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U.S.A.

# Socialist Call

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 21, 1935, at the Post Office at New York under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. III—No. 120

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1937

PRICE FIVE CENTS

## Artists On WPA Fight 'Pink Slip' Dismissal Move

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.—Dramatic protests in the form of hunger strikes, of holding administrators in captivity, of mass demonstrations took place in New York City after an attempt to hand pink slips of removal to 2,848 persons from five art projects and of 34,000 others from separately administered WPA construction and white collar projects.

The strikers won their immediate demands for withdrawal of pink slips, for the appointment of a board of review and appeals, and for an impartial constitution of this board.

## Hunger Striker on Dance Project Tells of Fight

By EDITH TURCELL

"We received notice from our superior officer that the distribution of pink slips was about to begin; that the dancers were to be cut entirely.

We felt that no ordinary action would be sufficient here. Sit-downs were becoming blasé; everyone was doing it. We had to have some new way of waking up the officials and the country to the distressing plight we were in. We knew that the only thing before us was hunger, and so we decided to give our officials a dramatic example of the havoc they were working. Instead of starving one-by-one off by ourselves where nothing could be done about it, and where no one could see, we decided to hunger openly and collectively, so that something might be done about it.

After twenty-four hours our first striker, who was not well to start with but who insisted that she be permitted to go through the fight with us, collapsed. A slight wave of hysteria swept us as we saw her carried out; but we knew that this was no time to break down.

### Nine Collapse

In the remaining five days, nine other girls collapsed.

But it was not all in vain. As a result of our action, all pink slips to dancers were rescinded, until a Board of Appeals is set up. We

won our demand that this Board of Appeals be set up consisting of one administration representative, one from the City Projects Council, and one impartial person chosen by both.

The reporters seemed to be in a sort of conspiracy against us, tempting us with rich descriptions of beef steaks and the like. Sure we were hungry, but we swore not to eat a bite until the pink slips were rescinded—or they carry us out in a coffin. As time passed, the reporters' cynicism turned to interested sympathy.

The announcement of victory at 1.30 in the morning was accompanied by a glass of orange juice ordered for us by the doctor. We were too weak to be moved and had to be nursed back to walking strength.

The storm of applause that greeted us at City Hall, where thousands of women were demonstrating, was, I feel, less a tribute to the hunger strikers than their way of telling the administration that any attempts to carry through the cuts will meet with the toughest opposition.

## Strikebreaker



Governor Martin L. Davey of Ohio—

## Will You Love Me In July As You Did In November?

By GEORGE BAKER

"Will you love me in July as you did in November" is the tune the Project Workers in New York City should be singing in President Roosevelt's backyard.

July 1st. will see more than 30,000 workers on the manual, white collar and arts projects in New York City, receiving pink slips. Notices have already gone out to those on the arts projects. The immediate result was a sit down in the office of the Administrator of the Four Arts Projects, Mr. Harold Steff.

The sit-down was unique in that it forced the Administrator to remain at his desk all through the night, and allowed him to leave only after he had signed an agreement satisfactory to the workers.

### Win Agreement

The six point agreement signed by Mr. Stein pledges him to inform Washington that he considers the present methods (seniority and indispensability) unsound and would like to see a neutral Review Board with the power to reinstate all needy em-

(Continued on Page Two)

## "Right To Scab" Upheld By Steel State Officials

By JOE CIANO

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—The right to scab—and to do it with the aid and protection of the police and the National Guard—is becoming a sacred tenet in the religion of the labor hating bosses of Ohio and their two-faced governor.

The armed forces, which for a few hours closed down the plants of the steel owners (at a time when labor militancy was at its height,) are now unleashing a terror against the strikers in order to keep the mills running.

A full page ad, paid for with money of men who have it, protesting the action of Governor Davey in shutting down the plant, was sufficient to cause a back down and reversal in the short-lived policy of Ohio's executive.

### The Strike Goes On

The claims of the steel barons, however, that 18,000 out of 25,000 returned to work is wishful thinking. At meeting after meeting thousands of CIO members voted unanimously to reject any proposal to return to work without a signed contract.

Proof of the fact that the Mahoning Valley Citizens' Committee, stooge of Republic Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube, is more interested in strike-breaking than in just "maintaining peace and order" is the gleeful comment with which they greeted Davey's action: "Law enforcement has ended the strike."

### Beat Unionists

Under the kind blessings of the Citizen's Committee Porter Campbell was beaten in the presence of national guardsmen and police on an open highway by thugs who were unlawfully licensed by the mayor. Mike Spear, a striker, was seized at home without warrant, taken to the police station, terribly beaten, and sent home under detention. All under the

name of "peace and order!"

Philip Murray charges that Republican officials held a secret conference with Gen. Gilson D. Light, commander of the Youngstown district, to have troops transferred to Cleveland "to break the strike there."

### The Right To Work

The governors of the steel states are attempting to maintain an impartiality by talking of the "right to strike" and also "the right to work." Really, the "right to work"—which means protection for scabs and terror against strikers—is a direct blow at the "right to strike." The "right to work" as interpreted in action by capitalist governors is only the "right to scab."

The striking steel workers of Ohio are realizing that they can not rely on the capitalist politicians to win their fight; they have to do it by themselves—against the steel bosses and their political henchmen.

## ED PARKER SPEAKS

Ed Parker, militant Socialist leader of the Illinois Workers Alliance, who has staged an heroic struggle to secure relief for the unemployed in Southern Illinois speaks in Irving Plaza, corner 16th and Irving Place, New York City on Friday, July 2, 8.30 p.m., under auspices of the Workers Defense League.

## CALL Crisis Grows Worse

For the second time in three weeks, the CALL has been forced back to eight pages instead of the usual twelve.

Immediately following our first publication of an eight page paper, rescue came—quickly. A flood of subs came in. We were able to go back to the usual twelve pages.

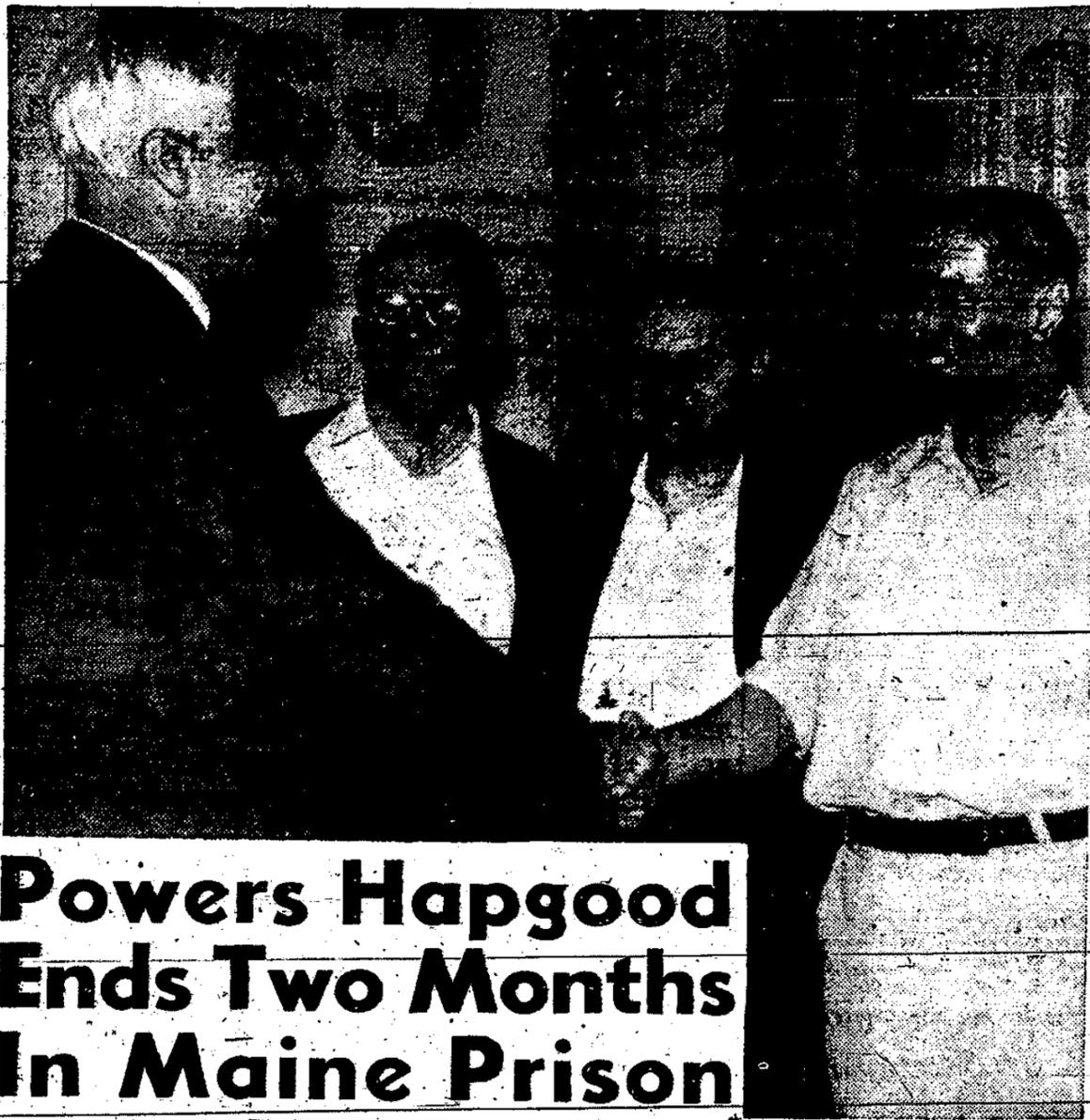
But no sooner did we get back on our still shaking feet, than subs

and donations fell off again to normal.

