

Spain Betrayal
By Hull Stresses
Workers' Aid
An Editorial

CORDELL HULL, American Secretary of State, has stamped the label of "farce" over the U.S. Neutrality Law in big bold type.

For several months now the Government of the United States—the democratic and Democratic Government of the U. S.—has been systematically attempting to strangle the Loyalist Government of Spain in the struggle against Franco. "To keep America out of war" it has decreed—NO ARMS TO SPAIN.

NOT "AT WAR"

During these same months, however, the same state department has been shipping arms—with great regularity—to Germany and to Italy. These latter nations, it was claimed, could not, within the technicalities of international law, be classified as "at war" with Spain.

Last week, the flimsy bit of legal paper which separated Germany, the direct ally of Franco, from Germany, open belligerent, was torn to bits by the Nazi cannons trained on Almeria. An open, flagrant act of war was committed by Hitler upon Loyalist Spain.

STATE DEPT. PRO-FASCIST

A motion was made in Washington to extend the boycott to the open enemies of Spain, to Germany and Italy. The proposition was now clearly before the state department: Is it "neutral," even within its own interpretation? Or is it pro-fascist?

The state department made its choice: it decided with the Fascists! ARMS SHALL CONTINUE TO GO TO HITLER AND MUS-SOLINI.

And what is the excuse for this crime against "democracy," against the masses of Spain, against all laws of decency, against American neutrality?

CORDELL HULL DECIDES!

According to Hull, we must not boycott the tyrant aggressor, Germany, because that will lead to war.

In other words, to boycott Spain is a move toward peace, but to boycott Germany is a move toward war.

By this precedent, Cordell Hull has declared that he shall decide whom and whom not to embargo. And he has further let it be apparent that his sympathy lies with the reactionaries in the Spanish war.

Is there any other possible meaning to his actions?

ROOSEVELT RESPONSIBLE

And is it possible to limit criticism, as some liberals do, to Cordell Hull—without mentioning Roosevelt. Hull is Roosevelt's man. He was appointed by Roosevelt. He is responsible to Roosevelt. His actions mean that Roosevelt is throwing the weight of America to the side of Franco, to the side of Spanish Fascism.

Every friend of the Spanish masses has the right to be enraged by these actions of the U. S. Government. But he or she has no right to be surprised. Capitalism remains the system of the exploiters and tyrants; and FDR capitalism is no exception.

Every friend of Spain must learn again that the only aid for Spain will come from the people of the world, not the capitalist governments.

Socialist Call

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 21, 1935, at New York under the Act of March 3, 1930

Vol. III—No. 117 NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1937 PRICE FIVE CENTS

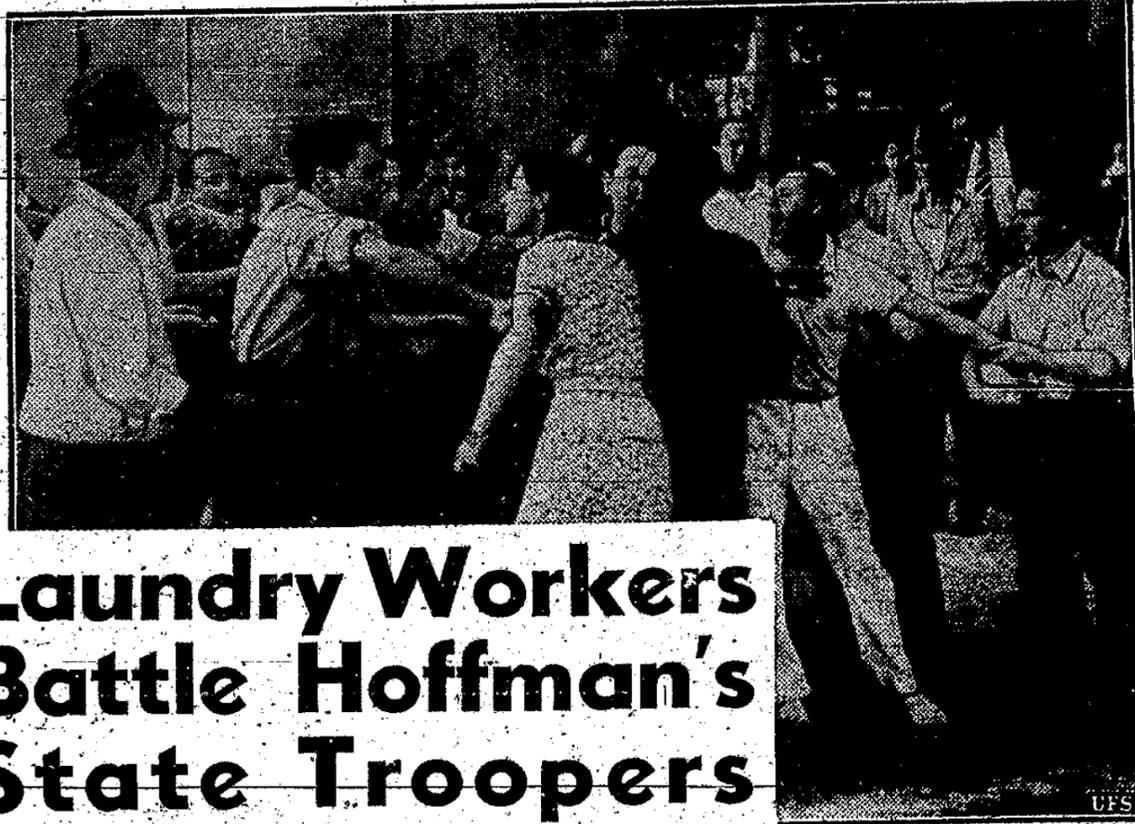
Reuther, Fish Freed in Flint As Workers Demonstrate

By GENORA JOHNSON

Victor Reuther is freed! Clear of charges levelled against him for violating the unread Riot Act at the famous Battle of Bull's Run in the Flint auto strike.

And Hy Fish is free. Clear of charges levelled against him for contempt of court in the cleaners' strike in the same city.

To me, this does not represent just the freeing of two men. To me, this means that the voice of the workers in Flint dare not be denied.



Laundry Workers Battle Hoffman's State Troopers

By MARTIN BERNSTEIN

NEWARK, N. J.—Twenty thousand laundry workers—who have been earning as little as \$5 and \$7 a week—are holding the front line trenches here in the battle the CIO is putting up against this state's labor sweaters under the leadership of Governor Hoffman, self-appointed savior of capitalism in New Jersey.

The fight is progressing on many fields: steel, shipyards, retail clerks, oil refining, smelters, but the Laundry Workers Union is one that was honored by Gov. Hoffman's state troops in a vicious effort to break the strike.

Ninety percent of the Little Falls Laundry Co. went out on strike for union recognition and a living wage. Immediately the Laundry Workers Protective Association, composed of "loyal" workers, appeared on the scene, and simultaneously 100 state troopers were ordered out. A court injunction against the picketing by 1,600 of the laundry workers permitted a bloody attack by the troopers using clubs and tear gas.

Officials of the Little Falls Laundry Co., have been ordered to appear before the National Labor Relations Board to answer charges of violation of the Wagner Act.

Better than that however, the strikers have the organized support of 30,000 textile workers in the area. "Whether they like it or not," says Sol Chernofsky,

president of the ULWU, "All the laundry workers in New Jersey will be organized."

Back of the Laundry Workers other units are forming their lines, ready to take over. Perth Amboy, the oil refining center of New Jersey, is beginning to feel that the CIO is in town, too. A majority of the 1,500 workers of the American Smelting and Refining Co., of that city have joined the local branch of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers according to Milton Arons, organizer.

In Elizabeth, this is matched by 1,200 workers in the Phelps Dodge Corporation who received their charter on June 3. Plans to organize the entire 15,000 workers in the smelting industry are being pushed.

In Kearny, 2,000 shipyard workers stopped production on one of Uncle Sam's expensive floating castles and won recognition. Even in Jersey City, blessed establishment of Frankie Hague's open shop, the CIO fights on, against a lockout of the Ames Steel Co. The war is going full blast.

HALF MILLION TO BE REMOVED FROM U.S. RELIEF

By RAYMOND GORDON

Removal of more than a half a million from the present relief roles seemed certain as the White House tightened up its already well-oiled machine to force thru Congress without change its \$1,500,000,000 relief bill. Attempts of a small liberal bloc in the House of Representatives to substitute the Bolleau bill calling for double the appropriation were blocked by a steam-roller coalition of New Dealers and Republicans. On the basis of recent estimates of the number of unemployed, this will mean less than \$3 a week to each.

Attempts to "ear-mark" certain parts of the appropriation by congressmen interested in the dual role of advocates of economy and of satisfying their own constituents at the expense of the rest of the country were defeated, but Administration supporters were not hesitant about admitting its plans to play politics with the relief money to influence the congressional elections next fall.

The freeing of Reuther and Fish is just the climax to the growing strength of organized labor, under the leadership of the militant auto local, in our city of Flint. This is the political climax to our early modest attempts to organize the General Motors plants.

Out of the sit-down grew our union. Around our union clustered the workers of the lighter industries in Flint. And out of the whole appeared a gigantic movement which has caused the rather stiff-necked courts—including the now famous Judge Gadola—to bend.

I am writing this from New York, and therefore my reports of the demonstration in Flint on Sunday, June 6th, are second hand, culled from personal letters from my comrades and union sisters and from news reports. That torch-light parade, however, means something more than a demonstration to the workers of Flint. Those torches, like the symbol of Socialism, are a symbolic lighting of the way—not only to the freeing of Reuther and Fish—but to the freeing of the working class from capitalist bondage.

Meaning of Lansing

The auto-workers were able to check the police terror in Lansing by calling their "general strike," to celebrate the "superlatively brave action of Sheriff MacDonald in dragging a harmless and decent woman out of bed in the middle of the night, in terrorizing and leaving alone in the house her three young children and in throwing her into a filthy jail." The New York Times reports that the strikers seized "virtual control of Michigan's capital city."

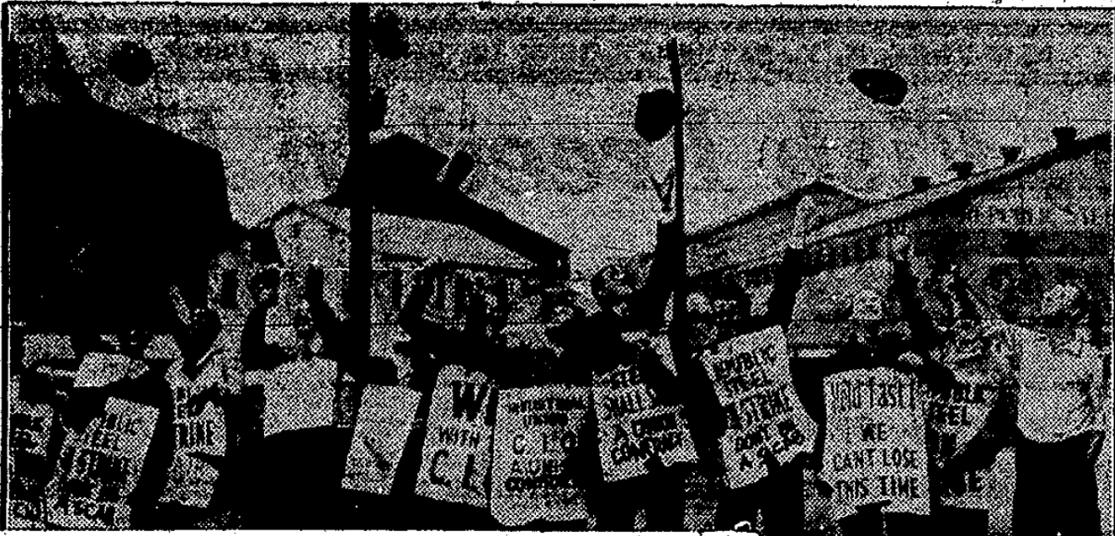
The end of "Gadola" Judges and "MacDonald" Sheriffs will come when the workers, through their independent political action, will have REAL and not merely "virtual" control of every capital city in America.

A CALENDAR OF FREEDOM

FLINT, Mich.—Tuesday a.m.:—United Automobile Workers of Flint announced a mass demonstration Saturday evening caused by

1. The projected railroading of Victor Reuther, U.A.W.A. organizer, to a five-year jail sentence;
 2. The re-instatement of James
- (Continued on Page Eight)

Transport Workers' Victories Set Pace In CIO Activities



By JOHN NEWTON THURBER

Scoring spectacular victories in rapid succession, the Transport Workers Union has become a major factor in New York labor circles. It is already pointing toward a place as the organization of all the nation's unorganized transportation workers. This important CIO affiliate is now aiming to organize "everything on wheels."

Most recent triumph of the TWU, which only recently broke from the Machinists' Union,

was the sweeping victory in the NRLB poll of employees of the Third Avenue Railway, largest New York street car company. Nearly 90 percent of the 2,500 workers who participated expressed their preference of the CIO affiliate to the AFL's Amalgamated Assn. of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

Only a few days before this important advance, TWU officials reported terms of a contract which has been won from the Interborough Rapid Transit, one of the three New York subway systems. This contract came as a result of an employe election conducted recently, in which the TWU received 10,68 out of 11,586 votes cast.

SUBWAYS

During the same week the employees of the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit have taken a strike vote to enforce union recognition from this subway and elevated system. Over 8,000 voters have cast ballots for a possible strike of this system at recent meeting in Brooklyn.

