are moving toward complete elimination of all revolutionary elements from the Party. An outstanding example of this reactionary trend was the circular of Arthur Woodburn, secretary of the Scottish Labor Party, to all sections. The circular demanded that the delegates sign a pledge undertaking:

- to take no part in the Unity Campaign
- not to move any proposal for united front action
- not to agree to anyone else moving such a proposal
- to refuse to countenance the expenditure of any money on united front action.

The person signing the pledge agrees that if he breaks it, he loses his eligibility as delegate to the Labor Party or Trades and Labor Council and becomes personally liable to disciplinary action. Such a pledge we in America have always characterized, and correctly, as "yellow dog contract." It is indeed shameful to see such practices in the labor movement, and especially in the British Labor Party which wants to make us believe that it will live or die on the issue of "democracy."

But it is noteworthy, that while everything is

being done by the Labor Party Executives to prevent any action between Labor Party units or members and other working class organizations, nothing is being done to prevent such action with capitalist organizations. Recently a "peace" demonstration was organized in Trafalgar Square, London, at which the main speakers were Mr. Milner Gray, Chairman of the Liberal Party, and Noel Baker, a Labor M.P. A joint resolution was proposed calling upon the national government to deal with the "economic, industrial and financial conditions leading to war."

Is the Labor Party in closer agreement with the Liberal Party as to the causes of war than with the Independent Labor Party? An even more brazen example of unity with the capitalists is the action of Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, and also a Labor M.P., who presided at a meeting in Albert Hall at which the main speaker was Sir Winston Churchill, who put forward a program for "peace and freedom!"

While these organizational measures against left Socialists are being taken, an ideological battle is also being conducted in the press. In the Daily Herald appear regular attacks against Marxism. A recent example is an article by a member of the staff, Douglas Jay, in which he declares:

"Nazis and Marxists alike—both of whom believe that industrial nations can only live by exploiting Colonies—would do well to study a few of the statistical acts of Colonial Trade."

We are well acquainted with the tactic of reactionary labor leaders who always link Fascism and Communism together in their speeches. But this open linking of Fascism and Marxism, in a Party which calls itself Socialist, and which recognizes Marx as the founder of Socialism, is new! In the midst of this critical situation the Communist Party held its annual convention.

It had an opportunity of trying, together with other working class organizations, to awaken the labor movement to the seriousness of the situation and stimulate independent working class action. Instead, it adopted as its slogan "Peace, Democracy and Social Reform," so as to make possible a "peoples front" with the liberals and conservatives and paralyze independent working class action. On Spain, the Convention, instead of a ringing call for working class action, called for the application of sanctions by the League of Nations against Germany and Italy.

Instead of an outright repudiation of the League of Nations after the farce of Non-Intervention, the workers are asked to believe in it and support it so that it may go on to new betrayal, with impunity. And of course, the ILP, because of its support of the P.O.U.M. and anarchists in Spain, was characterized as "Fascist." In international relations, the convention called for Britain to enter the Franco-Soviet pact. That is the way to preserve peace!

Lenin to Stalin—A Review—By Bob Tyler

FROM LENIN TO STALIN,
by Victor Serge, Pioneer Publishers, 50c

"Everything has changed.

"The aims: from international social revolution to socialism in one country.

"The political system: from the workers' democracy of the Soviets, the goal of the revolution, to the dictatorship of the general secretary, the functionaries, and the G.P.U."

"The leaders: the greatest militants of October are in exile or prison. From Lenin to Stalin."

When the Bolsheviks captured power, the author of the lines above left a French prison to fight as a gunner in the Red Army. In 1919 he was commissar of archives in the Soviet secret police; later he became editor of the Communist International, theoretical organ of the Comintern. Since then he has passed several years in Stalin's prisons, from which he was freed not long ago through the intervention of Andre Gide, prominent French novelist.

His pamphlet is a bitter, powerful attack on the Stalin dictatorship. It is not an orderly essay, but a series of sketches, documents, comments. It is not only important; it is fascinating. The order of his sketches are loosely chronological; behind them lies a well-arranged argument. Many of the incidents are personal, some of the documents unverifiable. A Communist who can't bear to be shaken in his faith will be able to reject large parts of the pamphlet by calling Serge a liar.

But most of it is a bedrock of undeniable fact. It will not be an easy pamphlet for Communists to read, should any have the temerity to try it.

