

# Socialist Call

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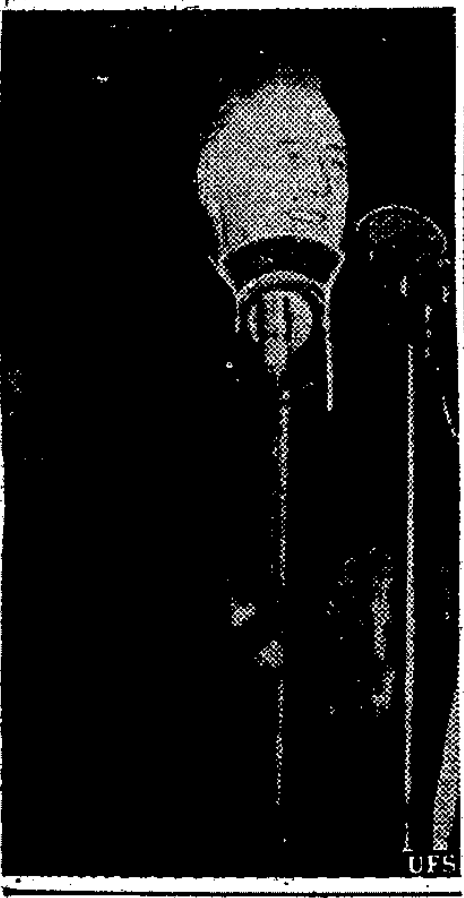
AF of L  
CLO  
Meeting  
Reports

## PRESIDENT MAKES WAR SPEECH AGAINST JAPAN

**T**WENTY years ago, a President of the United States spoke about "making the world safe for democracy." Those sweet words were soon to become transformed into poisonous gases snuffing out the lives of America's best men.

Twenty years later we can look back at those words of Woodrow Wilson. Did the American armies "make the world safe for democracy?"

Is there democracy in Germany? In Italy? In Poland?



In Hungary? In Austria? Is "democracy" safe today?

Twenty years later we can look back on the real reasons for America's entrance into the last war. Cold men of statistics have recorded the hard but real facts behind the last war. America

went to war to save the bankers.

The generation that suffered through the last war does not like to look with bitter regret upon its sacrifices, to think that they were all in vain, that they were but for the moneybags of Wall Street. But the facts are plain; there is none to deny; and the truth must be spoken not only to give an honest record of the past but to protect us against the future.

For history is repeating itself in the United States.

### Does FDR Prepare War?

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the liberal successor of the liberal Wilson, spoke words in Chicago last week which sound very much like the echo of Wilson's 1917 speech.

Every lover of freedom will, of course, agree with Roosevelt that the savage aggressions of Japanese imperialism in China are acts against civilization. Every man of the people would strike out in violent revolt against the barbaric cruelties of Nippon imperialism.

But, how can the workers of America trust Roosevelt's motives when he begins to talk of action by the US Government against the aggressor!

Where was Roosevelt when Mussolini was bombing helpless Ethiopian villages?

Where was Roosevelt when German and Italian ships and

planes were ripping apart undefended homes with primitive terror?

Where is Roosevelt when American diplomats in Central and South America and American troops in the Philippines join forces to torture and kill natives who want their freedom?

What of all this international "lawlessness?"

### Why This Silence?

Here Roosevelt has been and is silent.

But about Japanese aggression in China he speaks.

He speaks about the Far East

### War in the Far East



because American money is sunk in the Far East. Roosevelt, like Wilson, unloosens his discreet tongue when the banker's cause is to be defended.

The banks had little to lose in Ethiopia—so Roosevelt was silent.

The banks had little to lose by a Franco victory in Spain—so Roosevelt is silent; while imposing a "neutrality" that aids Franco.

The banks have little to lose by shooting down rebellious Filipinos and by torturing protestant Porto Ricans—so Roosevelt is silent.

But in China, the bankers have much to lose—markets and loans—if Japan dominates—so Roosevelt speaks out.

Bravo for Roosevelt, the Champion—of whom?

Certainly not the Spanish masses. Certainly not the Ethiopian massacred. Certainly not the enslaved Latin Americans. But quite certainly—the champion of America's banking interests.

### Workers' Action

Our sympathy for the sufferings of the hard-pressed Chinese must not delude us into giving support to American imperialism for a war in defense of its moneybags.

The working class is not helpless in its desire to strike out at Japan. Through unions and strike action, American workers can refuse to move a finger in making or shipping goods for Japan.

The American consumer is not helpless. We can—we must—organize a widespread boycott of Japanese goods.

Let us do this through our independent efforts, through the mechanisms we, as workers and consumers, control.

But not a cent, not a man, not a vote, not a bullet will we give to the war machine of American imperialism.

The imperialist bosses who are riding hard over the backs of China are not so vastly different from our own Tom Girdler, from our own feudal lords of the South, from our own cynical House of Morgan.

It is they, not we, who control the war machine today. They will run it into the Far East—not to free China but to change the name on its slave collar. They will run the war as they see fit, for they are the men to whom the government has entrusted the job of "coordinating" labor in a war.

Our own war lords are itching to go—that is, to have us go for them. With pretty Rooseveltian phrases, they will lick Japan to get their own licks in on China, and hang a dictatorship onto the American working class while doing it.

The workers must apply their own weapons—unions' and consumers' power—against Japan.

But no trust in Roosevelt, in his Chicago speech—the prelude to America's going to war. No trust in American imperialism.



American boys are already marching in China. Here is a body of men "protecting" American lives and property. There are few lives of Americans involved; but much bankers' property. The slightest incident might cause the presence of these American soldiers to explode into a war. American troops must be withdrawn from the Far East. They have no business there.

# CIO Answers Expulsion with Plan for American Labor Unity

## AFL VOTES EXPULSION OF CIO UNIONS

By Arthur G. McDowell  
National Labor Secretary, S.P.U.S.A.

DENVER, Colo.—Despite dissenting, split-votes from many delegations, the American Federation of Labor convention here, by an overwhelming vote of 25,616 to 1,227, authorized its executive council to expel any of the suspended CIO unions which may "refuse to return."

No direct expulsions wholesale by the Convention were undertaken;

but the power was requested by the Executive Council to expel at its convenience or pleasure. Meanwhile the Executive Council's standing sub-committee on negotiation with the CIO was continued.

These moves were neatly balanced off by a flanking move on political action to warn the political powers that be that no one would be permitted to carry AF of L water on one shoulder and CIO on the other, and the almost unforgivable insult was accomplished (in the traditionally bureaucratic American trade-union movement) of appealing and threatening the rank and file of the CIO unions over their leaders' heads.

### Balancing Procedure

This balancing procedure was the key to the entire Convention. When President George Berry of the Printing Pressmen (now U.S. Senator by grace of appointment) appealed guardedly for unity of forces and proffered in advance the pledge of continued affiliation of his union to the AF of L thru-out his lifetime (a promise he is abundantly able to keep due to his dictatorial grip on his union which he rules as an absolute autocrat—President Green's chatter about the democratic nature of the AF of L to the contrary notwithstanding); Berry's appeal for unity was immediately followed by the appearance of President Vandeleur of the California Federation of Labor on the platform.

Vandeleur whose recent state convention was the stage for the operation of beef-squads against his opposition among progressive unionists, started speaking almost in the middle of the applause for Berry's unity plea and called for unremitting war on the CIO for its immediate and complete destruction and boasted that his AF of L forces in California had wiped out the CIO down to the waterfront.

### Dual Unionism

Pre-Convention expression from all the powerful figures of the Executive Council made it clear that expulsion of the CIO unions would be followed by the charter-

ing of dual unions in every jurisdiction now covered, no matter how effectively, by a C.I.O. union. The depth of the destructiveness of this dual union struggle was clearly indicated in the calm recommendation of the continuance of an A.F. of L. charter to the Blue Card Union of Zinc, Lead, Mine Mill and Smelter Workers of the Tri-State District of Oklahoma, Missouri and Kansas.

This Blue card outfit which now has a temporary charter granted by the Executive Council at its meeting in May of this year, is not merely a company union, but an organization presided over by a racketeering small operator Mike Evans who formed the organization in the midst of a strike of the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union (C.I.O.) in order to break the strike by the formation of a back to work movement.

### "Democracy" the Issue

Striking the keynote of the propaganda campaign of a craft majority of the Executive Council in its war against the industrial unionists, Green quite cleverly used the present incomplete nature of the organization of the C.I.O. and resulting arbitrary and bureaucratic procedure as well as the undeniably bad record of Lewis in his iron rule in the United Mine Workers (when Green loyally supported him) to demand that everyone forget the underlying issues of the failure of the A.F. of L. to organize the unorganized or revamp its structure so as to be in a position to organize them, and believe that it is the democratic A.F. of L. vs. the autocratic C.I.O.

