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THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN USA—(left) Ford's thugs beat a union organizer; (right) Children of the sit-down miners aid their dads in the fight.



Chicago Police Brutality Rouses Organized Labor

By FRANK N. TRAGER
National Labor Secretary, Socialist Party

CHICAGO, Ill.—As this goes to press, the sixth striker in the Chicago area died so that steel may be organized. He and the other five lost their lives as a result of one of the most vicious and unprovoked police attacks yet to be staged by the strike-breaking anti-labor Chicago Police department. At least 100 additional workers were injured, including Max Luna, strike leader and member of the East Chicago Local.

And all this because the striking workers wanted to exercise their legal right of peaceful picketing against the entrenched

lic and Youngstown companies were 'NEXT TO LAST'. After them would come the remaining steel companies, Bethlehem and Weirton."

Corrupt Politics

The murder of these six men by the police on Sunday ought once for all damn to perdition the unholy tie-up between Mayor Kelly and his corrupt democratic machine politics with the Chicago police as strike-breakers.

Kelly had the unmitigated gall
(Continued on Page Ten)

FLASH

Frank Trager, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Party issued a protest upon the findings of the Party Investigating Committee.

The coroner's inquest has been postponed for two weeks following the plea of the State's Attorney Office which is awaiting final results of the mortalities among the wounded workers.

This means that the case against the police murders is postponed.

As we go to press a sixth worker dies and others are likely to follow. A mass funeral by the workers is planned.

interests of the Republic Steel Co.

The immediate cause of the police offensive against the workers arose out of the determination of the strikers to throw a picket line around Republic Steel in the same way as they had already done around Inland Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube. The steel workers held a meeting on Sunday afternoon to protest against the first attack of the police which had taken place on Friday last. The speakers on Sunday, Leo Krzycki and Nick Fontecchio, national and regional SWOC leaders respectively advised the men to go back and reform their lines.

'Next To Last'

The Steel workers needed no urging—ever since Friday's attack they were eager to demonstrate that the striking 23,000 workers in the South Chicago and Lake County (Ind.) district were determined to win union recognition in the steel mills. They knew and were saying quietly but firmly that they had to "hurry up and win because Inland, Repub-



Ford dispossesses another union organizer in his typically genteel manner.

FORDISM LOOKS LIKE FASCISM IN AUTO STRIKE

By FRANK MARQUART

"We have always made a better bargain for our men than an outsider could. We have never had to bargain against our men and we don't expect to begin now."

This statement, along with five others expressing Ford's benevolent concern for his workers, was printed on little cards labelled "Fordisms" and distributed to Ford workers recently. About a week later the whole country was shocked to learn about the true nature of Fordism.

Four organizers of the UAW went to the Ford plant, parked their cars, and according to one newspaper reporter, they had been followed from the West side Local office, 2730 Mayburn Grand, to the plant by a car full of Ford service men. After parking their car the union organizers walked to the bridge at Gate 4. When they mounted the stairs to the bridge they were not accosted, stopped or questioned by any company guards. There were only four of them—

Richard Frankenstein, Walter Reuther, J. J. Kenedy, Robert Kanter. They were not accompanied by any other organizers or union members

Attack

Contrary to the statements of Harry Bennet, neither those men nor any of the union members on the ground below called any Ford employees names
(Continued on Page Ten)

Sit-Down Miners Smash Sabotage Of PMA Officers

WILSONVILLE, Illinois.—After a two hundred hour demonstration in a mine sit-down, the strikers came up from their self-entombment to continue their battle against the company.

A sinister conspiracy designed to discredit and sabotage the stay-down strike of 540 miners was effectively smashed Wednesday night when Local Union 1, Progressive Miners of America, in a regular meeting voted overwhelmingly

officially to sanction the strike. State officers of the PMA, who have condemned the strike as "illegal and unauthorized," organized their conservative forces for the meeting and also sent a special

Strike Sidelights

WILSONVILLE, Ill., June 1.

—Under the canopy of a pleasant moonlight night a committee of miners emerge from their entombment to address hundreds of men, women and children who congregate every evening to hear about the state of things down in the entrails of the earth. Each speaker apologizes for not being a public orator. Then with intense seriousness, the tripriders, conveyormen, motormen and tracklayers turn to their tasks—they have to be orators whether they want to be or not. And what speeches they make! They talk in terms of sharing their poverty with the men at mine number three; they speak of bread, their children's education, the histories of their many struggles and their desire to live.

BROTHERHOOD

One of the stay-downers is a brother of a congressman in Washington. "My brother lives in swell hotels in Washington," he says jokingly, "but I'll bet he don't have the comforts we have down there. Gee, we get swell food from those women of the Auxiliary. I never ate food like that before. And what makes things great down there is the brotherhood among the men. We are truly brothers and we're all set to stick until we get that division of work."

An elderly miner's wife stands near me by the improvised speakers' platform. Her gentle eyes are moist but set and determined. She stuck with her man through the years of many a miners' strike and she will see him through this one. Maybe she is thinking of what settings like this meant at other times.

The mine shaft stands huge, black and ghostly in the background. Shafts like that have
(Continued on Page Nine)

John Fisher, leader of Local 1, Gillespie, Ill., is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and was recently reelected chairman of the SP of Illinois at a state convention.

representative to dissuade the strikers from their action. John Fisher, chairman of Local Union 1, allowed the state representative all the time he desired to present his case. Half of the stay-downers had emerged from the pit to attend the meeting. The state officers were bitterly assailed.

Then by a tremendous viva voice the 1600 members present at the meeting roared out a vote officially approving the strike.

The strike now directly involves 2200 miners employed at four of the Superior Coal Company mines in this area. Production has been at a standstill at all the mines since May 20, the beginning of the strike.

Equal Division

The miners voted to stand pat on their demand for an equal division of work at the four mines. They are now also asking that the three miners who were discharged
(Continued on Page Nine)

"Full Steam Ahead" CIO Answer to AFL

By John Newton Thurber

John Brophy and his staff of CIO organizers have given the most effective possible answer to the embittered council of war held by the AFL at Cincinnati last week. While the AFL raises a war chest and moves to expel CIO sympathizers from City Central bodies, the CIO is turning on its drive to organize the unorganized full blast.

In answer to the AFL threats of civil war, John Brophy, CIO director, has announced that the CIO will move its organizing drive into every industry which has no labor organization, including those industries in which existing unions are not taking care of the workers employed there.

To make it clear that the CIO does not contemplate a program of union wrecking, it was made clear that no CIO drives will be launched in fields already effectively organized. Specifically mentioned were the building trades unions and the railway unions. The building trades are the best organized of the AFL unions, while the railway unions are part in the AFL and part independent.

AFL OFFENSIVE

This pronouncement strikes at the keystone of the AFL counter offensive, which relies on doubling the per capita tax of all unions to the AFL. If the strong building trades and railroad internationals realize that they are being taxed to fight the battles of other unions, they may not vote the increased tax, which is not an obligatory levy.

Stonger support to the AFL attack on the CIO will be found in the City Central bodies, which in most cases are dominated by the craftists. Little opposition will be voiced to the expulsion of CIO delegates, since they have been virtually suspended for months, and the action can be regarded as having small significance. However the bloody phases of this internecine struggle can be expected to flow from this point, for most picket line clashes and the like will be directed from these craft strongholds in various cities.

NORTHWEST

John Brophy issued his counterblast to the AFL just as he embarked on a highly important junket into the Pacific Northwest. By the time he returns he is likely to have added over a hundred thousand more members to the ranks of the CIO in two highly strategic industries.

The first Brophy objective will be the wooing of the timber workers, restive at their second class status in Hutcheson's Carpenters' union into the CIO ranks. These rough and rugged workers, stemming from the old IWW tradition, are likely to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO shortly.

Second Brophy objective is the third convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. These workers have demonstrated their militancy in two bitter strikes which have tied up west coast shipping during the past two years. The very organizational existence of the federation has been in defiance of the AFL reactionaries. Both Harry Lundberg and Harry Bridges, leaders of the two most important units of the federation, are committed to CIO affiliation.

Lundberg's Seamen have been operating without benefit of an AFL charter since they ousted reactionary ISU officials nearly a year ago. Rank and file pressure in the Longshoremen Union has likewise pushed Bridges to CIO affiliation. In the offing is a national maritime convention which will represent all maritime workers on all coasts, the Great Lakes and even Hawaii, which will band all these key workers

together under the banner of the CIO.

The AFL's proposal of a maritime department comes much too late and stands small chance of being accepted by any considerable body of rank and file, who recognize it as a means of perpetuating the power of the reactionary officialdom of the ISU and the I.L.A.

WHITE COLLAR

The hastily called convention of the White Collar workers in Philadelphia last week-end set up a new national union, the United Office and Professional Workers of America, which starts off with CIO affiliation.

All the constituent locals of this new grouping were AFL Federal locals previously. The union expects to organize all types of white collar workers into one big office workers' union.

RETAIL CLERKS

Stepping into a field which has a potential membership of hundreds of thousands of workers, but which the AFL has succeeded in organizing only 10,000 in 47 years of the Retail Clerks International Protective Assn., the CIO has chartered the unions constituting the New Era Committee, a progressive group of New York locals, and is setting up the United Retail Employees of America.

Regional offices for pushing an organizing drive over the country will be established according to CIO announcement.

NEWSPAPER GUILD

The AFL executive limited the Newspaper Guild to employees in editorial rooms only, at its recent Cincinnati session. Already Newspaper Guild groups are taking steps to expand their organizing activities to other professional groups employed in newspaper work. Heywood Brown, Guild president, has been on the CIO top committee for many months, but the Guild has not yet affiliated with the CIO.

PUBLIC UTILITY WORKERS

The United Electrical and Radio Workers, vigorous young CIO affiliate, has announced a drive to organize the workers in every public utility in the country. Already well on the way in organizing the important Consolidated Edison Co. workers in New York, where a staff of nine organizers is being concentrated currently.

The CIO is furnishing twenty more organizers at the outset of this important drive. A convention of all utility locals of the UE and RW is being called for Philadelphia for Labor Day.

SHOE WORKERS

While Powers Hapgood and five other CIO organizers remain in Maine jails, two important plants in that state have voted to affiliate with the CIO's United Shoe Workers. The efforts of the Maine court to break the union through imprisoning its militant leaders has been defeated.

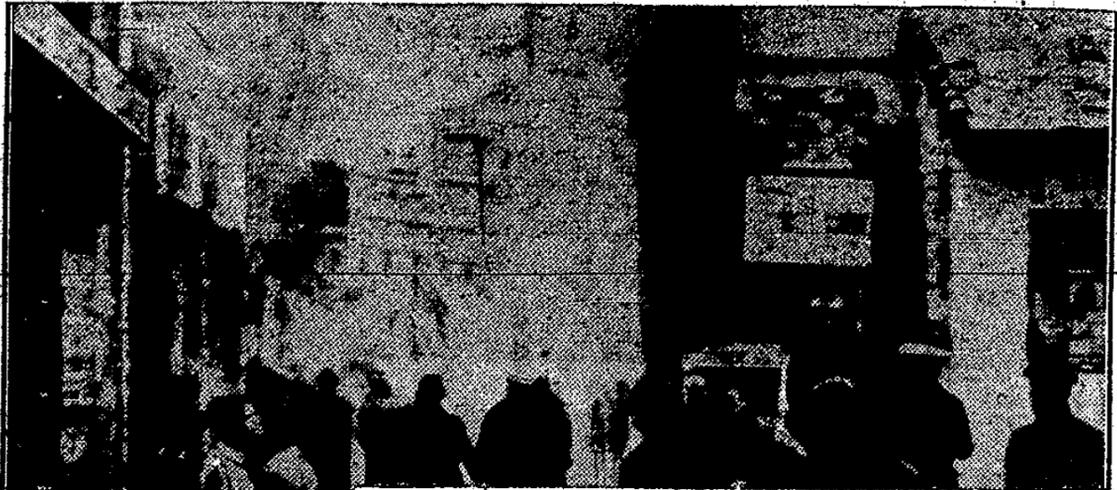
John L. Lewis has invaded New England to consummate this drive and to bring public opinion to bear on the drive to free Hapgood from the Maine sentence he is serving for the violation of an injunction.

MAJOR DRIVES

The major activity of the CIO continued against the powerful independent employers in steel and auto. After closing contracts with such important steel units as US Steel's Carnegie and the General Motors and Chrysler Corporations, the CIO is meeting even tougher opposition with the Republic Steel and Ford Motor Companies.

The near civil war which broke out last week in South Chicago and River Rouge, which was reflected by violence in Youngstown, Buffalo and elsewhere, in-

Almeria Bombing Threatens A War In All Of Europe



THE bombardment of Almeria, Spanish Loyalist seaport by the German fleet threw the fate of a general European war into the Iberian fires.

The bombing was Hitler's retaliation for action of Loyalist planes in firing at a Nazi warship, which

25,000 JOBLESS STRIKE IN NYC

Sacrificing a day's pay each in the largest demonstration of its kind ever staged, 25,000 New York City WPA workers stopped work in a 1-day protest against impending large scale reductions in relief rolls.

Demanding passage of the \$3,000,000 Boileau relief bill, the strikers bitterly assailed the inadequate appropriation of \$1,500,000,000 which Congress seemed about to pass. Congressional logrolling to the tune of millions of dollars in amendments to even this pitifully small sum increased fears that its passage would entail the removal of many thousands more from work relief rolls than the 500,000 originally estimated.

indicates the opposition which these important independents intend to raise.

Again the triple phases of opposition to militant unionism has arisen. Reactionary unionism has played its role in the AFL's attempt to scab on the strike of Ford workers affiliated with the CIO in California. Reactionary employers are typified by Ford and Republic. And the tie-up was completed with the performance of the employer dominated police in South Chicago and in Ford's domain in the suburbs of Detroit where the beating of union organizers and trade union militants was practically supervised by the police.