Now we are back to eight. Rush subs and money to us. And do not suppose that because you save us one week, the crisis is over. It continues—and you must continue.



The Ohio National Guard patrolling the Youngstown area in the interests of the law-breaking steel barons.



# Powers Hapgood Ends Two Months In Maine Prison

By AARON LEVENSTEIN

AUBURN, Me.—Powers Hapgood, vice-chairman of the Socialist Party of the United States and New England secretary of the Committee for Industrial Organization, has already served two months of his sentence for contempt of court in continuing the strike of the Lewiston and Auburn shoe workers in Maine.

Like Eugene V. Debs, one of the great figures in the American Socialist and labor movement, Hapgood is serving a six-month sentence on charges of violating an injunction forbidding strike activities.

Sitting in a circle of his fellow-strike leaders, imprisoned with him, Hapgood told this correspondent in the Androscoggin County jail that in spite of the illegal usurpation of power by authorities, the C.I.O. will be successful throughout the country in unionizing American labor.

### Hays at Trial

Earlier in the day, Hapgood and five of his fellow-prisoners received word that Arthur Garfield Hays, representing jointly the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers Defense League, had argued an application for a writ of habeas corpus before Judge Sidney St. F. Thaxter with a view to obtaining their release on bail pending the appeal which is now being taken.

One of the strike leaders, Ernest Henry, 63 years old, was not present, being confined to the hospital under guard where he is reported to be fatally sick of tuberculosis. In spite of the seriousness of his condition, one lung being completely gone and the other seriously affected, the local judge has refused to release him on bail.

Hapgood, who has also been ill and was taken to the hospital because of over-work just before his imprisonment, said that he and his comrades were determined not to "apologize," as the court had demanded, as a condition for their release. Judge Harry Manser who issued the injunction and imposed the sentence has offered to release the prisoners if they will apologize and leave the state.

Slave Workers The Issue  
"We are not concerned here with our own liberty," Hap-

good said, "Our concern is with the shoe workers of Lewiston and Auburn who are entitled to join a union of their own choosing, and to protect themselves from exploitation in the matter of wages and conditions. That is the purpose of the C.I.O., and it is a purpose which will be effected before we will consider abandoning our fight."

The prisoners revealed that prison privileges, including receiving visitors, had been withdrawn from them and they can see friends only on Saturdays. No exercise is allowed them in the open air. Strikers, at one of their mass meetings, addressed a resolution to the Sheriff demanding that the strike leaders be given an opportunity to preserve their health, "which is of vital importance to the workers of Maine."

At Hapgood's side throughout the interview was attorney Sidney S. Grant, Massachusetts labor lawyer, who is also jailed on the same charge. Grant had advised the union, in his capacity as their attorney, that no judge has the right to declare a strike illegal when it is conducted for purposes of bettering workers' conditions.

### Lawyer Blocked

Grant called attention to the fact that he had been blocked in his efforts to file papers, drawn up by him in jail, petitioning the court to allow him the use of a law library to prepare his appeal.

Efforts to bring about the release of the C.I.O. organizers and their attorney are being vigorously pushed. Arthur Garfield Hays, arguing the application for the writ in Portland, told the court that the defendants had been forced into a position where their sentences will have been served out before the appellate court hears the appeal. "I am appalled by the extent to which the lawyers argue law instead of justice," he said.

A bitter tilt with the attorneys for the manufacturers occurred when Mr. Hays began to describe the circumstances in back of the jailing of the men.

"Why the objection to my stating the facts?" the civil liberties lawyer asked. "Why the excitement about it from counsel for the manufacturers, if they are acting fairly and honestly?"

The court reserved decision on the application.

## WPA Administrator Sits Down Too—He Has To!

(Continued from Page One)

playables set up. He further recommends that there be no dismissals until this Board has gone through each case.

The agreement ends: "Mr. Stein states to the Committee (of the Union) that the present method of dismissal having proved unsatisfactory, and, if this review board as recommended by him is not established, he will request Washington to establish different methods of dismissal." For itself, the Committee states: "That it does not agree that any method

# Jobless Vote To March On Washington

By RAYMOND GORDON

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Demonstrations in all parts of the country and a march on Washington will be the answer of relief workers to the Roosevelt drastic cuts in WPA, the Workers Alliance national convention, which closed here last Friday,

## GILLESPIE LOCAL BUCKS AFL TAX

GILLESPIE, Ill. — Local union 1, Progressive Miners of America, comprising a membership of 2,200, voted overwhelmingly at its last regular meeting not to pay the special assessment demanded by the AFL as a fund to wage war against the CIO.

The Progressive Miners of America has supplanted the Illinois district of the United Mine Workers of America in the State Federation of Labor. The Mine Workers withdrew from the Federation after the Green crowd had chartered the PMA and further ordered the UMWA of this state expelled.

The Trades and Labor Alliance of three counties in southern Illinois refused to seat the PMA delegates. In several trades council, local officers resigned in protest against the decision of the AFL executive council.

An educational labor forum has been organized by rank and file progressive miners at Staunton, Ill., for the purpose of bringing about a closer understanding between the miners of both unions. The forum will hold a conference July 11 at the Staunton Labor Temple.

of dismissal other than lack of need is a reasonable basis for dismissal from a work-relief project.

The City Project Council, the American Newspaper Guild (WPA Unit), the Artists Union and the American Federation of Teachers have taken the position that none of its members will be allowed to be dismissed without definite action of a militant character. It remains for these unions to at least realize that their support of Roosevelt during the election campaign was a mistake.

voted. David Lesser was re-elected president, and Herbert Benjamin was elected secretary-treasurer.

"National Demonstration Week," July 22-29, will climax the series of sit-down strikes and other protests now taking place because of the Administration's \$1,500,000,000 "economy" relief bill, and the consequent removal of half a million WPA workers from their jobs.

Enormous strides in membership were indicated by the report of Ray Cooke, retiring secretary-treasurer. In organized states there were 329,000 members, in unorganized states 124,000, representing a membership two and a half times that at the time of the last convention.

### Aid Spain

The convention voted support to the Spanish loyalists, and called for pressure on the U. S. government to place an embargo on war materials going to Italy and Germany, and to lift the embargo on the Spanish government. Lesser will be sent to Spain to deliver greetings of the Alliance to the embattled Spanish workers.

Resolutions called for support of Roosevelt's Supreme Court reform bill, cooperation with Labor's Non-Partisan League, affiliation with the National Negro Congress, support of National Women's Week, support of the Friends of the Lincoln Battalion, urged cooperation with the International Defense League, support for the Frazier-Lundeen bill, extension of the National Youth Administration, the 30-hour week bill, and deficiency appropriations to extend WPA and relief.

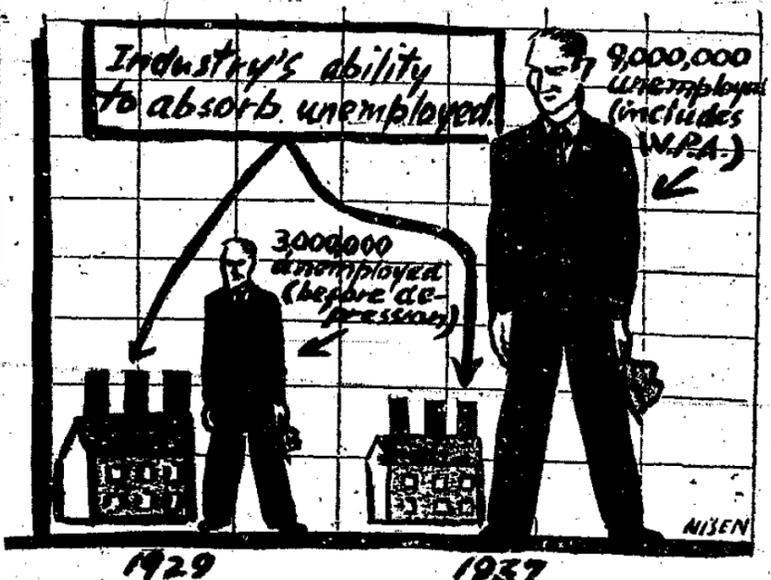
Four delegates were elected to attend the American Youth Congress:

### Officers Elected

Members elected to the national executive board were, besides Lesser and Benjamin:

Sam Wiseman, Frankie Duty, Brendan Sexton and Willis Morgan, of New York; Richard Foley, Katherine De Rose, Frank McCullough, of Illinois; Lee Morgan, Arnold Johnson, of Ohio; Alex. Noral, of California; John Muldowney and Howard Davis of Pennsylvania; Harold Brockway, of Washington; Emma Tenayuca of Texas; J. Austin Beasley of Colorado; John Spain, Jr., of New Jersey; Eugene Poulnot, of Florida; Hilliard Bernstein, of Virginia; Carl Minkley, of Wisconsin; W. K. Patrick, of Oregon; Waldo McNutt, of Kansas; Chester Watson, of Minnesota, and Ray Cooke, member at large.