### Don't Want-CIO

Underlying all of this sound and fury is the fact that the craft majority of the AF of L Executive Committee Council no more wants the big industrial unions within the Federation than John L. Lewis of the CIO wants to be in the Federation at the present time. The Executive Council, however, has recently managed to out-

## FISHER REMOVED IN ANTI-MILITANT DRIVE

(By Wire to the CALL)

GILLESPIE, Ill.—John Fisher, militant leader of the successful stay-down strike of the southern Illinois coal miners, and a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, has been removed from the presidency of the big local, No. 1, of the Progressive Miners of America.

His removal was achieved through collaboration of the Joint Board of the Operators and the reactionary officials of the P.M.A. The move is a part of the drive against militant members of the union, following the affiliation of the P.M.A. to the AFL as a part of the anti CIO drive of the AFL.

All five of the other leading officials of Local 1 have resigned as a demonstration of solidarity with Fisher, in protest against his removal. Fisher's successful conduct of the stay-down strike at Wilsonville, which did not receive the enthusiastic support of the P.M.A. officials, was stated as grounds for Fisher's removal.

maneuver Lewis and to create the impression that they are for unity while the Lewis forces are against it.

### 'Democracy' Issue Fraud

This talk of union democracy as the issue of which much will be heard after this A.F. of L. Convention as the Executive Council steamrollers thru expulsion and launches systematic civil war, is a fraud, but poorly concealed as the Executive Council at the same time proposes sweeping amendments to the Federation constitution which would give the President and Executive Council specific power to expel any local, central or state body of the Federation or even individual members of such bodies and give vast sweeping powers of all kinds to the President and Council.

Actually much of the aggressive talk of the old craft union conservatives is but cover of the failure of the craft unions to regain their strength of the early depression years of 1929-30 let alone to match the gains in new territory which every one of the industrial unions can show whether they are new or old. Press releases spread at the Convention

and wired across the nation declared that the Federation had made such gains as to more than repair the gap now to be permanently made by the triumph of the reactionary program of expulsion and split of the reactionary craftists. A brief check of the Executive's Report caught the falsehood. The press bureau of the Green administration had taken the figures of the single month of August 1937 in which month all International Unions must pay up their per capita in order to get their convention representation and compared it with the twelve month average of 1936.

### Few Socialists

A heavy price may be paid by the C.I.O. for its bundling like those of giving leadership to Communist adventurists in places like Wisconsin, among the drivers and machinists in Minnesota and the Seamen on the West Coast, and wasting valuable men and treasure reorganizing the organized, but the future belongs in American trade union history to the industrial unionists with the organization technique and the will to organize the unorganized workers of America into powerful and militant democratic unions.

It was in Denver in 1895 that Gompers was defeated for the first and only time in his career by the Socialist and miners forces. In Denver today the ghost of Gompers is being buried. Expulsions will go thru but there will be no enthusiasm for the job among the fewer than 500 delegates who attended this reduced convention. Green's biting denunciation of the sit down strike as the provoker of Fascism and demand that the C.I.O. join him in denouncing it fell in a chilly hall, winning only a few weak and scattered hand-claps, where a few minutes later his call for labor to preserve world peace thru solidarity internationally, (alluding to new affiliation of A.F. of L. with International Federation of Trade Unions) and his demand for a boycott of war-making Japan and for U.S. Government neutral-

(Continued on Page Six)

## Peace Confab on Status Quo Basis

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J. (By telephone to the CALL).—In the fact of the expulsion move of the AFL Convention which is meeting in Denver, the CIO conference here has voted with unanimity for the reestablishment of unity in the labor movement.

The Resolutions Committee, chaired by Phillip Murray, United Mine Workers official and a leader in the Steel Workers Organizing campaign, reported a resolution designed to restore trade union unity.

The committee reaffirmed the belief of the CIO in the principles of industrial unionism for the mass-production industries, and pointed to the successes which have been achieved in the foundation and building of the CIO.

The necessity for a cooperating and constructive labor movement makes unity a necessity, however.

The committee proposed specifically that a committee of 100 representatives of the CIO unions meet with a committee of similar size from the AFL unions, all representing existing national and international unions. This conference of 200 union leaders would be charged with responsibility for working out a restoration of peace in the movement. Details which might arise would be left to smaller sub-committees.

### Motion Endorsed

The report was presented in an open meeting early in the CIO conference here, by Murray. It was read by Lee Pressman, CIO attorney. Speeches giving endorsement were delivered by Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (who was the target of heavy fire from the AFL resolution passed a day earlier in Denver); David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Homer Martin, president of the United Auto Workers; S. L. Dalrymple, president of the United Rubber Workers and John L. Lewis, CIO chairman and leader of the Mine Workers.

Lewis, in his remarks which concluded the historic discussion, appealed to the rank and file workers, both of the AFL and the CIO, pointing to their common problems and stressed the necessity of a united labor movement.

The conference, first general meeting of CIO union officials, was attended by over 200 delegates, who represent a total of well over 4,000,000 workers. Many of these have been enrolled in the labor movement since the inauguration of the CIO at Atlantic City less than two years ago.

Much of the time of the meeting previous to the important report of the Resolutions Committee was devoted to hearing reports of organizational progress and of working and industrial conditions in many industries.

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**134 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!**



Forty-three anthracite miners scribble defiant words from 1200 feet below in the Navigation mine at Coaldale, Pa., that they would stay down until Christmas, if necessary, to win wage demands.



# Black, "Friend of Labor" Detroit Was Silent on Scottsboro Labor Votes

By John Newton Thurber

The sound and the fury of the case of Mr. Justice Black and the Ku Klux Klan die down. Mr. Black returned from his trip to England. He spoke on the radio to 30,000,000 people. Mr. Black took his seat at the bench of the Supreme Court. He was annoyed slightly by a couple

of attempts to have him dropped. But these have been thrown out of court. Mr. Black is now a Supreme Court justice.

The end of the episode serves to give us a perspective on the role of various elements in the developing American struggle.

No one was fooled by the garb of injured innocence which was assumed by such reactionaries as Senator Dr. Copeland and Paul Block of the newspaper chain, who attempted to pose as defenders of American rights against the bad Ku Klux Klan. Most of this stripe would do a pretty good job carrying through the Klan program in any state.

The Black appointment was a fine example of the methods which F.D.R. uses to achieve the aims which he states with such graphic attractiveness. There can be little doubt that Roosevelt was fully acquainted with Black's political connections. He knew that Black's Congressional record was sufficient to satisfy most liberals and professional labor leaders.

Roosevelt knew that Black was a leader of the Democratic party in the south, and he can have no illusions as to what that means. Black campaigned there year after year under the slogan of "White Supremacy," as can be seen in the accompanying reproduction of the ballot used in a recent Alabama election.

### Roosevelt Knew Black

Roosevelt knew that Black has never given public expression on the Scottsboro case, although it is the outstanding blot on the judicial record of the state of Alabama, Black's own state.

Roosevelt knew that Black was prepared to go on the floor of the Senate late this summer to filibuster against the passage of the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching bill.

Roosevelt, the consummate politician, knew that the Black appointment would line up both the liberals and the reactionaries, for Black was and is acceptable to both.

The role of the liberals in the whole episode is most instructive. It demonstrates more surely than anything of recent time the futility of the popular theory of fighting reaction by fusion with liberals. It shows the extent to which the liberals will go in order to justify their own particular political deficiencies.

In the current issue of *The Nation* is stated the summary of the liberals' case in backing Black. Max Lerner, co-editor of that organ, in what is obviously an article written from inside information from Black, goes to such ends as to give every worker in America pause.

Lerner writes that Black was a "joiner" (even as Gov. Graves of Alabama said of himself) and that he applied for membership in every organization he could locate. He had applied for membership in the Masons and the Knights of Pythias even before he was 21, so it was only natural that he should join the Klan!

Black joined the Klan at an early period in the history of that organization, we are told. At that time the Klan had certain "radical" features in its program even as did the Nazi movement in its early period, Lerner tells us. We are to believe that it was the "radical" features of the K.K.K.

**OFFICIAL BALLOT, GENERAL ELECTION,**

**JEFFERSON COUNTY**

Names of Offices to be Voted For	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Prohibition Party	Communist Party
1. State Representative	1. HENRY L. BLACK	1. J. THOMAS EDWARDS		
2. State Representative	1. WILLIAM B. THOMAS	1. JAMES L. ANDERSON		
3. State Representative	1. JOHN S. BROWN	1. JOHN A. FOSTER		
4. State Representative	1. THOMAS B. KUBERT			
5. State Representative	1. HUGH WHITE	1. F. G. HAWKINS		
6. State Representative	1. W. C. DAVIS	1. W. A. CLARK		
7. State Representative	1. JAMES B. STANLEY	1. M. F. FERGUSON		
8. State Representative	1. J. D. AGNEW	1. S. S. ADAMS		
9. State Representative	1. J. S. BENTLEY	1. ARTHUR S. FOWLER		
10. State Representative	1. J. S. COOPER	1. VICTOR BROWN		
11. State Representative	1. J. B. FOWLER	1. FRANK M. LATHROP		
12. State Representative	1. EDWARD HARTWOOD	1. C. F. LAMSON		
13. State Representative	1. J. S. FOWLER	1. JOHN McCLAREN		
14. State Representative	1. W. F. SMITH	1. C. W. WEAVER		
15. State Representative	1. J. E. M. OWEN	1. ERNEST M. FOSTER		
16. State Representative	1. J. E. TUCKER	1. C. E. ROBERTS		

Alabama ballot showing Democratic motto, "White Supremacy," with Black's name at head of ticket. (Cut courtesy Milwaukee Leader).

program which attracted Black to its folds!