On the third subway system of New York, the municipally owned Eighth Avenue Subway, CIO men swept the election for employe representatives some weeks ago, and now the TWU is asking for a contract giving them exclusive bargaining rights for all workers employed by the system.

TAXIS

The week's end saw the go-ahead signal given to the drive to organize all New York's 3,500 taxi drivers into the TWU, when Homer Martin, president of the Auto Workers Union relinquished all claims to jurisdiction over these workers. Thirty organizers were thrown into the field immediately to organize this important group of workers.

In addition to this New York development, the CIO plans to organize unorganized transportation workers over the country into the TWU. In fact the Akrog street car and bus men are the holders of charter No. 1 of the TWU, having conducted a bitter strike for union recognition some weeks back, even before the New York TWU broke from the IAM. It is to be expected that many of the locals of the AFL unions con-

cerned, the Teamsters Brotherhood and the Street Car men will be restive in their present camps and agitate for transfer to the CIO.

Strange contradiction of the advance of the TWU as an industrial union over the AFL Street Car men is that the AFL has organized in many cities on an industrial basis. Mahon, head of the international, however, assumed the place on the AFL Executive Council left vacant when John L. Lewis retired from that body, casting the lot of his organization with the craft unionists.

MACHINISTS

Major casualty among AFL ranks during the past week as it conducts its fight against the on-ward marching CIO came when James Maties, former Machinist Union organizer led 15,000 members of the IAM into the CIO. Machinists lodges involved are located in eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Connecticut. New affiliations are with the Electrical & Radio Workers, the Auto Workers and the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Maties claims that this defection brings the IAM membership from 125,000 members to about 95,000, as a result of the reactionary policies which have been followed by Arthur Wharton, IAM and AFL craft stalwart. Over two-thirds of those remaining in the IAM are railroad shop employes in whom the CIO is not interested as they are already well organized.

MARITIME

Joseph P. Ryan, international president of the AFL's Longshoremen, called together the various leaders of AFL waterfront craft groups in the New York area, and has announced the formation of a council to combat the CIO and "communism" on the waterfront. Several much repudiated ex-leaders, including ("The Emperor") Grange, were present.

It was announced that an organization of some hundreds of thousands of workers had been formed, representing "13 unions." Examination of these claims disclosed that the thirteen included five locals of Ryan's organization and that the membership numbers announced were far greater than any ever before reported. Ryan

himself layed claim to 75,000 members, while AFL reports credited him with only 40,000, including the Pacific coast membership which does not follow him. Grange, who has no particular organization left, claimed to represent 40,000 now, while his previous high was 20,000. Also included in Ryan's council was the Operating Engineers, claiming 60,000, while AFL reports show this group to have only 35,000 members, and many of these are not waterfront workers.

It can well be wondered if the great membership gains reported by Frank Morrison at the recent Cincinnati AFL conference of war were not achieved by this type of bookkeeping, and the AFL leaders are not doing a shaky job of whistling to keep up their courage as they attempt to stand in the way of the advancing organizing wave of the CIO.

RATHBORNE

In the meanwhile Mervyn Rathborne, president of CIO's Radio Telegraphists sponsored the formation of a council of CIO waterfront organizations for the New York area. This action is a part of the drive to form a national maritime federation along lines outlined by Harry Bridges, west coast ILA leader, as contrasted with plans for an industrial union of all maritime workers sponsored by Harry Lundeborg, leader of the Seamen's Union of the Pacific.

Rathborne's ARTA has won recognition from the Postal Telegraph Co. in New York and is seeking to secure a closed shop contract covering all employees and improvement of wages, hours and working conditions.

NEWSPAPER GUILD

The New York City Newspaper Guild by a vote of 304 to 46, instructed its delegates to the coming national convention of the Guild to seek to affiliate with the CIO and to work for broadening their jurisdiction to cover all employees in the newspaper industry not covered by other union organizations.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

It was reported at the end of last week that the CIO is contemplating entering the field of organizing all governmental employes. At present the AFL has two organizations in this field, neither of which has been able to get far with organization. All types of government workers except military and semi-military workers would be eligible, according to reports.

C. I. O. DISBARRED IN BETRAYAL OF CHICAGO LABOR

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL

CHICAGO.—Sunday, June 6th, was a tragic day for Chicago Labor. On that day the Chicago Federation of Labor with thirty-seven years of history of adherence to progressive and militant labor principles behind it surrendered completely and shamefully to reaction within and without.

Long before the Federation session opened every delegate from the numerous CIO affiliated unions had been notified that their unions and they themselves as delegates had been disbarred from the Chicago Federation of Labor. The list included Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers, Fur Workers, Rubber Workers and the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers Union. Needle trades and rubber workers alone accounted for over 20,000 of the Federation's membership and nearly a hundred thousand workers are enrolled in the steel workers union.

The Federation met with a scattering of the C.I.O. union delegates still in their seats but dominated by an artificial and forced turn out from the reactionary sections of the building trades and teamsters unions which have not been seen at Federation sessions in years.

A motion was reluctantly accepted to stand for a moment in honor of the memory of Joseph Rothmund, a strike sympathizer, shot by police in the Memorial Day massacre at South Chicago, who was a delegate to the Federation from the Bakers Union. The College Teachers Union reported action to support the public protest meeting being held by a Citizens' Committee to demand action against the murdering police of Chicago.

John Fitzpatrick, who was a symbol of a policy of wide labor solidarity and progressivism in the American Federation of Labor for nearly every year of the present century, since he took over the presidency and control of the Chicago Federation of Labor from reactionaries together with Ed Nockels, John Fitzpatrick in a suddenly quiet hall ruled that the brutal murder of steel workers by police in South Chicago was "of no concern to the Chicago Federation of Labor because it was a C.I.O. union."

In these few words Fitzpatrick sealed tightly in its grave, along with fighting Ed Nockels, who died this March, every trace of the historic progressive role of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

A Militant Past

This was once the Federation which aided and defended the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union against a fake rival, the United Garment Workers, in defiance of all the power of the American Federation of Labor. This Federation inaugurated and led the steel organizing campaign and strike of 1919. This Federation brought the 1920 motion for industrial unionism to the floor of the Convention of the A.F. of L. This Federation in the same year sponsored the most important move of the trade union movement towards independent political action. This was the Federation which made the Tom Mooney case a national issue; the Federation whose announced pol-

AFL PURGE

Already the Brewers' Union and the Typographical Union, through their international officials, have let it be known that they will not double their dues in order to provide a war chest for the AFL leadership to use in its battle against the CIO organization drive.

icy for years was to support any union which was organizing the unorganized or was fighting a strike, regardless of affiliation.

Some sense of the darkness and shame which descended on the Federation with Fitzpatrick's shameful treason to the slain labor martyrs of the South Chicago Steel strike penetrated the minds of all the delegates. A half score of delegates from machinists to white collar social workers reported definitely that their unions had protested the police slaughter and were supporting the public mass meeting to which Fitzpatrick arbitrarily denied aid or support and in typical bureaucratic fashion refused to allow any vote of delegates on an appeal from the chair.

50 Years Ago—Today

An ironic twist was given events when a sub-committee of the Federation reported on plans for participation in ceremonies this November 11th to honor the Haymarket martyrs executed for their devotion to labor some fifty years ago. Altho Albert Parsons, the leading figure among the Haymarket martyrs was the first president of the central labor union which is now the Chicago Federation of Labor, this is the first time the Federation has recognized the annual celebration.

Delegates from the Typographical union were quick to point out that with steel workers still dying from police bullets it was necessary to do more than honor victims of employer tyranny and police brutality of fifty years ago, but their bitter sallies brought no response.

Delegates Protect CIO Expulsion

With the rows of delegates seats more than half empty as delegates in disgust drifted out, the Executive Board reported its action in expelling the C.I.O. unions in compliance with the letter from Green and the Executive Council. With militants from teachers and needle trades already barred from the session, only delegates from typographical and machinists unions were left to protest.

Then the Federation majority, which a few moments before had refused to suspend a Federal Union of Cleaners and Dyers (whose record is freely crossed by racketeering) in spite of a request and instructions from President Green, refused motions either to appeal from or delay action against the C.I.O. unions and adopted by a voice vote the last measure of split and demoralization of the once proud Chicago Federation of Labor.

WATCH THE WRAPPER

on your copy of the Socialist Call. If the number on the lower left of this notice, or any number less than this number appears on your wrapper it means that your subscription has expired. Renew immediately.

117 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

Thomas Reviews The War in Spain

By NORMAN THOMAS

THIS letter, my last from Europe, is going over with us on the boat. When it is published we shall again be deep in the problems which face Americans in general and American Socialists in particular. I come back with a profound sense of America's extraordinary opportunities and advantages as compared with Europe's, and with an equally profound sense of how far short we are falling in what we might do with these advantages.

But this letter is not about America; it is about Spain.

It would be absurd for me to act as if one of the most memorable weeks of my life made me an expert on the Spanish situation! But beside leaving me with an unforgettable sense of the beauty of the country and the hospitality of the people, I did feel that I got help in answering certain questions of great concern to Socialists and other lovers of Loyalist Spain in America.

First of all, it is clearer to me than ever before that Franco's revolt would collapse in short order if the dictators who fomented it and are still supporting it would withdraw their aid. We were in Valencia when it was bombed by aviators. We arrived in Barcelona a few hours after its similar bombardment. In neither case was any military objective of real importance achieved. There was suffering and devastation, of which women and children were the chief victims. I can swear that the morale of the people was in no way broken, and that the net result was to increase their passionate hatred, not so much for Franco, as of the "German and Italian assassins."

MAJORCA FLYING BASE
These expeditions are the work of flyers wholly under the control of Hitler and Mussolini who use the island of Majorca, now completely in Italian hands, as their principal base for operations against the coast cities. This undeclared war on Spain is the background for the bombing of the Deutschland, whichever side was the aggressor in that particular incident. As the whole world knows, Hitler waited for no judicial determination of the facts, and asked for no peaceful reparation. Instead his ships bombarded Almeria and destroyed men, women and children as innocent of offense as if they had lived in the South Sea Islands. Nothing can condone this latest of Hitler's crimes.

As I write, there is hope that this affair may be less serious than was feared at first. It is probable that the British and French governments will not only redouble their efforts to confine the conflict to Spain, but per-



Thomas Returns

haps to bring about a more genuine non-intervention and the withdrawal of German and Italian forces. The Fascist dictators might possibly consent to this if they can save their faces, because their expeditions are increasingly unpopular at home.

Even if there is not a withdrawal of all German and Italian aid, the Loyalists will win unless that aid should be greatly increased. The victory may come soon if the defenders of Bilbao should be victorious. There is almost certainly more division in Franco's camp than on the Loyalists' side. Loyalist Spain, from what I heard and saw, has man power and is building a real army. There is a shortage of all sorts of supplies, but the army no longer fights with bare hands, and it is well fed. Spain lacks such things as soap, wheat, and milk, but except in Madrid, the civilian population is very far from starvation.

The work of the North American Committee and the American Aid units, like the similar aid from other lands, is deeply appreciated and should be continued and increased.

FIGHTING UNDECLARED WAR.

For the rest, Loyalist Spain has everything to gain if a general withdrawal of all foreign military aid can be brought about.

This was told me by men who deeply appreciate the invaluable services of the International Brigade, and such help as the U.S.S.R. has given. We in America should insist that if Italy and Germany continue their undeclared war on Spain the provisions of the American Neutrality Act should be invoked against trade with them. We should also find out the truth of the story printed in TIME, May 24th, that twelve out of eighteen Rightist planes temporarily interned in France were of American manufacture. Is that the way our so-called neutrality works?

A second matter which ought to be made plain in America is the degree of order and activity that prevails in Spain. We travelled hundreds of miles in Spain without untoward incident, and with less fuss than in some other countries of Europe. Factories, stores and transportation lines are functioning with surprising efficiency when one remembers the history of the last few months—or years—in Spain. There has been a very considerable amount of collectivization. This has been primarily the work of the great labor unions, the U.G.T. and C.N.T., and by and large they have done a good job. Admittedly it is not a perfect job and it is provisional.

And that brings me to the problem of constructive social revolution in Spain. The position of

the present Cabinet is that everything must be subordinated to the winning of the war. And this requires, they believe, conciliation of the dominant interests in England and France. In this position they have the enthusiastic support of the Communists and the right-wing Socialist Party, as well as of the left-Republicans. While I was in Valencia a majority of the Council of the U.G.T. voted support to the new Cabinet, and Negrin (whom I liked personally) told me that he had private assurances from some of the Anarchist leaders.

CABALLERO

Nevertheless there is no one in the Cabinet who represents the workers as did Caballero. One hears much criticism of him as an executive, a charge which is not self-evident from the record of his government's achievements. It is true that winning the war required a unified army and a stronger central government than the extreme regionalists and the Anarchists desired. It is also true, as H. N. Brailsford has been saying, that Spain is in many ways a colonial nation still; that is, a nation much dependent on the attitude of foreign capital, and in a bad position to achieve Socialism within her own boundaries against strong capitalist opposition. Furthermore, the Anarchist program, however fine are some elements among the Anarchists, is not adapted to the realities of the situation in war or peace; nor do I think that the P.O.U.M. is supplying the leadership, tactics, or program that are necessary. I cannot insist too strongly that whatever the motives, those in Spain or out of it who today carry their criticism of the government to the point of encouraging sabotage or revolt are in reality helping the triumph of Franco. And the consequences of that triumph, for Spain and the world, stagger the imagination.

