

Senate Klan Probe In Tampa Flogging

Stop the Whitewash



Black's Appointment Recalls Shoemaker Murder by Mob

The ghost of Joseph Shoemaker, Socialist, murdered by a Tampa mob, has come back to haunt the Ku Klux Klan.

A probe into the flogging of Shoemaker, together with two of his comrades—Eugene Poulnot and Dr. Samuel J. Rogers—may shortly be placed in the hands of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee.

This investigation is spoken of as the wedge into a thorough examination of the KKK today.

The identification of Justice Hugo L. Black with the organization of hooded terrorists has reawakened interest in the activities of the secret society.

Representative Samuel Dickstein of New York has promised to ask for the investigation at the next session of Congress.

The Shoemaker death, following a savage flogging and tarring of the victim with his two comrades, took place almost two years ago, November 3, 1935, in Tampa.

Attempts Blocked

Attempts to bring the guilty ones to justice have been blocked and delayed by men high in office. The Shoemaker case has become a running sore in the state of Florida.

Behind the personal tragedy of Shoemaker stands the danger of constant unlawful and violent in-



Dr. Samuel J. Rogers, one of the three victims of the Tampa floggings.

terference with the right of labor and unemployed to organize. Poulnot was a WPA worker and Florida President of the Workers' Alliance; Rogers was known as a Socialist.

The Workers' Defense League charges that the same sort of vigilantism is being used against

(Continued on Page Five)

Mob Attacks Southern Tenant Farmers' Union; J. R. Butler Is Slugged

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—J. R. Butler, President of Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, was a victim of a mob attack in the St. Francis, Arkansas, County Court house. E. F. Bunch, prominent planter and deputy sheriff of Forrest City led the mob while Campbell, the County Sheriff, and State Ranger Morris looked on. Butler was slugged and kicked and suffered possible internal injuries.

Mr. Butler was attending the trial of Melvin Swinea, union organizer, who was being arraigned on a framed-up charge growing out of a business deal made in 1935. Swinea had been active in securing higher wages for cotton pickers for the past few weeks, contracting with distant planters for labor at much higher wages than was paid by local planta-

tions. The Court had just passed sentence on him, giving him one year in prison on the trumped-up case and his attorney had served notice of appeal when the attack on Butler began. The Court was still in session.

Governor Wired

When word reached union headquarters in Memphis, H. L. Mitchell, Secretary, wired Governor

Carl Bailey at Little Rock. He was assured later in a telephone conversation with the Governor that the state of Arkansas would act promptly in this case, and, if necessary to protect civil liberty in St. Francis County, would invoke martial law.

In Memphis union officials moved swiftly instructing attor-

neys to prepare civil suits in the United States Court against Sheriff J. C. Campbell and E. F. Bunch, his deputy, and other planters taking part in the attack on the union president.

Series of Attacks

This outbreak of violence is only a part of a series of attacks upon union members and organizers. In Carruthersville,

Missouri, two days ago, T. H. McConnell, local secretary, was beaten up by a band of planters while on the streets of the town. A similar attack was made upon a group of union members leaving a meeting held by the Cooter Missouri Local of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

Mitchell's Protest

Carl E. Bailey
Governor of Arkansas
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mob St. Francis County Planters attacked J. R. Butler, President Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, upon leaving Court room today. Butler appealed to State Ranger No. 38, Morris, for protection and was refused. C. A. Stanfield, Union attorney, still in Forrest City. Won't you act immediately prevent further mob violence and bring these men to justice?

H. L. MITCHELL

Negro-White Delegates At Southern Tenant Meet To Plan Fair Wage Struggle

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union announced the calling of a special convention to be held here in Memphis September 24th, 25th and 26th. The first session will open at 10:00 A. M. Friday morning at the Memphis Labor Temple, 565 Beale Ave.

Colonel Lawrence Westbrook, Special Investigator for the United States

Senate Sub-Committee on Agriculture, has been invited to make the opening address, speaking upon "The World Cotton Market and its Relation to Farm Labor." The closing session on Sunday

afternoon will be given to an address by Mr. Aubrey Williams, WPA Administrator of Washington, D.C. on "The Administration's Program and the Farm Laborer." Mr. Williams is one of the outstanding New Dealers.

According to the Call for the Convention, the delegates will vote on the question of affiliation with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, an affiliate of the CIO which was chartered by John L. Lewis' organization following a Convention in Denver, Colorado, July 9th to 11th. J. R. Butler, President of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, was elected by the Denver Convention as Vice-President of the new International Union.

CIO Affiliation

In the event that the delegates to the Memphis convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union decide to affiliate with the CIO union, they will proceed to set up the District organization to be composed of locals in the states of Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Alabama, Texas, Louisiana and Mississippi.

According to H. L. Mitchell, Executive Secretary, if the delegates vote for affiliation with the CIO Union the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union will retain its present identity and be granted complete autonomy. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union will become one of the major divisions within the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers' Union. In this section jurisdiction will be extended to take in all workers employed in fruit and vegetable canning plants, cotton seed, oil mills, gins and compresses. The basic problem will of course continue to be that of the farm laborer, share-cropper and tenant on the cotton plantation.

It was further stated that the question of greater importance to the members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union than that of affiliation with the CIO was the establishment of a fair and adequate wage scale for picking this year's bumper cotton crop. According to newspaper accounts and reports from the field, Arkansas, Missouri and Mississippi planters are holding meetings for the purpose of setting wages for picking cotton at 65c and 75c per hundred pounds without regard to the wishes of the cotton pickers themselves.

"This convention will have something to say in regard to these extremely low wages," Mitchell said. "The government is paying a subsidy of 3c per pound on cotton to these planters and is guaranteeing a price for cotton that should enable them to pay

\$1.00 to \$1.25 per pounds, and still they are attempting to hold down wages to starvation levels of 1932."

Continuing, he said that the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union had been making rapid strides in its organization work for the past year and was now in a position to enforce its demands.

Negro and White

There will be Negro and White delegates from the cotton plantations of Eastern Arkansas, South-East Missouri, the Mississippi Delta, the black belt of Alabama, the plains of Texas and Oklahoma, and Mexicans from the Rio Grande Valley of Texas; all meeting in Memphis to work out plans for perfecting their organization and to establish decent wage and living standards for the most oppressed and exploited group in all America.

Student Journal Appears

By BOB KELSO

The American Student Union, now launching its second year on the Nation's campuses with a broadened and intensified program for peace activity and security through organization of student workers, the establishment of cooperatives and a closer alignment with the cause of labor including action, announces in the first issue of *The Student Advocate* out October 1 a number of incisive articles dealing with major problems facing students in the world today.

Joseph P. Lash, just returned from three months with the People's Army in Spain, writes of their heroic struggle and of the major part played by the Spanish

students in the fight against Fascism.

Chu Tong, Chinese student, presents an analysis of China's struggle against the Japanese invasion and tells the story of the Chinese student movement which has consistently fought the inroads of the Japanese military machine and striven to awaken China to a sense of national unity. The ASU, through its National Executive Committee, has extended its warmest sympathies to the students of China and pledged its fullest cooperation in assisting them in meeting the crisis.

John L. Lewis gives his greeting to the Class of '41, and charges the undergraduates with their responsibility in a tumultuous world scene which brings their interests in close alignment with those of organized labor.

Other leading articles will include a discussion of the NYA cuts and their disastrous effect on students struggling to get an education, a feature on campus cooperatives, and a portrait of President Colligan of Hunter College.

The Fascist Axis



Symbol of the Italo-German alliance; Nazi soldiers march in Mussolini's lands

Back Detroit Labor

DETROIT, Mich.—Support to the United Automobile Workers Union political candidates will be given by the Socialist Party in this election, according to a statement issued by Ben Fischer, executive secretary of the party's Wayne County organization. Efforts of the Socialists will be devoted to promoting the labor candidates; no separate Socialist candidates will be in the race.

Patrick H. Obrien, labor candidate for mayor in Detroit.