American liberals, American radicals, American workers, are asked to place their trust in gregarious joiners who are completely indiscriminate in their joining.

They are asked to place their trust in a man who joins a fascist organization because of its "radical" features, believing that he will be a stop to the forward drive of reaction, of fascism, in America.

### Never Renounced Klan

Black, "whose best friend was a Jew," joined the Klan for political

advancement years after his friendship with that Jew. He entered and left the Klan, and does not yet see any necessity to repudiate it in any way.

In a period when Popular Frontism, of putting faith in liberals as a means of stopping reaction, is gaining increasing favor, this spectacle of placing reliance on a Ku Kluxer as a means of forestalling fascism, of preventing a return to the days of Coolidge and Hoover, displays to the hilt the degeneracy of depending on this brand of class collaboration.

Black, the liberal, will act as a liberal on the Supreme Court. That is not enough! Workers can place no dependence on representatives of the Democratic party, the party of "white supremacy" in the south, the party of Tammany Hall and the corrupt municipal machines of the north. Negro and white workers, as new economic crisis and the threat of war approach, must learn that they cannot secure salvation by placing dependence upon even the best of the liberals.

## Communist Party Backs Capitalist Against Labor Candidates in Canada

The Communist Party of Canada is giving its backing to capitalist party candidates in opposition to candidates of the CCF (Canadian Commonwealth Federation) the party of organized labor and farmers of Canada.

In two districts the Communist Party has given its support to the candidates of the Liberal Party against labor men.

In the Windsor-Sandwich district, they are backing David A. Croll, liberal, officially endorsed by the strike-breaking Premier Hepburn, against Ernest F. Atkinson, prominent trade unionist and CCF candidate. In the South Wellington district, they are backing J. H. King, an ardent champion of Hepburn's anti-union policy, against John Moon, CCF nominee.

David Croll, The New Commonwealth reports, was Minister of Welfare and Labor, had ruthlessly led a campaign for relief cuts and he shares responsibility for the arrest and imprisonment of many unemployed leaders in 1935. His election committee includes at least four "Italian Fascists." This capitalist party candidate is getting the active support of the Communist Party against a candidate of the working class.

### Popular Front

Dr. J. H. King, the other candidate of the Communists, pro-

claims himself a one-hundred per cent Hepburn man. The well-known Communist theory of the Popular Front against Fascism is their excuse for these anti-working class actions. So anxious are the Communists to make a united front with the liberals, that they are even ready to omit the working class from the united front—in fact, they are even ready to fight the workers and elect capitalists in the interests of the Popular Front.

The entrance of Col. George Drew, a Fascist, into the election was the signal for the Communist Party to withdraw its candidate, Al Bernhardt. But instead of backing the labor candidate, John Moon, the Communist Party is backing King.

"It is like voting for Hindenburg to keep out Hitler," comments the paper of the CCF. Finally, the workers by weakening their own independent strength got both Hindenburg and Hitler.

The events in Canada well illustrate the meaning of the Popular Front. It is not a movement to unite labor against capital,

DETROIT—The workers here drove another wedge between organized capital and organized labor on October 5 in a record-breaking primary election when they nominated the full labor slate in a hectic contest. More than 300,000 voters took part in the balloting.

Labor candidate Patrick H. O'Brien polled nearly 100,000 votes, crowding out Councilman-ic President John W. Smith, and qualifying along with the conservative amines, Richard W. Reading, in the majority race. Reading received 137,984 votes.

Maurice Sugar headed the labor slate with 88,108 votes. He was seventh in the running; Richard Frankenstein was ninth; Tracy M. Doll, thirteenth; Walter Reuther, fourteenth; and R. J. Thomas, seventeenth. Eighteen qualified; nine are to be elected.

### Labor Effective

The primary demonstrated that when labor is organized effectively on the economic front it can be a real force on the political field.

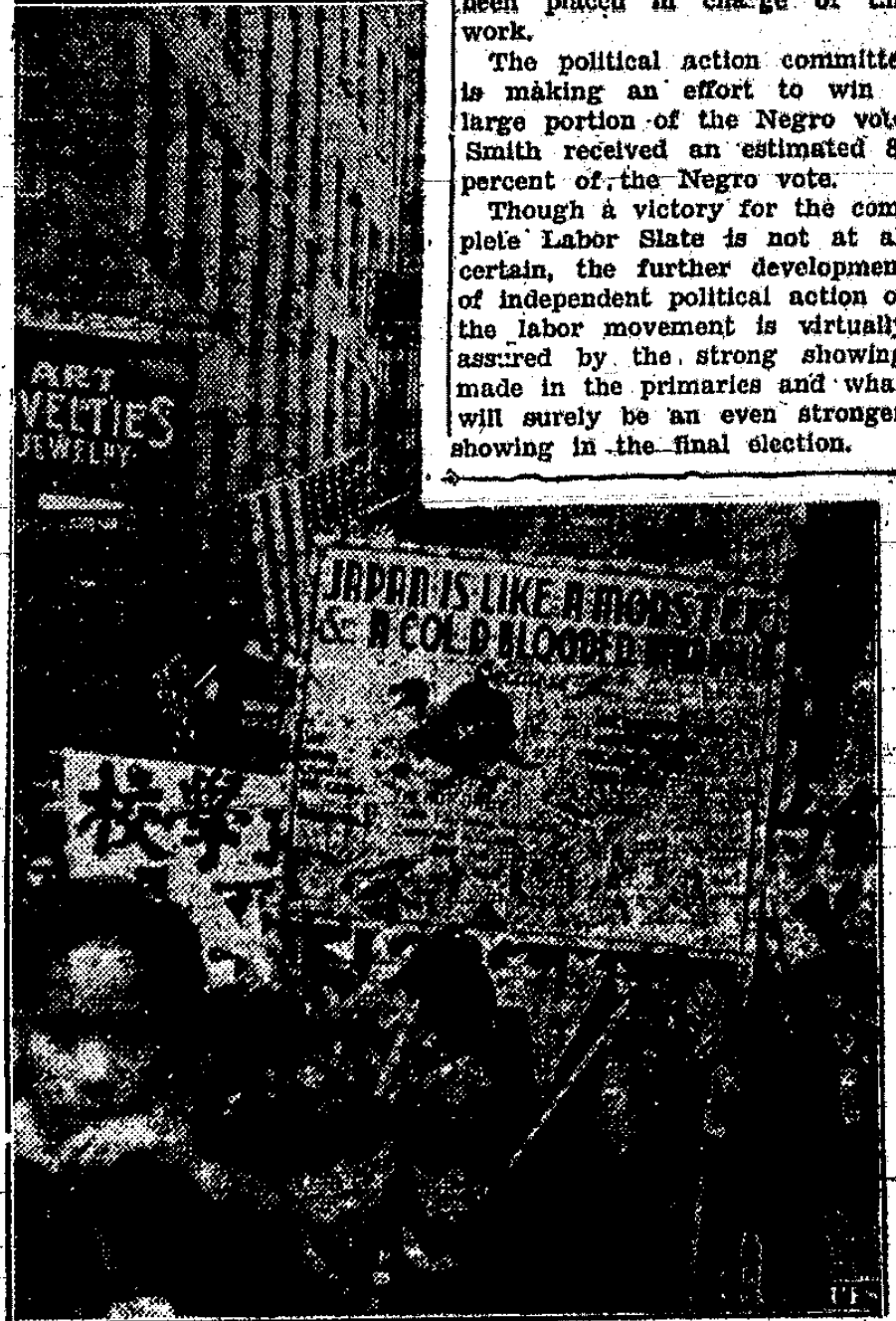
But there is much to be done if labor is to be successful in the November 2 elections. First and foremost is a tremendous job of organization in the precincts in order to get out the full labor vote. Many workers were so confident of victory that they did not bother to vote. Though the union machinery counted the voters on a shop basis in a very effective manner, this is not a substitute for precinct work. The political action committee in charge of the Labor Slate work is taking steps to improve the precinct organization throughout the city.

### Middle-Class Support

Efforts are being made to reach some agreement with the Detroit Federation of Labor. And drive for a support from middle class and professional elements is being launched. Tucker P. Smith, formerly director of Brookwood Labor College, has been placed in charge of this work.

The political action committee is making an effort to win a large portion of the Negro vote. Smith received an estimated 85 percent of the Negro vote.

Though a victory for the complete Labor Slate is not at all certain, the further development of independent political action of the labor movement is virtually assured by the strong showing made in the primaries and what will surely be an even stronger showing in the final election.



Chinese youngsters in New York march in protest against the Japanese attacks upon their fatherland.