"During the night of July 4, 1917, a mysterious rumor spread through the corridors of the Soviet. Proof had been discovered of the treason of Lenin and Trotsky. Inferrutable documents... the Bolsheviks are the paid agents of Germany!" "If I mention these facts it is because slander, through the Russian Revolution, has had a curious history, and because it has today reappeared in identical form."

The Early Days

He recalls the early days of the Communist International, every other name a blow at Stalin: Trotsky, Radek—in prison; Zinoviev—reported shot; Bukharin—awaiting trial; Roy—expelled; Balabanoff—expelled; Maurin—expelled, shot by the Spanish fascists; Nin—expelled and vilified today.

"Stalin is too rude," said Lenin in his testament, "and this fault becomes unsupportable in the office of General Secretary." But Stalin proves himself a consummate master at party intrigue and he eliminates contending leaders one by one. Older Bolsheviks are replaced by anti-Bolshevik careerists: Vishinsky (state prosecutor), Maisky (ambassador to London), Khinchuk (ambassador to Berlin). The opposition is jailed, exiled, shot.

To escape blame for disastrous economic difficulties, Stalin stages trials of self-confessed scapegoats: the Ramsin group in 1930, ex-Mensheviks in 1931, both of them monstrous frame-ups, like those of 1936. Curious trials, all by confession, in which most of those implicated are never asked to testify. Braunstein, Cherevanin, Mensheviks accused of plotting sabotage in the famous 1931 trial, have never been given a public hearing. They are still in prison.

Confessions

"As for confessions, I know by experience how they are dictated and manufactured... When

they considered me ripe—that is to say, sufficiently demoralized by solitary confinement, idleness, and threats—an examining magistrate very coldly informed me that I was facing a very long confinement in any case, and that I could obtain an attenuation of my sentence (only by confirming the confessions of my sister-in-law, Anita Russakova, which he was going to read to me.

Thereupon he began to read to me in a loud voice a curious document, not one word of which was true, containing names and addresses of persons totally unknown to me."

"A sort of moral intervention becomes our duty," Serge concludes, "... And our foremost weapon is the truth... If we can force this bureaucratic reaction one step backward, if we can prevent it from committing one single crime by showing it as it is, we shall be restoring to socialism and revolution a little of their true grandeur and consequently of their ability to conquer."

What Lesson?

What lesson are we to learn? How are we to avoid the victory of the careerist, the functionary, in the future? Serge has come out of his bitter experiences with an insistence on truth, honesty, decency of method, freedom of expression for working-class tendencies.

"More personal well-being, more liberty, less lies, more dignity, more respect for humanity. The socialism which proceeds otherwise gives in to a sort of inner counter-revolution, discredits itself and risks suicide."

Serge is really earnest. He has doubts about Kronstadt. "Our blackest memory" he calls Trotsky's suppression of the workers and sailors who in 1921 demanded soviet democracy, not party dictatorship. "I followed these events very closely, and it seems to me unquestionable that measures taken in time could easily have countered all these evils. It would have been relatively simple to reach a compromise with Kronstadt and avoid useless massacres in the very heart of the revolution. The danger made the Central Committee merciless and we must admit that the danger was great."

Because Serge is so honest, the blind spots which come from his political past and present loyalties are very unfortunate. He wants "the workers' democracy of the soviets, the goal of the revolution." But the Soviets were dead as organs of democracy the moment the Communists became the only legal party, a party, moreover whose propaganda was carried on by the government. And were no Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, or Anarchists imprisoned by the Soviet government, while Lenin lived, for simply expressing their opinions?

"And our foremost weapon is the truth."

Spain Speaks

Radio broadcasts from Spain to America in English have been placed on a new schedule, beginning June 16. Ralph Bates, famous English novelist, among others, will speak every Tuesday and Friday evening from 7:30 to 8:00 P. M. from EAQ2 or EAR.

The Road to Revolution For Catalan Workers

(The following very important article, describing the background of recent events and, probably future trends in Catalonia, appeared as a front page editorialized story in the BERNER TAGEWACHT, the official paper of the Socialist Party of Switzerland on May 6th, 1937. The article apparently was written before the author had the details of the events of May 3rd on hand, which were described in the May 29th issue of the CALL by Liston Oak. The value of this TAGEWACHT story lies in its analysis of root causes.

