

**Norman  
Thomas**

DISCUSSES

*The Main  
Issue*

ON PAGE 12

JUL 11 1936

# Socialist Call

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# 'GUNS TO THE CCC! ROOSEVELT PLOT; SECRET BILL BARED

STORY ON PAGE 1

## *Socialism—Our Only Hope*

In Socialism and in Socialism alone will we find the solution of our problem. Under Socialism, the socially necessary industries would be socially owned and democratically administered by workers, consumers and technicians. The farmer working his own farm would be secure in its possession. The workers would no longer be forced to pay tribute to private owners. They would be able to buy back the goods they created. Industry, finding a market for these goods, would run without periodic breakdowns. Unemployment, and the wastes of unplanned industry, would cease. Our national income would double or treble. Every useful worker would be assured of high living standards, short hours, freedom and liberty and a chance to enjoy a good life. Industrial autocracy and war would pass. An economy of scarcity would give way to an economy of abundance.

Such a society cannot be attained without a mighty struggle. That struggle must be made by labor organized both on the economic and political fields, and dedicated to a cooperative world.

—From the Socialist Party Platform

# 'Give Guns to the CCC' Is FDR, Woodring Plot; Prepare Bill In Secret

WASHINGTON—The Roosevelt administration, sponsor of a two billion dollar army and navy budget last year, is now preparing to turn the CCC camps into military concentration corps in the best European style, The CALL learned last week.

When Congress reconvenes, it was learned, a bill will be introduced which will transfer the CCC from today's emergency status to permanent organization; military drill and military discipline will take the place of present camp routine; and the uniformed boys will be armed and given training

under Army officers in marksmanship and the use of firearms. This plan is the brain-child of Assistant Secretary of War Harry Woodring, who has rapidly superseded Secretary Dern as the real chief in the war department. Woodring, a former national officer of the American Legion and one time governor of Kansas, startled the nation in 1933 when he declared that the primary purpose of the CCC was a test of the recruiting power of the United States Army. Despite the storm of protest and objection that was raised when this article appeared, Woodring was not removed nor censured; indeed, he was given more and more power.

In a magazine article, Woodring revealed that both the CCC and the Army would be used to quell labor "disturbances." The U. S. War Department, he then declared, was prepared to destroy "the enemy within our gates" as well as a foreign army. Woodring is a close friend of Democratic Gov. Paul V. McNutt of Indiana, an American Legion "buddy," whose Hoosier Hitlerism was smashed through the efforts of Socialists.

The CCC camps were begun by the New Deal as an "emergency" measure for unemployed youth. Although administration big-shots then denied that they had military conscription in view, observers thought it significant that full control over these camps was handed over to U. S. Army martinet.

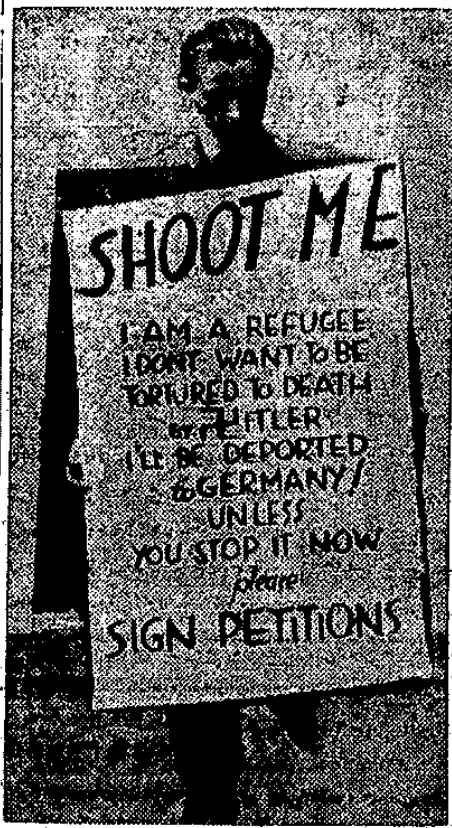
A similar bill to militarize the camps was to be introduced during the past session, it was learned. It was killed, however, by the Democratic political council of strategy, who felt that it would hurt FDR's chances of election. But once elected, there is no doubt that this bill will be steam-rolled through Congress over the protests of pacifists and liberals.

CHICAGO—Information received here by Ben Fischer, national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League, bears out Washington reports that the Roosevelt administration was preparing to militarize the CCC camps, he declared.

Fischer condemned the plan as "typical of the double-dealing of the New Dealers." He declared that members of the YPSL who are enrolled in the CCC would fight the introduction of any military measures in the camps. He announced that the young Socialists would begin a campaign against the new Roosevelt move.