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Saturday, Oct. 16, 1937 No. 134



## Socialism Means Peace

In St. Louis, after the last World War, Woodrow Wilson stated:

**"Is there a man, is there a woman, nay, is there a child who does not know that the germ of the last war was economic and commercial rivalries?"**

The great peace treaties, written after the last war, attempted to eliminate war without eliminating the "germ" of war. The economic and commercial rivalries that spring inevitably from capitalism foredoomed the world to another war.

From 1918 to 1937 world "peace" has been preserved at the point of a bayonet; the treaties were written with bayonets hot and dripping with human blood.

Today these treaties are truly just scraps of paper.

Not a single one of the post-war treaties survives. The whole system of Versailles is in ruin. The latest of the scraps of paper to be dropped into the waste-basket of capitalist history is the Nine Power Pact.

One can shed tears for those who, for these many years, have had faith in the power of these paper fetters to tie the war instincts of capitalism. But one dare not perpetuate the illusion of peace through capitalist treaties. That would be to play the ostrich.

Is it not clear as day that while there is capitalism there will be war?

War does not spring from broken or unbroken treaties, from good or bad men, from dictators or democrats. War springs from the imperialist rivalries inherent in capitalism.

**While the world is divided into capitalist states there will be national hostility; there will be a wild chase for cheap labor, for monopoly of raw materials, for control of world markets, for places to invest the surplus capital of the banks. And this means war.**

Only a Socialist society can end all this madness. A cooperative world can produce enough for all men to live in plenty and in splendor. There is enough to feed and clothe and house and equip with the many little luxuries of modern civilization all the peoples of the earth. Mankind need merely apply itself intelligently and as a united working force to the task.

But while the great industrial machinery of modern civilization with its banking institutions, is run for the profit of a few owners rather than for the common good of those who produce, war and new war will be the curse of the world.

**A Socialist America and a Socialist world are the only guarantees of world peace. All else—brotherly love, treaties, diplomatic visits, show of force—will crumble before the onrush of imperialist-capitalist world competition.**

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(My commission expires March 30, 1939)

# AT THE FRONT



## By NORMAN THOMAS

### An Open Letter to President Roosevelt

Dear Mr. President:

We Socialists feel to the full the horror of aggressive war and its brutalities which you expressed in your Chicago speech. For years we have proclaimed the interdependence of all peoples, and beginning long before the World War we have steadily sought the means of expressing that interdependence in ways that would lay the basis for sure peace. Opportunity after opportunity for a step toward realizing that interdependence has been lost by the capitalist governments of the world, less because of the weakness of their statesmanship than because of the very nature of our capitalist nationalism.

We are therefore wholly free from the reproach of isolationism. And we are profoundly concerned, because of the danger that you and your State Department are about to make a false identification of world interdependence with the practice of collective security an identification all too likely to lead the United States into war in the Far East.

You will remember that we never regarded the neutrality program enacted by Congress, or indeed any neutrality program, as a panacea against war. Since that neutrality program was enacted we have held that it should be enforced, and that it should be enforced against Italy, Portugal and Germany in the case of Spain.

We find it hard to understand how your denunciation of aggressive war is consistent with the failure to enforce a neutrality program against Mussolini which would not have jeopardized our peace and would have brought some pressure to bear against his conduct of aggressive war.

We find it hard to understand why you should criticize neutrality and then impose in the Far East a partial embargo on arms applicable equally to Japan and China, a partial embargo which to some extent does discriminate in favor of Japan whereas a full application of the neutrality program would do something to neutralize the advantage which Japan now enjoys because of her superior merchant marine and other resources.

We have never joined with your enemies of the right in calling you an incipient dictator. We do not join with them now. But we are disquieted that in a matter of such profound importance as American policy concerning peace and war at a time when Congress not in session you openly repudiate a neutrality policy which, right or wrong, was democratically arrived at, was enacted by Congress without veto or public protest from you.

We are even more profoundly concerned because neither you nor the State Department has given to us or to the world any indication of the practical steps you will take against Japan now that you have adjudged her guilty of violation of the Nine-Power Pact. The logic of your position is those collective sanctions nowadays so dear to Communists and Liberals, many of whom once would have opposed them.

What guarantees have you that through force of circumstances and perhaps through conscious design our so-called allies

American people but the whole world is entitled to an answer to the following question:

1. What practical steps have you in mind to carry out the principles of your Chicago speech and the declaration of your State Department that Japan has violated the Nine-Power Pact in the Pacific, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, etc.?

2. Is your condemnation practically a condemnation only of Japan or do you hold similar views regarding the aggressive war now being waged against Spain by Italy, and to a less extent, by Germany and Portugal?

3. If the practical expression of your new attitude is to be economic sanctions just what economic sanctions do you propose that will be effective? With whom will you act in imposing them, and what safeguards do you suggest that will prevent effective economic sanctions in the Far East from leading to war?

4. Do you really believe, in the face of all logic and history, that any government, especially any capitalist and nationalist government, will go to war simply as a crusader for righteousness? Do you think that your government will or should go to war and conscript our sons to make China safe for the Chinese? Assuming that we went into such war or drifted into such war as the result of economic sanctions and after infinite suffering won the war, do you not think there would be a demand that we stay in China to "civilize" the Chinese much as we stayed in the Philippines after the Spanish war?

5. What program would you offer to avert military dictatorship in America and universal conscription of workers in factories as well as in trenches if we should go to war? Do you think that we should give enough service to the cause of the interdependence of nations to justify the losses of what democracy we now have at home? And that surely would be the price of our entry into war, at least for the duration of the war and perhaps for an indefinite period thereafter.

6. By what logic or what interpretation of history do you imagine that the non-fascist nations of Europe, Great Britain and France, would disinterestedly support us even in collective sanctions, much less in war, for justice or democracy in the Far East? Remember the World War, the Peace of Versailles, the long list of failures of the League of Nations in every major crisis, Great Britain's imperialism, her failure to act in any kind of support of Secretary Stimson at the time of the Manchurian crisis, the cynical flouting of democracy in Spain, the open willingness of her present conservative government to negotiate with Hitler and Mussolini on terms consistent with the interests of the British Empire however inconsistent they may be with democracy in the world!

in collective security will not use our army and navy to pull their chestnuts out of the fire?—And British chestnuts in the Far East happen to be far more valuable than ours?

### The Socialist Position

The form in which I have asked these questions suggests the form the Socialist Party of America would give them. We are not indifferent to the crisis or to the moral problem it presents. Even though we are aware that Japan as well as the fascist dictators can appeal to our own history, to say nothing of the history of Great Britain and France, to justify their aggression we believe that that aggression should be denounced and restrained.

It is not enough merely to denounce the aggression of others. We must pledge ourselves with a sincerity that was lacking in the critical days of 1918 to the building of a world in which the division of both men and nations into the Have and Have Not shall not forever jeopardize peace.

We must dedicate ourselves to the building of a federation of cooperative commonwealth of the world in which alone one is sure hope of peace. In the meanwhile we suffer the inexorable consequences of the opportunities we have lost in the past. Those lost opportunities cannot be repaired by rushing into a program of collective security with the nations of the House of Have.

For the government of America the best policy is still the policy of neutrality in the Far East and of enforcement of the law now on the books against those who wage undeclared war on Loyalist Spain. Meanwhile the workers refusal to produce that which will aid Japan in aggressive war or to purchase Japanese goods thereby enabling her in return to obtain war supplies from America.

We are aware of the practical limitations upon these popular boycotts and workers' sanctions. They are the best at our disposal and they do give some practical expression, perhaps at some cost to ourselves, of our condemnation of aggressive war. They do not involve anything like such danger as is inherent in the program of collective security upon which apparently you are about to embark. History shows how hard it is for any nation to keep out of large scale war or obtain ideal results out of war. The more reason, then, for your Administration to set its face like flint against any steps which would make more likely the entry of the United States government into war.

### Dangerous Approval

Dr. Abraham Epstein is the outstanding authority in America upon social security. His criticisms of the Administration's program are wholly pertinent. Dr. Epstein is giving certain courses at New York University. The Administration, according to his well substantiated story, approached the University with what was virtually a request to substitute for him a professor sympathetic to the Administration's program. This is a dangerous approach toward the control of a totalitarian state over education and should be condemned.

## Does Your Neighbor Read the CALL?

### A Series of Questions

Is that what you contemplate? We think that not merely the



# CIO Honeymoon Over; Political Work Needed

By Frank Trager

(Continued from Last Week)

beyond any question the CIO has swept into trade union organization millions of unorganized workers. The drive is unparalleled in its swiftness and militancy and successfulness. Not only in the giant mass production industries has there been tremendous response but likewise in light industry and the service trades. Wage earner and salaried worker, blue-denim and white collar are

building a new foundation for their class. No amount of criticism, however justified it may be, can in any way alter the essential success in this, the first task of the CIO. What is said in criticism, therefore starts out after the demonstration of a good beginning. Criticism is necessary if mistakes—even in organization—are to be avoided, if consolidation of existing gains is to be affected, if any future building on the foundations already established is to be durable.

A brief glance at three types of criticism will illustrate this province.