But when all this has been

said, it is still true that the government and the people of Spain will be paying a great price for success in the war if they continue their present lack of an economic and social program, and their tendency to make the struggle almost solely one for national independence, or, if you like, for democracy, in the British sense, as against Fascism. The deepest cause of the woes of the Spanish masses was not the monarchy, or a bigoted and reactionary clericalism; it was the social and economic system with its combination of feudalism and capitalism. I doubt if the popular revolt against this system can long be arrested by slogans of mere anti-Fascism, especially if and when Franco is defeated. The attempt, to be successful even temporarily, may possibly require a quasi-military dictatorship enforced by the new army which is being built in the struggle against Franco.

But I still think this fate un-likely, and have much confidence masses to work out their own problems if they are reasonably free from dictation of any other country, whether that country be the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, or France. I believe, for instance, that already the government, the peasants, and the workers of Spain are willing if not eager for a solution of the religious problem by permitting the reopening of an adequate number of Catholic Churches, on the basis of iron-clad assurances that those churches can no longer be centers of clerical domination in the interest of reaction or fascism.

But the purpose of this letter is not to dogmatize on these difficult problems. It is rather to express my own deep sense of friendship with, and obligation to, the people of Loyalist Spain, and to arouse for them the maximum amount of friendly support in America.

YPSL To Establish Thomas Home For Spain Children

In its last meeting prior to the national convention of the Young People's Socialist League to be held early in September, the National Executive Committee meeting in Philadelphia the week-end of May 30 made support for the Spanish struggle the major item of the work of the Y.P.S.L. in the coming months.

Action was taken of support for the basic line of the Spanish resolution of the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party.

Endorsement of the United Youth Committee for Aid to Spanish Democracy was reaffirmed as the agency for joint action on the part of youth organizations for support of the anti-fascist struggle in Spain. A resolution of support was passed for the campaign of the United Youth Committee for aid to the Children of Spanish workers and peasants, rendered homeless by the civil war.

Plans were laid for the mobilization of the Y.P.S.L. for the establishment of a Norman Thomas Home for the Children of Spanish Workers and Peasants. The home will be able to take care of 20 children of the workers and peasants killed in the front line of the anti-fascist struggle. After consultation with the United Youth Committee the sum of \$2,000 was set as the amount needed to carry the project through to completion.

The resignation of Comrade Ben Fischer as National Secretary to accept the job of party organizer

Detroit, Mich., was recognized by the N.E.C. as a real loss to the



AL HAMILTON

Y.P.S.L. While the acceptance by Comrade Fischer of the position of Detroit organizer, made it impossible for him to continue as National Secretary, the N.E.C. voted unanimously to elect him the N.E.C. to fill the vacancy left by the election of Fischer's successor. In accepting Comrade Fischer's resignation, a motion of thanks was passed recognizing the leadership given by him particularly in the development of Socialist Mass youth work during his period of office.

THE SOCIALIST CALL

Official Organ Socialist Party U.S.A.
Published every Saturday by The Call Press, Inc. Address all communications to The Socialist Call, 21 East 17th St., New York City.
Telephone: GRamercy 5-8779

By subscription: \$1.50 a year; \$1 for six months. Foreign, \$2 a year.
Special rates for bundle orders and club subscriptions.

Editor: August Tyler Business Manager: John Newton Thurber

EDITORIAL BOARD

Justus Ebert, Max Nelson, Robert Nelson, Bruno Fischer, Herbert Zam

Vol. III Saturday, June 12, 1937 No. 117

LA GUARDIA'S SALES TAX

On Friday, June 4, the Board of Estimate branch of the New York City Municipal Assembly voted to renew for another year the iniquitous sales tax, which was to expire on June 30. Renewal of the sales tax was not on the official calendar of the Board for consideration at that meeting.

The matter was raised by an emergency message from Mayor LaGuardia, and the renewal was railroaded through without any notice or opportunity to be heard being given to opponents of such taxation, although there was ample time for a public hearing before the current tax period.

Evident in such surreptitiousness and haste was a healthy fear of the objections to the sales tax on the part of the labor and Socialist movement. The Socialist Party, nationally and in New York City, has bitterly fought such taxation, and has secured the support of many labor and civic groups. Professional students of taxation almost uniformly condemn the sales tax. It is an upside down tax, based upon inability to resist taxation rather than upon ability to pay taxes; it is unjust in that it bears much more heavily upon small people with small incomes than upon persons with large incomes; and it cripples the effectiveness of such progressive taxation as may be in effect, to cite but a few of the many objections to such taxes.

Moreover, even this indefensible measure has not raised money sufficient to meet the needs of the unemployed. Relief allotments, even in New York City, are still shockingly inadequate. Only an intelligent and drastic system of progressive taxes can better to any extent the miserable lot of the unemployed.

Yet these facts have again been disregarded by Mayor LaGuardia, the LaGuardia who only a few years ago, before his accession to the Mayoralty, denounced the sales tax in uncompromising language, on the floor of Congress and in debate after debate. While the vigorous fight for an open hearing and for defeat of the sales tax now being carried on by the New York City Socialist Party may block enactment of the tax by the Board of Aldermen, the moral is clear: that so-called "liberals" and "friends of labor" offer no remedy for its ills to the working class, that "clean, non-partisan government" always turns out to be government in the interest of the owning class, and not in the interest of the working class.

SECTION 6A

Should a man or woman who is unemployed have the same rights as other citizens of the United States?

NO! That is the answer of Section 6A of the Relief Appropriations Act as passed by the House of Representatives last week.

If this section is permitted to stand, jobless men and women on WPA are made second class citizens of America, deprived of rights extended to ordinary workers.

Thus reads section 6A:

"No part of the forgoing appropriation," says Section 6 (a) shall be used to pay the salary or expenses of any person who is a candidate for any State, district, county, or municipal office (such office requiring full time of such person and to which office a salary attaches), in any primary, general or special election, or who is serving as a campaign manager or assistant thereto for any such candidate."

What does this mean in plain English—not lawyers' language?

John Doe and Johanna Roe, WPA workers, wish to run for public office on the Socialist, Communist or Labor Party ticket (or even Democratic or Republican ticket.) John and Johanna were candidates before they were on WPA and wish to be so again. As citizens they apparently deserve this right.

According to Section 6A, however, John and Johanna, or any other man or woman on WPA, may not be a candidate for public office. They are citizens without the rights of all other citizens.

Not only may you not run for public office, but you may not even campaign for some candidate for public office. You may not be a campaign manager or even an assistant campaign manager. Put plainly, you may not participate actively in any political campaign.

This vicious section is being pushed through amidst a conspiracy of silence. Although the Boileau bloc in Congress vigorously opposed the bill, the capitalist press has maintained an almost utter silence on the matter.

This section 6A is just another step in the long strides that are being taken by the capitalist parties of America, with the Democrats in the lead, to disenfranchise minority parties and working class groups.

CAPITALIST "NEUTRALITY"

70 Dead, 200 Hurt in Almeria Attack

3 AMERICAN WARSHIPS SHIPPED TO SPAIN

RUSHES FLEET TO SPAIN

WARSHIPS SHELL AT SPAIN

ITALY SPEEDS MORE WARSHIPS TO SPAIN

RUSSIA RUSHES TO SPAIN

F.D.R.

"Tut, tut, my people. We can't apply the Neutrality Law against Germany. It has not yet committed an act of war." (See editorial on page 1)

CANADIAN SOCIALISTS MEET

To the Editor:

Last October, when your Mr. Norman Thomas was campaigning in the West, I was one of a party of CCF members who drove to Bellingham from Vancouver, to hear Mr. Thomas. We keenly enjoyed his address and had the pleasure of a few minutes' conversation with him afterwards. I reported his speech in our CCF paper, The Federationist.

The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, Canada's mass working-class movement, is at present undergoing a crisis in British Columbia. Communist penetration has made a mess of things, so that we have the unhappy spectacle of some Popular Fronters being foisted on the electorate as CCF candidates. Tomorrow we go to the polls, it should have been a sweeping victory for Socialism.

The coming July 1-2-3 convention of the CCF will be a battleground, which is to take control—the Popular Front or the Socialist principles on which the movement was founded and built?

For two years I have been in the forefront of the fight against Communist invasion, a lone fight often because there are so few, even yet, who know what it is all about.

In the last provincial campaign I was campaign secretary-treasurer, in the Federal (1935) campaign I was candidate's official agent, and campaign manager-secretary-treasurer-director of speakers. Ha! over 35 clubs to hold together through a year of organization for that campaign. Have probably been connected with more organization work during the years 1934-5 than any other single individual on Vancouver Island. My refusal to betray my key responsibility to the purposes of the Popular Front has made me the target of all the usual tactics. In this campaign we have the

Rebel Arts Plans Gala Summer Night June 11

The Rebel Arts Players, fresh from triumphs in "The Brave and the Blind," and the Rebel Arts Dancers, will combine to furnish the entertainment for Rebel Arts' next event—a dance and "gala summer night" scheduled for Friday night, June 11, at 8:45 at the Young Circle League Auditorium, 22 East 15 St.

Dancing, which will follow the performances, will be to the music of a good swing band. Dress will be strictly informal, so no one need bother bringing dress suits or other costume. Windows will all be open, fresh breezes will

Communists closing halls at the last minute and advising their membership to vote Social Credit as part of their campaign against CCF candidates who have stood in the way of the Communist penetration.

MEJ

blow in from Union Square and coats will be de trop.

The players in two one-acters, will be under the direction of Emanuel Raices, who directed "The Brave and the Blind." The dancers, whose three satiric chef d'oeuvres will include "A Study in Cheese Cloth," "Long After Degas" and "The D.A.R." (the last repated by popular demand) are under the direction of Frances Leber, for several years known to be in the front rank of modern dance teachers in the United States.

Tickets may be obtained from Rebel Arts-Headquarters, 25 East 19 St., and at the Call office, 21 East 17 St.

Last CALL Swell, and Exciting

To the Editor: We were in the midst of moving on Saturday when the CALL came. It sure is a swell and exciting issue.

Chicago, Ill.
HELEN AND FRANK TRAGER

SOCIALIST CALL

Official Organ Socialist Party, U. S. A.
21 EAST 17th ST., N. Y. C.

National Subscription Drive May June 1937

I wish to subscribe to the Socialist Call for the next 52 weeks at your special drive offer of one year for \$1.00.

Name

Address

City

State

Credit to branch

WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

For conservatism, for bourgeois respectability, for fawning eagerness to please the "democratic" rulers of imperialist countries, the Communist Party of Spain is today a model for all other petty-bourgeois parties, and is highly admired by the bourgeois press. Because its line of limiting the fight to "democracy," and consequently of betraying Socialism, is not easily defensible to the working masses of Spain, because it cannot afford to debate this issue before the workers in the mass organizations, it has organized and is carrying on a vicious campaign of slander and suppression against all those organizations which are not ready to give up the fight for socialism.

For this reason it campaigns against the POUM, against the anarcho-syndicalists, and even against left wing Socialists, followers of Largo Caballero, as "agents of Franco," "the fifth column," Mussolini's spies and the rest of vocabulary of the "third period" which had now been polished up and put into circulation again.

People who still retain the faculty for objective observation agree on the role of the Communists in Spain. The evidence of Listen Oak, who worked for many months as the director of publicity of the Catalan government, a Communist of many years standing, is confirmed by the evidence of Sam Baron, who spent several months in Spain and travelled extensively. Only the official Communists and the capitalist journalists today praise the role of the Communist Party in Spain. And the reason is not difficult to discover—the Communists have completely given up the fight for Socialism.

The NEC Resolution

The National Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party at its last session adopted a statement on the Spanish situation which displeases the writers on the Daily Worker staff. And the reason for that is not difficult to discover, either. The NEC resolution comes out unequivocally for a struggle for Socialism in Spain. It declares that the civil war against the fascists cannot be won only at the front. It must be won at the rear by instituting the necessary social reforms, which will give the political power to the workers, socialize industry, turn the land over to the peasantry, grant autonomy to the national minorities, liberate the colonies.

By carrying thru such a program, it will be possible to guarantee the constant loyalty of the workers and peasants, not only in loyalist, but also in rebel territory, to the anti-fascist struggle, and thus guarantee the eventual defeat of the fascists.

The Russian Lesson

The writers on the Daily Worker staff would do well to read the story of the civil war in Russia after the Soviet Revolution and how the white guard counter-revolution was defeated. By giving the land to the peasantry, they were won away from the white guards in the conquered territory, so that the white armies constantly were faced with the threat of peasant uprisings in their rear.

Industry was completely nationalized to provide a sound economic base for the war and to prevent war-profiteering and exploitation, as well as sabotage by the bourgeoisie. In fact, Lenin later pointed out that were it not for the civil war, it would not have been necessary to proceed so rapidly with socialization. In other words, the civil war is a reason for accelerating, and not for slowing up, the process of socialization. The Communists, with their spurious slogan "win the war first," are in fact sabotaging the fight for socialism in the interests of peace with the foreign bourgeoisie (since the main sections of the Spanish bourgeoisie are on the side of the fascists).

Pointing out all these things, the NEC Spanish resolution still calls for "unstinting and effective support of the government" in the fight against the fascist rebellion, while retaining the right to criticize the government "to the extent that it fails to carry thru a consistent program for socialism." The Daily Worker pretends not to understand this. Its theoreticians can't find the dividing line between "criticism" and "attack." They try to create the impression that it is not possible both to support the government and criticize it at the same time. But any one reading the resolution carefully will not find such difficulties.

