

Norman Thomas

DISCUSSES

The Socialist

Answer

ON PAGE 12

Socialist Call

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

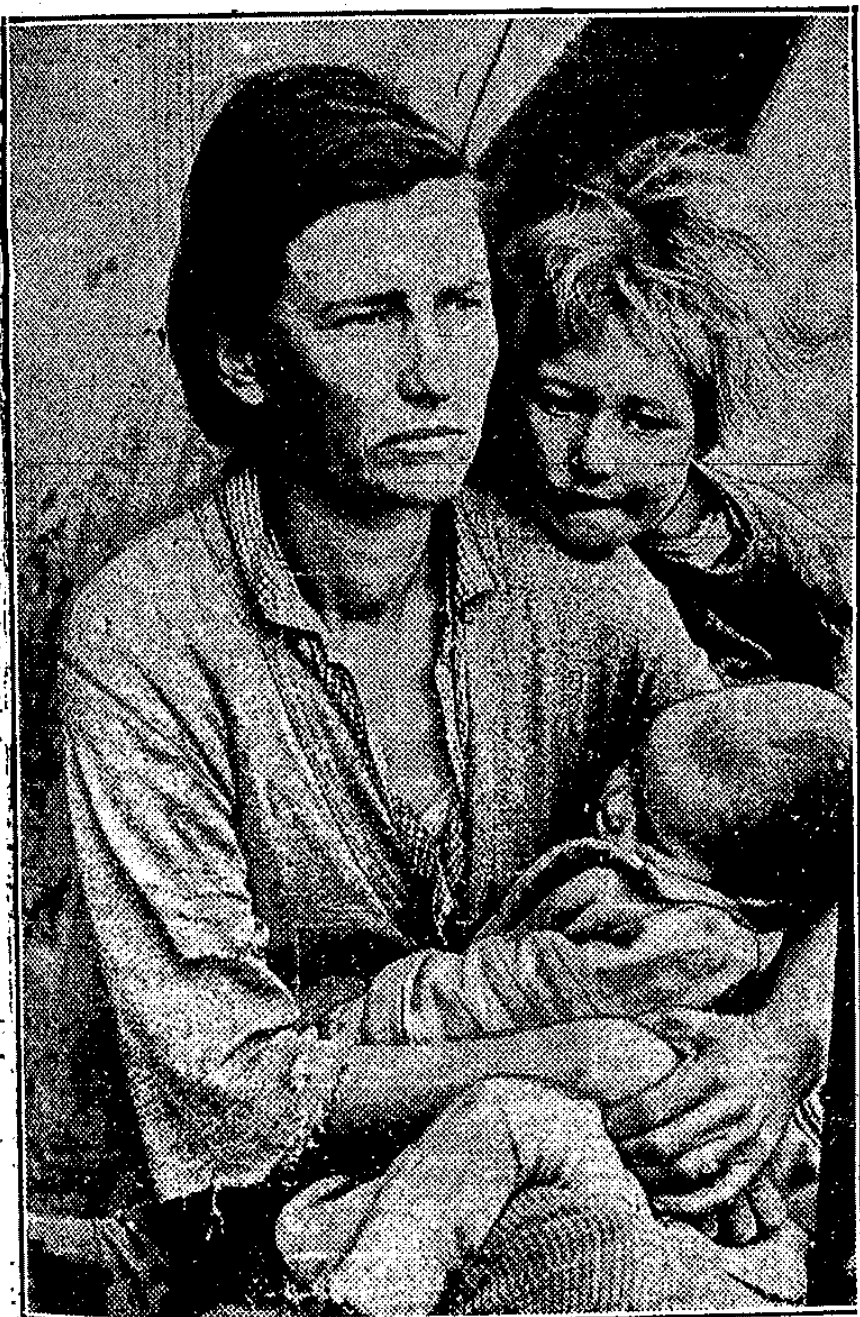
Vol. II—No. 69

SATURDAY, JULY 11, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

RADIO BROADCAST OPENS SOCIALIST 1936 CAMPAIGN

STORY ON PAGE 2



America Plowed Under . . . Nature Lends A Hand

Far as the eye can reach lie corn and wheat fields parched by drought in the West and Middle West. Roosevelt and the AAA ordered the process of plowing America under—and now Mother Nature gives Roosevelt a helping hand. While children went hungry in the streets of the cities, the Democratic administration started what nature is now finishing—the policy of destruction of crops, the philosophy of “Raise Prices by Destroying Goods!”

The Republicans left it to rugged individualism to boost prices by dumping produce into the sea. The Democrats made a government policy of wanton food destruction.

At the left are a mother and her two children, refugees

of the Dust Bowl. Driven from their home by the storms, they follow thousands of others and wander about seeing nothing in the future but dust. The striking picture at top, right, shows a dense cloud of dust as it rolls across Texas, laying waste the fertile farm lands and driving people from their homes.

What is the answer? The picture at bottom, right, shows delegates to the National Farm Holiday Association as they considered the answer. Part of their work was the election of George A. Nelson, Socialist candidate for Vice-President, as one of their national officials.

SEE EDITORIAL ON PAGE THREE.

AMERICA HEARS THOMAS

Socialists Begin Drive At N. Y. Meet

NEW YORK—Plans for the Socialist presidential campaign will be completed here by the national executive committee, meeting at the Hotel Delano on Saturday and Sunday, July 11-12. A further session to deal with campaign problems will be held on Monday, July 13 at local party headquarters, 21 East 17th Street.

In conjunction with the meeting of party leaders, the first blow in the presidential drive will be



Devere Allen, Socialist national executive committeeman, who will act as master of ceremonies at the midnight supper in New York from which Norman Thomas' speech will be broadcast.

struck in a midnight broadcast Friday, July 10, by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate, speaking at a buffet supper tendered to the party leaders by the local Socialists in the Hotel Delano.

The main order of business will be problems connected with the Socialist campaign. Reports will be received on party organization throughout the country and on the steps taken to assure a place on the ballot in the various states.

A drive for a campaign chest of \$100,000 has already gotten under way. The money will be used to finance the dispatching of Socialist organizers into different sections of the country. Plans for swamping the country with Socialist leaflets will be considered by the committee.

At the Friday midnight supper, which begins at 10 p. m. in the Hotel Delano, 43rd Street near 6th Avenue, speakers will include Daniel W. Hoan, Devere Allen, Maynard Krueger and other members of the National Executive Committee, which includes Darrington Hoopes of Pennsylvania, Franz Daniels of Tennessee, Albert Sprague Coolidge of Massachusetts, Powers Hapgood of In-

Hoover, DuPont Coolidge

CHICAGO—A Hoover, a Coolidge and a DuPont are among the first to make contributions to the 1936 Socialist Campaign Fund Drive, according to an announcement made from national campaign headquarters at 549 Randolph St., Chicago.

They are S. L. Hoover, Smithsburg, Md., Albert Sprague Coolidge, Cambridge, Mass., and Zana DuPont, Boston, Mass.

Thomas to Open Campaign

Opening the Socialist party campaign, Norman Thomas, candidate for president, will speak over the blue network of the National Broadcasting Company, Friday, July 10, at midnight, Eastern Daylight time, from New York City.

The time for different parts of the country covered by this network is:

Eastern Standard Time	11:00 p. m.
Central Daylight Time	11:00 p. m.
Central Standard Time	10:00 p. m.

Socialists Endorsed By Famous Thinkers

NEW YORK—A Thomas and Nelson Independent Committee of prominent persons who have pledged themselves to vote the Socialist ticket in the presidential election is being formed, it was announced today by Mary W. Hillyer, Secretary, at the Committee's headquarters, 112 East 19th Street. Outstanding persons who have already accepted membership in the committee include Dr. Morris Cohen, philosopher at City College; Louis B. Hacker of Columbia University; Julius B. Hochman, Secretary of the Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Dr. John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church; Sidney Hook of New York University; Freda Kirchwey, editor of The Nation; David Lasser, president of the Workers Alliance of America; Robert Morss Lovett of the New Republic and president of the League for Industrial Democracy; Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist Episcopal Church; James Rorty, prominent writer; Harold M. Rugg of Teachers College and Reinhold Niebuhr, author and lecturer, who is treasurer of the committee.

The Committee has issued an invitation to friends in New York City to attend the opening campaign speech of Norman Thomas on Friday, July 10th at the Delano Hotel. Other speakers at this meeting will include Daniel Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee and Devere Allen, member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party.

Plans are under way to enroll prominent liberal leaders all over the country in the committee's membership. Invitations will soon be sent to writers, artists, musicians, educators, ministers, labor leaders, social workers and farm

diana, Max Raskin of Milwaukee, George Rhodes of Pennsylvania, Max Delson and Norman Thomas of New York.

Thomas will begin to speak at midnight (eastern daylight saving time) and his words will be carried to the nation by radio through the National Broadcasting System. Socialists throughout the country have arranged banquets and meetings to receive the broadcast over the Blue Network of NBC.

The sessions of the national executive committee start at 10 a. m. on Saturday. That night, the committee will be the guest of the New York Socialist Party on its midnight boat-ride, starting at 8 p. m. from the Battery.

leaders who have not affiliated with the Socialist Party to join the committee because they believe the only way to register oneself as standing for security, for peace, democracy and a genuine Farmer-Labor Party as against reaction, war and dictatorship is to vote the Socialist ticket in 1936.

The committee now in the process of formation will be subdivided into the various professional groups and corresponding local committees will be organized all over the country.

The Other 1/2 Sez:

"If there's anything wrong with the world, it's pure laziness!" — Henry Ford.

Minnesota Meetings Begin Nelson Tour

CHICAGO—George A. Nelson, Socialist candidate for Vice-President, is touring Illinois, Min-



nesota and Indiana during the month of July speaking to labor and farmer groups as well as Socialist party locals.

He started in Minnesota where he spoke in Austin and Redwing July 4 and 5. July 11 he will be in St. Paul and Minneapolis. July 12 he will speak in Montevideo and Willmar; July 18 in Cloquet and Duluth.

It is expected that 25,000 people will hear Nelson speak on July 26, when he will speak at the Wisconsin state picnic in Milwaukee, July 27.

... by far the best ...

The Socialist Call seems to me by far the best Socialist weekly now published. It should be read as a matter of course by all Party members and by all others who want to know what is happening in the radical movement. Every Socialist should take it upon himself to increase the circulation to the fullest extent of his ability.

COLEMAN CHENEY

Chairman, Saratoga, N. Y., Socialist Party

Socialization Is Solution, Parley Told

PORTLAND, Ore. — "The primary trouble is not old deal or new, more money or less," Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, told the dele-

The full text of Norman Thomas' speech will be found on page 12.

gates to the national convention of the National Education Association, meeting in this city. "You cannot have abundance in this machine age without planning for abundance. You cannot plan to produce or share abundance as long as profit for owners—increasingly absentee owners—is your god."

"Profit depends upon exploitation of workers with hand and brain. It depends upon relative scarcity. Planned abundance requires social ownership—not of consumers' goods, the house you live in, your automobile, but of the great natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution.

\$2,500 Wage Possible

"We must deliberately set out to see that every family must receive the \$2,500 minimum that modern technology makes possible. Above that, reward should be according to deed, not ownership."

S. D. F. Splits On FDR Okay

NEW YORK—A new party in New York, organized by Louis Waldman, came into being last week under the name of the People's Party, affiliated with the Social-Democratic Federation, after two days of wrangling over a proposal by Waldman to endorse ident. The convention compromised by electing a committee of nine, on which anti-Roosevelt delegates refused to serve, to determine the future policy of the party on the basis of negotiations for a labor party.

Made up of Louis Waldman's Old Guard group, the convention found itself immediately split on the Roosevelt issue. Charges of treachery were hurled across the floor. Replying to the accusation that he was trying to "deliver the Socialists to the Democrats," Waldman shouted: "There is very little to deliver."

Jack Altman, executive secretary of the New York Socialist Party, declared that "Socialists in Old Guard ranks will resume their membership in our party now that Waldman has come out in the open in support of Roosevelt."