## Higher Math in the WPA



WPA Administrator: "We Expect Industry to Absorb Most of the Workers Dropped From Our Rolls."

## 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.

120 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

# Stalinist "Cheka" Method In Spain Destroys Unity Of Anti-Fascist Struggle

By Sam Baron and Liston M. Oak

We are writing this article not only in our own names as individuals who have been actively engaged both in and out of Spain in aiding the fight against Fascism, but in the name of thousands of militant workers now on the battle-fronts of the Iberian peninsula who face the danger of being shot in the back while fighting the Fascists at the front.

Ever since we returned from Spain, where we were actively engaged in cooperating with the government in the war against Franco, we have restrained ourselves from speaking out openly about facts which

we knew were true but which we hoped would not become so serious as to compel us to make them public.

Matters have reached such a pass, however, that we feel we dare no longer be silent. While continuing to give our unstinting support to a real united struggle against Fascism, we are forced to speak out against those who within the ranks of the anti-Fascists are disrupting unity and injuring the cause of the working class.

We feel constrained to address an appeal to the American working class and to all anti-fascists. The lives of Spanish comrades are at stake—the future of the Spanish revolution is in jeopardy.

In line with unscrupulous methods adopted by the Comintern and particularly by the dominant clique in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the ruthless suppression of all opposition as "Trotskyist agents of fascism," the Spanish Communist Party has launched a campaign for the extermination of all opponents of Stalinist policy. The POUM, the Anarchist Libertarian Youth and Friends of Duritti, and the left wing Caballero Socialists, are all under attack. Their leaders are being jailed and there is evidence to support the fear that already a number have been assassinated.

### "Agents of Franco"

Of course they are not persecuted as revolutionists, openly, but as "agents of Franco." This is the logical culmination of a long series of reactionary measures and acts of provocation which began with the expulsion of the POUM from the Catalan Generalitat, the suppression of the POUM Madrid radio and newspaper, the jailing of the regional committee of the CNT in Bilbao and the confiscation of their newspaper, the suppression of the right of the POUM and the CNT to hold meetings in various cities, the plan to substitute a "non-political" regular Republican police force (non-members of trade unions or political parties) for the Workers' Patrols, to disarm revolutionary workers and displace workers' committees in control of collectivized industry and agriculture and thus defeat and smash the revolutionary conquests made by the workers of all organizations in the early months after the fascist-rebellion in July.

It should be clear to everyone that anti-fascist unity was disrupted, not by the Anarchists, not

by the POUM nor left Socialists, but by the Stalinists. Whatever criticisms one may make of any of these organizations—and both of us have plenty of such criticisms, from our different viewpoints, it remains true that these revolutionary organizations have loyally and faithfully maintained support of the united front against fascism. At a time of the greatest crisis, in Spain, victory against Franco is threatened by disunity brought about by Stalinist maneuvers against the left wing of the anti-fascist front.

It was precisely because Caballero opposed this campaign of terror against the POUM and the CNT, FAI as reactionary and dangerous to anti-fascist unity that he was ousted from the Valencia Government, at the cost of losing the enthusiastic support of the two great Spanish trade unions. Because Prieto and Negrin were more willing instruments of Stalinist policy, and because they did not oppose with the same implacable energy any concessions and compromises with Anglo-French imperialism, they have won the support of the powerful Stalinist apparatus in Spain, in Russia and throughout the world.

We do not seek to sabotage or boycott any efforts by any group to aid the Spanish anti-fascist forces by the sending of medical aid, food, etc. On the contrary, we earnestly advocate the increase of such aid. But we feel that American workers must also aid their Spanish comrades whose very lives are threatened by the Spanish G.P.U. which is following the example of the Russian G.P.U. The facts are not generally known because of the strict censorship in Spain which is completely controlled by the Stalinists. The truth must be made public and protests aroused.

### Act Immediately

We urge all American anti-fascists, all trade unionists and individuals, all organizations, to join with the American Socialist Party, and other organizations, for the sake of the struggle against fascism in Spain, for the sake of the anti-fascist unity, to send telegrams and delegations to the nearest Spanish Consulate defending workers democracy in Spain, defending the lives and civil liberties of Spanish revolutionists now held in jail by the Spanish Cheka.

## Socialist NEC Demands Halt of Internecine Warfare in Spain

(The following telegram has been sent by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, addressed to the Labor and Socialist International; Largo Caballero; the Socialist Party of Spain; and to Dr. Juan Negrin.)

URGENTLY REQUEST LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL IN JOINT CONFERENCE WITH COMINTERN INSIST THAT ALL WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS PROTECT CIVIL LIBERTIES OF OTHER WORKERS LOYALLY FIGHTING FASCISM AND CEASE ORGANIZED REPRESSION AGAINST CNT, FAI, POUM, LEFT SOCIALISTS.

(Signed) SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.

Norman Thomas,

Chairman, National Executive Committee.

## CALL APPEALS FOR FUNDS, SUBS STIR PARTY TO REAL ACTIVITY

The two important drives which the CALL is conducting at present are stirring the party to respond, but the response is far from strong enough.

The current report on the fund drive shows many states responding, but with only small donations.

The drive for new readers is gathering momentum, but needs much more aggressive support.

Support of the CALL is a primary party activity today!

Racine, Wisconsin, maintained its lead in the CALL Drive for new subscribers this week, sending in enough to place its total at 22. Its performance far outstrips any other branches in the country.

Best performance of the week was recorded by the Philadelphia Yipsels, who have organized a drive with their own quota of 300. They sent in 12 new subscriptions this week, along with a number of renewals.

The leading New York branch, which also took collections for the CALL at its meetings twice recently, in Washington Heights, which has filed 12 new subscriptions since the inception of the drive for new readers.

Close on the heels of these are three branches, none of which have advanced during the week: These are Sioux City, Ia.; 18th Ward, Cleveland; and Upper West Side, N. Y., which have secured ten each. These have secured some renewals as well.

Gerry Allard, Illinois state secretary, has sent in six new readers, as has Evansville, Indiana.

Branches sending us five new subscribers include: Houston, Texas; 8th AD Bronx; 5th Ward, Chicago; 18th AD, Kings, N.Y.; and Jamaica, L. I.

Flint, Mich., German Branch, N. Y., and New Haven, Conn. have sent in four new subscribers each.

Despite the fact that the CALL has had to appear in an eight page issue and emergency appeals have been made, the CALL Drive for \$10,000 has little progress to report for the past three weeks.

The CALL is operating on its current income. It must have extra support in outright contributions to carry on. We have no intentions of suspending publication, but we are seriously crippled if this support is not forthcoming.

Report on the Drive for the past three weeks: Previously reported, \$3,190.27; received since the last report, \$151.39; Total to date, \$3,341.66; Must be raised, \$10,000.

instructions, and the National Maritime Union, east coast "rank and file" offshoot of the I.S.U., casts an ominous shadow on the planned set-up of the National Maritime Federation.

In repeated notes in the CALL during the past six months the gentle treatment which has been accorded to Ryan by Harry Bridges, west coast I.L.A. leader, has been noted. In last week's CALL, the conference between Ryan and John L. Lewis in Washington was reported.

On the west coast, where the industrial unionists have been outstanding in the Seamen's Union of the Pacific, there has been a sharp clash over the question of how the national organization of unlicensed waterfront and maritime workers will be established. Harry Lundberg, SUP militant secretary, has led the fight for an industrial union of all maritime workers, and the SUP has been in close touch with the CIO since its inception.

Harry Bridges, on the other hand, has favored a federation of the various crafts on the waterfront, preserving craft jurisdictions of the various unions.

With Joseph Ryan indicating strongly that he will be part of this set-up, his leadership of the largest maritime craft union indicates that he will be high in the councils of the proposed new organization.

A motivating force in this new development is the petty fight Ryan has waged with the Teamsters on jurisdiction over New York warehousemen. Ryan's agreement showed his willingness to drop his old ISU cronies, "The Emperor" Grange, Hunter and the rest. The whole move indicates that Ryan does see the writing on the wall and is quite ready to ditch his AFL bedfellows when he feels the time is opportune to do it.

Progressives will wonder what the nature of CIO's maritime affiliate will be if Ryan, with all his power, is invited into the establishment both by Joe Curran and Harry Bridges and John L. Lewis.

### SHADOW OF GOMPERS

Local 144 of the Cigarmakers, second largest of this old AFL international, of which Samuel Gompers was president and a member for over 40 years, voted unanimously to break with the AFL and affiliate with the CIO this week. More than 600 members were present at the meeting.

Half a dozen speakers at the meeting charged the AFL with encouraging scabs in the industry, and acting worse than company detectives. No member spoke in

(Continued on Page Eight)

### AFTER 61 DAYS IN A MEDIEVAL DUNGEON IN CAIRO, ILL.

### Now Out On Bail!!

### FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE IN NEW YORK

# ED PARKER

FRAMED-UP SOCIALIST LEADER OF THE WORKERS' ALLIANCE OF ILLINOIS

Auspices: Workers' Defense League

Admission: 15 Cents

FRIDAY,  
JULY 2  
8:30 P. M.

