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PRICE FIVE CENTS

A New Klan

The Citizens' National Committee is an immediate menace to the American working class with even more menacing potentialities for the future.

Yesterday it was just a loose gangling organism existing in the form of local vigilante committees, which lined up with Tom Girdler and the Company Guards to inflict violence upon strikers. Today it is a national organization with a constitution which virtually calls for mob violence against strikers. Its preamble is a direct incitement to riot, to have lawless citizens take the "law" in their own hands.

Tomorrow the Citizens' National Committee may be a new Klan, riding in night shirts with horse whip in hand, not to terrify Southern Negroes, but to lynch unionism in the U. S.

The Citizens' National Committee must be stopped!

Its anti-union character, its wealthy financial backers, its ties with the murderous Tom Girdler must be dragged into the light of day.

The Committee claims to be "impart'al." Yet it cheers the butchers of the Chicago workers to the echo.

The Committee uses the lingo of an incipient Fascist movement: Roosevelt, Perkins and Lewis are "Communists."

The Committee has mysterious backers who have not yet stepped to the fore, men who were able to launch the Citizens' National Committee under financially auspicious circumstances. The Committee began to function with a slush fund in reserve; it announced its mammoth birth with a full page ad in chains of newspapers.

The Citizens' National Committee must be fought back—and it must be fought nationally on as broad a front as possible.

The Workers' Defense League is taking the lead.

The WDL is most fitted for the purpose and the Socialist Party promises its fullest cooperation in the drive to uncover, and by uncovering, to exterminate the new Vigilante movement.

The Workers' Defense League is non-partisan. It can command the support of all sections of the labor and progressive movement who are out to annihilate Girdler's "mass base."

The record of the League inspires confidence. It has been actively engaged in some of the most important recent cases.

The only shortcoming of the Workers' Defense League is that it, unlike the enemy it has to fight, does not have the purse of Ernest T. Weir at its disposal. The WDL needs the aid of unions, unionists, and progressives to make its fight.

Send donations—as big as you can make them—to the Workers' Defense League, 112 East 19th Street, New York City. Have your union do likewise.



James H. Rand, head of Remington-Rand, who is responsible for the elaboration of the Mohawk Valley strike-breaking formula which is now causing so much bloodshed and violence.

Demand Work For The 427,000 Fired From WPA

A nationwide campaign to secure the enactment of the Schwellenbach-Allen Congressional Resolution, by the securing of a petition of 1,000,000 signatures and by nationwide demonstrations in nearly 2,000 cities during the week of July 22nd-29th,

was launched by the Workers Alliance of America, according to David Lasser, National President.

The Joint Resolution, introduced by Senator Schwellenbach of Washington and Congressman Allen of Pennsylvania, would prohibit the discharge of any WPA worker, except for cause, who could not secure employment

in private industry at wages prevailing for his trade.

In addition a canvas will be made the 3000 Alliance units to secure endorsements of the Resolution by thousands of

NMU-ISU Elections Scheduled as Bridges Given CIO Approval

By John Newton Thurber

In response to petitions submitted by both the International Seamen's Union and the National Maritime Union, elections are to be held under the National Labor Relations Board auspices to determine which union shall represent unlicensed personnel on fifty steamship lines operating

from Atlantic and Gulf ports.

Both the ISU and the NMU are held by the NLRB to have waived any contractual rights which they might claim for bargaining rights by applying for the elections.

Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, New York regional director, has full charge of the elections. She will have to determine time, places and procedure for holding the elections.

As the announcement of the election was issued, the NMU, hitherto "an independent organization unaffiliated with any other labor organization," opened a week-long convention in New York to draft a constitution and map organizational plans.

Drive Against Ryan

The drive for enrolling harbor workers into the CIO ranks is the first outgrowth of the refusal of Joseph P. Ryan, ILA president, to agree to proposals made by a CIO committee composed of Harry Bridges, Joseph Curran and Mervyn Rathbone. This committee had been invited to lay terms for Ryan's affiliation to the proposed CIO maritime Federation.

Following the break-up of the conference with Ryan, he announced he would fight any attempt to invade his jurisdiction. The NMU announcement is a challenge to Ryan that his bailiwick will be invaded. Thomas Ray, a NMU official, declared that Ryan does not have a majority

of New York harbor workers organized.

The SUP's coolness to this convention grows out of their being put in a back seat at last week's CIO conference of maritime organizations at Washington, which was dominated thoroughly by the Bridges-Curran-Rathbone combination.

Further fuel was added to the SUP's smoldering suspicion of the type of maritime organization that is being contemplated by the action of the CIO in naming Harry Bridges to be CIO's Western Organizational Director. This action was taken by John L. Lewis following the break-up of the conference with Ryan.

This action of Lewis in giving aid and comfort to Bridges is a slap in the face to the SUP, which pioneered for industrial unionism on the waterfront at a time when Bridges was jockeying to drive them back into the ranks of the ISU. SUP members remember that Bridges has had close alliances with craft unionists, and that he worked for the shipscalers and the machinists as against the Industrial Union of Shipyard and Marine Workers in several disputes.

Bridges-Lundeberg Feud

The Lundeberg-SUP proposal is far the more radical form of an industrial union of all maritime workers, in which the old craft lines would be obliterated. This makes possible much more militant action, and makes rank and file control more likely. It has many adherents, even in the ranks of Bridges' longshoremen.

WPA RELIEF CUT BY 28 MILLIONS

WASHINGTON — (FP)—

Expenditures for WPA were sharply cut during the first six months of this year, according to WPA administrator Harry L. Hopkins.

In the first six months of 1936, according to the figures WPA spent an average of 174.9 million dollars a month.

In the first six months of 1937 monthly expenditures averaged only 146.6 million dollars or 28.3 million dollars a month less than the year before. No corresponding figures were put forth to show a decline in need.

In the second half of 1936 average monthly expenditures were 169.9 million dollars. This figure was kept high because of sums spent for drought relief during the last six months of the year, it was said, otherwise a sharper decline would have occurred.

trade union, farm, civic and fraternal organizations as well as city, county and state bodies.

Regional Conferences

To further push the campaign for the Resolution, the Alliance leaders will hold a series of regional conferences during the week of July 22nd-29th, at which the entire Alliance movement will be mobilized, in key industrial cities such as Cleveland, Chicago, Minneapolis, Detroit, New York, St. Louis, Kansas City and Cincinnati.

If the Schwellenbach-Allen Resolution were passed by Congress, Mr. Lasser declared, it would permit the reinstatement of all of the 427,000 WPA workers recently discharged who had not found employment in private industry, and would prevent the discharge of 300,000 more scheduled to go by October 15th, unless jobs in private industry were obtained.

The passage of the Resolution, it was further stated, would also make effective the policy declared by President Roosevelt, that unless private industry reabsorbs the unemployed the Federal Government must continue to provide employment.

Nazis And Britain Conclude Deal To Assist Gen. Franco

The policy of Great Britain to arrive at an agreement with Germany at the expense of Spain moved ahead this week.

First, Britain proposes that the European powers grant Franco belligerent rights as the head of a recognized nation.

Second, Britain has concluded a financial agreement involving Germany and France which will make it possible to supply the Fascist forces with necessary materials for the pursuit of their war.

The first proposal for Franco recognition was made the basis for discussion at a meeting of the Non-Intervention Committee. France has shown a reluctance to accept the proposal without prior conditions. She requests that all volunteers be withdrawn from Spain as a precondition for recognition of the Insurgent Government.

The second proposal for a financial agreement operates as follows:

Franco is to sell certain raw materials to Germany, such as copper, iron ore, etc. Germany is to pay him not in cash but with long term bills. These bills are to be deposited with an Anglo-Netherlands financial syndicate, which in turn shall rediscount them with British banks. Against these bills in the British banks, Britain will ship necessary goods to Franco.

Put plainly, Germany will pay for necessary Franco materials by long term bills.

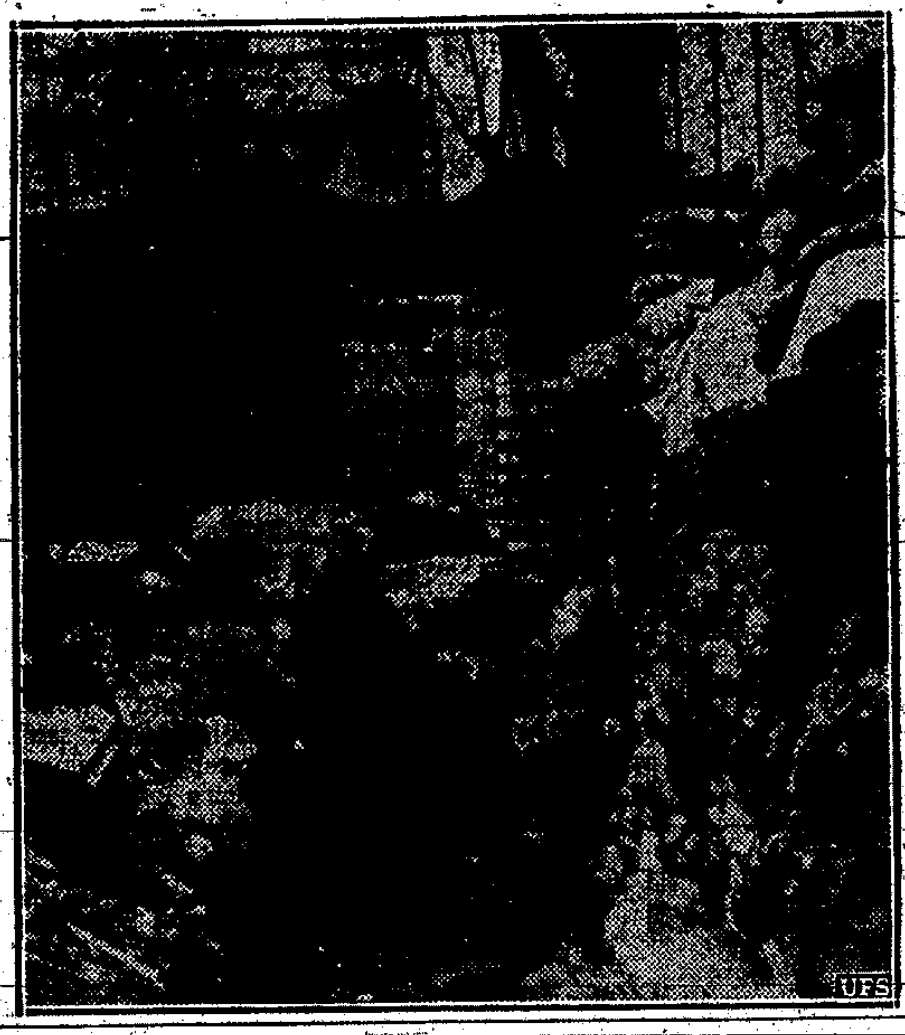
The man behind the Anglo-Netherlands syndicate is Sir Henri Deterding, reactionary German sympathizer.

This financial deal is another thread in the rope which has been tying Britain and Germany more closely together ever since Hitler came to power in 1933.

British policy has been to avoid a war with Hitler by buying him off at the expense of other nations. The cornerstone of this program is a Four Power Pact for Western Europe which would exclude the Soviet Union. Ever since the outbreak of the civil war in Spain, Britain has been seeking some compromise formula with Germany for a mutual settlement of the Spanish war at the expense of the Spanish masses.

(See the editorial on page 4)

Loyalist Trench



UAW Opens Organization Drive On Ford Plant in Edgewater

By Robin Myers

EDGEWATER, New Jersey.—Leaflets were successfully distributed to several thousand workers of the Ford assemblage plant at Edgewater, New Jersey, last week in the initial step of an organization drive by the United Automobile Workers, CIO affiliate.

Two arrests were made by Edgewater police during the distribution. David Clendenin, treasurer of the Workers' Defense League, was held for disturbing the peace and John Kaufman, student at the League for Industrial Democracy Summer School, was charged with giving out leaflets without a permit. Clendenin's arrest resulted from his shouting "Join the CIO!" while Kaufman was holding leaflets when stopped. They have been released on bail and their case will be heard in the court of the

police recorder Friday, July 23. Signs and posters calling the attention of the workers to the organizers and their material were not permitted by police, but no charge was made against men who had held them.

Five permits for distributing material were issued by the police department under a municipal ordinance of April, 1937 which requires distributors to register with the department 72 hours in advance, to be photographed and finger-printed, and to have an acceptable character, with no criminal record. Alfred Oleario, Harry Diamond, William Hood, Charlotte Anshultz and Robin Myers complied with the regulations and were active Thursday. A test case for the ordinance, now in the courts, concerns Nancy Cox, arrested in May for passing out copies of the Bill of Rights in the city.

The eagerness of the Ford Workers to receive UAW material impressed onlookers as well as the CIO representatives. Almost none refused and many openly shouted encouragement as they left. Others asked for additional material to give to Ford workers who were not present.

and to orate on the presence of Red agitators in the CIO unions. "America can maintain its prestige only if Russian ways and communism are checked and stamped out," Fawcett declared.

"The Red propaganda is striking at the very vitals of our aged institutions."