"According to newspaper reports," Altman said, "Democratic politicians have hopes that Mr. Waldman will be able to divert 100,000 Socialist votes to the Roosevelt column, thus assuring him New York State in the November elections. That these hopes are vain is evident from Waldman's overwhelming defeat by the Socialist voters in the primary elections and by his own confession that he has 'very little to deliver.'"

Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate for governor of New York, described any endorsement of Roosevelt, direct or indirect, as a "betrayal of Socialist principles."

Labor In Action

Nelson A. Meagley prominent Ohio Socialist and leader of the Workers' Alliance, was elected "speaker" of the Ohio Senate when unemployed stormed the legislative chamber of Columbus demanding passage of the Lenan Zaul Ohio Relief Standards Act.

More than 200 Orange County County American and Mexican strikers were arrested near Santa Anna, Calif., after an effective mass flying picket line. Vigilantes are mobilizing 350 deputies (many of them packing house owners and merchants) to break the strike. Many of the strikers are without funds and any relief.

The Northern States Power Company strike at Minneapolis, in progress since June 30, was temporarily halted while the employers considered union demands.

Minneapolis labor will commemorate the death of Henry Ness and John Belore, killed during the "Bloody Friday" of the 1934 truck strike, with a mass demonstration at the spot at which they fell.

Striking radio workers are still picketing the Camden, N. J., plant of the RCA with almost daily scraps with the police. Cops arrested 24-year-old President James Carey of the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America and charged him with inciting to riot. He was fined.

The Sailors' Union of the Pacific, whose charter was lifted several months ago in the course of a dispute with the International Seamen's Union, its parent body, wants it restored. It has asked President William Green to help adjust differences.

A national conference of workers employed at processing grain and allied industries will meet in Toledo July 11. Pushing the conference is the distillery workers' local of Pekin, Ill., focal point of the general strike there last year.

Building trades unions will have wages restored next January to former peak levels, by the terms of a new agreement signed with the Portland, Ore., contractors' association. The 8-hour day will prevail.

A libel suit for \$200,000 has been filed against the International Marine Company by Joseph Curran, leader of the recent New York rank-and-file seamen's strike.

A drive to bring 30,000 Negro women of New York City under the provision of workmen's compensation was announced by Chairman Frank R. Crosswath of the Negro Labor Committee.

Oil tank builders in Houston, Tex., and vicinity are on strike in an effort to restore the 1929 wage scale.

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.

69 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

DROUGHT

NATURE GOES NEW DEAL

"Roosevelt Luck!"

Newspapers have commented on it, and politicians have envied it. Even the forces of nature have played along with Roosevelt to help carry out his program.

He wanted scarcity in order to boost farm prices. He ordered the plowing under of cotton. He paid farmers for not planting wheat. He commanded the nation to produce less.

In a country where men and women go in rags and where there are hungry mouths crying to be fed, Roosevelt called a halt on Nature's abundance.

And now Nature itself has gone New Deal. It has passed its own AAA, without fear of nullification by the Supreme Court. It has brought Drought.

The fields of the middle west are dry and dust-covered. Crop reduction is taking place on a wider scale.

If scarcity can bring prosperity, Americans should now be happy.

But Prosperity depends on our creating more, not less. Nature's scarcity, caused by drought, and artificial scarcity, a shot in the arm of a sick society, are both enemies of human happiness.

We must call upon all our resources of science to fight against both. We must plan for abundance, not for scarcity. We must work to create more food and more clothing.

Under a decent social system, planned on the basis of serving the needs of the nation, the terrors of drought could be wiped out by electrification of the farms by a proper system of irrigation, by reforestation, conservation of natural resources, and proper use of the soil to prevent erosion.

Under a decent social system, mankind could use all of the food and goods that could be produced.

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president has said:

"A planned economy of abundance... unless we can have it, we shall never have any true abundance nor any secure peace. When we went in for machinery on a large scale, we went in for a world which said to us, Plow or Perish!"

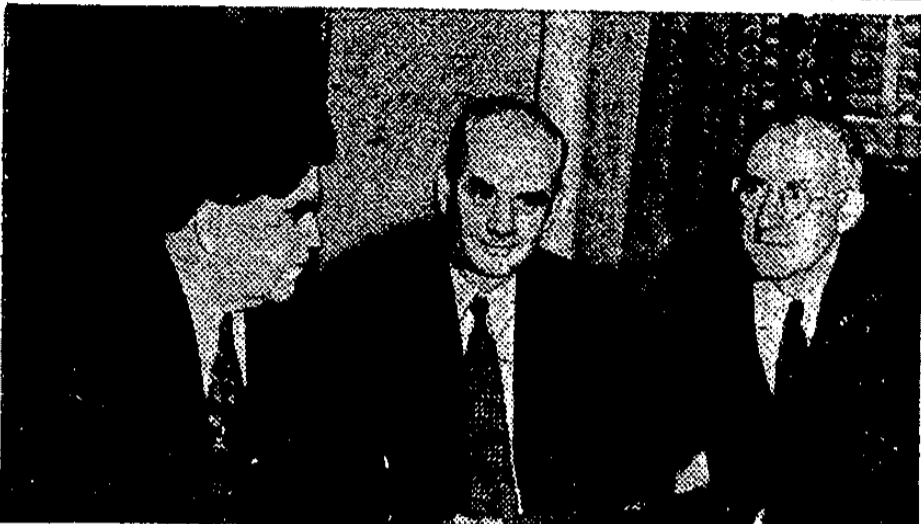
"This planning requires social ownership and production for use rather than profit."

Here is the program for the workers and farmers of America.

Homestead Rally Opens Steel Labor Campaign

By WILL HUBERT

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—With a rally of 5,000 steel workers and coal miners in Homestead and the convening of two delegate conventions of steel workers in Chicago and Cleveland, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), joint body of the Committee for Industrial Organization and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, opened its campaign this week to unionize the 500,000 workers in America's five-billion-dollar Number One open shop industry.



Forty-four years ago, when the workers in the steel mills of America sought to organize into unions, they were met by the organized terror of the steel barons. Today another organizing campaign is on, backed by the collective strength of twelve powerful international unions. Above are leaders of the Committee for Industrial Organization in session at Pittsburgh. Left to right: John L. Lewis and Phillip Murray, president and vice-president of the United Mine Workers, and John Brophy, CIO director.

Meanwhile in Washington the AFL executive council met and prepared to take action on its threat to suspend the twelve unions affiliated with the CIO. Competent labor observers there believed that no such drastic formula would be concocted by the craft-controlled council in view of the terrific blasts being hurled against the Lewis industrial bloc by the Iron and Steel Institute, and the presidents of U. S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel.

If the craft bloc should split the AFL at this time when the steel barons are so viciously fighting the Lewis drive, it would lose prestige not only among the sympathetic public but also among its own union members.

According to officials of the SWOC, the steel drive is meeting a response far beyond their expectations. It has already had repercussions in the rubber and auto industries, where union activity has been tremendously accelerated. All indications point to a general steel strike early this fall. Such a strike would cause a number of automobile plants to shut down for lack of raw mater-

ial, and would bring thousands of auto workers out on strike in other factories.

Though the campaign is only a week old in outlying districts, William Mitch, president of the Alabama Federation of Labor, in charge of the Birmingham area, and Van A. Bitnner, mine leader in charge of the Chicago district, both report hundreds of workers signing union cards.

Honor Martyrs

The Homestead meeting was the first outdoor rally held in that company owned town since the ill-fated, craft-controlled 1919 drive, and the most hopeful meeting since the Homestead Massacre in 1892 when 300 Pinkerton guards killed seven strikers at the Carnegie steel plant. Three of the Pinkertons also died in a day-long exchange of rifle fire.

After the meeting, the workers marched in solemn columns to the nearby cemetery to decorate the graves of the martyrs who so gallantly died 44 years ago.

Adopt Declaration

Speakers at the rally included Thomas Shane, lanky 25-year old steel worker fired from the Homestead mill for his union activities; Powers Hapgood, member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party and CIO organizer; Lieutenant-Governor Tom Kennedy, vice-president of the Mine Workers; and Charles Scharbo, a Homestead worker who read the Steel Workers' new Declaration of Independence, which was unanimously adopted.

"We shall exercise our inalienable rights to organize into a great industrial union, banded together with all our fellow steel workers," read the Declaration. "We shall make real the dreams of the pioneers who pictured America as a land where all might live in comfort and happiness. In support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our steadfast purpose as union men, our honor and our very lives."

Vacations ... And Work

It's summer! The fields are green with grass. The trees are green with foliage. We like green. It's a symbol of growth, of life, of new-born vitality.

There's another green — the green of the greebucks. We like that too—because it means growth for The CALL. It means that we shall be able to spread out over the American landscape. It means that you are ready to assume your responsibility as a Socialist gardener, cultivating the soil, spreading the seeds of hope—the message of Socialism.

But don't you get to liking green things too much. Don't run off into the woods and bury yourself away from Socialist activity. Don't let the summer send you off into neglect of duty.

It's up to you. The funds are needed. Time is passing and bills must be paid. Come through.

First of all, you've got to send in your contribution list. With the summer here, we are calling in all the lists. Whether you have collected much or little, send it in. We must keep our records straight.

Spend a day making your last spurt to fill the blank right down to the last dotted line. Then get it in to The CALL.

And remember the contest! Get your subs for the CALL and get

IS YOUR NAME HERE?

The total for the week in subscriptions is 275. Remember that the contest for bound Call volumes starts next week. Get along with your subs, and let's see your listing in this column next week.

The total for donations so far is \$1,258.10. Only a modest accomplishment. There's still a long road ahead. See that you're listed here next week as doing your job for Socialism.

Subscriptions	
Local New York	65
Missouri S. P.	10
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Leon Rosser Land	.50
Total	\$ 29.50
Excessively received	\$1,228.60
Total	\$1,258.10

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the CALL for yourself — the bound volume of the first year's issues. We have twenty copies waiting for twenty sub-getters who send in twenty subs each during this coming month. Win

yourself a beautiful gift; make a gift to the Socialist movement of twenty new contacts.

Round up the contributions and the subs for the CALL. Start your summer right.

IT'S FIVE AGAINST ONE IN CAMDEN



When the gong rings, it's five to one as the Black Wagon brings three cops and two plain-clothes detectives to one striker in the RCA radio workers strike in Camden, N. J. This battle is only one of the many which have occurred almost daily since the workers struck June 22 for wage increase and union recognition.

11 Countries in Labor Carnival

NEW YORK.—More than 600 athletes from twelve major unions gathered at the Stuyvesant High School gymnasium on Tuesday, July 7, to officially enter the closed events on the program of the first annual World Labor Carnival at Randalls Island, August 15 and 16. Outstanding competitors from eleven nations are expected to compete in the 25 open tests.

One of the greatest international soccer matches of all time will be held in connection with the Carnival when the New York Americans, national champions, will face either the Canadian or European soccer champion.

THE SOCIALIST CALL

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

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

Official Campaign Organ, Socialist Party of the U. S. A. Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the States of ARKANSAS, CALIFORNIA, IOWA, ILLINOIS, KANSAS, MAINE, MICHIGAN, MISSOURI, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK, OHIO, WEST VIRGINIA, and WISCONSIN. Endorsed by the Socialist Party of the States of COLORADO, INDIANA, MASSACHUSETTS, TEXAS and VIRGINIA and by the YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jack Altman, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Robert Nelson, David Felix, Abraham Perlestein, Sam Romer, Glen Trimble, Gus Tyler, Herbert Zam. Editor: Aaron Levenstein Business Manager: Hal Segel

Vol. II Saturday, July 11, 1936 No. 69

A Paid Ad

The slogan of the steel barons seems to be, "Read it and weep!" Last week, as the drive of the Committee for Industrial Organization got under way, the Steel Institute, the bosses' association in the industry, gave the newspapers of America a \$200,000 gift. The little token of affection came in the form of full-page advertisements, telling the public and the steel workers that the masters of steel will not permit their employes to join a real union.

But though many read, there were few who wept. The workers had not expected the steel magnates to give their approval. All the weapons of power, they knew, would be turned against them—the press, the courts, the police, the company guards and the hypocrisy of company unionism.