IRVING  
PLAZA

Irving Place  
and 15th St.

# 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

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Vol. III Saturday, July 3, 1937 No. 120

## "NEUTRALITY"

When the civil war broke out in Spain, we did not call upon the U. S. Government to intervene on behalf of either side. Our destinies are allied with those fighting against Fascism. Yet we did not wish the U. S. to go to war.

What were our reasons? We maintained that the U. S. Government at war would institute dictatorship behind the lines. Thus while presumably fighting Fascism in Spain, the government would be introducing a sort of Fascism at home.

We maintained, moreover, that it would be futile to ask the government to side with the workers against the capitalists of Spain. Our own government was much too capitalist minded for that, and if it did intervene it would do so—against the workers and not for them.

Thirdly, we maintained that the U. S. Government would only move its troops into action to advance American imperialist aims. The purpose of the army in foreign conflicts is to protect the dollar, the capitalist dollar.

**For these reasons our advice was: Hands off Spain! Give the American workers and the friends of the Spanish masses a chance to act on their own.**

For these reasons, we sent our own money, men and material to Spain.

**Since the beginning of the war, however, the Roosevelt administration very definitely has not been neutral.**

It placed an embargo against Spain. But it placed no embargo against Germany or Italy.

One may argue that up to now Italy and Germany have not been in open conflict with Spain. Technically, this is so. There has been no official declaration of war. But actually, Hitler and Mussolini have been at war with Spain; it is an open secret.

This state of unofficial warfare, however, came to an end with the bombing of Almeria. That was open war—by the Fascist powers against Spain.

**We are opposed to sanctions, to having the U.S. Government falsely pose as the guardian of peace, punishing the naughty Fascist aggressors, acting as an angelic nation without greedy aims. But it is not asking for sanctions when we ask the U.S. Government to apply its own Neutrality law with equal force in the present Spanish situation. It is a request for elementary decency.**

## ON INTERNATIONAL UNITY

The Labor and Socialist International, together with the Communist International, are meeting to discuss joint action to aid Spain. We hail that great stride forward—not only because it will mean a strengthening of the hand of the Spanish masses against Franco but also because it is an advance in the direction of united workers' action.

We are particularly glad to see this action come on the heels of the Socialist Party call of May, urging an international labor congress to support Spain. Not more than three months ago, Jack Altman, the representative of the American Socialist Party at the London Congress of the LSI was in a lonesome minority in urging such united working class action on an international scale. Now we stand on the brink of realizing it.

In the United States, the united front to aid the struggle against Fascism in Spain has long been a reality. Ever since the first united front committee was launched by the Socialist Party of the U.S. to aid Spain, we have been seeking the maximum of unity in the movement to give material aid to the enemies of Fascist reaction on the Iberian Peninsula. Both the North American Committee and the United Youth Committee are united undertakings.

The united action of the working class internationals is especially important at this moment when the farce of capitalist non-intervention collapses in a tragic anti-climax. The united action of the workers is today doubly necessary because the capitalist powers have proven by their behavior that their only interests in Spain are imperial, that they have been motivated through the whole Spanish crisis by their own capitalist needs. The united action of the internationals should imply a rejection of all faith in the capitalist powers as instruments for working class gain in Spain.

It is unfortunate, therefore, almost criminally tragic, that Dimitrov, in supplementing his general appeal for unity, has made action through the capitalist governments, and especially the League of Nations the center of the united-front proposal. Should Dimitrov's proposal be accepted the united front of the LSI and CIO would be a united front for imperialist war, not for a free Spain. His proposal to apply the League Covenant against Germany and Italy is a proposal to urge upon the "democratic" capitalist powers that they go to war. This the American Socialist Party will never support; this means workers' support for imperialist war; this means dictatorship and fascism in the now "democratic" countries.

The energies of the working class today can not be directed toward advising the capitalist powers to do this or that on behalf of the Spanish masses. This policy has resulted in the present international fiasco, with Germany and Italy dodging in and out of non-intervention as they pleased, while the democratic powers tried to bind the workers against sending independent aid.

The central task before a united workers' action today is—direct workers' aid to Spain. Workers' sanctions in the form of strikes against the shipment of military stuffs to Germany and Italy must be organized internationally.

The slogan for today is: Smash the blockade. Strike against the Fascists. No reliance upon capitalist diplomacy to halt the forces of Franco.

# AT THE FRONT



## By NORMAN THOMAS

It is only necessary to listen to conversation or to read the papers carefully to realize that beginning with the denunciation of C.I.O. activities in the automobile and steel areas as "revolutionary" there is a middle class and potentially fascist reaction well under way. It is time for the workers to consolidate their position and to strengthen in every reasonable way good will toward them, especially among the farmers. This does not mean a halt but an ordered advance all along the line. It may well begin by an examination of the situation.

This talk about the C.I.O. and revolution, or John Lewis and revolution, is bunk, unless one believes that to organize the unorganized industrially is revolutionary. It is in accordance with American history and tradition that American workers when aroused are inclined to use direct action, and they are inclined to act as a class even although their own leaders have so long played down the idea of class conflict.

But the violence in this and in other American labor struggles, a violence unheard of in most of the European political democracies, is primarily due to the employers and their methods. In England, the Scandinavian countries, and to a considerable extent in France, the workers already have won at least a tacit agreement that they will not be fought when they strike by armed guards and strikebreakers.

No attempt at all was made to operate the London busses until the strike was settled. How different is the situation in America. To prevent men from organizing at all great corporations have long maintained an elaborate system of espionage, and against possible strikes they have turned their factories into arsenals and enlisted armed guards. Usually they have been able to make public officials their servant.

REPUBLIC STEEL MASSACRE

As recently as last Memorial Day the Chicago police, really in the service of the Republic Steel Company, were responsible for one of the worst massacres in labor's history. Only the other day another former deputy sheriff was shot in Harlan County, Kentucky, for fear that he would talk too much to the LaFollette investigating committee.

Far and away the most violent language in this strike has been used by a certain Vigilantes organizing which threatened open civil war in behalf of corporation rights and called President Roosevelt and John Lewis Public Enemies Nos. 1 and 2. This is the background for the situation.

It is now alleged that agreements to the C.I.O. are valueless. This is false on the record, even when one makes due allowance for unauthorized strikes. Those unauthorized strikes are due to two factors:

(1) Inadequate machinery for adjusting grievances in the original agreements, and

(2) to the growing pains of an organization which as yet has not fully developed its own discipline or its own leadership but is doing both things fast. People who talk about revolution because the workers are in earnest now to organize and to secure the power to bargain collectively, should look to their facts. As far as violence goes, it is men like Tom Girdler who must bear the brunt of the blame for an amount of bloodshed in America unheard of under similar conditions during

the French strike eight or ten months ago, or in England.

### FARMERS AND WORKERS

The strike of the Maryland cannery has drawn dramatic attention to the strained relations between workers and farmers which need to be faced. The farmers pleaded, according to the newspapers, with the striking workers to accept some kind of compromise agreement "in order to save our crops and homes." Workers answered by saying: "If we get ours, you'll get yours."

Now there is a certain very limited amount of truth in that answer, and it is certainly true that the farmers never worried much about the long hours and low wages of cannery workers. Nevertheless, both farmers and workers are going to suffer if neither group can think of anything better than to fight for its own hand, regardless of the other.

Industrial workers properly organized have great power, but alone they can neither make capitalism work to their own advantage nor single handed erect a better system. The men who grow the food of America cannot be left as a potential source of strength to reactionaries or fascists.

John Bosch, President of the Farmers' Holiday Association, to whom I referred in this column last week, is working on a real idea. He wants to get different classes of farmers—for most emphatically there are different classes—organized roughly in some comprehensive economic organization of their own.

But he wants this done from the beginning in consultation with the C.I.O. and friendship with it. Unless this can be done on the economic field it will be hard to build a farmer-labor party. The idea is important. Never in this world can our complicated economic situation be solved if labor is interested only in higher money wages for its work and the farmers: only in higher money prices for their products. Their gains can be largely wiped out by the higher prices both groups pay for what they have to buy, and altogether cancelled by the kind of bitter quarrel between farmers and workers which fascists and great capitalists may stir up.

### THE SHOE STRIKE

The shoe workers' strike in the Lewiston-Auburn, Maine area which has been in effect since March 24th has been called off. The workers have won a substantial victory in an order from the Labor Board compelling the twelve shoe factories which had not settled to hold an election. The result will almost certainly be the recognition of the C.I.O. organization. The strikers are to be congratulated on what they have won against odds. Now that the strike is settled most assuredly it is time to let Powers Haggood and his associates out of jail. No, it is a humiliation to put it that way. They never should have been in jail, and strike or no strike, they should be out. The injunction which put them there is one of the most dangerous precedents that has been created for labor. It is time for a little public outcry in this matter.

### THE WAR BOOM

In the current Harper's Mag-

azine John Flynn has written an article on The War Boom which ought to be made compulsory reading, especially for workers. Most of us knew in a vague way that the world's present prosperity, so-called, was largely due to rearmament, but the extent to which that was true in all countries, including our own, we had not realized until Mr. Flynn told the story.

