

## HIGH COURT GIVES NEW TRIAL TO FLA. FLOGGERS

### Hapgood Free On Bail

#### SHOE STRIKERS GO BEFORE NLRB

By Aaron Levenstein  
Powers Hapgood, New England secretary of the Committee for Industrial

Organization and vice-chairman of the Socialist Party, was released from jail this week together with the six others convicted with him on charges of violating an anti-strike injunction issued against the shoe workers of Lewiston and Auburn, Me. After spending about two months in jail serving out the six-month sentences imposed by Judge Harry Manser for contempt of court, the CIO leaders are now out on \$2,000 bail each,

fixed by Judge Sidney St. F. Thaxter, as a result of habeas corpus proceedings brought in behalf of the defendants by Arthur Garfield Hays, representing the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers Defense League, and union attorneys.

Judge Thaxter over-ruled the opinion of Manser, that the men were not entitled to bail pending their appeal. If bail had not been allowed, the union leaders would have been compelled to serve out their full time before the Law Court would have had an opportunity to hear their appeal. In the event of a reversal of their convictions, they would have had no recourse for the unjust imprisonment.

Among those released this week, besides Hapgood, were John D. Nolan, Paul Salvaggio, William J. Mackesy, Martin J. Lawless and Sidney Grant. Grant

is the CIO lawyer, a member of the Massachusetts bar, who experienced the unprecedented treatment of being thrown into jail for advising the striking members of the United Shoe Workers of America that no judge has the right to declare a strike illegal when it is conducted for better conditions and for a union of the workers' own choosing.

The strike of the shoe workers, meanwhile, has been called off as a result of the decision of the National Labor Relation Board ordering an election to determine the agency for collective bargaining. Victory is expected for the CIO's United Shoe Workers of America on the basis of results already obtained in five plants where the elections were held by consent after the strike. In all cases, the CIO won, and several of the manufacturers have already signed agreements.

### DECISION SENTENCING KIDNAPPERS REVERSED

By Frank McAllister  
Southern Secretary, Workers' Defense League

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—One week after a delegation from the Committee for the Defense of Civil Liberties in Tampa delivered a sharply worded protest to Governor Fred P. Cone over the judicial quibbling which was holding up procedure, the Florida Supreme Court reversed the verdict sentencing five Tampa policemen to four years imprisonment for kidnaping E. F. Poulnot, President of the Florida Workers' Alliance.

Three justices concurred in the reversal; one died suddenly while the case was being considered; one, who was ill, did not participate; and one justice, Armstead Brown, dissented. The Supreme Court said trial Judge Dewell committed reversible error by allowing the state to introduce evidence bearing on an alleged conspiracy and he had directed a verdict of acquittal for all of the defendants on the conspiracy charges.

This means that the cases are back again where they started with nothing actually accomplished.

#### Freedom For Floggers

In the lengthy written memorandum to the Governor setting forth the shocking facts concerning the flogging trials, the Tampa committee pointed out:

(1) Nineteen months after the

atrocious crime not one guilty person had been jailed:

(2) Four of the eleven indicted men have never even had to stand trial;

(3) The Florida Supreme Court has held up a decision on the appeal for six months while the convicted men are allowed to roam at will throughout the country;

(4) Judge Dewell has consistently refused to set trial dates on the murder indictments although it is plainly his duty to do so.

This highly publicized trip inspired a deluge of editorials all over the state for immediate action by the Governor.

It is thought in well informed quarters that the Supreme Court would still be withholding their decision were it not for this storm of editorial protest aroused by the sensational charges made by the Tampa committee.

#### Demand Investigation

They requested Governor Cone to instruct the Attorney General's office to make a complete investigation of the progress on the trials to see if justice had been willfully obstructed. They asked him to appoint a chief prosecutor and assure him of the full support of the state, also to appoint a new judge in place of Dewell to take charge of the cases and urge him to proceed with all possible speed to dispose of these actions which are now almost two years old.

Finally, they requested him to ask the Florida Supreme Court to hand down an early decision on the appeal now pending before them.

The quickness of the decision following fast upon the committee's visit gives eloquent testimony to the pressure being maintained on these cases by the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa.

It is also noteworthy to report that for the first time in months a regularly scheduled Ku Klux Klan meeting was called off because of the tremendous publicity accorded the committee's visit to the Governor.

It is expected that the new trial will be held in Hillsborough County under a different judge.

## A FRIEND IN NEED

This is the time for labor to look about for its real friends. And in so doing, to put the old test that a "friend in need is a friend indeed."

When the CIO approached the task of unionizing "little steel," it made no new startling demands upon Tom Girdler and his crew. The SWOC asked of "little steel" no more and no less than it sought in its agreements with General Motors and with Carnegie-Illinois.

Indeed, if labor can be accused of making any exception for "little steel," it did so on the side of gentility and not gruffness. Against "little steel" it did not employ the sit-down, as it had on previous occasions.

The atmosphere of civil war which now enshrouds the steel areas was all of Mr. Girdler's making. He and his fellow capitalists are responsible for the violence in steel—and not labor.

Girdler began it with an open defiance of the National Labor Relations Act. He would talk terms, but he would not sign an agreement. He proclaimed himself to be out of sympathy with the spirit of the times as well as outside the law.

"Tom" talked tough—and then he acted tougher. He heralded the attempt to organize his Chicago plant with the blast of the police pistols in the Memorial Day Massacre. Girdler was baring his teeth to let the whole world know that he was out for blood.

From Memorial Day onward, the story of steel is written in blood, spilled by the steel bosses and their henchmen.

From every point of view, the violence in steel issues from the camp of Girdler. It was he who would not sign an agreement—not the CIO. It was he who took to the gun and the club; it was he who organized the armed gang; it was he who turned to murder as a weapon in the class war.

Labor has retorted—under these inhuman provocations—with bare hands. Its only answer has been to display its numbers, its massed strength.

Labor can not answer with the neatly fitted troops and gunner boys of capital. The workers have had to go out on to the firing line with sticks in their hand; they have had to draw upon every last ounce of energy, to face death with their wives and kids.

Yes, these are the days of need. And these are the days when the "fair weather friends" begin to walk on the other side of the street when they see labor facing them.

"A plague on both your houses," says Roosevelt.

Indeed! So the massacred ten steel workers of Chicago are equally guilty with Tom Girdler for the violence in steel. So John L. Lewis is equally responsible with the bosses of "little steel" for the continued warfare. So labor and capital are alike guilty!

Roosevelt's haughty "impartiality" at this time is not impartiality at all. To place both labor and capital in the same docket now, to accuse them alike of the crime, and to sentence them equally is not impartial; it is very partial—altogether on the side of the steel bosses.

Secretary of Commerce Roper cursed both labor and capital and warned them that the "public will not long patiently forbear" this unnecessary strife. As if labor enjoys this "strife!"

Francis Perkins also chimed in with an attack upon the sit-down strike as "full of hazards to the progressive democratic development of trade unionism etc." After attempting to evade any definite stand for some months now, Madame Perkins takes a stand, at the very worst time. The issue of the sit-down is not a real issue in the steel strike. Why this unasked for attack on the CIO—just now?

Right now labor has a big job on its hands; to lick "little steel." But once that is over, the workers will have to think about putting people in office who are not just "pals" of labor but who ARE labor, who are the controlled and disciplined members and candidates of an independent party of labor.

## COMMEMORATE SPAIN FIGHT IN N. Y. JULY 19

On Monday night, July 19, at Madison Square Garden a Spanish solidarity demonstration will take place on the first anniversary of the struggle against Fascism in Spain.

The meeting is sponsored by the Joint Spanish American Committee for July 19, consisting of representatives from the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Confederated Spanish Societies.

The main speakers will be Fernando De Los Dios, Spanish Ambassador, in his first public appearance since his return from Spain, Norman Thomas, National Chairman of the Socialist Party of the USA, and Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA.

Other speakers will include Congressmen Jerry O'Connell, Vito Marcantonio, and Girolamo Valenti. In addition there will be a symphony orchestra of 150 pieces, a mass chant, Spanish folk dancing in costume, and other colorful events.

# Reich, Italy Demand Belligerent Right For Franco's Gov't

Germany and Italy have demanded "belligerent rights" for Franco as a condition for the re-establishment of the Non-Intervention patrol. This would allow the Fascist fleet to blockade the Loyalist ports.

The German-Italian demands came immediately upon the decision of England and France to establish a complete patrol of their own, when the former refused to participate in the Four Power Patrol. Although the Fascist powers left the Patrol, they refused to leave the Non-Intervention Committee, where they are pressing for their demands.

Foreign Secretary. Eden of great Britain boasted, meanwhile, of his government's action in blocking all aid to Spain. He claimed that no arms or volunteers have been permitted to go to Spain since the Non-Intervention agreement was established.

Eden also insisted that any settlement in Spain must be based upon the territorial integrity of the nation. This means that Britain will not accept a division of Spain into two separate countries: one of which would be controlled by Franco and another by the Loyalists; England will press for a joint settlement which will result in the maintenance of a single government.

The large investments of British capital in various parts of Spain make it imperative that she shall not surrender hegemony in any section of the country. There are heavy stores of tin, copper, mercury, iron, lead, tungsten, and vanadium, scattered over the Iberian Peninsula.

## A Spanish Son Goes to War



The present deadlock, it is generally believed, arises from sharp differences among the powers as to what shall be their separate spoils upon the victory of Franco, whom both England and Germany are at present favoring.

## Anti-Fascist Fighter Writes From The Front

By Sam Romer  
A Letter From Spain

We went harvesting Sunday. The entire battalion exchanged bayonets for scythes and farmers for drill sergeants and marched into the wheat fields of central Spain, there to perform another of those strange

deeds that have made the international volunteer brigades a unique event in modern history.

For these soldiers of the proletariat, now serving the Spanish people in their heroic stand against fascism, are an army of construction, an army of peace, an army of friendship and solidarity with the common masses of all lands. We are to do only one job—to help the Spanish workers and we are determined to carry through this task in every way possible.

If the necessities of war demand of us that we become "suicide squads," as the shock troops have been called, we answer "Present!" Tomorrow we may be given the order to go over the top in that great offensive that will prove the death knell of fascism and, with it, its sire capitalism, or, suddenly turned into laborers and engineers, we may take part in the great reconstruction that will take place in this ruined country the day after.

Go Harvesting  
We went harvesting Sunday. Some part of this land once belonged to the feudal barons who dominated and enslaved the

peasants; after the fascist uprising, this land was confiscated and the produce used to feed the people. Most of the land is divided into small lots, usually worked by peasants who today are fighting for their liberty in the front-line trenches. Left in this small village where our American battalion is quartered for training are only the old men and women whose war time duty places them in the rear.

### Harvest Important

But the harvest is all important—a successful harvest is a major victory over the Fascist forces. As a gesture of our love for peace and our solidarity with the workers and peasants, our battalion voted unanimously to give up a day of field maneuvers and spend it in the fields with the small hand-scythes they use about here.

How efficient we were is somewhat open to question; for many of us, including your reporter, it was a novel experience for it was the first time we had held a scythe in our hands. After a few minutes however, we picked up some tricks and made progress slowly.

## Pennsylvania's Police



Captain William A. Clark (right) directing Lieutenant Cook on how to keep the strikers in "order" in the Johnstown strike area.

# AFL Redoubles Efforts In Attack Against CIO

By John Newton Thurber

With the forward drive of the CIO resting at a temporary impasse with the front line struggle going on against the embattled forces of "Little Steel" ranged behind the bellicose leadership of Tom Girdler, the forces of reaction which have viewed with horror the rapid growth of the industrial union movement have taken heart and are coming into the open in a concerted counter-attack upon the CIO.

For a long time there have been rumblings of unrest in various quarters. For months middle class movie audiences have been hissing the picture of John L. Lewis as it was flashed on the screens in suburban movie houses. The employing class generally have regarded the CIO with intense alarm. But until the past week the American Federation of Labor has carried the brunt of the attack on the CIO.

The hard boiled profanity of Tom Girdler, distasteful as it has been to some of his fellows in steel, has put backbone into the counter-offensive. The attack which the Ford company police administered to UAWA organizers a few weeks ago went hand in hand with Girdler's plans.