Nationwide Response To ILG Drama Contest

More than 174 full length plays have already been entered in the \$3,000 play contest of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union by dramatists in all parts of the United States.

The contest, which is offering a first prize of \$2,000 and a second prize of \$1,000, is the first one ever to be sponsored by a union and aims only "to stimulate the writing of good plays of social conflict in America."

Describing the ILGWU's inspiration for the contest, Julius Hochman, chairman of the union's educational committee and an ar-

The following telegram was sent to Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, by Devere Allen, member of the NEC of the Socialist Party:

"To continue so-called equal treatment of German and Spanish governments is preposterous. Every one knows who is peaceful and who aggressive in Spain. Present situation is partly fruit of your previous efforts to placate Hitler and Mussolini by unneutral treatment of Spanish Loyalists. Situation demands immediate banning of war materials shipments to Italy and Germany whose governmental conduct is worse than that of any ordinary belligerents to whom our policy is supposed to apply."

Report Program Of Capitalism

The new Negrin cabinet in Spain, which is fighting a war against Franco for democracy, is reported by the Associated Press as preparing to restore the rights of the churches and to return all industry, except war time production, into the hands of the original owners.

In a despatch of May 27, it outlined the program: "1. Restore freedom of worship in all churches in Loyalist-held Spain, enabling the resumption of Catholic services as permitted under the republican constitution; 2. Return all businesses to their owners, except for certain large industries important for war purposes."

ticulate supporter of the CIO said:

"Apparently something like this has been necessary for a long time. People in the theatre have come to us, time and again, complaining that there are so few good plays being written about labor and the present social conflicts in America."

"Plenty of playwrights seem to be available, but for many reasons they have been avoiding these themes. We are accepting the challenge, and by offering large cash prizes we hope to stimulate the writing of good plays about labor."

"We might say that labor, awakened to its social responsibilities is emerging from its own ivory tower."

the Spanish Government claims first opened fire upon its aviators.

Simultaneous with the attack upon Almeria, Hitler and Mussolini withdrew entirely from the London Non-Intervention committee.

It is believed in diplomatic circles that the direct intervention of Hitler automatically designates Germany a belligerent in the Spanish war. Arnaldo Cortesi, Italian correspondent of The New York Times and suspected mouthpiece of Mussolini, writes:

"It is evident that the situation at present existing between Italy and Germany on one side and Valencia on the other is nothing but a kind of armed truce or, perhaps more accurately, latent war."

France and England have issued a statement declaring that further "direct action" in Spain may set off an international war. This note, which is deemed a warning to Germany and Italy, was toned down by a simultaneous warning to Spain against further attacks upon the vessels of neutrals. This note is calculated to placate the Fascist powers.

America Involved

Whether the bombing of Almeria was an act sufficient to categorize Germany as a belligerent or not is a moot question for the American State Department, which is charged with the enforcement of a Neutrality Law embargoing all belligerents alike in an international conflict. Up to the present, American firms have been permitted to deal with Germany and Italy, despite the fact that actually, if not openly and technically, these two powers have been at war with Spain.

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116 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

Lack of Democracy in Russia Endangers Economic Gains, Says Norman Thomas

"U.S.S.R. Not Moving to a Classless Society But Strengthening Class Division—"

NORMAN THOMAS
Amsterdam, May 16, 1937

SO DIFFICULT is the task of giving one's impressions of the U.S.S.R. fairly that the attempt requires a prefatory note. In our case that note must stress our sense of gratitude to many people: to our efficient and courteous interpreter and guide; to Infourist, Voks and Ogiz; to many patient and kindly Russians in factories, farms, and social institutions; to some of the members of

the American community in Moscow, especially to certain of the Embassy staff whose statistical and other information was invaluable; and, finally, to many of our fellow tourists whose contacts, not only with Russia but with Central Europe, were wider than our own. We found it an excellent preparation to go into Russia by way of Austria and Poland, and in some ways a very interesting experience, especially in judging certain forms of social work, to come out through the Scandinavian countries. So much by way of introduction.

solved as nowhere else in the race problem apparently has been world.

After the horrible nightmare of anti-Semitism in central and southeastern Europe it is a great thing to come to a country without a Jewish problem within its borders.

On the Land

Everywhere one feels the remarkable pace of industrial organization to which statistics testify. The agricultural crisis seems to have passed. We very much liked the two collective farms or Kolkhozes we visited—one, so to speak, officially and one unofficially. Certainly village life is far ahead of what the cotton plantations have to offer in America. Perhaps that was true even before the collective farms had begun to clean things

main so even after the reductions which the government has announced take place. I spent much time trying to figure how a worker could live at all on an average industrial wage of 231 rubles a month.

He ought to be able to help Mr. Roosevelt balance the budget! The cheapest bread is 85 kopecks a kilogram, and I had to pay two rubles for one lemon in a country cooperative store. Nevertheless along these lines average conditions are improving and the workers, I was told, are a little better dressed than they were. I suppose families get along because both parents work and the cash value of social services is considerable. There is still a shortage of cattle in the country, but undoubtedly there is a steady improvement in

as forty or fifty rubles. I heard of a woman in charge of a hall in a building who got as little as eighty rubles, and this without meals. Don't let anyone tell you that there is no feeling of class distinction between the poorer paid workers and the high officials or even the Stakhanovites!

Democracy

I breathed a purer air of democracy as between man and man in Denmark than I did in Russia. There is much to be said in support of the necessity of various spurs to teach Russians to work, but the speed-up system as practiced in Russia seems to me to contain many perils not only to individual well-being, but to Socialist ideals.

One might believe that these dangers could be faced and overcome in a society where there was genuine Socialist democracy. It is precisely this that I did not find in spite of the new constitution and the continual praise of self criticism which I heard. Criticism may apply to the carrying out of a policy, but not to its formation. The Russian peasant and worker live under about the strictest passport system in the world; they have unions and workers' clubs; they are allowed to go to church; but they have no right of free association, political or otherwise.

Stalin

A Russian reads precisely what news the government gives him to read. Only under the most exceptional circumstances can he leave the country. Even the old consumers' cooperatives have been

and Moscow around May 1 I saw rather more pictures of him than of Lenin.

When I left Moscow a Russian woman was still held incommunicado in jail, where she had been for more than three weeks. Her only offense was that she had taken a large bundle of papers from an American correspondent, at his request, to deliver to an American woman who lived in her house at Gorki. The correspondent was told by high Soviet officials that it was a crime for a Russian citizen to receive any papers on the proscribed list. This list is not published, and apparently it includes most of those papers which it is permitted to foreigners to receive through the mails.

It is just because there is so much to admire in Russia, just because I want Russian life and conditions to stand out in complete contrast to those in fascist countries, that I grieve over the matters to which I have briefly referred. Nothing is gained for Socialism by ignoring them, and to see them need not blind one to the great achievement of the Soviet government. Some observers hope that the secret ballot will bring a little democracy at the bottom, and that Stalin himself has enough of his old revolutionary idealism to want to narrow the gap which is now widening between classes in Russia. Of his probable successors they are more doubtful.

Certainly Russia has cleared the ground for real Socialist building, but the Socialist building requires for its safety as well as for its beauty an atmosphere of liberty.

Hear Thomas at Hippodrome June 10 at 8:30

in Russia, and nothing exactly like it in the rest of the world. It would be impossible to impose such a labor commune on the ideals and economic practices of a capitalist country.

Here is a labor commune, a happy city, run on the principle that criminals can be made useful citizens under normal conditions of work, education, mutual responsibility, and the open door. I saw fewer guards there than, for instance, in the fine plant of Pravda.

But scarcely half a mile from the entrance to Bolshevo we passed a big gang of prisoners under armed guard finishing the aqueduct which is part of the Moscow-Volga Canal project. None of these prisoners was eligible for Bolshevo. They were presumably "murderers, bandits, or political prisoners"—Kulaks, real or alleged, and members of that large group of Russians who suddenly disappear from their homes and accustomed places, usually without any trial worthy of the name.

These are the men who are doing a large part of the work on Russia's canals, railroads, and roads. Of conditions in their camps the foreigner can learn little or nothing. The only one I saw briefly from a railroad train looked miserable enough. It is this kind of contrast between Bolshevo and the workers on the canal which runs through my impressions of the U.S.S.R.

Race Problem

To come into Russia after what we saw in Austria and Poland, and the stories we heard of the Balkans, is to get a vivid sense of the actual and still more the potential greatness of the U.S.S.R. Here is one-sixth of the land area of the globe under one flag with a population rapidly increasing, and unquestionably vigorous. The

Thomas Returns

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, is returning from a tour of Europe this month. In Spain, he said his wife narrowly escaped death when a bomb exploded a few feet away from them. Thomas will speak on his impression of Europe.

up and to establish their schools and other institutions!

These social institutions—day nurseries, kindergartens, polyclinics, schools, workers' clubs, and museums—on the whole make an excellent impression. Some of them, for instance, certain of the museums and other means of adult education, stand out by any standards.

In sum total these social institutions and social services fall far short of what one finds in such happy lands as Denmark and Sweden, but they shine out in comparison with what there was—or was not—in old Russia.

Housing

Housing is still wretchedly bad. Rents, fixed by rather complicated rules, are pretty well kept below 10% of the workers' incomes, but in Moscow I think I am correct in saying that the average space per person is still less than half of the legal requirement of nine square meters. An aggressive effort is being made to remedy this, and the Russians hope that the most recent building will not prove as shoddy as were houses and schools built in the early days of the first Five Year Plan. I saw houses and one public school built since 1928 which were already in very bad condition.

Living Costs

Consumers' goods are still poor in quality and often very scarce. Prices for all of them, including food, are very high, and will re-

both quantity and quality of cows, pigs, poultry, and horses.

I do not think that the government has found as yet a truly just or satisfactory way to determine prices of consumers' goods, or farm products to the peasants, or industrial wages. The problem is difficult at best and is enormously increased by the necessity the U.S.S.R. is under of maintaining a great military establishment for defensive purposes.

Somebody has to pay for that, and, to put it mildly, the peasants pay their full share. The Red Army itself stands out. The men are well housed, well clothed, well trained, with some other end in view than to make them mere parts of a military machine.

After the May Day parade I heard a foreign officer say that only Russia could put 830 airplanes in the air at one time in one demonstration. I hope that Hitler is duly impressed with this fact!

It is, nevertheless, a tragedy that world conditions compel the U.S.S.R. to put so much of its national income and of its thinking into military defense.

Socialism

But if these things were all, I should rejoice that the U.S.S.R. had at least achieved the basis of a Socialist society in spite of immense difficulty and that it was building on that basis in a gratifying fashion.

What gives me pause is the strong feeling I had that Russia was not moving towards a classless society, but on the contrary, perpetuating, and even strengthening, new class divisions.

A Stakhanovite may possibly make as much as two thousand rubles a month; an unskilled worker in the same factory may make one hundred or one hundred and fifty rubles, and some maids in private employment get as little

outlawed in the cities, although they still exist in some form in the villages. Perhaps this is sound economic policy, but it does not emphasize democracy or liberty.

The evidence seems to me strong that fear is so great among the more articulate portion of the community that it affects adversely all political and historical writing and discussion. Every issue is settled by a quotation from Stalin. In Kiev

HAMILTON NEW YPSL NAT'L SECY

At the National Executive Committee meeting of the Young People's Socialist League held in Philadelphia May 29 through 31, Ben Fisher, former national secretary of the YPSL, resigned. Albert Hamilton was unanimously elected to fill out his term. Ben Fisher will take Hamilton's place as member of the NEC.

In 1931 Hamilton was expelled from UCLA because of his refusal to take the required courses in military training. His was one of the three cases to go up to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Hamilton was National Chairman of the Student League for Industrial Democracy in 1934. It was during this time that the merge with the National Student League was made to form the American Student Union. He was chairman of the unity conference, which was the first convention of the ASU at Columbus, Ohio, in December 1935. He is a former member of the National Executive Committee of the ASU. In 1934 and 1935 Hamilton was also the Student Director of the YPSL,

Many things in Russia exceeded my expectations. The masses impressed me as generally happy, but there is an incalculable and poisonous weight of fear which if continued will destroy our dreams of Socialism. In a world where Socialism is the only alternative to fascism such a fate if it is not avoided will mean a long night for the human spirit.

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and in 1936 he was elected to the NEC.

At present he is the chairman of Social Action of the National Council of the Methodist Youth.

He will have to give up the position of City Organizer of the YPSL in Cleveland, which job he has held for several months in order to take over the National Secretaryship of the YPSL June 30.

A vote of thanks was given to Ben Fisher for his work as National Secretary for the past two years.

A motion was passed by the NEC to initiate a drive by the YPSL to build a Norman Thomas home for the Spanish children.

Red Falcons Aid Basque Children

The Red Falcons of America in cooperation with the American Board of Guardians for Basque Refugee Children are making a drive to get in touch with families to give shelter to the Basque Refugee Children.

Friends of the Workers' Children, a parent organization, are in active cooperation.

Those who wish to help get in touch with the Friends of the Basque Refugee Children at 21 East 17 Street, New York.

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AID TO SPAIN

The bombing of Almeria in Loyalist Spain by the German fleet blew up more than a seaport town. It exploded the myth of "non-intervention."

The German navy has been intervening on Franco's side while acting in the capacity of patrol for the non-intervention committee. Instead of patrolling outside a ten-mile limit—as it should according to the non-intervention agreement—the German navy has chosen to sail where it pleases; and in addition it ordered the Loyalist Government not to fly any of its airplanes over Nazi ships.

As del Vayo pointed out to the Council of the League of Nations, this made impossible a government air attack upon insurgent cities, since the German fleet might at any time make such a city its harbor. The effect of the German order not to fly over its ships was to hamper the military actions—the most necessary and legitimate military actions—of those who were fighting Franco.