### LUMBERJACKS STRIKE

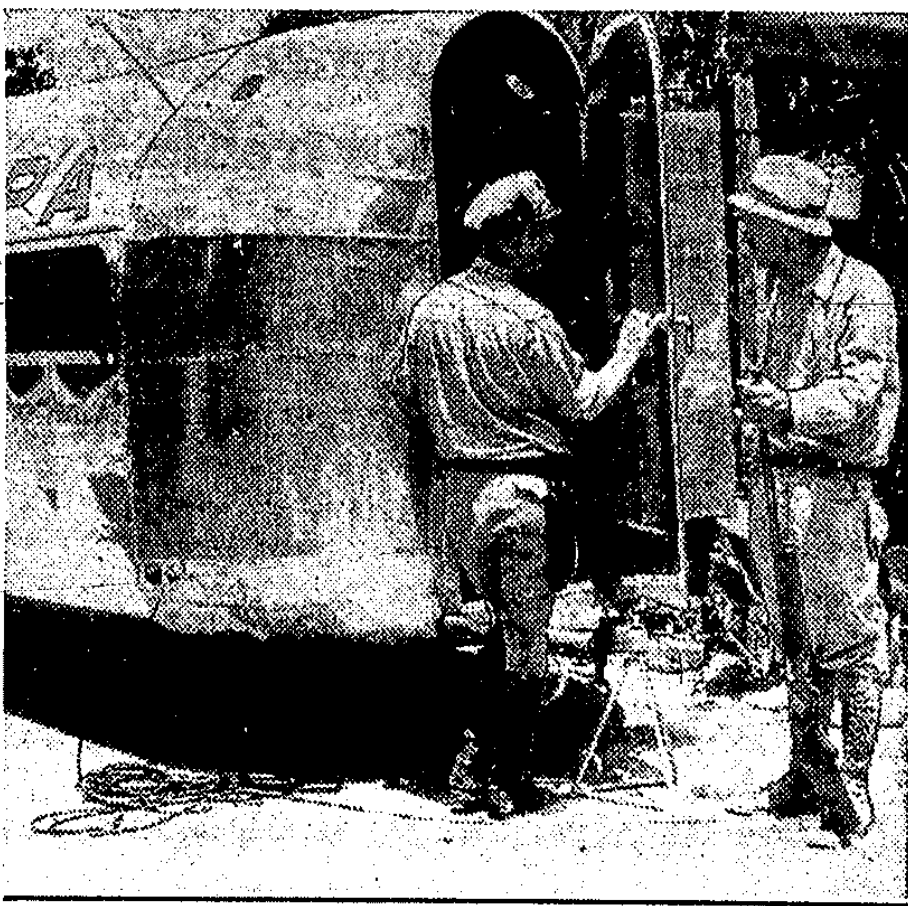
SPOKANE, Wash.—A solid strike of 3,000 lumberjacks in the white pine stand of Idaho is in full swing. The men, under the leadership of the Industrial Workers of the World, demand the 8-hour day, a \$5 daily minimum wage and better conditions.



Otto Richter, who received nation-wide publicity when he picketed the streets of New York against his ordered deportation to Germany, won his battle when the Immigration Department said he could go to the country of his choice. He chose Belgium. Richter's victory sets a precedent which is expected to save the lives of many anti-Fascists who have been ordered deported to Italy or Germany.

In 22ND WEEK MILWAUKEE, (FP) — The strike of editorial workers against the Hearst-owned Wisconsin News entered its 22nd week with the picket lines still strong. The American Newspaper Guild was given a charter by the AFL executive council this week.

## CITRUS PICKERS FIGHT



Hundreds of grim-faced special deputies patrol the strike areas in the citrus groves of Orange County, California, doing the dirty work of the planters. In a grove near Placencia is this California Highway Patrol Radio Car, ready to crush the picket lines.

## Socialist Activities Must Experience No Drought

### The Honor Roll

Here's the honor roll of contribution-collectors for this week. They raised \$118, raising the total in the drive to \$1376.10. There's still a long road ahead. These people are helping cover the distance:

Contributions	
Hyman Dobson, Flushing, L. I. (List No. 6022)	\$1.00
Bowers Haggood, Ind.	10.00
Kenmore Dr., Akron, Ohio	5.00
H. T. Smith, Queens, N. Y.	5.00
John Becker, Washington, D. C.	5.00
S. P. Jacksonville, Fla.	62.50
H. G. Brimfield, Hampton, N. J.	3.00
Village Branch, S. P., N. Y.	5.50
Bertha C. Reynolds, L. I., N. Y.	25.00
Total	118.00
Previously received	1258.10
Total	\$1376.10

The subscription list below doesn't tell the story of the contest. Some of the individuals listed, like the veteran sub-getter, Alfred Baker Lewis, are not contestants. Next week, contestants will be listed separately.

Subscriptions	
Alfred Baker Lewis, Boston, Mass.	13
S. F. Illinois	8
S. F. California	6
D. Palmieri, Peoria, Ill.	5
S. P. Kentucky	4
Irwin Fox, Baltimore, Md.	3
Milton Weisberg, Pittsburgh, Pa.	3
Jacob Jaffe, Bronx, N. Y.	3
National Office, Socialist Party	3
J. Pilskin, Flushing, L. I., N. Y.	3
Lawrence Van Camp, Michigan	3
M. D. Long, Chicago, Ill.	2
Dr. P. Nomoff, West New York, N. J.	2
H. H. Sandy, Goodland, Kansas	2
Barbara Bode	2
Andrew Bicmler, Milwaukee, Wis.	1
E. Belgray, Bronx, N. Y.	1
Harry Gross, Reading, Pa.	1
E. Haag, Reading, Pa.	1
S. P., Kansas	1
Frank McCallister, Tampa, Fla.	1
Harry Simon, Bronx, N. Y.	1
Sam Schwimmer, New York City	1
M. Charnofsky, Trenton, N. J.	1
T. Vahinaki, Fitchburg, Mass.	1
W. H. Konikov, Boston, Mass.	1

Drought, heat, suffering. That is what Summer has brought to America. The waste places of the west and middle west tell a tale of death.