### AFL TURNS ON WAGNER ACT

The AFL leadership has become more belligerent than at any time in its attack on CIO. Having carried on a steady campaign against alleged violations of contracts by CIO, and guaranteeing friendly dealings to employers who would turn their labor over to them, AFL has now emerged into a definite counter-campaign.

announced that the success of its extra one cent assessment on all members was such that some 500 new organizers are to be put into the field. At their head is to be Lewis G. Hines, former Philadelphia craft union official, who is now entitled "AFL Director of Organization."

One of Hines' first actions was to release a statement to the Wall Street Journal stating that AFL officials were seriously considering moving to have the Wagner Labor Act amended. He said his cohorts are convinced that the NRLB is "prejudiced" in favor of the CIO. "Certainly Bob Wagner intended the National Labor Relations Act to be an instrument for the destruction of the AFL and we don't propose that it shall be," Hines said.

In taking this stand, the AFL is lining up with those employers groups and their political lackeys who are carrying on a drive to put legal hobbles on the movement for industrial unionism. They have not yet come out for the incorporation of unions, as

they want their own records protected, but otherwise they seem to have gone the whole hog with the employers.

### VIOLENCE IN CLEVELAND KNITGOODS STRIKE

Under the leadership of AFL organizer Coleman Claherty, who fought industrial union militancy for years in Akron, Cleveland police and a vicious crowd of open shoppers, an armed gang broke through the picket lines which were being maintained by the ILGWU in Cleveland last week.

1500 knitgoods workers in Cleveland are out on strike against four firms, which were tied up completely by militant 24 hour picket lines.

Despite protests of the ILGWU, which was granted jurisdiction over this industry by the AFL, Claherty started a dual movement against the ILG, under auspices of the Cleveland Federation of Labor. These tactics have caused a strong feeling of resentment among more decent elements in the AF of L. Employers and floor-ladies attended the meetings under AFL auspices, at which the ILG was bitterly attacked.

of their AFL contract:

For some weeks there has been trouble brewing in Philadelphia over jurisdiction over drivers, which is sure to be an important area of conflict between CIO and AFL. Taxi drivers, brewery drivers, and bakery drivers have shown a preference for the CIO.

### 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.

**121 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!**

# Steel Strikers Face Armed Interference Of National Guard

By George Ryan

JOHNSTOWN, Pa.—The partial settlement of the "Little Steel" strike by a truce between Inland Steel and the SWOC (steel organizing committee of the CIO) has not led to a general peace agreement in the strike-torn industry.

**Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and the Bethlehem Company have continued to open new "cash" factories under the protection of state troops and national guardsmen.**

Governor Martin L. Davey of Ohio, whom Clinton Golden, CIO Regional Director, has termed a "fair weather friend of labor," has despatched armed forces to Cleveland and Akron to give military protection to the strike-breaking steel bosses.

Governor Earle of Pennsylvania, has thrown a military guard around the Cambria area to protect the operations of Bethlehem steel.

### The Inland Truce

Governor Townsend of Indiana, who avoided martial law earlier in the week by negotiating the Inland truce, found himself hard-pressed by reactionary forces (this time in the form of the clergy) demanding military intervention.

The Inland agreement is more a temporary truce than a permanent settlement. It provides for 1. Recognition of the SWOC as bargaining agent for its members; 2. Rehousing of workers without discrimination; 3. Resumption of work until the National Labor Relations Board determines whether or not Inland violated the Wagner Act in refusing to sign a written agreement.

The Inland truce affected about 12,000 workers. The strike continues to affect some 27,000 of Youngstown Sheet and Tube; 52,000 of Republic, and more than 15,000 workers employed in Bethlehem's Johnstown plant, in addition to other thousands in outlying factories.

### Mass Picketing

The union forces have been compelled more and more to re-



The police in Johnstown take another striker "in hand."

of thousands of steel and mine workers on the 4th of July.

### Trust Earle

Governor Earle, who addressed the meeting, advised the strikers that "you don't need violence when you have a man like Franklin D. Roosevelt in Washington, when you have a liberal Congress in

Washington and a Governor like me in Pennsylvania, who respect the workers' rights." He declared that the Attorney General of Pennsylvania would visit the Attorney General in Washington "to see if we can't force them under the 'big' Wagner Act or the (Pennsylvania) 'little' Wagner Act to hold an election."

**'They Beat Me Till My Whole Body Is Black and Blue and Mashed My Mouth and Broke My Teeth...'**

By MRS. FRED KING

**CANTON, Ohio—I am all bandaged up and it's very difficult to write but will do the best I can. National Guards came into Canton to break**

the steel strike. They live in our schools. They already cut up with bayonets many little children who played on the street and school lawn. They beat a picket—he died—funeral today.

They run people in their houses with bayonets. They pick up people on the street or go into their homes and get them and throw them into concentration camps in school basements. Already got many hundreds—some come back and some don't.

### Attack

Friday, July 2, I was driving my car home from the market and two friends were with me—the National Guard truck ran me down, wrecked the car with their bayonets, then tied a rope to it and pulled it away. They stole \$62.00 from me and twisted the leaders off my arm, beat me over the head till the hospital said it could cause me concussion of the brain. They pulled me off the seat by

my feet—beat me till my whole body is black and blue and mashed my mouth and broke my teeth—knocked my teeth clear out in the street. They wanted to take me to concentration camp but I changed their mind—I put up a good fight.

### CIO Secrets

Then went to the hospital. On-lookers were held back by bayonets. They told me if I'd give them some CIO secrets they'd let me go. I do some typing for the CIO. Then when I said I'd die fighting for Democracy rather than turn traitor. Then they said if I ever go to CIO headquarters again they'll kill me. One National Guard tore my watch from me and put it in his pocket. They still refuse to give us our car and \$62.00. Shall I sue them? Please help me find Civil Liberty Lawyers. I think it's a case for them

## Daily Worker Sabotages Fight Against Ed. Parker Frame-Up

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.—The *Daily Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, refused to accept an advertisement for a meeting in defense of Ed Parker, young leader of the Illinois Workers' Alliance, who is facing a life imprisonment as a result of framed charges against him.

David Clendenin, Treasurer of the Workers' Defense League, the organization which is handling the Parker defense, sent a letter of protest to the *Daily Worker* because of its action.

In this letter, he states: "It was with considerable amazement that we found you had decided not to print an advertisement offered you and paid for by the Workers' Defense League in connection with a mass meeting run in behalf of Ed Parker, who is now out on bail on charges that may result in life imprisonment for him because of his leadership of a demonstration of unemployed members of the Workers' Alliance in Cairo, Ill.

### Editorial Dept. Rejects

"We are given to understand from telephone conversations that your editorial department rejected the advertisement, which was factual, a mere announcement of the meeting, after your advertising department had accepted it. What makes your action most surprising is that the meeting was of such character as is ordinarily supported by you and by the Communist Party of which you are the official organ.

"The Workers' Defense League, which is a non-partisan organization, has been ready at all times to defend working-class prisoners. We can find for your refusal to print our advertisement is that you disagree with the political opinions of Ed Parker, who is a member of the Socialist Party.

### Arrested Aiding Negroes

"Surely the facts in his case are not unknown to you. As Illinois state organizer of the Workers' Alliance, he led a delegation of Negro workers in demands for relief after the authorities had refused to pay these people for the work they did on the Cairo levees during the recent floods, resulting in the saving of the town from destruction. Because he led the demonstration, he was arrested, and until bail was allowed, he spent more than two months in a dungeon. An abortive trial on charges of inciting to riot ended in a mistrial.

"The Workers' Defense League has taken up the case, first, because of the injustice that is being done to the unemployed workers of Cairo who have been denied both payment for their work and relief allowances, and secondly, because of the attempt to frame Ed Parker, 21 years old, on charges that may result in sentences depriving him of his liberty for the rest of his life. All friends of justice, all defenders of workers' rights, are rallying to his aid because they recognize the importance of the case.

"It is our firm conviction that anybody who prevents the successful functioning of his defense will bear an equal share with the Cairo reactionaries in the responsibility for this frame-up.

"The meeting we had contemplated in his behalf and in the interests of the Cairo victims definitely suffered sabotage at your hands when you accepted our advertisement and then rejected it, without notice to us, after it had become too late for us to insert advertisements in other journals

that would have opened their columns to us.

"In spite of your effort to injure the cause of Ed Parker by this shocking conduct, we are convinced that the workers will rally to his aid and will do all in their power to save him from the Southern injustice which is practised in the Cairo courts. You may also expect that the working-class will assess your shameful conduct in attempting to prevent Ed Parker from being heard in his own defense.

"May we add that it is with great regret that we are compelled by the seriousness of your misconduct to call this matter to the attention of the Workers' Alliance of America and various publications that are concerned with defending workers' rights."

## N.Y. Socialists Plan Lively Campaign

The launching of a vigorous drive to place Socialist candidates for county and local offices on the ballot throughout the entire State of New York, was announced by James Lipsig, State Secretary.

There are only a few statewide offices to be voted for this fall, but there are over 375 local and county offices for which Socialists will nominate candidates, including 50 mayors in upstate cities.

The Socialist candidates must be selected "officially" at the Socialist primary on September 16, for which petitions are now being distributed to the upstate locals of the Party. Local New York has already begun to secure signatures for its petitions.

The period during which signatures can be secured for the petitions, up to August 10, will be utilized to conduct an aggressive recruiting drive for members for the Party among the enrolled Socialist voters.

### Radio

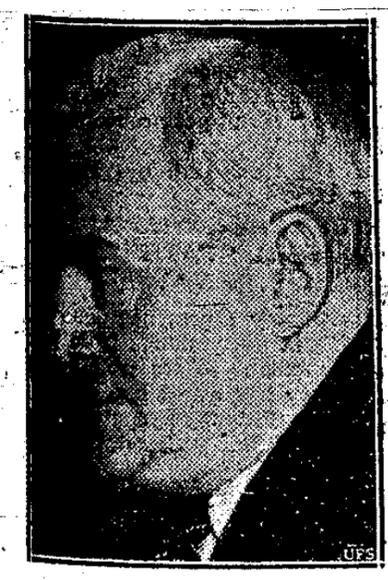
Plans are now being made for securing radio time for the fall campaign. A special subcommittee is now drafting a model municipal platform. Arrangements are under way to tour a great many prominent Socialist speakers throughout the State.

Possibilities, which are now being explored, exist for joint labor candidates for local offices, especially in connection with delegates to the convention to revise the New York State Constitution, to which Labor in New York attaches great significance.

It should be remembered that the Socialist vote exceeded the American Labor Party vote upstate in 1936 in all but two counties, and that the combined vote of the two parties may be a factor of significance in many upstate areas.

At the same time, locals are being urged to complete the registration of Party members directed by the national bodies of the Party, as a step preliminary to the mobilization of Socialist forces for the petition and election campaigns.

**Does Your Neighbor Read the CALL?**



James Mark, CIO organizer in Johnstown.

ly upon mass picketing to counteract the strike-breaking activities of state and local officials.

When Mayor Daniel J. Shields of Johnstown felt it "incumbent to inform these gentlemen (the union organizers) that the city of Johnstown and in particular the Mayor of Johnstown will no longer be responsible for their safety," the SWOC retaliated with a gigantic demonstration, attended by tens

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# AT THE FRONT



## By NORMAN THOMAS

## Is La Guardia Friend Of the Workers Or—New York's Bankers

At this time, when sections of the New York working class movement are preparing to support Mayor Fiorella H. La Guardia, it is in order to recall His Honor's record in dealing with the workers of the city.

Foremost among those rooting openly for

La Guardia is the Communist Party. Let us see what the Daily Worker, Communist paper, had to say about New York's mayor in 1934, before the Communist



La Guardia

International had made up its mind to back every "liberal" politician.

On March 31, 1934 the Daily Worker ran an editorial entitled: "La Guardia—the Bankers' Mayor." The editorial read:

"La Guardia stands revealed as the bankers' mayor. To the unemployed, he offered huge lay-offs and drastic wage cuts; to the bankers he pledged that their interest money, their debts, will be paid by him."

### How Long

On March 23, the DW ran an editorial, placing the responsibility for the existence of fire-traps in the city squarely on La Guardia's shoulders. The title was: "Stop the Firetrap Deaths." It declared:

"How long will he (La-Guardia) be permitted to ooze with empty honeyed phrases, while the Astors, the Stuyvesants, the Hamilton Fishes, the Wall-Street Banks, continue to reap the blood-stained profits from these 67,000 under boxes?"