Who Wants A Party Of Labor

The following item is reprinted from the Buffalo Express-Courier. No comment is necessary:

"The Socialist Call is strongly in favor of a Labor party along the lines of the English party of that name and calls upon John L. Lewis to join the Socialists.

"On the other hand, the People's Lobby, through its executive secretary, Mr. Marsh, warns against alliance with any political party, contending that such a course ultimately will extinguish labor's rights and establish a political dictatorship.

"The Daily Worker, organ of the Communist party, is as strongly against a Labor party as the Socialist Call is for it. The Worker urges the formation of a Popular Front along the Tugwellian lines, which would include CIO's Non-Partisan League, the farmers and the Roosevelt Democrats.

"What The Daily Worker evidently plans is the capture of the Democratic party. 'To urge,' it says, 'John L. Lewis and Labor's Non-Partisan League to turn their backs on the Democratic party and form a new national party at this time is to urge them to break all ties with the progressive masses and leaders of the Democratic party, and to isolate the labor movement from its allies.'

"To this the Socialist Call replies that 'the Communist party, once a revolutionary organization, is now little more than Roosevelt's left hand.'

"Thus, there are three roads open to 'The American Labor Movement.' It can take the advice of the Socialist Call and form a new party; or it can follow the Daily Worker and cast its lot wholly with the Roosevelt party; or it can hold to the old A.F. of L. policy of keeping politically independent of all parties."

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Black, Lehman, Wheeler And LaGuardia Typical Examples of "Liberalism"

By GUS TYLER

In the political closet of virtually every liberal there hangs a skeleton. Now and then somebody takes that skeleton out and rattles it. But that skeleton is always there; it is the capitalist ancestor of the liberal.

Justice Hugo Lafayette Black is a "liberal." By that word we mean that he has shown a readiness to go along with Roosevelt and labor in getting such

legislation as meets the most immediate demands of the trade union movement at present. Hugo Black is not, and does not consider himself to be, the representative of the working class in a struggle of classes against the capitalist. Hugo Black is the representative of a section of the old Bourbon rulers of the South, the old slave-holders. Though he has risen from the ranks rapidly, he has done so as the willing errand boy of the ruling class Bourbons. He is one of those representatives who has displayed a willingness to make certain concessions to labor.

There are many links between Black and the ruling class. The Ku Klux Klan membership is but one of them.

Because it is to the advantage of some of Roosevelt's opponents to rattle this skeleton in the liberal closet, they do so. But by so doing reactionaries of America are not telling us what it is that separates Hugo Black from them but what it is that unites them with the Ku Kluxer.

The kind words of John D. M. Hamilton, G.O.P. chairman, of Senator Connally, of Texas, and even of Carter Glass, who "didn't know of Black's Ku Kluxism" show the true attitude of the reactionaries when Black's K.K.K. skeleton is heard.

The present Black fiasco—however it is decided—once more reveals the weakness of capitalist liberalism. Capitalist liberalism and capitalist reaction are children of one womb.

Lehman and Wheeler

Herbert Lehman and Burton K. Wheeler are "liberals." They are liberals in the same sense as Hugo Black. They, too, while showing a friendliness to the demands of farmers and workers are not the true and tried spokesmen for the masses; they are ruling class "friends of the people;" but they are not the people itself.

Wheeler was the man who ran for Vice-President, together with the elder La Follette in 1924. The La Follette-Wheeler campaign, with its great trade union and Socialist backing, appeared as a threat to the old two party system.

Herbert Lehman was the gubernatorial candidate in New York State, drafted by the Democratic Party national machine, to insure the Roosevelt election. Lehman had the most hearty backing of the American Labor Party in the state.

Wheeler and Lehman were "friends of labor," as friends go in politics, labor leaned heavily upon them.

Then came the Supreme Court issue. The high court, for many years the backbone of capitalist conservatism, was to be liberalized by new appointments. The skeleton stalked out of the liberal closet again. Wheeler turned against the court-reform; he led the open fight in Washington. And then—Lehman turned upon the court-plan; he did so at the last minute, when his support or opposition counted most heavily.

"Liberal" LaGuardia

Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia, of New York City is a "liberal." Of the four men we mention—Lehman, Wheeler, Black and LaGuardia—the last is probably the most "liberal" of the group.



Mayor La Guardia carried the New York primaries. Once he had labor's backing safely in his pocket, the wily politician turned around and endorsed New York's comic-opera Hitler, George U. Harvey, Borough President of Queens.

He holds membership in the American Labor Party it is said; he is a member of a trade union; for many years he was the hub of the liberal wheel in Washington.

In the New York City municipal campaign this year he has the backing of the A.L.P., the Communist Party, and the A.F. of L.

Up to the present LaGuardia's skeleton was wrapped in cotton, so it wouldn't rattle too loudly. Of course, we knew the bones were still there. If Hugo Black has his Klan, LaGuardia has his Italian Fascists. While the Mayor of New York made much show of his opposition to Hitler (to get the Jewish vote), he had very little to say of Mussolini (to get the Italian vote). Indeed none other than LaGuardia put in his appearance at Madison Square Garden to help raise money for the Fascist "Red Cross" in the Italo-Ethiopian massacre.

Skeleton Rattles

But this week, LaGuardia's skeleton rattles very loudly, quite disturbingly.

On September 19, 1937, LaGuardia declares to the New York electorate:

"I want to put an end to political gossip on this subject. I am endorsing George U. Harvey for Borough President of Queens and will campaign for him. I am confident that he will get the Fusion endorsement."

Those who live in New York City know very well, only too well, what this means.

George U. Harvey! This is the pro-Fascist swine who called upon the city to arm every policeman with three-feet of rubber hose to apply to the back or "radicals" and "agitators."

George U. Harvey! This is the man who for years has been identified with all the rotten corruption that has been the Queens counter-

part of Tammany's misrule in Manhattan, the hard boiled Republican machine.

George U. Harvey! The personal embodiment of municipal fifth, social debasement, and political sadism.

George U. Harvey now gets the personal backing of the "liberal"—LaGuardia.

How this "liberal"—just like Wheeler, Lehman, and Black—spurns his labor supporters. Just a couple of weeks after Harvey's gangster-rule speech, just a couple of days after the A.L.P. refuses to back Harvey, LaGuardia turns his back on the trade unions and reaches out a hand of comradeship to—George U. Harvey.

Spurns Labor

Even before the election is over, LaGuardia lets New York labor know how little his political decisions shall be determined by the American Labor Party. New York's Mayor has made it very clear to labor that he shall do as he pleases, now that the primaries are over; he shall even go to bed with Harvey.

From now until election, LaGuardia will give part of his energies toward building one of the most corrupt, and undoubtedly the most reactionary, political machine ever seen in the Borough of Queens. Why? Because LaGuardia is not the representative of the working class; he is not the candidate of a politically independent labor movement; he is a capitalist politician, tied by bonds of political blood to the capitalist parties.

LaGuardia's "betrayal" is not a personal weakness; it is a political habit; it is the skeleton in the liberal's closet.

Downtown King's Branch S. P. regrets the Death of Comrade Louis Freier Veteran Member of the Party

Thomas Hits LaGuardia For Supporting "Hitler Harvey, King of Queens"

Norman Thomas, in a statement issued at Socialist headquarters, described Mayor LaGuardia's endorsement of Col. George Harvey for reelection as President of Queens as "incredible."

He called attention to the fact that Mayor LaGuardia is the candidate of the American Labor Party, which Col. Harvey once denounced as "Communitic."

"Socialist insistence that labor should have its own candidate and that Republican endorsement of LaGuardia could be purchased at too great a price is confirmed by this episode," Mr. Thomas said.

The full text of Mr. Thomas' statement follows:

"The news that Mayor LaGuardia has endorsed Col. George Harvey for re-election as Borough President of Queens is incredible. If true and uncorrected it will come as a great shock to thousands of New York workers and to none. I should think, more than to the leaders of the American Labor Party, who were the first to nominate Mayor LaGuardia.