Military Support

The Socialist Party calls for support of the government in the war against fascism. This means that everything should be done to help the government win. It means that all possible military, financial, material and moral aid should be given to the government and to all other forces in Spain fighting loyally against the fascists. It does not mean that the program of the government is endorsed any more than it meant endorsement of Ethiopian government's policy when all Socialists and Communists called for support to it against Mussolini's invasion.

Socialists Must Push Campaign Against War; Increase Aid to Spain

By ROY BURT

National Secretary Socialist Party

As the resources of the Socialist Party are being thrown into the campaign launched by the N.E.C. at their Philadelphia meeting, members and branches are finding themselves engaged in the most significant program that the party has undertaken in years.

The drive against the war program of the Roosevelt administration assumes greater significance each day as the pressure of events under modern Capitalism brings war daily nearer. The enormous expenditure for war preparation, the appointment of Woodring as Secretary of War, the Shephard-Hill Bill, the stupid and hypocritical Neutrality program of the administration, the growing tension in the world, all assure War unless a most drastic program of opposition is carried out.

In branch meetings plans must be made, reviewed, revised, and expanded, until we are driving at top speed in this enterprise. Everyone must become acquainted with the historic position on war and our present stand which carries on that traditional position.

This position must be brought into every organization in which Socialists are involved; labor unions, Farm organizations, Co-operative groups, Fraternal Orders, peace and civic groups. Each branch must see to it that every contact which is afforded by its membership is used to the fullest capacity.

Independent Activity

In addition, the party organization must enlarge the scope of its independent meetings, or meetings in conjunction with other groups, must be held. Every possible pressure must be extended to continue the fight against the Shephard-Hill Bill. It must be defeated.

Literature must be circulated more extensively than ever. New literature is in the course of preparation and will be constantly increased.

Special suggestions and plans will be mailed to each branch from time to time covering the entire program of the drive.

Relief

The importance of the drive against relief cuts is shown when we see the present economy drive in Congress. The only reduction in expenditure which appeals to the present administration is in the field of funds for the unemployed.

Here we find the "United Front" between the liberals and reactionaries. They both agree that these funds must be cut; they differ as to the amount. Even though the administration wins the point of one and a half billion for relief, that still means a reduction of relief and adding a new burden to those who have borne the brunt of Capitalism's great achievement—"The Depression."

The excellent work of party members in the Workers Alliance must not only be continued, but must be intensified. In local, state, and national situations the fight must be carried on for adequate relief. In this field too, independent work against the relief cuts and in the interests of the unemployed must be carried on.

Every support must be given to strengthen the work of the Workers Alliance and to win for that organization the support of every possible group. Aid must be given to the coming convention of the Alliance to the end that the Convention will present a militant and aggressive program that will be a genuine assault on the forces of reaction and greed.

Labor Legislation

Socialists must take the lead in the fight against repressive labor legislation. The reactionary forces of modern capitalism have not been defeated. They are now talking about, and planning for national legislation dealing with labor

and labor organizations. But local and State governments are already very active; and by city ordinances and state laws, restrictions are being placed upon labor that mean strangulation.

Against these measures, Socialists must seek to direct all the resources that they can command through the groups in which they find themselves. Workers must be aroused and the fight carried on with greater aggressiveness than ever.

In the fight for civil liberties, the battle becomes more acute each day. In every part of the country the list of victims is growing. Each issue of the Call carries some new story. We need not list them here. Around these specific cases we must build the Workers Defense League. All the organizations of workers must be aroused to the importance of this struggle. Socialists have been in the very forefront of these fights, but we must be more alert and vigorous than ever.

Aid to Spain

If anything will spur Socialists to greater activity in aiding the Loyalists of Spain, in their struggle against Fascism for a Socialist Spain, it is the recent developments there. The hypocrisy and onesidedness of the present neutrality program must be answered by our increased efforts for the cause of the workers and peasants.

The branches must increase their efforts through the North American Committee for the aid of Spanish Democracy. Efforts must be made to enlist the energy of every group where we have influence and responsibility. In addition, we must continue to stress independent work for this cause.

Concrete and specific suggestions dealing with these major objectives will reach branches in regular mailings.

Membership Drive

In the re-registration drive, which is to be carried on from June first to July fifteenth, this entire program can be presented to the membership. Branches are laying plans to contact their entire membership, active and inactive. This Re-registration is a registration in a party with an aggressive and determined program bullded around the most vital issues which face the workers of our world today.

With this re-registration drive and the carrying out of an aggressive campaign along the lines indicated, we must build the circulation of the Call. We have no more important weapon than the Call. Through it our program and message must be made available not only to our membership but to the many thousand workers who must be enlisted in this common struggle.

Socialists have one major job today. There is a unity in this whole program that brings together all our energies concentrates them on a common task. Building for Socialism is not a abstract idea. It is sharing in a common struggle. The struggle centers around these specific enterprises.

Contact!

WASHINGTON, (FP)—Organization of workers in the aircraft industry will be pushed by the CIO and the UAWA.

NOAH'S FLOOD

By McAlister Coleman

It takes no latter-day Noah to forecast the coming of the next flood. It will be upon us the day debate begins on the Norris bill in the Senate and the Mansfield bill in the House setting up seven TVA's as recommended in the President's message on conservation and flood control sent to Congress last week.

It will be the dark and poisonous flood of Power Trust propaganda. Its tides will roll from printing-presses and over the ether. The rattle of the press-agents' typewriters and the voice of Boake Carter and his fellow anaestheticians will be heard in the land, denouncing the project as "Socialistic," foretelling the arrival of a Sovietized America on the day the far-flung project goes through, as go through it will.

Like their fellows in "Little Steel" and Ford, the Power Burbons have a formula for protecting their profits from the encroachments of anti-monopolists. In steel and the Ford baronies the formula takes the shape of company unions, the organization of vigilantes in the form of "law and order leagues," the employment of gun-thugs masquerading as "loyal workers," the terrorization of the genuine workers by court orders. You know the rest in the newspapers you have read.

Now evidently the Power propagandists can't go in for such rough stuff. They'd like to, but they can't. So they use press releases instead of black-jacks and the microphone in place of machine guns.

The Formula

In this formula, which is trotted out every time the exorbitant profits of the electric companies are endangered, we have come to recognize the following standbys:

A. To use the natural resources of the country to furnish cheap and abundant electricity to the people thereof is against God who has given over to the Christian men in control of the property interests of the country the right to monopolize electric power.

B. Anyone advocating such a proposition is a fiend out of Hell or, even worse, has been reading Norman Thomas.

C. To manufacture and distribute cheap and abundant electricity under government auspices is to destroy the widows and orphans of this country who have their tiny mites in shares of the utility companies.

D. Senator Norris is a nut.

E. T V A is no good anyhow.

March on Washington

Armed with such persuasive weapons, the Power lobby is marching again on Washington. Already they are hiring rooms in the Mayflower and other swank hotels for the coming battle. Again the liquor will flow, once more the lady camp-followers of the kilowatt army will strip for action.

What is the consumer doing? A year ago with the exception of such old faithfuls as the the Public Ownership League and the Peoples' Lobby, we would have had the pat answer—nothing. Today there are indications that here and there the consumer is awakening, even as his overalled brother in the ranks of labor is astir. One of these is the machinery set up as the result of the consumer conferences held in Eastern cities this Spring under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy.

At L. I. D. headquarters, two committees are functioning to keep an eye on developments that give hope for lower electric rates, to coordinate activities of consumers and to press for legislation, national, state and local that will check the onrushing assault of the American Francs in the privately-owned companies.

The committees would like to have you with them. Send you name and address to the talented author of this column and he will get in touch with the right parties. (It won't cost you anything. Not yet, anyhow.) Another hopeful sign is the passage through the Senate of th Norris resolution for a new investigation of utility propaganda. Let's help speed it through the House. There's enough evidence of recent skulduggery on the part of the Power Trust lying loose around this country to arouse even the most apathetic milquetoast consumer.

Norman Thomas is coming back. And his tall figure makes a most welcome sight. I can't be present at the meeting that greets him, so I have to send my vicarious (two bucks for that word) greetings. How are you Norman? From what I read about your doings in Spanish trenches and the like I don't gather that yours was the most dolce far niente of trips. But you must have a lot of real dope on matters we're all anxious to hear about and it's great to have you back again. We missed you.

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE AFL—III

THE SOCIALISTS IN THE FEDERATION

THE INFLUENTIAL HEY-DAY OF RADICALISM IN THE 90'S

By LILLIAN SYMES

(The following is the third in a series of articles on the rise and decline of the AFL.)

THE Pullman strike in 1894 was the most sensational of the period and had the most far-reaching consequences. It was conducted by the American Railway Union—an industrial union organized the year before by Eugene Debs.

Started as a boycott against the

Pullman cars, after the Pullman company had refused to arbitrate union demands, it spread rapidly from Chicago to San Francisco and tied up transportation throughout the west. Federal troops were sent into Illinois (over the protest of Governor Altgeld) and militias were called out in nine states.

It is doubtful if even these repressive measures could have successfully quelled "the Debs rebellion" if it had not been for the assistance of the Federal judiciary. A federal grand jury issued indictments for conspiracy against Debs and other strike leaders. Over 500 persons had been arrested by the state police, 190 by the Federal courts. The strikers were left without leadership. Debs was later sentenced to six months imprisonment.

"It was not the railways, nor the armies that beat us," Debs testified before an investigating commission, "but the power of the United States courts."

Socialists and the AFL

THIS political ferment came to a head at the A.F. of L. convention late in 1893, when Thomas L. Morgan, a Chicago socialist and a delegate from the International Machinists Union, introduced a "Political Programme" to be submitted by the convention for the "favorable consideration" of its affiliated unions.

Strangely enough, the program itself aroused little opposition in the convention, but the motion to submit it to the unions did not pass until after the recommendation that it be given "favorable consideration" was struck out at the behest of the conservatives.

The political program of 1893, though more specific, had much in common with the legislative program of the Knights of Labor and has been described by one labor historian as the same "peculiar hodgepodge of idealism, political reform and quasi-socialism." Populism, rather than Marxism was the prevailing radical mood of the period. One plank in the platform however—the famous "Plank 10"—would have committed the Federation to a definitely socialist goal and it was around this plank that the storm raged the following year.

All the other points of Morgan's program were definitely reformist—compulsory education, the legal eight hour day, government inspection of mines and work-shops, abolition of the sweating system and contract labor, employers' liability laws, the initiative and referendum, municipal and national

An Independent Labor Party

AT the 1895 convention, the Socialists introduced a resolution for an independent labor party. But Gompers' "non-partisan" policy was firmly in the saddle by this time and the populist "progressives" in the Federation were heading with Bryan toward the Democratic bandwagon.

Seven years later, at the 1902 convention of the Federation, the

From this time on "government by injunction" was an established feature of industrial warfare.

The ruthlessness of the large corporations and their governmental agents, demonstrated in the strikes of the early 90's, made a profound impression upon the organized workers. This was deepened by the depression years with their wide-spread unemployment and general unrest. By 1892 a renewed interest in political action was apparent in the labor movement and in that year the national convention of the A.F. of L. endorsed two planks in the Populist Party program—government ownership of telephone and telegraph lines and the initiative and referendum.

All during 1893, the socialists and populists carried on a busy political agitation in the unions—an agitation encouraged by the action of the British Trade Union movement which had recently decided upon independent political party.

ownership of public utilities.

But Plank 10, sandwiched innocently among these others, called for "the collective ownership by the people of ALL means of production and distribution." The entire program was submitted to the unions without recommendation. It was not, apparently, until after a number of unions—including some of the most powerful—had endorsed the program in toto that Gompers and the other Federation leaders awoke to the "dangerous" implications of Plank 10.

The fight on it came at the 1894 convention to which many of the delegates came with instructions to support the entire program. Here Plank 10 was defeated by what the socialists considered a parliamentary trick. Just as the vote was to be taken, a substitute was offered for this section which called for "the abolition of monopoly in land-owning." Though the substitute smacked of the Single Tax, the Gompers conservatives grasped at the lesser heresy to defeat the greater. It was "anything to beat Socialism." The amended resolution passed by a vote of 1178 to 735.

socialist and other radical unionists had increased their power

LABOR AMERICA

A Program for Unity Of Illinois Miners

By GERRY ALLARD

A picture of the Illinois miners situation is not complete without a report of the United Mine Workers of America under the same leadership which years ago had arrayed against it the majority of progressive thinking workers. Today the scene has changed. The defeats of the

miners during the period of the great retreat, 1922-1932, has definitely been turned into an offensive of labor on a wider front than the coal industry.

The respect militant workers of various shades of opinion now have for the UMWA is grounded on sound reasons. The UMWA has ceased its red-baiting attitude; it occupies itself with the heroic job of organizing workers in industrial unions; the Workers' Rights Amendment was endorsed; Matthew Woll resigned from the National Civic Federation due to one thrust from John L. Lewis; scab ads, which for years disgraced the pages of the "American Federationist," were, temporarily at least, outlawed. The inspiration and call to action which the UMWA and other allies have issued to millions of workers hitherto unorganized is now sweeping

within the Federation enormously and came much nearer to bringing the organization into line with the European labor movements. They proposed a resolution to have the convention "advise the working people to organize their economic and political power to secure for labor the full equivalent of its toil and the overthrow of the wage system."