But there must be no drought in the fields that Socialists cultivate. There must be no drying up of the springs—that make growth possible.

At this time, those springs are financial. You must raise the funds that will make it possible for the CALL to spread its copies all over the country. Your slogan must be: No Drought in Socialist Fields! No Erosion of Socialist Activity!

Up from Florida comes a cooling breeze. Jacksonville Socialists are on the job. They have just sent the CALL, as their contribution in the fund drive, the sum of \$62.50

This is how they did it: Comrade James L. Schlosser challenged the members of his local, offering to match every dollar they raised with four dollars of his own. Though they have only the anemic purses of the proletariat, the Jacksonville Socialists organized a social and gathered together \$12.50. Comrade Schlosser contributed his share, raising the amount to \$62.50.

There's an example for you Branches, locals, Socialist groups! Organize picnics, outings, dances—and pile up the coins.

Two reminders before you go on to read the rest of this issue:

1. Enroll as a participant in the CALL Contest by sending in your first batch of subscriptions. Don't forget that there are 20 bound copies of the first year of CALL issues waiting for readers who send in 20 subs before August 12. The contest began July 10; we're still in the first week.

CALL reader Palmieri, of Peoria, Ill., has gotten off to a flying start with 5 subs in the first week, but there are plenty of sub-chasers right on his heels. Get into the race, all of you! We're wishing you luck.

2. Don't overlook your contribution lists in the excitement of the CALL Contest. Keep on collecting, but turn all lists in, no matter what amounts you have. Do your job on the fund drive and you do your job for Socialism.

### Research Workers!

Labor Research Front, which now has some 25 members working on various projects, is appealing for at least 25 more fact-gatherers to provide Socialists with ammunition in the campaign.

Communicate with Robert Delson, Labor Research Front, 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

## Labor in Action

The RCA strikers in Camden, N. J., are holding fast on the picket-lines. Efforts on the part of General Hugh Johnson to negotiate a settlement with the workers failed when he confessed that he had no authority to make commitments.

PORTSMOUTH, O.—An enthusiastic parade more than eight miles long greeted the strike victory of Wheeling Steel Corp. workers here. A 7-week strike won complete union recognition.

NEW YORK.—A strike of 100,000 woolen and worsted workers throughout the east became a certainty here when the bosses' association refused to deal with the United Textile Workers.

WASHINGTON.—As James H. Rand Jr., refused to modify his refusal to deal with any union, the AFL began machinery directed toward the support of the strikers in the Remington-Rand plants in Cincinnati, Syracuse and Middletown, Conn.

SAN FRANCISCO.—Harry Bridges, militant maritime union leader on the Pacific, was overwhelmingly re-elected president of the coast district of the International Longshoremen's Association.

DALLAS, Tex.—Financial and moral support to 500 striking cab drivers here was promised by delegates of 52 local unions, representing 22,000 workers. The strikers are sticking despite open scab-herding by the police.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Striking ore miners here entered the sixth week of their strike under the leadership of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Frequent gunfire has marked their fight against a reduction in wages.

AKRON, O.—Because they refused to work with non-union men in the same shop, Goodyear workers "sat down," the fourteenth "sit-down" since January 1.

NEW YORK.—Final preparations for a strike involving more than 10,000 knit goods workers were completed here as employers refused to budge from their refusal to deal with Local 155 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

LOS ANGELES.—More than 230 strikers have been arrested in the drive to smash the Southern California citrus strike. The sheriff has approved the arming of strike-breakers.

DETROIT, Mich.—Affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization has prepared the way for an intensive organization drive to organize America's half million auto workers into the United Automobile Workers.

### 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.

**70 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!**



# HOAN DIRECTS DRIVE

## Idaho Cheers Thomas' Call To Organize

POCATELLO, Idaho — Five thousand cheering workers and farmers heard Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, declare that the only answer to the "new tyrannies which have grown in the soil of this great nation" was the election of a Socialist administration, pledged to take power for the benefit of the masses.

The meeting here was but one of a score of highly successful meetings in seven states addressed by Thomas during a 2-week flying trip to the west coast.

Thomas drew for this audience a picture of America today—a picture which included panels of terror and destruction from the Pacific to the Atlantic. In California, he declared, Mooney and Billings rotted in jail while anti-labor terrorism rode unmolested in the Imperial Valley; in Florida, Joseph Shoemaker was flogged to death because he dared to organize the unemployed; in Arkansas, an alliance of the plantation owners and the Democratic administration had tried to crush the heroic strike of the sharecroppers by brute force.

"It is not enough in the face of this crisis to praise the past or utter noble platitudes about the beauty of liberty," Thomas declared. "As workers, as consumers, as citizens, we must use labor unions, cooperatives and political action in the grim struggle for social security and abundance for all."