Speaking in the name of "fundamental American principles," the Steel Institute announced that it would not tolerate the closed shop. Actually, as representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization pointed out, they have a closed shop now—the doors are shut tight against anybody who belongs to the union.

"The Steel Institute believes in the principles of collective bargaining," said the advertisement. It believes in collective bargaining—with company unions that have no right to strike.

Company unions are little whining puppies that grovel at the feet of their masters, licking their heels. Genuine labor unions, on the other hand, are the watch-dogs who bare their teeth whenever the rights of workers are endangered.

The workers know this. They have been waiting many a long month for the steel organizers to come to town. With open arms they are welcoming the men who bring them new hopes for the future, the men who are ready to face the violence of the Steel Institute. In their ranks are found some of the most valiant labor organizers of our time, including many figures prominent in the Socialist movement. They will not fail.

It is a strange thing that the Steel Institute should have made its statement only a few days before the anniversary of Independence Day. The steel workers have now written their declaration of independence—not in words but in organization. King Greed, who sits on his throne of steel, will fall before the onward march of these rebels of '36.

A Billion Dollars

It's a remarkable thing, but in all the shadow-boxing that the Democrats and Republicans do about who's going to get the juicy jobs that come with the White House, there is one item that by common consent is never mentioned. And that item concerns more than one billion dollars.

At Cleveland the Republicans kurlled themselves headlong at almost every action of the New Deal. They yelped about the expenditures for relief, they decried the payment of the bonus, they hollered about every other expenditure—except that of one billion dollars!

At Philadelphia the Democrats have defended every action of theirs. Each expenditure was justified and re-explained—all except that of one billion dollars.

One billion dollars—for war!

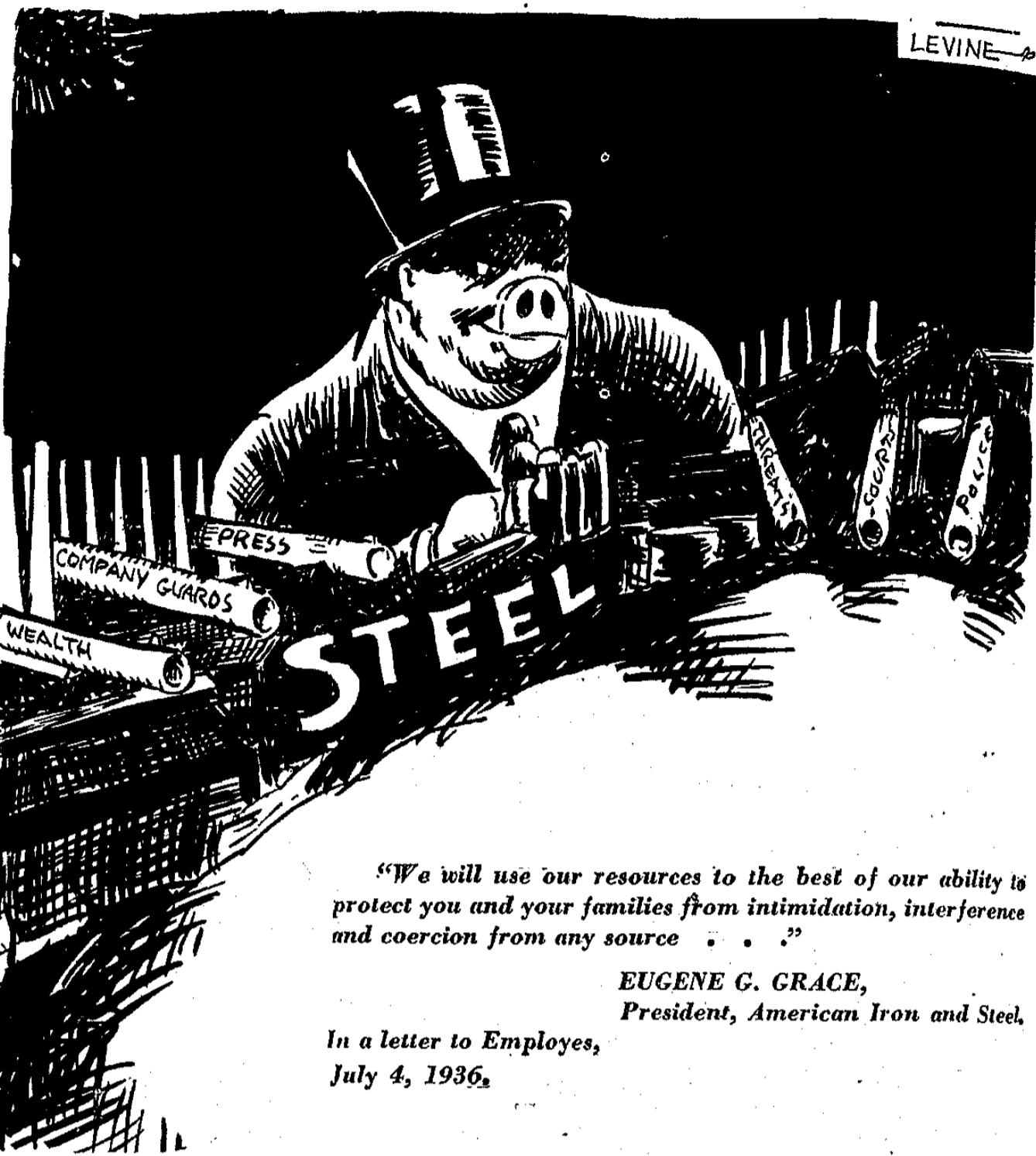
The past session of Congress appropriated, almost without debate, over \$500,000,000 (count the zeroes!) for the army. And then as much for the navy. One billion dollars.

And what's it for? To shoot the legs off people you've never seen and against whom you can't possibly have a grudge. To blow their brains out.

But that isn't all. That billion dollars that Roosevelt got Congress to spend on guns and ships is meant to protect big business, to save its foreign investments. Though some of us get ourselves blown to bits incidentally, what can you expect? It's a choice between us and the dollars—and Roosevelt and his pals choose the dollars!

Our job is to get rid of the dollars and the dollars' worth of mind, and remember to do a good deed for every dollar that we see in November.

LABOR'S 'GUARDIAN'



"We will use our resources to the best of our ability to protect you and your families from intimidation, interference and coercion from any source . . ."

EUGENE G. GRACE,
President, American Iron and Steel.

In a letter to Employees,
July 4, 1936.

Roosevelt Thrown For A Loss

To The Editor:

As a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania I listened with much interest to President Roosevelt's acceptance speech, delivered from the center of my alma mater's football field. Despite the cheering which came over the air, I don't think anyone could go out and tear down the goal-posts over his great oratorical outburst.

I also heard Norman Thomas broadcast his acceptance speech. Roosevelt may have the ball and be on the way to a touchdown, but Thomas sure threw him for a loss. Where Thomas came right out and said what he meant—said that only a planned America with a system of production for use, not profit, will bring happiness to depression-ridden America, the President uttered a lot of hand-clapping phrases about the "economic royalists" of today.

Roosevelt compared 1936 with 1776 and himself with Washington and Jefferson. Well, he can have Washington, but Jefferson was a revolutionist who wrote his great Declaration of Independence in this city just 160 years ago, and Roosevelt's speech and his platform don't hand the American people the new declaration for which they are groping.

It was bad enough to see this slumberful city turned into a circus stand for Farley and his

gang during the last few days. But when the President of the United States allows himself to be notified of his re-nomination by that politician from Arkansas — Senator Joe Robinson — who hasn't done a darn thing for the poor sharecroppers in his state except let his plantation owner friends whip them and riddle them with bullets at their first signs of revolt, then it is time we had a new President.

That new President must be Norman Thomas, the only candidate who has offered a program worthy of the backing of the laboring workers and farmers of America. Yes, and worthy of white-collar backing, too.

Let's give the Socialist standard-bearer a little team play and score a touchdown in November.
JOHN WHARTON
Philadelphia, Pa.

Organize the Farm Workers

To The Editor:

The steel drive—can it not be duplicated for the agricultural worker? Can we not have a similar concentration of the AFL forces for the rural worker? Can we not make this one of the high points of the next AFL convention? Everybody knows that agricultural labor is the potential base for fascism. Should we not

make all possible preparation for pushing the organization of the rural worker at the AFL convention?

We shall need lots of preparation now if we are to have adequate action at the convention. I myself hope to be a delegate to the convention. So I have been thinking about it.

Has anyone mapped out a program of preparation for the convention? We ought to contact the rubber union now while it is thinking about Gadsden. Clearly no union can organize in the South unless all the unions are organized there. The miners and textile workers would also be interested in a southern drive for agricultural workers. Rubber workers, miners, and textile workers should be enormously benefitted by growth and geographical widening of the sharecroppers and Tenant Farmer unions. Parallel conditions are found in California. Here in Montana the problem is pressing.

HAVEN PERKINS
Glasgow, Mont.

Likes Propaganda

To The Editor:

The article, "Did You Ever Try to Get a Raise?" is plenty hot. If the succeeding articles are that good, the entire series, printed in pamphlet form, should be the best educational propaganda yet printed. If obtainable in leaflet or pamphlet form, I could use several hundred.

HENRY SCHWARTZ
Evansville, Ind.

Shows Appreciation

To the Editor:

I must give you credit for your splendid articles appearing on Consumers Co-operation.

MORRIS PECKER
Ithaca, N. Y.

Are You a Subscriber?

CALL Press, Inc.
21 East 17th Street,
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I wish to subscribe to the SOCIALIST CALL for one year at the special rate of \$1.00.

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OUR LABOR MOVEMENT

By John Ball

Perfunctorily, certain individuals and certain labor bodies have in the past written their annual resolution of protest to those in authority responsible for the cruel, continued imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

On July 27th, 1936 the fight for Mooney and Billings enters a new phase. The victories that the American workers have been winning during the last few years by militant mass action lead them naturally to bring this basic weapon of the working class into play for the defense of all its elementary rights.

The defense of Mooney and Billings during the last few years has been almost entirely legalistic and technical. And the lawyers have done a good job. Every brief drawn up of late proves far beyond a passing shadow of doubt that Mooney and Billings are the victims of the crassest sorts of illegality. But the illegalities of capitalism run down a one-way street. Perjury, subornation, bribery, frame-up, could get Mooney and Billings in; but technicalities, judicial jurisdiction, legal archaisms, stiff regulations, have made it almost impossible to get them out.

Begin Drive July 27

If the capitalist class knew how to turn and twist the law into a misshapen horror in order to throw Mooney and Billings into San Quentin, they should also be able to do a bit of untwisting and straightening out, too. But they will only do it under class pressure. July 27 is the day the American working class must begin to hammer the corkscrew perversions out of capitalist California's justice.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has instructed its locals throughout the country to take steps toward organizing meetings and demonstrations for the occasion. The New York Central Trades and Labor Council, by holding a Mooney-Billings protest meeting, is taking a long step forward and setting an example for central labor bodies everywhere.

Demonstrate for Mooney

The power of these demonstrations, as differentiated from perfunctory resolutions, lies in their sweep, their breadth, their massed numbers. Three weeks are ahead of us. Off to a flying start, the American labor movement can give this action sufficient momentum and magnetism to make of it a thing of historic importance. The movement must be extended into every locality to embrace every militant and progressive element. In such a movement, the political parties of labor, which kept alive the flame of struggle for the freedom of Mooney and Billings at a time when many gave it up as a lost cause, have their place side by side with organized labor, whose brothers Mooney and Billings are.

Local unions, national and international unions, central bodies still have time to arrange meetings and demonstrations. COMRADES! BROTHERS AND SISTERS! Shake California's money-ridden jailers out of their smug complacency. Prepare for July 27!

Socialist Furriers

Ben Gold, Manager of the New York Joint Board of the Furriers' Union, publicly declared recently that he had a united front with the Socialists in the union.

The so-called Socialists are not members of the Socialist Party. They are not even connected with the Old Guard and the Forward, which have repudiated them. Three individuals, formerly Socialists, now representing nobody but themselves, have become Gold "stooges." This is scarcely a "united front with Socialists."

The Socialist Furriers have issued a statement declaring that they are "certainly in favor of complete unity in our union and in the working class generally. We are for democracy in our union, for the right to express differences of opinion at meetings without being booed and heckled, for giving all elements an opportunity to do union work."