On the afternoon of May 29, the day on which the German admiral issued his strange "neutral" edict, a German ship, *Deutschland*, fired at Spanish planes. The airplanes retaliated. And then, Germany rose in its righteous indignation and bombarded helpless Almeria.

Germany's declaration that it was provoked into this action by the bombardment of the *Deutschland* without any initial act on the part of its warship will convince nobody. Hitler knows that it is nearly impossible to produce witnesses on such a question, and so he can well afford to lie and say: "It's my word against yours."

Unfortunately for Germany, however, it has lied so often and so poorly that its credibility is impeached in the court of world opinion. It is, moreover, ridiculous beyond all sane belief that the Spanish government should go out of its way to find itself another enemy. It has enough work to do now, without dropping bombs on the ships of a "neutral" power for no reason at all.

No; Germany's logic is no logic. The stream is running downhill; the lamb could not have muddied the water; and the lamb can scarcely be accused of playing the role of the wolf.

The bombing of Almeria punctuates the need for aid to Spain. Once more—this time with a thunderous crash—the system of non-intervention has collapsed. The anti-Fascist forces of Spain need military and material aid.

The capitalist powers refuse to give it. "Friendly" France is scolding Spain. The Associated Press reports that the French foreign minister, Yvon Delbos, "warned against further Spanish attacks on foreign warships." Brave France! It "warns" against "attacks." Whom does it warn? Germany? Of course not! It "warns" Spain.

Spain has only one real defender outside Spain—the masses of the world. Upon them—upon you—depends the fate of Spain. Advance the movement for aid to Spain.

A POOR EXAMPLE

I.

Some wise student of revolution once remarked that one of the reasons that the masses did not overthrow regimes altogether according to Hoyle, the Marquis of Queensbury and Emily Post was that the ruling class failed, in good season, to set the masses an example of good manners.

What better proof of this could there be than the savage behavior of the kindly Mr. Ford and the gendarmes of steel property in the Middle West.

The number of workers wounded runs now into the hundreds. The dead also find their place in the catalogue of capitalist crimes this week.

Auto organizers were severely beaten by so-called loyal workers of Ford. Unfortunately for these "loyal workers" and their employer, newspaper photographers were present to get action photos of these mugs. Strangely, the hip pocket of one of these "loyal workers" displayed a pair of dangling handcuffs. We wonder what part these play in the production of flivvers!

No doubt the auto and steel bosses think that if they are cruel and savage enough they will kill the organizing spirit of the workers. No doubt they expect to rule forever. Poor fellows, it is for them we must have pity finally. Their day will come, too, for men and women refuse for ever to remain slaves. But when it does come, the masses will act in the "rude" manner which they have learned from the example of their present masters.

Don't cry for a "halt to the mob" then, good gentlemen of wealth. That won't be a mob. That will be the ghosts of the men and women who have killed come back to haunt you.

UNIONISM NOT FORDISM



Organizers of the auto workers fight against Henry Ford. (Left to right) Walter Reuther, Richard Frankenstein, and J. J. Kennedy.

A Fighter Writes From Madrid

A LETTER FROM MADRID

Madrid, May 16, 1937.

My Dear S.—

Yours of the 29 ult arrived but a few minutes ago. It is very difficult to write other than hastily and so I have to content myself with a short personal note.

Of the men who came in at the same time I did, I can tell you about the following: H. A. is now an officer (lieutenant or captain) in the infantry on the Guadalajara front. The young German lad from the west coast, H. B., was pressed into service as an automobile mechanic at the base in A. D. C. is a sergeant in the transport Regiment here in Madrid, and J. M. is driving a truck in the same outfit. E. A. is here in Madrid working very energetically as interpreter at the headquarters of the International Brigade.

You can send cigarettes, etc. to the men here in Spain in small packages. You can be reasonably sure that parcels will reach their destination for the courier service is doing a marvelous job in the face of incredible difficulties. So far we have been getting French cigarettes and tobacco. Milk chocolates would also be greatly appreciated.

Comradely greetings to all. Salud, E. M.

Coolidge Finds Call "Splendid"

To the editor:

I think the last three issues of the Call have been splendid—full of interesting material presented in a readable manner and with clear emphasis on the Socialist interpretation. I hope this is a fair sample of what can be done under the new arrangements.

Cambridge, Mass. ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE.

New Mooney Evidence

WASHINGTON—The Senate judiciary committee will hear new evidence on the identity of the perpetrators of the 1916 San Francisco bombing when it conducts hearings on the pending congressional resolution to memorialize the State of California to pardon Tom Mooney. The evidence, contained in a hitherto secret government document, contains the sworn testimony of a British wartime spy linking the German consulate and the district attorney's office with traffic in bombs.

JUNE 20 CONFAB WILL ORGANIZE CIO IN TEXAS

By GEORGE J. PAPAN

One of the most important steps since the beginning of the oil drive by the CIO is being taken at this time in the state of Texas. At the call of the Typographical Union of Beaumont, Texas, a state-wide conference is being held for the purpose of organizing a Texas state Committee for Industrial Organization. The meeting will take place in Beaumont, June 20. All local unions interested in the formation of such an organization whether they are now affiliated with the State Federation of Labor or not are invited to attend.

District 4 Executive Council of the oil workers announced its endorsement of the state conference and recommends that all of its local unions attend the meeting in Beaumont. The call for the state conference is of particular interest as this is the first such meeting called by any of the local organizations in the country; secondly because a very important local union which is affiliated with the AFL is calling such a meeting; and thirdly, because the AFL has made a very strenuous effort in Texas to prevent the organization of the oil workers in the CIO.

It has concentrated some of its best disrupters into this region, which is the key to the national

unionization of oil workers. The enthusiastic response this conference has received from local labor leaders throughout the state will show the amount of dissatisfaction there has been with the policy of expulsion and suspension of affiliates of the CIO, which has been carried out very reluctantly, under threats of national organizers and international representatives of the AFL and its affiliates. In many cases only after telegrams had arrived to central labor bodies from William Green was action taken against local unions of the CIO.

Two of the main things motivating the organization of the state conference is the tremendous enthusiasm for organization that has swept the state of Texas as the result of the drive among the oil workers, which the CIO affiliates so far have been unable to cope with, due to the fact that there is no established office to take care of the many workers demanding organization into CIO unions. The other reason is the vicious attack of the A.F.L. against the CIO.

It is expected that several local unions of the ILGWU will endorse the conference.

GENORA JOHNSON AT BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

Genora Johnson, leader of the women's brigade of automobile workers at Flint, will speak on "The Recent General Motors Strike and the CIO" at the open forum of the Bronx Free Fellowship, Boston Road and East 172nd Street, on Sunday evening, June 6th.

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ITALIAN JEWRY

By Ben Yizhaki

The forty thousand Jews of Italy begin to assume an importance which modern history has denied them.

Unlike semi-fascist Poland and Nazi Germany, Jews have never been conspicuous as Jews in fascist Italy. In the course of his conquest of power, Mussolini did not need to use the Jews as a scapegoat. The Jews constituted a small minority, which, unlike the Jewry of Eastern Europe, was thoroughly assimilated in Italian life. Unlike pre-revolutionary Russia, the Jews of Italy did not participate in radical and revolutionary movements in larger proportion than the native Italians.

Until about two years ago, Italian Jewry shared the fate of the rest of the population of Italy. Life under the fascist regime has been very difficult. As a race, however, the Jews of Italy have not been discriminated against to any appreciable extent.

For the past two years, however, the editorials in Italian newspapers have continued to remind us that the fascist dictator in Italy is intent upon emulating the example of his brother-dictator of Germany. Mussolini has satisfied himself thus far by mere warnings. After the warnings, action will begin.

Warns Jews

From a dispatch in the New York Times of Wednesday, May 26, we learn that Italian Jews have been warned that "either they publicly declare themselves enemies—we mean enemies—of international, Masonic, subversive, and above all, anti-Fascist Hebrewism and give to their manifestations simply and sincerely religious, or renounce their Italian citizenship and residence."

The editorial in the "Popolo d'Italia" of Milan further emphasized that the Jews must give up all opposition to the German Nazi-principle of a pure Teutonic race. The Jews of Italy must not support the Zionist movement, which is "in direct opposition to the Mediterranean spirit of Italy," because the Jewish national home project is designed to set up a new state under British control that would be hostile to Arabs and Moslems.

Hitler Alliance

The conclusions are very clear. The Hitler-Mussolini alliance cannot allow the Jewish minority of Italy to defend itself or the Jews of Germany against the distorted anti-Jewish policy of Hitler.

Hitler has evidently succeeded in convincing Mussolini that so long as a small part of the population of Italy—and it is small indeed—is anti-Hitler, the alliance with Mussolini cannot be perfect.

At the behest of Hitler, Mussolini has warned the Jews that they must not defend themselves against his brother-dictator. Mussolini's brand of fascism has therefore perfected itself by adding one new plank—that of "Aryanism" which is a further proof that ultimately one brand of fascism is like any other.

In Anti-Jewish Riots

One more factor must be added. The role of Italian fascism in the anti-Jewish outbreaks becomes increasingly clear. The "defender of Islam"—the latest title which Mussolini has adopted for himself—has sent in agitators and poured money into the coffers of the Grand Mufti and the Effendi-lords in Palestine to aid the latter in their fight against the Jewish workers and pioneers of Palestine.

His warning to the Jews that they must stop supporting Zionism, substantiates the charges levelled by Zionists everywhere against the role of Mussolini in the anti-Jewish outbreaks in Palestine in 1936.

According to the latest press reports, Mussolini acts as host to a large group of Palestinian Arabs who study at Rome the technique of anti-Zionist methods of propaganda. This anti-Zionist stand of Mussolini is clearly a part of his anti-British policies which he adopted with the beginning of the Italo-Abyssinian War.

Fascism Must Go

Mussolini began his anti-Zionist activities in 1934, by throwing active Zionists into prison for "anti-fascist" activities. His official *Popolo d'Italia* has come out with a warning which can be interpreted in only one way. Italian Jewry is entering upon a critical period—a period which will not end until Fascism disappears from the face of the earth.

In Defense Of Louis Waldman

By GUS TYLER

Although Louis Waldman, spokesman for "right-wing" Socialism in America bid fair to be more reformist than any reformist in the world, he has failed in his task completely. The Communist Party of America has surpassed him in the game of compromise with the capitalists.

Last week, the CALL announced, in passing, that Waldman had again drawn down upon him the wrath of his party, this time the American Labor Party, by press-releasing out of turn. The events since our brief comment, however, have given the greatest significance to his statement.

Waldman, speaking in the name of the Social-Democratic Federation (a split off from the Socialist Party,) called upon LaGuardia to cease his wooing of the Republican Party in New York City for the mayoralty endorsement. Waldman urged that La Guardia become the candidate of the American Labor Party and of other progressive groups, and that he run against both the Tammany and reactionary Republican machines.

Progressives

Whatever the motives behind Waldman's position may be, we believe that it represents a wholesome and progressive tendency as against those elements in the ALP who wish to form an alliance with the GOP in New York City. In the light of the need for independent working class political action against the capitalists, Waldman's stand represents a commendable advance.

The CP Attacks

But not every working class party thinks so! The Communist Party most definitely thinks that Waldman is wrong.

In a particularly vicious article, written by Si Gerson, LaGuardia expert of the Communist Daily Worker, Waldman is named the "stooge of Tammany Hall." Some unnamed leader of the ALP is quoted as favoring the expulsion of Waldman from the American Labor Party.

What is the Daily Worker logic here? The Communists now want a Popular Front with the Republican Party against Tammany. If La Guardia loses Republican votes, then the way may be open to a Tammany victory.

The Class Struggle

So completely had the Communist Party forgotten the class struggle, the elementary lessons of Marx, the need for a working class party, that in a simple election between Republicans and Democrats—there is not even the excuse of imminent Fascism here—they can only think in terms of throwing their support to one or the other.

Louis Waldman—of all things—must remind them of the class struggle. And in return the Communist Party opens the sluice-gates of its political character assassination to call him a "stooge of Tammany."

A Lesson

There is an important lesson here, not only for workers who wish to know where the Communist Party stands today in the class struggle, but also for Louis Waldman and his followers.

When in the last presidential campaign, Norman Thomas refused to back either Roosevelt or Landon but ran as an inde-

pendent working class candidate, Louis Waldman together with the Communist Party turned upon Thomas and called him Landon's stooge. Thomas was taking votes from Roosevelt, hence he was aiding Landon. Class lines were forgotten!

Own Medicine

Now Waldman gets a taste of his own medicine. We do not gloat that the Communist Party has taken the reactionary stand it does in regard to the municipal campaign in New York City. We regret it. But we must also recognize it and estimate it.

Waldman must remember that this trick of identifying a "left" wing group with the ultra-reactionaries by making a principle of support for the lesser evil always returns to haunt its creators. Yesterday Waldman called Thomas a Landon-man. Now the Daily Worker writes the same of Waldman.

ARK. PLANTERS SUBJECT STFU TO TERRORIZATION

News of the violent breaking up of two meetings of locals of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in Mississippi County, Arkansas gave fresh confirmation to the charges of Union officials that Arkansas planters were launching a new campaign of terror against the Union.

An orderly meeting of the Ar-moral local at the home of Earl Thompson, union member, was disrupted when a group of about forty planters and riding bosses, led by C. Cregery, Superintendent of the adjacent Lee Wilson Plantation, broke into Thompson's home, forcing 75 union members to leave the house at the point of guns. The planters searched the house, destroying furniture and threatening members of the union. After dispersing the meeting they seized the Charter of the local.

On the same night W. B. Moore, organizer of the Union, was forced off the plantation of C. M. & J. R. Whittle twenty miles west of Blytheville on Little River. Moore had been asked by some 50 tenants on the plantation to come and take their application for membership in the organization. Shortly after arriving at the home of one of the tenants, he was forced to leave by the Whittle brothers and a group of their riding bosses. All of them were armed.