The resolution was defeated by a vote of 3,744 to 3,344—an eloquent testimony to the strength of radical sentiment in the Federation at this time. This was the year of the great Coal Strike, of a great boom in trade union militancy and in socialist sentiment. The interrelation of these two movements and the effect of the budding syndicalism of the early 1900's upon both will be discussed in the next installment.

The "Socialist" Union

ALSO, outside the A.F. of L., and as radical as the railway unions were conservative, was the Western Labor Union, a federation of trade unions in the Rocky Mountains region, dominated by the Western Federation of Miners. The Western Labor Union

had 150,000 members, most of them imbued with the western frontier tradition, hard-boiled fighters and instinctive radicals. It frankly endorsed and supported the Socialist Party.

In the East, at the beginning of the new century, new unions with new conceptions of the labor movement began functioning within the Federation. These were the new Clothing Unions. The United Garment Workers had been organized in 1891 and had affiliated with the Federation but it had developed no strength except in the overall industry where its monopoly of the Union Label (endorsed by the Federation and held by legal registration) insured its support by the overall wearing trade unionists. The union was not only conservative, but definitely anti-Socialist.

In 1900, the International Ladies Garment Workers was organ-

the country.

These are positive qualities. The UMWA has, however, one glaring shortcoming which is repeatedly

Member Control Sought

ferreted by friendly and unfriendly critics and that is the question of district union autonomy. In Illinois the break in the ranks caused the UMWA to set up a provisional administration of officers appointed directly by the International Executive Board. Many other districts have provisional governments. A provisional set-up in the UMWA means the rank and file in the district affected has no opportunity to elect district officers as they elect international officers in biennial elections.

The Federation continued to grow rapidly up to 1904 and the narrow craft union policy advocated by Gompers and other craft leaders and derided by the radicals showed every sign of practical justification. The membership had grown from 600,000 in 1887 to nearly 2,000,000.

The standards of the organized workers seemed destined to rise higher each year and no one, except the radicals, worried very much about the unorganized. The Railroad Brotherhoods maintained their separate existence outside the A.F. of L., as they had remained independent of the Knights during an earlier period. Their membership of nearly 300,000 was more conservative than that of the Federation and the unions functioned largely as beneficiary societies. Debs' American Railway Union was only a memory.

ized by delegates from the various local garment unions in the eastern cities, where these unions had maintained a transitory existence during the 80's and 90's. The bulk of these workers were Jewish radicals and most of their leaders had participated in revolutionary activities abroad. Though they affiliated with the A.F. of L., they shared neither its economic nor its political official outlook.

With the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers which affiliated with the Federation in 1902, they introduced a new note into American trade unionism—a note which labor historians were later to describe as "the new unionism." The mass struggles of the sweated needle-trade unionists in the first decade of the century were to form one of the most dramatic chapters in trade union history.

Provisionalism is usually the result of financial bankruptcy of a district, failure to comply with the policies of the international union or when internal chaos reigns. This right is vested in the International Executive Board by the constitution.

At the last international convention of the UMWA the question of district autonomy was the issue that drew the strongest opposition. Undoubtedly, the issue will cause more opposition at the next international convention. Efforts to restore district autonomy will continue even with a united miners' movement.

The rank and file of the PMA is rightfully unyielding in its right to elect its district officers. More

Demand Local Action

than any other question, this is the most serious grievance the PMA miners have against the UMWA. True, there are prejudices and personal feelings encumbered by many years of differences. These, however, are variant and in the shifting sands of events they often disappear. At least no intelligent worker can use neighborly quarrels or personal animosities to serve as a political vane of the future.

In the light of the foregoing report, what is to be done as far as the Illinois miners are concerned? Will it serve the best interests of the Illinois miners to affiliate with the AFL, and use a charter of the craft unions to wage war where the UMWA now has jurisdiction? It is highly improbable that that could be done because among other things the miners in the outlying fields are not receptive to dual unionism. Furthermore, in theory and practice the PMA officialdom is reactionary as compared with the present policies of the UMWA. As a Socialist and a left wing trade unionist, I am opposed to such a fallacious adventure.

The way out for the miners of Illinois is to compromise their differences with the UMWA. Such a

Program For the PMA

move can be lasting and satisfactory to the rank and file if it is based on a program. The following may serve as a basis:

1. Restore district autonomy.
2. A united effort to commute the sentences of the miner prisoners.
3. Compensation for the widows of victims of both unions.
4. Preference of jobs to the victims of the PMA strike.
5. A united defense for miners now facing state and federal charges growing out of mine activities.

This five-point program merits the serious discussion of the Illinois miners. A way out of the dilemma must be found. The coal operators who foster bad conditions in the mines and who cut the miners' wages remain as before the first enemies of the miners. The enemies of the miners are certainly not some half a million members of the United Mine Workers of America who are happily engaged at the present time in leading the way for the organization of twenty-five millions of organizable workers. The future welfare of the American working class depends largely on the success of the CIO.

Will the Illinois miners, whose traditional militancy has won them the respect of the advanced workers, become a part of this genuinely progressive movement? Or will they remain bogged down in the swamp of defeat and reaction? How will the Illinois miners meet the terrific inroads of mechanization?

THE AMERICAN WORKERS MUST HALT ROOSEVELT'S AID TO THE FASCISTS

(Last week, the Socialist Call carried an article by Liston Oak on the events in Spain, dealing especially with the friction in Barcelona. This week, we are running an account of the civil war in Spain by Sam Baron, who has just returned from four months' stay there, in which he deals in part with the Barcelona events. Next week, the Call will run a political analysis of the same problem, reprinted from the Berner Tagenblatt, paper of the Swiss Socialists.)

By SAM BARON

Imagine that you are standing on New York's Broadway. Suddenly you hear a dull thud in the distance, then five seconds of maddening silence, and from the skies a screaming eight-inch shell swooshes and hisses toward you. Before you can move, it lands fifteen feet from you, right in a crowded street-car. The crash tears at your ear-drums and the deafening explosion is followed by the grinding friction of the falling debris. The percussion throws a blast of air into your face, and the force hurls you off your feet. Then—the groans of the injured and dying. That is Spain today.

At this date, it is no longer necessary—after the bombarding of Almeria, for example, by the Nazi ships—to labor the fact that Italy and Germany are bringing the firebrand of fascism into Spain as part of their world- incendiary plan. But I cannot refrain from bringing to the attention of American workers evidence which I witnessed with my own eyes as I followed in the wake of the retreating Italian fascists after the historic Guadalajard rout. Among documents of the Italian war department, I found ample proof of the charge against Italy. I have before me now some Italian-made cigarettes, left by the retreating fascists in their precipitate flight. From an abandoned military truck, I removed a metal plate, bearing the name of Fiat, indicating Italian manufacture.

The U. S. But most significant to me as an American worker was my discovery of exploded rifle-bullet shells, bearing the imprint "U.S."—hundreds of them lying around the positions evacuated by the Italians. It was sickening to realize that the bullets aimed at the workers of Spain had been manufactured in my own country, which boasts of its democracy and love of freedom, which even now, under the guise of a neutrality law hastily passed in the name of preserving peace, denies to the loyalist government the right to receive arms and munitions.

Under the mask of embargoing both sides, the United States is providing arms to Franco by permitting sales to the belligerent nations, Germany and Italy. The only comfort I could gain as I stood in the Guadalajara battlefield and saw these evidences of a lying, reactionary "neutrality" was the recollection of the statement released by the Spanish Government that as of February, 1937, Americans had contributed \$250,000 to the cause of the embattled workers, besides medical equipment, food shipments, clothing and man-power.

Those bullets are a challenge to the American workers—a challenge which can be answered only by the sending of further aid and by the waging of a struggle here to put an end to the mockery of "neutrality" through which our government has abetted in the fascist uprising against the Spanish workers. Not another American bullet must leave these shores for the guns of Franco's thugs!

Neutrality At this time all American workers and friends of liberty must cry out against this sham neutrality of our government,

The very least that we can do, after the outrageous denial of arms to the legitimate government of Spain, is to take steps to keep the American friends of fascism from continuing their "neutral" support of Franco.

Important in our Socialist campaign in support of Loyalist Spain must be the drive to compel President Roosevelt to use his power under the Neutrality Act to label Italy and Germany as the belligerents which they are in fact. Roosevelt has ordered a boycott of the Loyalist government; let us compel him through the power of our organized sympathy for Spain to enforce a boycott against those who would destroy the Spanish workers. A minimum respect for liberty must mean: No aid to Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. A decent respect for justice must mean: All aid to the Spanish anti-fascists!

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of such aid. In their hour of trial by flame and sword, the Spanish masses look to their brothers throughout the world, not only for the benefit of their contributions to the heroic resistance against Franco, but also for their whole-hearted solidarity. Come what may, international fascism must know that the workers of the world are united in their determination that Franco shall go down to defeat in the company of his Italian and German henchmen.

Such unity of the workers is possible in spite of the theoretical and tactical differences which have existed between their various organizations in the past. Those disagreements have taken their toll in a tragic list of defeats for workers in such countries as Germany, Italy and others. Those differences still exist, and will, for workers are true to their own convictions.

But even with the range of controversies in their working class philosophy, there is enough to bind all in ties of solidarity against their class enemy which today is blasting at the foundations of justice with shell and bomb.

Within Spain itself those differences still exist, and in many cases still assert themselves, often to the danger of the fight against fascism. No friend of the Spanish masses can do his full duty to his heroic comrades in that country unless he understands, with working class sympathy, just how these forces are operating. From a sympathetic understanding and realization of how disunity may be—and sadly enough in many cases, is being—engendered, we can be help-

ful in building the greater class loyalty which overshadows factional interest.

Caballero

It was in such a spirit that Francisco Largo Caballero, left-wing Socialist leader, then head of the government, spoke to the Cortes last February 1. "I am a party man," he declared, "and when I came here I gave up absolutely nothing of what I am politically. I am in no way a renegade to any of my ideas. But seeing the danger to my country I thought it my duty to assume the responsibility of this task, and to leave for a later time my ideological aspirations. And I beg you all, whatever your political parties or trade unions to think of nothing else but winning the war at this moment. If we do not win the war all our social aspirations are lost... He who conquers will make his ideas triumph."

In that same spirit Federico Urales, veteran leader of the Anarchist movement, one of its most militant publicists, hastened to reply in a letter addressed to his lifetime adversary, the distinguished Socialist and trade union leader.

"As you know I am an anarchist," he said. "As you are a Socialist and the writer of this an anarchist, we have had long controversies and polemics."

"I shall not cease to be an anarchist, but I shall not be with those who, while the war is going on, do destructive work—and by that I mean those who find excuses for not going to the front, those who criticize the work of others, those who divide the working class, those who pass their time being paid for making war when they don't do it, and who retard the victory by not making the sacrifices when the occasion demands. I do not consider these my comrades but indeed consider them to be, either through malice or stupidity, agents of fascism... For me, to win the war is more important than the revolution because as we have said, again and again, to lose the war is to lose the revolution and our lives as well."

Unity

As head of the government, Caballero bent all his energies in the direction of achieving this spirit of solidarity among the rival political groups essential for military defense against Franco's assaults. To a great extent he effected this purpose. How great this achievement was is demonstrated by the fact that he succeeded in getting the Anarchists to enter his government—the first time in the history of the world an anarchist movement that such a step was taken. It was this policy which made possible a greater degree of unity and that turned the tide in the military conflict when the situation almost seemed hopeless. That Caballero's government finally fell was due to the fact that strong opposition to this policy existed throughout his administration and ultimately led to Caballero's resignation and his succession by the present Negrin government.

The Reason For The Change

The change in regime is the result of a combination of conservative Socialists and the Communist Party, pulling at Caballero from the right, and a combination of extremist Anarchist elements who reject the policy of Urales and the POUM (Party of Marxist Unity), pulling from the left. Caught in the clash of these extremist forces, Caballero, though supported by the overwhelming masses of Socialists, trade unionists (both UGT and

CNT), Anarchists and unaffiliated workers and peasants, was compelled to leave the government rather than pursue policies which would bring greater division.

Along with him, others of the leading figures in Spain—men like Foreign Minister Alvarez del Vayo and the dynamic revolutionary Socialist Luis Araquistain, who occupied the key post of Ambassador to France—stepped out. Under their leadership, the march to socialization had already begun despite right-wing objections and despite the tremendous economic difficulties presented by the war situation and the overcrowding of cities to three times their normal population with some 2,000,000 refugees.

Transport facilities, hotels, restaurants, barber shops, 2,500,000 hectares of land (as of February 1937) had been taken over together with enterprizas abandoned by fascist owners. Commercial institutions and industries not socialized were being placed under the control of the trade union of the workers. If Spain is to reap a harvest from the sacrifices it is making and free the workers from the shackles of capitalism, it will be such men as Caballero, Del Vayo and Araquistain who will be summoned again to lead the way.

The internal difficulties of Loyalist Spain have already arrested attention because of the Barcelona uprising and similar incidents, which must be laid squarely at the door of those who opposed Caballero's efforts to give full democratic rights to all workers' organizations within the unified ranks of anti-fascist fighters.

The Communists

To begin with, there was the Communist Party whose outlook is in conformity with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union which sees its national interest as requiring the maintenance of the international status quo. The Communists, like others, wish to limit the struggle of the Spanish workers to a wholly respectable war for political democracy; but they have refused to tolerate the existence, to the left of them, of such political forces as the Anarchists and the POUM. They exerted continual pressure on Caballero to suppress those movements—a policy which he rejected as dangerous to the unified fight against Franco. Despite Caballero's protests, the Communists and right forces continued with their program, giving the extremists in the Anarchist and POUM ranks an issue on which to fight. One of the results was the Barcelona uprising.