Next week the CALL will reprint an article by Victor Alter, one of the leaders of the Polish Bund, revolutionary socialist party, describing the fall of the Caballero cabinet.)

From the Berner Tagewacht

ONE need not live in Spain or even read much beyond the military and diplomatic despatches to know that there exists in Catalonia an internal crisis of some duration, whose course is bound seriously to affect all sincere friends of the Spanish revolution.

Here in Barcelona, where the uprising of July 19th resulted in a genuine revolution of an advanced political and economic character (something that can not be said of all Spain, parts of which are backward), two courses of revolutionary development, diametrically opposed, appeared.

The position of the POUM and a part of the Anarchists, one might say of all the militant elements among the mass of workers and peasants, is based upon the inseparability of the war from the revolution. The one can not be won without the other. If the Fascists win at the front, the revolution is lost; and the Fascists cannot be defeated, unless the progress of the social revolution at home inspires and mobilizes the masses to make such sacrifices as can only spring from the forward march of the people.

The contrary conception maintains that the main object is to win the war. For the realization of this objective it is necessary to win the friendship not only of the "democratic powers" and of the Soviet Union—both of which are opposed to a furthering of the revolutionary development—but also of the Spanish bourgeoisie, especially in Catalonia and in the Basque regions. And this bourgeois mur. not be scared away by the perspectives of a revolution.

These latter maintain, moreover, that if they win the war first they are preparing the way to a revolution. If the score is settled with Franco, Hitler and Mussolini, the rest will be settled later. From these contrary conceptions flow the chief internal struggles in Barcelona.

COURSE OF REVOLUTION

No matter what logic might be brought to bear against the concept of postponing the revolution, the fact remains that this conception is gaining ground rapidly in Catalonia. The profound crisis in Catalonia is but the reflex of the stubborn struggle on the part of the positive revolutionary forces against those who, for the aforementioned reasons, would hamper the revolution.

The ascending line of the Catalan revolution runs from the days in July to about the third week in August. From it flowed brilliant examples of revolutionary heroism, important economic advances for workers and peasants. But this development could not culminate itself into a politically stable situation. Although the props of the bourgeois state apparatus—the police of the Guardia Civil and the Guardia d'Assalto—were crumbling, they were not swept away.

The revolutionary continued to function along primitive lines, largely because the masses under the leadership of the utopian anarchist CNT had no comprehension of how to consolidate power for grappling with the complex social problems.

The economic changes, therefore, were of a paper character. The division of land among the peasants took place; but the state pow-

er, necessary for the organization and erection of a new economy, was lacking. The anarchists, however par excellence in the fight against the Fascists—showed themselves unable to solve all the emergent economic and political questions.

POUM POLICY

The POUM, which was very weak in the beginning, gradually gained ground, although somewhat hampered in its work with the UGT because of the latter's trade union one-sidedness, which were later connected. It was further weakened in its propaganda work during the crucial months of its participation in the government, and hence did not have the mass influence necessary to establish its power.

The revolutionary upsurge thus climaxed in a standstill that rapidly degenerated into an obvious backward development.

The shipment of arms and planes by the Soviet Union created a veritable cult of Russia, which was cleverly exploited by the PSUC, the Communist organization of Catalonia.

Even from the beginning, left bourgeois elements were in the government. A soon this element, the petty-bourgeois group, dominated. They put the leaders of the UGT union under their influence. This was facilitated by the fact that some of these unions had a company union character; i.e. they had been formed as strike breaking organizations against the CNT.

THE COMMUNIST LINE

The clever mass agitation of the PSUC was aided by a large staff of Comintern agents, and was further augmented by the fact that heavy layers of the PSUC and UGT were petty-bourgeois in character. (The revolution created compulsory organization for individual mechanics, small merchants, etc., without providing a proper organization for them.)

A vicious campaign was now started against the POUM, with its usual "Trotskyite-Fascist" name-calling. The expulsion of the POUM from the government was forced through under Soviet pressure.

The Catalan food minister, Comerera, leader of the PSUC, purposely disorganized the food delivery for Barcelona—the CNT proved this conclusively—in order to arouse a mass discontent against the "Committees"—which had been formed during the revolution as workers' and "peasants' organs of power. Together with the campaign against the Anarch-

ists, there went a war against the "Committees" and the CNT, both nationally and internationally.

The Guardia Civil and the Guardia d'Assalto were reorganized and are nowadays making provocative armed maneuvers, with the object of compelling the government to dismiss "left" officials.