On February 21st, Mike Gold wrote in the DW:

"Ask any taxi driver or hotel worker as to whether La-Guardia is his friend or enemy. The taxi strike was betrayed by the Mayor. The taxi men were jockeyed and threatened

and finally forced by him to go back to work without a single wage gain or the recognition of their union. It was also La-Guardia's police who beat up Socialist demonstrators before the Austrian Consulate."

### Never Forget

On May 9th, 1934 the Daily Worker drew the moral after a half year of La Guardia rule in New York City. The title of the article was: "The Masses Will Not Forget!"

Quite a high sounding title! Quite a threat! Now, what is it that the masses shall not forget? The DW recounts Fiorella's crimes:

"What has happened to the high-sounding promises made by the Fusion Party during the last election? Many of the workers of New York were tricked by La Guardia's slick phrases. Their support, won by the most shameless lies, swept the Fusion gang into office.

"Five months have passed since La Guardia became mayor, five months of continual attacks on the masses of New York. Under the vicious economy bill, wages have been slashed, thousands of workers fired. Funds for educational and recreational purposes have been cut to the minimum. The health of our children is menaced in crowded and unsanitary schools and classrooms. And no worker will ever forget the nightmare of over forty men, women, and children trapped and burned alive in tenement fires a few months ago.

### Backs Wall St.

"While these things continue, La Guardia does all in his power to grease the palms which put up the dough for his campaign. We refer to the big Wall St. Banks—the Chase National and National City Banks—which rest secure, knowing that their puppet government in City Hall will turn over to them, regularly as clock work, the \$126,000,000 per year guaranteed to them for four years under the terms of the Untermeyer agreement.

"No, the masses of New York, who inhabit the slum tenements, which you and your kind know only as an offensive odor as you pass by in your limousines, will not forget. We will not forget the Fusion wage cuts, the Fusion lay-offs, the 40 graves of charred working class bones dug by the Fusion administration."

"Despite this pledge 'never to forget,' the Communist Party is even now beginning to whoop it up for La Guardia.

Shall the workers be "tricked by La Guardia's slick phrases?"

IN American history there is no parallel to the progress made by the CIO in organizing the unorganized, especially in the heavy industries. Even in steel, where its progress is temporarily checked, the C.I.O. by the first of July had signed contracts with 258 companies employing 440,000 workers. The only parallel to the growth of this labor organization is the extraordinary achievement of French labor a few months ago, an achievement which did not involve as much violence as in America and was not attended by a serious split in labor's own ranks. No French union is doubling its dues to fight another

### THE SITUATION IN "LITTLE STEEL"

By no means is the struggle against "little steel" lost. On the whole Tom Girdler is one of labor's assets. It is a pity that his madness has been offset in the public mind by the bombing of the water supply for the Cambria mills at Johnstown. Whether that was the act of a foolish hot-head or of a stool-pigeon, it played into the company's hands and strengthened the present middle class, potentially Fascist, reaction against the C.I.O.

Signs of that reaction run all the way from the fascist threat of a Vigilante march on Washington to the President's cryptic remark: "a plague on both your houses." The reaction itself includes the shift in position of Governors Earle and Davey, and is evident in certain sections of the Michigan "Little Wagner law" now before Governor Murphy for approval. I refer especially to the section which confines picketing to the workers actually on strike. This is a serious limitation on the unions and denies the workers the expression of solidarity which on their side the employers can still assert.

### PROBLEM OF LABOR AND ITS ALLIES

This temporary check in the progress of the C.I.O. was to be expected sooner or later, but taken in connection with the quasi-fascist reaction it raises certain problems which must be faced. They can be summed up by a careful inquiry into this question: "how can workers aggressively push forward their own organization and obtain their just demands while arousing a minimum of potentially fascist antagonism among their more conservative fellow workers, the farmers, and middle class opinion generally?"

Certainly only reaction and possibly fascism itself will win if there is to be a continuation of the kind of fighting between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. which has tied up shipping in New York, stopped the publication of the Star, a newspaper in Seattle, and upset a lot of things in between.

The A.F. of L.'s anti-C.I.O. campaign will not keep Green from going to the same concentration camp as Lewis if the fascists win, partly as a result of labor's division. Great pains must be taken in the constitution and organization of new unions to guarantee democratic rights of members and to convince them of the falsity of frequent charges by corporate interests that they will find a new tyranny in the closed shop.

At the same time it will be necessary to meet the outcry against

union "irresponsibility." Never was there a greater challenge to labor statesmanship. The progress already made gives us confidence that these new issues will be faced. Sooner rather than later, it will be apparent that in facing them the workers must make the most effective possible use of political organization and the ballot as well as industrial organization and the strike.

Already there are plenty of signs of the inadequacy of any solution which depends primarily on trust in the Democratic Party and faith in the possibilities of satisfying the just demands of the workers under capitalism.

### A NEW THEORY ON RUSSIA

Wickham Steed, the English publicist who sometimes knows what he is talking about, says that the execution of eight Soviet generals nipped a Russo-German army plot to eliminate Stalin altogether, put Hitler in the shade and establish a kind of military alliance of the two general staffs. Well, maybe. But it's hard to see how that kind of plot could involve so many civilians from Vladivostok to Minsk as have been arrested; what Stalin's arch-devil, Trotsky had in it; and how and where the priests and Protestant clergymen, who are the latest to be accused of spying, were made the dupes of the High Command.

There is a little consolation in the fact that Pravda has at last begun to issue warnings against the extent to which witch-hunting has been carried. There is more consolation in the restraint which the U.S.S.R. has shown in handling the boundary quarrel on the Amur river. The newspapers are saying that the restraint shows that neither Russia nor Japan is ready for war.

Perhaps, but it is fair to add that Russia's general international policy has been peaceful. Unquestionably, however, she is temporarily weakened by the extraordinary terror which Stalin has set up against "plots" of which the outside world had never dreamed.

I want to repeat, because the matter is important, that on the face of the whole record of communism the present situation is an outcome not of the particular sins of the Stalinists, but the extent to which all communists have carried the doctrine that anything to win is legitimate, which doctrine was accompanied by the attempt to identify the rule of the workers with the rule of one monolithic party and its leader. Who the leader may be is of secondary importance as long as these dogmas sway the party.

### FATE OF SPAIN IN LONDON

Now that Russia is temporarily out of the picture, and the French Popular Front government is weak, it is truer than ever that the fate of Spain will be determined in London unless Great Britain abdicates to the fascist powers or is conquered by them. This unpleasant but inescapable fact is a partial—but only a partial—justification for the very unrevolutionary program, or lack of program, of the Negrin Cabinet and its backers. But it is an added reason why the tactics of POUM and a certain section of the Anarchists would be worse than folly if they

should contemplate armed rising against the government, or organized sabotage while the struggle against fascism is so critical.

The leaflet reproduced in the Daily Worker hailing Hugo Oehler because of the Spanish "riots" in which he participated was a step beyond left wing infantism. Nevertheless the chief effect of his arrest in Spain is to make him a martyr. Our Socialist interest is, of course, not confined to American leftists who may be arrested in Spain.

We are deeply concerned to preserve to the full the right of political criticism and political organization within that territory which must of necessity be dear to all those who know that the hope of peace and well-being in the world demands the defeat of fascism. It was consistent with our socialist position that on the same day I protested to President Roosevelt against the failure to apply our neutrality laws against Italy and Germany, and pleaded with the Spanish embassy for an end of political persecution.

### CONGRATULATIONS TO POWERS HAPGOOD

Congratulations to the Workers' Defense League for its share in at least winning the release of Powers Hapgood and his companions on habeas corpus. The objection which brought about their arrest must be beaten!

Now the workers must turn from Maine to Florida where the Supreme Court on legalistic grounds has upset the conviction of the policemen and others indicted for kidnapping Rogers, Poulnot and Shoemaker in Tampa. We shall not quarrel with the majority of the Supreme Court on its knowledge of law, but we do insist that its long delay in reaching a decision, a delay which is part of the general picture of delay in Florida, invites criticism.

Moreover it is a remarkable fact that this result was forecast to me by many Floridians who said the court would never hold against men supported by the K.K.K. and the Tampa Democratic machine. Well, we must keep on fighting in the new trial as well as in the murder trial not yet brought to a jury—nineteen months after the fiendish crime was committed!

How about the LaFollette Committee's investigating Florida? Send your contributions to the Workers' Defense League, 112 East 19th St., New York City.

### LIPSIG, STATE SECY IN N.Y.

Jimmy Lipsig has done a good job at many things from primary campaigns to research which the Party has asked him to do. New York State is fortunate in electing him as Party Secretary. Now for action!

## BUSINESS DIRECTORY

### BROOKLYN

#### UPHOLSTERER

JOHN P. CARSTENS, 517 Coney Island Ave., Brooklyn. Upholstery slip covers, furniture repaired, refinished. TN. 2-6949

### MANHATTAN

#### SODA FOUNTAIN

BEST DRINKS—27 Union Sq. (next to the Ritz) Soda fountain—Orange & pineapple drinks, Cigars, cigarettes, candy.

# WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

On June 24th, a joint meeting of the Executive Bureaus of the Labor and Socialist International Federation of Trade Unions was held at Paris to consider the Spanish situation in the light of new developments. A proposal from the Spanish Socialist Party was submitted, stating what, in the opinion of the Spanish Socialists, was required of the international proletariat. After a discussion of several hours, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Bureaus of the LSI and the IFTU meeting in Paris on June 24th, 1937:

"In view of the very grave situation created by the withdrawal of Germany and Italy from the international control scheme which discloses the dangerous intentions of international Fascism in its attacks upon Spain:

"Declare that they adopt without qualification the following proposals submitted by the representatives of the Spanish Socialist Labor Party and the Spanish Trade Union Congress:

"That the moral solidarity toward the cause of Republican Spain which has been manifested on many occasions by the members and leaders of the two Internationals, and also the resolutions of London (March 2, 1937) and Geneva (June 17, 1937) recognizing the failure of the control system, require that the following action should be undertaken:

"1. To bring pressure to bear, by all possible means and without delay, upon the Governments, members of the League of Nations, in order that in accordance with the Covenant, they assist the Spanish Government to recover its political and territorial independence.

"2. To ensure the return of freedom of trade with Spain so that the Spanish Government—whose legitimacy is beyond dispute—may acquire the necessary arms for the defense of its territories and its rights.

"3. To make the unquestioned obligations of solidarity towards the cause of Republican Spain incumbent upon all members and all responsible organizations affiliated to the Internationals.

"The two Internationals call upon their affiliated organizations to carry out these directions with the utmost energy."

## Action Disappointing

These decisions are no more than had previously been made. Considering the serious situation in Spain, which in the first place brought about the special session, they are extremely disappointing. It is quite obvious that further reliance upon capitalist governments is bound to be even more harmful than heretofore.

Only decisive action by the workers the world over, independent of and against their own governments, can now help the Spanish cause. Had the two Internationals initiated a dramatic action (for example, a one-hour general solidarity strike, or a one-day wage tax) the workers would have been inspired with new fire. But a repetition of the old pious sentiments will leave the workers cold in this crucial period.

The meetings further took place after an appeal from the Communist International for joint action and a meeting based upon this appeal and between representatives of the Communist International and de Brouckere and Adler, president and secretary of the LSI.

These two considered their action, upon their own initiative, so important that they tendered their resignations in order to determine whether they acted properly or not. By rejecting their resignations and giving them a vote of confidence, the LSI apparently approved the idea of united international action.

The above resolution can hardly be considered as satisfactory under any circumstances, and particularly unsatisfactory at this time.

## LSI Executive Meets

A special meeting of the Executive of the L.S.I. took place on June 25-26 at which the main item was the consideration of the resignations of the two officers. The following day, there appeared in the "Humanite," French Communist daily, a telegram addressed to Thorez for forwarding to de Brouckere and Adler, signed by Dimitrov for the Comintern.

The L.S.I. officers became aware of this telegram only upon its publication. It called for taking joint action on Spain along the lines of the resolution just adopted. Evidently disgusted by this method of carrying on united front negotiations, de Brouckere and Adler sent a formal reply to the effect that the Dimitrov proposals had already been adopted as a resolution by the two Internationals, and that the L.S.I. will abide by the agreement of Annemasse, to carry on action for Spain "jointly wherever possible, and in any case without unnecessary friction."

The line of the Dimitrov proposals, the line of the joint resolution adopted by the two Internationals, the nature of the negotiations, may all be taken as indications that the attempt to establish a united front for Spain has come to an end. From the point of view of revolutionary Socialism, this result was inevitable. Appeals to governments can best be carried on in individual countries. An international united front will have value only if its objective is to mobilize the workers against their governments.