"If Brother Gold is willing to have unity on that basis, he will find us ready to promote it."

Join The Socialist Party

For information fill out the blank and send it to the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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FUEL FOR THE FIRE



1892—1919—1936:

The Story of Steel—Will The CIO Succeed?

IN ALL the history of American labor there has been one industry in which labor has been fought bitterly, consistently, and successfully. In the great steel mills in which more than half a million men are employed, the word "union" has been ordered stricken from the workers' dictionary and all efforts to form unions in the industry have been met with bullets and clubs.

When the American Federation of Labor was an infant, in 1892, workers in the mills at Homestead, Pa., attempted to unionize to secure better wages, shorter hours, and improved working conditions. Their demands were met with withering gunfire from Pinkerton strikebreakers floated down the river on a barge. The strike marked the rise of the Pinkerton agency as one of the leading strikebreakers in the country and succeeded in quelling organization efforts in the steel industry until 1919.

The year the world war ended domestic warfare broke out again in the steel industry. Workers then faced the giant United States Steel Corp., creation of J. P. Morgan, father of the present J. P. Morgan, plus the guns of state police, company guards, and hired strikebreakers. Behind them was the power of the American Federation of Labor, no longer an infant but a booming organization riding the swell of high war time wages to workers.

The second storming of the citadel of steel was also beaten back. Many reasons are given for the failure of the second drive but, most important, it was victory for the corporate masters of steel and defeat for labor.

The War Begins

Now another drive to unionize workers in the steel industry is under way. All signs point to the most serious struggle yet in the industry.

On one side is a \$5,000,000,000 industry. Behind it are the masters of the wealth of the country. The House of Morgan with its almost limitless financial power sits in the generals' tent surrounded by the Mellons, the duPonts, and all the smaller fry of industry who look upon the steel industry as a bulwark against the fight for union organization in the auto, cement, oil, and rubber industries. Aiding the industry, indirectly but none the less effectively, are the federal courts of the United States. From the Supreme Court to the smallest federal judge they have cooperated by holding that the giant steel industry is not in interstate commerce and that the federal government, through the National Labor Relations Board, has no power to protect the constitutional rights of the workers to organize into independent unions.

Across the battlefield are twelve powerful unions. As organizers they have men who know the steel

industry and who know the workers in the industry. Treasuries are not empty. Within these twelve unions is the will to organize workers in basic mass production industries, to secure higher wages and better working conditions. The steel industry, through its American Iron and Steel Institute, has announced its defiance. Through the mails thousands of pamphlets, entitled "The Men Who Make Steel," have been sent. These pamphlets intend to prove that great freedom exists in the steel industry and that the lowly pudler has the chance some day to head the United States Steel Corporation. Meetings of company union representatives have been called and warned that defection from the path of company unionism will be regarded as "disloyal" and will be treated as such. In one Jones and Laughlin plant, it is reported, 30 workers have already been fired for union activities.

The challenge has been hurled and accepted. A battle has begun that may take years. It is a battle in which the future of American labor is at stake.

VACATION WHIMSIES

By McAlister Coleman

MARTHA'S VINEYARD, Mass.—The Great Rat-cliff-Coleman-Martha's Vineyard Expeditionary Force was just starting off in a grim New Jersey dawn, when Ginger the Cat arrived carrying a small brown mouse.

Ginger was apparently about to sacrifice this mouse on the altar before her four new kittens when the youngest member of the expedition set up such a loud wailing that the mouse was rescued, much to Ginger's disgust. It was then decided that the mouse would be taken along. The only container available for the transportation of small brown mice at that ghastly hour was the corn popper. So the mouse was put in the corn popper while Ginger sat sneering in the roadway. As we leaned out to say farewell to her, she retired in a hurt but dignified manner to the house where she is to spend the summer, waving her tail in contempt.

New Jersey Gypsies

Slowly the expedition got under way, while the natives shouted lusty huzzas and the knocking in the engine of Car Number One grew louder. "Here come the gypsies," cried the youth of Teaneck, the first stop, as the cars of the expedition approached. And well they might have mistaken us for gypsies. All we needed were red bandanas and a tea-leaf reader to complete the picture.

Though, of course, no one could have seen the occupants of any of the cars from the roadside. Your columnist was sitting on the front seat of Car Number Two alongside the driver sunk in his usual automotive gloom, a combination of extreme nervous irritability and acute apprehension which overtakes him the moment he clammers aboard an automobile. Needless to say he doesn't drive. Just sits on the front seat alternately praying aloud and screaming from sheer fright. And is he popular with drivers!

The reason your correspondent and the other members of the expeditionary force were not visible from the highways was the astounding amount of baggage required for such an arduous trip. On his right side with its legs protruding ominously from the car window was a bedside table. His head rested on two nested-potty chairs. Now and then from the mass of paraphernalia in the rear of the car there would descend upon him and the driver showers of valises, typewriters, Mexican catch-all baskets, bureau drawers, bed-springs, etc. It was then necessary to stop the car and re-tie such appurtenances as had not already fallen completely out of the car. Now and then there was an anxious halt while some explorer climbed into the back to look up a lost baby or two. I am happy to report that at roll-call at New Bedford all hands were present.

The first blow-out occurred just outside Port Chester. It was there we discovered that we had forgotten to have our spare fixed. It is quite a lot of fun walking along the Boston Post Road looking for a garage. Fun for passing motorists, that is, who love to see how near they can clip your coat-tails without entirely rubbing you out. When we came back with the garage man, who said that it looked like a cinch for Landon, we found that quite a group of interested persons had gathered round our car. They were making loud and derisive comment.

A coarse workingman in a blue shirt said, "You gotter get a red flag."

"Certainly, Comrade," I answered politely, "but since when has a red flag been compulsory in these parts?"

"You gotter get a red flag," he insisted, "and hang it on the back of that chair that is sticking out over the end of the car."

It was not until we got to Westport that we were able to get a red flag. There are, as you know, quite a number of active comrades in and about this engaging town and one of them kindly loaned us his red flag which we flew proudly from the projecting chair leg, rejoicing in our revolutionary legality.

The Adventurous Life

From then on there were a number of quite exciting incidents such as the warming of milk in a saloon at Scituate for the brown mouse which we named Algernon because of his rather absent-minded, researchical air; the encounter with the traffic officer at Providence (an affair to which there will undoubtedly be a somewhat disagreeable sequel); our arrival at the swanky hotel in New Bedford where we discovered that we had missed the boat to Martha's Vineyard by twenty minutes and would have to wait until next morning for the next. But this is no time nor place for the detailing of all our merry adventures. Suffice it to say that the Expedition is now on the island and that you will from time to time receive through the columns of The Socialist Call exclusive news of its discoveries and perhaps a couple of pictures like the rotos in The New York Times showing members sitting on the slain carcasses of wild beasts, photos of natives at play, their quaint customs,

'I Break Strikes'

The R. A. & I.STRIKEBREAKERS,
1936

By Edward Levinson

SHORT, red-headed, explosive Pearl L. Bergoff is today a much-harassed Demon. The painful denouement of the SKF and elevator operators' strikes in 1934 were followed by abortive campaigns in Milwaukee and in Porterdales, Georgia; and in 1935, by the collapse of a campaign in Akron, Ohio, that held every promise of being "the one big job" for which he had been waiting since 1929. These misadventures brought in their wake a series of expensive court fights in which his solicitors and nobles staged an undignified scramble for a share of the spoils—and usually won. The climax of these misfortunes was an effort, attended by much publicity, to revoke his private detective's license.

The contest over Bergoff's right to retain his license endangered in no degree his future as a strikebreaker. During his most profitable years, from 1916 to 1922, he had had no detective license. The Red Demon was forthright in his announcement that the license would make no difference. With complete scorn for the whole proceedings, he announced:

"They can have my license if they want. I'll still stay in business. There's still plenty of call for my kind of service."

And his counsel added a plea that seemed cogent and convincing:

"If strikebreaking business is a nefarious business, then it is nefarious for business and industry to hire strike-breakers. Some of the largest corporations in the country have called on my client; and they still call on him for his services."

Though there is still "plenty of call" for the kind of service Bergoff offers, most of the calls will no longer go to the Red Demon. The future of strikebreaking belongs to the Railway Audit and Inspection Company—the "R. A. and I.," as it is known to finks and nobles throughout the land.

Strikebreakers speak of the R. A. and I. with awe, which is proper. This company, specializing in "Auditing—Engineering—Inspection," is of and by Wall Street, and far more extensive and varied in its endeavors than either the Burns or the Pinkerton agencies. For all its twenty-six years of existence, the R. A. and I. remains something of a mystery. The names of its affiliates run almost to the score, making identification difficult. The R. A. and I. started in 1906 by specializing in checking and auditing for transportation companies, offering a glorified and super-efficient "spotter" service.

It provides the most thorough strikebreaking system in the country, from spies to strikebreakers, to tear gas bombs and Thompson submachine guns. It

PROFITS FOR THE R. A. AND I.

There's one big-business concern which sheds no tears when the workers strike—the Railway Audit and Inspection, ace strikebreakers. Whenever workers go on strike, you see, they are dispersed by tear-gas bombs as in the Minneapolis scene above—and an R. A. and I. subsidiary makes the bombs. The above picture was taken during the strike of the Flour City Ornamental Iron Works in 1935.

covers its espionage work with the cloaks of "human engineering" and "educational work." It employs the frequent device of recruiting spies from among workers on the job.

The outstanding R. A. and I. affiliate, through an interlocking directorate, is the Federal Laboratories, Inc., munitions sellers, whose machinations in Cuban and South American politics and revolutions so engrossed the attention of the Senate committee which probed the munitions trade in 1934. Corporations in several cities can now hire strikebreakers and buy ammunition from the same agent, acting for the R. A. and I. and the Federal Laboratories, Inc.

The Federal corporation has connections of its own, which again reveal the select company of the R. A. and I. Directors of Federal Laboratories, Inc. include W. W. Groves, president of the R. A. and I.; and officials of the Porter Locomotive Company, Sears, Roebuck and Co., and Potter Title and Trust Company. Important stockholders come from the First National Bank and the Colonial Trust Company of Pittsburgh, whose strings lead to Wall Street.

Business Is Good

About sixty per cent of the Federal company's business is in domestic trade, John W. Young, president of the corporation, has told Senate investigators. Most of this business is with private detective agencies, police heads, sheriffs, state militia and industrial corporations.

Threatening labor disturbances in Pittsburgh in 1934 gave the company \$75,000 worth of business, while Youngstown, Ohio, bought \$25,000 worth of munitions for use against its labor movement. During the 1934 textile strike, the company's business jumped from five to ten per cent. Mostly, it sells tear gas

hand grenades, "jumbo" or standard size, which can also be loaded with vomiting gas; and Thompson submachine guns.

Its ordnance department supplies also airplane bombs of a variety of effectiveness. Some of the airplane bombs can be filled with tear gas; other are demolition bombs "for explosive purposes"; still others are "fragmentation bombs" which can be used to implant pieces of metal in the skulls and bodies of recalcitrant strikers.

High-Pressure Salesmanship

The Senate committee found that the salesmanship of the Federal Laboratories, Inc., is almost as highly charged as are its basic products. A well-printed booklet shows graphic strike scenes and the effect thereon of the Laboratories' bombs and grenades. There are depicted milk and coal strikes in New York and West Virginia, and the dropping of bombs on Weirton, West Virginia, during a steel strike.

The catalogue of wonders gives an entire page to Ambridge, Pennsylvania, where deputies supplied with Federal Laboratories equipment attracted the startled and indignant attention of Governor Pinchot's investigating commission. "The End of a Stubborn Strike," says the caption under the Ambridge scene.

Some of the senators were inquisitive about the manner in which the company disposes of its dangerous products, whereupon Young assured them that great care is exercised in their sale. No labor organization has ever been able to purchase anything from his company, he said.

When some of the senators indicated disagreement with his description of the comparatively harmless effect of the vomiting and other bombs, Young contended that use of these products is in part at least motivated by humanitarian impulses. It is better to gas a striker than to kill him, he insisted. Young denied to somewhat skeptical investigators that the company sells poison gas. He prescribed the gas bombs as a means of improving the mental processes of striking workers.