"Potential Fascist"

"Col. Harvey is a potential fascist. Weakness, not intention, has kept him from becoming a fascist danger of real magnitude. He has indulged repeatedly in the cheapest sort of talks which confuse patriotism with red-baiting.

"In a public speech at the Hippodrome last May the Colonel recommended the use of a rubber hose by police in dealing with Communist and other agitators. He refused to allow the Communist Party the use of the Jamaica Town Hall. He proposed a state sedition law which would have prohibited the circulation of Communist speeches or otherwise.

"By Communistic the Colonel means what he doesn't like. He has not only denounced the American Labor Party as Communist, but also the National Administration. For some of these offenses Mayor LaGuardia himself has rebuked him. The Socialist Party has correctly styled the present Borough President, 'Hitler Harvey, the King of Queens.' It must be remembered that this fascist patriot had a very narrow escape from being removed from office on

charges of malfeasance. In effect he was not vindicated by the Governor, but was merely kept in office because there was not enough proof presented against him to warrant such drastic action.

Vote Socialist

"Socialist insistence that labor should have its own candidate and that Republican endorsement of LaGuardia could be purchased at too great a price is confirmed by this episode. It ought to be obvious to everybody why Socialist desire for cooperation with the American Labor Party cannot go to the extent of an endorsement of a man on its ticket who will endorse George Harvey.

"Enemies of fascism will support Leonard Lazarus, Socialist Candidate for Borough President of Queens against Col. Harvey."

ALP Rejects Harvey; Backs Dewey, Morris, McGoldrick, Isaacs, and Ingersoll

The American Labor Party of New York has virtually completed its list of endorsements for the municipal campaign.

The ALP has refused to endorse the pro-Fascist candidate for Borough President of Queens and has issued an attack upon him, and has issued an attack upon him.

The ALP has endorsed, however, Thomas Dewey, Joseph D. McGoldrick, Newbold Morris, Stanley Isaacs, Raymond V. Ingersoll. With the exception of Queens and Richmond Borough Presidents, the ALP has now given endorsements covering all the important posts in the city. With the exception of Isador Nagler, ALP candidate for the Bronx, all the other above mentioned endorsements went to Republicans. The ALP is withholding endorsement of Palma for the moment a Richmond Borough President to ascertain Palma's loyalty to LaGuardia.

Socialists Demand Low-Cost Housing For Wisconsinites

MILWAUKEE.—With workers facing an acute housing shortage, the Socialist Party swung into action and issued a call for a conference on public low-cost housing to be held at the Plankinton Hotel, Saturday, October 16.

Max Raskin, Socialist Party national executive committeeman, is chairman of the provisional committee. Under his direction the committee has issued hundreds of invitations to trade unions, civic organizations, welfare agencies, racial groups and labor and fraternal organizations. Delegates representing thousands of Milwaukeeans have signified their intention to come.

The Socialist Party has wired Governor LaFollette urging him to include the subject in the call for a special session of the legislature. Assemblyman Ben Rubin, Socialist, had presented a housing bill at the regular session, which adjourned July 2, when the governor cooperating with a coalition of reactionary progressives, Democrats and Republicans forced adjournment leaving to die important labor and farm legislation. Members of the Farmer Labor Pro-

gressive Federation, with which the Socialist Party is affiliated, fought the premature adjournment.

A.F.L.-C.I.O. Join

In response to a request from Raskin, the Federated Trades Council A.F.L. and the Milwaukee Industrial Union (C.I.O.) Council have wired the Governor urging him to include housing in the special session business.

The conference according to Raskin will favor a state bill to permit setting up local housing authorities. The Governor is known to favor state authority. The present state housing act terminates September 27. During the two years of its existence no action of any sort was taken to alleviate the suffering of workers from private real estate speculators and landlords who have been steadily raising rents.

Pressure of the conference is expected to secure passage of a revised Rubin bill.

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In Defence of China

The war that now rages in the Far East is not a conflict between two imperialist powers. In no sense of the word, can one speak of China as an imperialist country with war-like aims against Japan.

China is a backward country, which has not yet been industrialized, which has not yet developed to the point where it feels compelled to seek foreign markets and spheres of influence for capital investment.

The present war has been carried into China by Japanese imperialism. And for that reason the resistance given to the Japanese aggression by China is, from the Chinese viewpoint, a war against imperialism.

Needless to say, a repulse of the Japanese forces by China would not end imperialist exploitation in that country. There would still be the hold of French and British and American capital.

So closely is the rule of the Chinese wealthy classes intertwined with the interests of foreign capital that it will be virtually impossible for the Chinese masses to liberate themselves from imperialist oppression without simultaneously dispossessing their own Chinese ruling class. Because this is so, Socialists would like to see the independent forces of the workers—unions, peasant organizations, workers' troops—strengthened in the course of the war against Japan, so that the war shall not end with the defeat of Japanese aggression but shall move on to the abolition of all imperialism and exploitation in China.

Whether or not there is such a revolutionary movement in China, however, does not essentially change the fact that there is now being waged a struggle against Japanese imperialism.

In such a struggle, Socialists are not neutral. Socialists are anti-imperialist. This anti-imperialism is not limited to the utterance of pious phrases against international exploitation by finance capital. Socialist anti-imperialism also necessitates an active—oftimes military—struggle against imperialism, such as is now taking place in China.

Socialists, therefore, call upon the workers to throw their strength to the side of China in the present struggle.

Such a call for aid to China does not involve a demand upon the US Government to intervene actively against Japan. To do so, would not only mean to involve the US in a war, but in a war which would strengthen US imperialism, would strengthen dictatorship in America, would entail suppression of the workers at home.

But just as workers must oppose an active intervention on the part of the US in behalf of China, so must workers oppose any act of the government which tends to injure the cause of China.

And the present action of the government in preventing American ships from carrying supplies to the Far East seriously injures the cause of China. It is no accident that the Japanese Government hailed this action and that the Chinese Government deplored it.

It is especially hypocritical for the US Government to claim that it had to do this in order to carry out the Neutrality Law. For weeks and months the US Government withheld the application of this law, despite the fact that there was obvious and very open war in China. For weeks and months, the US Government carried through an international farce, proclaiming that there really was no war in China. For weeks and months Roosevelt forgot the Neutrality Law, because he was not quite certain how its application would affect America's imperial interests in the Far East.

And now, of a sudden, the President remembers some aspect of the law—although he forgets other aspects of the law.

In this Far East conflict a direct and heavy burden falls upon the shoulders of the workers, especially in the Maritime Union. Theirs is the task of halting all shipping that would aid Japan: to do this by strike action.

Workers' sanctions against Japan!

The lifting of the Government blockade against China!



AT THE FRONT



By NORMAN THOMAS

The overwhelming mass of American youth, even the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and we presume, the American Legionnaires are saying: we don't want to be drawn into war in the Far East or anywhere else.

But meanwhile there is yet no well-organized popular boycott of Japanese goods, no well-organized action by the workers against the production of goods for Japan useful for war, no application by the government of the neutrality ordained by law.

There is a makeshift ruling of the President that American ships must not carry munitions. As I write a headline says that the United States will cooperate with the League of Nations on the Far Eastern question, at least to the extent of sending an observer to its conference, a cooperation which is dangerous, as certain peace societies have pointed out, except on the basis of a previous declaration of neutrality.

Workers' sanctions may be reasonably effective without involving the government of the capitalist United States in war. The government of the United States together with other capitalist governments can probably impose no sanctions on Japan successfully except military sanctions; that is to say, they must be ready to go to war. The only alternative would be an offer of trade facilities and access to raw materials which would compensate Japan for giving up her dream of empire. It is not a likely alternative. Americans who mean business about keeping out of war want to face these facts.

CHINA AND SANCTIONS

The Chinese have made a great point that the President's proclamation treats the innocent like the guilty and gives Japan an advantage over China. This is truer of the President's partial embargo limited merely to the transport of American arms in American ships than it would be of a complete neutrality proclamation which would apply to loans, etc. As a matter of fact, neutrality or no neutrality Japan has an immense advantage over China. She has ships, factories, and poor as she may be, more money available for the purchase of supplies than China.