It is necessary to know something of the Anarchist movement. From its very nature, it is undisciplined and each unit insists on following its own will. Its character is thoroughly revolutionary, based on a profound love of freedom and hatred for all concepts of dictatorship, proletarian and fascist alike; but its organizational structure is such as to form a happy hunting ground for agents of the underground fascist movement, the Cinco Columna or Fifth Column. In view of the Communist attacks on the Anarchist movement, it was no difficult task for the fascist provocateurs to aggravate the situation and mutual attacks and assassinations took place.

The Anarchist leaders were aware of this menace, but in many instances, their appeals to their undisciplined followers were futile. Urales had clearly described the danger when he wrote to Caballero in February that "I

do not consider these my comrades but indeed consider them to be, either through malice or stupidity agents of fascism."

In the POUM, which is the legitimate child of the Comintern's Third Period, the same process of aggravation took place. The POUM judged the situation very much as the Communists of the Third Period had viewed the Austrian civil war when the Socialists took up arms against Dolfuss: the heroic fighters were "social fascists" and "betrayers of the workingclass."

The Communists, refusing to recognize this child of their own begetting, called for the extermination of the POUM as "Trotskyist" though the POUM itself was expelling the Trotskyites from its ranks. Because of its disruptive policy, the POUM was losing influence; but the bitter attacks on it served only to arouse its members, already stirred up by provocateurs, into open conflict with the government.

These clashes might have been averted if the judicious policy of Caballero had been permitted to function. It was his belief that individual overt acts against the government would be suppressed, but he would not yield to the demands for a general suppression of workingclass movements, particularly when large sections of them were interested in cooperating in the fight against fascism.

Win The War

In this hour when fascist bombs and shells are bursting over Spain, it is essential that unity be restored in order that the government may be able to carry through the war to a successful conclusion. The factional interests which led to this internal strife must be brushed aside. All who have contributed to this friction will suffer the same consequences if through their acts Franco should win. Whatever cabinet is in office, the prime concern of all must be the winning of the war. If Franco, Hitler and Mussolini triumph, it will not matter who is right. When they are defeated, the workingclass can go on to the solution of its differences within the framework of its own class democracy.

It is around this thought that the hopes of the Spanish masses are built. This was the thought of Urales, the Anarchist, who does not like what he terms a "Red dictatorship" but says with a sense of loyalty to his class that "the Spanish workers should choose that rather than fascism." This same loyalty led Caballero to answer the letter of Urales in their correspondence which is an inspiring charter in the history of labor:

"We were, as you say in your letter, political opponents who fought with the ardour of men of deeply-rooted ideals. I recall it now with some sorrow, when I think that it had to be the war—this brutal war which we are suffering—which has brought us together spiritually."

Stirred by this spirit of unity, the workers throughout the world must root out fascism and destroy it by building in its place a socialist society which will not allow the seeds of economic and political tyranny to flourish. Only the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth is the answer to fascism and war, the bloody twins of capitalism. The next step in the onward march to a socialist world is the defeat of Franco in Spain. By uniting to defeat the forces of international fascism in Spain, we shall open the road that leads to Socialism.

FORD SETTLES IN CALIFORNIA

RICHMOND, Cal.—While Henry Ford remains stubborn in his Mid West plants, he is compelled to arrive at agreements with the union on the West Coast. Fifteen hundred determined strikers forced a settlement in Richmond, which involves recognition of sole collective bargaining powers for the union, despite the face-saving denial of Henry Bennett, Ford manager.

The present flare-up in the Richmond plant, largest of its kind on the West Coast, is the second within the last two months. The former strike was a one-day sit down at the end of which the local management granted the following concessions: no discrimination against workers for union activities; disputes to be settled between Ford officials and the grievance committee of the United Auto Workers in the plant; recognition of workers' security rights.

This strike was looked upon by CIO leaders as not only of local importance but also of national significance. It marked one of the first head-on clashes between the Ford Motor Company and the U.A.W.A. in action and by forcing the concessions, the union was credited with drawing first blood.

It soon became apparent, however, that agreements with Ford underlings meant little or nothing. Discrimination against unionists continued, an attempt was made by the company to stir up jurisdictional trouble by using the A.F.L. machinists against the CIO set-up in the plant, and the men struck again. This time they refused to have any dealings with the local plant bosses whom they branded as "only stooges." Their determination on this score brought three higher executives on the run from Detroit.

At the outbreak of the present strike, Bennett, Ford director of personnel in Detroit, was quoted as saying: "The (Richmond) plant would never reopen if I had my way about it."

Department Store Workers With CIO

By a unanimous vote the membership of the Department Store Employees Union, Local 1250, upheld their leaders in joining with nine other locals in affiliating with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

A CALENDAR OF FREEDOM

(Continued from Page One)
Wills as Chief of Police after he was demoted for his vicious activities during the strike;

3. The arrest of Hy and Fania Fish, Harry Fleischman and nine others for violating an injunction issued by Judge Gadola against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America;

4. The recent barrage of court injunctions restraining peaceful picketing;

5. The discharging of four union teachers.

Wednesday a.m.—Case against Reuther dismissed. Nineteen hundred stewarts meet and pass motion "that all pending cases be dismissed or else . . ."

Thursday a.m.—Judge Gadola dismisses contempt charges against 11, apologetically fines Hy Fish \$25.

Thursday, p.m.—Demonstration in front of Fisher No. 2 for Chevrolet workers on the site of the "Battle of Bulls Run." Radio announcements of Saturday demonstration every two hours.

Friday, p.m.—Demonstrations in front of Buick, AC and Fisher No. 1. Radio announcements of Saturday demonstration every hour. Every worker in Flint wearing ribbon advertising demonstration.

Sunday:—Airplane equipped with siren trailing a banner advertising the demonstration roars overhead. More radio announcements. Sound cars travel the streets. At 6:00 p. m. workers start gathering at Kearsely park for demonstration. By 8:00 p. m. the park is packed with humanity. Speakers include Homer Martin, Dick Frankensfeer, Walter, Victor and Roy Reuther, and Bob Travis. Immediately after the demonstration a torch light parade forms with floats, bands, sound cars, banners and marches down the main street passing the City Hall and the Court House. Labor demonstrates its solidarity and strength!

Two of the five objectives of the Flint workers were accomplished before the demonstration. They are determined to complete the job.

Statement of Fish

FLINT, Mich.—The following was issued immediately after the

Why I Joined The Socialists

By Teckla Roy

Teckla Roy, President of the Women's Auxiliary of the Flint auto workers' union, sent the following letter to Genora Johnson, captain of the famous Women's Brigade. This was written on the occasion of Comrade Roy's intention to join the Socialist Party.)

FLINT, Mich.—It's true Genora, that I am finally convinced that I'm a Socialist at heart and also that the Socialist Party is the only true labor party in the U.S. run on true democratic principles. I have attended one meeting even though only about 10 were present.

Maybe, by the time you get back (which I hope is soon, we all miss you) I'll be a true comrade—Won't that be swell? Already I have a strange feeling of belonging—a feeling of security I never had before.

Today marks another milestone in my life—I mean its my birthday. From now on Genora, I'm not going to count my birthdays by the number of years I've lived, but by the things I've done and learned since the one before. When I think of the time—not so many months ago, when I used to sit quietly back and let "Nature" take

trial by Hy Fish, representative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, affiliated with the CIO.

At the advice of my counsel I pleaded guilty to technically violating the injunction issued by Judge Gadola against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for picketing the Flint Cleaners and Dyers during a strike. The other defendants and I were exercising our American right to picket peacefully and our constitutional right to freedom of assembly. We are not ashamed of what we did.

The Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction bill passed by Congress expressly forbids injunctions against peaceful picketing. Apparently federal laws are not recognized in the General Motors controlled state of Michigan.

Are we to have two standards in the country—one set by states and one set by the federal government?

We will continue our efforts to organize all the workers in Flint and in the country for a better life.

its course"—not caring about any of the worth-while things like "bettering the conditions of our workers."

"Making it possible for the children of Flint to have (a) proper food; (b) the right kind of cultural and economic education; (c) proper food and clothing; (d) proper health facilities such as dental and physical care—and ultimately a government by and for the workers—Gee, that's something to work for.

Of course such enthusiasm probably seems naive to you but please try to remember that I'm new in the movement and it all seems very wonderful to me.

Here's my hand on your good work and continued success.
Teckla Roy.

TEXAS WAGE DRIVE

SAN ANTONIO, Tex. (FP)—Following the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court upholding the Washington minimum wage law for women, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union locals in Texas have started a drive to get a similar law passed in this state.

PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS

RESORTS

For a Royal Vacation
ROYAL HOTEL and COUNTRY CLUB
GREENFIELD PARK, N. Y.
JUNE RATE \$18 up
ALL SPORTS
SOCIAL STAFF and ACTIVITIES
Swimming Pool—New Dining Hall
CHILDREN'S DAYTIME CAMP
H. Davis—Jacob Doroshkin
Mngs.
N.Y. Rep., Morris K. Siegel
521 Fifth Ave.
MURKIN Hill 2-6773

Camp Three Arrows

FOR YOUR WEEK-END or VACATION
AN ATMOSPHERE OF COMRADRIE
In a Setting of Rustic Beauty
Baseball Volley Ball
Fishing Horseback Riding
Boating Ping Pong

SWIMMING

45 ACRE LAKE

Rates:

\$17.50 Weekly—\$3.00 Per Day

N. Y. Office: 112 East 19th Street
ALg. 4-2633

CAMP: Barker Road, Shrub Oaks, N.Y.
PEck. 3-63 F 3

45 Miles from New York

TEXAS LABOR SPLIT

DALLAS, Texas.—The Dallas Typographical Union has withdrawn its affiliation from the Dallas Central Labor Council in protest at the suspension of the two locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union from the Council. In a statement to the press, J. C. Hicks, president of the printers, stated that his union intended to remain in the American Federation of Labor and the Texas State Federation, but was also in sympathy with the program of the CIO.

BRANCH DIRECTORY

RATES: 3 Lines, 25c, 5 cents per additional line.
Minimum 1 Month.
Deadline: Monday at 2 P.M.

MANHATTAN

LOWER EAST SIDE. Meets every Wed. 31 Second Ave. Ruth F. Miller, Sec'y, 225 E. 13th St.

POLISH BR. (Oddzial Potega). Meets 1st and 3rd Friday each month. 25 St. Marks Pl. (Bet. 2nd and 3rd Aves.). F. Fiolek, Sec'y.

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 L. 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 48th 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.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

MEETS every Tues. 8 P. M. 1603A So. Jefferson Ave. Bus. meeting 1st Tues. Class in Socialism 2nd, 3rd, 4th Tues. Labor Forum every Sunday 8 P. M.

NORMAN THOMAS

National Chairman, Socialist Party, U. S. A.

JUST RETURNED FROM EUROPE

will report on

THURSDAY

JUNE 10th

1937—7:30 P. M.

SPAIN • RUSSIA

England • France

REBEL ARTS CHORUS

AUSPICES: SOCIALIST PARTY, LOCAL N. Y.

Reserved sections 25c, 50c, \$1. General Adm. Free

NEW YORK

HIPPODROME

6th Ave., at 43rd St.

Parker Tells Workers 'Break Open Rotten Feudal Oppression'

Exclusive for the Socialist Call

As organizer for the Illinois Workers' Alliance, traveling up and down the state building a militant union of unemployed and relief workers, I have come across many examples of the callous indifference of capitalist society to the welfare of the workers whose labor sustains it. But nowhere has any community equalled the insolence of Alexander county which, saved from wholesale death and destruction, now turns to its saviours and denies them, not a reward, but simply the continued miserable pittance of relief and WPA money which keeps body and souls together in Cairo.

Cairo lies on a long low tongue of land between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The city protected itself from periodic floods by building great levees, the work of many generations of underpaid or unpaid negroes and poor whites, have been so strong that the city can boast to visitors in a flaunting sign on the town's edge that "There has been no flood in Cairo for 75 years." Cairo's snug dryness will be particularly impressive if the visitors drives off the main highway at Mount City, just a few miles north, and sees the scores of houses still lying on their sides or on their roofs, or standing askew in the middle of the streets, where the flood left them.

Safe as Cairo is now and apparently has been for 75 years, for 10 frightening days last January and February her safety lay in the hard hands and straining backs of a thousand men who worked feverishly day and night piling up sandbags to reinforce and raise yet higher the protecting dikes. For this dangerous, exhausting work the pay rate was 31 cents an hour. Many of the men put in as much as two hundred hours of work. Most of them were negroes; some on relief, others not.

Payrolls Padded

During those critical days both Governor Horner and Federal Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins visited Cairo and publicly commended the workers. But with the waters receding, interest in the levee workers receded too. Charges and counter-charges of payroll padding flew between Cairo, St. Louis and Springfield. The original payroll of 1899 presented by Mayor Bode was reduced by 899, thus justifying the charge of padding! In the meantime those families on relief were denied relief because of the paychecks they were supposed to have! To this day, hundreds have received neither relief nor flood checks.