"There's still plenty of call for my kind of services."

Random newspaper clippings abundantly prove the Red Demon's boast.

MARION, 1929: Deputy sheriffs kill six strikers at the gates of the Marion Manufacturing Company.

ATLANTIC SEABOARD, September, 1934: Fourteen

strikers killed in general textile strike.

CANTON, Ohio, May, 1935: Truckload of company guards employed by Republic Steel Corporation speed by strikers, shooting guns. Four strikers wounded.

A few days later: One killed, twenty persons injured and group of schoolchildren gassed by strikebreakers employed by Berger Manufacturing Company.

FREEPORT, Ill., June, 1935: National Guard called out when six are injured in clash between strikers and deputy sheriffs. Duquesne, Pennsylvania: Carnegie Steel Company deputizes 300 guards for threatened strike. Omaha, Nebraska: Three killed, scores injured, martial law declared when guards sworn in as police fire on strikers and sympathizers.

"There's still plenty of call for my kind of services."
THE END

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

Among the first of the large trade unions which will, within the next few years, draw more closely to the cooperative movement, is the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. At its convention this powerful union urged that its members participate as actively as possible in the cooperative movement.

The Cooperative League announced that a series of Summer institutes on cooperation will be held throughout the country. Details can be had by writing to the League. The Debs School, the New York Socialist School, announced its Summer session which will include in a course entitled "The Social Offensive Against Capitalism," a discussion of the cooperative movement.

In the middle west, the race between private interests and cooperatives to electrify rural America is going on at a furious pace. In Boone County, Indiana, cooperators were the first to turn on the "juice." Construction on rural electrification projects is going forward in nineteen states.

In New York City, Consumers Cooperative Services, the successful cooperative cafeteria chain, at its annual meeting voted a large portion of its savings for the year to increase the vacations-with-pay of their employees.

One of the most successful cooperative ventures in America, the cooperative gas and oil business, will celebrate its fifteenth anniversary in July of this year at Glenwood, Minnesota. The first cooperative of this type appeared in 1921 in Cottonwood, Minnesota. Today this branch of the movement does an annual business of \$40,000,000.

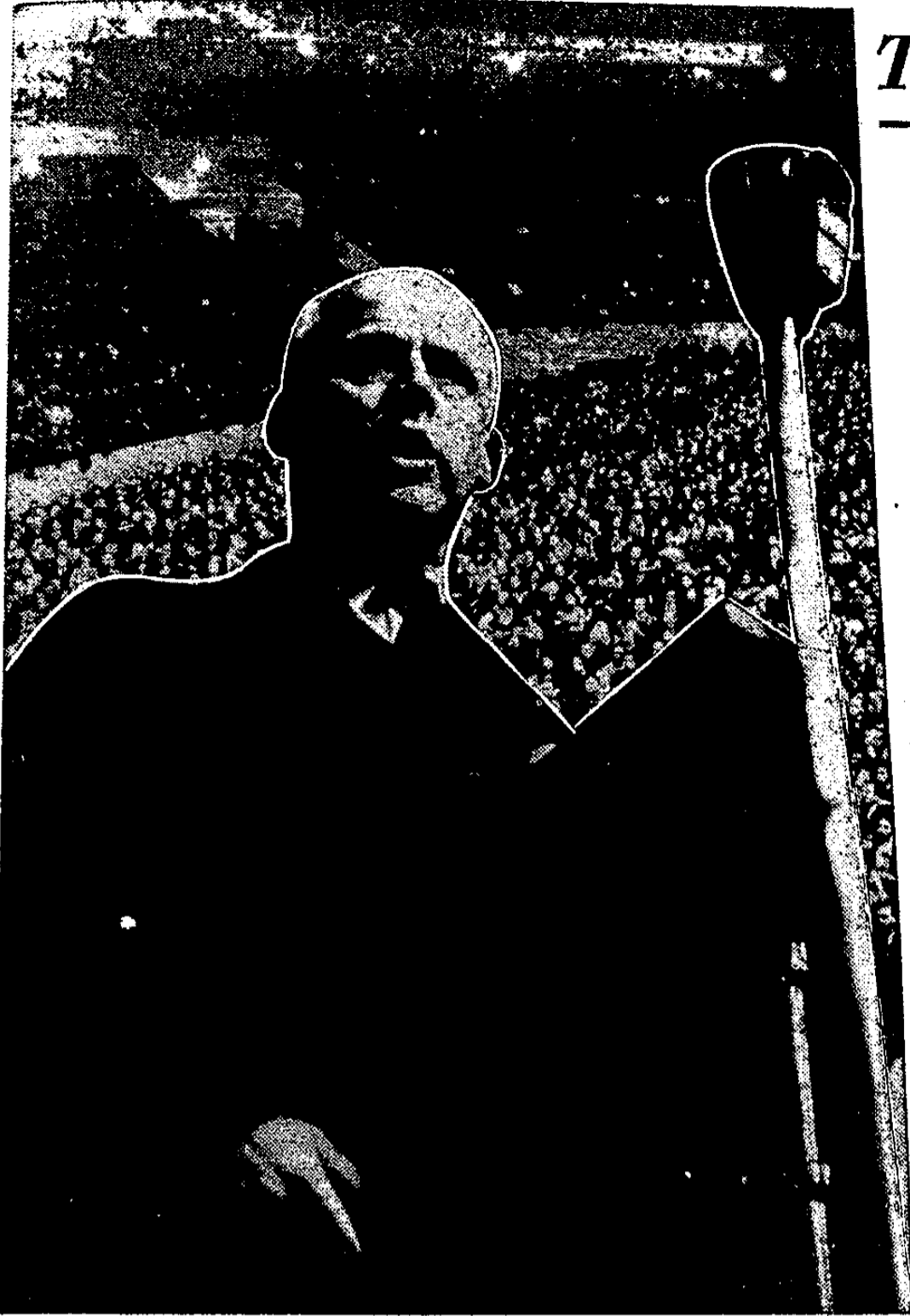
WHOSE THANKSGIVING?

It was really Thanksgiving in 1935 for those who make their profits in the profession of strike-breaking. Dozens of women and children as well as strikers were injured in Barberton, Ohio, then by tear-gas bullets fired by company thugs—which made the R. A. and I. happy.

THE BOOK THAT WOKE CONGRESS TO ACTION!

With this issue, The CALL ends its series of selections from Edward Levinson's remarkable book, "I Break Strikes." We are proud that we have been able to bring you this outstanding book of the year—a book that forced favorable action in Congress on the federal law making interstate transportation of strikebreakers a felony, a book that is responsible for the Senate investigation into strike-breaking activities.

Our thanks are due to Edward Levinson, veteran Socialist, and to the publishers. Due to lack of space, unfortunately, we have been unable to reprint "I Break Strikes" in full. We suggest that readers would do well to obtain an autographed copy of this book through The Call Bookstore for only \$2.50.—Editor.



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- NORMAN THOMAS**—A pungent review of the American scene from the front trenches.
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- ISSUES OF TODAY**—Articles by noted authorities on the various aspects of the Socialist platform for 1936.
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- WHAT ABOUT SOCIALISM?**—Basic principles explained in clear, real terms of the shop, farm and mine.
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World Socialism

THE FASCIST TERROR CONTINUES

By HERBERT ZAM

THE brutal sentences, the constant mass trials, the known and unknown murders, which are part of the established "stability" of the fascist regimes in Germany and Austria, are the best possible proofs that the revolutionary

workers' movement in these countries is alive and active. The first wave of brutal mass terror has now been replaced by systematic persecution of all workers daring to express their dissatisfaction with the regime or the intolerable conditions. But this very persecution can serve as an indicator of the rise of the new labor movement in these countries.

Three trials are now going on in Hamburg. Two of these are mass trials of 270 and 570 workers and the third is that of Andre, former communist leader. Andre has been in prison since March, 1933, and is charged with participation in the disorder in Alton (near Hamburg) in July, 1932, before the Nazi dictatorship was established. He has faced the Nazis with great courage and defiance, even according to the Hitler press, which declares that "he adopted a tone that did not correspond with his position as a prisoner."

Hamburg's Terror

The members of the mass groups are mostly workers who were arrested in special raids of the police, brownshirts and blackshirts, in November and December at Elmshorn, near Hamburg. They are being tried in batches totaling 23 groups. Some have already been sentenced to penal servitude ranging up to eight years. They are all charged with membership in the illegal Socialist and communist parties. The great strength of the labor movement in Hamburg and vicinity has called forth the greatest fascist terror in that section of the country.

In order to appear "clean" in the eyes of the diplomatic world, the Nazis are now denying that there are any significant number of prisoners left. Dr. Frank, Chairman of the "Academy of German Law and member of the cabinet, recently declared that there are only two concentration camps remaining in Germany with a total of 4,000 prisoners. The Commission of Inquiry of the Socialist and Labor International points out, however, that at Papenburg alone there are four camps, and camps still exist at Dachau, Lichtenburg, Fuhlsbuettel, Aussenkommando Glasmoor, Brandenburg. The camp at Kislau has just been liquidated because it is in the area which is undergoing fortification. At Fuhlsbuettel alone there are 5,000 prisoners. In the Hamburg region there are 14,500, of whom 10,000 are political prisoners. Thus, the total varies from 20,000 to 50,000, and the correct figure is very likely nearer the latter estimate.

Unionists Jailed

In Austria also the fascist judges are being kept busy. On June 5th, the Supreme Court in Vienna dealt with the appeal of the trade union leaders, Holwatj and Steindl, against the sentences of five and ten years hard labor which had been imposed on them for "illegal" trade union activity. In spite of the fact that the literature offered in evidence was very old, and that the prosecution had brought in new literature which had not even been presented originally (and which the Supreme Court had to throw out) the sentences were affirmed, but Holwatj's was reduced to six years. In thus sentencing Holwatj and Steindl the Austrian govern-

ment and its courts are striking at the great majority of the Austrian workers, who have remained true to the principles of the trade union movement and who are demanding the restoration of the right to organize and those other rights of which they were deprived in February, 1934.

Joseph Soldatics, an active worker in the Revolutionary Socialist Party, was arrested last year when caught transporting the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* into Vienna. He was first sentenced to a year under police arrest, and later a year at hard labor was added. Now he has also been charged with participation in the fighting in February, 1934. The police claim that he distributed arms to a detachment of the *Schutzbund* in Siegendorf and to have directed the fighting against the advancing army. For this, he was sentenced to another year at hard labor, bringing his total to three years. It is believed that the police will discover new crimes against this comrade, so as to keep him in prison perpetually. At the trial Soldatics behaved very courageously; he declared openly that he was a revolutionary Socialist and would continue to struggle against the fascist usurpers.

Illegal Leaflets

In Linz, before the Provincial Court, four workers were charged with having produced and distributed hand-bills attacking the government. Strassmeyer, a locksmith, was sentenced to 14 months; two workers, Kraupuc and Maringer, and an apprentice, Wipplinger, were sentenced to 12 months hard labor. This was in addition to six-to-eight months police sentences which they had already served.

Some time ago, Comrades Koshout, Lawitzka and Kauler were arrested for distributing "illegal" printed matter, but were acquitted for lack of evidence. Upon the appeal of the Public Prosecutor a new trial was ordered, and at this trial all of the accused were sentenced to two months each. But this was not enough for the Supreme Court. Another trial was ordered, and this time the defendants were sentenced to twelve months each.

So far this year, the Austrian courts have sentenced 181 men and women to more than 408 years in prison. These figures do not include police sentences, which are probably as high. But the persecutions will not succeed in destroying the Austrian labor movement, and the fight against fascism will continue until its overthrow.

Falcons

Spurred on by the holding of a successful Falcon Guides' Convention in Cleveland the "Friends of Workers' Children" have announced a campaign to organize local FWC clubs in every locality where a Falcon Flight exists.

Each local and branch of the Socialist Party and sympathetic organizations is requested to elect a committee of three to organize a Friends of Workers' Children Club. The names of those elected to these committees should be sent immediately to Harry Fleischman, Director of the Friends of Workers' Children of America, 721 Moxley Building, Chicago, Illinois, who will send further information and material on building FWC clubs.