(1) Little Steel is an example of comparative failure arising out of a combination of excessive involvements which prevented national CIO concentration and coordination on steel; failure to understand and utilize adequately the deep working class, anti-capitalist resentment at the brutal Memorial Day Chicago massacre and later Ohio martyrs of the class struggle; failure to enlighten the public as to the real issues plus heightening the existing confusion by playing stupid, cross-purpose politics with the New Deal Democratic governors.

(2) The first flush of victory for the CIO created and was in turn helped by amazingly useful and unexpected propaganda. The press, nationally, no matter how bitter editorially, could not keep the CIO off the front page. Organization—hampere as it was and still is by inadequate personnel both in number and training—was to an important extent built on publicity. Now, however, those halcyon press days are over.

The large, new, untrained organizations have to be maintained—have to enter the second stage of their existence which is one of organizational consolidation. Little if any attention has been given to this problem. The task of training the rank and file unionists to run their unions has been left to chance and accident. The abatement of exciting strikes has brought with it a lessening of union attendance, union dues payment and the corollary tasks of union life.

Only a careful, simple but thorough program of union building instituted nationally by the CIO can prevent the aftermath of deteriorating relaxation which creeps into organizational life.

## CIO Errors

(3) The immediate future belongs to the CIO but that future may be unnecessarily imperilled, its ultimate right to speak for the entire labor movement may be indefinitely postponed if certain blunders are not soon rectified. Those blunders have been ones created by hasty and incorrect decisions on the part of the CIO leadership. Outstanding as an illustration is the tragic mishandling of the west coast maritime and agricultural movements. Without excusing, on the contrary, while condemning the anti-CIO stand now taken by the Lundeberg-led forces of the west coast, it is none the less absolutely necessary to recognize that Lewis' haste and Brophy's misjudgment in recommending the

leadership personnel (appointing Bridges et al) have combined to deepen a profound inner labor conflict and promote a split.

This is not to say that Lewis and Brophy are "Communist stooges", nor that Lundeberg is simply anti-red. It is to say that the policies of the Bridges-CP forces on the west coast have created the conditions for a split in the Maritime Federation and the eclipse of the "Voice of the Federation". Into this situation the CIO barged with the result that it is definitely rebuilding the A. F. of L. reactionary west coast machine.

Brophy has again gone to the west coast this time to repair some of the damages created by his policies. He will fail unless Lewis steps in and acknowledges the errors and proceeds to make the necessary changes. It may be too late but if there is any chance to eliminate the split-possibilities of the powerful and militant west coast labor movement these chances should be taken.

These criticisms are necessarily made now for later they may be futile. The CIO is the progressive hope of the American working class. Its first national convention must set a standard for a democratic, militant, rank and file movement. Its campaigns now and later must bring to the works planned programs of union building and union training. To insure these necessities, of a vital labor movement Socialists and all progressives active in the unions will lend their energies. Any other path will be a path of defeat.

## Labor Politics

No approach to the labor movement today can ignore the growing relationship between labor and politics. Whether or not there is any meaningful change in the established labor political policies there is quantitatively more attention being given to the problem.

Clearly discernible is the trend toward a new coalition between the Roosevelt Democrats, third party movements and labor's political organizations—such as the Non-Partisan Political League and "labor" parties. The west coast Commonwealth Federations in Washington and Oregon, the Progressive Party and to a lesser extent the Farmer Labor Progressive Federation in Wisconsin, the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party and the Labor's Non-Partisan League in various states including New York American Labor Party are rapidly joining forces with the so-called left wing, New Deal Democrats. These forms vary from state to state but the direction is unmistakable.

Faced with the alternative of bringing the middle class and capitalist party groups into a labor alignment moving in the direction of independent political working class action, the labor elements both of the A. F. of L. and the CIO (though more aggressively) are moving in the direction of a new, capitalist party either similar to the British Liberal Party or the earlier "Lib-Lab" British coalition.

The character of this political grouping is already indi-

cative of an American version of a popular front—that is a mixed class political coalition on a non-working class program. True, it will never be called—except by the Communists—a people's front but politically it will serve no other function than to delay the movement for independent political working class action.

There is nothing obscure about this new formation. Its organization is being heralded throughout the country by conservative, liberal and labor circles. The August "Advance" prematurely looked toward a 1937 date for the realignment. In various states, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Washington, New York—to name no others—Labor's Non-Partisan League on its own right or through its affiliates have entered the democratic primaries to "capture" them a la Sinclair's EPIC. (Unconfirmed reports indicate a new North Dakota EPIC, christened EPIUS—end poverty in United States.)

## Rank and File

Despite real rank and file labor sentiment for independent political action the CIO leadership is definitely channelizing such sentiment into this American popular front. A determined effort on the part of the CIO could have overnight transferred the political direction of American labor onto the path of its historic, Marxist destiny. But this did not happen. Lewis has already patched up his harsh words with FDR, Governor Earle and Davey who contributed their bit against the workers in the Little Steel strike are still receiving local CIO support in their respective states despite Lewis-Jeremiads hurled against their democratic party-insulated positions.

In this framework it is conceivable that the class conscious political forces of labor—the Communist party, the Communist Opposition (Lovestoneites) would have stood with revolutionary Socialists in attempting not only to stem this liquidating tide of political action but positively to fight for, more vigorously than ever, the opportunity now before us of building an independent party of labor. However conceivable this may have been actually the opposite is true.

The CP openly looks upon the left wing democratic coalition as the answer to its people's front prayer. This is has explicitly indicated in the recent statement of its Central Executive Committee (Sept. 4):

"Statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued the following statement on the next step in the building of a People's Front in the United States."

"Labor and its allies are not interested in the Democratic Party as such, because traditional major party labels have ceased to have their old meanings. But labor is vitally interested in the Democratic Party as one of the vehicles at the present time of the peo-

# Klan Looms Large In Trial of Tampa Police Floggers

By Aron S. Gilmartin

TAMPA, Fla.—The famous Tampa flogging cases were renewed this week with the State of Florida placing on trial five former Tampa policemen and three Orlando Klansmen for the flogging murder of Joseph Shoemaker, former Socialist, near Tampa in November, 1925.

In a previous trial held for the kidnaping of E. F. Poulnot, State Chairman of the Florida Workers' Alliance, who was a companion with Shoemaker and Dr. S. G. Rogers, who was also flogged, the five former Tampa policemen were convicted by a six-man jury in a Bartow court where the present trial is being held and were sentenced to four years each in state prison by presiding Judge Robert E. Dewell. The sentence was later reversed on appeal to the Florida Supreme Court who remanded the case for a new trial but in announcing their decision declared: "The alleged police brutality is of a most revolting character and constitutes a blot on our civilization as a people."

The case was spotlighted in the nation's news by the recent furor over the appointment of Hugo L. Black, admitted Klansman, to the United States Supreme Court and the charges by Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, that the Shoemaker murder was a Klan job.

## LaFollette Committee

Revelations that the LaFollette Committee investigating violations of civil liberties throughout the country is likely to make an investigation of this and other cases of vigilante terror in Florida heightened the general interest in the case.

J. Rex Farrior, appointed by

Gov. Sholtz to conduct the first case and reappointed by present Gov. P. Cone, opened the trial by filing motion to nolle prosequere the cases against Edward Splvey and James Dean, Orlando Klansmen who were identified at the scene of the flogging by Rogers and Poulnot, surviving victims of the tragedy. Onlookers predicted that this presaged a general "white wash" of all the men involved and an attempt to slip out of the case with as little noise as possible.

Although nearly two years have elapsed, great interest is still displayed and several metropolitan dailies have sent special correspondents to cover the daily events of the trial.

Spencer R. McCulloch, noted staff correspondent of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, in a pre-trial article predicted an acquittal of all the men. In the background story he stated that official denial of police complicity were made but it was subsequently in accordance with a prearranged plan by mysterious men higher up. He charged that the Tampa city administration was run by a "secret government" and if the Ku Klux Klan was not directly involved, Klansmen participated in these notorious cases of violence afflicting Florida in recent years.

ple's progress to the solution of their pressing social problems. Labor is vitally interested in strengthening the progress in people's front forces everywhere, especially in the party which today holds the power of government."

The CP doesn't mince words here. It wants to strengthen the Democratic Party for the People's Front. It will consolidate its alliance with the "sincere spokesmen of bourgeois democracy.

## Lovestoneites

The Lovestoneites are more devious. Critical of the "Popular Front Illusion" abroad they have been de facto one of the prime movers in its creation in this country. Mis-using such prestige as they have in the needle trades (Local No. 22) and by a species of boot-licking alliance with Martin and some of the Black Legion elements in Auto the Lovestoneites have surrendered their critical role in the labor movement for a capitulating associate in the American People's Front.

Revolutionary Socialists can expect little from these sources. Nor can much assistance for independent labor action be expected from the Farmer Labor Progressive Federation in Wisconsin and the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party. These two labor supported political movements if not soon tied in with a National Roosevelt New Deal party will split wide open partly because of conflicts within the labor movement in those states and partly because LaFollette, playing Roosevelt's game in the mid-west, is using his power position to break these movements and or to break them away from any tendency that they may have harbored for inde-

pendent political working class action.