John Green, union president, blamed labor hating tactics of the Todd Shipbuilding Corp. for the violence of the strike and the length to which it has been drawn out.

Votes Stolen By Communists In Fur Election

By A FURRIER

When reactionaries steal a union election, it is a blot upon the labor movement. When Communists steal a union election is it in the interests of the social revolution?

The United Furriers League, the progressive opposition in the New York Furriers Union, together with many independent workers are accusing the union administration of fraud and of outright thievery in the conduct of the election which was held July 14 and 15.

Here are the facts: On Friday evening July 16, at approximately 11 p.m., Antonoff, a candidate for the Council, entered the counting room where the ballots were being counted and the vote tabulated. He stopped behind one of the counting tables (there were some ten or twelve in all) and quietly watched the count. By accident he noticed that ballots marked for him were not being counted. When about 35 ballots had been counted, he stopped the count. The tally sheet recorded 3 votes for him at the time.

Ballots Recounted

He called over a number of union officials, including Isidore Cohen, the chairman of the Election Objections Committee, Sol Wollin, Chairman of the New York Joint Council, and J. Kaplan, its vice-chairman. In their presence, he took the 35 ballots and recounted them. In those 35 ballots, there were 14 votes for Antonoff. The tally sheet still showed only 3 votes. Brother Kaplan, not relying on Antonoff's count, also recounted the ballots, and he also found 14 votes for Antonoff, instead of the 3 which the tellers had recorded.

Brother Antonoff thereupon called for an immediate halt of the counting, an impounding of

the ballots so that a later honest count would be guaranteed. The Election Objections Committee and the officials present ignored this demand, and proceeded with the count.

The opposition candidates thereupon sent registered letters to the international officers, Ben Gold, president, and Pietro Lucchi, Secretary-Treasurer, and to the New York Joint Council, demanding the impounding of the ballots and the appointment of an impartial committee to conduct a recount. The candidates, in their letters, further pointed to the following irregularities and unconstitutional actions in the conduct of the election from the very beginning:

The Election Objections Committee was made up entirely of administration supporters; not a single anti-administration member was permitted to serve.

The opposition candidates were not permitted to have any watchers at the polling places during the election.

Administration "watchers" were themselves the candidates. Most of the counters and tellers in the counting room were candidates, business agents and Council members. They "watched" each other to insure an "honest" count.

When workers wanted information as to how to vote, a "watcher" entered the voting booth with them and told them where to put the crosses.

In addition to these irregularities and the outright thievery, the opposition points to other suspicious circumstances in the election. For instance, the Election Committee reports a total vote cast of 5,000. But those who observed the turnout deny that

any such number of workers actually voted. In 1935, when 7,500 votes were cast, and in 1936, when 6,000 votes were cast, there were long lines at the polling places all afternoon, and three days were used for the voting. This time there were no lines; by 6 p.m. the polling place was empty of voters. Only two days were taken for the voting. The second day it rained heavily all day, so that there was talk of postponing the voting. 5,000 workers could not have voted.

The sincerity of the administration is being tested by the demand for a recount. If they refuse a recount, and the immediate impounding and sealing of the ballots until a recount is arranged, it is an admission of guilt. If the count is honest they have nothing to fear from a recount.

The Communists are in complete control of the Furriers Union. In other unions they have always demanded "clean and honest" unionism. Are Communists to be permitted to be exempt from this slogan?

PHILADELPHIA MAYOR FORBIDS SIT-IN STRIKES

Mayor S. Davis Wilson definitely announced a new labor policy this week, when the Chairman of the Mayor's Labor Board, Philip Butler, said that "sit-down strikes would no longer be tolerated in Philadelphia."

The reason advanced for this new "line" was Federal Judge Buffington's decision in the Apex Hosiery Mill sit-down in which he declared such actions "grossly illegal."

Butler, who is conceded to speak for the Mayor in all such matters, would not have announced such a momentous decision without Wilson's consent, which means that Wilson is shown up again in true demagogic light as yielding to the forces of reaction whenever a real crisis arises.

Wilson, who has been flirting with Labor in the past year because of the coming gubernatorial election, revealed himself in his true colors when he advocated an election demanded by the PRT Company Union last week against the protests of the CIO, AFL, and Brotherhoods' representatives who vigorously demanded Wilson's action; and when he broke the "holiday" declared by the AFL Teamsters, July 3.

However this forthright statement against the sit-down is the first frank declaration against Labor that Wilson has ever made. This comes only a few days after the PHILADELPHIA RECORDS in a first page (July 11) called him "the greatest friend Labor ever had in this city."

Injunction Fails To Beat Shipyard Strike

In the face of a drastic injunction against picketing, the solidarity of the striking shipyard workers in New York has resulted in closed shop agreements in four shops, clear victories for the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipyard Workers.

Company inspired back-to-work movements in several of the yards, which have had the support and cooperation of Supreme Court Judge Lewis L. Fawcett, have failed to break the spirit of the workers, who have been on strike for over a month.

Microphones Conflict has centered at the Wheeler Shipyards, Inc., Brooklyn, where a motion picture camera has been installed to photograph strikers in action and microphones suspended to catch Robins Dry Dock and Repair Co. any epithets which might be ut-

tered which violate the edict of Judge Fawcett.

Similar preparations at the coupled with an outbreak of violence in which police claimed to be attacked, brought the arrest of five strikers. Sidney Sandnes, union organizer, was sentenced to 30 days in jail for contempt of the injunction by Judge Fawcett as a result of this outbreak.

Judge Fawcett, in sentencing Sandnes, issued a lengthy statement in which he attacked those who would prevent loyal workers from passing through picket lines. He took occasion to call for the incorporation of unions

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BOSS VIOLENCE IN THE U.S.

Citizens National Committee Backs Girdler Brutality

A call to mob violence—a new Ku Klux Klan—directed against organized labor has been issued by the Citizen's National Committee, meeting in Johnstown, Pennsylvania.

This was the first national convention of the various Vigilante organizations which have grown up during the last few months to counter-act the growth of the CIO in the basic industries.

Spiritual mover of the convention, although not present in person, was Tom Girdler, tough boss of Republic Steel. Although the Citizen's National Committee claims to be "neutral" against all fomenters of violence, it cheered Girdler to the rafters.

"Thank God for Tom Girdler," screamed J. G. Lester, chairman of the Massillon, Ohio, Citizen's Committee. His blessing upon Girdler was hysterically echoed by the delegates.

When, after several minutes of demonstration for Girdler, Lester was able to be heard again, he shouted:

"I think we ought to send him (Girdler) a telegram congratulating him for smoking out those Communists—John L. Lewis, Madame Perkins and Pres. Roosevelt." A new storm of applause broke.

The home town of Lester, Massillon, has recently been the scene for the murder of three strikers by Vigilante groups.

The convention delegates, representing 74 Communities, were greeted by Daniel J. Shields, Mayor of Johnstown, Bethlehem Steel puppet, and ex-convict (No. 1707).



These Ohio Guardsmen have taken possession of the CIO headquarters in Massillon, Ohio, where three strikers were killed by boss violence.

Charge Girdler Has Arsenals To Arm Steel Strike-Breakers

WASHINGTON, (FP)—Republic Steel, headed by labor-hating, cursing Tom Girdler is to be hauled up before the National Labor Relations Board to answer a series of charges contained in a formal complaint issued by the board.

Hearings will be held here, starting July 21 and testimony will be taken from witnesses. The board would not disclose whether Girdler will be summoned to appear before it but in the event he is subpoenaed he will be unable to get away with the broad assertions he made here before the Senate post office committee, it was thought, inasmuch as he will be confined to facts.

The complaint issued by the NLRB followed a field examination of the charges lodged with the board by the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. The field examination disclosed sufficient evidence to warrant a further probe.

Charges filed by the board included:

1. Discrimination against union employees and firing of at least 75 for union activities.
2. The lockout of a number of employees and the use of threats to compel others to remain inside the plants.
3. Violence against union organizers, and a considerable increase of its police force since the start of the strike.
4. Maintenance of extensive arsenals.

5. Interference with the right of peaceful picketing.
6. Stimulation of a back-to-work movement.
7. Domination at five plants of company labor organizations.

The allegations of the board are set out extensively in the complaint. While discharges of workers for union activity cover a period of nearly a year, the board said, the majority occurred just prior to the strike which began May 26. On May 5 workers in the Canton tin plate mill were locked out.

Threats

The board also said that the "company maintains at its plants in Youngstown, Niles, Warren, Canton and Cleveland extensive arsenals stocked with machine guns, rifles, revolvers, tear gas and other bombs, riot sticks and other dangerous weapons for the purpose of interfering with, restraining and coercing its employees at said plants in the exercise of their rights to self organization. The company at all six plants has interfered with the right of its employees to picket and still does intimidate its employees by shooting at them and by throwing bolts and other dangerous missiles at them."

MOB RULES IN MICHIGAN

DULUTH, Minn., (FP)—The mob rules in upper Michigan with club and dynamite and gun, with the sinister blessing of city and county officials and the active participation of the state police.

In local parks, vigilantes are signed up in what seems to be a permanent organization. They are given white arm bands. A squad car flashes signals as cars assemble in preparation for a vigilante raid.

As the wife of Henry Paul L. Duluth attorney for the Timber Workers' Union who was severely beaten by 50 or 60 vigilantes in Ironwood, Mich., and kidnaped past the state line into Wisconsin, and as a reporter who has been on the strike front in upper Michigan since the beginning of the strike of 6,000 lumberjacks for better wages and improvements in barbaric living conditions, I can say from personal observation that open Fascism reigns in upper Michigan.

The role of the state police has been particularly interesting. Not content to serve as strike-breaking escorts of scab trucks, they have patrolled the countryside, falling upon helpless strikers, beating them mercilessly, robbing them of their money and their union cards.

Axel Savola, Onni Mannikko and Richard Koski were attacked by state police at Green, Mich., beaten to a pulp and then thrown into the lake where they were held for an hour to wash away the bloody traces of the attack. Steve Kozlovich was beaten by vigilantes who ripped out a jack-knife and threatened to "cut him

open from the guts to the neck if you don't tell us the hiding place of your leader." Kozlovich replied: "I'm an old man. Not going to live long. Cut me up but won't give hiding place."

Sixty-five strikers have been arrested for minor offenses against company property, but when I asked Prosecutor Leonard McManman if any vigilantes had been arrested for murdering, beating, dynamiting, wrecking and for the kidnaping and beating of my husband, he shrugged his shoulders.

Unions, organizations and individuals are urged to protest to Gov. Frank Murphy at Lansing, Mich. Prosecutor McManman, Bessemer, Mich., Sheriff McFarlane, Bessemer, and the City Council of Ironwood, demanding that the vigilantes be brought to trial.

Bernard Protests

In a telegram to Gov. Murphy, protesting vigilante and police violence Rep. John T. Bernard stated, "Strikers halls destroyed, their tents dynamited, their cars shot at, strikers killed and beaten, many of them in jail and not a single vigilante prosecuted for these acts of violence." Bernard's telegram asserted that not only Paul L. but James Rogers, vice-president of the union, was brutally assaulted.

Child Is Bayoneted By Ohio Guardsmen

By SANFORD G. LESLIE

COLUMBUS, (FP) — AN 11-year-old boy told how he had been struck in the eye by a bayonet wielded by a national guardsman, a 34-year-old mother of four children explained how she had been forcibly taken from her home without explanation, more than 50 witnesses corroborated each other's testimony that guardsmen in the Mahoning valley steel strike area were depriving citizens of their civil liberties, as the Committee for Industrial Organization completed its first week of evidence against Gov. Davey and law enforcement officials in the steel strike area.

The evidence was part of a suit in federal court here for an injunction to prevent the governor from using the Natl. Guard to help reopen struck steel mills.

Child testifies

Nicholas Glich, 11, son of a Canton, O., picket, told how he was sitting on the steps of a school in which guardsmen were quartered when one of "the soldiers" told him to move and hurriedly thrust at him with the bayonet of his gun, catching him under his eye. "He also hit me with the end of his gun," the boy said.

Mrs. Julia Cuiak of Struthers, wife of a striker, horrified courtroom spectators with her story:

She answered the doorbell at her home and met two local police officers who wanted to see her husband. She said he was sleeping.

They grabbed her from the doorstep, unkindful of the fact that she was barefooted and only partially dressed and suffering from a woman's common ailment. Then they awoke her husband and took the two of them to city jail leaving the four Cuiak children unattended.

Edward Lamb of CIO counsel told how pictures of more than 200 falsely-arrested persons were taken in Mahoning county jail and turned over to the steel companies. Harold J. Ruttenberg, a strike leader, described the Massillon massacre, in which two strikers were killed in an assault on union headquarters, as "planned, premeditated murder."

He declared: "These officers came to shoot these people down in cold blood—and they did." William Hain, Massillon picket said deputies planted across from the union hall "nest without warning."

Oliver T. Farren, a picket captain at Canton, told the court he heard their captain order, "Run it through them. I don't want anyone left on the picket line."