The government, with a majority of bourgeois parties and the PSUC, created new organs of power in the tax department and the department of coastal defense. It decreed, after an intense campaign, to dissolve the so-called Control-Patrouilles, a police group formed by members of the working classes.

THE "LEFT" PROTESTS

The CNT delegates in the government voted for this measure and thereby created such a storm of protest in the ranks that the decree itself remained unenforced and a dead letter.

This action of the Anarchists created the latest government crisis. The campaign unleashed by the PSUC was momentarily checked but not stopped.

Although the old Anarchist leaders are becoming more and more victims of "Ministerial Socialism"—as we characterized it in former debates within the Socialist movement—and although they may be adapting themselves more and more to dangerous reformist concepts, the only effect upon the masses is to widen the cleft between them and their official spokesmen.

Resistance against this Russian and bourgeois stultification and throttling of the Spanish revolution is spreading among the Socialists of Old Spain. Well known Socialists, especially in the Asturias, have raised their voices in protest against the threat of reaction.

The forces of the Spanish revolution are on the defensive; but they are not smashed. That is why up to today (this was written before the Barcelona incidents of May 3rd were known to the world—Editor) no visible acts of violence against the revolution have been possible.

But there are many bourgeois elements who would wish to see such suppressive acts in Barcelona.

During the last few days, the Damocles sword of serious, even bloody struggles, among the "left" parties, has been suspended over the head of the revolutionary workers. What that means for Franco is apparent. Every time friction occurs among his opponents, he takes military advantage of it. In the Basque country, it was so when the Catholics proceeded against the Anarchists; and in the offensive at Teruel it was so when the Barcelona crisis became acute.

Today the same situation prevails!

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE AFL—IV

THE CHALLENGE TO CRAFT UNIONISM

The Growth of Monopoly Affects Trade Unionism

(This is the fourth of a series of articles on the history of American labor by Lillian Symes. The fifth installment will appear next week.)

By Lillian Symes

DURING the early 1900s, the A.F. of L. developed the structural formation which it has maintained (with minor modifications) ever since. The basic unit of that formation was the LOCAL union. Where a NATIONAL organization existed in a given trade,

the local union was required to affiliate with it. (The only difference between a National and an International Union or Association was the fact that the latter had affiliated locals in Canada).

The local union was also expected to join the central labor body of the city in which it existed, and the central labor body could not admit delegates from any union not affiliated with the A.F. of L. The functions of the State Federations of Labor were largely political. It lobbied and agitated for labor legislation, watched for and opposed anti-union legislation. Federal unions were mixed unions affiliated directly with the national Federation. Charters were granted to these in certain industries, where distinct trade divisions were altogether impractical.

Almost from the beginning, a few of the most powerful unions in the A.F. of L. like the United Mine Workers and the Brewery Workers, and later the Association of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, were organized along industrial lines. Like the new Federal unions organized in the 1920s and '30s, the Brewery Workers were subjected to repeated attempts to raid their membership by certain craft unions.

Obviously this basic A.F. of L. structure was never designed to cope with mass production nor with the technological changes which were already beginning to

The New Era

TECHNOLOGICAL changes—such as those which had practically wiped out the glass-blowers—machine production which nullified the need for skilled craftsmanship, the rise of new mass production industries to displace those already organized, these

were the objective factors contributing to the decline of the old-line unions during this period and up to the World War. Coupled with these was the vigorous and organized national offensive launched against the whole labor movement by the aroused employers and big industrialists of the nation, an offensive in which courts and judges played their usual strike-breaking role.

The National Association of Manufacturers had been organized in 1895, but it was not until 1901 that it girded itself for a well-organized and well-financed national campaign to smash the growing labor movement and to defeat, if possible, every type of labor legislation. The decade that followed marked the steady growth and amalgamation of employers' organizations throughout the country, the mushroom growth of a new industry—the strike-breaking and labor spy business, the continuous and ruthless use of "injunctions in labor disputes.

This was the period in which Gompers, Morrison and Mitchell were sentenced to imprisonment for the Buck Stove Company boycott, of the infamous Danbury

transform the face of American industrial life. Up to 1903, its local and national bodies grew in size and power. New unions sprang up—as in the needle trades—and affiliated with it. Then suddenly an ebb-tide set in.