SAILORS RAISE RED FLAG



Shipping in Marseilles, France, was tied up when these striking sailors demanded a 40-hour work-week. The seamen raised the red flag of international brotherhood and sang "The Internationale" with clenched fists.

How Did We Get This Way?

What was good enough for your grandfather isn't good enough for you! Of course it isn't.

You can't get along without electricity, radios, bathtubs, moving pictures, railroads, airplanes. In this day and age, we need the benefits of science.

Just stop to think of what would happen if all our inventions were wiped out. We'd starve to death. Without the railroad trains, for example, the farmers wouldn't be able to get their milk into the cities to feed the millions of people. They wouldn't be able to reap the crops in the wide fields without the harvesting and reaping machines.

Clearly our world is different from the world in which our grandparents lived.

'Benefits' of Civilization

Imagine Columbus coming back to America in 1936. The first time he came, he found savages—people too uncivilized to go hungry when there was too much wheat, people without brains enough to go ragged because Rain-in-the-Face had made too many loin cloths. In 1936, however, Columbus would find civilization—and unemployment.

The Indians never worried about unemployment and depressions. They did have to worry about Mother Nature's becoming stingy and failing to provide enough animals in the forests. But they never went around jobless.

Were they, in spite of their being savages, wiser than we?

The fact is that they weren't. It was merely that they had a different method of getting food and clothes for themselves, a different kind of "economic system." Whatever machinery they needed, they themselves owned. With hunting as their main business, bows and arrows were their tools. They didn't have others owning the machinery on which their livelihood depended.

That was the difference between them and us. We do not own our tools. The machines we work on are the property of other men. The farms we till belong to the banks.

The result is that our lives are owned by other men. Without the bow and arrow, the Indian couldn't live, depending as he did on catching game in the forest. If the Indian had to use the weapons of others, he would have been faced with the danger of unemployment at any time that the owner wanted to take the weapons away from him. Under such conditions, he would have been faced, too, with the possibility of starvation even when there was plenty of deer in the forest waiting for his skillful woodsmanship.

Compare yourself with him. You don't own the machines on which you have to work. You have to use the factory owned by another man. Week after week, you pay the machine-owner for the privilege of working on his machine—by giving him all that you make, and then you get back a small part of it in a little pay envelope.

In other words, in 1936 we are living under a wage system. The world has changed a great deal since the time when laborers needed only simple tools and could afford to own them. When the laborer owned his tools, he had the right to work and the right to own what he created.

The Right to Work

Now it is different. We do not enjoy the right to work. And when we do work, we do not have the right to the full value of what we create.

These rights which the working men of another age once had have been taken away. Factory owners, if they were to get profits, needed workingmen to labor on the machines. But so long as the laborers had tools of their own, they would not sell themselves to the factory owners.

In the history of the human race, there is no story so bloody as the one which tells how farm workers were forced off their land and compelled to go into the factories. The skilled workingmen, who could not stand up against the greater power of the machines and the machine-owners, had to give up their little shops and take their places inside the factory walls.

In this way, the masses of the people lost their property, the tools with which they earned their living. New tools had become necessary in the changing world—the complicated wheels and handles that make up modern machinery. And these machines were and are the private property of a small group of men who preach about how "holy" private property is while they and their class destroyed the private property of the masses—their means of earning a living.

New conditions made this change necessary. If we were to have a world in which more goods could be created, finer homes could be built, more comfort could be had, the machines and the machine-system were necessary.

But the time has come when the machines must be used in such a manner that these goods can go to the workers. Just as in the days when the workers owned their tools they also owned the goods, so now the workers, in order to own the goods, must become the owners of the machines.

The aim of the Socialist Party is to bring about this change so that the workers will own the machines and thus be able to enjoy what their labor creates.

Roosevelt's Cuba:

Uncle Sam—Dictator of Cuba

By ARTHUR PINCUS

The whole failure of Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy, so merrily applauded by liberals when it was enunciated three years ago by the pontifical gentleman in the White House, is epitomized in the militarism and bloody chaos under which Cuba lies crushed today.

Roosevelt's hypocritical pose is unmasked by the blunt truth that it is his State Department which



helped set up and maintain a military terror so vicious that for a year and a half it has prevented a supposedly independent nation from openly expressing its will.

Smashed Trade Unions

It is on his doorstep that leaders of the underground opposition movement in Cuba lay the blame for the smashing of the island's powerful trade-union movement with its horrible aftermath of sadistic torture, murder and imprisonment of thousands of courageous men and women, many of them distinguished among the island's leaders in literature, science, politics and thought.

In the guise of "good neighbor" we have driven the Cuban masses further from their goal of liberty and fundamental rights as human beings.

The island is in worse economic and social shape than ever before.

We have widened the duties of American Ambassador to include those of actual colonial administrator—without the responsibilities.

Well might the Cuban people shout across the sea: "If this be the result of 'good neighborism,' deliver us from our friends; we

Batista Seeks Regimentation Of Cuba Labor

WASHINGTON, (FP) — How effective promises of Gomez to workers are, received striking illustration here as a confidential letter from an officer of the Cuban army to all Cuban employers was revealed by a representative of the Cuban Federation of Labor.

The letter reads, "You are requested to send, as soon as possible, to this office (Military City, Columbia) a confidential list of the workers and employees in your commercial house or industry. In the said list you must state names, family names, nationality, names of parents, age, married or single, profession, race, home address, besides all the data and antecedents known and if possible pictures of the said workers and employees, marking on the margin those elements who at present are known as disturbers.

"The obtaining of this data is necessary for the organization of The Bureau of Labor Social Prevention which we are undertaking."

MAKE ROOSEVELT ANSWER

On Saturday, July 4, anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, The New York Times, most powerful of capitalist newspapers, began the publication of a series of articles defending the United States' policy in Cuba. Sending an ace reporter to Havana to discover "all the news that's fit to print," the editors of the Times began a hysterical defense of the Gomez murder regime.

"Complete normality," read the Times article. "Legal elections have been held; liberty for all, a free congress; the days of dictatorship have passed; President Gomez' most immediate objective is the adoption of amnesty."

But three sentences belie these fine phrases. Says Gomez:

"Colonel Batista and I are very friendly."

"My program is not directed particularly against American capitalists. Anything that is done will take into consideration the legitimate rights of existing interests."

"I want to express the appreciation of Cuba for the great assistance the United States has given us from the days when it helped us achieve our independence to the present."

* * *

To our readers who have followed the articles by Arthur Pincus in the CALL exposing the bare truth of the conditions in Cuba, these sentences belie the story of normality. In this, the third and final article of the series, Mr. Pincus, a New York newspaperman who investigated firsthand the conditions in Cuba, makes plain the role of the Roosevelt government in inspiring and supporting the horrible murder and suppression of all liberal and labor forces in Cuba.

The Roosevelt administration must answer for the plight of labor in Cuba.

MAKE ROOSEVELT ANSWER!

can take care of our enemies."

Despite the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, intervention in internal affairs has gone on interrupted by the application of a Jesuitical balancing between such fine distinctions as "official" and "non-official" acts.

Embassy Rules

Before and since the fall of Machado, our embassy has been virtually the administrative center of the island.

At every turn and crisis in Cuban affairs, gray American battleships shuttled back and forth before grim Morro Castle.

Our ambassadors, seemingly deriving sustenance from the sight of these gallant ships, laid down the law for the island's administration by divine sovereignty.

Elections a Farce

The "constitutional" elections of last January 10 which maneuvered sugar-interest Gomez into office were a farce. Two reactionary parties holding identical positions on all questions "contested" the election. Combined they polled barely one fifth of the electorate. The

strong revolutionary parties, representing fully 80% of the population, had been driven underground. Their members could not even vote.

Gomez, resting his oars on a technical sense of legality, is uneasy in the carved mahogany presidential chair he warms. He is striving to placate at least the "respectable" bourgeois parties of the opposition while casting nervous glances at the efforts of labor to reorganize its once powerful trade-unions. The rumblings of such a movement, though still slight, exert their own logic on the plans of Batista-Gomez-Caffery.

Just now, Gomez, stealing the center of the stage from Batista, talks of amnesty but means by it only a particular type, a limited amnesty, which will touch some sections of the prisoners. Revolutionary militants, labor leaders and radical students will be left to rot in dungeons by virtue of loopholes in the amnesty act which will serve as a weapon against the working class and its sympathizers.

Cuban leaders know that revolutions cannot be concealed under

polite phraseology. They either erupt or are repressed. Thus far, the Cuban revolution has been repressed, as much by the studied actions of our State Department as by the scourging white terror it supported.

That terror, changed somewhat to meet criticism both here and in Cuba but devastating nonetheless in its effort on the working class, must continue if Gomez and Batista are to remain in power.

Two Billion Dollars

From the day that bloody Machado was forced to flee Cuba, our ambassadors have busied themselves with meddling and intrigue to produce rubber-stamp governments acceptable not to the Cuban masses but to those corporations representing nearly two billion dollars of American imperialist investment in Cuba.

The De Cespedes government, Ambassador Sumner Welles' pet creation to take over where Machado left off, could not get to first base for the simple reason that it represented no political groups in Cuba. The moderately liberal Grau San Martin government was representative of a big percentage of actual living groups, and was the only government to reach power in Cuba by its own efforts and without outside help in almost thirty years.

From its inception, Welles was actively hostile to it, righteously protesting that it was illegal and unconstitutional, even while he, an Ambassador on foreign soil, was pulling wires to undermine it.

Welles Promoted

As a career diplomat, Welles lost nothing when his departure from Cuba was flatly asked by the Cuban government. The Roosevelt Administration rewarded him with a better job—that of Under-Secretary in charge of Caribbean affairs. In that capacity he still has his finger in the Cuban pie and stands today as the immediate chief of his successor, Jefferson Caffery.

When Caffery arrived in Havana, his task was comparatively easy because Welles had done so much of the spade work. He continued the game of treachery by excluding again from governmental plans the labor elements—the Havana Federation of Labor and National Cuban Confederation of Labor.

Caffery, however, profiting by Welles' mistakes invested the real power not in Mendieta but in army chieftain Batista. From that moment on Cuba was delivered body and soul to a barbarous militarism.

Caffery and Welles—key men in the situation at every crisis—condoned and abetted each ac-

Aid the Cuban Prisoners!

The Labor and Socialist Defense Committee are now conducting a campaign in behalf of the heroic trade union and labor party leaders of Cuba, now being tortured in the dungeons of Batista and Gomez. There are three thousand political prisoners incarcerated by the puppets of American imperialism.

A special fund must be raised, every penny of which will go to political prisoners and their families, through the Havana Federation of Labor and the Socorro Obrero (Workers Aid).

You have read in our pages the horrible details of the terror being waged against the Cuban people. Economically—as American imperialist domination reveals—Cuba is part of America. Equally, therefore, should the plight of Cuba's political prisoners be an obligation on the American Labor movement and every friend of democratic rights.

Give, generously, for the aid of the Cuban victims! Give yourself, collect from others, make appeals in your unions and party branches, and send all funds to the Labor and Socialist-Defense Committee Room 1106, 112 East 19th Street.

Help the heroic Cuban workers to go on fighting for their—and our—democratic rights!

tion taken by Batista. Batista visited Caffery daily in the latter's charming Vedado home. He received the bulk of his political direction from him.

Labor leaders, hunted the length and breadth of the island, solemnly accuse Caffery of having personally conceived the notion of smashing Cuba's trade-unions, following the General Strike of March, 1935. And behind their accusations is the divining rod of bitter logic.