Mob Violence

The resolution passed by the Committee is a direct threat on the part of these strike-breakers to take the law out of the hands of present government officials and to place it into the hands of this anti-union mob.

"Whereas certain public officials in high places," their preamble declares, "as well as minor executives of the law throughout the country have failed to use the authority given them as a trust under oath to protect American citizens in their inalienable constitutional rights to work without molestation, and

"Whereas occasions have arisen where we can no longer look to certain constituted authorities to protect human constitutional rights

"Therefore, as loyal American citizens we feel it is our patriotic duty to perfect a nationwide organization whose function it shall be to restore and protect those constitutional rights that have been taken from American citizens by certain unworthy officials."

Defeat Opposition

Although there was some opposition to the extremist character of this resolution from some of the delegates assembled, the preamble was carried over the heads of the dissidents.

"I couldn't stay with an organization which adopted a preamble such as that," shouted George Fay, representing the American Legion Post of Altoona, Pa.

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ONE YEAR LATER

The first anniversary of the civil war in Spain makes it abundantly clear that the anti-Fascist masses of the Iberian peninsula have at their disposal great reservoirs of courage and fighting-ability. Against the trained troops of Franco, Germany and Italy the workers and peasants of Spain have had to construct a fighting machine that would save Spain from Fascism. For one whole year now these raw workers, aided by volunteer comrades from among the ranks of the anti-Fascist throughout the world, have been stolidly standing their ground.

Were Spanish history being made in Spain alone, we might today be celebrating a Socialist Spain on the first anniversary of the Fascist uprising.

When the history of the present conflict in Spain is written, probably the most valuable documents will be found not in Valencia or Burgos but in the secret diplomatic files of London. For Spanish history today is being written in the fine hand of British diplomacy.

The latest moves of Britain in helping to finance the campaign of Franco and in demanding recognition for his government are a logical follow-up to all that England has been doing to harm the cause of the Spanish masses since the outbreak of the war.

The British-motivated non-intervention pact was primarily responsible for the strangulation of the Spanish masses at the beginning of the war. Britain, backed by France and by Russia, refused arms to Spain.

When a too early victory of Franco, however, seemed about to materialize, England shifted its practice somewhat but not its line. A too early victory of Franco would have meant German and Italian domination of the Spanish peninsula. Britain wanted a compromise settlement in Spain, which would guarantee the safety of British investments and would keep the Mediterranean open for the British fleet.

At this crucial moment, the British Lion winked and Russia slipped through her supplies to Spain.

The pressure of Britain upon Spanish events has not only affected the course of the civil war as between Loyalists and Fascists but has also profoundly affected the development of economic life in a Socialist direction in Spain.

Britain wants no Socialism in Spain. There can be no doubt that the seizure of lands and factories by the masses, when the war began must have struck terror into the hearts of the British bankers.

And because Britain demands that every Socialist development in Spain be halted, the Soviet Union, which is tied to Britain's diplomatic apron strings, likewise opposes Socialism in Spain.

The Soviet policy is clear. The Comintern imagines that if it proves to Britain that in Spain there will be no workers' revolution either now or later, then Britain will line up behind Loyalist Spain to deliver a crushing defeat to Franco, Germany and Italy. Should this happen, the position of the Soviets in international affairs would be greatly improved.

Because this is the perspective of the Soviet Union, it has unleashed a most unbelievable campaign of persecution against all Socialist and revolutionary elements in Spain. To the extent that the Spanish "left" is crushed by the Communists of Spain, to the same extent the Soviet Union hopes to consolidate a firmer agreement with Britain.

The double tragedy of it all is that the Soviet Union, after playing executioner for Britain, will find its head shoved into the same noose—as reward.

The quieting of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Spain will not cause Britain to turn to the Soviet Union and to break all ties with Germany and Italy. What Britain visualizes arising from a settlement in Spain is a British-German understanding, which will include France and Italy,—an understanding on Spain and the Mediterranean as part of Britain's and Hitler's long awaited Four Power Pact. This will exclude the Soviet Union.

The more the Soviet Union depends upon the capitalist powers, the more dirty work the capitalists assign to the Comintern, and the less they pay for it.

All is not yet over in Spain. It is still not too late for a reversal of the line of the Spanish Loyalist Government.

The Spanish masses must be rescued from the grip of British capitalism and the Communist International. And they can only be rescued by the efforts of the international working class.

So long as the only military aid the Spanish masses can get is through the Soviets with a British say-so, they become the pawns of capitalist diplomacy. Only the direct intervention of the international working class, giving aid to the Spanish masses, demanding an end to the persecution of the "lefts," breaking the capitalist blockade, can save Spain from reaction and for the workers.

AT THE FRONT



By NORMAN THOMAS

There has been so much political nonsense and sentimental tosh talked about the death of Senator Joe Robinson that it is time to look at facts. Here are a few:

Mr. Robinson doubtless had his good points. He was an able parliamentary leader. But he was neither hero nor martyr. Washington is hot and maybe Congress might adjourn till cooler weather, but if one has tears to shed don't waste them on "overworked" politicians in the air cooled Senate chamber and office building.

If Mr. Robinson was so skeptical of the New Deal legislation which he sponsored, as he is now said to be, neither party loyalty nor his own voracious appetite for a place on the Supreme Court bench could justify his conduct in working for measures in which he disbelieved.

Mr. Robinson's death at this juncture probably helps, not hurts, the President by relieving him of the shameful political necessity of electing to the Supreme Court a man so completely unfit in ability and belief that he would have stultified the President's whole crusade against the Court.

Finally, Joe Robinson represented, rather ably, the utility and planting interests of Arkansas and both openly and behind the scenes was a principal protector of the vicious plantation system. To put it bluntly, Senator Robinson's death may possibly weaken President Roosevelt's immediate fight for an exceedingly dubious approach to the important problem of the Supreme Court (the more I think of the present Court bill the more doubtful of it I become. Did you ever think that if anything should happen to Mr. Roosevelt it would be Garner who would name the new judges, one each year and that under the bill we might have a Court with an even number of judges with 5 to 5 decisions or 6 to 6 decisions, in which case the contradictory opinions of various lower courts would stand.) But if Mr. Roosevelt really means to move to a more fundamental approach to our modern problems he will be better off now that he is no longer under obligations to a reactionary like Joe Robinson as leader of the Senate.

Massilon

The perfect illustration of the insincerity, the largely unconscious insincerity, of middle class opposition to "lawlessness" and violence in labor disputes is what happened in Massilon on July 11 and 12th. I thus summed it up in a telegram to Senator LaFollette:

Massilon, July 14, 1937
Senator Robert M. LaFollette
Washington, D.C.

Your Committee must be continued to investigate at once events Sunday night and Monday morning at Massilon (Stop) What I have seen and heard worst in my experience (stop) Unprovoked attack by police and deputies apparently armed by Republic Steel under direction a certain Major Curley whose official position is dubious, smashed union headquarters, killed two with third dying, wounded 14 more, invaded homes, broke into dozens of rooms, committed theft, arrested scores without warrant (stop) Marvel sleeping women

and children not killed (stop) City officials whom I interviewed offered me no defense but have banned pickets. Your action imperative.
(Signed) Norman Thomas

This literal reign of terror in a working class area went unrebuked by officials, press and public. TIME asserts, contrary to all the evidence I gathered from eye witnesses, that the murder and wreckage grew out of a "two-hour battle" precipitated by the deliberate attempt of C.I.O. sympathizers to block a viaduct by causing two cars to collide. This alleged deliberate collision was not within easy sight or sound of union headquarters which were wrecked by surprise attack, nor was it connected in the least with the rooming houses and workers' homes that were invaded. Not even the police made any such claim to me. As usual the wounded were mostly shot in the back. The C.I.O. has welcomed cooperation from the Workers' Defense League in civil and criminal actions growing out of this most flagrant example of official terrorism in support of little steel.

Scottsboro

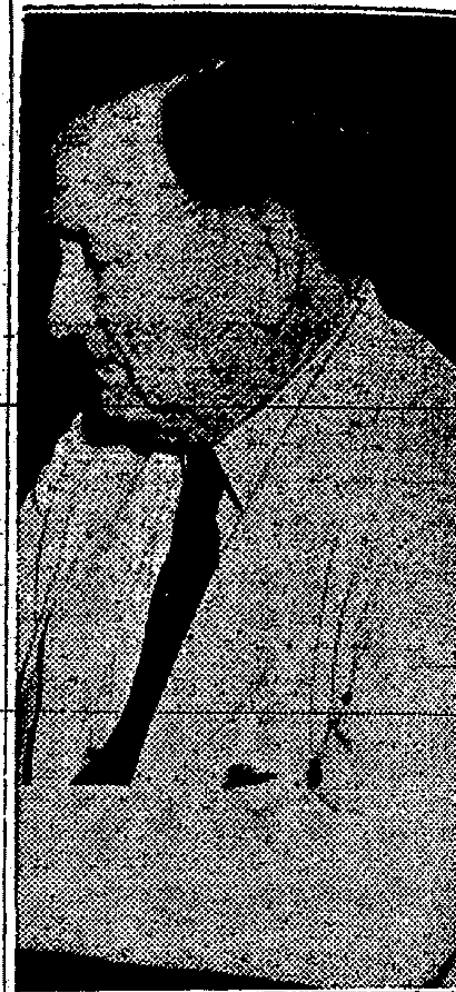
Concerning the Scottsboro cases, it ought to be necessary only to remind workers and lovers of justice that the fight must go on. These decisions in Alabama, like the Massilon case to which I have referred, like the Poulnot, Rogers and Shoemaker cases in Tampa, and dozens of others less well known, show how hollow is this talk about American love of order, peace and justice. Yet we have won enough victories for justice to make it worth while to keep up the struggle. And we can educate the workers in the process!

Labor-Party

A great many socialists, like myself, still believe that the best political weapon for the workers of America these last 30 years would have been a socialist—not a labor-party. But my objective study of political history and the present conditions in the Socialist Party and in the labor movement shows our political hope lies in working not only as socialists but as a Socialist Party with and through a labor or farmer labor party. That party is yet to be built on a national scale. It will not be born perfect or fully grown. Socialists who accept the long established Party position of support of independent working class action stultify themselves if they always find reasons for opposing the beginnings of such action.

If we are not to degenerate into a self righteous sect—or what is worse, a loose league of quarrelsome sects—we must work with mass movements of workers on the political as well as the economic field. The difficulties are many. It may yet be that labor's interest in politics will be largely wasted or misapplied in a low-order popular front movement within the Democratic Party. A Tammany victory in New York City would make such a fate more likely. We ought to work against such a result—not merely stand aside.

Hence the New York Party has done well to seek the maximum possible amount of co-



Joe Robinson

operation with the A.L.P. in this municipal campaign. Such willingness to cooperate is completely consistent with a vigorous assertion of socialist principles which do not necessarily require us to run a candidate against LaGuardia as they did require us to run against Roosevelt. The offices are different, the situation is different. What is best to be done can only be ascertained by watching events and trying to shape them through conversations with the A.L.P. The careful resolutions adopted by a majority of 35 to 18 in the Central Committee lay the basis for a proper municipal campaign along sound socialist lines.

I want no municipal office and did not want to run for anything this year but I accept the Party's designation for Mayor and will withdraw if that will best serve to build a labor party and increase socialist influence in it, or I will campaign vigorously if events make that necessary. In any case neither I nor any other Socialist has lost the right of criticism of what as Socialists we think wrong in the City Administration or the A.L.P. But we must remember that the A.L.P. while not yet on a basis which socialists can accept as satisfactory, is a mass party with I believe, an increasing sense of the value of independent working class action

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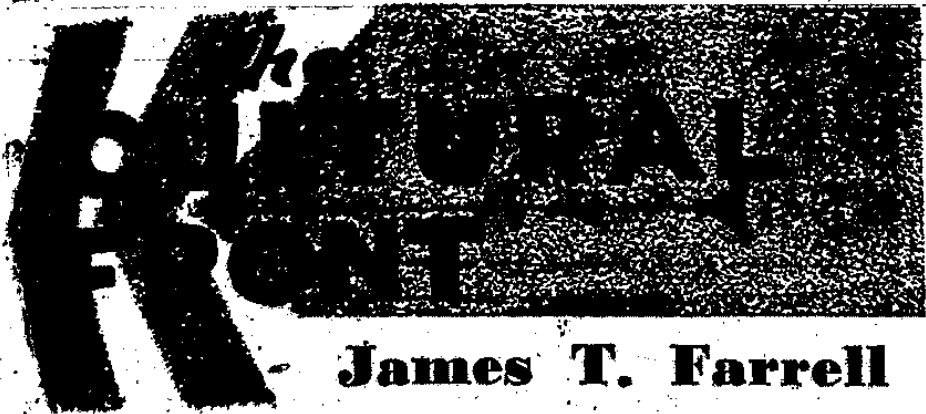
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James T. Farrell

Propheteers of Literature

An Address to a "Writers Congress"

Fellow writers, The novelist with the correct social consciousness is the engineer of the soul. He builds the Dnieperstroys of the imagination which generate the power that produces the consciousness of tomorrow. He writes one foot in the present and the other foot in the future.