The truth is that no country today would dare summarily stop its rearmament program for fear of an industrial crisis. No nation has a substitute ready in housing or anything else, for what it is now spending on armament.

It is important to recognize that the profits of armament and of war today are far more indirect and far more generally scattered through the economic order than in earlier times. No program to take the profit out of war or out of armament can be wholly successful, or even very nearly successful as long as the world accepts not only capitalism but the war system. This at least is the lesson I draw from a very valuable book called "The Profits of War," by Richard Lewinsohn (E. P. Dutton & Co.). Mr. Lewinsohn traces the history of such profits from earlier times than now. There is no shabbier story in all human history.

### TRUTH ABOUT WAR

Not even Mr. Flynn or Mr. Lewinsohn give us all the truth about the cost of war and armament. Our extravagant tariffs and the efforts of small nations to make themselves as nearly as possible economically self-sufficient are immensely expensive to workers and would be inconceivable without the war psychology.

What is more, not even 800,000 German Nazis would be so wicked or so insane as to applaud Hitler when he bluntly wishes for the victory of Franco in Spain, simply because Germany wants some iron ore, unless they were victims of the war mania and fear of attack upon them.

Perhaps it is something of a gain in this mad world that Mussolini and Hitler have now come out so bluntly and openly in support of Franco. What we have is small-scale German and Italian war on Spain without a declaration of it. If America means business, the neutrality legislation now enforced against Loyalist Spain should be enforced against Spain's enemies. Failure thus to enforce neutrality shows how hypocritical it tends to be in the present capitalist-nationalist set up.

### HALT POLITICAL GANGSTERISM

Fascism in one of its most important aspects is merely organized gangsterism. It is government by murder, retail or wholesale, as the case may be. The Spanish fight upon this organized gangsterism is of enormous consequence to the whole world. But the Loyalist government weakens its moral case if it indulges in this organized gangsterism or, if you like, in violent repression of its political critics at home.

Once more I repeat that I do not think our disappointment at the turn to the right taken by the Spanish government, which is still more of a workers' government than a true Popular Front government, can justify us or any political faction in Spain in the kind of attack on it which will weaken it in the face of its fascist enemies. The government has a right to deal with spies and traitors, but it has no right to

(Continued on Page Five)

# Crisis In France Test Of People's Front Practice

By HERBERT ZAM

**PEOPLE'S FRONT** or no People's Front, politics in France still operates along traditional capitalist lines. It is nothing new to have a fallen cabinet replaced by one of the same composition, except for the premier; and even the premier may be from the same party as his predecessor.

So long as the new premier follows the policy desired by the top financial circle in France, closely connected with the Bank of France, it doesn't matter what party he comes from.

The fact that the same pattern is being followed in France now simply means that far from introducing any radical changes in French politics, the People's Front has simply accommodated itself to its conservative traditions. From this point on, people's frontism in France will lose its appeal to the workers.

France is entering a period of ordinary coalitionism which can only end with a complete victory for reaction unless the Socialist Party and the bulk of the labor movement adopts a revolutionary course for the overthrow of capitalism.

## Ousting of Blum

The ousting of Blum took place under very unfavorable circumstances for him. The "astute" Mr. Blum wasn't astute enough to select a popular issue on which to challenge the Senate.

His demand for the power to rule by degree in order to "balance the budget" could hardly win the sympathy of the workers, who still remember what "government by degree" led to in Germany and in Austria. Such a struggle would place the right wing of the Radicals and the parties of the Right in the position of defending "democracy" against the encroachments of the Socialist.

Had Blum moved for the abolition of the Senate early in his regime, he could have appealed to the country on that issue when the Senate became obstreperous; that issue had, however, been surrendered in the interests of "harmony" inside the People's Front. Therefore Blum had to abdicate without even the show of a fight.

Blum came into power at a moment of tremendous labor discontent. In the elections, there had been a sharp shift of the vote from the middle class to the proletarian parties. For the first time, the Socialist and Communist parties emerged as the representatives of the majority of the workers.

The unification of the trade union movement brought an influx of new millions into it, millions who were prepared to back up the most militant action by the trade unions and by the government, which they considered their own. This militancy has been largely dissipated.

The discontent of the workers was shunted off by small gains which were wiped out almost at once. As a result, large numbers of workers have lost faith in the Socialist and Communist Parties, have lost faith in political action of any type, and for the first time since the war there is a growth of the anarchist movement in France.

## Injures Labor

Having allayed the discontent of the workers, Blum lost his best weapon in the struggle against

the conservative wing of the Radicals. Under their pressure, he was compelled to proceed to the adoption of measures directed against the workers. The illegalization of the sit-down strikes, the legalization of the fascist parties instead of their dissolution, the dropping of the wage-level guarantee when the franc was devalued, meant that the "gains" of the first few weeks of the Blum regime were completely wiped out.

When Blum proceeded to adopt a military budget almost unexampled in French history, the bourgeoisie heaved a sigh of relief, for it meant that far from proving dangerous to the capitalist system, the People's Front and its government were carrying out the very measures which French capital desired.

Furthermore, confident of working class support, the Blum government undertook to devalue the franc (inflation) a task which was inevitable, but which all previous governments had shied away from ever since Britain went off the gold standard. Now that Blum had shown the way, capital can proceed to further inflation without the attempts of concessions to the workers.

The "reforms" which Blum had instituted in the Bank of France did not prevent it from being used as the spearhead of financial capital in a series of "raids" on the franc, which wiped out a half-billion dollars reserve protection fund and led to the present crisis.

## Foreign Policy

Little need be said about Blum's foreign policy. Just as internally he was the cat's paw of the Radicals, in foreign policy he was the cat's paw of British imperialism, which even made him the father of the most odious of all policies—the Spanish non-intervention pact. This policy, carried out against the wishes of the workers, but hammering them into line, very successfully handcuffed the workers, paralyzed their independent activity, and in effect prepared the way for a possible fascist victory in Spain.

It is interesting to note that after the overthrow of Blum, the Communists indicated their desire to participate in the new government. They had refused to participate in the Blum cabinet, in spite of Blum's insistence but were perfectly willing to serve under Chautemps.

They helped precipitate the crisis by withholding their support of Blum's proposals until the last minute, and now, to "preserve" the unity of the People's Front they are ready to submit completely to Chautemps and the Radicals.

They would be glad to support a government far to the right of Chautemps if it were willing to extend the Franco-Soviet pact into a military alliance. As in Spain, so also in France, the Communists continue their role of friendship to the bourgeoisie and its parties, and treachery to the working class and its organization.

# NEC DECISIONS DIRECT PARTY TO MASS ACTIVITY

Special to Socialist CALL  
From National Action Committee

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at a special session in New York City, June 18 and 19, adopted an emergency resolution to facilitate party reorganization during the period immediately ahead. The reorganization of the party machinery and activity is taking place under the direction of the National Action Committee in line with the decisions and instructions of the Chicago national convention.

Reports were heard concerning conditions in the party in various sections of the country. After a thorough consideration of these reports and the necessity of vigorous and positive application of the convention decisions, the NEC adopted a resolution to meet the current needs of the party.

The central points in the resolution dealt with internal party life, the clarification of party position and relations as related to international organizations and alignments, and disciplinary control and direction of the party's work.

## Apportionment Work

Provision is made for proper apportioning of energies towards the party's main task—systematic work with the mass organizations of the workers. In order to avoid excessive and unorganized consideration of party policies, the Action Committee was directed to arrange for periodic membership meetings in the various localities in cooperation with state and local organizations to discuss matters of policy and program that are of current nature.

Campaigns against party decisions, policies and institutions are banned except through channels of these special membership discussion meetings. The energies of the party are to be directed toward explanation of the party policy and the methods for applying them.

(Continued Next Week)

# At the Front By Norman Thomas

(Continued from Page Four)

use those convenient terms for cutting off its political critics at home.

The attempt to secure a monolithic party, by violence hasn't worked so well in Russia as to warrant acceptance of it in Spain. The L.S.I. or Second International in its conference with the Third International ought to urge that a basis of joint action with communists be a curb on what looks like a communist-instigated attempt in Spain to liquidate certain working class parties. Talk of any joint program in behalf of Spain to the Second and Third International should take account of this factor. And the way to help Spain isn't as Dimitroff suggests trust in the inclosures of capitalist powers against the others. It may be that end of hypocritical non-intervention.

I am no expert on French politics. It may be that Blum's resignation and his support of Chautemps is "a clever maneuver to gain time." It may be that it is a way to pass the buck for a temporary turn to the right. But the whole episode illustrates the danger inherent in the Popular Front position. Parties of the left which are committed to it do not move through it as an emergency measure to a more thoroughgoing program, but rather in the other direction.

## Revolutionary Socialism — II.

# Scientific Basis Of Socialism

### 1. The Reformists

There are many persons who would like to see our present society improved. In fact, almost everyone says that he desires it; and most people believe that sooner or later things will be better.

What distinguishes the Socialist from all those who want to see things just get better, is the belief of the Socialist that no lasting and worthwhile change can take place from the masses unless the present capitalist system is uprooted, and in its place there is instituted a cooperative commonwealth.