# The Cultural Front

James Farrell

"On this degradation of man, character that they are changed into a frightened animal, who quivers with fear and hates his neighbor in his fear, and watches him, betrays him, sells him, and then lives in fear of discovery, the dictatorship is based." So speaks one of the characters in Ignazio Silone's novel, *Bread and Wine*. (Published by Harper & Brothers, 1937, \$2.50 translated by Gwenda David and Eric Moshbacher.)

In his earlier novel *Fontamara* he described the lives and fate of the Italian peasantry under fascism. He indicated how the hope of emigration to a new world was gone with the closing of immigration bars in North and South America, and how, with the coming of fascism, and its regimentation, freedom of movement was destroyed. The peasantry was robbed of its last hopes of changing its conditions. It was placed in a vise, and systematically reduced to the status of being, practically, medieval serfs in *Bread and Wine*, he again describes conditions of life under Mussolini, who is constantly referred to in the book as *Etcetra*.

The story opens on the eve of the Ethiopian war. *Bread and Wine* is not only a novel of characters, and of conditions, but also of ideas.

### A Revolutionist Speaks

The central character is a revolutionist, Pietro Spina, who has returned from exile, broken in health, seeking to work again in the day by day revolutionary movement. Most of his former school comrades have become part of the fascist job-bureaucracy. Their old teacher, the dissident priest Don Benedetto, describes the fate of their generation when some of them visit him in his retirement.

He says: "To what shall I compare your unhappy generation. You are like children sitting in the market place, calling to one another and saying: 'We have played the flute, and ye have not danced; we have mourned to you and ye have not wept! Everything has turned out contrary to what was promised you.' And, 'now you are between thirty two and thirty four years old, and already you look like aged cynics.'"

They are a generation in whom human value has been largely destroyed. Their old school comrade Spina has been saved of their fate by entering the revolutionary movement, but at the price of his health. Also they sit on the back of a peasantry which is being consistently reduced to serfdom. The attitude of many peasants is well revealed by the shepherd who tells Spina.

"As long as the mountain is poor, it is ours . . . But if it is discovered to be rich, the government will take it. The government has one very long arm and one very short one. The long one is for taking, and reaches everywhere, and the short one is for giving, but it only reaches those who are nearest."

### The Underground Movement

Working in the underground movement, seeking to resume contacts and to make new ones is, most dangerous and disheartening. The arms of the totalitarian state reach everywhere. It is dangerous, often fatal, even to utter simple declarative sentences of an oppositional character, or to chalk them on a wall. It is a society which has no place for free men. It hunts them out as wild beasts, jails, beats, kills them. Or else it so destroys their

character that they are changed into moral wrecks, the instruments of the job holding bureaucracy which carries out a policy of terror and exploitation. For as the hero explains: "In no century have words been so perverted from their natural purpose of putting man in touch with man as they are today."

### Seems An Anarchist

Silone poses the problem of the position of the individual in society today, and also, of the position of the individual in revolutionary parties and the revolutionary movement.

His orientation seems to be, mainly, anarchist. His *A Letter to Moscow* might here be recalled. Published in *International Review* in November, 1936, it was a moving and eloquent protest against the Kamenev-Zinoviev trial, and its final sentence was: "And I refuse to be a Fascist—even a Red Fascist." It is obvious that he has no faith in doctrines, and theories, which are not implemented in an actual world of human beings in such a manner that the individual develops his best potentialities, retains his integrity, becomes more human.

The question which he poses, and the attitude which he presents is, as we can now perceive from recent events in Russia and the history of the Bolshevik party in the present and recent past a real and an important one. It is one which must be presented at the present time.

When Spina, regains contact with the underground movement, he visits an old comrade, Uliva, who claims to have retired from revolutionary activity in disillusionment. Uliva claims that the opposition to the fascist bureaucracy will only produce another bureaucracy, and "it will be the basis of an official compulsory doctrine, a totalitarian orthodoxy which will use every means, from the cinema to terrorism, to extirpate heresy and tyranny, over individual thought. A Red inquisition will succeed the present inquisition, a Red censorship the present censorship. Instead of the present deportations, there will be Red deportations, of which the dissident revolutionaries will be the favorable victims."

### Another Bureaucracy

Our future bureaucracy will identify itself with Labor and Socialism and persecute everyone who goes on thinking with his own head, denouncing him as a paid agent of the industrialists and the landlords, just as the present bureaucracy identifies itself with patriotism and suppresses all its opponents, denouncing them as traitors bought by foreign gold." The question which Silone raises is that of liberty. His answer to this question is a kind of amalgamation of the revolution and Christianity.

It is not an answer. It is the question which many of us must pose to day, and which we also have not answered satisfactorily. Silone here raises it, and discusses it by integrating it into a depiction of characters and events in contemporary Italy. His discussion is not an essay, but an inherent part of a moving, complicated, and powerful novel, rich in insight, biting in its irony, passionate in its honesty. It is the work of a fine artist, a revolutionary, a great spirit.

It is a troubled book, a troubled book because the author has lived in and perceived the torribleness of the present epoch. However, the fact that he has no answer which can completely resolve his questions leads him to a kind of false ending

# SOCIALISM IN DUE TIME

By McAlister Coleman

Prof. William Z. Ripley warned the old folks gathered at Tamiment a couple of weeks ago that the CIO was in danger of going too fast. Canes and ear-trumpets were waved by the audience at this because a lot of the ex-Socialist Antiquarian Federation, or whatever they call their outfit now, agree heartily with the Professor that in order to get anywhere you crawl towards your objective in the manner that is known in those learned circles as "gradualism," and a lot more don't think the CIO ought to be going anywhere anyhow.

Among the latter is Ole Joe Shaplen, the official press-agent of the S.D.F., who from the beginning has been writing pieces about "peace" between William Green and John L. Lewis. It has been hard sledding for Ole Joe because no sooner does he get an article done, than Mr. Green sounds off to the effect that Mr. Lewis is an "evil influence" and Mr. Lewis goes Shakespearean on Mr. Green.

But Ole Joe is an optimist. He still thinks for example that Kerensky is coming back with a bang. And so he goes on and on in his inimitably dreary style.

—To get back to Professor Ripley, I think he misses the point. No true friend of the CIO is worrying about the speed with which that organization is moving. Above everything else Mr. Lewis and their associates have a nice sense of timing. Mr. Lewis recognizes the truth in the lines from "Julius Caesar,"

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,  
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune,  
Omitted, all the voyage of their life  
Is bound in shallows and in miseries."

## Missed the Boat

The professor had a fine example in his Tamiment audience of the rightness of Shakespeare's comment. Assembled there were The Boys Who Missed the Boat. They were on the dock arguing so loudly about "gradualism" and "legalism" and what else, that they didn't hear the warning whistle and now they don't want anyone aboard to get anywhere in a hurry. When you get a campaign going with the successful tempo of the CIO's it would be the dumbest sort of thing to stop short and go into academic debate about the dangers of moving ahead.

It seems a bit gratuitous to be handing out advice from the remoteness of Tamiment or from that of Martha's Vineyard, for that matter. What Professor Ripley wants, and what every other CIO sympathizer wants, is that workers now taking their steps in unionism may have a definite idea of their objectives. In the fancy language of the economic high-brows, the need now is for orientation. As the CALL has suggested, the situation seems to demand the simultaneous carrying on of two campaigns, one of organization and one of education. There is evidence among the automobile workers, for example, that this is being tackled in typically efficient CIO manner. It's a man-sized job and all the luck to those who are tackling it.

## Patriots

—As is always the case, the most limber tongued of our patriots now turn out to be a bunch of slick chiselers who have been taking their beloved government for a ride to the tune of millions of dollars. It's all legally kosher, this business of turning yourself into a holding company for the purpose of sneaking out of payment of your income tax.

All our best publishing and banking families are doing it. On the day that Paul Block's name was read off before the Congressional committee investigating income tax evasions, that patriot had an editorial in his newspaper chains informing a breathless world that America is at the cross-roads and that we are Hell-bent for some awful fate if someone doesn't stop John L. Lewis.

Mr. Block, whose income tax alias is the holding company called "Consolidated Publishers," urges everyone to write to their Congressman about this. He doesn't tell you what to write.

You just write telling your Congressman to do something about John L. Lewis. Mr. Block was just one of a mob of sixty-seven who have been ganging up on their government. The gentleman is not as badly off as some of his fellow gangsters. He has nothing to lose but his chains, whereas they have banks, mass industries and huge whatnots. However Paul is taking no chances. We are at the cross-roads, boys, and this vulgar Lewis person is out there organizing our help.

This is no time for what Tom Paine called "the summer soldier and the sunshine patriot." Let every holding company patriot come to the aid of his country and stand shoulder to shoulder with that great humanitarian, Tom Girdler. He is at the cross-roads with America and if we're not all going down the road to the Left with Mr. Lewis' Communists such as Phil Murray and Van A. Bittner and Percy Tellow, we'd better hustle around and write something to our Congressman

**RISE AND DECLINE OF THE AFL--VII**

**THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM**

**CIO Challenges the AFL  
At The 1935 Convention**

*(This is the last of a series of seven articles on the rise and decline of the American Federation of Labor by Lillian Symes.)*

**WHEN** the 1935 Convention of the AF of L met in Atlantic City, the stage was set for the beginning of the battle that has split the American labor movement wide open and which ushered in a new era of labor organization.

Not only had the Executive Council failed to carry out the 1934 mandate to organize the mass production industries, but during 1935, 610 Federal and local trade unions had been disbanded or suspended.

In the automobile industry, the national auto workers' union charter, granted by the 1934 Convention, had been held up for ten months. When finally presented, it excluded large sections of the auto workers—over whom various craft unions were given jurisdiction. It also gave Green the right to appoint the new union officials, appointees with a craft rather than an industrial union bias.

The radio workers who had organized themselves into strong federal unions, doubled and tripled their hourly wage in many cases and decreased their hours, were in danger of extermination by jurisdictional raids by craft unions which had heretofore ignored this industry completely.

The rubber workers who had be-

gun to organize in 1933 had suffered from similar treatment. Though they succeeded in getting a charter for an international union in 1935, adequate financial aid was withheld because they insisted on electing their own officers.

The attempt to organize the steel workers in 1918-19 into 24 different national craft unions had been largely responsible for the defeat of the Great Steel Strike. Since then, only a few thousand steel workers, mostly the skilled group in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, had remained organized. In 1933, during the great organization boom, more than 100,000 workers joined the Amalgamated. But by 1935, the membership had dropped back almost to its former low level and company unions ruled the field. The Federation's Executive Council had done practically nothing about steel.

In aluminum, cement, gas and coke, even less had been accomplished.

**The 1935 Convention**

**DELEGATES** from the auto, rubber and radio workers and from the various federal unions as well as industrial union advocates from the older unions, came to the 1935 Convention with blood in their eyes. There was no talk as yet of a "split" in the Federation. But when John L. Lewis took the floor to demand an accounting from the Executive Council for its year of inactivity and sabotage and when the Council and its craft union cohorts refused to budge an inch in the face of his attack, the die was already cast.

The position of the industrial unionists was contained in a minority report of the Resolutions Committee, presented by Charles Howard of the Typographical Union. The report stated that: "We declare the time has arrived when common sense demands the organization policies of the A.F. of L. must be molded to meet present day demands. In the great mass production industries and in those in which the workers are composite mechanics, specialized and engaged upon classes of work which do not fully qualify them for craft union membership, in-

dustrial organization is the only solution."

The continuance of the craft union set-up in certain fields was fully conceded by the Minority report which disclaimed any intention of taking away from the craft unions "any part of their present or potential membership in establishments where the dominant factor is skilled craftsmen" coming under the proper definition of craft union jurisdiction. The report directed the Executive Council to issue unrestricted charters in accordance with this policy.

The Minority Report was voted down, although the vote it received represented 40 per cent of the membership of the International unions, 13 state federation delegates, 22 city central body delegates, 326 delegates from directly affiliated federal and local unions. It was obvious that the workers in the mass production industries were unanimously in favor of industrial unions.

**CIO Established**

**SHORTLY** after the Convention, the leaders of eight international unions within the AF of L decided that the situation in industry demanded immediate action and could not wait upon the conversion of a majority of delegates at some subsequent Convention. The Committee for Industrial Organization was formed to work for the principle of industrial unionism within the AF of L, to act as a clearing house for information on this subject and principally, to aid the unorganized and the struggling new unions in the mass production industries.