Hundreds of copies of *The CALL* were distributed among the audience, hungry for Socialist literature.

Earlier in the day, Thomas rode in the "Days of Old Fort Hall" parade, commemorating a local celebration. He also spoke over the local radio station. In the afternoon, he attended his first rodeo.



Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, who was named campaign director for Thomas and Nelson.

## Socialist Executives Plan National Drive; Set Up Headquarters

NEW YORK—Detailed plans for an enthusiastic campaign to bring the Socialist message to workers and farmers in every part of the nation were laid here in a 2-day session of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party.

Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee, a member of the committee, was named chairman of the national campaign committee which will direct the drive. Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Party was chosen as campaign manager while John Herling, director of the Socialist News Bureau in Washington, D. C., was chosen chief of publicity. Other members of the campaign committee are Maynard Krueger of Chicago; Max Raskin, former city attorney of Milwaukee; Gus Johnson, school board member in Racine, Wis.; Arthur G. McDowell, Socialist state chairman of Illinois; and Anton Garden, editor of "Prosveta," the Slovenian Chicago daily. Committee headquarters will be established in the Moxley Building, Chicago, with additional press headquarters in Washington and in New York City.

After hearing a report from Senior about increasing difficulties in allowing minority parties to be placed on state ballots, the committee decided to make a test case of Florida, where minority parties cannot get on the ballot unless they have polled 30 per cent of the total vote in the last election. The Florida case will be carried to the U. S. Supreme Court if necessary, the committee indicated.

**Thomas Broadcasts**  
A midnight mass meeting and buffet supper opened the Socialist national campaign with a nationwide broadcast of Norman Thomas' speech. Darlington Hoopes, Pennsylvania legislator, acted as chairman of the committee's sessions.

According to Senior, the Socialist ticket will be on the ballot in every state of the Union with the possible exception of Louisiana, Florida and Nevada, despite legal obstacles in states like Ohio, Illinois, North Carolina and South Dakota. The committee authorized Thomas and Krueger to tour North Carolina in a drive to obtain 10,000 petition signatures necessary to place the party on the ballot there.

The committee also appointed Western and Southern campaign committees, headed by Crary Trimble of Los Angeles and George Clifton Edwards of Dallas, respectively. In the other sections of the country, Socialist state organizations will supervise the campaign.

The committee authorized New Hampshire Socialists to enter the Farmer-Labor Party there if agreement could be secured on three points: (a) that the Party cut itself loose from capitalist political parties; (b) that the Socialist place on the ballot be not endangered; and (c) the Socialist Party retain its own identity.

**Negotiations**  
Gus Tyler and Murray Gross of New York and Tucker Smith of Brookwood Labor College were appointed a sub-committee of the NEC to continue negotiations with the American League against War and Fascism to explore further possibilities of the establishment of a mass anti-war organization with a labor base and control. Until this committee reports back, the NEC

(Continued on Page Six)

## AFL Faces Major Split as Council Weighs Suspension

WASHINGTON, D. C.—With all of the unions in the Committee for Industrial Organization refusing to appeal in answer to the summons of the executive council, the American Federation of Labor came face to face this week with the grim prospect of a split. Under the leadership of William Green, the council is attempting to block the progressive forces advocating industrial unionism.

### Wheeling Victory Spurs Steel Drive

PITTSBURGH.—Steel workers fighting for organization of the nation's major open shop industry experienced their first taste of victory this week, winning a favorable settlement at the Portsmouth, Ohio, plant of the Wheeling Steel Corporation. At the same time steel barons continued their mobilization of armed thugs and spies to prevent unionization of the industry.

Pledges of support for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, however, continue to come into the Committee's offices. Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, announced that Socialists would cooperate in the work of rallying the steel workers into the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

From all over the country, the AFL leaders have been receiving letters and resolutions of protest against the contemplated action. Central labor bodies, local and international unions have joined in the effort to stay the hand of the aggressive craftists who have asserted that they are ready to start an internecine war in the ranks of labor.

[See editorial, "Unity in the AFL," on page 4.]

## WHITHER THE AFL?



Will the craft-controlled executive council of the AFL, pictured above in session at Washington, split the ranks of organized labor by suspending the twelve powerful unions banded together in the Committee for Industrial Organization led by John L. Lewis (inset). At the head of the table are pictured Frank Morrison (left), AFL secretary, and William Green, AFL president.

## SHOES

A Short, Short Story About Politics



How good and how great is the heart of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Eight-year-old Jimmy Brody of Philadelphia, pictured above, knows it and is properly grateful. When he wrote the White House that he hadn't any shoes—why, quick as a wink, he got a pair of shoes just his size, right back from the President. Above he is giving them a good coat of polish so that the President need never be ashamed of them.

Now if we wanted to be nasty, we could suggest that the publicity which came with this work of charity might just be a part of a political campaign. After all, November isn't so far away.

But what's the use of being nasty—it's much too hot for that. We would like to suggest, however, that the President didn't solve anything when, with the flashing of camera bulbs, he ordered a pair of shoes sent to Jimmy.

Take a look at the picture again—but this time, think of the hundreds of thousands who don't get their pictures in the paper, even if they're barefoot too.

How will the President take care of them? How will the President change the system that keeps their fathers on the bread-lines?