A neutrality proclamation would work to the relative disadvantage of China only if the alternative to a neutrality proclamation is insistence by the United States of its right to ship arms and supplies to China at any cost. Doubtless that is what the Chinese want, and one can hardly blame them. Is it what Americans want? A Chinese general a year or two ago told me frankly that the United States would have to fight Japan and the sooner the better.

The plain truth is that insistence on our right to ship supplies to China is quite likely to mean war. Is it worth war? Would not such war inevitably be a war about trade with ideals only for the window-dressing? I for one want no war. The only sanctions that will help China are the sanctions of the working masses.

The government should put into effect its neutrality law, imperfect as that law may be. This is not a policy of isolation in an objectionable sense. It must be remembered that we socialists who urge this policy have long demanded a genuine international cooperation in all that makes for peace. It is nonsense to believe that a capitalist nation which

has failed in this cooperation will succeed in idealistic cooperation for noble ends in an infinitely disastrous war.

TERROR IN ARKANSAS

Just after I had been assured in Arkansas how much more civil liberty there was and how much safer were organizers of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, came the news of an attack in the courthouse on President Butler of the Union. Fortunately he was not seriously hurt, and according to my advice the Governor has promised to supply protection.

If he keeps that promise the situation in Arkansas will be better than the situation in Georgia or in Missouri.

From both states have come accounts of planters armed with guns who keep Negroes, yes and white workers, in the field forbidding them to leave or to take higher than .60 or .75 cents a hundred. The notion that the United States, a capitalist nation which tolerates this sort of thing, is in a position to go crusading round the world is absurd. Let our advocates of collective security begin by providing a little decent security for these sharecroppers and field hands.

FDR AND THE COURT

President Roosevelt on Constitution Day made a very intelligent speech about the Constitution and the Court and the layman's point of view. The more pity, then, that he did not begin making such speeches a year or so earlier and draw up a plan for a constitutional amendment to end government by judicial oligarchy. Instead he let matters drift until after election and then came out with his proposal to reform the Court by enlarging it.

He himself showed up the weakness of that idea as no other man could. First, he was committed to appoint Joe Robinson to the very first vacancy in the Court. There could scarcely have been a worse appointment. And that was the idea of the man who was going to improve the Court by changing the personnel. Death removed Senator Robinson before the President had to carry out his political bargain.

Next, the President as a smart bit of politics nominated Senator Hugo Black of Alabama. He had stood for pretty advanced labor legislation, he was a Southerner and a Senator. Therefore he could be easily confirmed.

It now appears that neither the President nor the Department of Justice made any investigation at all of the stories which were flying around everywhere that Senator Black had been a member of the Ku Klux Klan and had never repudiated it. In the name of the Socialist Party I asked for an investigation of this charge and of Senator's alleged prejudice against Negroes. The answer was not investigation but confirmation.

And now the storm has broken. Judge Black has been exposed in all the ridiculous folly and the dangerous fascism of a member of the Ku Klux Klan. He has made neither denial nor explanation. Apparently he deceived the President as well as the public in suppressing the fact that he was the holder

of a gold certificate of life membership in the K.K.K.

BLACK AND THE KLAN

Now it is quite likely that Senator Black in his heart no longer agrees with the Klan. He was politically ambitious and it was expedient to join that accursed organization. But what trust can we put in a man as judge who is thus moved by political expedience. If he was a Klansman by conviction he is as unfit for the Supreme Court as Adolph Hitler. If he is a Klansman by policy he is utterly unworthy of the dignity and honor of the Court.

It is quite possible that he might lean over backward and repudiate the Klan in action, never having repented of being a member in words. But this is a dangerous thing and we have no right to put our trust in it. It is quite possible, in fact, that other members of the Klan, yes, even the Klan itself, may become in a certain way radical; that is to say, anti-Wall Street. There is a lot of anti-Wall Street feeling in the South where the Klan is reviving and it is the tradition of incipient fascist organizations to talk radically against big business.

But whatever happens in terms of half-baked economic theory, the Klan will always incarnate a vicious type of prejudice which will curse the world. No man is fit to be judge who does not condemn the Klan and the intolerance which it incarnates.

Altogether the appointment of Black to the Supreme Court was the President's worst political blunder. It is a blunder at least partly to be explained in terms of his having chosen to begin with the wrong method. There is a justification for dealing with the Supreme Court by packing it, but only as a last resort. The first thing to have tried was to shear it of its oligarchic power by constitutional amendment.

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Miners in Illinois Undertake Joint Action for Relief

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL
National Labor Secretary, Socialist Party, U.S.A.

GILLESPIE, Ill.—Illinois Miners made important and hopeful Labor history in this mining center on September 12th at the Miners' Relief (from Mechanization and Unemployment) Conference. One hundred fifty-eight delegates from 45

United Mine Workers Locals, 9 Progressive Miners Locals and 10 locals of the I.W.A. met in day long session in the first friendly joint action of the two Illinois Miners Unions since the split in Illinois Miners ranks just five years ago.

Immediate results were:
(1) a general declaration outlining the problem of the miner in the face of the march of mechanization and laying down the principle of socialization of not only mines but all industry as the basis of any complete solution;

(2) the launching of a miners conference movement on mechanization, eventually to be expanded into a national affair, rallying around an intense drive for the six hour day without reduction in pay coupled with the two fifteen minute rest periods daily in all mechanized mines and the annual two weeks paid vacation;

(3) the recognition of the Workers Alliance as an integral part of the main labor movement;

(4) the establishment of a permanent joint machinery including a general Continuities Committee and a planning and research board with equal representation from the United Mine Workers and the Illinois Workers Alliance.

Healing Wounds

Far beyond these immediate results were the effects in healing the wounds of the five-year mine union civil war, marked with bloodshed and tragic division in the Illinois Labor Movement. The Conference laid at rest the fear suspicion and hatred fostered for selfish and anti-labor interests, which even a year ago would have made impossible the holding of a conference including 124 official delegates from United Mine Workers locals in this stronghold and birthplace of the Progressive Miners of America now aligned with the AFL in the new division in the American Labor Movement undreamed of five years ago when Illinois Miners rose in rebellion against violation of confidence and union democracy by the national and district officials of the United Mine Workers then at the lowest point in its history nationally.

The success of the Conference signaled a marked victory for Socialist trade union policy as applied by the leadership of Local No. 1 of the Progressive Miners, President Jock Fisher, Secretary William Fulton, Mike Campion, Andy Steed and the whole list of rank and file Socialists and syndicalists in Local No. 1.

As contrasted with the false start verbal appeal for "unity" launched by the Communists who held a secret conference in a hotel bedroom and then issued a publicity release demanding unconditional unity of the miners within the United Mine Workers without reference to the real and continuing grievances of the Illinois miners against the undemocratic conduct of the UMWA, the Socialist and associated generally progressive or syndicalist element in Local No. 1 proceeded along the lines of miner unity in action and

reconstitution of a single miners union on the basis of genuine union democracy, unity and democracy to march hand in hand.

Local 1 Leads

In pursuance of this policy the leadership of Local No. 1 rendered every possible aid to AFL strikes when the reactionaries in the Progressives were seeking to isolate their union from the general labor movement embraced in the AFL and when the reactionary elements in the Progressive Miners swung the union to affiliation with the AFL to fight the CIO, the Socialists and genuine progressives of Local No. 1 insisted on continued expression of solidarity with the struggles of CIO unions and poured out thousands of dollars for strike aid and for solidarity with the Spanish workers beyond the seas. Confronted with the attempt of the operators to use the division in the miners' ranks to hammer down conditions, Local No. 1 fought back successfully with the longest miners stay down strike in all labor history.