The officials of the Committee

of the Millinery Workers and Thomas H. Brown of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International.

Immediately, the mass production unionists called upon the Committee for aid. The auto workers were loaned an organizer from the United Mine Workers. When the Goodyear strike was called, the United Rubber Workers received funds and organizers from the International unions represented in the CIO. No attempt was made by the Committee at this time to enter fields dominated and organized by the craft unions—such as the building trades, publishing, the railroads.

But like all Bourbon groups, the Federation Executive Council re-

fused to recognize the logic or the necessity for the new movement. It saw in it—and correctly—an ultimate threat to its own power and prestige. In January, 1936, it issued a statement to the effect that the CIO should cease its activities. The statement was ignored.

The right of the CIO to function inside the AF of L was defended in its pamphlet—"Industrial Unions Mean Unity," and the charges of "dual unionism" were denied. It was not until the Federation Executive Council, prior to its 1936 Convention, suspended the organizations affiliated with the CIO, that a *de facto* dual union movement was created. By this act, the Federation probably sealed its own doom.

**Future of the CIO**

**THE** legal status of the CIO unions in relation to the AF of L remained equivocal until the Cincinnati meeting of the Federation Executive Council, early in 1937, ordered state and local bodies of the AF of L to unseat delegates from unions affiliated with the CIO. While these unions cannot be expelled on a national scale, until the next convention of the Federation, they are in fact, if not in name, out of the AF of L.

Their recognition of the final break is indicated by the fact that since the Council's Cincinnati meeting, the CIO has tended to move into fields—particularly among white collared workers—where the AF of L is also active.

The success of the CIO organization drive has stimulated the AF of L to organizational efforts in fields which it has heretofore ignored. The competition of the CIO has done more to activate the Federation than all the arguments and eloquence of industrial union advocates for the past 30 years. Both movements are growing in differing degrees, under the stimulus of spontaneous organizational sentiment that is sweeping the country.

But there can be little question as to which organization will ultimately survive or dominate. The CIO has the logic of history on its side. By March 1, more than

200,000 steel workers had signed its union card. The United Electrical and Radio Workers more than doubled their membership in nine months. The movement is sweeping the country more rapidly than organizers can be provided.

There are certain dangers involved in this sensational growth—as there are dangers involved in a sentimental idealization of its leadership.

Too many groups and individuals with their own game to play are climbing on the bandwagon and not enough discrimination is being exercised in the appointment of sub-leaders and organizers. The CIO national leaders could afford to stop for a moment's breathing spell while they look about them and assess their situation—and their personnel.

The weaknesses and faults of the CIO are those of every great mass movement, rising under pressure of circumstances rather than persuasion. The weaknesses and defects of the AF of L are those of degeneration, rather than development.

moved by other considerations than impersonal law in rendering its decisions. The avalanche of protests, the flood of denunciatory speeches and letters, the mass parades, the books and pamphlets severely indicting the Court for its anti-working class policies have fallen heavily upon the shoulders of these stalwart defenders of capitalism.

**Mass Pressure**

Mass pressure has caused at least one resignation and one jump to the liberal bandwagon. In truth, the Supreme Court not only follows the election returns, but it has learned to heed and fear the determined mood of militant, class-conscious workers.

**New Deal**

(3) The Court today is reflecting the dilemmas which beset the capitalist world. It is becoming increasingly more apparent to Big Business that the New Deal is not revolution and not the anti-capitalist Frankenstein monster, it was feared to be. Largely as the result of New Deal legislation, Big Business has experienced a revival of prosperity which its workers have not shared.

The stock market has also steadily risen; dividends have reached a new high. More and more industrial leaders are beginning to accept the philosophy that slight concessions to labor, far from increasing the danger of revolution, have actually retarded it.

Even as Big Business has slowly awakened to this fact, so too, the Supreme Court. The result is seen in its swing towards liberalism. A majority of the Supreme Court today believes that capitalism can be saved by making a slight retreat in the labor policy it has been pursuing. This is the key to its liberal decisions. Confronted by a revolutionary situation tomorrow, the Court would clamp down as hard as it could by new decisions which would have to be anti-working class in their nature.

(4) The recent decisions also bear all the earmarks of Supreme Court strategy to forestall any change in its personnel or powers. Although Roosevelt's plan for an enlarged judiciary would change nothing, the Supreme Court does not want to lose face. Its recent decisions were intended to placate and pacify its erstwhile foes. The Court also fears that the American workers may go the whole way and reduce it to utter impotency by a constitutional amendment. But not, of course, if it can put them into a more genial mood by a few crumbs of comfort-ing labor decisions.

**What Way Out**

If we look beyond the immediate horizon and see the Court in its proper perspective, there cannot be any doubt that a handful of favorable labor decisions are no substitute for social revolution. Up until October 1936, the Court's record was as black as darkest night. Many reasons, as we have seen, have conspired to produce this miraculous handful—the dilemma of the capitalists, the fighting mood of the workers, the Court's desire to forestall reform in its organization and powers. It is just as true today as ever before that the Supreme Court's dictatorial powers over the American workers must be smashed.

It is the first great step towards the capitalist state and establishing the only kind of society in which workers can live in peace and security, a Socialist America.

**The Court Dictatorship  
Must be Ended by Labor**

*(This is the third, and last, of a series of articles on the Supreme Court. The first article traced the anti-labor report of the court. The second article dealt with recent "liberal" attitude of the Nine Old Men.)*

**HOW** shall class-conscious workers interpret and explain the new decisions of the Supreme Court organized labor? Do they hold a promise for the future?

The answer which socialists give to these and similar questions is an emphatic NO! The Supreme Court is still the Supreme Court.

There is nothing about these decisions to alter the fundamental Marxian analysis which socialists make of the Court.

**Court Changes**

(1) To begin with, these decisions are limited in their scope and application. Many of labor's gains can easily be whittled away by subsequent decisions.

The fact that the Court has reversed itself time and again in the past gives every proof that with a slight change in personnel or with a rapid leftward shift on the political scene, the Supreme Court can easily be forced by its masters to slide back into its old routine of handing down reactionary rulings.

An important example of how one Supreme Court decision settles nothing is afforded by the fight of the Power utilities against the Tennessee Valley Authority, empowered to manufacture and distribute electricity by Congress, which grant the Supreme Court upheld in a test case.

The public utilities have since obtained in a lower federal court an injunction restraining the United States government from competing with private companies in supplying municipalities with electric power. The case is still to be settled by the Supreme Court.

(2) These decisions clearly indicate that the Supreme Court is

# What Are The Cold Facts About Stalinist Splitting Of The Anti-Fascist Front

By Sam Baron and Liston M. Oak

We have been accused by the Daily Worker of defending Spanish organizations and individuals guilty of disrupting the antifascist united front and of aiding Franco. The American Stalinists, aping their colleagues in Russia and Spain, charge the Spanish revolutionists who oppose repressive and reactionary measures instigated by the Communist Party with treason, calling them "Trotskyist agents of the Gestapo." We are tired of this indiscriminate hurling of adjectives and propose to confine ourselves to facts. We challenge the Stalinists to answer as factually.

The first fact is that today the opposition to Stalinist policies and tactics in Spain comes from the POUM, the anarchist CNT-FAI, and the left Caballero Socialists. Among the 55,000 members of the POUM before its suppression on May 27 there were not more than 500 Trotskyists, and they were attempting to split the POUM and organize a "Bolshevik-Leninist" party. Many had been expelled.

The Anarchists and left Socialists can hardly be termed Trotskyists even by the Stalinists. Therefore it is apparent that not only Spanish Trotskyists but all other revolutionists implacably oppose the crushing of the left wing of the antifascist front.

## Fascist Spies—Where?

The charge is made that we are aiding Franco's spies, that in fact, we are "snipers for Franco." While it is doubtless true, although unproved, that some few Fascist spies wormed their way into the POUM, the FAI and the left wing of the UGT and SP, there is far more reason to believe that agents of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini entered the conservative coalition between the Spanish Communist Party, and the left Republican Party. Why? Because the Stalinists threw their membership books wide open to new members after July 19, 1936, while the other organizations were much more suspicious of new applicants who belonged to no antifascist party before the fascist rebellion.

The SP dramatically closed its books. Spies moreover would have much better opportunities of obtaining information from the dominating parties. As a matter of fact, the record shows that of the spies already caught and exposed, the largest number have been members of the CP. Only two were POUM members.

When the history of the Spanish Civil War is written, the record will prove that San Sebastian, Irun, Toledo, Talavera, Malaga and Bilbao fell into fascist hands with less resistance than might have been mobilized and that in every case there were fascist sympathizers within the ranks of the defenders. Two examples will suffice for this article.

General Asencio and Colonel Vilalba were arrested after the fall of Malaga for sabotage and treason. Both had been exposed by the Anarchists and the POUM; the government had intervened to prevent the Anarchists from shooting Vilalba for treachery on the Aragon front before he was sent to organize the defense of Malaga. Even the capitalist press has carried a report of treachery at Bilbao; military secrets have been sold to the fascists by left Republican officers and one engineer had left a gap in the "iron ring" of defenses through which the fascists marched.

## Arrest Revolutionists

The latest reports from Spain indicate that there are now in jail more than 1,000 members of the POUM, the CNT-FAI and the

Anarchist Libertarian Youth, and the left UGT. They are held under varying charges as spies, traitors, etc., for disobeying the decree that the revolutionary workers must surrender their arms, or merely "for questioning." The arrests began before the fighting in Catalonian cities from May 3 to May 7, but most of them took place since.

The exposure of the Madrid branch of the Cheka or GPU resulted in the dissolution, at the end of April, of the Madrid Defense Junta, and revealed the role of Cazorla, member of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, who hounded revolutionary workers while tolerating and releasing from jail known fascist sympathizers. Cazorla as Commissioner of Public Order built up a secret unofficial agency to carry out his orders to arrest and persecute antifascists held incommunicado.

But even more shocking is proof published in Solidaridad on April 25 of the work of the Cheka in Murcia, which also operated under Cazorla. "The Cheka uses," Soli declares, "the same methods used against us by capitalists under Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. Our press is suspended or censored; our best members are persecuted, jailed, even murdered. . . . We have waited patiently, hoping for correction of these abuses, hoping to avoid friction and to maintain revolutionary unity against the fascist. . . . But in vain. The situation has grown worse. Our newspaper CNT has been suspended for criticizing the role of Cazorla, which the Defense Junta itself called 'improper' . . . ."

"In Cartagena, Valencia and elsewhere our papers have recently been suspended for publishing information about the Cheka."

"The Murcia Cheka was the worst of all—so serious that its leaders, all CP members, are now in jail. . . . Day after day we had noticed the disappearance of comrades, mostly workers who were members of the CNT. Our organization was being constantly attacked by the Communists. . . ."

"On April 8 and 10, the principal figures in this murder gang were arrested. According to a document, signed by the Popular Front, the Libertarian Youth, the Provincial Committee and Regional Federation of the CNT, they came from a political sector which has been shouting loudly for unity, for responsibility and a central command. . . . This party has not repudiated and condemned the Murcia Cheka. We therefore break our silence to warn those who are trying to import such dictatorial and terrorist methods into our country."

## Use Torture

Space forbids our quoting all the details given of the work of the Cheka in Murcia, Madrid and elsewhere, including sworn testimony from some of its victims. We quote only a few lines from a typical declaration of Jose Maria

Garcia Serrano arrested on March 12.

"Torrecillas threw an arm around my neck and said 'Hello, come in' . . . Suddenly he gave me a blow on the chest and shouted 'Sit down' . . . . A number of men I did not know filed in and stared at me. The Governor's secretary, Capena, after insulting my mother said 'Tonight you are going to talk if you want to live.'"

There follows an account of how they tried to get him to implicate CNT leaders in a fascist plot. "Meantime I heard agonized screams from adjoining rooms. . . . They took me to a cemetery and stood me against the wall. I heard the cocking of their guns. They questioned and threatened me again. . . . I was insane from the torture they had subjected me to. I don't know how I could stand so much pain. But I wouldn't confess to crimes I had not committed. . . . They let me go at midnight under guard. But every day I was forced to go to the house of a police detective named Fernandez Ruiz. There they tortured me again until I could stand it no longer and signed a paper they showed me without reading it. . . ."

"I swear that if I have accused anyone, he is innocent."