If he wrote with both feet in the present, he would be a defeatist. If he wrote with both feet in the future, he would be a utopian. Because he writes with one foot in the present and the other foot in the future, he is a socialist realist. The formula of socialist-realism has been forged in the fires of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

Marxism - Leninism - Stalinism tells us that the world has not only become—it is also becoming. The writer who has mastered the truth of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism does not say: "The world is rotting." He does not merely see the world as it is. He sees it also as it will become in the glorious future. He describes it both as it is, and as it will be.

Of course he does not describe the future in detail, but only in outline, only generally and vaguely. But he does describe the future, and that is what makes him a socialist-realist. He becomes a prophet in this sense. He sees the inner connectives between the little things of life and the big things of history.

The novelist can select any theme or subject he cares to, so long as he has the correct social consciousness. We do not forbid him to write of certain themes. We say to him: "Write of anything you want to, so long as you give it the correct treatment." We are not narrow and sectarian. We are broad.

All that we demand of the writer is that he gives his material the correct treatment. And we offer him the guidance so that he can give it the correct treatment. We are not against good writing. We are for good writing. We have always been for good writing. We believe in good writing. We say: "Give us a lot of good writing—more and better."

All that we say is that today—you cannot be a good writer unless you see the connection between the little things of life and the big things of history that permits you to be a prophet knowing the future, as well as seeing the present. That is our position on literature. It is not secretarian. It is not authoritative. It is broad and free, and points the way to the building of a great literature and culture. We only demand of the writer that he be a Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-socialist-realist novelist.

"Up" or "Down" Books

We have always said that a writer must write an "up" book, and not a "down" book. What is an "up" book? An "up" book is a book that lifts the reader up and makes him see the future. And what is a "down" book? A "down" book is a book that sits the reader down and blinds him by the rotten present so that he cannot see the effulgent future.

The categories of the "up" book and the "down" book are correct categories. But they must be used flexibly and correctly in the traditions of Bolshevik realism. Correctness in literature is as essential as is correctness in politics. So we say, the categories of the "up" book and the "down" book

are correct if they are correctly applied.

Some comrade critics do not apply these categories with correctness. They sometimes call utopian books "up" books when these are really "down" books. And conversely, they sometimes call "up" books "down" books when these are really "up" books. They make such errors because they have been insidiously infected with the virus of Trotskyism. In order to tell an "up" book from a "down" book, you must spew forth the poison of Trotskyism.

The Dialectic

The real secret of writing, writing good, writing more and better, is to be found in the dialectic. Writers who are confused and write only "down" books have not mastered the dialectic. We must win them over, inoculate them against Trotskyism, and we can do this by teaching them the dialectic. But we must first master the dialectic ourselves. Writers who write "down" books are confused and naive.

They play into the hands of the enemies of mankind. They say in their own defense: "I only want the truth and I will go where ever the truth leads me." But they cannot find the truth because they do not know the dialectic. For instance, some of them reject Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. They think that they are rejecting him because they are honest and will serve only the truth according to their own lights. They think that they make a simple rejection. But that is because they do not see the inner connectives. Thus they do not understand the complicated consequences involved in what they think is a simple rejection of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

They are confused. And in their confusion, they might even become the stooges of Leon Trotsky and H. L. Mencken. They begin with the rejection of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. A simple act, they say. They don't like his poems. They have to be honest and say so. They might even think that they are being honest. But they do not understand the social significance of the village smithy who paid all his debts because he was a man of the people who would not be beholden to the bankers of his day.

The Village Smithy

They do not see that the village smithy was a man of the people, an unconscious Communist. They do not see that if the village smithy were alive today, he would join the people in their struggle for progress and against reaction. They do not see that the village smithy was being crushed by the "economic royalists" of his day. They do not, you see, understand the inner connectives. They do not see that the spirit of the village smithy is the spirit which defends progress and democracy in the twentieth century. Just as the village smithy was an unconscious Communist, so was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow an unconscious socialist realist. They make this first step out of their confusion. It is a first step.

Then they reject Bronson Alcott. And then, Emerson. Then, they reject our whole cultural heritage.

WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

A very important meeting of the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions took place June 30-July 3 at Warsaw. In addition to the officers and the members of the Executive, there were present 43 delegates representing 16 countries and 18 delegates representing 13 International Trade Secretaries. The L.S.I., Danzig, Estonia and the American Federation of Labor were represented by fraternal delegates.

In the last year, the I.F.T.U. membership has increased from 14 to 16 million members. The decision of the last Congress to approach the Russian unions and the A.F. of L. regarding affiliation had been carried out, but the President reported that for some strange reason the Russian unions had not even responded to four consecutive communications asking that discussion be opened. Instead, a campaign against the I.F.T.U. had been opened in the press.

For these reasons, Citrine concluded that the Russian unions were not interested in real unity, but only in political maneuvering under that slogan. The Irish trade unions had already affiliated, but due to financial difficulties were not yet paying fees to the International. The unions of Australia and New Zealand were in the process of affiliating, but were handicapped by the lack of a national center through which to act. The Japanese unions, which had once promised to affiliate, had as yet made no move in this direction.

Woll is Present

Matthew Woll was present as a fraternal delegate representing the A.F. of L. and addressed the session. He made a formal application for affiliation in the name of the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. After considerable discussion, a resolution admitting the A.F. of L. into the I.F.T.U. was unanimously carried. The resolution declares that the I.F.T.U. was in no way judging the internal differences in the American trade union movement, expresses the hope that the affiliation of the A.F. of L. would help toward re-unification of the American trade union movement and offers its services to settle the struggle in America in a spirit of conciliation. The resolution further declares categorically that the affiliation of the A.F. of L. to the I.F.T.U. does not prejudice the affiliation or possible affiliation of any United States union to the respective trade secretaries of the I.F.T.U.

This undoubtedly has reference to the unions of the C.I.O., such as the I.L.G.W.U. and the United Mine Workers, which are at present affiliated to their respective internationals. In fact these unions were affiliated even at a time when the A.F. of L. was carrying on a bitter war against the I.F.T.U.

Undoubtedly, the affiliation of the A.F. of L. at this time, after almost twenty years of warfare against the I.F.T.U., is a maneuver to use in its war against the C.I.O. Had the C.I.O. affiliated, the Greens and Wolls would have given that as final proof of the "redness" of the C.I.O.

The reports of the officers of the I.F.T.U. aroused considerable and at times heated discussion. Racamond, a Communist representative of the French unions, criticized the manner of the handling of the Russian unions. The reason the Russians failed to answer the communications was that they were not worded in a manner to invite negotiations. Besides the Russians did not want to affiliate at present because they were afraid that with their 20 million members they would swamp the I.F.T.U. and they did not want to do that.

Jouhaux Attacks

Jouhaux criticized the Council for its lack of energy in carrying on the campaigns for Spain and for the 40-hour week. He said that the I.F.T.U. had merely expressed verbal solidarity with the Spanish workers, but verbal solidarity cannot defeat the fascists. He could not share the optimism on Spain and the general situation expressed in Citrine's report. The struggle in Spain could develop into a world war unless the democratic countries disarmed Hitler and Mussolini. The trade unions must initiate such a campaign in their respective countries. Finally a resolution was unanimously adopted expressing unconditional solidarity with the Spanish comrades and energetically demanding the restoration of commercial freedom. The resolution called upon the members of the League of Nations to use all the means provided for in the Covenant to restore to Spain her complete political and territorial independence.

The Mexican delegates, not satisfied with this resolution, moved an additional resolution to organize an international solidarity week for Spain. This was carried and its execution referred to the Executive. The Council decided to continue the campaign for the 40-hour week with greater energy, especially in the International Labor Office of the League of Nations.

The final item of the agenda was action against war and fascism. The reporter, Comrade Jouhaux said that while the I.F.T.U. had carried out its decision, they had not always reached the masses to the degree desired. Recent events showed that fascism retreated as democracies gave proofs of their energy and determination. If the League were to fulfill its real function and effectively protect international law, the democracies would have to go forward on the impulse of the great mass of the people and the progressive sections of public opinion. The League Covenant should be upheld in all its force, as it would only then be possible to follow up the protection of peace by disarmament. This speech shows that while Jouhaux expresses the dissatisfaction of the French workers with the official policy, his own policy is exactly identical with the one he criticizes—namely, sole reliance upon the League of Nations and "democracies."

On the invitation of the Norwegian National Trade Union Center it was decided to hold the next General Council meeting in Oslo, in 1938. The exact date will be fixed by the Executive.

FUND DRIVE CONTINUES; SUBS PASS 400 MARK

During the past month comrades over the country have remembered the CALL Drive for \$10,000, but they haven't done too much about it.

Since the last report, three weeks ago, a total of \$196.15 has been given to the CALL. During this time we have had to re-finance a note at the bank, and the going has been pretty tough.

But more and more, as our readers become convinced that they want to have a flourishing revolutionary paper and that the

CALL is that paper, we are getting a real backing from them. We need that continued support constantly, and rely on you, who believe that the CALL is the sort of paper which you want, to keep this support coming steadily.

Summary for the Drive is: Previously reported, \$3,341.41; plus in since the last report, \$196.15; total raised in Drive thus far, \$3,537.56; must be raised in this Drive, \$10,000.

The standing of the states and districts for the Drive follows:

Table with columns: State or District, Quota, Paid-in, Percent. Lists states like California, Boston, New York City, etc., with their respective financial contributions to the fund drive.

Table with columns: State, Quota, Paid-in, Percent. Lists states like Florida, Arizona, Kentucky, etc., with their respective financial contributions to the fund drive.

Racine, Wisc., Continues to Lead Sub Drive Race

Racine, Wisconsin, continues to keep ahead of all other branches in the country in the CALL sub drive, as we pass a total of 400 new subscribers secured in the drive. With this week's new readers tallied, Racine has secured a total of 31 new CALL readers since the inception of the drive.

Close on the heels of Racine are the Philadelphia Yipsels who have secured 26 new readers for us. They begin their drive in Philadelphia on June 19, and have sent in almost as many renewals as they have sent new readers. They are also making plans for bundle sales independent of the party organization in Philadelphia, which all points to the CALL gaining a real foothold in the Quaker City.

Leading all New York City branches, but still in third place for the country, is Washington Heights, N.Y.

FLASHES FROM SPAIN

A CENSORED INTERVIEW

(Declarations made by some of the delegates to the National Agrarian Federation of Land Workers).

"The work of the CP for unification of the land-workers has been completely disastrous and has had fatal results for our organizations. It is very rare to find a town in which our UGT and the CP are on good terms, so rare that we cannot name any. On the contrary in the short time that I have spent traveling in the different zones of this

From CNT, May 26, 1937:

(Ricardo Zabala, Secretary of the Land Workers Federation (UGT) gave an interview to one of the editors of ADELANTE. This interview was published in ADELANTE in full, and copied in full by CNT. The interview deals with the important current issue of the collectives around which there is a big struggle now going on. CLARIDAD, however, published only a part of it; What CLARIDAD left out is what the Stalinists don't like or want said. It follows:)

"The enemies of the collectives are the reactionaries of yesterday who because they were unconditional lackeys of the political bosses, had lands to rent. These people who used to deny land to our people, or evict them from their miserable plots today can count on official support in amazing places. Under the protection of the famous decree of the 7th October, they are now trying to seize the collectivized land, parcel them out and distribute to themselves, the cattle, the olive groves, the vineyards and the crops, making an end of the agrarian revolution and turning Spain into a land of petty proprietors, (which is the same as saying big slaves)—taking advantage, in order to do this of the absence of our best comrades who are fighting at the front and who would weep with rage if, when they return, found that all their struggles and sacrifices have done nothing but raise up their traditional enemies all over again, this

The Socialist Party of Madrid, which up to recently worked in closest harmony with the Communist Party of that district, in the following letter declares its reasons for an inability to continue working with the CP so long as the latter pursues its present

line of suppressing all organizations which do not accept its line for Spain.

Translated from June 1 issue of Frente Libertario, in which the following was quoted in full:

"To the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party.

Honored comrades, greetings: Opposed by temperament and principles to equivocal and dubious positions, the Committee of the Socialist Party of Madrid directs the following words to you.

This Committee is accustomed to act in the light of day so that our companions and sympathizers can, in their turn, show their approval or disapproval of our position.

We wish to speak bluntly, so that we may not be misunderstood or misinterpreted.

The Madrid Committee of the Socialist Party is profoundly disturbed about tactical differences within our own party. We differ about how to strengthen it, to defend it, to fight for its increased prestige. We also differ about how to guard it against all injury from without, great or small. We declare, however, that whatever its weakness and whatever vacillations or mistakes committed by some of its adherents, it remains the party within which we shall carry on our fight.

After making ourselves clear in this point, we declare:

Although we do not proclaim perfection for or glorify any individual, as deserving as he may be,

province (Valencia) I have seen that the CP has given our members plenty of trouble. Or rather, not the party itself, but the societies of peasants that they have created, in spite of the fact that our organization already existed, and in spite of their calls for unity."

time with union cards in their pockets."