Relief Standards Impossible

Relief standards are low and arbitrarily variable. Ten dollars a month for an average family is the usual amount. This is all they get. There is no free medical care (I have just talked to a colored worker whose little girl died of pneumonia forty-eight hours ago because no doctor was available. There is no clothing, no rent paid except out of the 10 dollars and the rent takes a substantial part of the relief allowance. Federal surplus foods have not been distributed, although the federal warehouse in Cairo distributes surplus goods to three states. Ugly stories circulate around town that the portion set aside

for Cairo has been sold for the private profit of insiders. In fact, there have been rumors that the relief administrator of Alexander County was before the grand jury charged with selling federal foods and stealing relief money, but no true bill was returned.

There, relief levels are not any accident. They are part of the industrial slavery of the Far South which must keep its victims half-starved on relief, so they will not rebel at starvation wages in the mills and fields. Fifteen cent an hour is a top wage for unskilled labor in Alexander county and grown men work for countless hours in the strawberry fields in May for six cents an hour. Even skilled negro mechanics are found working for 90 cents a day.

Living conditions match wage levels: Miserable unpainted leaky shacks, six or eight persons living in one room, perpetually hungry, undernourished and diseased. A recent series of physical examinations found twenty-five hundred out of thirty-five hundred of the poverty stricken people to have syphilis.

Parker to Organize

It was in order to meet these conditions in the only way they can be met—by organization of fighting workers—that I went down to Cairo in early April under instructions from the state office of the Illinois Workers' Alliance. The response was splendid. Hundreds of workers, employed and unemployed, found in the IWA a mean of organizing their own strength for action, and at the same time a helping hand extended by their northern brothers. A mass meeting was called for the evening of April 9 at which I spoke. We secured the County Court House. It was packed to the door—hundreds could not get in—fifteen hundred in all must have been there. Six demands were agreed upon—far from extreme—demands which have already been quoted in the CALL.

The events of the day and following weeks are well known to CALL readers: our occupation of relief headquarters, previously vacated by relief officials who refused even to discuss our demands, the invasion by the police when many of our men were away seeking food at the federal warehouse and my arrest; the shooting which occurred after my arrest when I was across the street in the hands of the police and for which I am now indicted under three charges of murderous assault; my unlawful imprisonment in three jails in three counties for almost seven weeks; the indifference of sheriffs to such a "scrap of paper" as a writ of

Politics Involved In Many Aspects Of The Strike In Steel



CHICAGO, Ill.—Political complications are enmeshing themselves in the steel strike as it enters its third week against the vicious tactics of the Republic Steel Corporation.

New Deal Mayor Kelly after unleashing the appalling police brutality of a week ago Sunday, tried to put on a show of "impartiality" by ordering the Corporation to cease housing its strikebreakers in the buildings of its South Chicago plants, as against city ordinances.

The gesture was immediately shown up as a phony one when Republic moved in twenty-one Pullman cars and continued to house strike breakers on its same property.

In Washington, the National Labor Relations Board indicated that it intended to "move cautiously" in the steel strike, availing itself of the technical excuse that no formal action had been instituted against the steel companies by union officials.

Post Involved

In Warren, attempts by Republic to use the Federal mails to help break the strike have so far been unsuccessful. How long the Post Office Department will be able to withstand pressure is still a question.

In Youngstown, Company officials despairing of breaking the strike through strike breakers, have begun to employ the familiar "Mohawk Valley formula" invented by the Arch-strike breaker, James R. Rand. The regular phony "back-to-work" movement raised its head in the form of a request to the mayor for a mass meeting.

The railroads are cooperating nicely with Republic by threatening wholesale lay-offs unless the strike is settled.

REP. O'CONNELL URGES EMBARGO

Flying in from Washington to join Father Michael O'Flanagan and Civil Service Commissioner Paul Kern at a meeting to aid the victims of the recent bombardments at Guernica and Almeria, Congressman Jerry J. O'Connell, 28-year-old Representative, will make his first appearance in New York on Monday evening, June 14, at the Hippodrome. O'Connell, a Montana miner's son, and youngest member of Congress, will speak as a guest of the Medical Bureau To Aid Spanish Democracy. The Representative from Montana has recently taken up the cudgels in behalf of the invaded country of Spain by demanding an embargo on all war shipments to the two Fascist nations now engaged in an actual war with the legitimate government of Spain.

habeas corpus; the rejection of \$26,000 worth of property to cover a \$4,500 bond, and most amazing of all, the rejection of the bond of the National Surety Corporation of New York on ludicrous pretexts. Press releases carrying the news of my release from jail were sent to the CALL and other papers when the Surety Corporation informed us that having received its fee from the Workers' Defense League in New York, it instructed its local agents in Illinois to put up the cash bond required. Even that was rejected

(Continued next week)

PA. LEGISLATURE FORGES THRU NOMINATION FEE

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—After the Senate Democrats, because of Socialist pressure, had cut out the provisions of the election bill that would have prevented minority parties from running on the ballot, they quietly put across an addition which in most localities will absolutely prevent minority representation at the polls.

Without any public announcement at all as to their intention, because of their fear of labor opposition, the House and Senate Democrats in the joint conference on amendments imposed huge fees for filing nomination petitions, none of which will be returned no matter how many votes are secured.

The fees are as follows: for President of the United States or any State-wide office, \$50; for Congress or district judges, \$35; State Senator or Assemblyman, or any county-wide or city-wide office, \$25.

THOMAS J. ATKINS & SONS
Official Florist of Socialist Party
1371 EASTERN PARKWAY
Cor. RALPH AVE., BROOKLYN
RResident 4-1890

635 SUTTER AVENUE
near Pennsylvania Ave., Brooklyn
Dickens 6-6923

SPECIAL RATES TO CALL READERS

FLORISTS
BASKETS OF FRESH FRUITS
FOR ALL OCCASIONS
WEDDING BOUQUETS, HALL
and CANOPY DECORATIONS

Greenhouse
MAYWOOD, N. J.
Member:
Florists Telegraph Delivery

"Printing Is An Art and Not a Job to Us"
CASCONY PRINTING CO.
114 ST. MARKS PLACE
(Bet. 1st Ave. and Ave. A)
Phone ORchard 7-7369
JOB COMMERCIAL AND PUBLICATION PRINTERS
POLSKA DRUKARNIA POLISH PRINTING

"Catholics Support Loyalist Spain"
Father Michael O'Flanagan
Eminent Irish Catholic leader of Sinn Fein now touring United States on behalf of Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy

Hon. JERRY O'CONNELL
Montana Representative in United States Congress.

LINI FUHR
American Nurse—with American Medical Bureau Base Hospital in Spain.

HELEN SELDES
Journalist, just returned from the Spanish War Front.

VITO MARCANTONIO
Municipal Civil Service Commissioner, Chairman.

PAUL KERN
Municipal Civil Service Commissioner, Chairman.

MON. EVE. 8:30 P.M.
JUNE 14th
ADMISSION:
25c - 50c - \$1.10
(Reserved)

TICKETS AT: Call Book Store, Tyson's and Leblang's Ticket Agencies, Hippodrome Box Office and Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, 381 Fourth Ave. Murray Hill 4-5301 or at your own club, fraternity or organization

HIPPODROME
6th AVE. and 43rd ST.
AIR COOLED

IN SUPPORT OF MEDICAL BUREAU TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

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 24
Men - \$1.00 Ladies - 50c
BEER AND SANDWICHES FREE
Asspects: S. A. D. Bronx

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

There is a story of how the consumer was outraged and how by organizing he dealt a body blow to the Milk Trust Giant, and saved himself \$21,000,000 a year. This tiny piece of change is the result of a two cent decrease in the price of milk to consumers, forced upon Bordens and Sheffield, the milk trust twins by the aggressive lobbying of the Milk Consumers Protective Committee.

Back in September of last year when more than forty co-operative trade unions and settlement houses formed the committee, the Milk Trust was having a feast under the New York Milk Control Law. They were paying the farmers 3½ cent a quart and were neatly palming it off to the consumer for 13 cents. To cover up, they spent huge globs of money to create the illusion that they were barely meeting expenses. They thought their public relations counsel (nee press agent) was so successful that they dared cherish the hope of raising the price to 14½ cent. That is when the committee stepped in to prick the pretty bubble.

It took practically no time to find out that consumers in other cities were paying about two cents less than New York consumers and that under the existing law the Milk Trust had pretty much its own way through the simple device of controlling the major farm cooperatives which were supposed to represent the farmers, but whose set-up is a slander to the good name of cooperation. It was a simple case of price-fixing ostensibly fixed by the State but really fixed by the milk distributors.

The Milk Consumers Protective Committee did admirably by its constituents. It succeeded in having the Milk Control Law repealed and the free competition which followed forced the price down two cents and made the front page of every New York newspaper.

With characteristic aplomb, the Milk Trust, biding its time; set its well greased machinery in operation and quietly had the now infamous Roger-Allen bill introduced in the legislature where it unostentatiously slid through its grooved track towards private price fixing unencumbered by the pretense of being set by a State Department. There it was discovered, well on its way, by the Milk committee. Well timed publicity and an avalanche of letters from hard-pressed housewives to the Governor and their representatives forced the Governor, who had insisted that he would have nothing whatever to do with milk bills, to request an amendment. The worst price-fixing provisions of the bill were eliminated. However, the milk situation is far from solved.

The Milk Consumers Protective Committee still has an overwhelming job before it and deserves the unstinting support of every working class organization until the milk problem is solved. Individuals may join at one dollar a year. The committee correctly believes that mere legislation will not provide the solution, but that democratically controlled farm cooperatives to produce and process milk and genuine consumers cooperatives to distribute it probably will. With this proposed solution I find myself in hearty agreement.

OPPOSE BLAND BILL

Representatives of maritime unions appeared before the house merchant marine committee to protest the Bland bill as opposed to the best interests of maritime labor. They denied that the railway labor act is applicable to the maritime industry.

TWO BEATEN AS LAW AND ORDER FAVOR HARVEY

Special to the CALL

By WALTER LUDWIG

While rubber-hose Harvey, president of the borough of Queens, was urging the allied war veterans at a Memorial Day program to deport all who do not subscribe to his jingoistic Americanism, two members of the Sunnyside branch of the Socialist party were attacked and beaten by a Harvey henchman.

Police Captain James F. Smith and a half dozen patrolmen, on duty to preserve "law and order," suddenly became absorbed in Harvey's eloquence while the attack was in progress. Captain Smith refused to let the two Socialists identify their assailant and ordered them away from the park where the meeting was being held.

Rabbi Isadore Hoffman, religious advisor to students at Columbia University, was standing on the fringe of the audience some seventy five yards away from the speaker's platform. After a smirk of greetings to "my friends the police" Harvey wormed his way through a provocative speech in the course of which he shouted, "Those who do not believe this country is the best in the world should be sent back where they came from and if they were born here they should be sent for six months to Spain or Russia."

Hoffman, who was formerly chairman of the park's forum committee, remarked quietly to his ten-year-old son, "He mentions Spain and Russia, but he doesn't say anything about Germany and Italy. He's a fascist." Without warning a heavy-set fellow reported to be an ex-navy boxer snatched off Hoffman's glasses and struck him in the face. To avoid a scene Hoffman moved away but was pursued and pushed out of the park. Half way to the street the assailant began to punch the rabbi about the face and head, knocking him to the sidewalk.

At this point Walter Ludwig, director of Pioneer Youth and Socialist comrade of Hoffman's, ran up protesting, "He's a friend of mine. Why are you hitting him?" The assailant turned his punches on Ludwig felling him with a blow to the heart. Ludwig followed the man to the park's entrance. Here he was denied admission by a policeman. "We don't want no trouble in here," the cop said soothingly.

"I've been attacked and a friend of mine battered by a man in there," Ludwig declared. When the officer still refused to let him identify the attacker Ludwig led him to where Hoffman was standing near the street, his right eye nearly closed, his arm bruised, and his nose swollen and bleeding.

They returned to the park's entrance now blocked by Captain Smith and several patrolmen. Ludwig protested and Captain Smith pushed him toward the street, say-

STAGE and SCREEN

Cameo Picture Portrays Paris Commune of 1871

"THE PARIS COMMUNE," produced by Mosfilm, Moscow U.S.S.R., with N. Plotnikov, A. Maximova and V. Stanitzin; directed by Gregory Roshal; at the Cameo.

By NATHAN LEVINE

American workers have seen the Russian October on the screen time and again and have thrilled at the magnificence of that historic experience. Thanks now to Mosfilm for its equally stirring production concerning the glorious Parisian Communards of 1871 who for sixty-five days stormed the heavens as harbingers of a new socialist society. Here is a thoroughly faithful document; revealing at once the heroism, the fanaticism, the loyalty and vacillations of a proletariat first to seize power in its own name. Here too are the scurrilous intrigues of a routed capitalism, of the diabolical Thiers, who in the end made a ruthless but futile effort to annihilate the defeated revolutionary workers.

Although the film does not show the proclamation of the Commune on the 18th of March, one does see the armed battalions of workers and the Polish, German and Austrian volunteers who came to serve the socialist revolution; one sees the Communards in session, arguing over their social and military tactics; one sees the mercenary troops of Versailles marching to attack the armed working class suburbs of Neuilly and Montmartre; one sees the women of Paris who marched and fought and died on the barricades in defense of the Commune; in truth, one sees a vivid, stirring spectacle, ably played by the best artists of the Soviet cinema. The final scene, in which the Communards, though conscious of their defeat, march resolutely against the class enemy, march against terrible odds more to death than to victory, is a splendid dramatic peroration.