We find then in politics the CIO movement will not play an independent role. It will rely upon its "friends" in the Democratic party or it will put into the Democratic party some of its own people. In certain instances as in New York it had no hesitancy in endorsing Republican nominees for office.

As Socialists our task will necessarily be to continue the fight for independent political action despite this new set-back. There is no other alternative save liquidation of the one remaining Marxist party in America.

## Legislative Bans

One other respect of labor in politics requires careful attention at this time and that is the renewed drive made not only by reactionaries, but even by some of labor's friends for various legislative restrictions which would severely cripple labor's economic road to power. Attempts have been and will be made to amend the Wagner Act by adding to it a "Code of unfair labor practices" for labor; to bring about the incorporation of unions; compulsory publication of financial transactions (in order to outlaw racketeering) etc.

This drive, reminding of early days of the century when Judge Emery was whooping it up in behalf of the National Manufacturers Association may take on certain dangers unless the labor movement not only begins to fight against them in earnest, but more importantly begins to place less reliance upon governmental intervention on its side (which then invites the "impartial" government to intervene for capital) and more reliance on its own strength to win its daily battles.



# Unemployed Fight CP Leadership of Workers' Alliance

By Rhoda Pearson

Secy., Unemployed Committee  
Local N. Y. Socialist Party

The policies of Communist leadership of the Workers' Alliance are producing their logical results in weakening the fighting qualities and militancy of the organized unemployed.

Three of the most recent actions of the Communist leadership in N.Y.C. make this very clear:

1. The CP majority in the City office in N.Y. is sending out detailed instructions to the locals on the best methods for turning out the entire vote of the membership for Amter and the ALP.
2. Two Socialist members of an unemployed local in Brooklyn have just been expelled for daring to criticize the conduct and results of the Washington March.
3. No more sit-in demonstrations may be held at the relief bureaus in the future without the express approval of the City Office.

These three incidents taken together make a complete picture of what the Communist leadership is doing to the WA in New York. They are interested in the WA only for immediate political purposes, and therefore feel that the economic needs of the unemployed can be subordinated and even ignored. Their political campaign can be carried out successfully only if the opposition is thrown out of the organization and the membership restrained from embarrassing the La Guardia administration by their struggles in the relief bureaus.

The line of don't-fight-so-hard-and-the-liberals-will-help-you is a hard line to put over with the unemployed. Locals not controlled by the Communists are in open revolt against the line, and in the Communist locals there is a great deal of open grumbling among those members who remember the old days when the CP used to fight for the needs of the unemployed. The campaign in the WA for the endorsement of La Guardia is not so thoroughly successful as it may appear to the public. At a WA conference held in Harlem this past week, the applause sounded enthusiastic when La Guardia and the ALP were praised, but a close inspection of the conferees revealed that less than half of them were applauding at all. The majority of the unemployed still refuse to be enthusiastic about the government administration against which they have to demonstrate in order to live.

The campaign to expel or suspend opposition elements in the WA is not new. A few months ago there was a similar drive, with

the results that one Local in the Bronx was so disrupted that it has not yet recovered its old standing. The two members just expelled in Brooklyn were the builders and leaders of their local until the CP sent in members to drive them out of the leadership. The CP members who were sent into the Local disrupted meetings until the non-political membership became discouraged and left, and only then were they able to win an election and expel the former leaders. Threats have been made openly to carry out the same disruptive campaign, in another large non-Communist local in Brooklyn.

Criticism of the Washington March inspired these two latest expulsions, and there is every reason to believe that the Communist leadership is afraid of discussion on that particular demonstration. The demonstration was delayed until it was too late for the main body of the demonstrators to arrive before Congress had adjourned, and everything was so managed in Washington that the marchers were not allowed to picket the important administration buildings or to display any fighting spirit. The leaders of the demonstration were guided by a determination to cooperate with rather than to oppose the Roosevelt administration, and the thanks they received for their unsolicited concern was a slap in the face.

Although the leadership of the WA loudly hailed the results of the March as a victory, the members of the WA are not so convinced. They are still looking for their jobs. The promise given to have no more dismissals meant nothing, for the dismissal program was already completed when the marchers arrived in Washington. The national organization of the unemployed has failed to halt or delay the first round in the plan to drastically reduce all sorts of aid to the unemployed.

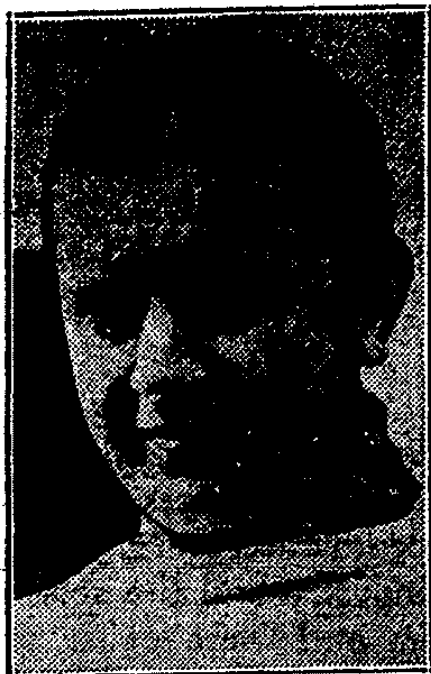
Unless the members of the WA who see where the Communist policies are leading the organization rally a determined opposition, the Workers' Alliance will soon fall into the same state of discredited ineffectualness as that existed in the Unemployment Councils before they became a part of the present Workers' Alliance.

## McCormick Endorsed for Toledo Council

TOLEDO, Ohio.—Timothy J. McCormick, Jr., Socialist nominee has been unanimously endorsed for City Council by the Workers Alliance of Lucas County.

Plans are being made for a vigorous campaign on all WPA projects to inform the workers of his candidacy and platform. McCormick for Council Clubs are being formed in the various branches.

Tim McCormick, at present a field representative of the CIO, was a member of the first National Executive Board of the Workers' Alliance of America, and later became both State President of the Ohio Workers Alliance and County Chairman of the Workers Alliance of Lucas County.



Bruno Mussolini, son of Premier Mussolini, is actively engaged in Franco's service as an air pilot. He is accompanied by Italy's crack squadron.

## Party Notes

### REFERENDA:

At the request of local San Francisco, the following resolution has been submitted:

"That the resolution of the National Executive Committee, 'A Temporary Policy During Party Reorganization be submitted to a referendum vote of the members.'"

To submit a Resolution to a referendum it is necessary that it be seconded or endorsed by at least five locals in three states having a total membership of 20 per cent of the total membership of the party.

Locals seconding or endorsing a motion for a referendum should transmit the action of their local in a letter signed by the Secretary and the Chairman of the meeting.

The letter should state clearly the date of the meeting and that the action was taken by a majority vote of the members present. The letter should also report the total number of members in the local.

Locals have until October 30th to second or endorse this move for a referendum.

The following motions have been received from local Rochester and have been published giving opportunity for seconds.

**RESOLVED:** That local Rochester hereby officially moves for a national referendum of the membership of the Socialist Party of America on the NEC action suspending the charter of California.

**RESOLVED:** That we officially move for a national referendum for the purpose of calling an immediate Special National Convention.

Locals have until December 15th to second the above motions submitted by local Rochester. Above regulations on seconds apply to these motions.

### ROY BURT TOUR

Roy E. Burt, executive secretary of the Socialist Party, U. S. A., started a month's tour of the west and northwest on Oct. 12. He will hold meetings in Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Washington, Oregon, California, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado and Nebraska.

Burt's tour also includes radio talks at Seattle, Wash., and Eugene, Ore., as well as a student assembly address at Reed College, Portland, Ore.

His itinerary is as follows:  
Oct. 12, Minneapolis, Minn.; Oct. 13, St. Paul; Oct. 14, Fargo and Moorhead, N. D.; Oct. 16, Billings, Mont.; Oct. 17, Butte; Oct. 18, Spokane, Wash.; Oct. 19, Seattle; Oct. 20, Bellingham; Oct. 21, Tacoma; Oct. 22, Portland, Ore.; Oct. 23, Salem; Oct. 24, Eugene; Oct. 25, San Francisco, Calif.; Oct. 26, Oakland-Berkeley; Oct. 29 and 30, Los Angeles; Nov. 1, Salt Lake City, Utah; Nov. 2, Pocatello, Idaho; Nov. 3, Ogden, Utah; Nov. 6, Denver, Colo.; and Nov. 7, Omaha, Nebr.

### DEBS MEMORIAL MEETING

The annual Eugene V. Debs Memorial meeting will be held in the Labor Temple Terre Haute, Ind., Oct. 24, under the auspices of the national office of the Socialist party. Old friends and followers will come from Indiana, Illinois and Ohio to honor the memory of the beloved Socialist and labor leader who died Oct. 20, 1926.

Chief speaker at the meeting will

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# AFL Authorizes Schism in Labor

(Continued from Page Two)  
ity brought down the house.