But Roosevelt has placed himself squarely on record as favoring the profit system which compels children to go barefoot and unfed by forcing their parents into unemployment.

It's news nowadays when Jimmy gets a pair of shoes. But when the profit system is destroyed, it won't be news when Jimmy has shoes. It will be a matter of course.

# THE SOCIALIST CALL

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EDITORIAL BOARD: Jack Altman, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Robert Delson, David Felix, Abraham Perlstein, Sam Romer, Glen Trimble, Gus Tyler, Herbert Zam.

Editor: Aaron Levenstein Business Manager: Hal Siegel

Vol. II  Saturday, July 18, 1936 No. 70

## UNITY IN THE AFL

The present situation in the American Federation of Labor must be laid very definitely at the door of the near-sighted Executive Council which is attempting, by threats of suspension, to bludgeon into silence some of the most important unions in the labor movement.

The members of the Committee for Industrial Organization have exceeded none of their rights as members of the AFL in taking steps to advance the progressive policy of industrial unionism. They cannot, with any degree of justice, be accused of dualism because of their recognition of the inevitability of the industrial form of organization and their determination to further its growth.

Any attempt to describe the steel organization as a move toward dual unionism is absurd on its face. The CIO has made it perfectly plain that its drive is to recruit the steel workers into the ranks of the AFL. Indeed, the present campaign of the CIO has been one of the most revitalizing forces in the AFL in recent years. It has brought new hope to workers everywhere in mass production industries; it has given the feeling that the AFL has within its ranks the will and the capacity to come to grips with the industrial tyrants of America in a fight to protect workers' rights.

There is basic criticism to be made of the CIO's development into a Roosevelt campaign committee, flowing from a long habit of dependence on political office-holders—a policy which sad experience has shown to be a snare in which the workers are finally entrapped. This policy is as unrealistic in the political field as craft unionism is in the economic field.

But so far as the conflict within the AFL is concerned, the Executive Council, in threatening the CIO unions with suspension, has gotten off on the wrong foot and is clearly out of step with the progressive workers in the unions. The craft-minded leaders of the Green group, bound as they are to traditions of an ancient day, are in danger of writing their own doom.

More important, however, than any possible action of self-destruction is the danger to which they may now submit the labor movement of America—division at a time when united energy in an aggressive struggle is the urgent need. On the eve of one of the greatest campaigns in labor history, the Executive Council must live up to its responsibility or reserve to itself a most shameful page in labor history.

## A WORD TO THE WISE

If possible, we'd like to keep this editorial a deep secret between you and us and the proverbial lamppost. We'd especially feel sorry if the broadcasting stations were to hear of it.

Not that there's anything wrong about it. Everybody does it. But it's just one of those aspects of American political life that's done and not talked about.

So, confidentially then, we'd like to pass along this suggestion:

**When you see an announcement that Norman Thomas or some other Socialist is going to speak on the radio, don't take it for granted that he's going to be heard through your local station. Sit down and write your local station a letter, telling them that you'd appreciate it very much if they would carry the broadcast. Telephone them. Or, better yet, drop in and talk to the station manager.**

That's not all the job. There's something else to be done afterwards. When you've heard the broadcast, drop a post-card or a letter to the station telling them how much you like it and thank them for the opportunity.

Some of the more technical-minded comrades would call this "mass-pressure." And that's what it is. But, no matter by what name you call it, it gets results.

After all, the local station manager has got a job to perform. It's his business to put on programs that people will listen to. —And how's he going to know if anybody's listening if you don't tell him? You'll be doing him a favor — and helping us considerably.

—So, in strictest confidence, take this tip to heart and next time act on it.

**P. S. Have you every thought of inviting your neighbors in for a social evening to listen to a Socialist broadcast? Many of them will thank you for the invitation.**

## HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?



## New Methods for Socialists

To The Editor:

I am glad to read in The CALL that Socialists are planning to start using new ways of propagandizing, like running puppet shows, giving the Socialist point of view, as the Rebel Arts announced.

There are other things, too, that we ought to bear in mind. Socialist voters can help to spread their belief in the program of the Socialist Party by sending letters to the Letters to the Editor columns of the capitalist papers. Many people read them, and it is very useful to show that Norman Thomas and George Nelson are rallying real support in this campaign.

It costs only a small sum to send a letter to a newspaper. And it is very effective. Millions of people who read the capitalist propaganda-sheets can be made to realize that there is a real program of security which they should support for their own good.

SAMUEL WELLER.  
Chicago, Ill.

### Unionist Offers Aid

To The Editor:

I want to do my share in the Socialist campaign this year. I voted for Eugene Debs in 1920, while he was in prison, but since then I never voted the Socialist ticket because I felt that we

could reform the capitalist system.

Even in 1932 I voted for Roosevelt—his promises for a New Day sounded swell. But twelve years of Republican Reaction and three more years of the Democrats has proved to me one thing:

We need an absolute and complete change in this rotten system.

I am a machinist by trade and have carried a union card in the International ever since I was an apprentice. I believe in my union and want to fight for it. But what's the point of a union if we organize only in the shop? Let's organize at the polls and put the Socialist Party, our party, in the Capitol.