Special mention goes to V. Stanitzin, as Commander of the international battalion of revolutionary workers, whose performance has a warm and heroic qual-

ity. Of merit also are the performances of N. Plotnikov as Dombrowski, the Polish revolutionary, and A. Maximova, as Catherine, the leader of the women's battalion. The direction and the pace of the film are of equal merit.

ing, "If you know what's good for you, you'll get out o' here." When he insisted that Captain Smith accompany him into the park to identify the assailant and to have him arrested the captain ordered him away. Hoffman and Ludwig were both attended by physicians for their injuries. An affidavit charging the police with neglect of duty and a demand for an investigation and the arrest of the assailant have been lodged with the police commissioner and Mayor LaGuardia. On Saturday evening, June 12, the aroused citizens of Sunnyside are holding a peace meeting in the Sunnyside park. Sherwood Eddy and Rabbi Hoffman will be speakers. The meeting is in answer to Harvey's declaration of June 12 as "Queens Day" when the veterans organizations are again planning military displays.

On the same bill are the first newsreel picture of May Day in Moscow. The shots are of the customary type; Stalin, the Red Army, Voroshilov, posters, bunting, tanks, airplanes et al. Stalin looks extremely healthy; smiling, happy and cordial. The man of steel is, indeed, in fine "metal."

'Woman Chases Man' Mad Cap Farce Opens Thursday

"WOMEN CHASES MAN," mad-cap farce with Joel McCrea and Miriam Hopkins, to open at Music Hall Thursday.

"Woman Chases Man," Samuel Goldwyn Madcap farce co-starring Miriam Hopkins and Joel McCrea, will follow "This Is My Affair" on the screen of the Radio City Music Hall, opening Thursday, June 10th.

The two stars will be supported by a cast that includes Charles Winninger, Eric Rhodes, Ella Logan, Leona Maricle, Broderick Crawford, and Charles Halton.

The comedy, directed by John Blystone, will mark the fifth appearance together of Miss Hopkins and McCrea. The popular romantic team has previously been seen in "The Richest Girl in the World," "Barbary Coast," "These Three" and "Splendor."

"Woman Chases Man," reversing the usual story approach, presents Miss Hopkins as a girl architect who chases a young millionaire (McCrea) to the ends of the earth to make him sign a contract to finance a model village and finally gets his name on both the contract and a wedding license. The screenplay was written by Joseph Anthony, Manuel Seff and David Hertz from a story by Lynn Root and Frank Fenton.

The film is being released through United Artists.

SPORT HOP
sponsored by Staff Local C.P.C., Federal Art Project at the AMERICAN PEOPLE'S CENTER 308 W. 59th St., cor. Columbus Circle FOR THE FIGHTING FUND FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1937, 8:30 P. M. Subscriptions 40 cents; at door 50 cents

'Steel', Wexley Play, Will Go on Tour

Labor Stage announces that "Steel," the John Wexley drama on the CIO and the steel industry, will be taken out to the centers where trouble has arisen over the efforts of the SWOC to organize the men in the Republic Steel plants. Chicago will be the first stop of the touring company, with Youngstown and Warren, Ohio following in quick order. Labor Stage, Inc., producers of "Steel" in New York, is the prime mover in the attempt to bring the play to the hard beset steel workers.

"Steel" dramatizes the struggle between the CIO and the steel owners. It envisions just such developments as have occurred during the past week in the cities affected by the steel strike.

Clint Golden, Director of the Northeastern Area of the SWOC and David J. McDonald, Secretary-Treasurer of the same organization, some time ago, during the fifty-performance run of the play, expressed the hope that "Steel" could be played in such areas as will now see it.

"Candide" and "How Long Brethren?"

Gloomy prognostications about the fate of the modern dance went by the boards today when box office figures revealed that the WPA Federal Theatre Project's dance productions, "Candide" and "How Long Brethren?" last week led all other WPA plays in regular theatres in attendance.

The dance dramas, presented at the Nora Bayes Theatre, were followed in attendance figures by the Jewish Theatre unit's "Professor Mamlock" and Unit 891's "The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus." The latter show has been withdrawn temporarily from Maxine Elliott's Theatre.

WPA Living Newspaper Show

Muni Diamond yesterday replaced Norman Lloyd as The Consumer in "Power," currently presented by the Living Newspaper unit of the WPA Federal Theatre Project at the Ritz Theatre.

BRONX

"I have never seen a film in which the fidelity to the object and the respect for the materials were more moving or more eloquent."
—ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

"THE WAVE"

(REDES)
"Paul Strand, one of the finest photographic artists of our country, has collaborated with Mexico to produce a deeply moving film."
—WALDO FRANK
"The Mexican film, 'The Wave,' is one of the great achievements of the camera, superior to almost everything ever done in the United States, ranking with the ten great films of all time and all countries."
—GEORGE SELDES
English Titles by John Dos Passaos
ASCOT Grand Concourse and 183rd Street

Where To Dine

JOHN'S ITALIAN RESTAURANT
Lunch and Dinner. Wines and Beer Served. Favorite rendezvous of Eugene Victor Debs. Popular prices.
302 E. 12th St. NEAR 2nd AVE.
• PRIVATE DINING ROOMS FOR PARTIES •
RITZ DINER 27 UNION SQ. (cor. 16th St.) We deliver phone orders. Tel. Stuyvesant-9-8616. OPEN DAY AND NIGHT. Private Dining Room for Ladies and Gentlemen.

5th Ave. Cafeteria and Bar
54 FIFTH AVENUE. The very best food—Most reasonable prices—Large Beer 5c
HARTFORD Lunch and Dinner. Wines and Beer Served. Favorite rendezvous of Eugene Victor Debs. Popular prices.
302 E. 12th St. NEAR 2nd AVE.
RHODA'S LUNCHEONETTE, Inc. 457 Broadway cor. 17th Street. Candy, Cigars, Cigarettes. We deliver orders. SNAPPY SERVICE. Tel. 7-0929-0928-0110
MONROE CAFETERIA and BAR WINES & LIQUORS
BROADWAY AT 17th STREET. Right Next Door to The Call. ALGONQUIN 4-5297

SAM H. HARRIS presents
THE PULITZER PRIZE PLAY 1936-37
"You Can't Take It With You"
by MOSS HART and GEO. S. KAUFMAN
"A MAGNIFICENTLY FUNNY SHOW"
—Time Magazine
Scientifically Air-Conditioned

BOOTH THEATRE
45th St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:40
Matinee: Wed. and Sat. at 2:40

BALANCING THE BUDGET AT EXPENSE OF JOBLESS

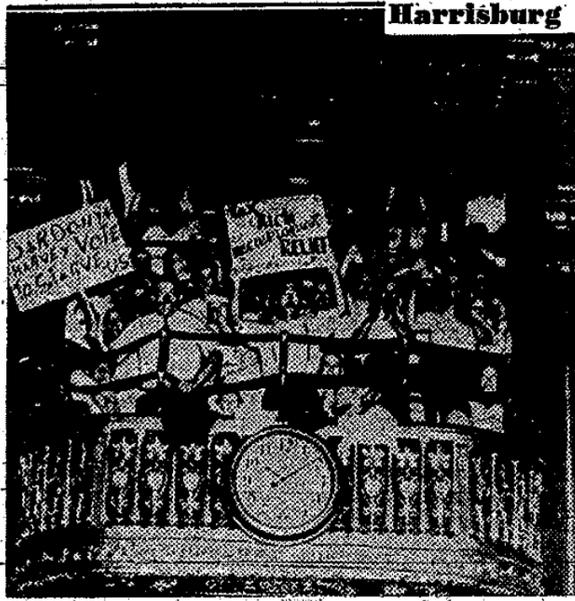
The Roosevelt Program

By DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER

I SHALL assume in discussing this important question, "Shall the government balance the budget?" that we are confining our attention to the Federal



Trenton



Harrisburg



St. Louis



Columbus

government, and that we are considering whether our national government shall attempt to balance the budget during the coming fiscal year, July 1, 1937 to June 30, 1938.

There is, of course, practically no difference of opinion on the question of a balanced budget as a general policy of having the receipts of Uncle Sam from taxes and other sources sufficiently large not only to pay all current expenses, but to reduce the debt accumulated during periods of war or depression. It goes without saying that a continually increasing debt means an increasing burden on the taxpayer and general citizen, presents a grave danger of inflation and tends to destroy the credit of the country.

The situation today in simple outline is as follows: The federal debt is about \$35,000,000,000, about \$3,000,000,000 more than the war debt at its height, and \$19,000,000,000 more than in 1930, at the beginning of the depression.

While the federal debt is greater than ever before in our history, it must be borne in mind, however, that the interest rates on the debt are lower than in other years and that the total yearly interest charges of around \$860,000,000 are less than were the average charges during the twenties. In 1923 we paid interest charges, for instance, of \$200,000,000 more than we pay today.

on Government Credit of the Twentieth Century Fund came to the conclusion that, while it would be disastrous to continue to pile up government deficits from year to year, "neither the present size of the debt nor the large increase occurring during the depression has as yet endangered the credit of the Federal government."

The revised estimates for the current year ending this month indicate a deficit of over two and one-half billion dollars, perhaps of over three billion dollars, as compared with \$1,763,000,000 last year when the bonus was paid and \$3,500,000,000 in 1934-35.

On the basis of recent returns from taxes, President Roosevelt estimates that, if the government appropriates the amount set forth in his budget, there will be a deficit next year of \$418,000,000. This estimated deficit of over \$400,000,000 was based on estimated expenditures for relief of \$1,500,000,000; for a general public works program, of \$140,000,000; for the C.C.C. of \$350,000,000 and

for an army and navy program, of \$953,000,000.

HOW MANY JOBLESS

The questions that are now being discussed are:

(1) Should a budget be adopted which would require more borrowing?

(2) If not, and if an attempt should be made to balance the budget, should the budget be balanced through a reduction of the proposed expenditures particularly for relief, or through the raising of more taxes?

Many conservatives are urging such a balance through the reduction of funds for relief to \$1,000,000,000. Close students of the unemployment situation, however, maintain that this reduction would have tragic consequences from the standpoint of the vast number of the unemployed and their families.

We have still, in this eighth year of the worst depression in the history of the country, between 8 million and 10 million, perhaps more, unable to obtain work in private enterprise. According to Harry L. Hopkins,

W.P.A. Administrator, even though industrial activity increases to the 1929 volume, we will still have 6,500,000 to 7,500,000 out of jobs. Even in a future boom period, we are likely to have between 4 and 5 million unemployed. We must see that these are given work or other assistance.

This current year, the federal government is spending \$2,620,000,000 for relief. Even with this expenditure, the government was able to employ only 2,150,000 workers out of 8-10 million unemployed.

Far from reducing the relief budget to one and one-half billion dollars or to one billion dollars, a liberal bloc in Congress maintains that it is imperative in the interest of those unable to obtain work and their dependents, to appropriate two and one-half billion dollars or three billion dollars. This would provide for the employment of three million people, about one out of every 2 1/2 or 3 of the unemployed. The revision of our taxes could, in their opinion, "raise this amount and keep the

fer work relief and other forms of employment to all the needy unemployed. Even with the federal aid of \$2 1/2 billion this year, the situation during the past winter among the unemployed was, in many cases, desperate. For those on work relief, the average monthly payments were \$52.50. As for home relief, the average amount per month per family ranged from \$6.74 in New Mexico to \$39.87 in the District of Columbia, while \$10, \$13, \$14 per month were common in other states.

The American Association of Social Workers declared in February that the W.P.A. had failed to absorb its expected share of the unemployed able to work, and that the abandonment of the F.E.R.A. had resulted in a "crazy quilt pattern" of relief under local control. In some states, the relief doled out by the states has been so scanty that parents have deserted their children so that the latter might be placed in institutions. Recent demonstrations of work relief workers in New York and other cities against threatened

Scenes at state legislatures when jobless took possession to get their demands.

budget in balance." They believe that such useful public projects as housing, power development, flood control and the like could be made self-liquidating—at least in part.

"No budget," declare Congressmen Maverick and Voorhis, "is or ever will be balanced unless it includes an adequate appropriation to enable able-bodied unemployed people to work and earn a living and make their contribution to a new and better nation. Economy is right. Thrift is right. But if every unemployed man were to work at something necessary to social welfare, we should be practicing better economy and thrift than by letting men go hungry and the country go to waste. Why throw a half-million able-bodied Americans back into the soup lines?" they ask.

THE WORKERS' ALLIANCE

The Workers' Alliance, the National Employment League, and other organizations urge appropriations for relief of between three and four billion dollars. The Mayor's Conference and a number of State Governors are demanding that the relief appropriations be not cut.

The Governors maintain that, in accordance with the policy advocated by the President in 1935, the federal government should of-

reductions in the labor force of the W.P.A. indicate the seriousness of the present situation.

Surely the budget ought not to be balanced by the tragic procedure of cutting down appropriations for needed relief. These appropriations should be raised, not reduced.

WAR FUNDS TO JOBLESS

The President recently suggested the reduction of expenditures in other government departments as a means of budget balancing. Wasteful expenditures should, of course, be eliminated wherever found, but it is not probable that much could be saved in the ordinary civilian departments.

Hundreds of millions, however, should be cut from the army and navy budget. This next year it is proposed that we spend on these two departments \$953,000,000, nearly a billion dollars, as compared with \$535,000,000, in 1934-5. We need no such great expenditures to defend our shores. And the American people do not want to engage in military adventures abroad.

An effort should, I believe, be made to balance the budget through an increase in taxes on those best able to pay rather than through a decrease in relief appropriations.