The membership dropped from around 2,000,000 in 1904 to less than 1,800,000 in 1909. The bulk of this loss was born by six of the big international unions—the Iron and Steel Workers, Machinists, Longshoremen, Butchers, Carpenters and Joiners, Glassworkers. The last two unions lost from one-third to one-half their membership.

The United Mine Workers, on the other hand, had continued to grow steadily and the Brewery Workers more than held their own. In the entire trade union movement of the country in 1909—including the railway brotherhoods and other groups not affiliated with the A.F. of L., there were less than 2,500,000 workers. This figure included the four or five hundred thousand for whom per capita dues are usually in arrears. In short, only about 10 percent of the estimated number of wage earners in the country were organized.

What had happened? Professor Commons wrote at this period: "The unions have practically disappeared from the large corporations as these grow large enough to specialize minutely their labor."

Hatte's decision by which the employers were awarded financial "damages" not merely from the union but from each individual member of it. The Structural Iron Workers, the Seamen, the Teamsters, the Longshoremen, in particular, lost ground before bitter employer offensives. Those building trades unions which occupied a strategic position in their industry were able to hold their own. Only the industrial United Mine Workers, and the needle trades in the East, continued to increase their strength.

Instead of drawing the obvious conclusions from this situation and gradually shifting from a craft to an industrial basis in order to meet the new situation, the trade union bureaucracy clung to its craft lines and resisted every effort on the part of the progressives, led by the strong Socialist bloc at each national convention, to industrialize its structure.

It was not until 1913 and 1914 that the movement to amalgamate certain allied crafts into "departments"—such as the Metal Trades Department—for mutual support, gained any headway. In the meanwhile, the unions fought their los-

ing battles and the militancy that should have gone into the fight for structural changes turned to the counsels of despair—guerrilla warfare upon individual employers, the propaganda of the deed. Political conservatism winked at or abetted practical anarchism.

The IWW

THE "defense by dynamite" and other forms of guerrilla warfare conducted by some of the most hard-pressed trade unionists against such unscrupulous combinations as the National Erectors Association, culminated in the McNamara affair in Los Angeles, in 1911.

This was at a peak period of organized Socialist and other radical strength in the United States and the entire radical as well as the trade union movement threw itself behind the McNamara defense. At no time before or since have the labor and revolutionary movements of the country been so solidly united in a common cause as in the McNamara case. It seemed for a time that the historic breach between the two movements was closing. Even Gompers, now on the defensive, accepted gladly the support of such powerful weapons as the Socialist Appeal to Reason.

The McNamara confession, timed to defeat labor's political triumph in Los Angeles, stunned both the labor and socialist movements and wrecked their budding solidarity. The effect upon the A.F. of L. was similar to the effect of the Haymarket affair upon both the Knights and the trade

unions. In their desperate endeavor to absolve themselves from any taint of "radicalism," Gompers and the other Federation leaders scurried back to the farthest reaches of labor conservatism. Ever here, they could not escape the reverberations of the "dynamite trials" which followed throughout the country during the following year and which made the McNamara confessions a futile and costly sacrifice. But no effort was spared to restore the Federation's impeccable respectability in the minds of the public. Gompers and his friends were never to recover from the effects of 1911.

Except for a temporary revival, due in part to the affiliation of new unions, during 1913-14, the Federation depression continued until we entered the World War in 1918. The organization of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905, had little to do with the decline in Federation growth which began at

this time. The strength of the Wobblies came from fields which the A.F. of L. had never penetrated—the migratory and mine workers of the West. The militant Western Federation of Miners which launched the Wobblies and formed its most substantial section, was not affiliated with the A.F. of L. (In 1911, after it had left the Wobblies and had grown more conservative, it entered the Federation and merged with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers International.)

In addition to agricultural, lumber and mine workers of the West, the Wobblies also drew heavily upon the socialist and other radical intelligentsia of the East. De Leon came in immediately with his little Socialist, Trades and Labor Alliance, only to be thrown out with his brain-child in 1908, when the I.W.W. repudiated "political action." After 1908, many of the Socialists, including Debs, who had helped to launch the Wobblies and who had looked to it as a healthy reaction from "corrupt craft unionism," the beginning of a socialist labor movement, found their initial enthusiasm cooling. However, Debs and others never lost hope for the Wobbles and continued to cherish its militant spirit, to aid its heroic battles, even while they disapproved of the growing syndicalist, anti-political tendencies within it.