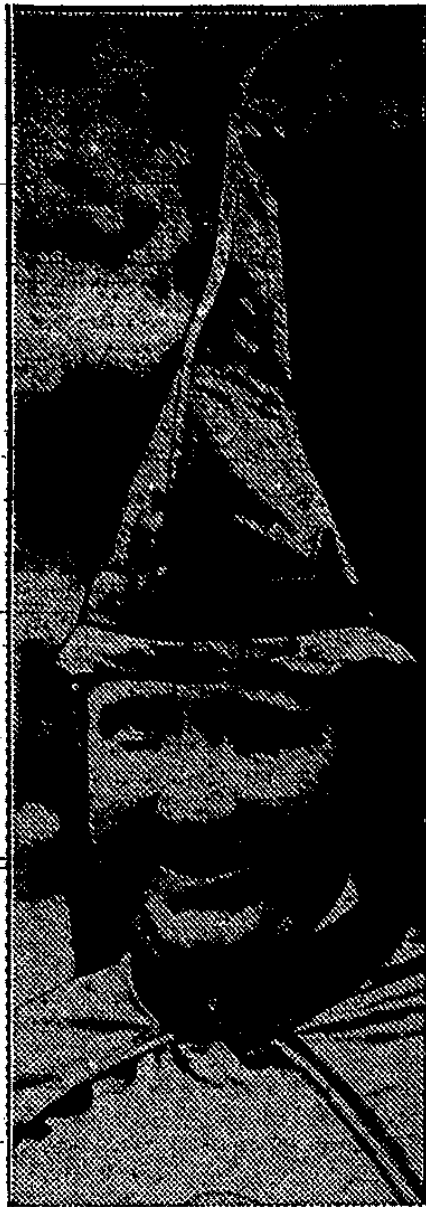
The Communist policy of unconditional unity and hiring out their well known people as paid functionaries of the United Mine Workers, to denounce the reactionary leadership of the state officials of the Progressive Miners while remaining discreetly silent about any solution of the complaints of the miners against UMWA policies state and national merely consolidated the rank and file of the Progressive Miners around the state leaders and their reactionary anti-CIO, anti-Union policies.

The Gillespie leadership, rank-and-file working miners, themselves refused to be silent about a wrong policy whether they found it in their own organization or in the United Mine Workers. When the Communists pled with the rebellious miners to look upon the CIO as the personification of John L. Lewis as an individual and fed fuel to the attacks of the reactionaries of the PMA on the CIO, the Socialists urged upon their miner brethren that the CIO was far bigger and more important than any one man or his policies and appealed to the principle of support by miners of the principle of industrial union organization without regard to personalities.

Gillespie Decision

The decision between the two policies was rendered at Gillespie, September 12th when it was shown that it was possible to unite the miners in action, to wear away old bitterness and hatred in so doing while awaiting the solution of the division in the miners' ranks on the basis of equal attention to the need of unity and democracy in the union.

In continuing stupidity the Communists tried to swing the next meeting to the state capital in Springfield and warp its significance into shallow legislative lobbying channels, but the proposal of the spokesmen of Local No. 1 that the next Conference be held in West Frankfort in the heart of United Mine Workers ter-



Hiram W. Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. Let us see what the Wizard has to say about the Tampa floggings and about Justice Hugo L. Black.

ritory and the mining field where mechanization has worked its worst havoc carried. By this measure the old bogey that Progressive Miners dare not venture in fear of their lives into UMWA territory will be laid as was the counter bogey that UMWA men could not go into Progressive territory like Gillespie.

The newspapers of the state blazoned forth the story of the joint conference on every front page with full appreciation of its significance in terms of labor unity. If the policies initiated by the small group of advanced workers in Gillespie continue to be followed, a real unity of miners in one union will grow and on a sound and lasting basis and the entire labor movement in the central west will take on new strength and militancy. Socialists are proud of the Gerry Allards, Jack Fishers and the score of other Socialist mine workers who have played this splendid role.

Workers Alliance Hits Fake Count Of Unemployed

WASHINGTON (FP).—Declaring that the proposed "voluntary registration" census of unemployed is inadequate and bound to lead to under-estimation of the actual number, the Workers' Alliance put forth a counter proposal for a comprehensive count to be conducted by a National Census Board.

The proposal was embodied in a statement presented to President Roosevelt by David Lasser, president of the Alliance, in a visit to the White House. Lasser conferred with the President shortly before John Bigger, Toledo glass manufacturer, came to the White House to accept the job of conducting a one-day registration of the unemployed.

Hitting at the proposed registration method, the Alliance declared that the "American people are not trained or given to registering. It is a matter of record that on primary days only a fraction of the voters of any party register and it is notorious that even in hotly contested elections hardly more than 60 to 70% of the voters go to the polls."

The Alliance warned that results of the unemployment census will be an important factor in determining future relief and recovery policies. "The reactionary forces of this nation, who are opposing with increasing vehemence all liberal legislation, base their position in part upon the claim that unemployment has been reduced to almost normal figures, and that the emergency as such is over," the Alliance statement said.

"An accurate census of the unemployed, which would show the character and extent of unemployment, would not only serve to discredit these reactionary forces but would serve likewise to stimulate the American public to the need for further progressive legislation and recovery measures," it continued.

Want Correct Count

Lasser told the President that it was the hope of the Alliance that a census would be taken that would actually reveal the extent and character of unemployment, the causes for unemployment and a statistical analysis of the effects upon millions of people of changing industrial and economic conditions.

"We should like to express our

opposition to any method of registration which leaves in doubt the question as to whether all of the unemployed have been counted," Lasser said, "or which is done under such a limitation of funds as to exclude information necessary to an intelligent analysis of the problem. Certainly a voluntary registration cannot answer the question of how many are unemployed for no one will know whether the number who have registered is 60, 70, or 80% of the unemployed."

The census proposed by the Alliance would be under the direction of a National Census Board composed of representatives of labor, farmers, public and the unemployed, would cover the entire country, would be preceded by an educational campaign as to the need for the count, and would have the results checked by a door-to-door sample census.

Whatever method is employed in taking the census, however, the Workers' Alliance "will cooperate to the full extent of our organization to ensure the maximum possible success under the given conditions," Lasser said.

Senate Klan Probe

(Continued from Page One) workers attempting to organize in the agricultural fields.

The Socialist Party, the Workers' Alliance and the Workers' Defense League have been unwilling to let this case rest. The guilty must be exposed. The broadest nation-wide publicity must be given to the Tampa investigation, for underneath the thin layer of legal white-wash is the black and bloody hand of the reactionary forces in the South.



GAS MASKS—Chancellor Hitler of Germany said recently, at the Nazi congress in Nuremberg, that Germany had no designs on anybody. Nevertheless, like most European nations, Germany prepares for a war emergency. Above, an officer of the army instructs children in Berlin how to adjust their new gas masks. The government recently decreed that all persons should have masks, furnishing them free to those too poor to buy them.

Young Socialists Reply To Trotskyite Slanders

By Milt Friedman

In the August 18 issue of the Trotskyist organ, "Socialist Appeal," there appeared an "answer" to the news article on the National Convention of the Y.P.S.L. and the statement by Al Hamilton, National Secretary, on the elimination of the splitters from the League.

Just as the speeches of the Trotskyist leaders before the N.E.C. meeting in Philadelphia, which preceded the League convention, the Appeal article is unconcerned with political questions and shies clear of the issues raised and discussed by Yipsel leaders in Philadelphia and in the Hamilton article. Once again, the Trotskyists cover up their sectarian isolationist policies with a mass of technicalities.

Technicalities are important, but not to the exclusion of politics. Having discussed the latter in previous statements, let us deal with the technical problems raised by the Trotskyists.

How Many Delegates?

The Hamilton statement mentions the fact that approximately 40 delegates remained with Erber when he consummated the split, and the "Appeal" waxes indignant at this "understatement." Perhaps the Trotskyists had 4,000 delegates, but only about 40 of them registered with the credentials committee.

There is no doubt that they had a few more than that number entitled to seats at the convention. And at their own private convention they had many more by seating Alex Wollod, of Philadelphia and people from Brooklyn as delegates from California. The number was increased still more when they did on a mass scale precisely what they charge the Y.P.S.L. with doing: seating delegates who represent no one but themselves. Thus one girl was informed that she was a delegate although in her circle in Camden she had received two votes, her own and one other. These practices account for "104" delegates.