Officials of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in telegrams to Governor Bailey of Arkansas and to the United States Senate Civil Liberties Committee demanded that an investigation be made into these violations of liberties guaranteed to all citizens under the constitution of Arkansas and of the United States.

LEADING LABOR

By McAlister Coleman

Still at Brookwood Labor College, and still excited about the future of labor education now opening up because of the Great Awakening that has come with the emergence of the CIO.

Brookwood is a hot spot for news these days, an ideal work place for a busted scribbler who can't get around to Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, the Southern-textile towns. To Brookwood come men and women from all the new labor fronts with the latest word of the struggle that is making history with such amazing speed.

Coleman an Author

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast," and in spite of the fact that my last royalty check from America's dumbest publishers had on it "No more than Forty-nine Cents," I am at it again. The only trouble is that things are moving so fast that any authentic book chronicling the current labor scene will have to have a loose leaf appendix.

It will be necessary to write the first chapter last just as the book goes to press and then send along a weekly summary to its readers.

The first strike in which CIO played an important part was the Goodyear stoppage at Akron no later than 14 months ago. But since then, so many pickets have gone on the line on so many far-flung fronts that the Akron strike sounds like ancient history, already. (That "already" shows the effects upon your Uncle Mac of playing around with some German refugees.)

However I have no intention of writing a book that will have violence for its central theme. The public, outside the movement, has had its popped out eyes filled with pictures of embattled sit-downers and club-swinging gorillas, and "loyal workers" on their way into Mr. Ford's plant equipped with black-jacks and handcuffs.

Sobering Up

There is a danger that "Johnny Q. Public" as that ineffectual bore, Boake Carter, calls the white-collared, will gain the impression that all an American worker does in these CIO days, is march around with fists clenched hollering mean-at-scabs, or rough-housing cops.

Considering the enormous and sensational publicity given to every strike situation, it is interesting to read the sober statistics of production and find that men and women are turning out goods in some miraculous manner. Somehow they do find time enough in between riots, to get to the job. It is about time that someone bestir himself to sneak a word in edgewise to the effect that the labor movement is not organized in terms of violence. That its coming into an industry does not imply chaos and conflict. That the union contract means something not only to the individual worker but to the industry as a whole.

After all, the wonder is not that there has been so much violence in this mammoth task of building a labor movement anew, but that there has been so little. No one in his more or less sober senses thought for one moment that inveterate labor-haters such as Ford, the independent steel men, the textile moguls would go out and kick CIO organizers when they showed up at the factory gates.

The resort to force is the natural end-product of a system whose essential cruelty is now exposed to a wondering world. Nurtured on a might makes right philosophy, the Fat Boys were bound to put up the sort of trapped rat fight they are making against any whittling down of their long-held special privileges.

A Philosophy

Along with the tragically necessary struggle to impose a civilized way of living upon primitively-minded bosses whose law is that of tooth and fang, there goes the equally important business of bringing to the multitudes of union recruits the history and philosophy of a genuine labor movement.

Because of the breathless tempo of the movement today it is necessary to put men and women, who have but the vaguest notions of what it is all about, into positions of authority. There is crying need for competent teachers for labor's class of 1936-7. There is the opportunity for those who have held high the torch of education through the black days of despair and apathy, even worse than despair, to give their best to those eager new-comers who are swarming into the movement.

Because its only philosophy was a negation of any philosophy, the AF of L is folding up all over the labor map. As the CIO pursues the implications of industrial organization, it becomes the sturdiest bulwark of our day against war and fascism and a mighty weapon, too, in the hands of those far-sighted ones whose concern is the building of a world fit for decent men and women to live in.

WHAT HAPPENED IN BARCELONA

Great interest has been aroused within the ranks of the working class concerning the circumstances surrounding the friction between the Anarchists and P.O.U.M., on the one hand, and the Catalan Government, on the other. Reports from Europe, from reliable sources, have been slow in coming to America. Next week, the SOCIALIST CALL shall report an interview with Sam Baron on various aspects of the situation in Spain. Mr. Baron has just returned from Spain.

This week, we are submitting for the information of our readers a reprint of an article appearing in the British New Leader. Our reprint of this article is not an expression of the Call's policy. Mr. Liston, however, is thoroughly acquainted with the situation in Spain. Liston M. Oak, the author of this article, is an American journalist who has just completed a four-months' study of the Spanish situation. He worked for three months for the Republican Government at Valencia in charge of a bureau for propaganda for English-speaking countries.

He was a member of the American Communist Party for nine years, during which time he was editor of "Soviet Russia Today," organ of the S.S.U. for three years, and "FIGHT" organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, for a year. He was also on the editorial staff of the New York "Daily Worker," and was a member of the executive board of the Theatre Union.

He left Spain just before the street fighting broke out on May 3, after spending a month studying conditions in Barcelona. He has interviewed many of the leaders of the various organizations supporting the People's Front.

By LISTON M. OAK

Disunity in the ranks of the working class has contributed largely to the triumph of Fascism in several countries. All anti-Fascists regret that the heroic fight of Franco's opponents is weakened by internal dissension. But a critical examination of the facts will disclose that the attempt of the Stalinists to place the blame upon those whom they term "Trotskyists" or the Anarchist militants is false, and that the Stalinists themselves bear a larger share of the responsibility for disunity than any other Spanish organization.

Fantastic Reports

Newspaper reports of the recent street fighting in Barcelona are incomplete and misleading. Lack of understanding and information led correspondents to cover up by a cheap journalistic trick—to accept Stalinist demagoguery and label it a "Trotskyist revolt." Frank Pitcairn reduced it all to a simple formula—the Trotskyists planned the revolt to give the German and Italian Fascists a pretext to land troops to maintain order. His supporting argument is too ridiculous and fantastic to convince anyone except credulous "Daily Worker" readers.

The "Daily Worker," by quoting from "La Batalla," organ of the P.O.U.M., seeks to prove that the "Trotskyists" plotted the revolt. The quotations prove nothing except that the P.O.U.M. supported the Anarchists once the fighting had started. The P.O.U.M. was in much the same position as Marx, who wholeheartedly supported the Paris Commune although he considered the uprising ill-advised and ill-timed.

P.O.U.M. Opposed to Rising

I interviewed several leaders of the P.O.U.M. a few days before the fighting started on May 3, including Nin, Gorkin and Andrade, representing the center, right and left wings of the Party. They definitely advocated the postponement of any armed insurrection to capture State power until after the defeat of the Fascists, and the right wing considered an armed insurrection unnecessary even then. The left wing of the P.O.U.M. did advocate preparation for the inevitable struggle between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in Spain. But being realistic, practical politicians, they knew they must first win a majority of the working class, and particularly the militant Anarchists, to a clear revolutionary programme.

It is apparent to everyone save those to whom the Comintern is infallible and its word is law, that the P.O.U.M. is not a Trotskyist Party. The Trotskyist group in the P.O.U.M. is quite small and is

not represented on the executive committee. Such leaders as Andres Nin have long since broken with Trotsky. They refused to merge with the Socialist Party of Spain when ordered to do so by Trotsky, and there have been frequent and acrimonious arguments between the Trotskyists in the P.O.U.M. and the majority, ever since. "La Batalla," organ of the P.O.U.M., has carried a series of articles attacking Trotskyism, and a number of Trotskyists have been expelled for "disruptive activity."

A Congress of the P.O.U.M. was scheduled for this week—if held, it will now probably have to be illegal. The Trotskyists told me that if the Congress did not adopt their political line they would split with the organization. They maintain that the P.O.U.M. is a centrist Party and not Bolshevik-Leninist.

The Stalinists prefer to ignore these facts, for, in line with their international campaign against Trotskyists as "criminal agents of Fascism," all anti-Stalinist Communists and Revolutionary Socialists are dubbed Trotskyists, in order to justify terrorism against them as "enemies of the working class." This is reminiscent of the days when all Socialists were called "Social-Fascists" and the Comintern rejected a united front with them, because to make a united front with "agents of imperialism in the ranks of labour" would be a crime!

Communist Contradictions

The "Daily Worker" of May 11 reports that "The Trotskyists launched the attack of May 3 in Barcelona. But in the very next paragraph the report becomes more factual, stating that on May 3 'the Left Catalan Minister of Public Security and the United Socialist General Commissar for Public Order sent the armed republican police into the Telefonica building to disarm the employees there, most of them members of the C.N.T. unions.' Thereupon 'the Telefonica employees resisted this order of the Government' and the fighting began.

Here is the immediate issue in the recent struggle—the disarming of the revolutionary workers. Behind that was the demand of the People's Front Government that the F.A.I. and the P.O.U.M. give up their revolutionary aspirations and accept the Left Republican-Communist-Socialist programme, which, like the French Front Populaire programme, limits itself to an anti-Fascist democratic republic.

The workers of the F.A.I. and the P.O.U.M. have been defeated. But if there had been complete unity within both organizations and between them, and if they had been prepared for the struggle, they could have won and established a truly revolutionary work-

ers' and peasants' Government (which, incidentally, would have led to an offensive on the quiet Aragon front). Their defeat is due primarily to the lack of clarity in the F.A.I., which clings tenaciously to the Anarchist hatred of Marxism, and rejects the idea of a democratic dictatorship of the working class. To many of the Anarchists—the Marxist P.O.U.M. is only slightly less objectionable than the P.S.U.C. (Stalinist-controlled United Socialist-Communist Party).

Militants Suppressed

Many of the Anarchist leaders who have broken their 70-year-old anti-parliamentary tradition and accepted ministerial posts in the People's Front Government have become seduced by power and have capitulated to the social-democratic, opportunist and social-patriotic line of the Stalinists. Only such Anarchists will henceforth be tolerated by the Government—revolutionary Anarchists will be called "uncontrollable, gangsters and hooligans" and persecuted.

The Stalinists will attempt, of course, physically to exterminate the P.O.U.M. Widespread publicity abroad, accompanied by pressure and protest, can mitigate the terror and save Spanish revolutionists from the fate of German revolutionists under the regime of Ebert, Noske and Scheidemann.

Realistic revolutionists must face the fact that the Spanish revolution has suffered a serious setback. Those who prefer ideology to straight thinking can continue deceiving themselves with Stalinist People's Front demagoguery. Certainly a victory for democracy is a thousand times better than a Fascist victory in Spain. But the triumph of Social Democracy and the establishment of a progressive democratic republic—if that is possible under conditions prevailing in Spain—will not in itself be any guarantee against Fascism—as we should have learned from events in Social-Democratic Germany and Austria. At best, a People's Front Government is but a temporary barrier against the onward march of Fascist reaction, in Spain as in France. The policy of the lesser evil is no better now than in the past.

Government Paralyzed

It must be admitted that the Republican Government of Spain has waged war very ineffectually. It has been paralyzed by a series of crises—as I write, news comes of another such crisis in Valencia, similar to the crises which led to fighting in Barcelona. (Largo Caballero has broken with the Stalinists, who prefer either Prieto

LABOR AMERICA

Two Unions in Mines Cost Workers Much

By GERRY ALLARD

III

The rift in the miners' ranks of Illinois has taken more than the toll of forty lives, mass victimization and prolonged fratricidal warfare. It has weakened the fighting qualities of both the Progressive Miners of America and the United Mine Workers of America. The latter organization shows a tendency now-a-days towards more aggression spurred by its excellent service of organizing the unorganized workers through the C.I.O.

The leadership of both unions vie with one another when they deal with wages and working conditions for their membership. The P.M.A. officers repeatedly make no secret of the fact that they have no desire to push the coal operators with whom they have agreements for fear that the U.M.W.A. might win over the mine. On the other hand, the coal operators play one union against the other. The chairman of the Illinois Coal Operators Association,

or Negrin as Premier.) These crises arise from the inner contradictions of the People's Front which cripple the Government on the economic as well as the military field.

And added to its internal weaknesses is the fact that the Spanish Republican Government is subject to tremendously strong pressure from Anglo-French Imperialism. Soviet Russia, seeking military alliances against Fascist Germany, Italy and Japan, places its security above the interests of the Spanish proletariat, and collaborates with Britain and France. The Comintern wants no revolution anywhere until after the threat of Fascist aggression is ended. Britain will give no aid to Republican Spain until there is no danger of a proletarian revolution. But neither will Britain, France and Russia permit a Fascist victory. Britain wants, as always, a weak Spain, exhausted by civil war and subject to British influence. The present prospect is that the civil war will drag on until Spain will be forced to accept peace terms dictated by Britain, in which face-saving concessions may be made to Italy and Germany.

British Imperialists who feared a Spanish revolution rather more than Fascism will now feel reassured. With Stalinists in the ascendancy and the P.O.U.M. and F.A.I. revolutionists temporarily crushed at least and the Spanish People's Front committed to a programme which does not go beyond the completion of the bourgeois revolution and a reformed progressive Capitalist democracy, British policy will doubtless be modified in favour of the Republican forces.

While Spanish Stalinists were crushing the Barcelona revolt, their French comrades were voting against the motion introduced into the Chamber of Deputies by M. Bergery for fundamental reform of Capitalist society. What further proof does British Imperialism need that the Third International, like the Second, is committed to policies and tactics which no Capitalist need dread? While Soviet Russia vies with Nazi Germany for an alliance with Great Britain, the Comintern will act as a brake to any upsurge of revolutionary workers in Spain, in France, in China, and everywhere.

Mr. Jenkins, resigned recently because of difficulties in negotiating a new contract with the U.M.W.A. for his several mines. He has contracts with both unions and everything is hunky-dory for him. Mr. Jenkins pits the miners of one mine against the other. The result is usually profitable to him.

A better example of what the division among the Illinois miners costs is the Belleville district which is almost wholly under control of the P.M.A. Out of some 60 mines and "dog-holes" in this district, about ten of them actually pay the basic scale of wages, which is now six dollars a day for seven hours.