I'm going to vote the Socialist ticket straight through, from Norman Thomas down to the town dog-catcher. I'm going to vote for something good instead of wasting my vote again.

Is there anything I can do to help?

S. W. HENRY.

Defiance, Ohio.

### Ought To Grow

To The Editor:

The CALL is improving right along and ought to grow fast.

HARRY T. SMITH.

Hollis, N. Y.

### Democracy In America

To The Editor:

Our constitution should be something more than precepts of governmental procedure; it should function to meet changing needs. That no person should be deprived of "life, liberty and property without due process of law" becomes a mockery when one learns that share croppers and tenant farmers of Arkansas have been flogged, beaten, and illegally arrested because they dared to join a union.

The Supreme Court of Georgia upheld the sentence of a man convicted to serve eighteen to twenty years on the chain gang because he exercised his constitutional guarantee of civil liberty. The Guffey Coal Act was invalidated by the United States Supreme Court because it invaded states' rights. Recently, the New York Minimum Wage Law was nullified, the Court denying the state the right to regulate wages and working conditions.

A constitutional amendment abolishing judicial review of social legislation is a progressive alternative. Five men appointed to the judiciary can nullify social legislation enacted by a democratically elected body of representatives.

A greater degree of democracy can be achieved when the instruments of production, distribution and exchange which are social in their nature, are also socially owned and democratically controlled. A government with out vast natural resources and technical equipment capable of abundance that fails to provide more adequate security for millions of people has little claim to the title of Democracy.

MORRIS COHN.

Bronx, N. Y.

### "... the only instrument ..."

Today, if a Socialist, young or old, asks what to do next, I answer without hesitation—Build the Socialist Press, for it is the only instrument which can help to shape and which can be both a mass organizer and a unifying force in the Party. A clear glance tells us that now the Socialist Press is the Socialist Call and of course the Socialist Monthly. Build them; they are our best hope.

ARTHUR G. McDOWELL

State Secretary, Illinois Socialist Party



# OUR LABOR MOVEMENT

By John Ball

ONE of the most disgraceful and treacherous articles ever to appear in *The New Leader* is contained on page one of that sheet on July 11.

The story is headed: "Shall the A. F. of L. Be Split?" It is not the article of an individual but is called, "An Editorial."

The article is an attack upon the Committee for Industrial Organization, which is held primarily responsible for the impending split in the American Federation of Labor.

States *The New Leader*:

"That the action of the leaders who formed the CIO was irregular and provocative cannot be denied. They knew the penalty they were inviting, and it is even alleged that some of them deliberately wished to force the issue and bring about a split in the American labor movement if they could not dominate it."

Please note! "The action of the leaders" of the CIO was "irregular and provocative." The heads of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, of course, are guiltless. They have not been provocative; they have not been "irregular." They have merely outlawed a body and are proceeding to suspend the charters of unions which have acted in an altogether LEGAL AND PROPER MANNER.

## What Is 'Irregular'?

Why does not the *New Leader* tell us what is "irregular?" Is it irregular for a group of unions favoring industrial unionism to pool their forces in order to advance their idea? Although the heads of the A. F. of L. Executive Council have been straining and stretching every possible legal point in order to make out a legalistic case against the CIO, they have been unable to scrape together even the semblance of an argument.

With a sort of majestic superiority, *The New Leader*, standing in pristine purity above all traces of factionalism declares that the executive council is also slightly at fault: the craft unionists, although they are absolutely right in their legal case, should be more generous. *The New Leader* feels that the leaders of the executive council are somewhat too strict with the erring children.

Not a word is spoken, not a word, of the blind, bitter, almost fanatical campaign of the craft union die-hards against industrial unionism. Not a syllable about the raids upon the new, healthy, thriving federal locals, which were torn to bits by the craft pirates. Not a letter about the trumped up charges of disloyalty and discord made by the executive council of the Federation against the CIO. Not a scratch of ink to indicate the disgusting attitude behind Hutchinson's threats to take the carpenters out of the Federation unless he has his way.

## Like Moses on Sinai

*The New Leader*, which has so long been reminding us not to take a supercilious air toward the trade unions, stands there like Moses on Sinai, showering curses and blessings with pontifical certitude.

But the divine impartiality of the pose is merely a cloak to strengthen the viciously factional attitude of *The New Leader* AGAINST THE CIO.

According to the *New Leader*:

1. The CIO is legally wrong.
2. The leaders of the CIO are provocative.
3. The executive council is technically and morally correct.

Comrades and Brothers! What is the difference between Green and *The New Leader* on this question?—aside from the fact that Green is not quite so "condescending."