"I have faith that these grave words of mine which are based on concrete facts of collectives already smashed by the offensive of the counter revolution, will make those responsible comrades stop and reflect. If not, it will be worse for all of us, because the Federation which struggled against the petty bourgeois ideas of the Republicans in the division of the land, and which fought the demagogic promises of the CEDA when it offered plots to its followers will defend its work with all the means at its command against those who want to revive the old problem—wherever they may be, and whatever they call themselves."

we do emphatically state our approval of the inspiring actions and the political tactics of Francisco Largo Caballero and his comrades (as you know), and we affirm our solidarity with his political and trade union line.

Unite Against Fascism
We believe in the desirability of forming a political and trade union coalition with you, and, if possible, with the CNT; or, at least, an agreement for joint action against the common enemy—Fascism.

This is in direct line with the unity which we have displayed and shall continue to show in this press, about which you, vigorous advocates of red propaganda, have been declaiming.

However noble your party may be, whatever propaganda for unity and joint action you may issue, nothing has stopped you from trying to destroy and liquidate the Socialist Party on every possible occasion—not even the personality of Caballero has stopped you. Only when the party, together with Caballero himself and those who agree with him as Socialists, have given opposition to your ambitions, have you made it apparent by your infidelity and by the patent character of your plans that you do not wish unity with other parties for the sake of unity, but merely for the sake of absorbing these other parties into your organization.

Your actions which we think were irresponsible in the present situation and entirely without

THOMAS HAILS SPAIN'S LABOR AT N.Y. RALLY

By Aaron Levenstein

"I salute tonight the workers of Spain." Norman Thomas told an audience of 20,000 men and women in Madison Square Garden who rallied last Monday under the auspices of the North American Committee and the Confederated Spanish Societies, to celebrate the anniversary of Spain's battle against fascism.

"In the midst of struggle against militant fascism," the Socialist leader said, "the workers in the U.G.T. and the C.N.T., Spain's great labor unions, have shown an amazing ability to carry on collectivized activities. As a recent visitor to Loyalist Spain, well aware of her problems and discords and the improvised and temporary nature of her present economic program, I want to testify to the way in which the workers have carried on in the communication lines, factories and stores which they control. Loyalist Spain is a land of ordered activity in town and country."

Thomas denounced the hypocrisy of non-intervention and the American neutrality law which he described as "intervention on the side of Franco."

Duty of U. S.

"One obvious duty," he said, "is to insist that the U.S. Government, since it has adopted its present neutrality laws, enforce them against Italy and Germany as it enforces them against loyalist Spain."

Speaking on behalf of Spanish ambassador Fernando de los Rios, now on his way back to the United States from Valencia, Dr. Enrique Carlos De La Casa, minister-plenipotentiary in charge of the Spanish Embassy, joined with Thomas in attacking the so-called non-intervention agreement. Concerning the Roosevelt administration's neutrality law, he said: "I am not the one to comment on this law, but citizens of this country have explained in exact terms what it represents to the Spanish Republic."

Medical Activity

A review of activities carried out by the Medical Bureau of the North American Committee was

political vision, have precipitated so great a crisis and created such difficulties that we have no confidence in your sincerity, whatever relationship your party may profess toward ours. It is therefore difficult for us to work with you.

Attack Caballero

If we add to this all that you have done to discredit Caballero in the army, at the front and at home, and if we take into account the vicious language and arguments you have used to vilify our work in the government, we must conclude that you have done a formidable piece of work in undermining it. By your own arguments, we can not be those who should share joint responsibility with you for the government.

But even if all you said were true, it is our belief that—without giving unconditional support to everything—it is in the interests of the nation inadvisable to make these questions matters for an open split between us.

Want Unity

As our statement indicates, even while we recognize the destructiveness of your work, we are



Two Spanish Loyalist Fighters

Given by Dr. Edward K. Barsky, who recently returned from Spain. "We have set up six hospitals in six months—one new hospital every month," he reported. In addition, 99 persons with technical medical training have been sent to Spain from the United States, together with 24 ambulances, trucks and 60 tons of equipment. He described the difficult conditions under which the medical units are compelled to work.

The vast audience, in response to an appeal for funds made by Roger Baldwin, contributed a total of about \$15,000 to be divided between the Confederated Spanish Societies and the North American Committee for their relief activities, which include the building of children's homes. "It all goes in the one pot, the Loyalist pot," Baldwin said.

Embargo Demanded

Other speakers included Mrs. Maria Halberstadt, former Socialist deputy in the Reichstag, Joseph Pombo, of the Portuguese Anti-Fascist Committee, Girolamo Valenti speaking for the Italian anti-fascists; Commandant Humberto Galeani, of the Garibaldi Battalion, Angelo Herndon, Jose Castilla, of the Confederated Spanish Societies, former Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Earl Browder, of the Communist Party. Congressman Jerry J. O'Connell presided. Spanish dancers performed and a mass chant was led by John Bovingdon.

ready to maintain a united front with you. We wish to state publicly how we stand on this matter, since we know that it is of value to the nation and necessary for the maintenance of our ideas and our sincerity. From the beginning we have stood for a united front with you on a basis of maintaining identities, of freedom for each group to administer its own affairs without injury to its rightful position, and not on the basis of an absorption by one party of the others.

Finally, Communist comrades, we ask one thing of you: "If you really want a united front, and if you really do not possess base ambitions, stop your campaign to discredit our Comrade Caballero. We ask this not because it affects him personally, but because of the policy he represents and has represented. We ask this in spite of the fact that your campaign seems to have had the approval of more or less authoritative representatives of our party. We ask this of you in the name of a Socialist Party which wishes to work with you in common action, but which can not do so if you maintain your present line."

South Dakota Federation Leader Refuses Fight on CIO

MITCHELL, S.D. (FP)—Albert Maag, secretary-treasurer of the South Dakota Federation of Labor, speaking before a Workers Alliance committee here, promised that there would be no fight between the state federation and the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Although there are no CIO unions in the state at present, several groups are reported to be planning organization. "The CIO, the American Federation of Labor and the Workers Alliance are all necessary for the welfare of the workers," Maag said. "We have no grievance with the CIO. I believe that the AFL and the CIO will get together. I can report that there is considerable pressure of the rank-and-file of the AFL to do so."

Maag pledged his organization's support to the Workers Alliance organization drive in the state and approved of the present protest campaign to prevent WPA slashes.

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What Has Happened To The Neutrality Law



War in China

By GUS TYLER

The American Neutrality Law, passed by Congress under the urging of President Roosevelt, has become an historic farce.

The law was passed avowedly to keep America out of war. This was to be accomplished by halting American shipment of supplies and large scale trade with nations or groups at war.

Specifically, this was to be accomplished in the following manner:

If a war broke out between two nations, the President of the U.S. was immediately to proclaim the law in effect—and instantly the necessary embargoes would become effective.

If a civil war broke out in any country, then the President, in his discretion, shall decide whether or not both sides are to be embargoed.

That is the law, as it was seriously passed by Congress.

In practice this law has so far been used for only one thing: to injure the cause of the Loyalist Government in Spain.

The only time the President of the United States has acted decisively in putting this law into effect is in the case of Spain—against the Loyalists. Technically, the law as applied places an embargo against both Loyalists and Franco. Actually, however, this means only against the Loyalists. Franco continues to get his supplies from Germany and Italy. **AND THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT EMBARGOED GERMANY AND ITALY.**

paper he will note that there is now a war going on between Japan and China. This is not a theory or a guess; it is a bloody cold fact.

Neutrality in East

Now, the Neutrality Law states in plain clear print that when such a war breaks out the President is obliged to declare an embargo against both powers on certain materials. The law does not even give the President discretionary powers in this matter. Discretionary powers only apply to civil wars. The president is compelled to declare the embargo in wars between or among nations.

Now it is plain beyond all debate that either there is no war in the Far East today or the President has scrapped the Neutrality Law. And as between the two possible alternatives we believe that there is a war in China.

Meaning of Neutrality

When the Neutrality Law was passed, Socialists made two points about it:

First, if ever a real war broke out, in which an embargo would injure American business or America's imperialist interests the law would be forgotten.

Second, the law would be stringently enforced only when it would not harm or might aid American imperialism.

Put simply, the law would operate within the framework of imperialism. It would be administered by a capitalist government which would use it to protect or advance the interests of the capitalist class.

Has our analysis been borne out? To the letter!

If we had set to work to establish a scientific set of tests in the laboratory of modern day

society we could not have more conclusively proved our contention.

Why does not Roosevelt apply the Neutrality Law in the Sino-Japanese situation? Because America has important Far Eastern investments and is therefore more anxious to keep its finger in the Sino-Japanese pie than pull out.

Why does not Roosevelt embargo Germany and Italy? Because Roosevelt, together with Britain and France, is declaring his international solidarity with the exploiters of all lands in making impossible a sweeping victory for the Loyalist forces such as would open the way for a workers Spain.

Roosevelt's international "neu-

trality" is like his domestic "neutrality." His embargo on Spain is on a par with his "plague on both your houses." He knows just when to be "neutral" if his being neutral at that time will aid the capitalists.

The Neutrality Law, to date, has only aided Franco. It has served the purpose it was supposed to serve. It has become an anti-labor measure.

What Conclusion

The most fatal conclusion to draw from our experiences with the Neutrality Bill is what appears to be the most patent conclusion:—a better law or a better president.

The fact is that the law, on the matter of embargoing Germany or Japan, is as clear as any law can be; and Roosevelt is about as good a president as capitalism will ever give us.

The real lesson for the workers is to put absolutely no faith in capitalist law or politicians to keep America out of war or to enforce a Neutrality Law in a "neutral" spirit. Capitalism-imperialism can not be neutral.

Can workers be "neutral" when their jobs are threatened by a lock-out? Can capitalists be "neutral" when their fat profits are threatened by labor organization? Then why expect the capitalist government to be neutral when its foreign investments are in danger?

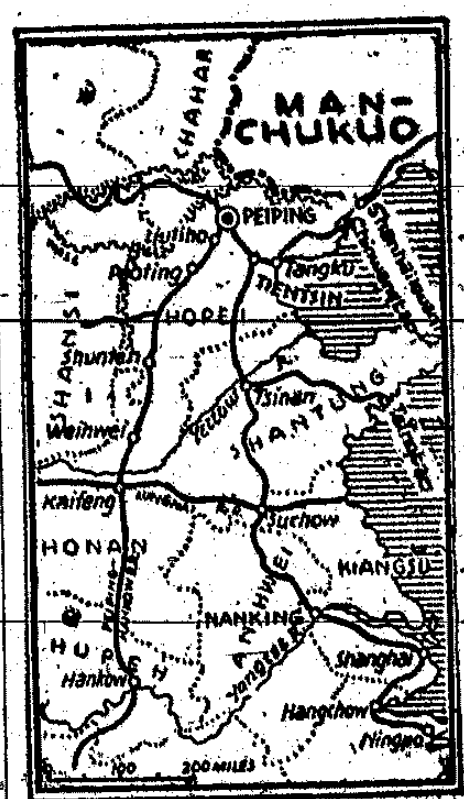
When the show-down comes, workers will fight to protect their livelihood and capitalists will fight to protect their profits. And in this show-down, the present government will line up with the bosses in China or Spain as it has lined up with them in Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

The present experiences with the Neutrality Law make it crystal clear that the American Government, the present American government, the Roosevelt Administration, if you please, is motivated by capitalist aims in its foreign policy. Its diplomacy is a by-product of its investments.

So long as capitalism continues, the nation—its army, its fighting population—is a means for carrying through this imperialist policy.

Class conscious workers, those

War Zone



who know that their interests are not the bosses' interests, must realize that their struggle against the foreign policy of America, their struggle against imperialism, their struggle against war, is just as vital as their struggle for a higher wage.

Auto Union to Hold Convention August 23

DETROIT (UNST)—The second national convention of the United Automobile Workers will open in Milwaukee, Wis., August 23rd, at the Eagles' ballroom, according to an announcement made by the general executive board. More than 1,000 delegates are expected to attend this convention of the C.I.O. union which will be the largest ever held in the history of the automobile industry. Membership has risen spectacularly in recent months until some 350,000 auto workers are now enrolled.

Does Your Neighbor Read the CALL?



In Geneva They Sell Gas Masks at Druggists for Fear of War

The crying hypocrisy of the Roosevelt administration in the matter of neutrality has become a howling scandal, however, during the last two weeks. If Roosevelt picks up any news-

Mayor LaGuardia Reversed Position On Jobless Relief

By George Baker

The Chinese Theatre has a convenient device for saving a great deal of effort in the construction and shifting of scenery. For instance, if the company on the stage desires to go to bed in an upstairs bedroom they merely walk around their present quarters as many times as the flights they wish to ascend, and the audience knows that when they have walked around, say, three

times, they are now in the third floor bedroom. A foreigner must, of course, have a glossary in order to understand the action, but to the Chinese the standard symbols are all well known, and he accepts it as part of the "symbolism" of the theatre, along with poetry, histrionics, etc.