This desire to "uproot" the capitalist system is the revolutionary objective of Socialism. It arises not from the fact that we will not be satisfied with half-a-loaf, but from our belief that the progressive decay of capitalism—new crises, with new unemployment, with mounting poverty, will not leave even that half-a-crumbs necessary to keep the population alive or in leash. The revolutionary objective of the Socialist does not arise from an inordinate greed, but from the desire for self-preservation, and from the revolutionary explosions of the masses under the intolerable pressure of capitalist collapse.

Halfway between those who believe that within the framework of capitalism the masses can be made

comfortable and those who believe in the shattering of the capitalist system by the revolutionary action of the masses are those who maintain that capitalism will grow progressively better, that it will continue to blossom, and that it will finally boom into full grown Socialism.

These people are Socialists in only one sense: They believe that a Socialist society is superior to the capitalist society.

But they do not see Socialism as a revolutionary overthrow of an order in decay, but just as another reform in an essentially healthy system; they do not see the masses propelled toward revolution under the impact of deepgoing social crisis, but see the people legislating a new order in the light of sweet reason; the main social force is not the class struggle but the textbook; not the workers, but the intellectuals; not the economic trends but the r's of logic.

The point of departure for such "socialism" is the human wish and not social pressures; it is "idealistic" rather than scientific.

### 2. Scientific Socialism

"The scientific basis of socialism," wrote Rosa Luxemburg, "rests, as is well known, on three principles of capitalist development.

"First on the growing anarchy of capitalist economy, leading inevitably to its ruin.

"Second, on the progressive socialization of the process of production, which creates the germs of the future social order.

"And third, on the increased organization and consciousness of the proletarian class, which constitutes the active factor in the coming revolution.

Of these three, the keystone is the first—the economic crises of capitalism. If this is withdrawn, the whole structure collapses.

It is under the spur of these crises that the working class is driven toward a socialist solution of its problems.

Unless the working class is

driven by the logic of necessity on to the socialist road, the growth of large scale production would not be a step in the direction of socialism, it would merely be a different sort of capitalism, resting upon big instead of small production.

The problem of economic collapse, therefore, is not the problem of HOW we shall get Socialism. It is the problem of Socialism or NO Socialism.

An understanding of economics is the cornerstone of Socialist thought. It is economic evolution—the growth of industry, the growth of the capitalist crises, that prepares the way for the revolution of the working class.

### 3. The Test of Experience

Although the Marxist analysis of the course of capitalist development has been challenged time and again by opponents of Socialism and by the reformists, the ideas of revolutionary socialism have penetrated ever deeper, making their way even into sections of capitalist thought.

The chief defendant of the revolutionary analysis of capitalist development was not a theoretician; it was, and is, the course of development itself.

Startling testimony as to the scientific character of revolutionary socialism was Rosa Luxemburg's analysis, forty years ago, of the forces leading to capitalist collapse. In her reply to the reformists, she made one prediction after another as to the course of economic development. Current history, today, validates her prophecy.

The best answer to all those who have been arguing that crises would no more come to capitalism is: It is here: This answer is better than a thousand bookish arguments. This answer is irrefutable.

Yet as each crisis begins to lift, preparing the way for a new and worse crisis, there appears the chorus of official optimists: They discover new trick-features of capitalist economy, which will make any new collapse impossible. And they keep up their little song until their feeble chirps are drowned out by the crash of the economic system.

When Rosa Luxemburg wrote her reply to the reformists, the latter were advancing three reasons why they thought capitalism would be stabilized:

These were the credit system, the perfected means of communication and the formation of capitalist combines (trusts, corporations, etc.).

How much validity was there to these reasons?

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE AFL—VI

THE DECLINE OF THE FEDERATION

Economic Base for Crafts Wiped Out After the War

(This is the sixth of a series of articles on the history of American labor by Lillian Symes. The seventh installment will appear next week.)

By Lillian Symes

THE full effects of the brief post-war depression were not felt until the return to "normalcy" in 1920. The year 1919, with the suspension of war orders and the demobilization of the army, was a year of "adjustment" on the part of industry. The industrial honeymoon was over.

But the workers were in no mood for retrenchment. Many of them had saved part of their war-time earnings and were prepared to battle for their gains. The year witnessed a wave of strikes unprecedented since the 80s—including the Great Steel Strike which the A.F. of L. helped to launch—under pressure from the Chicago labor militants—and then quietly starved to death. It was also a year of renewed interest in political action, the launching of a Labor Party in Chicago and an abortive national Farm-Labor movement. The year also marked the final schism between socialism and Bolshevik communism.

During the 1920-22 depression, the A.F. of L. membership began a descent that continued clear through the period of "permanent prosperity." Whatever small part of that prosperity that was shared by the wage-earners during this period was not won by struggle. It was merely a by-product of American Capitalism's gilded pseudo-recovery during the years of worldwide economic disintegration.

The industrial revival was not a normal revival, and agriculture never recovered at all. Huge war-time profits went into foreign loans and into the multiplication of plants—particularly automobile and rubber—and into new industries like radio, aviation and motion pictures. But no new foreign markets had been won and at home this expansion was accompanied by such an acceleration of

The Revival Under NRA

THE crash of 1929 found the A.F. of L. membership reduced to its 1916 level but with the passage of the NRA in June 1933 came an organizational boom similar to that of the War Period. Like the war Labor Board, the NRA was supposed to extend government protection and encouragement to organized labor.

Section 7a read: "Labor shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing." Under this seemingly benign mandate, the workers began pouring into the unions—particularly those powerful ones like the United Mine Workers which were strong enough to take advantage of the situation and to use it to their advantage. It soon became apparent that 7a had meaning only in those industries in which the unions were powerful enough to enforce it and nowhere else.

The most marked development of the period, however, was the rapid expansion of Federal unions in the rubber, steel, auto, aluminum and electrical manufacturing fields.

Thousands of workers spontaneously organized into local federal unions. But when they tried to unite these locals into an industrial union of their entire industry, they immediately ran afoul of the craft union bureaucrats, backed up by the Federation's Executive Council.

In January, 1934, the Aluminum

mechanical improvements, scientific management and general speed-up that it resulted in increased output with decreased employment.

The average output per worker was increased 53.5 per cent between 1919 and 1927 while mass unemployment became a permanent factor. Factory, mine and railway payrolls declined; the boom affected only certain sections of the working class and particularly the new professional and service workers.

With the shift of productivity to an unskilled and semi-skilled base and the growth of the service trades, the skilled craftsmen were left high and dry. The process which had been developing for thirty years had caught up with them and without the artificial stimulation of the war-period, the A.F. of L. existed largely by the toleration of a money-gorged capitalism—a toleration dependent largely upon its own docility.

Industrial strife was confined largely to coal fields and textile centers and the battles here were losing battles. In these fields the unions were racked by factional strife.

It was also a period in which John L. Lewis operated as a Mussolini of the United Mine Workers, smashing any hint of rank and file dissent, and in which the Communists alternated between attempts at "capturing"—and splitting—A.F. of L. unions and organizing dual unions of their own.

Workers demanded a national charter for an industrial union in this Mellon-dominated industry. The request was refused. During this year, the Executive Council refused for several weeks to issue any more federal charters, for fear of jurisdictional battles with the greedy international unions. It finally backed down before the demands of the representatives of 75 new federal unions representing over 300,000 workers.

While most of the unions, trade and federal had expanded enormously under the initial impetus of the NRA, it soon became apparent that this was no honeymoon measure. The NRA Board fixed wages at depression levels even while it reduced hours. It developed monopoly and an inflation which increased the cost of living. While the labor unions grew, so

did the company unions. The latter doubled their membership during 1933.

As General Johnson himself declared, there was nothing in the "Recovery Act" to interfere with the bona fide exercise of the right of an employer to select, retain, or advance employees on the basis of individual merit.

Independent Unionism

THE A.F. of L. stood helpless before the growth of company unionism and the "impartiality" of the NRA Boards. It could do nothing in the case of the

Weirton Steel Company (whose strikers had been sent back to work by the National Labor Board); the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company (where Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters outlawed a sympathetic strike movement) the E. G. Budd Company, the Frick Coke Company and Ford Motors.

More than 40 sweeping injunctions were issued against organized labor in less than a year of the NRA. Though Green was on both the National Labor Board and the Labor Advisory Board, it was obvious that their decisions could be flouted by any powerful employer.

At the same time, the NRA encouraged enormously the speed-up and those technological changes by which industry sought to circumvent the costs of production. In July, 1934, 17,215 fewer workers handled 5,000,000 more cars of freight than in 1932. During the same year, the Holeproof Hosiery Company saved 51 per cent of its cost of packing hosiery by a "time-motion analysis."

All during this period, new and independent unions sprung up outside the A.F. of L. and proceeded to conduct their own battles—among them the Mechanics Educational Society which organized 17,000 tool and die workers in Flint and other Michigan centers; the United Anthracite Miners in Pennsylvania, the United Shoe and Leather Workers in Massachusetts, the Taxi Drivers and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers in New York.

The Progressive Miners which had split from the United Mine Workers in 1932 continued its struggles, mostly in Illinois, finally splitting itself, into a reactionary and progressive wing.