## 20 YEARS AGO in the New York Call

July 18, 1916

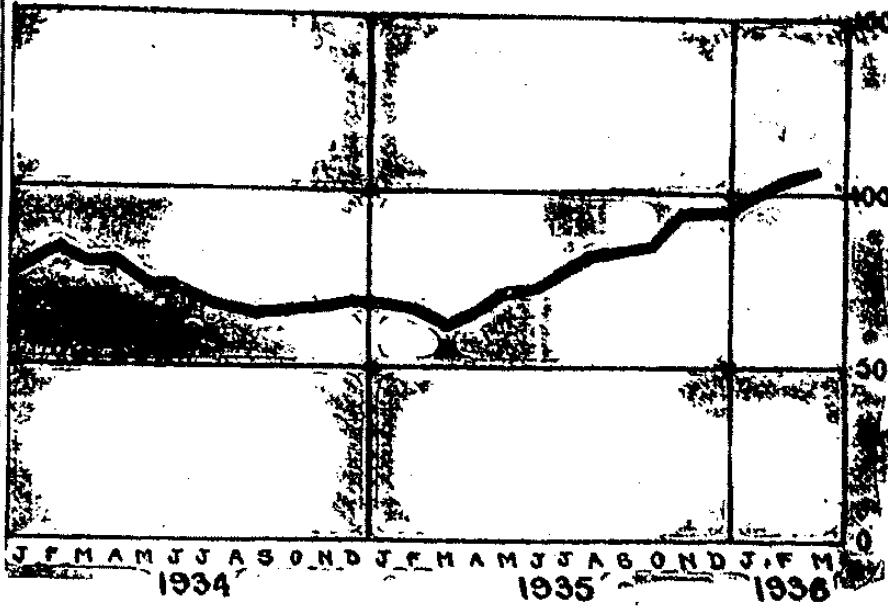
Real estate, theatre and hotel interests petition the mayor to suppress news of the infantile paralysis epidemic. Hospitals are crowded, but business interests are forcing the refusal of Red Cross aid, seeking to keep summer visitors in the city.

In an editorial campaign, The CALL points out that most cases develop in the congested districts where, due to drastic budget cuts, garbage removal has been neglected.

July 18, 1916

State militia are called in to augment strike-breakers and gangsters as the cement workers continue their 9-week battle against low wages and long hours in the La Salle, Ill., cement works. 12,000 workers strike against conditions which developed consumption and silicosis cases in alarming numbers.

## READY TO FALL



Line represents average prices of 90 stocks.

This jagged line can mean only one thing according to Joel Seidman, CALL economist—we're headed for another stock market crash. Profits are piling up on profits but wages lag behind—and we're in for another 1929 fiasco.

### Tomorrow's Crash:

## Mounting Profits Indicate New Crash, Figures Show

By JOEL SEIDMAN

THE PRESENT upward swing of the business curve points, not to returning prosperity, but to a new crash in the not far distant future. So long as employers and stockholders monopolize the country's increased income, with workers getting little or nothing of it, the resulting lack of mass purchasing power can lead only to fresh collapse.

"This is the situation now developing in the United States. The business index of the *New York Times* passed the estimated normal point in May for the first time in six years. In the latter part of June it stood several points above that figure, at the highest level since April, 1930.

### Profits Race Ahead

Profits have raced far ahead of production. In the first half of 1936 production was 15 per cent above 1935. Corporation profits for the first quarter of

this year, however, ran 50 per cent above last year, and second quarter profits are expected to exceed the corresponding period of 1935 by 75 per cent.

Dividends declared in June reached the largest total for that month since 1931. A total of \$295,000,000 was declared, as compared with \$225,000,000 for June of 1935, an increase of 16 per cent. Dividends for the first six months of 1936, similarly, reached the highest figure for that period in five years, with \$1,661,000,000 declared. This compares with \$1,392,000,000 for the corresponding period of 1935, a rise of 20 per cent.

### What Does Labor Get?

It is when we turn to labor's share that we see why the next crash is bound to come soon. Because of advancing living costs, the living standard of the average employed worker, in January of this year had risen less than two per cent over the 1933 level. The total real income of workers this year, according to AFL figures, is running only 3.8 per cent above 1935.

By way of comparison, 1934 income statistics just released by the U. S. Treasury Department show that the aggregate gross income of corporations in 1934 was 20 per cent above that for 1933. In 1934, some 145,000 corporations reported net income aggregating \$4,265,000,000. This represented a gain of 43 per cent over the 1933 figure of \$2,986,000,000.

### Technological Unemployment

In April, 1930, when the *New York Times* business index last stood at the present level, the AFL estimates showed only 4,049,000 unemployed in the country. This compares with the present total of about 11,000,000, indicating the rapid rise in technological unemployment.

Figures for manufacturing industries collected by the U. S. Department of Labor show that production per man hour in-

creased 4.5 per cent between June, 1935, and January, 1936. Since working hours were also lengthened, production per man per week increased 9.3 per cent in that short period. While labor cost per unit produced was lowered 3.7 per cent, the real wage of workers, on the average, rose only 1.9 per cent.

Though production, as measured by the Federal Reserve Board's index, rose to 100 per cent of the 1923-25 average in April, factory employment in that month was only 85 per cent of the former period, and payrolls only 78 per cent. In May both rose slightly, factory employment to 85.6, and payrolls to 79.

Meanwhile the public debt has reached the staggering total of \$34,000,000,000, the highest in our history. This represents an increase of \$5,500,000,000 in the last twelve months. Workers may some day be called upon to pay this enormous debt. Had the proper taxes been levied upon the wealthy, instead of money borrowed from the bankers, this debt would not exist.

Such unsound economic conditions as all these figures reveal can only mean that another crash is looming in the not far distant future.