Was Interventionist

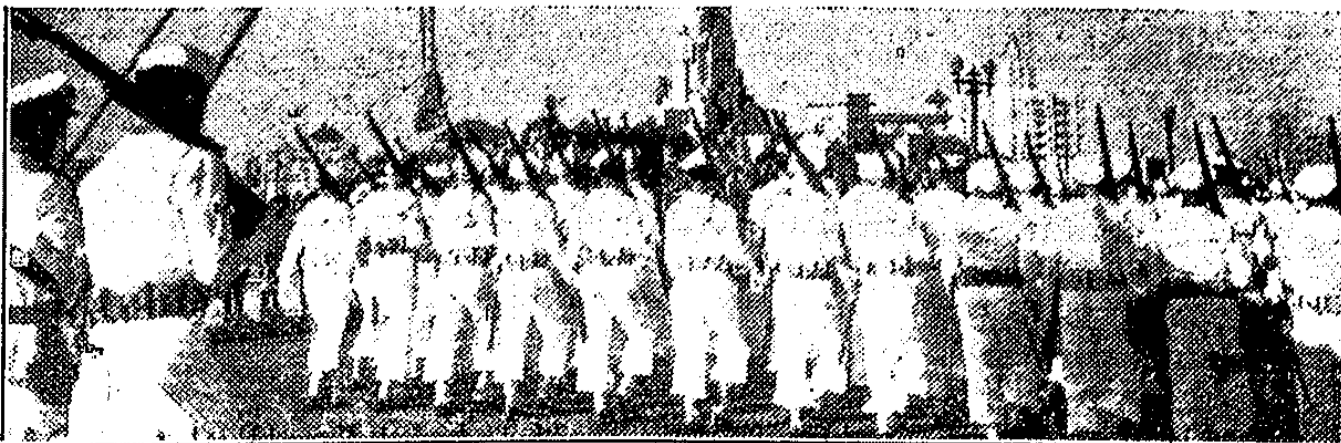
The unions were a constant source of embarrassment to Caffery in his holy obligations to imperialist American sugar and utility interests. It was they who criticized his interventionist role most bitterly, who held him up to public scorn after he had forced out of Mendieta's cabinet, Juan Antigua, Minister of Labor, for permitting a settlement favorable to the strikers to be made in the big electric company strike of February, 1935.

* * *

The immediate prospects for Cuba are three-fold: the continuation of the present government if it can successfully absorb the strongest of the opposition bourgeois parties and thus freeze out labor which has been angling for support from the same groups; a reversion to a military dictatorship; or the complete independence of the working class, relying upon itself and plantation slaves for a return of proletarian parties and trade-unions to their rightful legality.

"Good neighbor" Roosevelt will certainly support the first by preference, the second if he must. But the third depends entirely on the enlightened section of the American working class without whose active aid and support the Cuban proletariat can do little or nothing.

BILL COLECTORS FOR WALL STREET



American marines on parade on Malecon Drive in Havana, Cuba. The island is technically independent, but actually the Cuban government under American direction has crushed the free forces of Cuban labor.

Party Activity:

California Secretary Tours State

A tour of the locals in the state is being made by State Secretary Glen Trimble. On Saturday, July 4, he left for Bakersfield, his first stop. He plans to spend a few days with each local to talk over local problems and activities and to co-ordinate the work of the Membership and Budget Fund Drive. The tour will last through the next meeting of the State Executive Committee in Berkeley, July 18-19, and will wind up in San Diego the following week.

Two summer schools are being planned: one in the San Francisco area during the week of July 9 to July 16, and one at the Pacific Palisades under the auspices of the Los Angeles local. John Townsend of Pasadena is in charge of arrangements for the southern summer school which will probably be held from July 16 to July 23.

Connecticut

Bridgeport Socialists arranged a banquet here to listen in on the broadcast of Norman Thomas' speech on Friday, July 10, from the midnight supper tendered to the National Executive Committee in New York. The banquet was coupled with the CALL drive.

Illinois

With state organizers Ed Adams, Joe Brinocar, Ed Parker, C. H. Mayer and Charles Rossio in the field, the Socialist Party is the only working class political organization with any chance of getting on the ballot. Election laws have been revised with a view to keeping radical parties off the ballot.

The tentative schedule for the tour of George Nelson, candidate for Vice-President, is: Waukegan July 27, Bloomington July 28, Yorkville July 29, Trenton July 30, Gillespie July 31, Galesburg August 1, and the picnic at Starved Rock August 2.

Michigan

A summer organization school will be held at Grant, Michigan, for the central states. Leo Vernon will be in charge of the

WILLIAM PERRY
New York Socialists mourn the loss of Comrade William Perry, member of the State Committee of the New York Socialist Party and former vice-president of the Central Trades and Labor Assembly of Elmira. Local Elmira has suffered a great loss in the death of this active and militant fighter for Socialism and progressive unionism.

In New York:

3 Leaflets Published

Three leaflets have been published recently by Local New York. They are a very attractive leaflet on the motion picture "Fury," to be distributed to the people emerging from theatres; a 4-page leaflet reprinting Norman Thomas' acceptance speech, and a 4-page leaflet on "What Is Socialism?" They can be secured for \$1.75 a thousand.

Persons who have not yet made their reservations for the executive committee in conjunction with the Thomas broadcast Friday, July 10 should do so at once. All party members are invited to attend the NEC sessions.

A meeting of all Socialist trade unionists and branch labor secretaries will be held Thursday, July 9, at 6.00 p. m. at 21 East 17th Street.

Three hundred delegates and alternates representing branches of Local New York will convene July 18 at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, to nominate a candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen and other city-wide judicial officers, and take up detailed plans of organization, etc.

A school which will last from July 12 to 26. Expenses, covering all items, will be \$8.00 per week. For information, write to the Socialist Party of Michigan, 512 South Washington, Royal Oak.

Detroit Socialists will open their campaign with a moonlight excursion on the Steamer Put-in-Bay on Monday, July 13. It sails at 8:30 p. m. from the foot of First Street.

New York

The State Executive Committee, meeting in New York City, laid plans for the state campaign. Five organizers will be immediately sent into the field. Three have already been approved—Bruno Rantane, Hans Peters and Gloria Waldron.

Gubernatorial candidate Harry W. Laidler's acceptance speech and the state platform are already on the press, and copies will be distributed throughout the state.

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Books

Three Philosophers

By BRUNO FISCHER

Jefferson, Lenin and Socrates get together in heaven and discuss the important problems of 1936, and their discussion is called "Three Gods Give an Evening to Politics," by Richard Roth-schild (Random House, \$1.50).

Each is supposed to represent a point of view—Jefferson, individualism; Lenin, collectivism; Socrates, well, Socrates—or he who wants to understand all things.

And so the three talk about freedom and history and what man wants, until they end up in a morass of metaphysics, where all such discussions seem inevitably to end.

As a matter of fact, the author was eventually forced to land in metaphysics—the last refuge of the philosopher—for he had set himself an impossible task. There is no way of counterposing in terms of modern conditions the social philosophy of ancient Greece with the genuine individualism of pioneer American or with the need of collectivism in modern society. Jefferson could not have been Jefferson in 1936 any more than Lenin could have been Lenin at the time of Socrates.

Incidentally, much fault can be found with the author's presentation of Lenin's ideas. One example, and a damning one it is, will suffice. He has Lenin say: "I have always maintained that democracy and a highly developed industrialism cannot be merged." Lenin, of course, never uttered such nonsense. On the contrary, he believed, in common with all Marxists, that a true democracy and true individualism could exist in modern society only where a highly developed industrialism was socialized. Which makes all the difference in the world.

A belated word of praise for Dr. Howard David Langford's "Education and the Social Conflict" (MacMillan, \$1.75). Dr. Howard is a professor at Columbia University, and this somewhat revolutionary book is sponsored by the staid Kappa Delta Pi Society.

The present day world presents three basic problems in education to him: that "of transmitting the expanding stock of information about the world we live in"; that "of securing the rounded development of the supposedly self-

directing individual"; that "of enlisting the impoverished and exploited workers of the world in organized struggle for control of the means of satisfying their material and cultural needs."

The third problem is the central theme of his book. He goes on to amplify it, through an analysis of capitalist society, somewhat superficially, the obstacles to genuine education under the present economic system, and the final conclusion that true education is possible only when the working class obtains social power.

July ASM Carries Resolution on War

The July issue of the American Socialist Monthly is an important contribution to clarity for the American working class. In the opening articles John L. Lewis and Norman Thomas give their position in the present campaign.

Lewis gives the traditional basis of American labor's political maneuvering. "The American Labor movement is not a political partisan institution," he writes. "It rises above party lines." He calls upon labor to present a united front against reaction and in support of Roosevelt, for, he says, "labor owes him a debt of gratitude that can be liquidated by casting its solid vote for him."

Thomas takes clean cut issue with Lewis' position. "The workers must achieve their own salvation," he declares. "That requires them not to rally around a benefactor or support a Messiah, but to organize in their own behalf economically and politically."

The major test of any radical group today is its war position.

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The "Resolution on War" adopted by the Cleveland Convention of the Socialist Party is reprinted in full. Haim Kantorovich in his article on the "Left Wing at the Cleveland Convention" says that "the one real achievement of which the left wing may be proud is the resolution on war." The Cleveland Resolution is in line with the great Socialist tradition. It is stated with fine clarity and conciseness and could serve well as a touchstone for judging other working class parties. We Socialists shall be grievously remiss in our duty if we don't spread the Cleveland Resolution on War throughout the land.

To those who intend to follow these critical days intelligently, the American Socialist Monthly is becoming increasingly necessary.

—L. H.

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4. Every sub. blank should bear the name of the contestant sending in the sub.
5. The bound volumes will be distributed while they last.
6. The post mark on the letters containing the subs will be used in judging the winners. THIS WILL PUT THE CONTESTANTS on the Pacific Coast on an equal footing with those on the eastern seaboard.
7. Winners will be announced in the August 22nd issue of the Socialist Call.
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Rebel Arts Notes:

Plan Puppet Shows For Party Campaign

NEW YORK—Street corner and hall puppet groups for the fall campaign are to be launched by Rebel Arts immediately with a summer two months training course in all the details of puppet making and production. Helen Fichandler, director of the Rebel Arts Puppeteers, will be in charge.

All interested in making puppets, in preparing shows, and in setting up puppet groups of their own are invited to attend this training course, providing only that they are anxious to use their puppet groups for the campaign. Experienced workers as well as novices are urged to attend, since facilities will be provided for all stages of puppet work to proceed at the same time. As soon as groups of two or three puppeteers are ready to start on the streets or in halls, they will be allowed to do so either on their own or under direction.

Teams of two or three from YPSL circles or party branches who want to operate in their own territory or under the auspices of their own organizations should register together explaining their wishes.

The class will start Friday, July 10, at 7:30 p. m. sharp at Rebel Arts, 35 E. 19th St. Classes will meet every week for three hours and participants will be

Summer Resorts

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Announce New Theatre Group

Rebel Arts announces a new drama project for serious workers in the labor theatre. It will select from those who apply about a dozen of the most able or promising people for an intensive course during the summer in stage and acting technic and the presentation of one-act and more ambitious plays. The group will not be limited to those who have done work with Rebel Arts before. All interested in studying and working during the summer with a view to early fall production by a coordinated company should write at once to Emanuel Racies, care Rebel Arts Players, 35 East 19th Street. The group will meet at least one evening a week, (starting Monday, July 21) and more often if possible. Associated with Racies will be Florence Lasser, who will specialize in improvisations, and Milton Weinstein.

expected to be prompt and steady. This is an opportunity for all those who want to help in the campaign in a novel and interesting way.

A call has been issued for a short pointed snappy script for the campaign. Send scripts to Rebel Arts at once or write for further details.

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Here is a scene from "Fury," an anti-lynching moving picture. In the inserts are Sylvia Sidney and Spencer Tracy who star in it. In New York City, Socialists are distributing a leaflet which calls for action to do away with lynching by eliminating lynching's cause: Capitalism.

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Beer and Melodrama Offered by the WPA

LIGHTS O' LONDON, an English melodrama by George R. Sims. Revised and directed by the Federal Theatre of WPA. At the Palm Garden, 52nd Street, West of 8th Avenue, New York City.

"Lights O' London," the program notes inform us, was first produced in London on September 10, 1881 and after a "warm reception" came to America the following season. It opened at the old Union Square Theatre and ran about 450 nights—a record run for that time and even now.