The numerous Communist dual unions were—with the exception of the Needle Trades Industrial Union which claimed 125,000 members—little more than paper or-

ganizations, united in the Trade Union Unity League.

The year 1934 was one of unprecedented opportunity for the A.F. of L. The American wage-earners had become union-conscious with a vengeance. By November, 1934, 800 new charters had been issued to trade and federal unions. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers with their 110,000 members had affiliated with the Federation.

In a confidential report made to the Executive Council in this year the statement was made that there were "17,000,000 of the organizable workers eligible for membership in existing unions (including the railway brotherhoods). Over 12,000,000 could be affiliated through federal and new international unions." These were largely among the unskilled and semi-skilled.

But obviously these workers could only be organized effectively on a national scale and in industrial unions. It was just this which the craft union officials refused to recognize or were unwilling to do. At the San Francisco Convention of the Federation in October 1934, and under pressure from Lewis, Howard and other industrial unionists they made a gesture toward meeting the situation by recognizing formally the need for industrial unions in certain mass production industries. (It was obvious that Green did not include steel in this concession.)

But the Federation's gesture toward industrial unionism remained

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Does a Workers' State Kill Initiative?

Critics of Socialism have maintained that if the workers were ever to come to power all initiative would be stifled. In writing of the recent successful flight of the Soviet aviators over the North Pole, the Milwaukee Leader stated:

"Not so long ago Russians invaded the stratosphere and came down with valuable data from the upper regions. Here recently Russians opened a base near the North Pole and for a year will send forth to the world invaluable data which may materially affect scientific calculations. And now three Russians made a non-stop flight from Moscow to the United States, and but for a fog would have made their goal only a mere 580 miles, as flights go, farther. And all this not to mention recent medical discoveries that Russians have been giving the world with astounding frequency.

just that; and in the following year every effort to follow up the San Francisco resolution cracked up against a blank wall of inactivity and stubborn resistance to change.

In 1935, the A. F. of L. lost its golden opportunity. Not only did it fail to organize the mass production industries but it permitted the neighboring international unions to make repeated raids upon the membership of existing federal unions. In the steel industry, its moribund Amalgamated Association was helpless. In other industries, the Executive Council almost liquidated that spontaneous impetus toward organization which had built up the Federal unions.

By the time of its 1935 Convention in Atlantic City, the A.F. of L. leaders had sealed the doom of the Federation as the dominant American labor movement.

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# Supreme Court and New Deal By Edward Grove

## Balance Sheet of Decisions Under New Deal Regime

By EDWARD GROVE

THE recent crop of decisions upholding important New Deal legislation of the Roosevelt Administration (also "friends" of the workers) has led many to believe that the sentiments expressed against the Court in the previous article are harsh and unjustified; that the Supreme Court has finally come around to a pro-labor viewpoint; that a new Supreme Court orientation is necessary to conform with the new facts.

In short, say our critics, the Court has reformed; we should confess that we were wrong and give credit where it is due. Let us look at the record to see what basis there is for such optimism.

All in all, during the four years of the Roosevelt regime, the Supreme Court has decided about 35 key cases involving New Deal legislation, civil liberties and the rights of labor. Up until the beginning of the October 1936 term, in the overwhelming number of basic decisions involving the workers of America, the Court ran true to form.

*It sabotaged that modicum of temporary relief which the New Deal would have afforded to the farmers and workers of America.* This is gravely significant, even though Socialists have never held any brief for the New Deal, and do not believe that any reforms within the framework of capitalism can have any enduring results for the working class.

Of the many anti-New Deal decisions, the following were especially significant for the workers and their families:

**Rail Pension Case**  
An act of Congress providing pensions for interstate railroad workers was declared void because it took away from the railroads assets without just compensation.

### Court Changes Mind

BEGINNING with its October 1936 term, the Court has reversed itself in some instances and has handed down a few new decisions on the basis of which its apologists are trying to stampede everyone into believing that the old Supreme Court is dead, and that a newly reformed and rejuvenated Court has taken its place which promises to be labor's very best friend. The truth of the matter is: that the recent rulings have come as something of a surprise.

But they are far less significant than we are asked to believe. At best they will make it possible for the American workers to enjoy the type of labor organization and social legislation which have prevailed in England and France for over 35 years.

**Washington State Minimum Wage Law Case**  
The Supreme Court upheld the minimum wage law passed by Washington. In effect this reversed the New York State Minimum Wage Law decision of June 1936. But since the Court is infallible, there is never any such acknowledgement. It simply decides another case on an "entirely different" set of facts.

**Social Security Cases**  
In a series of decisions designed to test the constitutionality of the U. S. Social Security Act, the Supreme Court upheld the sections

**First Frazier-Lemke Act**  
An attempt on the part of Congress to ease the heavy obligations on farmers by a five-year moratorium (suspension of payment) on mortgages held by banks and industrial capitalists was declared unconstitutional.

**NRA Schechter Case**  
The President's plan of drawing up codes to regulate industry (including some provisions for shorter hours and minimum wages) was declared unconstitutional.

**Agricultural Adjustment Act Case**  
An act of Congress to regulate agricultural produce and prices, designed primarily to aid the farmers, was declared unconstitutional because it invaded the field of States' Rights.

**Guffey Coal Act Case**  
An act of Congress to regulate the soft coal industry by fixing minimum and maximum prices was declared unconstitutional. This effort to improve indirectly the condition of coal miners was thus also thrown out by the Court.

**New York State Minimum Wage Law Case**  
The law of New York which would provide minimum wages for women in industry was declared unconstitutional.

We therefore see that for the first three years of the New Deal, the Court's decisions were basically reactionary, in support of the interests and demands of Big Business.

providing for unemployment insurance (*Stewart Case*) and old age pensions (*Davis Case*); also the Alabama unemployment insurance law was held constitutional (*Carmichael Case*).

**Civil Liberty: Herndon Case**  
After much hedging and hawing, the Supreme Court finally declared the Georgia Insurrection law, under which Angelo Herndon was sent to the chain gang, unconstitutional, because of its vague provisions affecting freedom of speech and assembly.

Basically this 5 to 4 decision was a smashing victory for the mass pressure of the American working class. It showed what aroused workers can accomplish.

But after all the sound and fury about this great victory dies down, however, the only important result will be that Angelo Herndon is

free. The case settles nothing which binds the Court; the strong dissenting minority opinion indicates how easily a similar case can be decided the other way by a Court disposed to interpret the facts differently.

**Wagner Act Cases**  
The Supreme Court upheld the National Labor Relations Act recognizing the right of workers to organize for collective bargaining into unions of their own choosing.

Unfortunately, this "victory" for labor is but the beginning of a long struggle, not the end. An entirely new but not unexpected threat looms for the Wagner Labor Act. It is no secret that Big Business is looking for loopholes to evade the necessity of collective bargaining with genuine fighting unions of the workers' own making and choosing.

Already there are two American Legion-supported company unions in the making, the American Labor League of Detroit and the Automobile Employees' Association of Flint. Gerald L. Smith, the notorious rabble-rousing fascist, is actively connected with the leadership of the latter. These organizations plan to incorporate and offer

themselves as agencies for collective bargaining, in compliance with the Wagner Act.

When a test case is made by an employer offering one of these agencies, the Supreme Court may saddle company unionism upon the workers of America in the guise of interpreting the Wagner Labor Act.

**Wisconsin Labor Code Case**  
The Supreme Court upheld the 1935 Wisconsin Labor Code providing for the right of peaceful picketing by labor organizations to call attention to activities of non-union employers. It is doubtful whether this case overrules the rule of solitary picketing which the Court established in the American Steel Foundries Case where the nature of peaceful picketing was stringently defined.

(The third and concluding article of Edward Grove's analysis of the Supreme Court will appear in next week's CALL.)

## SCREEN

### "TSAR TO LENIN" AT WORLD THEATRE

"Tsar to Lenin" important pictorial document of the Soviet revolution is now playing at the World Theatre on 49th Street.

The film portraying various stages of the Russian revolution, had a successful run at the Filmarte Theatre, and was acclaimed by all critics as a stirring film. If you failed to see it at the Filmarte, don't miss the present opportunity.

### MOSCOW-VANCOUVER FLYERS IN NEWSREEL AT THE CAMEO

Included in this week's bill at the Cameo where THE THIRTEEN is entering its third smash week, is a newsreel just received from the U.S.S.R. showing the three Soviet flyers, Chkaloff, Baidukoff, and Beliakoff. The film shows them taking off for their first long distance Polar flight and their triumphal return to Moscow, the flight which paved the way for their Moscow-Vancouver hop. The plane is the same used in their flight to America.

## Socialist Leaflets Prepared For Sale

Local New York of the Socialist Party is planning a series of eight-leaflets on the five-point program of the NEC, which has been added to by Local New York with a campaign on organizing of the unorganized. The leaflets will

be ready in about two weeks. The format will be attractive and will appear as a four-page folder. They, of course, will be for free distribution as far as possible, although each will be marked with the price of 1c and should be sold at that price if possible. The price, in all probability, will be \$1.50 per thousand.

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

## New Jersey's First Sit-Down In Gov. Hoffman's Home County

By Clara Handelman

PERTH AMBOY—New Jersey's first extended sit-down strike began at Perth Amboy last Wednesday when 1100 of the 1200 workers in the American Smelting and Refining Co. plant stopped production to enforce their union demands.