Since this exposure of the Murcia Cheka, some of the leaders named in these statements of the victims have been punished. But the Spanish Cheka continues its work and on a larger scale since the fighting in Barcelona in May, which was provoked by Stalinist determination to crush revolutionary opposition. The Civil Governor of Murcia was removed from office, and so were the police officers involved. In Madrid, Cazorla was ousted, but his friend Carrillo was given his job as Chief of Police, to continue the work of repression.

After the POUM was outlawed and its paper and radio suppressed, Julian Gorkin, one of the POUM leaders, was told sadly by Minister of the Interior Zugazogotia that:

When Caballero—until recently hailed by the Stalinists as the "Spanish Lenin"—was kicked out of the Valencia Government, he said:

"I can do nothing. Russia demands complete crushing of the POUM as the price of military aid which we must have."

"If the Caballero government were to apply the measures of suppression to which the Spanish section of the Communist International is trying to incite it, then it would come close to a government of Gil Robles or Lerroux; it would destroy the unity of the working class and expose us to the danger of losing the war and shipwrecking the revolution. . . . A government composed in its majority of people drawn from the labor movement can not make use of the methods that are reserved for reactionary and fascist-like governments." (Adelante, May 11.)

Does the Communist Party really demand of us that we remain silent now when the prediction of Caballero begins to be moulded into reality in the hands of the Communist Party of Spain?

**"We've gone through a lot . . ."**

**— for kids our age —**



... maybe we should try to forget. Maybe some day we'll get our chance to live. But today we can't forget . . . the things we've seen . . . the horrors that filled our lives these past months.

**"WE CAN'T FORGET** the cries of our little brothers and sisters . . . wounded, maimed, killed in the merciless onslaught of the fascist forces.

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The extreme situation in Bilbao has caused thousands more to become homeless and hungry. Your help at this time is doubly imperative!

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# Communists Force Line Down Throat Of Jobless Union

By Loren Norman

MILWAUKEE.—The Communist Party wrecked one unemployed organization, the old Unemployment Councils. The CP wrecked the Councils because it tried to carry over into an economic organization of the jobless a large part of its political line.

Now the same thing is happening again, this time on an enlarged scale, in the Workers Alliance of America, as the convention which just ended here proved all too conclusively.

In striking contrast to last year's unity convention, where every effort was made to arrive at decisions by mutual consent, where a minimum program to which all could agree was worked out, the CP ran this year's convention with an iron hand, brooking no opposition.

The basic problems of the unemployed were hardly discussed at all although many delegates came hundreds of miles at much sacrifice to themselves to find out how best to fight for increased relief, against layoffs and for jobs for all.

The first two days of the convention were consumed by speeches and the naming of committees.

## Steamroller

In selecting the last committee, that of WPA and Relief, the CP steamroller began to function in earnest. The majority of the Rules Committee, led by Charles Rossio of Illinois, proposed Ted Selander of Toledo for the last position on the WPA and Relief Committee. The minority, led by Sam Wiseman of New York, opposed Selander, offering instead the named of Waldo McNutt of Kansas. Selander heads one of the WPA locals in the Alliance, the Downtown Branch in Toledo. Furthermore, he was the only member of the National Executive Board who had not yet been placed on some committee. But he was also a former member of the Workers Party.

This was enough for the CP. Wiseman put the "finger" on Selander. The "gang" went into action. McNutt was elected. Moreover, a compromise offered by President David Lasser that both delegates be seated on the committee was decisively defeated. The next day a constitution was adopted pledging no discrimination because of political opinions.

While the vote on Selander was a show of power, and probably calculated to put the Socialists in their place, the CP started cracking the whip in earnest when the Spanish resolution came to the floor. It was not enough to vote support to the Spanish government—it must be "enthusiastic support to the People's Front government of Spain." The resolution, moreover, called for pressure on the U.S. government to lift the embargo on munitions to the Loyalists and place an embargo on shipments to Italy and Germany, called for support of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the Friends of the Lincoln

Battalion and the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy.

## Sexton "Trotskyite"

Brendan Sexton, former chairman of the Workers Alliance of Greater New York and a well-known Socialist, offered several amendments, changing the words "People's Front" to "Spanish government" in some cases and "workers, peasants, and anti-fascists" in others. Frank Trager, former NLR member of the Alliance and one of its founders, spoke on behalf of the amendments.

But Sam Wiseman again put the "finger" on these amendments. They were killed.

To make the force complete, the Daily Worker account of the convention referred to both Sexton and Trager as "Trotskyite disrupters."

Another maneuver was used to kill debate on the War and Fascism resolution. This resolution, which called for affiliation of the Alliance to the American League Against War and Fascism and continually harped on "peace and democracy" (apparently the only things the CP wants these days), was again opposed by Sexton, who offered last year's resolution as a substitute.

As soon as Sexton read his substitute, Herbert Benjamin, CP unemployed leader, was recognized with a motion to refer the resolution to the National Executive Board for editorial revisions. His motion prevailed. On the vital issue of War and Fascism, therefore, discussion was effectively stifled.

## Supports ALP

Passing with all past Alliance policy with regard to political action, the convention passed a resolution instructing the Alliance to cooperate with Labor's Non Partisan League, the American Labor Party of New York and other groups which so far have failed to support any but old-party capitalist politicians. Thus ends the Alliance policy of supporting a Far-

### PERSONAL

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mer-Labor Party based on the trade unions and punning independent working class candidates, a democratic Farmer-Labor Party preserving for its component parts the right of autonomy.

Oddly enough, one delegate who wanted permission for Alliance affiliates to support any candidate deemed favorable was voted down. Apparently only "good" capitalist candidates will be backed—and the CP will decide who's "good."

The Alliance convention turned its defense activities over to the International Labor Defense, adding the Workers Defense League when pressed to do so by President Lasser, voted to support the National Negro Congress and the Southern Negro Youth Congress, which is black chauvinism or the old line of "self determination for the black belt," and the American Youth Congress.

## Mechanical Majority

In brief the CP imposed practically its full line on the convention, "democracy versus fascism" for collective security, for "good" capitalist politicians as against "bad" ones, and support of all the major CP "innocent" organizations.

Learning nothing from their experiences with the Unemployment Councils, the CP goes blithely ahead with the same tactics in the Workers Alliance of America, casting aside the policies by which the Alliance was able to build a powerful unemployed organization at the same time the CP policies were wrecking the Councils.

Against this folly, Socialists in the Workers Alliance are determined to fight to the bitter end, determined to build a militant, working class jobless organization, determined to make the Alliance serve the real interests of its members.

# Hearst Defeats Are Victories for CALL

The CALL is not the only paper which has its troubles. Ordinarily we sympathize when we hear about other publishers who are in tough straits. But we have to do a bit of chortling this week.

Our old friend William Randolph Hearst is having his troubles. He isn't having so much success coining gold out of the mass of American workers, who are demanding a different fare from that which he has been dishing out.

A bit over a week ago, Hearst announced without previous warning that publication of the New York American, king-pin of his journalistic empire for over 40 years, would immediately be suspended. He has been losing money on this sheet, losing over \$1,000,000 last year.

The CALL has special reasons for rejoicing at the demise of the American.

## Attacked CALL

It was this sheet, always recklessly reactionary, which devoted a full page to an attack upon the CALL when it staged the famous Norman Thomas-Earl Browder debate in Madison Square Garden, back in November, 1935. At that time Hearst declared his intention to drive the CALL out of business.

Still more recently, Hearst devoted considerable space to attacking the CALL for its support of the Debs Column, at a time when no one was standing with us in this project.

This week another of William Randolph Hearst's papers goes out of existence, the Rochester Journal and American.

## Don't Read Hearst

Socialists have not been backward in pushing the Don't Read Hearst campaign. We now are not backward in expressing our pleasure at this measure of success which the drive has achieved.

There is a state of war going on! A war between the exploited and the exploiters, as old as the capitalist system. The CALL is the outstanding champion of the exploited today in this country. Hearst is the outstanding mouthpiece of the exploiters. These victories mark advances in our battle.

The CALL has not suspended publication. It will not suspend publication. Its cause is the cause of the working class.

Last month our income from subscriptions was larger than any other month since our establishment except the five months of the 1936 campaign. This month we must have an even better response. Every

worker who is a CALL reader, who realizes the need for the CALL to be strengthened in its battle against the subsidized millions of Hearst, must get to work getting more and more readers for the CALL. Don't be an ally of Hearst by sitting home wondering if the CALL will survive this week! Fight Hearst by getting new readers for the CALL!

## Racine Maintains Sub-Drive Leadership

The Socialist branch at Racine, Wisconsin, seems to be showing the whole of the party its heels in the drive for new CALL subscribers. This week its total of new subscribers reaches 25, with no sign of a stop! This puts Racine alone in the class of Honor Branches, for securing 25 or more new subscribers.

The Philadelphia Yipsels continue in second place in the drive. In addition to chasing down a number of subscribers who have allowed their subs to run out, they have 16 new CALL readers.

Heading the ranks of the New York branches, and third in national standing is Washington Heights, which has thus far chalked up 14 new readers.

Following this in order are Sioux City, Iowa, with 12; Upper West Side, N. Y., with 11; and 18th Ward, Cleveland, with 10. These branches have attained the rank of Builder Branches, for getting 10 or more new subscriptions.

On the heels of the leaders are Central Newark and North Adams, Mass., both with 9 new readers, and San Francisco, with 8.

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# SPAIN JULY 19

## Madison Square Garden

Watch for Further Announcements

# Dangers in Youth Congress Despite A Good Labor Base

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—"You are the answer; the militant fighting groups of young America."

These were the words of William Marshall, delegate of the Detroit District Council of the United Automobile Workers of America, at the concluding session of the 4th American Youth Congress, held in Milwaukee, Wis.

congress, from July 2-5. These words of realism expressed the collective contribution of the 235 trade union delegates representing 14 international unions and many local unions and central labor bodies. The largest single group was the trade unions out of the total representation of more than 800 delegates.

Above all else it was the young trade unionists, fresh from their struggles on the economic battle front, who gave the Congress its basically pro-labor tone and outlook. This outlook was threatened, however, by some of the resolutions presented before the Congress and by the procedure and form adopted for the sessions.

This Congress was conducted as a "Model United States Congress." The very form of the Youth Congress, however, threatened to be a model not only of the structure of the United States Congress but also of the capitalist character of the United States Senate and House. The delegates from national organizations were the "Senate" and the delegates from local organizations were the "House of Representatives."

The general working-class outlook of the Congress was demonstrated in the sessions of the labor committee and in the trade union meeting when the "Senators" and "Representatives" took on themselves the passage of legislation that only a working class group would enact.

**Senior Speaks**  
Clarence Senior, from the Milwaukee Leader, one of several labor speakers who "testified" before the labor committee, laid the basis for much of the legislation passed in the labor sessions by pointing out the dangers of incorporation of unions and the need for the development of an independent working class movement free from government connections or control.

James Carey, International President of the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America, and co-chairman of the Congress's committee on labor, spoke before the labor session for a resolution calling for unity in the union movement on the basis of organization of the mass production industries on an industrial basis. This resolution was passed unanimously.

The right of workers on government relief projects to organize and bargain collectively was established and the Workers Alliance was recognized as the sole bargaining agency for the unemployed. Congressman Bernard's bill on the Civilian Conservation Corps, which has been introduced into the United States Congress, was introduced in the labor session of the American Youth Congress. However, a bill introduced by Judah Drob for the Young People's Socialist League, providing for changes in the CCC, calling for demilitarization, for trade union standards, and for the right to collective bargaining, was passed in opposition to Congressman Bernard's bill.

**Peace Committee**  
Despite the importance of the trade union session, which resulted in the broadening of the social and

political outlook of many trade unionists, the peace committee assumed a place of major importance in the total deliberations and orientation of the Congress.

The pro-working class policy that developed as the major outlook of the Congress was threatened on the question of Spain. In the committee on peace and foreign policy, the Young Peoples' Socialist League presented a resolution of support to the anti-fascist forces in Spain. The resolution called for material aid for the anti-fascists and in particular urged all groups in the Congress to affiliate to aid support the campaigns of the United Youth Committee for Aid to Spanish Democracy.

Representatives of the pacifists, and the non-partisan Child Feeding Mission spoke against the resolution disagreeing in principle with support for the military struggles of the Spanish anti-fascists. Their concern was to attempt to humanize the conflict rather than insure the military victory against fascism.