This comrade by the way, received a letter from the Appeal secretary in Philadelphia that was written days before the opening of the convention stating that she was to come as a "delegate" to the convention, which began August 30 and ended September 5. (The League Convention was September 2-5) This letter is conclusive proof of the intention of the Appeal leadership to hold a private Trotskyist Youth Convention at all costs.

"Hamilton admits that the Appeal had a conclusive majority in the entire country." Hamilton does nothing of the sort. In words quoted in the Appeal article itself, Hamilton states that "the elimination of the large New York delegation might have given the Appeal a bare majority." There was a rather even division outside New York, but the regularly elected New York delegates including the Trotskyists, gave the overwhelming majority to us, not to the Trotskyists, and that is the inescapable reason for the Trotskyist attempt to gerrymander the entire convention by keeping the New York delegates out of the convention so that their minority would control. This, perhaps, is not gerrymandering, Comrade Erber, but "honest," "democratic," "revolutionary" politics!

The Philadelphia Issue

Here is an example of how Appeal's "revolutionary truth" asserts itself: "Twelve (delegates) came from Philadelphia representing 44 people out of the 65 who voted." Those 12 delegates as the Appeal well knows and as the comrades in Philly who should be somewhat familiar with the situation can testify, represent a membership of more than 100 in eight circles according to stamp sales. And maybe six or seven will join the Trotskyist youth group headed by Erber and Gould. (If the anonymous author of the ar-

icle in the Socialist Appeal wishfully thinks that this is "wish-thinking" he should journey to that city and see what was accomplished by Erber's months of factional work there).

Discouragement

"They gathered in an air of discouragement" and the right and center combined to defeat a left minority of seven on Spain," are some of the choice bits of gossip in the Appeal article. This may make good reading for Belgian Bolshevik-Leninists, but it fools neither Yipsels nor rank and file Appealites who have had abundant evidence of the spirit and enthusiasm which not only dominated our convention but is being daily translated into action in every League section. (It was not discouragement which made possible the collection of a fund of \$1,200 at the convention).

And you author of the Appeal article, don't worry about the "seven" whose amendment to the Spanish resolution was not accepted, for they along with all other comrades are gratified with the political organizational level of our League. And for that matter, we are informed that even the Trotskyites have their troubles for the right wing at the Appeal convention defeated the left wing, which did not want to send material aid to Spain. And is it true that the right wing position on student work will prevail until Gould mobilizes his forces to put across his own "pure" line.

We held that your followers were "worried" because they did not want to leave the League and be dragged into the 10-year old orbit of Trotskyist sectarianism. You deny it? Then explain the desertions of former followers who are worried and disgusted enough to leave your ranks. Explain then why you felt such drastic action as the asked-for expulsions of 11 leading Appealite Yipsels was deemed necessary by you just a week before the convention if it were not an attempt to whip the rank and file into line.

Organic Unity With Y.C.L.

Another indication of how you spread our "revolutionary truth" is the rumor first circulated by Trotskyist leaders that the Y.P.S.L. was planning organic unity with the Y.C.L. Despite the fact that the Trotskyist leaders knew the impossibility of our revolutionary League amalgamating with the Y.C.L. they used this as they have their other manufactured evidences of the "centrism" of the Y.P.S.L. What was discussed between leading Yipsels and YCLers in Philadelphia was not organic unity, but possibilities for united actions on specific questions and on a minimum program and elementary revolutionary principle. At this meeting, the Y.C.L. was informed that the Y.P.S.L. would not tolerate expulsion drives in the student and trade union movements

against the Trotskyists or any other working class groups with which we disagreed.

Our League will have neither the time nor the patience to deal with the petty distortions of our position, and the misrepresentations masked in non-political charges which have featured Appeal attacks in the past. We have other and more important work to do.

Whither Trotsky Youth

We predict that the Trotskyist youth group small as it now is, will grow smaller. The labor contacts acquired through the S.P. and Y.P.S.L. will vanish. Those comrades who have mistakenly felt duty bound to follow their maneuvering caucus leaders out of the Y.P.S.L. will leave the political movement in disgust, as some have, and more will rejoin our revolutionary Socialist youth organization.

Do you of the Socialist Appeal think this is wish-thinking? That was the correct term to apply to your dreams embodied in Gould's speech at the N.E.C. meeting when he said that our League would "disintegrate, to the C.P. or join the Lovestonites." That was a dream because Gould, in his ranting, like the other Appealites discussed technicalities and made no attempt to present a political basis for his claims.

We, on the other hand, not only have presented our political analysis of your movement and your organizational tactics, but we also have abundant proof in history. And we state that the new Trotskyite group will be able to grow as little as did the Spartacus Youth League, which was dissolved because it could not grow.

Your Sectarianism which led you out of the Socialist movement logically leads you directly into another Spartacus Youth League. If this is wish-thinking, let us see the rhetoric which explains away the stagnation of the Trotskyist group before their entry into the Socialist Party and Y.P.S.L.

Our League, based on revolutionary principles, yet devoid of sectarianism, will continue its forward march in double time just as before the entry of the Trotskyists. We urge all revolutionary youth to affiliate themselves with the YPSL.

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COOPS IN POLITICS

By Ben Wolf

The International Cooperative Alliance has just closed its fifteenth triennial congress with at least one momentous decision which may have a profound effect upon the labor movement. The general session approved the report of its committee on Rochdale Principles which recommended the abandonment of the principle of political neutrality as a criterion of genuineness.

Ever since 1834, the touchstone of consumers cooperation has been the principles by which 28 weavers founded the first successful consumers cooperative at Rochdale, England. These principles were universally regarded as fundamentally necessary to success. Any cooperative which strayed from this straight and narrow path was, in the opinion of cooperative leaders, headed straight for perdition. Before long, the Rochdale principles took an exalted character, which for the cooperative movement became Magna Carta, Bill of Rights and Bible rolled into one.

Indeed, for the narrow and limited aims which the movement set for itself in its early stages, these principles served admirably. They provided a formula of good business carried on in a democratic fashion, protected and semi-isolated from a system of society which might prove hostile. As long as the movement remained small and comparatively insignificant, the Rochdale principles warded off the wrath and power of capitalist competition.

Political Problems

When the movement came to age by its gradual development into a movement of economic importance, it was inevitable that its contact and conflict with antagonistic capitalism should become closer and sharper. The cooperative movement found in the early years of the twentieth century that it was becoming the butt of economic and political reprisals with which the Rochdale principles could no longer cope. Chief among the obstacles to its logical development was its self-imposed restriction on political activity.

The venerable principles, however, having been imbued with so deep a spirit of sanctity, resistance to necessary change proved insur-

mountable until now. Political neutrality was a check rein which forced the cooperative movement further and further away from its fellow movements developing out of the exploitation of the working classes. Instead of struggling against the strictures of capitalism, it began to conform to the dictates of capitalism even to the extent, in some countries, of disavowing any anti-capitalist pretensions.

It is too soon to rejoice at the political emancipation of the cooperative movement. Although it removed the bar, the I.C.A. did not attempt to point out the direction in which political activity should extend. Nor was it required of its constituent members that they undertake any political activity at all. The resolution merely states that no cooperative movement shall be denied membership in the international body by reason of its failure to remain politically neutral.

The task of giving political direction to the cooperative movement will therefore rest squarely upon those concerned with its affairs nationally. In America, it will depend on those class-conscious elements who seize this opportunity to struggle within the cooperative movement for a genuine farmer labor party, by joining forces with the progressive elements in the labor movement working in the same direction.

Steel Labor

PITTSBURGH (FP)—The first international convention of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, which has signed contracts with 415 steel companies covering about half a million workers since it began its unionization campaign in July, 1936, will be held in Pittsburgh soon.

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Right Next Door to The Call

Purge in Russia Hurts Socialism

The background and significance of the continuing purge in Soviet Russia were discussed in a radio speech over Station WQXR by Norman Thomas.