(Continued Next Week)

Sit-Down Miners Win All Strike Demands

By GERRY ALLARD

WILSONVILLE, Ill., June 14.—After staging the longest stay-down mine strike in labor history, the miners of this area resumed operations in the Superior Coal company mines when all of the demands of the strikers were satisfactorily realized.

Besides dramatically focusing the attention of the country on the plight of the coal diggers under the intensive mechanization of the industry, the miners won the following:

1. An immediate equal division of work.
2. Reinstatement of two discharged miners.
3. Prevented the victimization of their strike leaders.

Role of Officials

The miserable role of the district officials of the Progressive Miners of America in supporting the coal company against the strikers failed in its objective. It did not prevent the miners from gaining their demands, and the boasted threat that the P.M.A. was to be purged of genuine progressive elements, was found badly wanting when smoke of the battle had cleared.

The leading spirits of the stay-down strike, John Battuello, Mike Campion, William Campion, William Hendron, Dan McGill and Mike Pomatto, were quickly placed back to their jobs after the company had discharged the men the day the mine resumed work. The miners, anticipating that the company would attempt to victimize the strike leaders, were all primed to continue and broaden the strike, when the coal company reinstated the strike leaders to their jobs.

The Case of the Leaders

The case of the discharged strike leaders was handled through the regular channels of the union. The district officials were bluntly told by the rank and file miners that if they dared to sustain the act of the company that the miners would once more take matters in their own hands and in all probability cease paying dues to the P.M.A.

The district officials sustained the position of the company but simultaneously with this announcement the company notified the discharged miners that they would be given back their jobs.

The coal company and the district officials of the P.M.A. are now sniping at the miners by demanding the removal of the local union officials. The local officials countered by openly admitting that they sanctioned the strike and would do likewise in the future should such action be deemed necessary. At this writing this question is still hanging fire.

OVER 4000 HEAR THOMAS REPORT

NEW YORK—4,800 people crowded into New York's Hippodrome last Thursday night to hear Norman Thomas give his impression gained from his recently completed tour of Europe.

The views expressed by Thomas on European matters were those which he has written for CALL readers during his trip.

Roy E. Burt, National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party, presided. Albert Hamilton, newly elected secretary of the Y.P.S.L., announced the projected Norman Thomas Home for Spanish Children. Jack Altman, executive secretary of Local New York, made the collection appeal for funds, to be divided between the purchase of a fully equipped ambulance, which Local New York is sending to Spain through the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, and the Norman Thomas Home. Over \$1000 was raised in cash and pledges.

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AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

CLASS STRUGGLE IN AMERICA

By all odds the most outstanding thing which I find on my return to America is the extraordinary vigor of the class conflict waged by the workers. On the whole they have made amazing progress in organization and their intelligence and discipline have equalled their courage. As one might have expected there have been mistakes. The most serious of them, with which the C.I.O. promptly dealt, was the act of a comparatively small number of workers in suddenly turning off the power in Michigan. That is the kind of thing which promotes a definitely fascist reaction.

At the very least, if that sort of thing is to be repeated, we shall get compulsory legislation to forbid certain kinds of strikes or to impose compulsory settlement of them. In such legislation there are manifold dangers. No argument will be as strong in averting it as labor's own acts in preventing those things which look like the irresponsible syndicalism of relatively small groups, and unnecessarily invite fascist reaction. No one who has seen Europe can fail to realize how much potential strength there is in such a reaction.

There is another point that is worth making. Of course it is imperative for workers to organize industrially and all Socialists rejoice in the rank and file progress made, but an industrial organization of workers can of itself solve the problem of capitalism. It cannot prevent crisis; and it cannot guarantee that wage increases and money are real increases in the purchasing value of that money. Industrial action must be supplemented by equally vigorous and intelligent action on the political field. And it must all look forward not merely to better conditions for workers but to a new social order. Meanwhile our immediate task is to give all possible support to the steel strikers.

ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION LOSING GROUND

My definite impression is that Roosevelt and his Administration have been losing ground lately. Legislative progress has been slow. There is still no anti-lynching legislation in spite of the Mississippi atrocities. The United States lags shamefully behind many European nations in the matter of housing. Yet the Administration has proposed a method of financing which will greatly impair the value of the Wagner bill.