Work Status In PMA

At the Borders Coal Co. mine at Marissa the miners work under a subterfuge plan which makes them an "integral part of the company." The "integral" part of the plan amounts to a system whereby the coal company takes out of the miners pay from twenty to fifty per cent as a "kick-back." Several miners employed at this mine showed me receipts totaling from \$100 to \$150, which they were compelled to revert to the company last winter or else forego the privilege of employment.

It is reported that at the West Side mine in Marissa miners were compelled to contribute from \$25 to \$50 to the company for it to build a coal washer.

At the New Athens Coal So. mine, further down the Illinois Central Railroad track, a miner showed me pay statements where he was compelled to "kick-back" ten per cent of his wages to the coal company. A thorough investigation of the conditions in these and other mines would reveal a distressing situation. The officers of the P.M.A. fear to take action because it would gain for them the enmity of the coal operators. Operators of one mine persuade the men to work under such unspeakable conditions because "the other one is doing it," therefore, you have an ugly merry-go-round which throws the entire wage structure of the Illinois miners in jeopardy.

The present stay-down strike of the Wilsonville miners is also an instructive example. The men are on strike for a mere division of work. The rank and file is thrown into an acrimonious struggle with their state officers. The miners never have dared to precipitate a strike over such a trivial demand as a division of work if it had not been for the dissension in the ranks and further the separation caused by two unions.

Mine "B" at Springfield is now on strike because the operator refuses to pay the Appalachian wage scale. In normal times the operator would not have taken such a daring position. He would have paid the scale or shut his mine down. The power of unionism would have instantaneously and almost automatically checked this operator's scabby intentions. Now he has succeeded in pitting the U.M.W.A. against the Progressives and, unless the miners wake up to actualities, it is certain that whatever the outcome the miners will lose and the operators will win.

Sit-Down Strike

(The last section of Allard's article will appear in next issue.)

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE FEDERATION

Split by DeLeon in '90s

By LILLIAN SYMES

THE year 1886 marked the high peak of labor organization in the United States prior to 1900, with approximately 700,000 members in the Knights of Labor and about 300,000 in the trade unions—a number of which had never affiliated with the Federation. It also marked the culmination of the bitter struggle between the industrial and the trade union concepts, a struggle in which the Knights conducted a losing fight for the absorption of the trade unions.

That struggle came to a climax late in 1886, initiated by a local feud between the district assembly of the Knights in New York and the Cigar Makers' Union, led by Samuel Gompers. Gompers had been active in the organization of the Federation in 1881 and had become its vice-president. At that time, he was looked upon as a radical, even something of a socialist; though it is evident from his biography that his revulsion against socialist concepts in general and political agitation in particular had begun in the early '70's.

The failure of the Federation to expand and unite the entire trade union movement, dissatisfaction with its legislative program and

the constant jurisdictional menace of the Knights prompted Gompers and his fellow union leaders to call a new national conference of trade union officials at Columbus, Ohio, in December, 1886. At the conference, the American Federation of Labor was officially launched. The Federation of Trade and Labor Unions which had called its own convention for the same time and place, was dissolved into the new organization. Gompers was elected president.

The primary function of the new Federation was economic rather than legislative. Its executive council of five was directed to "watch legislation" but its principal duties were the organization of new unions, the unification of all labor organizations ("while recognizing the right of each trade to manage its own affairs"), to pass upon boycotts and strikes of affiliated organizations and to aid financially those unions involved in strikes and lock-outs.

The Struggle for 8-Hour Day

THE new craft viewpoint was illustrated in its method of struggle for the eight hour day. The general-strike idea was abandoned and instead the Executive Council was authorized to select one union at a time in which to conduct the eight hour

fight. The first union chosen was the carpenters', in 1890, and the fight was largely successful. The next union in line, the mine workers', considered itself unprepared for the struggle and refused to undertake it. Except in the Building trades the eight-hour movement languished. So did all interest in legislative action or political

problems, until the Homestead strike, the depression of the early nineties and the increasing assaults upon the labor movement by legal prosecution, and the use of court injunctions provided a springboard for the radicals—socialistic and populist—within the Federation.

In the meanwhile, the Federation expanded while the Knights of Labor declined. In 1891, the membership of the Federation was around 600,000; that of the Knights less than 200,000. Labor solidarity, minus any class conscious direction, was giving way to craft consciousness, minus the social idealism of the early labor unions. The new Federation was imbued with the same pragmatism, the same contempt for ultimate goals, the same concern with immediate advantage that permeated American industrialism. It was a system which unquestionably "worked," so far as the skilled trades were concerned, so long as American industry was rapidly expanding and capitalism was on the up and up. The gulf between skilled and unskilled labor was still wide and even in the less technical trades, the organized workers could protect their unions, by high dues and initiation fees, from an influx of poverty-stricken immigrants.

The Knights declined almost as rapidly as they had grown. The failure of its second big railroad strike in 1886, with its consequent

loss of prestige, the ineptitude of its leaders and their political ventures, its gradual turn from the unskilled mass to a farmer and small middle-class base, the greater practical efficiency of the trade union in this period to the more articulate and stable sections of the labor movement—all contributed to its decline. The Knights had been a mass movement led by Chautauqua lecturers that had gotten temporarily out of hand. It existed in the great wave of Populism that swept through the '90's.

With all its structural limitations, the Federation was a far more dramatic organization than the highly centralized Knights; and the radical unionists, particularly the Socialists, were able to function freely within it during the early '90's. The Socialist Labor Party had a wide influence—out of all proportion to its size—among the New York trade unions at this time. Beginning with the immigrant workers in the United German Trades and the United Hebrew Trades, organized largely by Socialists, the party exercised for several years a controlling influence in the Central Labor Federation of New York.

It was also influential in other central labor bodies as far west as Cleveland. When the Central Labor Federation of New York applied for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in 1890, a charter was refused on the ground that a political party—the S.L.P.—was one of its affiliates. Though the Socialists argued that their participation in politics was purely "incidental" to their participation in the class struggle, the New York Labor Federation was refused admission by a vote of two to one—thus setting a precedent on the subject of political participation in the A. F. of L.

The Socialist Trade-Labor Alliance

THIS refusal on the part of the A.F. of L. to recognize the legitimacy of the S.L.P. as a part of the official labor movement, plus the failure of Daniel DeLeon and his cohorts to capture what remained of the Knights of Labor had disastrous consequences

within the next few years. At a time when the A. F. of L. provided the most fertile field for socialist education and for building a mass base under the exotic socialist structure, De Leon turned his back on the American working class and launched his own simon-pure "rival" to both the A.F. of L. and the expiring Knights—the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance.

The reaction of the new trade union movement under Gompers against "partisan politics," its refusal in 1890 to seat a dissident Central Labor body with which the Socialist Labor Party was affiliated, had led DeLeon and his followers to abandon any attempt to influence "the corrupt A. F. of L. machine." Instead, the radical unionists, mostly immigrant groups, were instructed to affiliate with and capture the dying Knights of Labor. When this coup

d'etat failed in 1895, DeLeon ordered the withdrawal of the socialist-dominated unions and declared war ("merciless warfare" in the newer Bolshevik phraseology) on both branches of the labor movement.

The seceders from the Knights formed the nucleus of the first and most simon-pure of the radical dual unions—the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The Alliance was merely an economic supplement to the Socialist Labor Party, completely dominated by the party leaders. By 1898, most of the larger unions which had affiliated with it—such as the Brewery Workers—had withdrawn. The controversy over DeLeon's labor policies and the continued existence of the phantom Alliance split the Socialist movement wide open and led to formation of the Socialist Party in 1900.

The Struggle Against Concentrated Capital

IN SPITE of the official party policy, at this time, a number of individual radicals had continued their agitations within the A.F. of L. They made little headway until the huge strikes of 1892 and the depression years that followed demonstrated conclu-

sively to the workers that both state and national governments were willing and convenient tools of the big industrialists.

The process of industrial concentration which had been going on ever since the Civil War reached its apex in the '90's. By the time the U. S. Steel Corporation was organized in 1902, every major national industry had become "trustified." In 1894, Henry Demarest Lloyd reported: "Not less than \$500,000,000 is in the coal combination; in oil about \$200,000,000; in the cattle and meat combination, \$100,000,000; in whiskey, \$35,000,000; in beer, much more; in leather over \$100,000,000; in gas, hundreds of millions and approximately \$10,000,000,000 in railroads—all more closely pooled year after year."

In answer to this situation, the unions grew rapidly and the class struggle became more bitter. The huge combinations of capital—particularly the railroads and banks—were also looked upon in this period as the chief "oppressors" of the mid-western farmers. As the latter took more readily to politics than the workers, much of the newly aroused political consciousness of the workers was to be canalized into the Populist movement initiated by the Kansas farmers in 1890.

Most of the "historic strikes" of the '90's were not conducted under the A. F. of L. banner but these violent struggles and the repression employed against the workers influenced the thinking of the entire working class.

The first of the great battles of the period was the Homestead strike in 1892, conducted by the Amalgamated Association of Steel and Iron Workers. The employment of 300 armed Pinkertons by Carnegie and Frick, the bloody battle between the strikers and the Pinkertons, the subsequent declaration of martial law and the use of state troops ended in the defeat of the strike but aroused the entire working class movement.

The Coeur d'Alene strike in Idaho, where combinations of eastern capital had frozen out the independent silver miners, broke before the Homestead affair was settled. Here Federal troops were sent in, strike leaders arrested and legal proceedings instituted to declare the miners' union "an illegal combination."

A month later two new struggles broke out—among the railway switchmen in Buffalo and among the coal and iron workers in Tennessee. In Buffalo, 8,000 militiamen were used against 400 strikers and the strike was crushed. The Tennessee strike—against the competition of convict labor in the mines—took on the aspect of a minor rebellion over a large territory, with telegraph lines cut, railway tracks torn up, troops of state militia captured by the strikers. But the concentration of the entire state militia in the field finally defeated the strikers. More than 500 were arrested and many were tried for murder, riot, conspiracy.

(This series will be continued next week.)

JOBLESS STRIKE IN SOUTHLAND; LEADER JAILED

Melvin Swinea, member and organizer of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, was found guilty on the charge of interfering with labor in a Justice of Peace Court at Forrest City, Arkansas, and sentenced to pay a \$250 fine.

Swinea had been arrested on May 24, along with J. F. Hynds, member of the National Executive Council of the Union, as a result of his leadership of a strike of WPA workers employed by the A. C. Kennedy Co. on a road construction job near Forrest City.

LID PLANS 3-DAY SUMMERSESSION

Of great interest to the labor and Socialist movement will be the June conference of the League for Industrial Democracy to be held this year at Napanoch Country Club, Napanoch, N. Y., from Friday, June 18 to Sunday, June 20. The subject of the conference will be "Toward a Farmer-Labor Party." The first session of the conference will be held on Friday night at 8 o'clock, on "The Essentials of Farmer-Labor Political Action." On this program many different points of view will be represented. Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Socialist Party, back from his visit to Europe, will speak, as will also Congressman John T. Bernard, Farmer-Labor Congressman from Minnesota; Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, and Arthur Huggins, Secy.-Treas. of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers and a member of the American Labor Party.

On Saturday morning, June 19, the subject of "Organized Farmer and Labor in Politics" will be discussed, special reference being made at that session to the relation of farmers to the new political alignment. The speakers at this session will be John J. Dillon, editor of "The Rural New Yorker," John H. Bosch (probably), president of the Minnesota Farmer Holiday Association; George Soule, editor of the New Republic, and Alfred Bingham, Executive Secretary of the Farmer-Labor Political Federation and editor of Common Sense.

Unionists Speak

The afternoon session will be given over to a discussion of "Prospects of Labor Political Action," with Julius Hochman, General Manager of the Joint Board of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union; James B. Carey, General President of the United Electrical and Radio Workers, and Murray Baron, General Manager of the Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Workers' Union and chairman of the Socialist Party of New York City, as speakers.

On Saturday evening, the "International Scene" will be discussed. At this time Norman Thomas will make a survey of the situation in the labor and Socialist parties in Europe, while Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, will speak on the labor movement in Palestine and some of the other countries he has recently visited. A third speaker will be Torsten Gardlund, of the Department of Economics of the University of Stockholm, and a member of the Swedish Social Democratic Party. The speaking will be followed by an L.I.D. skit and by a dance.

Round Tables

On Sunday morning "Minnesota—Laboratory for a Farmer-Labor Party" will be discussed by Harry W. Laidler, State Chairman of the Socialist Party of New York, who spent the month of April in Minnesota. It is also hoped that Congressman John T. Bernard will speak at this session. These addresses will be followed by round table discussions on "Basic Principles of a Farmer-Labor Party," "The Structure of a Farmer-Labor Party" and "The Next Steps in Organizing a Farmer-Labor Party." Herman A. Gray, Murray Gross, Jack Altman, Gus Tyler, Mary Fox, Mary Hillyer, Benjamin C. Marsh and others have consented to act as leaders of these round tables.

Rorty Charges Writers' Confab To Be Sectarian

By JAMES RORTY

This week there will be convened in New York City a National Congress of American Writers, called by a group of twenty-two literary notables, sponsored by the League of American Writers, and designed, ostensibly, to mobilize a literary and intellectual "popular front" against fascism.

Since over a period of twenty years I have certainly earned the qualification of "writer" and since during that time I have defended the honor

of the craft at some personal economic cost—in other words

have stood with that little minority of honest writers who necessarily find themselves in one of the less favored groups of capitalist society—it might be expected that I should be invited to attend and should wish to attend the forthcoming Congress.