At the outset of his address, Mr. Thomas discussed briefly the need for a purge of the United States Supreme Court to eliminate from its ranks Judge Hugo Black, whose connection with the Ku Klux Klan has become a matter of national importance.

On conditions in Russia, Mr. Thomas stated, in part:

For the Workers

"Stalin's government can still point to much to support its contention that it is a government for the workers. It may even add peasants to the workers, for it seems clear that, after a narrow escape from disaster, Stalin put the kolhozes on a basis which has opened new doors to the good life for the peasants out of the dark night of their exploitation.

"But less and less is government in Russian by the workers, outside of the Party bureaucracy. The peasants, thanks to the new secret ballot and the new system of representation, have gained something in participation in government, but it is a notable fact that recently all power over the government's requisition of grain was taken from the village soviets. The extraordinarily important and difficult business of apportioning the national income in a country which is still exceedingly poor and under a tremendous burden of military expenditures is being carried out today without any truly democratic discussion or effective democratic control under conditions which tend to establish new social classes.

"Of all the tragedies of our mad and cruel world none has been more potent for evil and none more disheartening than the continuing Russian purge. To say this requires no expert knowledge and no final opinion of guilt or innocence of each of the victims. The known facts speak for themselves.

Wave of Executions

"At a critical period in history, over the vast region where Stalin has proclaimed that both socialism and democracy have been established, sweeps a great wave of executions following trials which

are secret, if they are trials at all. By now Stalin has put out of the way by death, exile or indefinite imprisonment all the most prominent of the old Bolsheviks, the closest associates of Lenin and Trotsky in making the Bolshevik revolution; eight of the highest officers of his own army—a ninth committed suicide; the head of his dread secret police; presidents of two of the autonomous republics of the U.S.S.R. and other high political figures; to say nothing of a great number of engineers, technicians and workers in industry and agriculture.

"Weeks ago someone computed the number reported in the English press at over 600. For every one reported it is probable that, after the Russian manner, dozens or scores have simply disappeared, perhaps to join those convict camps which are doing so much of the building of the new Russia.

"The obvious consequences have been calamitous. First, the U.S.S.R. has been weakened during critical weeks in the diplomacy of the world. I was in Europe before and after the execution of the generals.

Serious Effects

"The change in the whole atmosphere was like a frost on the Fourth of July. Previously Russia's military stock was high. Her May Day demonstration was extraordinarily impressive. Mussolini had reason to know the prowess of her aviators. Passing through Berlin, and later in France and Spain, from very high authorities I heard that Germany and even Italy were tiring of the Spanish venture and might withdraw if some face-saving method could be devised. Then came the execution. The change was instantaneous. Hitler and Mussolini increased their efforts. Bilbao fell without planes to help it. The submarine blockade of Spain was begun.

"Japan tried out Russian readiness on the Amur and apparently decided that now was the time to push its Chinese adventure.

Only within the last two weeks has the U.S.S.R. ventured again to speak boldly in the Spanish war where she had such an enormous stake in stopping the triumphant march of fascism.

Hurt Socialism

"The second effect is still worse and may be more lasting. Russia will be probably recovering her military prestige and respect for her physical might long before she can repair the damage she has done to socialism—in the broadest sense of the word—and to the growing solidarity of the workers of the world.

"Whatever the reasons, the purge with its appalling and inescapable implications goes on. The Stalinist blames Trotsky and the Trotskyists make a slashing attack on Stalinism. But both are forms of Communism. And Communism with all its zeal for the workers, its devotion and its energy, has from the beginning had one major defect: it believes in an all-powerful state absolutely controlled by one Party, which Party has accepted implicitly the doctrine that the end justifies the means.

Transitional to Lenin

"Lenin, to be sure, believed that this situation was transitional; that the coercive state itself (or its equivalent), as well as the dictatorship, would automatically wither away as the work of abolishing production for profit, and with it the class system, was done. Since his death the opposite has happened. His party has become less and less tolerant of differences in opinion; its bureaucracy has grown stronger and stronger.

"That is true not because of any unique vice of Stalin's, but because men covet power as much or more than they covet profit. Had Trotsky won instead of Stalin I doubt if the situation in respect to liberty would have been very different. Trotsky and his followers have shown themselves everywhere as much and as little democratic and tolerant in action as their foes.

Soviet Advances

"This discussion of the great U.S.S.R. from the single aspect of the purge and of liberty does not, of course, give an adequate picture. Let me hasten to say in the face of extraordinary difficulties by its rapid industrialization its conquest of illiteracy, its amazing extension of social services to the masses, its freedom from racial hatreds, its profit system abolished, the Soviet government in the U.S.S.R. has lighted a beacon of hope for mankind. The more important that it be kept burning!

"A great part of the world's hope depends upon a prompt change in the spirit and technique of the government which has given us the Russian purge. For those of us outside of Russia it is a solemn warning of mistakes to avoid in the struggle of the workers for freedom, peace and plenty."

American Student Union Faces Grave Problems of Policy

By Alvaine Hollister

School is open again. The high school corridor and the college campus hum once more with student life.

It is doubtful whether at any previous time in the history of our nation students faced such momentous social problems as those staring them in the eyes this year, problems in whose solution the student can and is playing a most active part.

War

War clouds hang over the world, pregnant with new horrors for the present generation of youth. The concrete question of what students can and shall do in regard to the Sino-Japanese conflict and in regard to Rooseveltian "neutrality" must be answered by the organizations of student youth.

Security

Economic insecurity awaits the student with open arms. Cuts in student aid through the National Youth Act, at the hands of the Roosevelt administration, compel the campus inhabitant to turn his or her eyes toward Washington.

Labor Politics

The American working class is beginning to think and act politically. The frightful criss-cross of political currents today, however, has injected confusion into the political movements of the much strengthened American trade union movement. Progressive minded students must give these developments most careful attention. Should the students be anxious to see this labor political movement buried in the morass of an alliance with capitalist parties and political machines? Or should the students seek assiduously to advance an independent political party of labor?

Unity of the ASU

The National Executive Committee of the American Student Union, meeting in New York on September 11-13, had to answer these questions. The most immediate question before the National Committee was to determine how far it could go on its own accord without reference to the decisions of the previous national convention. Specifically, the attempts of the Young Communist League to rush through a decision on ASU political activity, which would have opened the door to all sorts of fly-by-night adventures in "progressive" politics, found no basis in previous convention decisions and, if pushed through recklessly, might seriously endanger the unity of the "non-party" American Student Union. The membership in the chap-

ters must awaken immediately to the danger inherent in any such political domination of the ASU. Only a most thorough discussion in every chapter on the recent National Committee decisions can prevent the railroading of one party's position at the coming Christmas convention.

Resolution on Politics

A resolution, reiterating the non-partisan character of the ASU, was originally passed by the Student Union. To this was added a proviso for ASU political education during campaigns.

An amendment providing specifically that non-partisanship meant non-endorsement of candidates was defeated, first by an 8-3 vote, later, in the form of a substitute motion, by a 10-6 vote. The Young Communist League members on the NEC, largely because they wished to pre-determine the decision of the national convention, wished to push through a program of endorsement of "progressive candidates".

By progressive candidates, it was stated that the members of the committee meant progressives of all parties, including the Republican and Democratic parties. Young Socialists stated that they wanted to see students line up with labor in politics, just as they do on the picket lines, but that at the present time the members of the ASU are not ready to take this stand.

The labor movement itself is not united on the question of political expression. There are all sorts of attitudes expressed, including the old "reward your friends and punish your enemies," attempts to capture local Democratic primaries, and the running of union tickets in municipal elections. Confusion in the ranks of the ASU is even worse, since students have only a second-hand sympathy for the rights of workers while labor has an actual stake in preserving its rights. Until there can be some clarification, and complete discussion, Socialists object strenuously to the attempt of seven or eight Communists on the NEC of the ASU to determine the stand of the organization.

The attempt of the YCL to railroad was further made obvious when they refused a vote to allow the matter to go to a mail vote of the national executive committee for out of 25 members of the NEC only 17 were present.