The President from the beginning has managed his Supreme Court issue with less than his usual political skill and judgment. He took a poor way of dealing with a real evil and now he is likely to have to accept some compromise on that way. The issue of the powers of the Court in the government of America will not be settled by adding two or three judges instead of five or six. The best that can be said for the President is that by raising the issue he may have constrained the Court to some liberality.

But even that liberality will be spoiled if he puts Joe Robinson on the bench in place of Van Devanter. Robinson has been a good political lieutenant of the President's in the Senate and he is popular with his fellow Senators. But neither in age nor ability is he suited for the job of Justice of the Supreme Court and his record as the principal political beneficiary and defender of the infamous pleraction system makes him who unfit to be one of the real rulers of America. Few acts of the President will put so bad a blemish

his record as the appointment of Robinson to the Supreme Court.

LETTER SUMMARIZING IMPRESSIONS LOST

When I was in Paris waiting for a visa to go to Spain I wrote a letter which appears to have been lost. In it I summed up briefly a number of matters. I described Sweden and Denmark as the happiest countries I saw in Europe, but no Utopia. I discussed the new hopefulness of the German underground movement and the necessity of the maximum of joint action in it and concentration upon work in factories. I commented on the Socialist attitude toward Roosevelt as part of a generally defensive position of European socialism today as against fascism.

Some time, perhaps, the letter will show up. Anyway, I will have plenty of occasion in writing and in speeches to bring out the facts. I think I also included what I do not want to forget, namely, an expression of my great gratitude for the universal hospitality of our comrades in Europe from Prime Minister down.

ON THE REVOLT OF ANARCHISTS

Far more important than what I said in that last letter is the comment that must be made on recent developments in Spain and Russia. As I write, the fall of brave Bilbao seems practically inevitable, and that at a time when the U.S.S.R. is in no position to do what formerly she has done for the help of Spain. Unquestionably if Bilbao falls, Franco and the fascists in and out of Spain will have new hope. But I still think that the strength of Spanish Loyalists and the unpopularity of the Spanish war in Germany and Italy mean that the defeat of fascism is only postponed.

Bilbao need never have been so sorely pressed if a proper offensive could have been begun in time on the Aragon front. There were many factors in preventing or delaying that offensive and no one individual or group can take all the blame. Nevertheless one factor in the delay was the rising in Catalonia for which the Anarchists and P.O.U.M. were responsible.

It is rather shocking to hear the tone that some Socialists and so-called left-wingers are adopting in America about that rising. Communists critics have unjustly maligned both the Anarchists and the Anarchists and the P.O.U.M. They had some real grievances. It should be observed, however, that they are united by their grievances and not by a common constructive program. But those grievances did not excuse the rising nor did they make it necessary.

The Anarchists and P.O.U.M. claim—I think in the main justly—a great degree of influence over the unions in Catalonia. These unions are the most important industries and services in Barcelona. A little patience and a little economic pressure through those unions, or the threat of it, could have got all or more than the Anarchists and the P.O.U.M. got by their rising. The effect of the rising upon working class and anti-fascist sentiment in Europe was disastrous.

In Spain itself—at least outside of Catalonia—the rising hastened the movement to the right and strengthened Prieto against Caballero. It also still further weakened the diminishing P.O.U.M. Unquestionably at a critical time it distracted attention from the front. On P.O.U.M.'s own statement, if it was justified in calling the workers out on the barricades it was scarcely justified in sending them back home. The whole business

was an example of left-wing infantilism at a critical moment. It is most superficial to compare conditions with the conditions which prevailed at the time of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the comparison to the Paris Commune is not much more accurate or helpful.

This I say, not to join the Communist chorus of sweeping denunciations, but because I want to make it clear why American Socialists who would never justify a strike against a strike should not justify this rising. Whatever the motives of those responsible for it, it played into the hands of fascism in Europe and of the right-wing in Spain.

SOVIET LEADERSHIP NOT DEMOCRATIC

The news of this military purge, the fifth of Stalin's blood purges in Russia in less than a year, is sheer tragedy. And this is true whoever is guilty and of what. It cannot fail to weaken the anti-fascist forces and it sheds disquieting light on conditions in Russia itself. This, I repeat, is true whoever is guilty. It may be that the eight generals whom the U.S.S.R. had most trusted are guilty of treason. It may be that their predecessors in the blood

purges were guilty of criminal plotting in connivance with fascists. If so, no punishment could be too severe. But if they were guilty, there are almost as many questions as if one believes that Stalin has a terrible case of nerves and is seeing things at night. Surely there is nothing in Hitler's success in promoting happiness at home to make him in the least popular in Russia.