These facts are merely mentioned as suggestions for the consideration of politicians and their press agents. Now, it is well known that every candidate for office must shed bitter tears for the underfed, the underhoused, the underclothed, etc. Why not a device for this difficult task? As one thing that comes to mind, why not the twiddling of the thumb (held downward) to suggest that relief is very, very (a twiddle for every very) inappropriate? Surely it would be better than the present method of making campaign speeches... for the public would find it much more difficult to remember the number of "verys"... even more difficult than to remember the present speeches.

As a man given to making speeches, which usually prove very embarrassing at future dates, Mayor La Guardia should be one of the first to welcome such a departure.

Take the speech he made when he was running for Mayor in 1933: "I pledge myself that the unemployed in this city, both married and single, will get adequate relief according to scientific, humane standards... Tammany has given a family of four a food ticket of \$5.40 a week. This means an average of six and a half cents per person per meal... A gloomy picture the aspiring mayor has pictured here..."

2 Cent Improvement

The literal American (even more so New Yorker), not trained in the manner of the Chinese theatre, now immediately thinks: "It was \$5.40 then, it was six and a half cents then, what is it now... four years after the perpetrators of six and a half cent meals have been kicked out of the mayor's chair?"

And the voice from the curtains comes back: "It is now \$7 a week, and eight and a half cents a meal. Does THAT answer your question?" No, it doesn't... for prices, too, have gone up in those same four years. According to the Department of Labor's Bureau of Statistics the price of foodstuffs has gone up more than thirty-three percent since 1923 (from an index number of 63 to 86). Not only that, but some of the staples like meat, butter, eggs, etc., have gone up more than fifty percent... and eight and a half cents is now less than six and a half cents then!

La Guardia can have one consolation: He won't have to do the crying this time. Tammany will take care of that part of the show in this election... and the unemployed can look for all its sympathy (and nothing

else) to the 17 Street Wigwam gang.)

But what particularly hurt the sensitive soul of La Guardia was the tragedy of the paucity of relief stations. "It is ridiculous that men should be compelled to walk many miles without decent shoes on their feet to get a few pennies..." And for a while after the new Mayor came into office additional stations were set up... but since the first year the number has been steadily decreasing... (six have already gone)... and our little friend can make his same speech... but he won't, for it's he who is responsible for the present "consolidation."

Yet the picture is not entirely black; there have been certain improvements under the LaGuardia regime. Rents are paid regularly, altho at no time is the payment sufficient for decent housing; there is very little "favoritism" in the distribution of relief; the bureaus themselves work on a more systematic basis with a higher type personnel.

All these improvements, tho, do little to insure the health of the unemployed worker who is forced to go on relief rolls; they do nothing compared to what a sizeable increase in food, rent, and clothing allowance could do.

Broke Demonstrations

Even the small gains had to be fought for... by continual struggles at the local relief stations as well as at the City Hall. Time after time demonstrations were broken up by the LaGuardia police. Never once did the Mayor protest the brutality of the police... never once did he object to the vicious jail sentences meted out to the leaders of demonstrations. Finally the Mayor broke his silence.

On the morning of Saturday, May 27, 1934, some two thousand workers had assembled at the offices of the welfare bureau at 50 Lafayette Street... to ask for an increase in relief. The police (as was proven later by the Civil Liberties Union) were ready for trouble and they took advantage of the first bit of confusion to start a riot in which many workers were badly injured. The following Saturday another demonstration was held at 50 Lafayette Street and from here the assembled workers marched to the City Hall; the conversation that took place between James Gaynor, representing the workers, and the Mayor is well worth repeating in toto:

"You want to see those poor people starve so that you can mislead them and incite them to beat the police (tak, tak). We are trying to feed the people and we are doing it, despite the obstacles that people like you are putting in our way," says the Mayor by way of introduction.

"The people we represent were formerly taxpayers" replied Gaynor.

"I don't want your help. I

know your kind, Gaynor. You don't want relief. You want to incite unfortunate people to riot. But you can't bluff me. You really want people to starve to further your own ends. That's not my idea. You allowed the cowardly attack on the police last Saturday, but you yourself ran away before the trouble started. When the police defended themselves, you played cry-baby.

"All you are interested in is getting more money for yourself out of the trouble. I won't stand for yellow dog leaders inciting the people... Look here, Gaynor, you can bluff some of those people but you can't bluff me. I know your game. We are helping these people and we are going to continue to help them. You don't want that though, you want them to starve."

"You're talking like a demagogue," interjected Gaynor.

No, no, of course not, he's not a demagogue. But two months later when he addressed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters he gave them some good advice: "You never get a raise in your life without fighting the boss." Which was exactly what the unemployed thought, but that's different, for at the City Hall, La Guardia's the boss.

And being the boss, he made sure to take care that his own interests were protected by putting into office as police commis-

PERSONAL

TEACHER, 27, away from home town, wishes to correspond with young man, professional, of liberal or radical persuasion. Box 45, Socialist Call.

slones Major O'Ryan. The two famous schemes hatched out by these two were the rifle practice for policemen (just in case), and the registration by photographs, etc., of union officials. (These are merely mentioned here... but their significance and place in the La Guardia set-up will be dealt with fully in the article on labor, strikes, etc.)

Tapers Off Relief

For the month of March, over twenty million dollars was spent (the city paid one quarter, state one quarter, federal one half.) for relief in New York City, and the Mayor was worried. Perhaps, he said, the warmer weather would cut relief costs. "While we appreciate the difficulties encountered by the Emergency Relief Bureau and the difficulties we will have to face if we cut our appropriation to conform with our income... we dare not, we must not keep up this pace. I will confer with the ERB during the coming month and will be glad to work out a program with them, on the understanding that there will be a tapering off."

Intensified investigations were started to get people off the rolls. O. W. Knauth, Macy executive (read: slave-driver), was chosen by the Mayor as the new relief "czar." Mr. Knauth, of course, was thoroughly acquainted with the problem of the poor, about whom he had learned at the Century Club, Harvard Club and Seawanhaka-Corinthian Yacht Club of Oyster Bay. But all the best laid plans went to naught when a Governor's commission made public the total inadequacy of relief in the City. And it is not too much to say that the entire La Guardia bubble would have burst had not the WPA stepped in a few months later and taken some forty percent off home relief.

Another famous incident in the La Guardia administration is the taking into "protective custody" (no, it's not a German word) of Vito Marcantonio when he led a march of 15,000 WPA workers from Madison Square to 118 Eighth Ave. (WPA headquarters). Mayor La Guardia had refused a permit for the march, altho, Harry Laidler reminded him "when you were a congressman you took a different position in

connection with hunger marches. Your position was right then. The action of your police is not justifiable now."

Nor was his action justifiable last winter, when he drove the unemployed out of the bureaus (albeit with the aid of the Communists in the Workers' Alliance). On October 7, 1936 the "Ave. D" Bureau riot took place. All thru the months of October, November and December there was a concerted drive by the Workers' Alliance to bring relief budgets up to the higher cost of living. Sit-ins at bureaus, picket lines, demonstrations... leading up to the city-wide sit-in on March 9, 1937.

The Sit-Down

The workers had arranged for feeding the sit-inners; all preparations had been made for a long siege. Excitement ran high... support kept coming in; La Guardia was in a rage. First he exhorted, then he threatened. If they're not out, he warned, they'll be put out, and at 3 a. m. on the morning of March 10 the order came out from Alliance headquarters to leave the bureaus.

The workers left, altho many felt bitter. At an Alliance membership meeting held about a week later the entire matter came out on the floor, and the Communists insisted that they had been promised "things" that this was but a strategic retreat to prepare for a bigger and better action. Actually, there was no further action on a large scale... and the promises turned out to be merely promises. A few large clothing orders went out... to those bureaus where the Alliance continued to carry on a vigorous fight.

In a large industrial city like New York there exist more important issues than just sweeping one or another capitalist candidate out of office. While La Guardia himself may realize the need for a continuous program of relief he is bound to cut government expenses. He finds exorbitant "bankers agreements" preferable to the general wreckage that would follow default on the city's obligations... To a working class candidate the general wreckage of human lives caused by inadequate relief is much more important.



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JAMES T. FARRELL

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SOCIALIST YOUTH

By Al Hamilton

In the first days of the existence of the SOCIALIST CALL, the regular appearance of a youth page helped to make the CALL a real organizer of the mass struggles of youth. At this time the advent of a column of youth news and interpretation of events that are of concern to young workers and students, is of real importance and will be heartily greeted by the younger readers of the CALL.

It is the hope of the author of this column that an interpretation can be given to those events that effect young people which will help to rally youth under the banners of the working class. There are those in the liberal and even in the radical movements who almost worship "youth" for youth's sake. It is these elements who think of youth problems and youth organization as being psychological in character.

In this connection it is important for us to remember that historically youth organizations, both student and non-student, of the working class and anti-imperialist movements have played an extremely important political role. In the colonial countries, much of the leadership of the struggle against imperialism and for colonial independence has been borne by anti-imperialist student organizations. The vitality of the early days of the Socialist Youth International under Karl Liebknecht sprang from its anti-militarist agitation. In the United States the real basis of the radical student movement has been in the past, its anti-war activities. The primary strength of the American Youth Congress has rested in its attempt to meet the problem of unemployed youth through agitation and campaigns for the American Youth Act.

Militarism

A large section of this generation of young people have felt the force of the recent pace of history;—history not in the abstract but those forces which in the composite make up history. The steady increase in the strength and scope of the military establishment of the United States, has been felt by this generation in the colleges, in the high schools and during the last three years by unemployed young people through the Civilian Conservation Corp. The collapse of American economy in 1929 shunted a major section of a general era into permanent unemployment. These are some of the forces that have raised the activities and the thinking of young people, to a higher political level.

Those youth, who, in this period of upheaval have been boiled in the scalding currents of social events and have come out either red or slightly par-boiled, are not the type of play-seeking youth that some would paint. They are in many cases far more mature and have a greater zealotness than some of those who would teach them the lessons of life.

Karl Liebknecht, writing on militarism and the anti-militarist struggle once said, "He who has the youth has the army." Today it is well to remember that the labor movement, and the Socialist Party must depend upon the rising generation of young workers and young students to win even minor skirmishes to say nothing of the final conflict with capitalism. And the youth will be won to the cause of Socialism, only through the development of struggles which throw them into conflict with forces of reaction, of militarism and pseudo-liberalism.

Anti-Fascist Youth

The recent move of the United Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy in organizing demonstrations and picketing of Italian and German consulates on July 19th, the anniversary of the Spanish civil war has been supported by Young Socialists as a step in accelerating the organization of youth committees locally.

At the American Youth Congress one of the conflicts was over the question of non-partisan aid to Spain. In this conflict that is developing between those supporting non-partisan aid and the United Youth Committee, it must be made clear that food, clothing, and money for homes for Spanish children is being solicited is not simply for humanitarian reasons but, because these things are necessary in helping to defeat the forces of Franco.

The July 19th demonstrations have helped to illustrate the fact that the reason for the existence of the United Youth Committee, the reason that the Young People's Socialist League is raising funds for a Home for the Children of Spanish workers is because of a desire to see victory for the loyalist forces. If the Y.P.S.L. and party comrades want to make this clear, then money must come in immediately for the Norman Thomas Home in Spain. Get to work, Comrades!

It is the hope of the author that this column can be the first step toward a page of youth news in the CALL. But to accomplish this, members of the Young People's Socialist League will have to get behind the sub drive of the CALL. For money is necessary not only to survive but to expand.

Revolutionary Socialism—V.

The Middle Class In Capitalism

1. Middle Class Utopia

For some years before the great economic crisis of 1929, a Harvard professor, Thomas Nixon Carver, by name, was busy advising Americans that

in this country there were no classes. In America everybody belonged to the middle class—upper or lower. But nobody belonged strictly to the working class.

As time went on, he insisted, this would become ever more so. As a result of which, all class differences and therefore all class conflict would be wiped out in America.

His argument was simple. Workers would save their pennies and as a result of their savings would

enter business. Some would enter business as small independent producers or merchants. Others would purchase small shares in large corporations. And by this magical process, everyone would be more or less of a capitalist.

Those who would own their independent small store or factory belonged to the "old" middle class. The small share holders would belong to the "new" middle class.

Now how sound is this argument?

2. Growth of Big Production

The last one hundred years have seen a progressive growth of large scale production. In virtually every field of production—or even of mer-

chandising—the big factory or the big chain store have become predominant.

As a result of this inevitable development in capitalism it becomes increasingly difficult for a small independent producer to enter the field of capitalist competition. Take any important industry and it immediately is apparent that the small man has no place. What place for the capitalist of minor dimensions in autos, steel, coal, iron, or even the lighter industries of textiles, furniture, foods?

Small production has lingered longest in the field of agriculture. But even here the small producer

is in a position where he is continually exploited by the great capitalist, very much as is the worker himself. The farmer, today, is in debt up to his neck.

For his machines, his transportation, his seed, his storage, he needs capital. This he usually obtains through loans by mortgaging his original property. He finds himself today the bonded servant of big capital, the banks.

The same is largely true of the small merchant, too.