The plant, which refines copper, lead, zinc, silver, gold and other non-ferrous metals, and which is rendering the damaged structure of the Hindenberg for its aluminum, is located in the same county as the home of Governor Hoffman, who has issued dire threats against any workers who

sit-down in New Jersey. To date he has taken no action.

The strike is being conducted by the Mine, Mill and Smeltery Workers, a CIO affiliate, whose vice-president, Jesse Gonzales, is co-organizer with Milton Arons, Newark CIO organizer.

Union Sentiment

Most startling result of the strike, in addition to its complete shut-down of the struck plant, is the wave of union sentiment which it has stirred up in open shop Perth Amboy. Until a month ago, when Mill Arons first began recruiting at the plant, there was no union organization in the town. Now workers in nearby plants are clamoring to join unions, have sit-downs, and in some cases have already won small victories. The townspeople are 100% behind the strike.

The sit-down was called at the height of production to force the company, a Guggenheim subsidiary, to recognize the union. A NLRB election was won by the CIO local with 989 votes for the union to 239 for the company union. Despite the election, no contract has been signed, and so the men are sitting until they get their recognition and their demands.

An Engineering Feat

It was a real engineering feat to start the strike, for ten big furnaces, valued at \$50,000 each, had to be put out of production. This was done under union supervision. Union men now declare they can run the plant better than the bosses, and will be ready to do so when the time comes. The control which the union holds over \$500,000 worth of smelting furnaces keeps the management from starting anything.

A visit to the strike impressed one with the high spirit and solidarity of the workers. With over 300 Negro workers in the plant, race lines are being obliterated and one hears "Brother" where there formerly were recriminations against "niggers" and "white trash" before the strike.

See—

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# Tax-Dodgers Cheat Gov't While Jobless Lose Relief

By PAUL NORMAN

While a Tory inspired campaign to cut WPA to the bone is in full swing and thousands are being dropped from Federal rolls daily with a hypocritical "no more dough" plea, the Treasury Department, ironically enough, has just lifted a small corner of the huge lid that covers America's biggest racket, namely the tax evasions of the "upper bracketeers."

Included among the names mentioned by Internal Revenue Commissioner Guy Helvering during last week's investigations were some of America's best known and wealthiest capitalists. Andrew Mellon, former Secretary of the Treasury; Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of General Motors Corp.; Thomas Lamont, New York banker; John S. Raskob, former Democratic national chairman and "several members" of the notorious duPont family of Wilmington, Delaware, were a few of the more prominent individuals charged with the formation of personal holding companies to avoid payment of income taxes.

Mr. Helvering submitted a chart listing eight personal holding corporations taking advantage of loopholes in the 1936 Revenue Act. These corporations, Mr. Helvering explained, paid a total of only \$735,775 in taxes. If deductions on the basis of personal holding companies had not been made, he said, the government would have gotten \$3,336,114.

Seventeen Leading Companies  
Seventeen companies, in particular, were singled out by Mr. Helvering as typical examples of corporations which had the spirit if not the letter of the tax laws. These companies would have had to pay an aggregate surtax of \$1,638,823 if personal holding companies had not been formed. As it is, only \$43,973 was collected from all seventeen, Mr. Helvering said.

Following is the list of personal holding companies cited, together with the names of the men listed as having formed the corporations:  
Senior Investment Corp., Michigan, F. J. Fisher, Detroit.  
E. W. Scripps Co., Ohio; E. W. Scripps.  
W. W. Hawkins Co., Delaware; W. W. Hawkins.  
Robert P. Scripps Co.; Robert P. Scripps.

Food Industries; Incarn D. W. Dietrich.  
Adason Tobacco Corp., Andrew Mellon, Louis Allen, C. D. Marshall and R. B. Mellon.  
Penn Tobacco Corp., Andrew Mellon, Louis Allen, C. D. Marshall and R. B. Mellon.  
Kovik Investments, Ltd.; Charles M. Higgins, Montreal, Canada.  
The Tennessee Co.; W. W. Hawkins.  
Peter Berkey Corp., Peter Berkey, Chicago.  
Laurence Industrial Corp., Solon E. Summerfield, Milwaukee.  
Consolidated Publishers, Paul Block.  
Falk Investment Co., Herman W. Falk.  
Terrace Finance Corp., Clement C. Smith (deceased) and wife.  
Marion Finance Co., estate of George P. Miller.  
Smoot Sand and Gravel Co. of Canada, Ltd., L. E. Smoot, Toronto, Ont.  
Altew Co., Ltd., A. S. Brown.



A scene in Cambria County, Pennsylvania, as thousands of soft-coal miners come to aid their brother steel strikers. Such action would be outlawed by the new Michigan law curbing the right to strike and picket.

How Much Saved  
In submitting the names of these corporations, Helvering said they showed "just what individuals in certain typical cases have saved by the use of personal holding corporate device."  
Referring to the widespread use of this device cheat the government out of its taxes, Mr. Helvering said further, "the atmosphere in which such schemes grow so rapidly is well illustrated in a recent statement appearing in the press in which J. P. Morgan is reported to have said, "if the government doesn't know enough to collect its taxes, a man is a fool to pay them." That attitude is fairly general."  
Recently several members of the Congressional Committee investigating the tax evasions expressed the belief the Treasury might recommend raising the surtax rate on personal holding companies by lowering or eliminating some of the tax deductions allowed on such concerns.



Governor Murphy, addressing strikers at the Lansing general tie-up.

## NMU - Ryan

(Continued from Page Three)  
favor of remaining in the organization Gompers headed for so many years.  
**CIO-AFL UNITY**  
CIO Office Workers local are cooperating with AFL Warehousemen in a strike against the McKesson and Robbins wholesale druggists in the New York metropolitan area.  
The management has claimed that an old AFL contract by some miracle now covers all employees, although it had previously covered only a small section of the workers. This follows a pattern being used in many places of employers using the ruse of an AFL contract to forestall CIO organization.  
In the Bronx, warehousemen were forced to sign AFL application cards in Teamsters local No. 445, after which the cards were locked in the bosses safe. Since these have been repudiated and the management charged with coercion before the NLRB.  
With the lack of ethic which arises in these situations the Teamsters have thrown a picket line in front of the joint picket line of the Office Workers and Warehousemen denying there is a strike in progress, and have not hesitated in breaking the picket line of the legitimate strikers. William Collins, AFL organizer, has voided the AFL charter of the Warehousemen and hailed the president of the union before him.

# Michigan Labor Law Curbs Right To Mass Action

By FRED PACER

DETROIT, Mich.—Drastic limitation upon the right to picket has been legislated in this state, which up to now boasted the most "liberal" of all governors.  
The act forbids the picketing of a plant at which there is a strike by any person who is neither an employe nor a party to the dispute nor an official of a labor organization that is a party to a dispute.

## TEXAS UNIONS UNITE TO FORM CIO STATE BODY

By GEORGE PAPCUN

Over 150 representatives of CIO unions met in Beaumont, Texas on June 20th to take action to form the first state organization of the CIO in the country. J. A. Benson and James E. Crossland, militant leaders of the Oil Workers, were elected President and Secretary-treasurer respectively. This is a temporary setup. The conference was very democratic; much more so than any state labor meeting in this state has been for a long time.  
The conference approved a definite program and the machinery to set it up.

1. That the CIO unions establish closer unity between all union-minded groups that are in sympathy with the objectives and principles of CIO.
  2. Aid all local groups that are seeking organization into bonafide labor organizations, as against "company" unions.
  3. Establishment of headquarters to be clearing house for all state functions.
  4. Promote through the central set-up, as well as through local or district organizations, educational and organization activities.
  5. Inaugurate a regular and informative publicity campaign through the daily press of each local or district.
  6. Elect a state-wide committee to be composed of elected delegates from locals throughout the state.
- Before the conference adjourned, a motion was made to send a letter of protest to Secretary of Labor Perkins against the use of violence and guerrilla warfare against the steel strikers.

there is a strike by any person who is neither an employe nor a party to the dispute nor an official of a labor organization that is a party to a dispute.

This provision makes impossible the sort of sympathy strike action such as gave great strength to workers of areas where, for the moment, they were weak. This provision outlaws picketing aid by auto-workers for steel workers, or miners for auto workers. Such actions were largely instrumental in bringing some of the early battles against General Motors to a successful conclusion, and have been extremely effective in compelling ruthless public officials to stop brutal treatment of strikers.

**No Mass Picketing**  
The act further provides that picketing may not interfere with the free and unimpeded use of a highway or with entrance to or egress from a plant or residence.

Governor Murphy commented favorably on the act. "The state must retain its police power," he declared.

**Nationwide Drive**  
The Michigan Act comes as part of a nationwide campaign launched by employers to whittle away the rights of labor to strike. Similar laws, of a more or less stringent character, all tending in the same direction are pending or have quietly been pushed through state legislatures. National legislation on the same subject is pending.

### LOCAL 16 CORRECTION

In the report of the victory of the Progressive Group in Local 16, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, in the recent elections, it was erroneously stated that "1 Progressive" was elected to the Executive Board. This should have read "11 Progressives," showing the complete nature of the Progressive victory.