A sign of the times, the chill of advancing death at the top, is the absence of any large body of younger Socialist and progressive delegates. Only the teachers union delegates and the Pullman Porters Delegation headed by that remarkable Socialist, Labor and Negro Leader A. Phillip Randolph will have resolutions and voices to urge the cause of unity against the craft expulsionists. But they speak for far more than their numbers. Even in this Convention, Upholsterers and Street Car men came demanding industrial charters of the A.F. of L. for themselves.

Some conclusions begin to emerge from this:

1. Unless immediate steps to stabilize and democratize the CIO organization are taken, and less arrogance is expressed of the CIO the AF of L will be unable to hide the essential failure to organize the unorganized and denial of the prin-

ple of industrial unionism in the mass production industries in favor of entrenched, craft-union, dues-collecting agencies, behind a smoke-screen of democratic phrases and buncombe.

2. The AF of L is still a powerful machine with a great deal of stability which CIO unions in many cases have yet to prove that they possess. While lacking positive force the AF of L can rally immense resources for destructive struggle against the CIO unless carefully neutralized. The AF of L will not follow the example of the Knights of Labor and disappear in favor of the newer and more vigorous movement. The analogy between the AF of L and the CIO is the analogy rather of the United Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

3. The AF of L will be a highly inconsistent organization within—ranging all the way from healthy and militant even if conservative unions like the teamsters to corrupt chartered company unions like the Blue Card Union of Zinc, Lead, Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers.

4. There is real danger that the AF of L with influence over large masses of workers will be driven on a straight reactionary course taking with it large numbers of workers held to it by resentment against the CIO which will be painted all too easily as the breaker of unity and by antagonism and distrust to leading elements of the CIO whose past has not been repudiated.

Such an outcome must be fought might and main by all Socialists who recognize the progressive and dynamic principle of organization and struggle at the foundation of the CIO and who must as ever play their role of opponents of bureaucracy and weakening class-collaboration, economically or politically, wherever they are found.

Paul Jones, chairman of the SEC of the Socialist Party of Ohio announces the calling of a week-end conference of party members and others interested in the work of the party to be held at Yellow Springs Saturday and Sunday, October 16 and 17.

The purposes of the conference will be to take stock of the situation in the labor movement and the political field in Ohio, and to consider methods and plans for more aggressive Socialist activity here.

It is hoped that registration of attenders will be completed by 2 p.m. Sat., and the first session opened promptly. Discussions will be opened by Nelson Meagley giving a resume of the situation of the Party in Ohio and the tasks immediately before us. Saturday evening will be devoted to social and cultural activities. Comrade Samuel H. Friedman of New York City will speak on labor music and drama.

The Sunday afternoon meeting will be led by Bishop Jones on "Possibilities of Peaceful Social Change." Suggestions for further discussion or activities will be welcome.

Those attending for the two days will be charged \$1.50, which will cover registration, housing and meals. Those attending Sunday only will pay 50 cents for registration and dinner.

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**MANHATTAN**

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GERMAN Branch Meets second Tuesday of each month during summer Yorkville Labor Temple 243 E 84th St. G. Hoffman Organizer

Chelsea Br. Meets every Wed. at 312 West 24th St., Victoria Hakin, Sec'y.

**BRONX**

8TH A.D. Meets every Wed. 7 West 26. Roberta Sugarman, Sec'y.

**DETROIT**

BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday, 8P. M., 1110 West Warren.

# Only One Course Open to UAWA - Take Offensive

By Ben Fisher

DETROIT.—Two factors have led to an auto manufacturers' offensive against the United Automobile Workers of America in recent weeks. Economic pressure has been the

main factor; the Detroit municipal campaign has been the second factor.

Competition from Henry Ford, the citadel of the open shop, is the main source of the economic pressure. Ford is paying lower wages than General Motors, the main stronghold of the union.

It has been generally understood for some time that GM would not launch a vigorous offensive against the union if Ford was in the midst of a hectic struggle with the union. With Ford organized, it becomes economically unwise to expend too much money in fighting the union. It is cheaper to go along. But with Ford not organized it becomes economically impossible for GM to tolerate the union.

## Organize Ford

This is why union workers are rallying behind the slogan—ORGANIZE FORD. Each day it becomes more apparent that GM cannot be kept in the union fold without Ford organization. General Motors spokesmen in conferences have frankly stated that they cannot discuss questions of wages and hours unless Ford is organized.

The reaction to this situation is not confined to the desire to organize Ford; there is also a determination to militantly effect the GM offensive. The answer to GM is not simply an understanding of what impells them to action but also a counter-attack. Strike votes are being taken in some GM plants; committees are being sent from plants to the International Office of the union asking for prompt and vigorous action against GM; thousands of the most active union members are proposing plans for ACTION.

Closely linked to the employers offensive is the current political campaign. Every attempt is being made to undermine the confidence of the union members in their organization; this is the only way to defeat the Labor State. To the extent that the auto workers are loyal to their union, to that extent is the success of the slate assured. A vigorous drive against the union and against union conditions can undermine loyalty. Firing of stewards and active union workers, speeding up of the production lines, cutting down of wage standards, all tend to shake the morale of the auto workers. Their union is much for them; workers are logically loyal to the organization which has been responsible for an improvement in their conditions. When they see these conditions decline, their loyalty is shaken.

In the closing days of the campaign it is likely that announce-

ments will be made of new plants being opened by manufacturers in other cities. This will be held up to be the voters' by their daily press as an example of what a Labor victory would lead to. It is even possible that factories will be closed down to intensify the scare.

The answer to this offensive is the major problem facing the auto workers. Well-established unions, functioning on the basis of long traditions and closed shop contracts, can stand such an offensive for a considerable time without much counter-attack. The UAW is not this type of union. It is new; it has not yet achieved organizational stability.

Militant workers are demanding action. A well-planned campaign is in order. The absence of such a campaign can prove to be very dangerous to the economic and the political future of the auto workers. The key to such a campaign is to be found in the Ford campaign and the mobilization of the union in the GM plants. The auto field is so inter-related that it is difficult to fight GM on a plant-by-plant basis; to have any effect thru the use of this tactic the whole weight of the union must be brought to bear in order to defend each plant action and give the campaign an aggressive character.

In similar fashion, it is not possible to maintain the industry half organized and half unorganized. Not only does this relate to Ford, but also to the small competitive shops. The tasks of the union have been so gigantic that sufficient time has not been given to the organization of small shops. During normal periods this is not important. But during a crucial period such as this one, small shops are used against the union. The shops with the best union agreement farm out their work to non-union shops, causing a lay-off of the unionized workers.

The time element is a very important one. Any substantial slackening of loyalty means a lower income for the union; a lower income means less possibility of putting on new organizers to handle the work that needs to be handled; and failure to handle this work will further decrease the loyalty of the membership. The union leadership is therefore faced with a gigantic responsibility.

The alternative course which some elements appear to favor in the face of the present situation would be ruinous. To offset the GM attacks on the union, an attempt would be made to make the union ultra-respectable. To offset the campaign against

# U. of Oregon Bars Student For Views

By Charles Paddock

EUGENE, ORE.—Gordon Connelly, YPSL student at the University of Oregon, will not be allowed to graduate next spring unless sufficient public pressure is exerted to pry the exemptions committee loose from a three-year-old ruling. The ruling is that Connelly's declaration, "R.O.T.C. is not only worthless educationally, but definitely propagandistic," is not sufficient grounds for exemption.

Connelly has consistently refused to submit to the university's military conscription, and is now asking for the third time that he be exempted. When previous attempts failed, students throughout the state, largely led by Socialists, launched an initiative, rounded up 18,000 names on petitions, and put the question of compulsory drill on the ballot.

The initiative lost, partly because all Oregon measures last fall suffered from a "No" complex of voters, and partly because many voters thought they were voting against compulsory drill when they voted "No."

## State Board Blocks

Students' and faculty votes at the university have consistently shown a preference for optional training, but a reactionary state board of education has blocked every attempt to change the status of war classes.

The Labor Slate in the municipal elections, an attempt would be made to tone down on the labor angle of the campaign and dump the slate into the lap of liberals and politicians. To offset the charge against "Communism" in the union, an attempt would be made, and to some extent has been made, to eliminate militant union leaders, an attempt which inevitably would be directed against Socialists and those who are affiliated with no political group, there being very few Communists in even the lower leadership of the union.

Such a course will not defeat the auto manufacturers; it will strengthen their hand and demoralize the union membership. Union solidarity against the employers on the political and the economic field is necessary. The answer to whether such solidarity will be shown rests primarily with the rank and file membership of the union. The might of the rank and file cannot be swept aside by any group or any tactic.

## KANSAS

The 1937 state convention of the SP of Kansas will be held in Kansas City on Sunday and Monday, October 24 and 25.

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# Young Socialists Tell Of U. of Pitt. Struggle

To the Editor of the Call:

You have no doubt read in the N.Y. papers of the latest attempts of the administration of the University of Pittsburgh to stifle student expression on the campus, and in this case, in the undergraduate newspaper, the Pitt News.