To the extent that the "old type" middle-class exists, it does so as a subsidiary of big capital. It lives only at the tolerance of the large scale capitalist.

3. New Middle Class

The new type middle class is largely a myth. Even in the days of Carver, the good days before 1929, the lower classes participated in stock

ownership to the extent of about one-seventh of one per cent of the total ownership. "One swallow makes no spring," and one-seventh of one per cent is scarcely a big enough per cent to make the masses capitalist.

But even if there were doubt about the meaning of this trend in 1929 there certainly could be no doubt after 1929.

The participation of the small man in Wall Street was just the throwing of sardines into a lake filled with sharks. Just so much petty feed. The small man was lured onto the market, tempted to put a lifetime of savings at the disposal of big capitalists, given tiny coupons in return while the "inside" men drew gigantic salaries (self voted). And then when things got tight, the small man was wiped out, savings and all, while the few big ones grew bigger.

The participation of small capital in the games of stocks and bonds is just a means whereby the finance capitalists can for a period gamble with other people's money. It is a means whereby the middle class is exterminated—not saved.

Even the final hope of some apologists of capitalism that there would be a so-called psychologic middle class has proven vain.

This psychologic middle class was to be composed of the "intel-

lectual" servants of capitalism, the white collar slaves. While technically, these people are exploited as thoroughly as the horny handed sons of toil, the high salaries they are supposed to get would make them firm defenders of capitalism against the lower classes.

The processes of education would turn out such people—white collar workers and intellectuals—in great quantities and thus create a new layer between labor and capital.

This argument is one based on a short time view only. In the long run it defeats itself.

The gigantic educational system has overproduced men of brains as the system has overproduced everything else, in terms of what the masses can purchase. Too many doctors, lawyers, dentists, teachers, accountants, as well as too many ditch diggers and cloak-makers.

The more, the merrier—for the capitalist. He is able to offer less for his white collar worker. The professionals are compelled to slice one another's throats. The latest middle-class finds itself increasingly reduced to the status of the simple proletarian. These supposed "middle classes" are just the "intellectual proletariat," peddlers of brain power.

They, too, organize unions. They, too, are potential opponents of the capitalist system.

JONES' FASCISM

By McAlister Coleman

Fascism, American style, dragged its slimy length into the open last week at the meeting of the Johnstown Citizens' Committee. All the open shoppers, the labor baiters, the night-riders of the Legion and Klan were there at a meeting inspired and financed by the Bethlehem Steel Company and the other strike-breaking independents. Resolutions passed by this precious crew were incitements to riot. Philosophies expressed by the speakers were those of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. It was a field day for hypocrisy, cowardice and ignorance.

I once worked in the same newspaper office with the press-agent for this Johnstown mob, a likeable, bouncing little chap named John Price Jones. He later developed a lucrative racket of organizing jack-raising campaigns for busted colleges. At the head of his high-pressure sales crew he would crash the gate of some obscure institution and inform its bewildered president that he was there to put old Siwash on the front page of every paper in the State. Look at the scores of last year's football team. Terrible. Now what Siwash needed was a bang-up team that could go to town with any other club in the section. For that desirable end money, and lots of it, was needed.

But Siwash had no money for a stadium, a class, a coach and a respectable backfield. It was all Siwash could do to pay its professors. At this point Jones would laugh lightly and tell the poor old fossil (whose chief interest in life was to teach youngsters how to behave like civilized human beings), not to worry about the money end of it. John Price Jones would raise all that was needed firmly to establish Siwash among the leaders of higher education. And it wouldn't cost Siwash a cent. Just sign the contract handing over the campaign to Jones' company and the commissions taken out of the contributions of loyal alumni would cover all the charges. And so they did.

Jones Advances

Jones got along so well that presently he installed his outfit in the old offices of the New York "Sun." There he put on one of the most screamingly fantastic shows ever produced by latter-day press-agentry. He kept the copy-desk, slot and all the desks for the re-write men, tickers, the telephone booths, electric typewriters, editors' cubicles, the whole set-up of a busy city-room. Any time you went in there you might have imagined that you were hitting a frantic news shop just before press time. The truth is that there was a lot more yelling and typewriter banging than is heard in the average city-room, but it all served to impress the prospect that he was in the presence of something pretty hot in the line of news.

He watched Mr. Jones's harried young men rushing about with their eyes glued on mysterious wads of copy-paper, he saw shirt-sleeved executives sweating in their partitioned offices, he observed tailor-made young women leaping in and out of telephone booths. And how was he to know that the sum total of all this hectic activity was precisely nothing?

The bulk of the copy that was shipped out of that office went the way of a Sears, Roebuck catalogue on a New England farm. No one but their admiring authors ever read the stories that were being pounded out on the over-worked typewriters. The silence that followed the announcement of the plans for the new Siwash stadium was thunderous. But what the hell. The alumni fell for this and the commissions had to be paid before ever a trowel touched the first stadium mortar.

Now Mr. Jones, the home town Johnstown boy who made good in the big city, is going to put over this "Right to Work" campaign, undoubtedly on a commission basis. I can't imagine John Price Jones, much as he detests American workers, ever taking on a job of this sort just for the sake of the principles involved. That will be his copy about Communism in the CIO and the sturdy American spirit of the scab that you will be reading in The New York Times and the other papers.

There's nothing really extraordinary about Mr. Jones' ability to slip nimbly from the job of raising dough for colleges to that of raising jack for the Johnstown gang. With some honorable exceptions, our colleges are breeding grounds for the scab-herders of tomorrow. The influential alumni to whom Mr. Jones's promotion material has been addressed in the past are mostly those who cheered Tom Girdler for his patriotic achievement in having his workers shot in the back, when they exercised their legal right to picket. Jones won't have to change his style much. He knows how to take these suckers for a ride. He's been doing it for years.

With The Party

CHICAGO.—Socialists of the Western Hemisphere are to be invited to a conference in Mexico City this fall, according to plans announced here by the Socialist party of the U.S.A. Socialists in the Argentine are joining in issuing the call for the gathering. Labor and Socialist parties and Socialist youth organizations in Canada as well as South and Central American countries are being invited to participate in laying plans for common action along Socialist lines for all the countries of the New World.

A representative of the party will lay its plans before the national convention of the Commonwealth Federation of Canada in Winnipeg July 27-28. Letters are going out to the National Revolutionary party of Mexico, the Socialist party of Porto Rico, and to other groups throughout the widespread territory to be covered. The meeting will be held at the same time as the first Latin-American trade union conference, called by the Mexican C.T.M. for November or December.

At its meeting Thursday, which was attended by Norman Thomas, the National Action Committee named a sub-committee to carry out plans for the conference and laid down conditions for participation which had been decided upon with a representative of the Socialist party of the Argentine. Albert Sprague Coolidge, now in Mexico, Al Hamilton, national secretary of the Young Peoples' Socialist League, and Clarence Senior of the Milwaukee Leader staff, are the members.

REGISTRATION DATE EXTENDED TO AUGUST 15

CHICAGO, Ill.—At the meeting of the National Action Committee of the Socialist Party held July 16 the period of registration for party members was ordered extended to August 15, due to a number of requests from locals and branches.

A report made to the N.A.C. indicated that one-half of the locals responding to the Debs Organization Fund Drive have already responded to the registration drive. Responses so far indicate that the expected registration will more than double the present membership.

State secretaries are now asked to push the drive in those locals not yet responding to the drive. Reports have already been sent to state secretaries giving the status of registration in each state and indicating those locals not yet heard from.

"For those locals which have completed registration, this extension of time should provide them with the opportunity of recruiting new members," said Roy E. Burt, executive secretary of the Socialist Party. "On the basis of our clear cut and definite stand on vital issues, on the basis of our practical program for achieving our goal, workers should be invited now to come into membership in the party and share in its work and accomplishments."

Wage Increases Totalling \$1,068,000

PHILADELPHIA (FP) — Winning an annual payroll increase of \$1,068,000, the American Federation of Hosiery Workers signed a year's contract with the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Manufacturers of America, Inc.,



A new wave of militancy is sweeping French labor. Here is a scene of waiters on strike.

ORGANIZATIONAL UNION DRIVE ON WORK STRESSED AT CONVENTION

Criticize Move to Withdraw for La Guardia

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Organization of a district comprising Eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and probably Southern New Jersey was completed on Sunday, July 18, when representatives from branches in this vicinity held the first convention of the Mid-Atlantic District of the Socialist Party.

As defined by the convention the duties of the district organization are to coordinate, supervise, and direct the activities of the Party in this region with the exception of electoral and political matters. Major emphasis was placed on trade union and organizational work.

By a vote of 75 to 1 a resolution was adopted calling on the National Executive Committee to point out to Local New York that its decision on the matter of the mayoralty campaign is a violation of the policy of the Socialist Party (as laid down by the last national convention) that no section of the party shall make alliances with capitalist parties or politicians. The resolution follows:

WHEREAS: The Socialist Call carries news of the intention of Local New York of the Socialist Party to withdraw its Mayoralty candidate in the interests of the candidate of the Republican-Fusion-ALP ticket, and

WHEREAS: This information has already been issued to the capitalist press, thus compromising the Socialist Party in New York and elsewhere, and

WHEREAS: At its National Nominating Convention at Cleveland, 1936, and at its special National Convention, Chicago, 1937, the Socialist Party decided to make no alliances with capitalist parties or politicians, whether they are "Old Deal" or "New Deal," whether they are reactionaries on parade as liberals,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That this District Convention of the Middle-Atlantic District, meeting at Philadelphia, July 18, 1937, asks the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to point out to Local New York that its decision on the matter of the Mayoralty cam-

UNION DRIVE ON IN KNIT-GOODS

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers is conducting a vigorous drive throughout the New York market for the organization of all workers in this industry.

Three shops have been called on strike in New York during the past week as a part of this drive. With workers still on strike at the shops of the Export Rayon Co. and the Apex Knitters Fabric, a third shop, Durable Knit-Corp, was struck and settled at terms favorable to the union.

The drive to organize the knitgoods workers has hung fire for several years, being disputed between the Textile Workers, and the ILGWU while both were under the AFL. With the inception of the CIO, the ILGWU has been given full power to conduct this drive. It is being headed by Manager Louis Nelson of the Brooklyn Joint Board.

Over the country strikes are also in progress in New England, Philadelphia, Cleveland and in San Francisco. It is hoped that by next fall a nation-wide contract covering the whole industry can have been won.

While being involved in its intensive drive against sweatshop employers, the union showed its international solidarity by pledging \$5,000 to Labor's Red Cross for the aid of the anti-fascist fighters of Spain.

THIRD VICTIM IS MURDERED IN MASSILLON

MASSILLON, O. — (FP)—The area around the Republic Steel Corp.'s plants here became a no man's land as picket lines were dispersed and a third victim of the police massacre seemed to be nearing death after a slaughter which took place Sunday night, July 11.

paign is a violation of the policies of the Socialist Party. The following were elected to the District Executive Committee: Mark Brown, Reading; Al Heller, Plymouth; Charles Bernstein, Baltimore; August Winterstein, Baltimore; Walter Huhn, Allentown; Orul Towey, Philadelphia; Howard Stump, Quakertown; C. W. Perry, Wilmington; and Terrence Doyle, Reading. Mickey Harris was elected District Organizer.

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

Recent papers carried a front page story about the break between the New Deal Resettlement Administration and the Workers' Aim Cooperative Association known as the New Jersey Homestead Experiment at Hightstown, N.J.

Transit Workers Get Their First Pay Under New Wage Contract

18,000 I.R.T. and Third Ave. Line Employees Receive \$72,000 Weekly Increase

NEW YORK.—Wage increases of from 10 to 26 per cent went into the pay envelopes of 18,000 New York transit workers the week of July 16, when employees

of the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. and the Third Avenue Railway system had their first pay day under the closed shop agreements signed with the CIO Transport Workers Union.

According to Austin Hogan, general secretary of the TWU, the I.R.T. paid out an additional \$60,000 a week to its 15,000 employees. The weekly increase for the 3,200 Third Avenue Railway System workers exceeded \$12,000. The combined total yearly wage increase for I.R.T. and Third Avenue Railway employees amounts to more than \$3,600,000.

Third Avenue and I.R.T. employees will start receiving paid vacations, also won in the contracts. Next summer I.R.T. employees will receive two weeks' vacation with pay. A second vacation week for Third Avenue employees is tentatively provided for in the Third Avenue contract.

Taxi Drivers' Gains

The closed shop agreement between the Terminal Systems, Inc., one of the largest taxi fleets in the city, and the Transport Workers Union, went into effect July 14. The contract means guaranteed wage minimums, wage increases and paid vacations for some 1,100 hackmen and garage workers employed by the company.

Negotiations with the Sunshine, Atlas, Liberty and Bell taxi companies, covering some 12,000 employees of the four taxi fleets, are now in process. The TWU also is carrying on negotiations on behalf of 1,800 employees of the New York City Omnibus Corporation.

The Transport Workers Union became sole bargaining agency for the employees of these rapid transit and taxi companies through collective bargaining elections. In all cases the TWU was selected by more than 84 per cent of the employees' votes. It won the I.R.T. election by 95 per cent and the Bell Taxi election by 97 per cent.