No invitation was vouchsafed to me, even though many another at least as little known as myself was specially invited. If this statement be thought unimpeachable I may cite perhaps more convincing names—such names, for instance, as John Dewey, Edmund Wilson, Suzanne La Follette, Benjamin Stolberg, Max Eastman, Louis M. Hacker, Sidney Hook, Joseph Wood Krutch, Oswald Garrison Villard, and Charles Rumford Walker. These names, surely, are as well known as Isidor Schneider and Leone Zugsmith.

Who really called this "Congress" and for what purpose? By what right do they claim to represent American writers. On what basis do they choose the writers whom they delight to honor with invitations, and possibly, a prize for the "best" novel, play, or poem?

I shall give my own answers to these questions, I shall then call upon the sponsors of this Congress, both the League of American Writers and the eminent persons who signed the "call" to state publicly, on the floor of the Congress and in the press, whether or not my answers are correct.

This Congress, the third of its kind, was organized by the League of American Writers, which is controlled and manipulated by the Communist Party of America. The League is managed, in general, by obscure literary politicians, and "fronted" by better known writers who are either innocently flattered by this attention, or know the value of a clique.

Origin of League

In origin, this League derives from an earlier effort, similarly sponsored and promoted, in which I myself participated. There was this difference, however. The League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, as its name indicates, was organized frankly to mobilize writers and other professional workers in support of the Communist Party ticket in the national election of 1932.

I, its Secretary, was never a member of the Communist Party, and the statement of principles I signed was entirely consistent with my integrity as a writer. It committed me to two things only: the economic and political objectives of socialism, and the struggle of workers of hand and brain to achieve these objectives.

I stand for those principles today as I stood for them then, and I stand, too, for the principles of common honesty and decency which are as important in politics as they are in writing. I stood for those principles when the Communist Party, early in 1933,

set out deliberately, by a campaign of slander and intrigue, to destroy the League of Professional Groups and to persecute and sabotage those of its members who, like myself, were appalled by the unscrupulous tactics of the Communist Party fraction in the League of Professional Groups and by the mounting evidence that the regime of Joseph Stalin and the Communist International no longer stood for the principles we, as writers, had accepted and continued to stand for.

Pro-Moscow Trials

To return to the present Congress, as of June, 1937: the President of the League of American Writers which sponsored it, is Waldo Frank. And in the case of Mr. Frank is to be found the whole secret of the Congress of American Writers—its motivation and its methods.

Mr. Frank was the chief luminary of the last Congress. But recently Mr. Frank ventured upon a frail assertion of intellectual independence in the matter of the Moscow trials, was promptly denounced by Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party of America, and one doubts if Mr. Frank will be equally prominent at the forthcoming jamboree.

In other words, the primary test by which writers were chosen to take part in this Writers' Congress, was not their moral and intellectual and literary standing, but their attitude toward the Moscow trials. Leone Zugsmith passes this test. Edmund Wilson does not. He is, therefore, left at home, where he will doubtless continue to add to the tradition of honest writing.

But all you gentlemen will be there, presumably, and I submit that you cannot, in justice to your own public reputations avoid the issue which I have stated. Indeed, it should be your responsibility rather than my own, to describe this Congress of American Writers—addressed by such characteristic representatives of the craft as Earl Browder and Senator Nye—for the preposterous farce that it is! A farce played out at the expense of honest writing in America, which already has enough hurdles to overcome. As it stands, it is not too much to say that this Congress is designed to hasten the departure from the American literary scene of those qualities of truth, courage, and intelligence, without which American writing—any writing—becomes a macabre burlesque of its essential nature.

Against Fascism Abroad

This Congress is ostensibly a Congress against fascism. Yet the very basis of its organization is a totalitarian concept of conformity which is one of the most killing weapons of fascism. It is called in the name of the written word, yet the press of the Communist Party, which controls the Congress, has within the past few years so defiled the written word by the use of slander, lies, and assassination of character, that the whole language of revolution must now be

Build The Party By Building The CALL

The Call Subscription Drive is the first order of business for every party branch and member this month.

The report this week shows that organizations are beginning to get to work on this. Cleve-

land heads the list, its 18th Ward Branch being the first to attain the status of Builder Branch, when it sent in a second bundle of subs, bringing the total to 11.

Cleveland has elected a Call Drive Director who is visiting every branch in the city to push them in this important activity.

Erna Adler, the Cleveland CALL Drive Director, has sent the following letter to all party branches. The advice which she gives is so good that we pass it along to every branch in the country. She writes:

"At the national convention of the Socialist Party in Chicago, the Socialist Call was made the official organ of the Party. It is up to us, as members of the Party, to do our utmost to send Cleveland soaring to the top and over in the Call drive for subscriptions and sales and in pushing our national organ.

"I was elected Call Drive Director at the last meeting of the County Executive Committee. If I have not visited your branch or circle yet, I will do so within the next week or so, to help you in your Call Drive.

"Following are a number of ways you can strengthen the drive:

1. At every possible opportunity—sell Calls.
2. List all meetings in your neighborhood and cover them with Calls. Every comrade should devote at least one evening a week to work of this nature.
3. Sell Calls at every branch meeting.
4. All employed party members should buy a given number of Calls each week, to sell among their friends or distribute free.
5. After selling a number of Calls to one individual, approach him for a regular subscription at the special yearly rate.
6. Keep Calls and sub blanks

Some of you, perhaps, will plead innocence—you didn't know it was loaded. But I submit that in this period political innocence is often as disastrous as political viciousness. The atmosphere you breathe is sultry with the preparations for the coming war. You, Upton Sinclair, breathed the same atmosphere in 1917, and succumbed to patriotic hallucinations which you later repented. You, Van Wyck Brooks, displayed a sounder instinct then; through what carelessness have you fallen into this present role of being a defender, innocent or not, of instrumental immorality, of suppression of free discussion, of the suppression of truth?

Political Instrument

This Congress was conceived by the Communist Party and will be manipulated to serve its interests, which are the interests of the Stalin regime in Moscow. That regime is bending every effort to procure the participation in the next war of capitalist America, aligned on the side of the Stalin regime in Russia.

This will result, if the announced program of our War Department means anything, in something very close to the immediate fascization of America. Writers are important in such a perspective, as you, Mr. Sinclair, were important in 1917. There must be no inopportune struggle for peace or socialism no challenging of the social-patriotic regimentation of American writers.

I predict that the Communist Press will not answer this statement. It will not dare to answer it. Instead, it will call names: "Trotsky-fascist," "disrupter," "agent of Franco"—the type is left standing from day to day. It will lie, as it has lied before, and as usual it will know that it lies.

You, too, Archibald MacLeish, Van Wyck Brooks, Upton Sinclair—you, too, will know that it lies. And it is up to you to say so.

I am a writer. I believe in writing and telling the truth. What do you believe in?

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handy in your pockets or purse—you never know whom you will meet.

7. Get your branch to arrange a Call social.

8. Make sure that every member in your branch is a subscriber.

"A newspaper is the voice of any organization. The Call is ours. At present, it is whispering. Let's make it not only talk—but shout over the city and country. We can do it—but you must help.

The 18 Ward Branch, Cleveland, the first branch in the country to be listed as a "Builder Branch" in the May-June Drive for new subscribers for the Socialist Call, is now entitled to have a free subscription sent to some library or workers' headquarters in their neighborhood for the coming year.

Second on the list this week is Racine, Wisconsin, which has sent in 8 new subscriptions. One more and they can have a free sub! The Upper West Side, New York, stands at 7 this week, with the 8 A.D., Bronx next to them with 6.

Following these are Newark Central, N. J., 4; Houston, Tex., 3; German Br., N.Y.C., 3; Lane County, Ore., 3; Springfield, Mass., 2; 24th Ward, Chicago, 2; New Haven, Conn., 2; Lower East Side, NYC, 2; and Bridgeport, Conn., 2.

Branches having only 1 each are: Buffalo, N. Y.; Allentown, Pa.; Lynn, Mass.; Trenton, N. J.; Toledo, Ohio; Midwood, Brooklyn; Wash. Hts., NYC; 18 A.D. Kings; Flint, Mich.; South Central, Phila.; Egg Harbor, N. J.; Downtown Kings, NYC; 21 A.D. Manhattan; Oskaloosa, Iowa; Village Br., NYC; Easthampton, Mass.; Orange, N. J.; Central Boston; Jamaica, L.I.; 5 Ward Chicago; 30 Ward Cleveland; Lenox YPSL, Los Angeles.

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VILLAGE BRANCH meets every Thurs. night at 107 MacDougal St. Ellen Loeb, Sec'y, 303 West 4th St.

BRONX

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

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

AMALGAMATED, Upper 8th A.D. meets every Tuesday—Inquire J. M. Reich, 100 Van Cortland Pk. So. Apt. C 44.

BROOKLYN

DOWNTOWN KINGS. Regular meetings every Thursday at 8 P. M., 42 Smith Street. A. Walsh, Sec'y., 140 Warren Street. John Timm, Organizer.

BORO PARK BRANCH, 4914 New Utrecht Ave. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8:00 P. M. Edith Feferholtz, Sec'y.

LONG ISLAND

SUNNYSIDE. Meets 2nd & 4th Wed. at 3908 43rd St., Sunnyside, L. I. Emily Oxhandler, Secretary.

DETROIT

BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday, 8 P. M., People's House, 39466 Trumbull. Tel.: Terrace 2-8512.

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Stay-Down Miners Smash Sabotage Of PMA Officials

(Continued from Page One)
by the company prior to the strike be reinstated.

Negotiations were broken off last Sunday by the miners when the company refused to budge from its demand that the mine be evacuated before the grievances of the miners be discussed. The miners countered by pointing to the public statements of the company and the state officers of the PMA who in advance of a settlement have inferred that the leaders of the stay-down strike would be victimized. The miners insist on no victimization as a further basis for a settlement.

The strike grew out of the company's refusal to effect a division of work after Hogue loading machines were installed in two of the mines. The miners have had a division of work clause in their contract with the coal company for years.

Discharges

The company, dissatisfied with the local leadership of the miner's union, has carried on a campaign of sniping at the miners by discharging 12 men simultaneously with the program of further mechanization. The mines already have conveyers. Loading machines means less work, less pay and harder work for the miners.

If the company's plan of refusing to divide the work at the four mines is recognized, it means that by this very condition a process of eliminating real progressive elements and the older miners from the pits will take place. Hence, the strike is bound to gain wide support.

The stay-downers are now carrying their fight throughout the state and in all probability will make organized efforts to rally national support. Committees from mines at Nokomis, Collinsville, Staunton and other Illinois mine towns have already transmitted messages of support to the stay-downers. Special meetings are being held in dozens of local unions to plan action to aid the strike.

Well-Commandeered

Committees of the miners have commandeered the surface as well as the interior of the mine. They see to it that the cages function so as to transport food and other necessities to the men below. Guards are stationed around the air shaft to assure the miners a continuous flow of fresh air.

The strikers have been heartened in the last few days by many telegrams that have poured in from labor organizations in various parts of the United States. CIO unions were especially generous with their response. The CIO sent representatives to the strikers assuring them that they would help financially. The United Automobile Workers and the United Electrical Workers, two unions which received aid from local unions in their infancy, were on the scene and pledged that nothing would be left undone towards raising material assistance.

CIO Aid

In contrast to the solidarity of the CIO, the state officials of the

PMA were in Cincinnati dicker- ing with the craft faction of the AF of L for a charter. The state officers made no bones about their determination to get the aid of the A.F. of L. to smash the stay-down strike. The AF of L has condemned sit-down or stay-down strikes.

Indications are that the strike might eventually develop into a final struggle to eliminate the right wing leadership from the union. Former conservatives, outraged by the opposition of the state officers to the strike, are in the forefront of the strike. Not a few of them are urging secession from the state organization until the officers retract their position.

School Kids Strike

School children at Eagerville, Wilsonville, Benld and Gillespie staged brief strikes, during the week in support of their fathers. They carried banners on which were inscribed: "Shame On The Superior Coal Company"; "We Stand By Our Dads," and one of the banners which was directed at the mine superintendent read: "Is Your Son Without Food?"

City councils and school boards of the various mining villages, including the large town of Gillespie, adopted vigorous resolutions supporting the miners' strike.

A significant endorsement of the strike came from Ray Edmundson, president of the Illinois district of the UMWA, who said in a public statement that the strikers were "justified in view of the company's refusal to divide the work." The PMA is a split-off from the UMWA and it is the first time that the latter organization has ventured support since the break in 1932.

Church Support

Further support also emanated from another source which is usually hostile to labor: the Catholic Church. Reverend George Powell, Catholic priest of Bunker Hill, descended into the mine to administer sympathy and support to many members of his faith who are engaged in the stay-down strike.

"When poor men are willing to share their jobs, the sympathy of the world is with them," Father Powell said. "When men are willing to stay in a mine under such unfavorable conditions to help their fellow men, no one can make a legitimate complaint."

Heinz in a Pickle

PITTSBURGH — (FP) — The manufacture of 57 varieties of pickles ended at the Pittsburgh north side plant of the H. J. Heinz Co. as several hundred pickets patrolled the gates in a strike for recognition called by the Canning & Pickle Workers' Union, an American Federation of Labor affiliate.

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Strike Sidelights

(Continued from Page One)

before memorialized the scene of gruesome disaster in scores of mining camps stretched across the continent. But tonight it symbolizes life rather than death. It represents the power of workers who refuse to bow humbly before the boss class who own the machine and use them at the detriment of society rather than as a means to increase the leisure and prosperity of all the people.

WORKERS' CONTROL

The company has attempted to ridicule the strike since it refuses to meet the demands of the miners. "We refuse to turn over the management of the mine to the strikers," one company spokesman said. A striker replied to the press: "That privilege has never been challenged in this situation. But since the company raises the issue we point to the chaotic state of the coal industry. If that be a criteria of good management, we might as well return to the stage of savagery."