Leaders of the Young Communist League likewise spoke against passage of the resolution by the American Youth Congress on the grounds that it would alienate many delegates, particularly the Catholic youth. An official of the United Youth Committee spoke against the resolution for substantially the same reasons. However, the resolution of the Socialists was carried by a vote of 56 to 45. This victory was achieved to a large extent because members of the Young Communist League refused to compromise on this important issue.

**Collective Security**  
However, in the field of foreign policy a working class program was not adopted in full. The delegates adopted a bill which attempted to resurrect the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact as a shield for a collective security measure. The bill was concerned with a definition of an aggressor nation and included in that definition any nation supporting an armed uprising against a duly constituted democratic government. The bill left in the hands of the president the naming of the aggressor and instructed him to enforce economic and military sanctions against that nation even though such action was unilateral.

Against this attempt to force a pro-war peace proposal through the Congress, the Socialist delegates, aided by some of the delegates who had a militant anti-war position put up a determined fight. The Socialists attempted to do the fundamental job of showing that this resolution was in reality a war-making proposal and could only result in the long run in support of the capitalist military machine and could not be an effective defense of the Soviet Union.

The procedure of the session and composition of the delegates for that session was such that the resolution carried overwhelmingly. Immediately following the passage of the pro-war Kellogg resolution, contradictory resolutions were passed calling for total

One of the honored delegates at the American Youth Congress sessions in Milwaukee was Hipplito Marcano, secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Youth, who came representing the Puerto Rican Youth Congress. He presented a resolution calling for a plebiscite of the island population on the question of its political status.

disarmament, withdrawal of American military and naval forces from beyond the borders of the United States, and non-interference in the affairs of any other nation on the part of the state department.

**Scottsboro and Parker**  
Other measures adopted by various of the commissions included lifting of all restrictions on the sending of aid to Spain; abolition of the draft, and abolition of all forms of military training in schools. Resolutions were passed as expressing sympathy and support for the Scottsboro boys, Tom Mooney, and Ed Parker. A collection was taken for the Workers Alliance organizer who is now awaiting trial on charges growing out of militant unemployed demonstrations in Cairo, Illinois.

The concluding session of the Congress was a joint session of the House and Senate, participated in by all delegates. It took up the reports of the commissions, the election of a national committee, and the question of organization and a programmatic statement.

**Distorts Report**  
Frances Williams, of the Foreign Policy Association, who had been chairman of the Peace sessions, reported on the committee's findings. Her report distorted the decisions and attitudes of the delegates on the question of Spain. She presented the committee's attitude as one that could be interpreted as support of non-partisan aid and utilized her position as reporter to present the attitude taken by her as chairman of the peace session rather than that of the majority of the delegates.

The Congress went on record reaffirming the Declaration of Rights, a non-class struggle statement of principles. The YPSL reiterated its stand taken at last year's Youth Congress, that the AYC must function as a united front center in which the affiliated organizations cooperate on one or more specific issues upon which they agree. The debate on this matter brought to the surface for the only time during the Congress the disgraceful hissing and heckling that was practiced so much by the Young Communists at the 1936 Congress in Cleveland. This basis of cooperation was adopted by the Congress and in effect nullifies the Declaration of Rights as a document binding the organizations in the Congress.

In the same manner the bills and resolutions reported by the committees had the status of individual expressions of opinion by the delegates. The activities of the Congress during the year will be determined by the National Council on the basis of agreement among the participating organizations.

A pro-fascist organization, the Italian-American Civic League, was given a place on the national council.

If the American Youth Congress is to preserve the integrity of its working class outlook, a campaign must be initiated immediately to make impossible the representa-

# "Thesis: Facts (?): Conclusion" Is Chamberlain's Path

COLLECTIVISM: A FALSE UTOPIA, William Henry Chamberlain, Macmillan, N. Y., 264 pp. with index. \$2.00.

By SAMUEL ROMER

This reviewer has always entertained the highest regard for Mr. Chamberlain as a competent reporter; his dispatches from Moscow to the *Christian Science Monitor* as well as his *Russia's Iron Age* have accentuated this regard. But in this polemic against collectivism, Mr. Chamberlain commits the cardinal sin of traditional report-thesis and then has gone about seeking the facts with which to prove his point. And, admitted, with the facts he has collected, he has done so. But there are any number of equally pertinent data which Mr. Chamberlain does not consider; put down in print, they would negate his pretty theoretical argument.

Mr. Chamberlain is convinced that Jeffersonian liberalism, democracy of the most pure type, is necessary if civilization is to survive. Collectivism, as he has seen it in communist Russia or fascist Italy or Germany, has exacted too great a price for its existence and has failed to provide true security and well-being for the masses. Therefore let us take our democracy, poor as it is, and improve it if we can—but it is our strongest, safest, sanest political life.

### Soviet Not Fascist

Mr. Chamberlain, of course, labors under an inferiority complex when he lumps the Soviet Union with the fascist nationalist states of Germany and Italy. A hundred times in the book he pauses to assure us that he is conscious of the important, basic differences between the countries. But the author has a thesis to prove—and no sooner does he apologize for lumping communist and fascist indiscriminately than he forgets.

tion of Fascist organizations in the councils of the AYC.

Delegates of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union expressed opposition to strike-breaker Governor Hoffman as a member of the National Advisory Council of the Congress. This problem of policy will be one of the major items facing the new national council, upon which is represented the Young People's Socialist League.

Indeed, it would seem that he is overly-anxious to prove to himself as well as to the reader that the Soviet Union is quite as bad as either Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany—and perhaps worse.

He builds up an impressive case of evidence against Germany and Italy—and the Soviet Union. The tragedy is that so many of the details of his indictment undoubtedly are true and damning. The absolute destruction of any semblance of opposition within working-class ranks remains as a horrible example of abused and misused power. So long as Russian Socialists, guilty of no crime except that of remaining loyal to their traditional ideals, are kept in prison or forced to stay in exile from their native homeland, so long must we hide our heads in shame at these rather dubious accomplishments of the October revolution.

### No Capitalism

But more important—far more important—is the fact that in the Soviet Union capitalism has been destroyed and man cannot exploit his fellow because he, and not his fellow, is propertied. This is the supreme victory for all of us. From this victory must flow the correction of the many abuses in the Soviet Union—whether it will do so will be solved by the acid test of pragmatism. It is toward this solution that Marxists look forward, convinced of the basic truth of their theoretical system.

Thomas McCarthy, a member of the Astoria branch of the S.P. for several years, died at Bellevue Hospital, N. Y. C., on June 23.

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# STAGE and SCREEN

## New Pictures Ready for Release

### Goldwyn Production Among Those Ready For Opening

For the advertising slogan "An Angel Without A Heaven," submitted for the campaign on the Ernst Lubitsch production "Angel," which stars Marlene Dietrich, Ed Mills of the studio publicity department today drew a \$50 check from Lubitsch.

### Tamiroff is Buccaneer In New De Mille Film

Akim Tamiroff will have the colorful role of Dominique You, blacksmith turned pirate-gunner, in C. B. DeMille's "The Buccaneer," soon to go into production with Fredric March as Jean Lafitte, pirate-patriot.

Others added to the cast recently are Ian Keith and Porter Hall, the latter as Mouse, renegade English member of the pirate crew.

The leading feminine role will be played by Francisca Gaal, young Viennese actress, making her American motion picture debut in the DeMille production. Larry Crabbe also will have an important part.

Much of the picture will be filmed against the background of the Mississippi delta country, in the bayous and at Baratavia Island, where Lafitte headquartered.

### "Prison Farm" Name Of 6 Baron Features

Herbert Biberman, director recently signed by Paramount, has been assigned the story "Prison Farm," now being scripted by Louis Stevens and True Boardman. No cast is set. The picture will be made under the supervision of general manager William LeBaron's office.

### "THE BARRIER" WITH SONGS

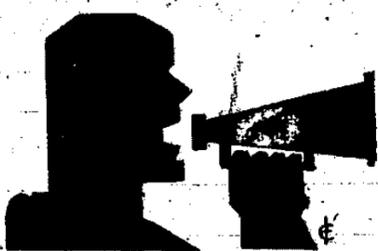
Harry Sherman has signed Jack Stern to write the incidental music in his coming Paramount production of Rex Beach's "The Barrier." Jack Stern and Harry Tobias, authors of the popular song "No Regrets," will collaborate in writing the songs which will be sung in the production.

### "Sophie Lang" Series Third Installment

Gertrude Michael began work recently in the third "Sophie Lang" melodrama, in which she has headed for Paramount. Also prominently featured is Sandra Storme, blonde English girl recently discovered at the Los Angeles Ambassador, characterized by six New York artists as the world's most perfect model and given a contract at Paramount, where she has already completed scenes in "Artists and Models." Charles Riesner is directing.

### THEATRE PARTIES

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.



## CALL BOARD

Carole Lombard is reviving the beauty mark vogue. She showed up at Paramount for fittings with Travis Banton recently, wearing a black celluloid mark on her right cheek.

June 20th was Gail Patrick's birthday and also Father's Day so she entertained with a small family dinner party for Bob Cobb and his mother and father.

John Howard is growing a mustache. He says he got the idea from Lloyd Nolan who has grown a goatse for his role in "Ebb Tide."

Bennie Bartlett says his orchestra members can now play "Music Goes Round and Round."

Since Gertrude Michael's return to Paramount for her role of "Sophie Lang in Hollywood" she has been assigned one of the star dressing rooms next to Carole Lombard's.

Frances Dee and Joel McCrea have moved in from their ranch to their home in Beverly Hills preparatory to starting their roles in "Wells Fargo."

Although Leif Erikson is working at Metro-Goldwyn in Culver City, he comes into Hollywood every day to get his shave from a barber across the street from Paramount.

## Philadelphia Election Held

When CIO took over the drivers of both Ward's and Freihofer's bakeries, along with the inside workers, Philadelphia Teamsters Union officials moved to action. A general strike (but not so called, because of a flock of contracts which they weren't going to violate very much!) was voted, and all transport was stopped in Philadelphia for a full day, with newspapers, taxis, milk wagons, and many other types of transport deadlocked.

Ultimately John Adelman, CIO regional director, and Mayor Wilson of Philadelphia came to an agreement with the Teamsters for an election to be held to see which organization the bakery drivers wish to join.

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SCIENTIFICALLY AIR-CONDITIONED

### "Dead End" Reaches Cutting Room—Ready For Broadway Soon

Samuel Goldwyn's production of Sidney Kingsley's Broadway hit, "Dead End," in which Sylvia Sydney and Joel McCrea share stellar honors, has been completed and is now being cut and edited. The production was directed by William Wyler from the picturization by Lillian Hellman.

An impressive cast, including Humphrey Bogart, Allen Jenkins, Wendy Barrie, Minor Watson, Claire Trevor, Elizabeth Risdon and William Harrigan, surrounds the principal players. Photographed as a sociological document of the New York slums, "Dead End" will be released by United Artists.



### Captain John C. Prendergast, chief of Chicago's police, who had to testify at the La Follette hearing.

### FEDERAL WORKERS ADVANCE

Jacob Baker, well known in liberal circles, has been chosen head of CIO's United Federal Workers by John L. Lewis. Baker was Roosevelt's observer of European cooperatives last summer.

Baker has announced that applications for affiliation have come in from all over the country since the public announcement of his appointment last week. Primary activity will be in organizing unorganized government workers in Washington at the start.

OUTING and PACKAGE PARTY  
MID-BRONX COOPERATORS  
SUNDAY, JULY 11, 1937, to  
Camp Three Arrows, Shrub Oak, N. Y.  
Cars wanted—  
Reservations being accepted  
Communicate with E. Hoffman, at the  
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### A Russian Masterpiece!

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"THE GREAT GUY"  
Drama lashed by the fury of violence!  
Now Playing  
Wallack Theatre 42nd St. nr. 8th Ave.  
4 Days Only Thurs., Fri., Sat., Sun.  
July 3, 5, 10, 11  
Mat. 15c Evs. 20c - 25c

## Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

Those who have been following the affairs of Cooperative Distributors, Inc. in this column and elsewhere will be interested in the results of the recent election to the Board of Directors. Of the previous administration the following were reelected: Herbert H. Cole, Leon V. Kofod, Meyer Parodneck, Maxwell S. Stewart and Colston E. Warne.

Two members continue from last year. They are Jerome Count and Ruth Brindze.