And now after more than four months of rehearsals under the capable direction of Earle Mitchell, you can boo and hiss the villain and cheer the handsome hero while sipping beer at the Palm Garden which is supposed to be one of the few remaining beer halls in New York. The Federal Theatre has undoubtedly gone to great pains in presenting this charming little bit of summer relaxation. The garden is well studded with tables covered with red-checked cloth — close enough for you to be able to urge on your neighbor in hissing that dastard villain. You will enjoy especially the short appearances of that very fat and jolly Joe Jarvis, owner of "Jarvis Traveling Temple of the Legitimate," who can play anything from Romeo to Humpty-Dumpty.

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Rebel Arts Chorus Is Well Received In Full Recital

By LE HERER

Before a capacity audience, the New York Rebel Arts Chorus, forty strong, gave its first full recital on Wednesday evening, July 1, in the new Rebel Arts Hall at 35 East 19th Street. The recital marked the twenty-fifth public appearance of the chorus, which has performed consistently for two years in and about New York City at important labor and Socialist gatherings.

Fifteen songs, two groups of labor songs and one group of Negro spirituals, arranged for mixed a-cappella chorus, comprised the major portion of the program. Ethel Gisnet, pianist, was guest soloist, playing a group of compositions by Brahms, Chopin and Schumann. Sam Friedman, executive director of Rebel Arts and editor of the Rebel Song Book, held forth in a short talk on "What is a Labor Song?" Although the program was serious in content, an atmosphere of gaiety and festive humor prevailed.

The chorus, intelligently directed by Aaron Mezisky, sang with freshness and vigor. Many of the songs, old favorites in the labor movement, were heard once again, their beauty enhanced by choral renditions. Several new songs and arrangements were heard. Some presented difficulties of choral technique which were met with astonishing facility, assurance and good taste by the singers. The audience, many of whom were hearing the chorus for the first time, was completely won over by the engaging performance.

The Rebel Arts Chorus will continue to meet during the summer on Wednesday evenings at 7:00 p. m. The minimum requirement for membership in the chorus is simply the ability to carry a tune. For those who cannot read music, the chorus offers a class in music notation and sight reading led by Aaron Mezisky on Wednesdays at 6 p. m.

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America's most beautiful river? The Palisades still are echoing to the tunes of that wonderful orchestra and the rhythmic beating of the dancing feet of the thousand merrymakers. Don't read this in your July 12th paper and kick yourself for not going on

JULY 11

S. S. BEAR MOUNTAIN

Ticket From the Y. P. S. I. and Socialist Party, 21 East 17th St., N. Y. C.

LEAVING BATTERY 8:30 P.M.

132nd ST. 9:00 P.M.

Were you left ashore when the S. S. Bear Mountain Show Boat weighed anchor? Did you miss the delightful starlit sail up



Norman Thomas:

SOCIALISTS GIVE THE ANSWER TO THE PROBLEMS OF TODAY

The following is the text of Norman Thomas' address to the convention of the National Educational Association in Portland, Oregon:

THIS is a world of poverty in the midst of potential abundance. It was so even in the times of Coolidge to which the Liberty Leaguers and some Republicans vainly hope to return. In 1929, according to the Brookings Institution, we could have produced enough to raise every family income in America to the \$2,000 level without cutting any at the top. There were then 16.4 million families with incomes less than \$2,000. Instead of doing better after 1929 our system entered a depression from which we have not yet emerged. "But that was the fault of the Old Deal," some of you will want to remind me.

Well, what of the New? Ten to twelve million still unemployed, profits increased while wages stand virtually still, relief in New York City—here it is relatively high—40 per cent below the allowance per family of private charity budgets, a terrifying burden of debt, a general program of subsidizing scarcity—at great expense—and calling it prosperity. That we, like many other nations, are better off than in 1932, is true. That we have achieved true prosperity or that what we have will last, no honest and intelligent man dares to affirm.

The machinery which might be used to conquer poverty is used to make war steadily more destructive. In new world war there can be no victory, only degrees in defeat and misery. Yet for new war the world, the United States included, frantically prepares. We who have least cause for alarm lead the world in absolute and relative increase in armament since 1914 and in the total of our military expenditures.

The steady drift is to catastrophe, and the question is, Will that catastrophe come through new economic collapse or our participation in new world war?

Civil Liberty Endangered

In the midst of the disintegration of the old order, our boasted American liberties suffer. I need not remind you of the significance of loyalty oaths and inquisitions into teachers' beliefs. You know in general the significance of the revival of the K. K. K. in the flogging belt in Florida, the deplorable Black Legion in Michigan, Ohio and elsewhere, Vigilantes in California—where Mooney and Billings are still in jail—peonage in the cotton country, terrorism in Arkansas.

To deal with this deep seated sickness of the body politic we have from the old parties neither proper diagnosis nor adequate cure. All of their planks assume that with minor changes all will be well. They are not specific about their minor changes. Republicans are nowadays for some social welfare work, but only under a program of states' rights. (Big corporations aren't afraid of the states!) At bottom, however an inconsistent platform may disguise the fact, the Republican Party, or the dominant forces in it, is the party of special privilege, the ally of Hearst and the Liberty League, all of whom seek to identify liberty with the right to grab what you can, and keep what you grab.

Roosevelt has made the Democratic Party profess nobler ideals and to try certain reforms more or less favorable to the workers within the capitalist system. But without great success. At the end of five rowdy days spent by a rubber stamp convention, the majority of them office holders, in making noise, the President accepted the nomination in an address of noble ideals unrelated to a specific program. This "friend of labor," endorsed by many labor leaders, was nominated by Judge Mack of Poughkeepsie, who recently got a sweeping injunction against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. He accepted the nomination from the chairman of the convention, Senator Robinson of Arkansas, beneficiary and political protector of the worst form of exploitation in America, the cotton planting system. Against terrorism in Arkansas, peonage, whipping as a means of keeping workers in order—a white woman was one victim—neither Senator Robinson nor the President has spoken out.

Conspicuous Democrats

Among the conspicuous Democrats at the Convention was Governor McNutt of Indiana, author of a version of military law which deserves the name Hoosier Hitlerism. For more than two years in Sullivan County, and for about six months in Vigo County he maintained a little dictator, Major Weimar, with power to prevent "egress and ingress" from the counties, to order military arrest without right of appeal to habeas corpus, and to forbid all meetings, "even," to quote the Terre Haute Star, "church meetings, lodge meetings and bridge parties." And this is New Deal liberty! No wonder the platform deals in generalities and uncertainties even in the matter of constitutional amendment.

Two other minor parties, the Communist and this new Union Party, set up by Father Coughlin, are allies, willingly or unwillingly, of the major parties. Strangely enough, the Communists, still holding that some time we must follow the Moscow road, have decided that the issue now is democracy or fascism, and they are running a campaign to beat Landon by driving Roosevelt a little farther to the left. The Lemke crusade, principally for soft money and inflation with Santa Claus promises of something for everybody, all within the rules of the profit system, expresses real and we justified discontent, but its effect will be to help Landon.

Outworn Institutions

To all this we Socialists say: You gentlemen with your reforms, good, bad and indifferent, haven't diagnosed the disease properly. The primary trouble is not Old Deal or New, more money or less. It is the capitalist nationalist system with its outworn loyalties and institutions. You cannot have abundance in this machine age without planning for abundance. You cannot plan to produce or share abundance as long as profit for owner—increasingly absentee owners is your god. Profit depends upon exploitation of workers with hand and brain. It depends upon relative scarcity.

Planned abundance requires social ownership not of consumers' goods, the house you live in, your automobile, your violin, your saw and hammer but of the

great natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution, emphatically including not merely a central bank of issue, but the whole banking system. We must deliberately set out to see that every family worth holding together at all must receive the \$2,500 a year minimum that modern technology makes possible. Above that, reward should be according to deed, not ownership. Able bodied adults must expect to live by well rewarded work.

Socialized industries should be self administered under boards representing the workers in the industry, the technicians, and the consumers. Over all these should be a National Planning Council, a board of strategy in the war against poverty. Prosperity as well as peace depends upon making some functions of planning international in a federation of cooperative commonwealths.

As matters now stand, in the interest of peace and order and equity between different classes of owners, we propose moderate compensation for owners of property first socialized. But this will be accompanied by a capital levy tax amounting to expropriation in the higher brackets. Such a tax is the best alternative to an inflation ruinous to wage and salary workers.

Immediate Necessities

It is for this new way of life and social organization that we fight. While we fight for the Socialist society we do not forget men's immediate needs:

Social security for the aged, the unemployed, the sick.

Public housing to conquer slums and give work.

The assertion of real civil and religious liberty for all races and the right of all workers to organize and bargain collectively.

A peace program: neutrality, taking profit out of war and preparation for war, a drive for disarmament and against imperialism.

A constitutional amendment to make democracy constitutional by giving Congress full power to legislate for the economic and social well being of farmers, workers and consum-

OUSTED



Robert Burke, president-elect of the junior class at Columbia University and a Golden Gloves boxing champion, was expelled by college authorities because of his activity in the American Student Union.

No 'Dumb Klucks,' Allentown Workers Free Two Unionists

ALLENTOWN, Pa. (FP) — When Leo Berezin and James Bant, International Ladies Garment Workers Union organizers were arrested for "organizing on the street," 100 young garment workers marched in a body to the police station and demanded their release. The demand was granted.

The organizers were called by Allentown Sportswear Co. employes to organize a walkout of workers in protest to sweatshop conditions. Operators are paid \$6 for a 50-hour week with no overtime pay. Often child workers are forced to work until 11 p. m. to finish their stock.

When the organizers appeared on the picket line, the owners called them "gangsters from New York" and ordered their arrest. The shop is a runaway from Brooklyn, having come to Allentown several weeks ago to take advantage of what the owners call "the dumb klucks." They are finding that the workers are not so dumb.

ers. Unlike the old parties, we know without further delay the danger of judicial supremacy and we have a remedy.

This is Socialism, the answer to the problems of the Machine Age, the fulfillment of the hopes of the patriots and sages.

AYC Policies Hit by YPSL At Cleveland

CLEVELAND—Stormy sessions characterized the Third American Youth Congress, held over the Fourth of July week-end, as 1,300 delegates from all walks of life met to consider youth problems.

Greetings from Norman Thomas, President Roosevelt and leaders in the educational and trade union fields were received by the delegates.

Serious dispute arose in the Congress when delegates from trade unions and the Young People's Socialist League objected to policies which might lead to the development of the American Youth Congress into a political youth party. They pointed out that the effect would be to destroy the possibilities for united action "on a minimum program acceptable to all component organizations" if such policies were pursued.

Ben Fischer, national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League, declared that the official position of the young Socialists would be decided at the forthcoming meeting of their national executive committee this week-end in New York.

Student, religious, Negro and peace groups were represented as well as political parties and groupings. Unions officially represented included the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the West Coast Maritime Federation, the American Newspaper Guild, American Federation of Teachers, and local unions from all parts of the country.

Resolutions adopted called for support of the American Youth Act, support of the annual student anti-war strike in April, working for freedom of Angelo Herndon, and condemning Columbia University for its action in barring Robert Burke, a delegate to the Congress, from re-entering school because of participation in a student demonstration.

CABDRIVERS STRIKE

DALLAS, Tex. (FP) — Three hundred taxicabs in Dallas were tied up for the second time in three weeks as drivers demanded higher wages. The latest strike is said to be due to failure of negotiations before a board of arbitration.

THE MEANING OF LIBERTY

By MAYNARD KRUEGER

"The world has never had a good definition of the word 'liberty,' and the American people just now are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word, we do not all mean the same thing. With some, the word 'liberty' may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor; while with others, the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name,—liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names,—liberty and tyranny.

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the wolf and the sheep are not agreed upon the definition of the word 'liberty'; and precisely the

same difference prevails today, among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty."

The above words might have been written yesterday, but they were not. They were spoken by Abraham Lincoln at a fair in Baltimore on April 18, 1864. He was answering those who contended that the abolition of chattel slavery would destroy liberty.

Today the problem is not chattel slavery but wage slavery. Both Republicans and Democrats contend that the abolition of wage slavery would destroy liberty. Let's get the meaning straight.

When capitalists and capitalist politicians speak of liberty they mean liberty "for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor." They mean the right of capitalists to exploit labor.

When Socialists speak of liberty they mean the right of labor to be free from capitalist exploitation.