The bankruptcy of private ownership is all too obvious in this situation. Here we have machines coming in that will eventually retain normal production with 75 per cent less miners. How will the capitalists meet the inexorable laws of increased productivity? Under Socialism a Miners' Planning Board would now be inaugurating the four-hour day or less. Under Capitalism what will we have? Poverty, speed-up, unemployment, less pay and perhaps the offer of a fascist state to perpetuate a system of wage slavery.

SOCIALISM

More than fifty Socialist Party miners are affected by the strike. They are working with all their energy to bring the

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strike to a successful conclusion. Many of them are actual leaders of the strike. The strike, however, is a solid united front if there ever was one. Syndicalists, progressives, socialists, Catholics and other

shades of opinion are welded into an unbreakable spirit that is bound to triumph.

DEBATE

WHICH ROAD FOR THE SPANISH WORKERS?

"Creation of a Revolutionary Party—
By Material Support and Political Criticism of the P.O.U.M."
E. J. FIELD, Editor of "Labor Front"

"By Independent Action of the Marxists in Competition With All Existing Parties"
T. STAMM, Editor of "Fighting Worker"

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June 18th-20th, 1937
Subject: "TOWARD A FARMER-LABOR PARTY"
SPEAKERS: Norman Thomas, George Soule, Congressman John T. Bernard, Earl Browder, James B. Carey, Julius Hochman, Joseph Schlossberg, Murray Baron, Alfred Bingham, John J. Dillon, Arthur Huggins, John H. Bosch, Discussion leaders include Henry A. Gray, Murray Gross, Benjamin C. Marsh, Jack Altman, Gus Tyler, Mary Fox, and Mary W. Hillyer.

TRADE UNIONISTS:

Do you know how to go about using the Wagner National Labor Relations Act? Do you know how to make out the best possible case before a Labor Relations Board? Do you know what pitfalls to avoid?

See: LABOR BULLETIN No. 5-6
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(1) A Guide for Trade Unionists. (A detailed step-by-step analysis of the way the Wagner Act should be used.)
(2) Shortcomings of the Wagner Act
(3) Capital's Offensive Against Labor. (A Study of the devices planned by employers to circumvent the Wagner Act.)

Other Articles in this issue:
Recovery Without Re-employment, by Joel Seidman.
Urban Workers on Relief.
Towards an Economy of Plenty: Can we have abundance?

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With The Party

NATIONAL

In the issue of "Socialist Call" for May 29, the announcement was made that a special assessment of 15c per member per month would be levied by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party for a subsidy to the press and for organizational development. The N.E.C. has since directed that from June 1 to July 15 a re-registration of all party members shall take place, to be conducted by all party branches and locals and that the special assessment shall be held in abeyance dependent upon response to re-registration, and the press drive.

The N.E.C., in authorizing the registration, stated: "This re-registration shall be considered the first step in rebuilding party local organizations, building support to the party press, stimulating party members to work in trade unions and other mass organizations and the carrying out by members and locals of the five-point program adopted by the N.E.C. at the Philadelphia meeting.

"The major reasons for holding up the application of the special assessment are as follows: there is a genuine need now for rallying all the forces of the party back of the five-point program:

If the re-registration is carried on with vigor and determination it ought to restore to active membership a large number of inactive comrades and greatly increase the number of dues paying members; this registration drive should also be marked with a definite drive for the party press.

"As an inducement to a vigorous promotion of the re-registration drive that will result in greatly increased dues paying membership and drive for party press, the special assessment is held in abeyance with the hope that the return to the party will amply justify the action.

"This re-registration is not to be considered a re-application for party membership, but merely a census of the party to ascertain party resources so that these resources may be put to effective use. Registration itself, though important, is not the end, it is registration for participation in a program of action.

"By re-forming and disciplining our ranks we can place the Socialist Party, U.S.A. in shape for the forced march ahead necessary in order to match the mass advance which the workers are making on the industrial field. Everyone of us must prepare for the extra sacrifice and effort which this will require. In the name of our common loyalty to Socialism and the cause of the workers, we ask your fullest cooperation and devotion to meet the crisis of today."

ILLINOIS

The Socialist Party of Illinois ended its two day convention in the Slovenian Hall in this North Shore steel town just as word arrived of the premeditated slaughter of striking steel workers by Chicago police on Chicago's south side before the mills of the Republic Steel Company.

The convention vehemently denounced the police action and demanded immediate prosecution and conviction for murder of responsible police officers. Three active Socialists including Syd Devin and William Tullar of Chicago and State Committeeman John H. Malone of Lacon appeared in the convention after they had been forcibly expelled from Lacon, Illinois, by a vigilante mob enraged because of attempts to organize the local textile mill into the C.I.O. under the banner of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee. It was learned after adjournment

of the convention that at least one of the victims of the steel workers "Boston Massacre" was an active Socialist and steel workers' union member.

The Convention in a well filled two days adopted a new model state constitution in line with the new national constitution, voted a state-wide day's wage assessment on every employed member to create an organization fund, instructed the new state committee to launch a state wide campaign for subscriptions, bundles and financial support for the Socialist Call, required every member of the Party to be a subscriber to the Party Press by a constitutional provision and approved a state wide drive for the rebuilding of the Party organization and doubling the membership by the end of the summer. The offices of Cook County and state secretary were separated by the convention in view of the forthcoming resignation of Art McDowell who had held both posts for the last two years.

The Convention emphatically approved the National Convention declaration on Party trade union policy and pointed out that the only success which had crowned Party efforts to do work in the trade union movement was in those cases where as in Chicago, Peoria, Gillespie and Waukegan the policy had been applied.

The Convention received a wire from State chairman John Fisher regretting his inability to attend the convention due to the struggle of the mine workers of the big Gillespie local of the Progressive Miners of America where the miners did not end their stay-down strike until the morning of the convention. The convention unanimously reelected Fisher as state chairman of the Party. The big public affair of the convention was a successful and crowded banquet served by one of the numerous Waukegan cooperatives.

In attendance at the banquet as official representatives of their respective sections of the trade union movement were George Nordstrom representing the Waukegan Building Trades and AF of L Central body and Oakley Mills, West Virginia miner and Waukegan director of the C.I.O. and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

Both of them greeted the gathering and expressed their appreciation of the loyal cooperation constantly shown the labor movement by the Waukegan local of the Socialist Party under the leadership of Tony Zager, state committeeman from Waukegan. The entire expense of the convention was defrayed and a considerable profit placed in the state organization fund by the contributions at the banquet.

The new state committee announced its intention of seeking to draft Gerry Allard, brilliant young miner and journalist, as state secretary to lead in Party reorganization particularly downstate where main Socialist strength has always been in the mining sections. The convention heard a detailed report on the Ed Parker case from Attorney Francis Heisler of the Workers Defense League and the convention voted to place the question of building the Workers Defense League on the shoulders of the new State Committee. Telegram of greeting was sent to Ed Parker, young Socialist and Workers Alliance in Cairo Jail. The convention adopted a resolution calling upon Congress for passage of the Boileau relief standards bill sponsored by the Workers Alliance, for the passage of the Anti-Lynching bill and the defeat of the Shepherd-Hill fascist military mobilization bill. Government officials were also memorialized in a demand for release of the Scottsboro boys in Alabama when the question of their case is raised in Washington shortly.

After a vigorous debate the convention adopted a resolution asking the National Executive Committee to alter the Party resolution in accordance with the change in the social character and composition of the

government in Spain but rejected a resolution which sought to record the Illinois convention as in complete disagreement with the Party position as set forth by the National Executive Committee. The new state executive committee elected is as follows:

John Fisher, state chairman, of Gillespie; Katie De Rorre, of Du Quoin; Gerry Allard of Springfield; Tony Zager of Waukegan; Ben Williger of Elmhurst, and Meyer Halushka, Ina White, Arthur McDowell, Anton Garden, Albert Goffman, Lee Gregory, Norman Sanders, Meyer J. Myer, of Chicago.

Alternates include Fannie Schneid, Lydia Beidel, Nathan Miller, and Francis Heisler of Chicago and Charles Rossio of Du Quoin and John Malone of Lacon.

NEW YORK CITY

Speakers scheduled for the Week of May 31st.

Wednesday, June 2

Oscar Signer—"Trade Union Resolution"—Boro Park Br., 4914 New Utrecht Ave., Brooklyn.

Thursday, June 3

Brendan Sexton—"Relief Cuts in NEC"—Yorkville Br., 3151 - 3rd Ave., near 77th St., N. Y. C.

James Lipsig—"Fascism By Law in America"—18th A.D. Br., 1267 Schenectady Ave., Brooklyn.

Aaron Levenstein—"Civil Liberties in the South"—3rd A.D., 880 E. 162nd St., Bronx.

Hal Siegel—"Lessons of the Spanish Campaign"—Village Branch, 107 MacDougal St., N. Y. C.

Herbert Zam—"Moscow Trials"—Upper 6th A.D., 787 Allerton Ave., Bronx.

Friday, June 4

Sam Baron—Just returned from Spain—City-wide membership meeting, Stuyvesant Casino, 2nd Ave. and 8th St.

Tuesday, June 10

NORMAN THOMAS—Mass Meeting, Hippodrome, 6th Ave. and 43rd St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Discussion of Socialist policy as applied to the organization of workers in mass production industries in the Eastern Pennsylvania and nearby districts will take place at a labor conference to be held by Local Philadelphia at the National Office June 12 and 13 in Philadelphia at 1626 Arch St.

Heading the list of topics is Socialist policy in the textile drive, in which numerous party members are active. Others which will be taken in include Anthracite, Needle, Trades, Steel, Autos, White Collar Workers, Shipyard, Radio, and the Unemployed.

Further details will be announced in the next issue of the CALL. All those interested in attending should communicate immediately with Mickey Harris, 1626 Arch St., Philadelphia.

All branch secretaries and trade unionists in the area outlined should send lists of party members who should receive invitations to the conference to the above address at once. David Felix and Meyer Steinbach will discuss the NEC resolution on Spain at a general membership meeting of Local Philadelphia at 1626 Arch St., Saturday June 5 at 8 P.M.

POLICE TERROR AROUSES LABOR

(Continued from Page One)

to issue a public statement upholding the brutality of the police on the ground that "outside mobs came to Chicago to make trouble." He failed to point out that the police had mobilized a special squad at the Republican grounds—a squad recruited from one of the north-west police stations specially trained in the "arts" of strike-breaking.

He failed to point out that the police had thrown "protective" lines around the plant for more than a mile which prevented the workers from coming near the company's main gates. He failed to point out that the police fired on the workers both on Friday and Sunday—the day of the massacre—when both the police and the workers were not yet on company property, the alleged reason for police "protection" for the company!

New Deal Mayor

One of the damning and obvious facts in the whole business is that the workers in Lake County have been able to throw their picket lines around all the plants of the Inland Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube without any trouble from either the mayor or the police of East Chicago, Ind. Only in Chicago, Ill., New Deal mayor Kelly and his police have repeatedly and persistently blocked, arrested, fought off the legitimate efforts

of workers to organize and picket. The response of the steel workers to the brutal attack has been electric. Protest meetings beginning with one on Decoration Day have been held throughout the week. Progressive labor is responding to the needs of the

"FORD FASCISM"

(Continued from Page One)

or did or said anything to provoke the fight. The fight started when service men attacked Frankenstein and Reuther. Eye witnesses have already confirmed this fact. The shouts of "scab" and "coward" came after the fight started and were directed at the service men—not Ford workers.

"The beating of Reuther and Frankenstein is enough to horrify any civilized community. The men who attacked them went about their business with cold deliberate science and precision. Striking them first, they then tried to pinion their arms, then knocked them down and kicked them. Some would lift their arms so that they could kick them in the ribs, and then turn them on their sides so they could direct their blows at their stomachs. Two would pull their legs apart while the others kicked between them. They would lift their victims into the air and throw them down again on the concrete. They would stand them on their feet, pretend to let them go, then hit them again," said Rev. Raymond Prior Sanford, director of the Common Ground Community project in the Chicago steel mill area,

steel workers. Thus far the Chicago Federation of Labor and its radio station has been silent. The protests have exposed the depths to which the police went in their determination to make it "hot" for the workers.

Come and Have a Good Time at the BEER PARTY on Sat., June 12, 8:30 P. M., at the BRONX LABOR CENTRE, 7 West Burnside Ave.—Room 26 Men - \$1.00 Ladies - 50c BEER AND SANDWICHES FREE Auspices: S. A. D. Bronx

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COMMUNISM VS. FASCISM

A Religious War in the Making?

Officially and unofficially, in scores of letters, in editorials and syndicated columns, liberal and radical America has reacted sharply to Alfred M. Bingham's article—*War Mongering on the Left* (May issue of *Common Sense*). The second article of the series, *Communism vs. Fascism*, appears in the June issue. Along with this second article, more provocative than the first, *Common Sense* prints comments pro and con by Maury Maverick, Herbert Agar, General Johnson, Harry Elmer Barnes, Jay Franklin, Robert Morse Lovett, Rep. Teigan and the *New Masses*.

WHERE DO YOU STAND ON THIS ISSUE?

Do you believe in American intervention in Spain? Will the next war again "make the world safe for democracy?" Or will it be another imperialist war between satisfied and unsatisfied powers? Will defenders of Soviet Russia be defending democracy or dictatorship? Is fascism closer to capitalist democracy or Russian collectivism? These and many other related questions are answered with new insight in two of the year's most exciting and original articles. Read both of them. And in the same issue: SEVENTY-NINE OLD MEN by Robert S. Allen and Drew Pearson; ROOSEVELT'S SUCCESSOR? An Interview with Governor Murphy by Georges Schreiber; AAA IN REVERSE, by Mordchai Ezekiel; and FRANCE HUNTS A HITLER by R. W. Wiley.

COMMON SENSE, 315 Fourth Ave., New York (18) Enclosed find \$1. Please enter my trial subscription to *Common Sense* for 7 months. This is to include both articles by Alfred M. Bingham.