The new members elected to the Board were all candidates sponsored by a large group of members who were dissatisfied with the progress being made by the organization. Those elected were J. G. Brainerd, Elizabeth McGraham, Mary Hillyer, Professor Clinton W. Keyes, E. J. Lever, James Rorty, J. Raymond Walsh, and P. A. Waring.

The annual meeting revealed that C.D. is now serving 180 affiliated consumer clubs, cooperatives and non-profit organizations in every section of the country. During the past year it increased its business 30% and its membership by 1000. An interesting innovation inaugurated at the meeting was a resolution establishing special membership committees to work with the Board of Directors on education, membership, finances, and other activities.

The new Board has already met and has elected the following officers: Dr. J. Raymond Walsh, professor of economics at Harvard, whose recent ouster for labor activity parallels the case of Jerome Davis at Yale, was elected president. The other officers are P. A. Waring, vice-president, Herbert H. Cole, secretary and Elizabeth McGraham, treasurer.

### EASTERN COOPS

The Eastern Cooperative Wholesale, whose function is to serve the local cooperative organizations in the eastern portion of the country, announced recently that the increased interest in cooperatives within its territory has resulted in a marked increase in its business. During the first four months of 1937 its sales totaled \$160,900, as against \$85,492 in the same period a year ago, a gain of 86%.

While this is encouraging news it could be dwarfed into insignificance if the organized labor movement entered the cooperative movement with but a portion of the zeal and enthusiasm with which it is carrying on its organizing campaign through the C.I.O.

## B'KLYN - QUEENS LABOR COMM. PROTEST ACTS EARLE, DAVEY

The Brooklyn-Queens Labor Committee sent the following telegram to Governor Davey of Ohio and Governor Earle of Pennsylvania. This action was decided upon at a meeting of the Committee held at the offices of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union, 765 Broadway, Brooklyn.

The Committee, which came into existence last month with twenty affiliated Trade Union Locals, announces that five additional Locals have joined the Committee during the past month. Those additional Unions include the Transport Workers Union; Local 177, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; the Social Service Employees Union and two Locals of the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America. The telegram follows:  
USE OF STATE POLICE IN  
JONSTON AND FAURE TO  
RETAIN MARTIAL LAW IS  
DISAPPOINTMENT TO BROOKLYN QUEENS LABOR COMMITTEE REPRESENTING SIXTY THOUSAND IN NEW YORK

## See "TSAR TO LENIN"

IS THERE A COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN U.S.S.R.?

Authentic, Unbiased, Dramatized History of the Revolution.

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"M" Original Version  
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## Where To Dine

COMRADE Louis Linn, formerly with Hammers for the past 11 1/2 years, now located at  
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Lunch and Dinner. Wines and Beer Served. Favorite rendezvous of Eugene Victor Debs. Popular prices.  
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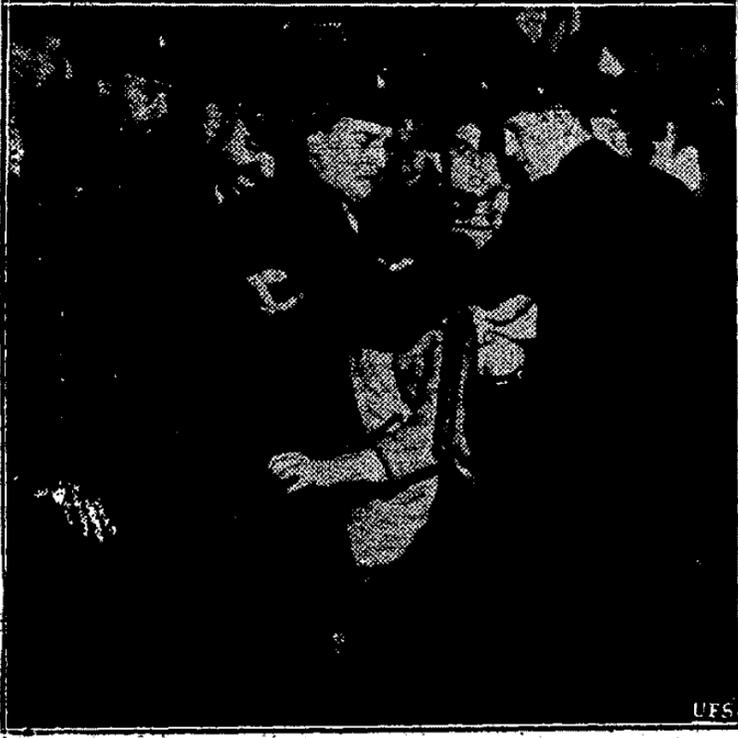
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-WINES & LIQUORS-  
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Right Next Door to the Call

# LATEST RELIEF LAYOFFS BEGIN CUT OF 500,000

By Brendan Sexton

The first of the more than 500,000 WPA workers who are to lose their jobs before the 15th of September,



WPA Teachers' Union members and sympathizers battle with police in New York.

ber, have already been dropped from the rolls.

In New York City more than 13,000 have been fired in one of the greatest waves of layoffs among relief workers the country has seen since the first election of Roosevelt to the presidency. Already, the relief workers are retaliating with mass protests in an effort to save their jobs. All up and down the country they are marching with the Workers Alliance of America to the local relief offices in preparation for the larger protest which will take them on a march to Washington in the middle of August.

Most observers agree that this is the beginning of the end of the works projects. Unless the project workers succeed in their efforts to stop the present cuts, the next session of Congress undoubtedly will vote a further cut in WPA which will result in practically all of these workers being taken off their jobs and placed back on the local community's relief rolls.

#### Stagger Lay-Off

The lay-offs are being staggered in order to reduce to an absolute minimum all protests. They will not be completed until about the 15th of September, in the hope that the militancy of those who are laid off first will have died before that of the second, third and fourth batches, who will be laid off between now and that date, will have been born.

#### The Roosevelt Program

The whole history of the works program has, of course, foreshadowed the present campaign. Although, Roosevelt was the first President to recognize the right of the unemployed to a chance at a job, he did so only under the greatest pressure, and has expended his every effort to keep the jobs, and, therefore, the appropriations needed to maintain them, at rock bottom.

He has steadfastly refused to recognize the validity of the demand put forth by the Workers Alliance of America for a job for every employable, and has supported the practice of paying

administration's action to run protest-strikes, did so, and in many cases won wage increases for the project workers.

In the fall of 1936, the same administration, which twice had turned down prevailing wage clauses, included a clause in its appropriation bill. The fact that the country was then on the eve of a national election may or may not have had something to do with this. But even at that time, Roosevelt and his supporters weighed in with another substantial cut for the WPA which resulted in more than 1,000,000 workers losing their jobs.

#### Final Straw

The final straw has come, however: the present, Roosevelt sponsored appropriation, which will bring the number of workers employed on WPA way down below the one and half million mark.

The supposed basis for such a cut is the substantial re-employment which is said to be going on in private industry. That there has been a certain measure of re-employment no one can doubt. But there can also be no doubt that it has not been so substantial but what it has left at least 8,000,000 people in the ranks of the unemployed.

As Harry Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, has pointed out, many millions of these will never again be absorbed into private industry.

The advance of technological improvement has been such as to permanently dislodge millions of workers. Nine workers can do the work today which required ten in 1929, and six workers can do the work that required ten in 1920.

In addition, the number of workers who need jobs is increasing by 500,000 each year because of the growth in population. It has been estimated that industrial production would have to reach a level 20% above that reached in 1929 to reabsorb all those who are now unemployed; for even in that year, the most prosperous in history, the number of unemployed was not less than 2,000,000.

#### Expand WPA

In the face of this it is obvious that the only hope for the unem-

ployed lies in the continuation and expansion of the WPA program, not in its curtailment.

Only widespread, militant and determined action against the cuts on the part of the organized project workers can put a crimp in the Roosevelt starvation program.

A start in this direction has been made in New York City, where more than 200 project workers have been thrown into jail as a result of their participation, with many thousands, in the first demonstration against the Administration. But this is only a start!

## NEC DECISIONS DIRECT PARTY TO MASS ACTIVITY

(Continued from last week)

On the international question, the NEC ruled as follows: "It is declared that affiliation with or allegiance to organizations of the 3rd International, committees for a 4th International, or organizations or individuals outside the Socialist party aligned with such organizations, without permission of the NEC is incompatible with membership in the Socialist party, and state and local organizations are instructed to discipline membership accordingly."

However, in line with the traditional Socialist policy of party democracy, it was declared that advocacy alone within the party of the formation of the 4th International for example is not grounds for expulsion. Such advocacy, of course, is subject to the regulation applying to discussion of party policy and resolutions.

#### Literature Control

The remainder of the NEC resolution deals with related party organization matters. Restrictions on the type of literature to be sold and circulated by locals and branches were indicated by the setting up of mandatory and approved literature lists. Arrangements were made for refinancing national party work.

Closer supervision of Socialist work on non-party national committees was provided for in the NEC statement. Plans for more extensive promotion of the Socialist CALL and other party liter-

ature were made. Subscription and bundle circulation of the CALL were made a mandatory part of activity of all party sections.

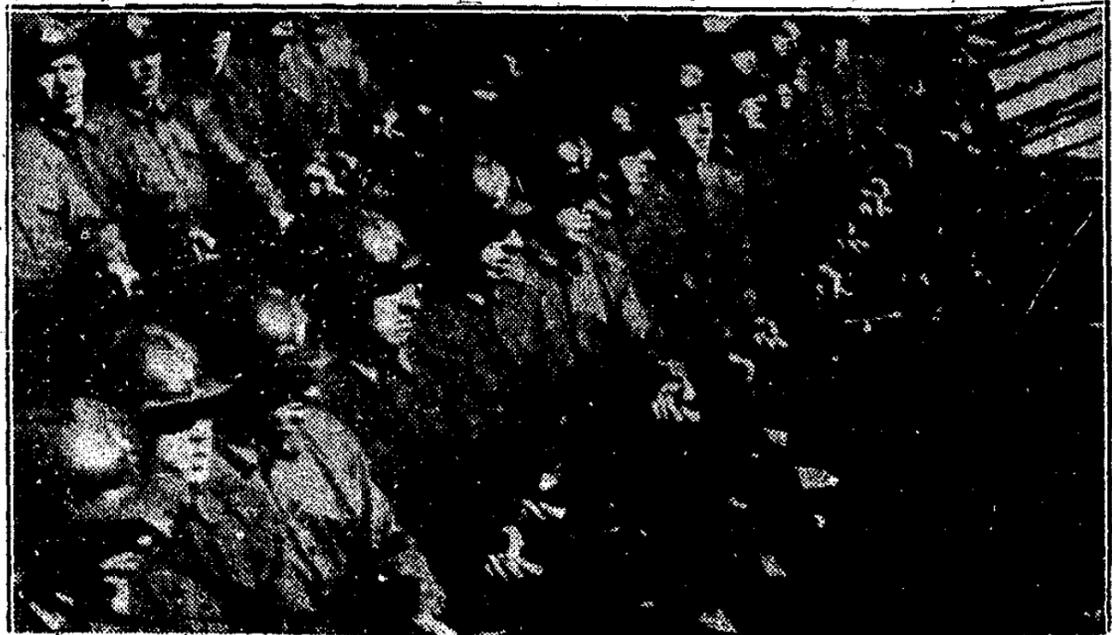
Directions were given to the Action Committee to speed up the registration of the membership, particularly in larger states, to complete it by July 15, and to make special efforts to promote the sale of the new 1937 Socialist Handbook and take other measures necessary to popularize the decisions of the Chicago convention. The principles of positive responsibility for carrying out tasks was laid down and all party subdivisions will be obliged to see to it, not only that violations of policy are prevented but that established policies are carried out through positive activity and application.

#### Spain And CALL

Other matters dealt with by the committee were the problem raised by the arrests of working class leaders in Barcelona and the suppression of left wing publications and the status of American agencies for Spanish aid. The committee devoted some time to consideration and approval of the policies of the Socialist CALL and the constitution of an editorial board, entrusted with direction of the CALL pending its moving to national headquarters in Chicago.

The recent application of party policy by the CALL was specifically upheld by the National Executive Committee.

## To Defend the Soviet Union



Part of Russia's powerful army. The Soviet Government recently floated a loan of \$800,000,000 for war purposes. Both on the Eastern and Western Frontier the Soviets are threatened. Should a war break in the near future, it is not unlikely that the Soviet Union will find itself without any allies. Its main force will then be its own army and the strength of the international working class.