I am including here a complete summary of all of the facts and there is no doubt as to their veracity. In one of the first issues, an article was written by one of the editorial members, criticizing the great donation which A. W. Mellon had made to Pittsburgh charities, mentioning in particular the valuable piece of art, which were of no use to the miner or aluminum worker.

The administration sent a letter to the Pitt News editor, Leopold Koberlein, representing him to disclaim the article in a front-page editorial, and state that the writer was not a staff member. The editor refused.

Instead, the editor wrote an editorial stating that the article did not necessarily state the opinion of the paper, but rather was that of the author. He re-

fused to rebuke the writer of the Mellon article.

A meeting of the Publications Board met without notifying the editor and business manager of the News, who are ex-officio members of the Board. They passed a resolution stating that future copy for the paper would be passed on by the faculty. Immediately thereafter, in fact in the same issue that carried this resolution, Koberlein tendered his resignation effective at once.

Thereupon the Board approached various members of the editorial board, asking each whether he would take over the editorship. Each refused. The News staff met, and stoutly backed up their editor. They decided not to resign, but to wait for their editor to return. They demanded a rescinding of the order.

The Young People's Socialist League has passed a resolution condemning the action of the Pitt administration and circulating petitions asking rescinding of the school's action, and complete freedom of the Pitt News from administration supervision and censorship.

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# A Sad Tale of How LaGuardia Forced N. Y. Anti-Fascists To Halt Their Fascist Protest

By Gus Tyler

A new word has been coined in New York City this week. It is "non-fascist."

A "non-fascist" is an anti-fascist who fights Fascism by not fighting it.

This creature was discovered last week hiding in the vest pocket of New York's Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia.

And here's how it happened.

### The Two Demonstrations

Every October 12th—Columbus Day—two demonstrations take place in New York City. One of these is run by the pro-Fascist societies and the other by the anti-Fascist bodies. For the last few years, these counter-demonstrations have taken place at about the same time in Columbus Circle.

All this occurred before the People's Front had flipped the anti-Fascist organizations of New York.

This year, Columbus Day comes just a few days before election. And that's bad—for a couple of liberal New York politicians.

It's bad for Jeremiah T. Mahoney, the man who made such a fuss about America's participation in the Nazi Olympics. He was dead set, again it. He was against Fascism, for fair play! Against Hitler, for the Jews. He was a real champion of the oppressed—he said.

Now—Generosa Pope, big pro-Fascist newspaper man invites Mahoney to speak at the Fascist meeting. Mahoney accepts.

### Et Tu LaGuardia

And that's bad for La Guardia, who also wants to be Mayor of New York. La Guardia is the "two-fisted fighter for human freedom" who denounced Hitler so loudly before Jewish voters that Der Fuehrer heard it on the other side of the ocean and made official diplomatic protest. La Guardia has a

loud voice for Hitler's "chamber of horrors." But he grows meek and silent in the presence of Il Duce. Nay more! La Guardia, too, accepts and speaks at the Fascist demonstration amidst many cheers for the Butcher of Ethiopia, the arch-enemy of Italian labor.

### The Non-Fascists

But this is not the end of the story. For we must also reckon with the anti-Fascists, especially the Italian anti-Fascist Committee which has traditionally organized the counter-demonstration.

This committee is embarrassed, because it is composed of bodies, most of whom are out to elect La Guardia—as the champion of labor. For them to run a counter-demonstration would perhaps let the workers know the real odor of the Little Flower.

So they approach La Guardia to save them from the embarrassment of running a demonstration against the Fascists.

The ever ready political wit of La Guardia finds a way out. La Guardia offers to speak at both meetings.

Here is the real 8th Wonder of the World; here is the man who can be at home with Fascists and anti-Fascists, who can bridge the unbridgeable chasm, who can bring peace into the divided world. In Spain, the struggle between Fascists and anti-Fascists is being fought on the barricades. In Italy, the Fascists torture their enemies while the anti-Fascists plot underground. In Germany, in Austria, in Hungary, in Poland

—likewise. What a shame that these countries have no "Little Flower" to scatter sweetness and light amidst them—so that the Fascist Lion may lie down peacefully with the labor lamb.

### The Proviso

But hold! On closer examination one finds that not even the most astute and ubiquitous Mr. La Guardia can unite fire and water. He agrees to speak at the meeting of the anti-Fascists—provided—

Provided the anti-Fascist meeting is not anti-Fascist. There must be no speeches against Fascism; no speeches against Mussolini; no attacks against Il Duce; no reminders of the crimes of Italy's dictator against the Italian workers and against the colonial masses.

The meeting may be "non-Fascist," but not anti-Fascist. The meeting must be for Columbus, but not against Mussolini. The speakers may hail the discovery of America; but they dare not protest the suppression of Spain's masses; the speakers may purify themselves in the glories of 1492 but not a syllable about the crimes of 1937.

These were La Guardia's conditions.

And these shameful, ignominious conditions were accepted by those trade unionists, those liberals, those Communists who have fallen so low in their crawling before La Guardia that they can not even strike a lone blow against Fascism.

La Guardia says "Hush;" and



Sir Oswald Mosley, British Fascist leader, who was stoned at Liverpool by militant anti-Fascist workers. The fabulously cool-blooded Britisher seems to have a pretty direct way of handling the Fascists. Needless to say, the liberal authorities in Britain are greatly disturbed by this rude militancy of the workers.

these brave fighters against Fascism grow speechless.

The name of the organization which runs the "non-Fascist" demonstration becomes the Italo-American Committee for the Columbus Day Demonstration. At the meeting, not a banner, not a slogan, not a word against Fascism. The bold fighter for human freedom, La Guardia sends the high notes of his stentorian voice ringing in praise of Christopher Columbus; his heart bubbles with joy at the thought that America was discovered; and he hopes for a "happy America."

So this is the People's Front! When the liberal capitalist, standing with one foot in the camp of reaction orders his labor backers to withhold their attacks upon Fascism because it will pinch his right toe — labor is supposed to obey. So this is the way to fight Fascism!

Another such "victory" for the People's Front and New York's Fascists may well raise their voices in celebration of their "de-feats."

## S. P. Statement On Columbus Day Demonstration

"The spectacle that took place this week at Columbus Circle is an interesting object lesson in politics. Both candidates for the Mayoralty, Mr. LaGuardia and Mr. Mahoney, together with Governor Lehman, appeared on the platform of a Columbus Day demonstration, arranged and run in the interest of Italian fascism. This annual rally has always been marked with the taint of Mussolini propaganda.

"It is curious to note that both Mayoralty candidates have in the past set themselves on record as opposed to Nazism, but the Italian twin-brother, it seems, easily escapes their condemnation. In the case of Mr. Mahoney, his presence at the meeting is not unexpected. So far as Mr. LaGuardia is concerned, however, the workers of New York, who honored him with the nomination for re-election, as candidate of the American Labor Party, had the right to exact a higher standard of political conduct.

"When the Socialist Party withdrew its candidate for mayor, in deference to the wishes of the American Labor Party and in accordance with its desire to cooperate with the growing labor party sentiment, we made it plain that we could not endorse LaGuardia. His action in addressing the fascist-inspired rally yesterday, as well as his support of Colonel George U. Harvey, the comic-opera Hitler of Queens, gives further support of our position.

"Opponents of fascism in New York must give political expression to their opposition. While it is essential that Mahoney, and the Tammany interests behind him be defeated in the coming elections, the workers will want to record their hatred for fascism and their disapproval of such spectacles. They can do so by voting the straight Socialist ticket, and by utilizing the system of proportional representation to elect the Socialist candidates—Harry W. Laddler in Brooklyn, S. John Block in Manhattan, and Aaron Levenstein in the Bronx—to the City Council."

Why?	What?	When?	Who?	How?
During the past several weeks the CALL has come to its readers much too irregularly.	A comprehension of the work which the CALL is trying to do from week to week is necessary in order to understand this.	The work of the CALL must be done from week to week.	This battle which the CALL is waging is your battle.	Workers who recognize these dangers ahead must throw their strength behind the CALL today.
Our readers have been informed and are flocking to our aid.	The CALL is carrying on singlehandedly along class lines in opposing capitalism, in opposing class collaboration, in opposing the war plans of the capitalists.	It is a steady task, and our effectiveness is greatly weakened by irregularities and by interruptions.	It is the battle of the working class.	Subscriptions must be renewed.
Last week's Call appeared on time.		Class collaboration in unions today, class collaboration in this year's elections, must be labeled and attacked.	It is the working class which is most concerned with these issues, and which must have a voice in the wilderness.	New subscriptions must be sold.
This week's issue is on time.		We must steel ourselves for the test against class collaboration in the conduct of the coming world war.	The CALL is not conducted by a rich institution nor by an endowment.	Bundle orders must be sent.
We fully intend to be on time each week in the future.	This is an unpopular job which is not in style at this time, but a very important one.	It is an immediate task which cannot be postponed.	It is a joint enterprise, in which you play a part. It belongs to American workers who know that the fight must be carried on.	The blanks below furnish the mechanics for doing this.
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