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Elect McLevy to Head Party of Old Guards

By Lewis Conn.

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — The torch-bearers of social democracy, the "old guard" which split from the Socialist Party in Cleveland in 1936, assembled here in convention last week-end. They adopted a name—The Social-Democratic Federation of the United States.

The delegates announced to the press that this convention was to form a new national political organization; but in their sessions, it was admitted that on a basis of 100 members per state, no more than six states could be considered organized.

The utter bankruptcy of social democracy, its profound inability to give a socialist answer to the problems of a declining capitalism, were never more clearly revealed than at this convention.

These noble social-democrats met to establish themselves as the leaders of the working-class. But on every single immediate issue they were evasive or silent. And the man they elected for national chairman of the Social Democratic Federation is a strike-breaker!

Elect McLevy

He is none other than Jasper McLevy, mayor of Bridgeport, Conn. Mayor McLevy came to the convention after completing the arduous task of sending scabs into a strike of municipal garbage and ash collectors. After all, said this great social-democratic leader, the workers were "just a lot of ruffians and bums." McLevy is the man who sent police to smash a Communist meeting in Bridgeport several years ago, and who burned the red flag (in a very peaceable fashion) because it was "the flag of force and violence."

This city is the steel center of America. At night its skies are red from the flames of the mills producing steel for the next imperialist war—and producing it fast. Here the cream of social democracy met. They even took a tour of the steel mills. But they did not pass a resolution dealing with the vital question of war! The problem of war was not discussed on the floor! A resolution introduced to the resolutions committee on war was not reported out.

Why this omission? How could any working-class group neglect the fight against the very evil which will undo, with fascism, anything they do accomplish? Why, said delegates, it is covered in the Declaration of Principles, isn't it? So one looks at the declaration of principles. And one finds, buried away on page 8 of a ten-page declaration, one sentence. This, says the old guard, is the workers' answer to the war system:

"The whole munitions industry must be nationalized without delay; a special reason in this case is the baneful influence of capitalist interests in promoting war between nations."

CIO-AFL Strife

The CIO-AFL strife was avoided neatly. We approve of industrial unionism, but oh! unity, unity, where art thou, unity? Just unity, not unity which would protect industrial unionism. Now we can remain on speaking terms with the AFL bureaucrats.

On Spain, the delegates voted for a resolution in support of the Loyalist government. They voted to support the anti-Nazi boycott. That disposed of fascism. What is fascism? How does it arise? How should the workers fight it? Minor matters, the convention seemed to feel.

International Affiliation

They voted to apply for affiliation to the Labor and Socialist International. That disposed of international relations. But the

hottest debate of the convention was on the issue posed by William Katlin of New York.

"Soon the Trotsky Communists who call themselves the Socialist Party will join the Fourth International, or the fourteenth, or the forty-fourth. Then we should apply for affiliation to the Second International, not now." It was finally decided not to wait "on what Thomas and his crowd might do."

The pressing problem of how to allow social-democrats to vote for capitalist candidates was solved after lengthy debates through a proposal by Darlington Hoopes of Pennsylvania.

Where state organizations within the Social-Democratic Federation have cooperated with a labor party in the past, and that party nominates a candidate running also on another party ticket, then the state body may cooperate, providing the labor party carries on its own independent campaign. Thus the American Labor Party of New York will not be interfered with.

The attitude of the delegates on liberal capitalist candidates was interesting. Gus Claessens made the assertion, that Thomas would have gotten no more votes if there had been no split. "Socialists," he said, voted for Roosevelt. "But the greatest shame was that they voted for Roosevelt on the Democratic ticket."

Wisconsin Discussed

The old guard is making a determined effort to entice Wisconsin from the Socialist fold. Delegate after delegate arose and made moves in that direction. And The National Executive Committee was instructed to send them an invitation to join the forces of social-democracy. (An official statement on the Wisconsin section of the Socialist Party will appear in next week's Call—Editor.)

The convention was looking backwards, continually. Speakers would start out with, "When I joined the socialist movement, twenty years ago..." And Peter Zussman of Illinois told the delegates that at last there was a political group which held the opinions he affirmed when he joined the Socialist Party in 1890.

Prominent at the convention was Louis Waldman, social-democratic leader in New York, who told the capitalist press that the split came about because of Norman Thomas who was under "communist" influence. "And rather than lose our identity as Americans," said Waldman, "we left the party."

He defended reformism "because we know that the civilization which we have in mind requires an intelligent, a militant, a well-housed population rather than the slum proletariat upon which the advocates of violent revolution pinned their hopes."

Kampel of New York gave the best summary of the achievements of the convention, unintentionally. "Who is there," he declared, "who can say what our course is going to be in the next few months."

Burocratic Practices Hinder White Collar Workers' Convention

By A DELEGATE

The establishment of the United Office and Professional Workers of America at the Philadelphia convention over the Memorial Day week-end is a momentous step in the development of a powerful mass organization of white collar workers. Upon the advice of the CIO the organization created is preliminary in character, as another convention is to be called early in 1938. Nevertheless, a constitution was adopted and a General Executive Board of 11, including a president and a secretary-treasurer, elected.

As was predicted by the Socialist Call, the New York BS&AU administration dominated the convention. Outstanding was the apparent desire of Lewis Merrill, president of the New York local, who engineered the proceedings, to stifle independent expression. The few delegates who showed they were not Merrill's stooges were accused of "bickering," no matter how constructive their proposals.

To assure himself full bureaucratic control, Merrill did not allow even one delegate who represented a minority viewpoint to be elected a member of the Executive Board, even though their ability and organizing experience was outstanding, nor would he allow a place to be left open for the Chicago STB&AU local, the second largest office workers' federal union.

Chicago Out

The officers of this union in attendance explained to the satisfaction of the convention why they had been unable to send regular delegates and that the local would without question become affiliated with the new international under the CIO, but since Chicago had also shown some independence Merrill turned thumbs down on the proposal.

The constitution committee brought in a recommendation setting the per capita to the international union at one half the dues paid by the members but not less than 40 cents. Independent delegates urged that the per capita be established at a flat 40 cents a month, five cents higher than was paid to the AF of L, so as not to cripple the finances of the local unions, and to allow them some autonomy and the means of employing organizers.

Merrill Offers

But Merrill indicated that he was primarily interested in centralized control, and would send in his organizers wherever they were needed.

A resolution was introduced by Leonard Bright, vice-president of the New York office workers' local, consider the advisability of setting up an Office and Professional Workers' Organizing Committee in view of the tremendous task of organizing these millions of white collar workers. Merrill at first argued there was no need for such a committee since certain unions had promised cooperation, and although Merrill later stated he favored the proposal he would not allow the convention to declare itself in favor of it, but had the resolution referred to the incoming G.E.B. Bright charged that Merrill had shown he was definitely opposed to the idea and objected to the resolution being turned over to the Board.

Reliable Committee

The credentials committee, appointed by the chair of "reliables" reported the total membership represented was 8,615, but it was obvious that the figures were exaggerated in a number of instances, and included paper locals.

Delegates Bright and Albert Epstein of New York and Clara Handelman of Newark, N. J., carried on a gallant fight on the floor of the convention for progressive trade union principles and for a proper set-up that would assure the successful or-

CARPENTERS CHARGE FRAUD IN UNION VOTE

A wave of resentment is now spreading throughout the carpenters' local unions of the country against the decision of the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Carpenters to enforce two defeated semi-fascist amendments to the union constitution.

On the protests of dozens of locals proving with figures that the Tabulating Committee had reversed thousands of votes cast against the two amendments, General President W. I. Hutchison answered that the General Office "discarded" the return sheets from the locals and he "cannot" therefore make any

organization of the unorganized white collar workers, but the odds were too great.

Merrill Elected

As expected, Merrill was elected president of the international union.

On the first day of the convention, addresses were made by Len de Caux, official observer of the C.I.O., and Genora Johnson, leader of the Flint Women's Emergency Brigade.

The convention steam-roller worked so well that observers were impressed by the fact that the "left" administration had nothing to learn from old line OF of L bureaucrats. Unless these tactics and the factionalism so apparent at the convention are curbed the future of the United Office and Professional Workers of America will not be so rosy. In any event, the progressive forces in the union are determined to carry on the fight for trade union democracy and to work for the building of an effective mass international office workers' union.

changes in the report of the Tabulating Committee.

New and shocking evidence against the report of the Tabulating Committee was given out a few weeks ago by Carpenters' Local Union 2090 of New York City. Last January, at the beginning of the referendum on the 13 amendments adopted by the convention of the Brotherhood of Carpenters held in December 1936 in Lakeland, Florida, Local Union 2090 circularized the entire membership of the Brotherhood and urged them to vote against two of them: Numbers 10 and 12.

When the Tabulating Committee sent out to the locals its report on the result of the vote, Local 2090 compared the figures on Propositions 10 and 12 with the statements of close to 150 locals who replied to Local 2090 how they voted on Proposition 10 and 12. The comparison showed that the votes of 57 locals from 25 States and Canada reversed on the said two propositions. Adding to the 57 local unions the New York locals 787, 1164, 2163, and 366 whose votes were also reversed, Local Union 2090 already compiled a number of close to 2,700 votes which were cast against the two red-baiting propositions 10 and 12, and reversed in favor by the Tabulating Committee.

These facts which are based on evidence—statements signed by the Recording Secretaries of the affected local unions—are now being discussed in the carpenter local unions throughout the country. The locals are demanding that the General President declare the two amendments lost because of failure to get the necessary two-thirds votes.

However, even this two-thirds vote fixed up by the Committee is already shattered by Hutchison's own answers to Local Unions 1164, 2163 and 1683 admitting "typographical" errors. Local Union 1164 has a vote of 231 on Proposition 10 and 248 on Proposition 12 switched over by the Committee from the column "against" to the column "for." The same happened to the 70 votes of Local Union 2163 and to the 14 votes of Local Union 1683.

Where To Dine

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H E L P

A BASQUE MOTHER CRIES

In the evacuation of Malaga, the merciless bombardment of Madrid and now in the terror-stricken Basque country, it is largely the non-combatants who are the victims; mothers and little children, ragged, hungry, hysterical, as Fascist planes shower death upon them even as they flee!

SAVE THE CHILD VICTIMS OF FASCISM

Jose Antonio de Aguirre, President of the heroic Basque people as they defend their liberty against the Fascist invaders says: "save our women and children—for our men we ask nothing."

A Basque, mother of three, has written: "Despite our own hunger we do not appeal for ourselves, we appeal to you for our loved ones, our children. Driven from town to town, they are footsore and weary. Unfed, easy victims of disease, they are literally dying on our hands. Humanitarian Americans! You cannot refuse us in our hour of great need. For us nothing—but for our children milk and food! Don't let our babies die!"

WE'RE TERRIBLY HUNGRY— PLEASE SEND MY BABY

M I L K

The suffering of the people of Spain is beyond all belief. Never in history has so cruel a war been raged. Ruthlessly the Fascist forces have shelled, bombarded, slaughtered the civilian population, the innocent victims. Hundreds of thousands are homeless. The war areas are filled with hungry little orphans. A few have been evacuated. The multitude cries out for your help. If you can spare a dollar or more you can help tremendously. Send in your contribution now. Tonight you can say: "This day I have done my part, this day I have saved a baby's life."

In an appeal circulated by Bishop Francis J. McConnell, chairman of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and leader of the Methodist Church; 76 U. S. leaders gave support to Bishop McConnell in denouncing the monstrous crime against the Basque nation.

"The ancient Basque city of Guernica has been razed to the ground by Fascist insurgent airplanes. Unfortified and unarmed, its houses, churches and defenseless inhabitants — 10,000 men, women and children were bombed and machine-gunned."

"We refuse to condone such atrocities by our silence."

"Will the prayers of Guernica's dead and dying go unanswered?"

"We denounce the monstrous crime of Guernica in the name of justice and humanity."

Signed:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| GOV. HERBERT H. LEHMAN | WILLIAM GREEN |
| SEN. ROBERT WAGNER | HENRY L. STIMSON |
| BISHOP MANNING | COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT |
| GOV. BENSON | BISHOP ERNEST STILES |
| DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN | THE REV. DR. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK |
| CLARENCE DARROW | SEN. GERALD P. NYE |
| SEN. ELMER THOMAS | And Many Others |
| ALFRED M. LONDON | |

New York Times May 10th

Some of those who have already helped:

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| ALBERT EINSTEIN | SHERWOOD ANDERSON |
| PAUL MUNI | JAMES CAGNEY |
| SYLVIA SYDNEY | GEORGE S. KAUFMAN |
| GEORGE GERSHWIN | ERNEST HEMINGWAY |
| THOMAS MANN | SINCLAIR LEWIS |

What Your Contribution Will Do:

- \$1,000 will feed, clothe and care for 10 children for 2 whole year.
 - 500 will feed, clothe and care for 10 children for 9 months.
 - 350 will feed, clothe and care for 10 children for 4 months.
 - 225 will feed, clothe and care for 10 children for 2 months.
 - 150 will feed, clothe and care for 10 children for 1 month.
 - 100 will feed, clothe and care for 10 children for 2 weeks.
 - 50 will feed, clothe and care for 10 children for 1 week.
 - 25 will feed a family of five for 1 month.
- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| 1 case of baby food | \$10.00 |
| 1 case of tinned meat | 10.00 |
| 1 case of assorted foods | 5.50 |
| 1 case of canned vegetables | 5.00 |
| 1 case of condensed milk | 3.50 |
| 1 case of chicken broth | 2.50 |
| 25 pounds of sugar | 1.00 |
| 20 pounds of flour | 1.00 |

Make checks payable to HELEN W. GIFFORD, Treasurer

North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
381 Fourth Ave., New York.

My contribution of \$..... is to be applied to the purposes checked:

(Name)

(Address)

SCI

NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Chairman

Rev. Herman F. Reissig, Executive Secretary