Plans are now under way for collective bargaining elections for the 1,200 employees of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company and the 12,000 subway, elevated, trolley and bus employees of the B.-M.T. Corporation.

The Jersey Homestead was a New Deal experiment in self-help cooperatives under Federal aid and supervision. It was part of a much more extensive project sponsored by the so called left wing of the Roosevelt Administration. The project had hardly gotten under way when it was discovered by the conservative elements. The ensuing hue and cry resulted in its curtailment. The Jersey Homestead was one of the few shining lights of the Roosevelt Administration. Together with the T.V.A., it represented the only really worthwhile New Deal endeavors.

As Socialists predicted at the time of the projects were announced, the Roosevelt Administration moved steadily to a more and more conservative and reactionary position. The announcement of the breach between the RA and the Jersey Homestead following the refusal on the part of the RA to supply the operating capital for a garment factory run by the members of the cooperative, is consistent with the administration's policy of retrenchment.

New Deal Insincerity

Benjamin Brown, ex-secretary and spokesman for the cooperators, charged that he "suspected lack of sincerity" on the part of the New Deal officials. This was putting it mildly. The New Deal since its inception, has played fast and loose with the cooperative movement. The record is plain. The Baker Commission to investigate cooperative enterprises in Europe started as a political trick to curry favor among the cooperators and ended in an innocuous report of little value. Considerable pressure was required to force the report into the open. The weak recommendations of the committee failed to receive any serious consideration. The housing program too has been kicked around so long even those most optimistic are beginning to despair of its eventual success. Now comes the break with the self-help cooperatives like the Jersey Homestead.

Fortunately the Consumers Cooperative Movement stepped into the breach and offered its services as an outlet for the products of the Cooperative garment factory sponsored in Hightstown. Similar associations of producers cooperatives and consumers cooperatives in other countries have been successful and it is quite possible therefore that the shift from government subsidy to consumer cooperative outlets may pull the self-help and producers cooperatives out of the doldrums.

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STAGE and SCREEN

Strand Film Indicts Capitalist 'Justice'

"They Won't Forget" Strong Attack Against Lynching

THEY WON'T FORGET, from Ward Greene's novel, "Death in the Deep South"...

By Martin Bernstein Warner Brothers scores a real hit with its presentation of THEY WON'T FORGET at the Strand Theatre.

The picture is based on Ward Greene's novel, "Death in the Deep South," and Mervyn LeRoy's directorial abilities play a major factor in making the dramatization of the Leo M. Frank case worthy of its acclamations.

Stirred to Action District Attorney Claude Griffin, who is so characteristic of the political opportunist of this "sweet land of liberty," is stirred into action by the murder of Mary Clay, at the Buxton Business College.

Now for the victim. The prosecutor knows that he couldn't possibly pin it on that old Colonel Buxton. The negro janitor? Tump Redwine is desperate and terrified. Fear! He knows what the mob rule means to the Negro in the South.

Sybil Hale Gloria Dickson Gleason Otto Kruger Mary Clay Lana Turner Joe Turner Elisha Cook Jr. Tump Redwine Clinton Rosemond Mrs. Hale Elizabeth Risdon Detective Pindar Granville Bates Gov. Mountford Paul Everton Shattuck Clay Trevor Bardette Mrs. Clay Sybil Harris Ransom Clay Wilmer Hines Luther Clay Elliott Sullivan Reporter Frank Faylon Drugstore clerk Eddie Acuff Judge Moore Leonard Mudie Confederate soldiers Harry Davenport, Harry Beresford, Edward McWade.

Griffin without any sign of regret, adds: "I wonder." The film is dramatic, tense, and forceful throughout, and is beyond doubt one of the few great productions of the year.

Jean Harlow In Last Film At Capitol Now

Jean Harlow's last film, "Saraboga," in which she co-starred with Clark Gable, comes to the Capitol Theatre Thursday, July 15 for an election among the 4,500 workers of the city's Independent Subway System.

The Transport Workers Union was affiliated with the International Association of Machinists of the AFL until May 10 of this year when its membership overwhelmingly voted to join the CIO.

Today the TWU has more than 50,000 members in Greater New York and is carrying on an intensive organizing drive throughout the nation.

Secretary Hogan estimated that more than 40,000 transit workers had joined the TWU in various sections of the country, excluding New York, within the past 60 days.

WPA Theatre Issues Report On Activities

The WPA Federal Theatre Project staged 1,863 performances before a total audience of 1,244,516 from April 5 to July 4, 1937, according to a quarterly report issued by the project today.

The report, stressing the community service phase of project activities, reveals that 784,459 persons were admitted free of charge to project productions during the period covered.

The Caravan unit, organized to supply free entertainment in the city's parks and playgrounds, attracted 449,100 persons to its 79 performances since June 1, 1937.

The Community Drama division, established to assist amateur dramatic organizations and to promote appreciation of the living drama, directed the presentation of 464 non-professional performances of plays and pageants.

The Marionette Theatre, catering to needy children from whom no admission is required, gave 384 performances of nine marionette shows, reaching an audience of 127,654.

The project's permanent theatres were attended by 409,643 persons, of which 52,943 represent free admissions. In these theatres, four of which were recently dropped by the project, were seen the WPA productions of "Professor Mamlock," "Power," "The Case of Philip Lawrence," "The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus," the Paul Green plays, "Hymn to the Rising Sun" and "Unto Such Glory," and the twin dance bill, "How Long Brethren?" and "Candide."

'Nothing Sacred' Stars Carole Lombard

Chet De Vito, noted for his wide experience as a sportsman filer, has been awarded a pilot role in Selznick's "Nothing Sacred," the technicolor comedy starring Carole Lombard and Fredric March.

"Nothing Sacred" was scripted for the screen by Ben Hecht and is being directed by William Wellman. Important supporting roles are being handled by Walter Connolly, Charles Winninger and Maxie Rosenbloom.

THEATRE PARTIES

When planning theatre parties, Party and Y.P.S.L. branches are requested to do so through the Theatrical Department of the SOCIALIST CALL. Phone GRamercy 5-8779 or write to Martin Bernstein, Manager, Socialist Call Theatrical Department, 21 East 17th St., New York.

"Fury Over Spain" Portrays Actual Warfare on Screen

By Hal Siegel "Fury Over Spain" now playing at the World Theatre adds to a list of remarkable achievements one more triumph of an embattled working class in Spain.

This is not a story of the entire war. It is produced by the CNT-FAI and is the record, particularly, of the early victories of the Durruti Column, and its fighting in Madrid.

The weakness of the film is to be found in its failure to record the life of the workers behind the lines, carrying on the tasks in factory and field so necessary to eventual victory.

No words can possibly convey the heroism of these workers who sprang to arms in defense of proletarian liberty and a new social order in the words of the commentator.

Then came the siege of Madrid, and six thousand "Friends of Durruti" with their leader went to the capital to assist in the defense. They got into the lines...

Their leader falls. . . . The flags of all parties follow in the cortege. . . . The clenched, upraised fists pay tribute. . . . the slogan, "No Pasaran" rings out. . . .

"Tom Sawyer" Picture In Technicolor

David O. Selznick has announced his last-minute decision to film "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" in technicolor, since natural color will materially enrich the heart-warming scenes of the Mark Twain classic.

The other well known character roles have been lined up as follows: Jackie Moran as Huckleberry Finn, Beulah Bondi as Aunt Polly, Walter Brennan as Muff Potter, Ann Gillis as Becky Thatcher, Victor Jory as Injun Joe and David Jack Holt as Sid Sawyer.

The script for "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" was prepared by John V. A. Weaver. William H. Wright will act as production assistant to Selznick, and United Artists will release the production.

ALL CALL READERS SHOULD SEE "Fury Over Spain" See Heroism of Loyalist Forces. Actual Fighting at Barcelona, Toledo, Madrid, etc. - The Tragedy of Spain Reaches Its Dignity in "FURY OVER SPAIN" - Part of Receipts go to Trade Union Relief for Spain.

Where To Dine COMRADE Louis Linn, formerly with Hammers for the past 11 1/2 years, now located at LOUIS RESTAURANT HOME 207 E. 14TH ST., COOKING. JOHN'S ITALIAN RESTAURANT Lunch and Dinner, Wines and Beer Served. Favorite rendezvous of Eugene Victor Debs. 302 E. 12th St., NEAR 2nd AVE. PRIVATE DINING ROOMS FOR PARTIES. RITZ 27 UNION SQ. (cor. 16th St.) OPEN DAY AND NIGHT DINER Private Dining Room for Ladies and Gentlemen. 5th Ave. Cafeteria and Bar 54 FIFTH AVENUE. The very best food - Most reasonable prices. Large Beer 50. HARTFORD DRUG CO. AND LUNCHEONETTE Co., 17th and Union St. W. Complete Luncheon 25c. Fountain Specials. Prompt Delivery. All S-3200. MONROE CAFETERIA and BAR WINES & LIQUORS BROADWAY AT 17th STREET ALGONQUIN 4-5292 Right Next Door to The Call

THE PULTZER PRIZE PLAY 1936-37 "The Season's Funniest Comedy" - The New Yorker. SAM H. HARRIS presents YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU By MOSS HART and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN BOTH THEATRE 45th ST. WEST OF BROADWAY Evenings, 8:40; Matinees, Wed. and Sat., 2:40 SCIENTIFICALLY AIR-CONDITIONED.

Yes, Common Sense

The "Protectors of Civil Liberties"

The Citizens National Committee, an organization posing as a "protector of civil rights," during the past few months, has literally bombarded newspaper readers with a mass of insinuations designed to undermine public faith in the unionizing work now being carried on by the Committee for Industrial Organization in the steel areas of the United States.

"Common Sense," the title of a full page paid advertisement appearing in the *New York Times* of July 16, the cost of which must have run into thousands of dollars, was filled with just such insinuations. This was but one of hundreds of such advertisements.

The cost of these advertisements runs into big money.

We would like to ask you to use your common sense.

Who pays for these advertisements? The workers of Bethlehem Steel, or the Tom Girdlers of America?

The C. N. C. in Action

The Citizens National Committee says: "We believe in the right to strike and the right to picket, peaceably and within the law . . . But when an unnecessary organizing strike can disrupt the life of a whole community . . . When men are slugged and beaten because they will not join a particular union . . . When the government fails to protect the individual worker against the threats of a lawless minority . . . Then we think the public has a right to protest."

The committee might ask itself this: "We slugged whom at Massillon, Ohio? Was it a "particular union" that fired on its own unarmed men, killing two, and injuring fourteen? Was it a "particular union" that wrecked its own headquarters, invaded the homes of honest citizens, committed acts of vandalism, and arrested one hundred and forty-nine innocent people?"

The answer is plain. The local police and special deputies, acting on orders by Major H. C. Curfey, did that.

But the Citizens National Committee did not protest this

wholesale violation of civil liberties. They protested to the workers, to the very people whose rights had been violated. Is that Common Sense?

No, but it is a sample of the work of the Citizens National Committee.

The "Law and Order League"

At Canton, Ohio, under the guidance of W. H. McHose, former publicity agent for Bethlehem Steel, an organization similar to the Citizens National Committee has sprung up, calling itself the Citizens Law and Order League. At Massillon another organization has as its chairman, J. G. Lester, who recently publicly stated, "Thank God for Tom Girdler."

Tom Girdler is now being questioned by the LaFollette committee.

The working citizens of the United States can expect no help from vigilante groups such as these. On the contrary they can expect persecution.

The Workers Defense League

The organization that does defend the workers is the Workers Defense League. The Workers Defense League is a non-partisan group interested and active in the protection of human rights everywhere.

The Workers Defense League has an investigator in Massillon now, gathering evidence for a trial of the guilty parties. The Workers Defense League furnishes lawyers, raises bail, and gives help to those who cannot afford to pay for it.

The Workers Defense League is the Common Sense League for the preservation of workers' liberties in America.

The Workers Defense League has no millionaire backers. It needs money to carry on its good work. Won't you aid it in helping the workers of America in their struggle for industrial democracy?

Your help is needed! MAIL THE COUPON TODAY! EVERY DOLLAR COUNTS!

"An excellent idea."

Paul Porter, Editor Kenosha Labor, Kenosha, Wisconsin

"You have my whole-hearted authorization for the campaign against the Citizens National Committee. There is no question but that the formation of this nation-wide vigilante group is an ominous menace to the trade union movement."

Joseph M. Jacobs, Chicago Labor Attorney

Among our National Committee are the following:
Mary Fox, Exec. Sec'y, League for Industrial Democracy
Devere Allen, Editor, Notronier News Service
Robert Morss Lovett, University of Chicago
H. L. Mitchell, Sec'y, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union
Norman Thomas, National Chairman, Socialist Party

For further information write to:
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

112 East 19th St., New York City

MR. DAVID L. GLENDENIN, Treasurer,
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE,
112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C.

I enclose \$ _____ as my share toward the financing of the Workers Defense League in its work of defending the working people of America.

I pledge to donate \$ _____ to the League during 1937.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____