For more than half a generation the Communist dictatorship has absolutely controlled all communication and education in Russia. It controls the army. It built up the generals whom it destroyed to the role of heroes. What is the matter that under these circumstances such far-fung plots are possible?

One may, if one wants, believe Trotsky guilty of plotting and yet recognize how ridiculous it is to foist all this off upon him. Christians never ascribed to the devil greater power than some of his enemies ascribe to him. To my mind the conclusion is inescapable; not Stalinism nor Trotskyism but the Communist theory and practice of Party organization and Party dictatorship and the denial of ordinary civil liberty are fundamentally responsible for this situation. Russia has not a

dictatorship of the proletariat in the sense of a democracy of workers. It has a dictatorship of a party, and today of a bureaucracy within the party over the workers. That dictatorship for many years had an honest and very intelligent revolutionary purpose to aid the workers, but even that purpose is today in danger of deflection by the methods it deems necessary to keep in power.

Under these circumstances it is more apparent than ever that Socialists must build their Party as Socialists, and must carry on their discussion of events in Russia, Spain and elsewhere as Socialists. It is impossible to build such a party out of groups whose principal interest is in a struggle within Communism, or whose loyalty, secretly or openly, is to either the Third or the Fourth International.

It is our duty to form as correct opinions as we can of events in Russia, in Spain and elsewhere, but Socialists can never build a Socialist Party in America by primary reference to the P.O.U.M. in Spain, or to the Trotskyites, in Spain whom the P.O.U.M. has been expelling, or to the tragic controversies in Russia. An inclusive Socialist Party must be a Socialist Party.

Democracy Abrogated at Maine AFL Convention by Green's Rep

Special to the Call
By **HOWARD PENLEY**

Through his personal representative, Francis P. Fenton, Bill Green, head of the American Federation of Labor, threw democracy into the waste basket and dictated to the State Federation of Labor in its State Convention at Bangor, Maine. That the principles of dictatorship should prevail on an issue

that should have been voted upon by the Convention was no credit to chairman Frank McDonald who ruled on an important issue without a vote by the Convention.

The crisis came when Horace Riviere who was invited to address the Convention was denied the floor because of his affiliation with the United Textile Workers of America, which organization had locals which had not been suspended from the State Federation at that time.

Francis Fenton, Bill Green's representative jumped to the floor and demanded Riviere be denied to speak saying "It is the order of William Green that no CIO man be allowed to address the convention."

After being reminded that Mr. Riviere was officially invited to address the convention and that he was representing organizations in the state that were affiliated with the State Federation Fenton said:

"We ought to have nothing to do with any rival organization. We must disaffiliate ourselves with such groups. If Riviere is allowed to speak the Maine Federation will risk the loss of its charter."

Fenton then asked the chairman to rule Riviere from the convention floor. Chairman McDonald apparently at loss to know whether or not to put the matter to the convention floor in spite of Fenton's demands, hesitated for a few moments.

IT WAS DURING THIS SLIGHT HESITATION ON THE PART OF THE CHAIRMAN THAT BILL GREEN'S PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE JUMPED UP SHOUTING "IF YOU DON'T MAKE THAT RULING I WILL TAKE THAT GAVEL OUT

that CIO strikers are all financed by the Communist Party.

Socialists Speak

Although CIO men were not allowed to attend the convention, the Socialist Party of Maine was given two speakers, and the speakers were seated as fraternal delegates. Albert Sprague Coolidge did not arrive to address the convention, but the Socialists' other speaker, Osgood Nickerson, State Organizer addressed the convention in a plea for unity of the labor movement in Maine.

Mr. Nickerson frankly explained the Socialists' position on the highly controversial subject of the CIO-AFL battle and was the only speaker in the convention that touched upon the subject who did not blast the CIO. Mr. Nickerson concluded, "Although the Socialists' position on the with you, our differences will be honestly and clearly stated to you, and kept above board."

OF YOUR HAND AND MAKE IT MYSELF

Riviere then attempted to say something to the chair, but was shouted down by loud-mouthed John Falvey representing the building trades. Falvey who is from Boston in a later speech stated that "Every one of the CIO organizers have run at some time for some office on the Communist ticket," and also said

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