The War Discussion

Extensive discussion was carried on around the anti-war program of the ASU. The YCL launched a sharp attack on the present program, calling it "incomplete." Their notion of completing the program was to substitute for it their own proposals, first made public in this country in a report on the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party in June of this year. This plan is built around the concept that pressure must be put on the governments of progressive democracies to pursue a "progressive" policy in international affairs. Its specific form just now is to "implement" the Kellogg Briand Pact through allowing an embargo to be placed on the

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N. Y. Socialists Draft Planks For State Election Platforms

ALBANY.—The State Committee of the Socialist party of New York at the headquarters of the Workmen's Circle, 2 Ashgrove Place, outlined a nine-point legislative program for Socialist Assembly candidates throughout the state. The program included sections on public ownership, agriculture, labor legislation, social insurance, unemployment relief, housing, taxation, education and civil liberties.

The State Committee bitterly assailed both Republicans and Democrats for their failures in the last legislature, and particularly for their defeat of the child labor amendment, and their alliance "with the reactionary industrial forces of the South in continuing the ruthless exploitation of the helpless children of the land."

The Committee's Assembly program was as follows:

Workers and Farmers Party.

"The Socialist party of New York State enters the campaign for the election of the State Assembly this year, as in former years, as the champion of farmers and city workers of hand and brain, and pledges its candidates, if elected, to work unceasingly for all laws calculated to advance the welfare and happiness of the great mass of the people of the state; to bring nearer a cooperative system of society under which the key industries of the nation will be socially owned and democratically managed for the common good.

"During the last session of the New York State Legislature, representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties, true to form, united in defeating the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, thus joining with the reactionary industrial forces of the South in continuing the ruthless exploitation of the helpless children of the nation. They per-

sisted in retaining the iniquitous Teachers Oath.

"Both Republican and Democratic Legislators refused flatly to consider any system of health insurance, despite the fact that great majority of our population are unable to secure adequate medical, surgical and dental care. They failed to take any steps towards the public development

of the water-power resources of the state or to take any effective measures toward breaking or even weakening the grip of the power trust over the electrical resources of the state, thus compelling the housewives of the state to pay on the average from two to three times as much for electricity as do their neighbors in Ontario under public ownership.

"The Republican and Democratic Legislators left the distribution of milk largely in the hands of two powerful distributing agencies, who continued to give to the farmer a price for their dairy products far too low to permit of a decent livelihood while charging the city consumer all that the traffic will bear.

"They continued to bind the cities of the state to a system of taxation which made it difficult, if not impossible, to expand the development of many needed health, educational and recreational services. They made no substantial change in the wholly inadequate old age pension and unemployment insurance system of the state. They rendered no

financial aid to the clearing of city slums and the building of modern homes for workers and farmers. They made wholly inadequate provisions for home and work relief. They took no steps toward public ownership of banks and of our giant utilities. They refused to abolish injunctions in labor disputes. They failed to touch the surface of the farm problem.

Big Business Parties

"In this campaign, Republican and Democratic Legislators, representatives of the parties dominated by the big business interests and corrupt political machines of the state, have failed to prevent, and by the nature of the control of their party machinery, are incapable of presenting a program that meets in any adequate way, the problems that face the common man.

"In this campaign, the Socialist party proposes a program for the government action in the interest of the masses. Among the concrete measures toward that end, it urges, and pledges its Assembly candidates to work for:

"1. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP. The speedy public development of the water power resources on the St. Lawrence. The generation by the state of the electrical resources of the state and their transmission to municipally owned distribution systems, for distribution to electrical consumers at cost. The public ownership and democratic management of the state's telephone and other public utilities. The establishment of a state bank.

"2. AGRICULTURE. The promotion of state and cooperative marketing

and purchasing agencies, and legislation empowering municipalities and other public agencies to take over the processing and distribution of milk and dairy products and other prime necessities of life. State insurance of crops against damage due to adverse weather conditions. Public electrification of rural areas. Increased state subsidies for road building, educational and social services to farm communities. Long term loans at low interest rates from public agencies with a view to prevent farm foreclosures. Reforestation of marginal farm land.

"3. LABOR LEGISLATION. The ratification of the Federal Child Labor Amendment; the abolition of the injunction in labor disputes; the abolition of industrial home work; the thirty-hour week without a reduction of pay; the strengthening and extension of state employment exchanges; the abolition of private employment agencies; the abolition of private detective systems and the use of armed guards in industrial struggles; the trial of strikers, arrested for alleged violation of laws, in labor tribunals.

"4. SOCIAL INSURANCE. The inauguration of an adequate system of health insurance and the development of a comprehensive system of state medicine; the reduction of the age at which men and women are entitled to receive old age pensions to 60 years; the increase of old age pension benefits to not less than an average of \$50 a month; state contributions to unemployment insurance funds; inclusion of agricultural workers, domestic servants, workers in non-profit organizations and others within the provisions of the unemployment insurance system; increases in unemployment benefits; the making of the state the sole insurance carrier in connection with the system of Workmen's Compensation.

"5. UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF. A drastic increase in the state public works program in cooperation with the federal and city governments; the prompt introduction of a long range system of future public works; increased appropriations for home relief; the payment of union wages in public works projects and the recognition of the principle of collective bargaining in all such undertakings.

"6. HOUSING. State aid to slum clearance and public home building programs for city workers and farmers; the issuance of a state bond issue toward this end.

"7. TAXATION. The reorganization of the tax system so as to permit cities to obtain a considerable portion of their revenues from other than property taxes; increased income and inheritance taxes and excess profits taxes, so as to permit the state to supply needed vital social services and

relief; the abolition of sales taxes. "8. EDUCATION. Increased state aid to schools; strengthening of educational projects under the W.P.A.; full tenure rights of teachers throughout the state; freedom of teaching and of organizing in alliance with other workers; adequate representation on the part of the teaching staff in the administrative machinery of the system, the introduction in schools of modern and progressive methods of education, the abolition of military training in schools and colleges.

"9. CIVIL LIBERTIES. Repeal of the teachers' loyalty oath; the right of civil service employees to organize and bargain collectively; restoration to the people of security against unlawful search and seizure; legislation providing for the right to a jury in all criminal cases."

Student Union

(Continued from Page Seven) aggressor in each international dispute.

Young Socialists pointed out, and will continue to point out, that "this will mean the end of the anti-war work of the ASU.

Carried only a little further than it is now, it will mean support for the armament of American imperialism, as a "progressive" imperialism, since the United States can only be a power if it is armed. For students, the logical outcome will be support of ROTC and war preparations, the things that the ASU has been fighting so effectively and consistently since the day of its formation.

To many students, the anti-war program of the ASU has had real life and meaning, because it has realistically been aimed at the military preparation of the U. S. government. If the ASU is to continue as the leader of the student fight against ROTC, the spearhead of the April strike against war, and the organization that rallies students to a progressive, anti-war policy, the continuation of its anti-war program must be insured. Whether that program will be the center of the life of the ASU chapters or will die, depends upon each ASU member in his or her chapter.

"Why Don't I Get The Call?"

During the past three weeks the Business Office of the SOCIALIST CALL has been snowed under with inquiries: "Why doesn't the CALL come?" "I'm not getting my CALL on time!" "What's the matter?" "Late again?"

A word of explanation is in order.

We don't like to get the CALL to you late. We know that at least half our readers are used to reading the CALL over the weekend, and that when the CALL comes later it is upsetting. We know that many New Yorkers buy the CALL from newsstands, but that if it not there they are disappointed. We know that branches which sell the CALL have their plans upset by this irregularity which has overtaken us.

The CALL is published by Call Press, Inc., a non-profit corporation! The CALL is a cooperative venture. We do certain work at the office. But each reader who believes in the CALL and in the cause of Socialism is a partner in this venture, a socialist cooperator.

"How Can I Get The Call Regularly?"

The answer lies with you! We can't work miracles! Rabbits which are pulled from hats aren't of much commercial value, and anyhow our wrists are very tired! You must do your part!

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You can get your CALL on time, every week, if you will become active in this cooperative effort.

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