**In Socialist Victory  
Lies Labor's Security!**

# NEW-LINE BEATRICE

By McAlister Coleman

MARTHA'S VINEYARD, Mass.—

We met Beatrice on the beach yesterday.

That same Beatrice who just last summer was so bitter about us and our Social-Fascism. To be sure, just before we left, Beatrice was relenting a weeny teeny bit and admitting that there might be some hope for us, even if we were not members of the Communist Party. Because there were signs and portents in the C. P. press that there might be a change of line and that Beatrice and the other Comrades would consent to play in somebody else's yard for a limited period.

We realized, of course, that Beatrice would change with the line, but we had never dreamed that the change would be so sweeping. Not only did Beatrice advance upon us, smiling with the broadest and heartiest of smiles that showed off to best advantage every detail of her bridge work, but she reached out and clasped our hand with a husky shake exclaiming as she did so: "Hi! How you been, old timer?"

Enormously surprised we extended a limp hand and muttered something about being all right. Then we scuffed around in the sand with our bare feet and waited for Beatrice.

### Getting Together

"Well, well," she said loudly, "what a winter, what a winter. Who ever would have thought that we would pal up together like this? It beats all how things turn out. But to give you the low down, I always had a bunch that we'd get together."

"Get together?"

"Sure, get together in a united front I mean. You know darn well that's what I mean. And didn't Browder line it out to the boys at the Garden? The time he debated Thomas and then again at the convention. Of course, you're all stalling around now. But don't worry, once you get the big idea you'll be right up there on the front seat along with the rest of us."

"What is that big idea?"

"Why, that we're all Americans, of course. Gosh darn, it sure seems funny for me to be hollering around for Joseph Jefferson and Daniel Boone and all the rest of those old boys who started the revolutionary movement here. But I'm sure that must be the right line. We had a plenum—a get-together, I mean, just before I came up here and I've got to write a thesis, a piece, I mean, about the revolutionary writings of that fellow named Paine. John Paine, was it? Oh, no, how silly of me. That was that other fellow's body that was buried somewhere but his soul went marching on or something. You must know what Paine I mean. Didn't you write about him in a book somewhere?"

We muttered again but Beatrice was now in full tide.

### It's Real United States

"Yes, sure, that was the name, Thomas, but I'm telling you that you can't think what good propaganda stuff there is in all that early American stuff. Did you hear Earl recite the Star Spangled Banner all about 'bombs bursting in air'? Man, man, hot stuff. That's real United States. We're all talking that. Obey. You see the workers, outside of New York and some of the big cities didn't get on to what we were talking about when we told them about the proletariat and all, so now we're all studying American history. And it's right interesting too.

"Why it seems there was quite a radical movement here way back before there was any C. P. Did you ever hear of Haymarket and the Pullman strike and all that? Of course those early radicals didn't understand the principles of scientific Marxism. They were pretty simple but at that they must have done something because our teacher says that people were saying nasty things about them even way back there. You've heard about Eugene Debs haven't you? He was quite a radical. But of course, he was not scientific either. Our teacher says that he was naive. He says that it was too bad Debs couldn't have had some courses in scientific Marxism.

"Our teacher says that Debs would have been a good C. P. member, except for his pacifism. He wanted people to be kind and he kept talking about love and little children and mushy stuff like that. I guess, that is I reckon, he was just a soft old sentimentalist after all. And of course there's no room for sentimentalism in the radical movement, is there? We must be hard, and like steel, sort of. Though of course this year it's different. We're telling people in real United States that if they don't want to vote for Browder there's always Roosevelt and we're not to say much about revolution. And we're going to learn what coal miners talk about and what steel workers do. And honest, it's all too exciting. And say, boy, isn't that John H. Lewis a honey? Me for him. Sav, honest, I think he's right cute."

# Children In Chains

By HELEN WALL

In schoolrooms all over the country, children are taught to sing songs that ring with praises of America, that describe the riches and the beauty of our land. Sermons are preached and newspaper editorials are written about the glories of our country. To millions of listening ears, the radio brings oratory that glows with pride about the nation.

But to millions of children, to millions of men and women, these things are dreams. America, land of riches and beauty, is not shared by them.

To see America, we must pull wide the doors of the factories where the people spend most of their waking hours. To know America we must peer into the relief stations and study the careworn faces of the unemployed.

The story of misery starts in the cradle and crawls painfully on to the grave.

Begin with the child laborers of America. Millions of them! According to the last census of 1930, there were no less than 2,145,959 children whose daily playground is a factory or shop, whose lives are dedicated to the profit-hunt of their employers.

You have just looked calmly at the quiet numbers—2,145,959. If ink and paper could scream, they would hurl the infant voices of America's child laborers into your ears. It is almost impossible to understand the amount of misery behind those numbers. If you were to decide to spend a day with each of these victims of our civilization, you would have to live about 6,000 years, and begin making your visits the very day you were born.

Here is America's record in the 1930 census:

A quarter of a million boys and girls from 10 to 13 years of age—child laborers.

A half million between 14 and 15—child laborers.

A million and a half between 16 and 17—child laborers.

And the miserable wages they get in return for their young fresh lives add to the horror. In his book, "A Program for Modern America," Dr. Harry W. Laidler writes:

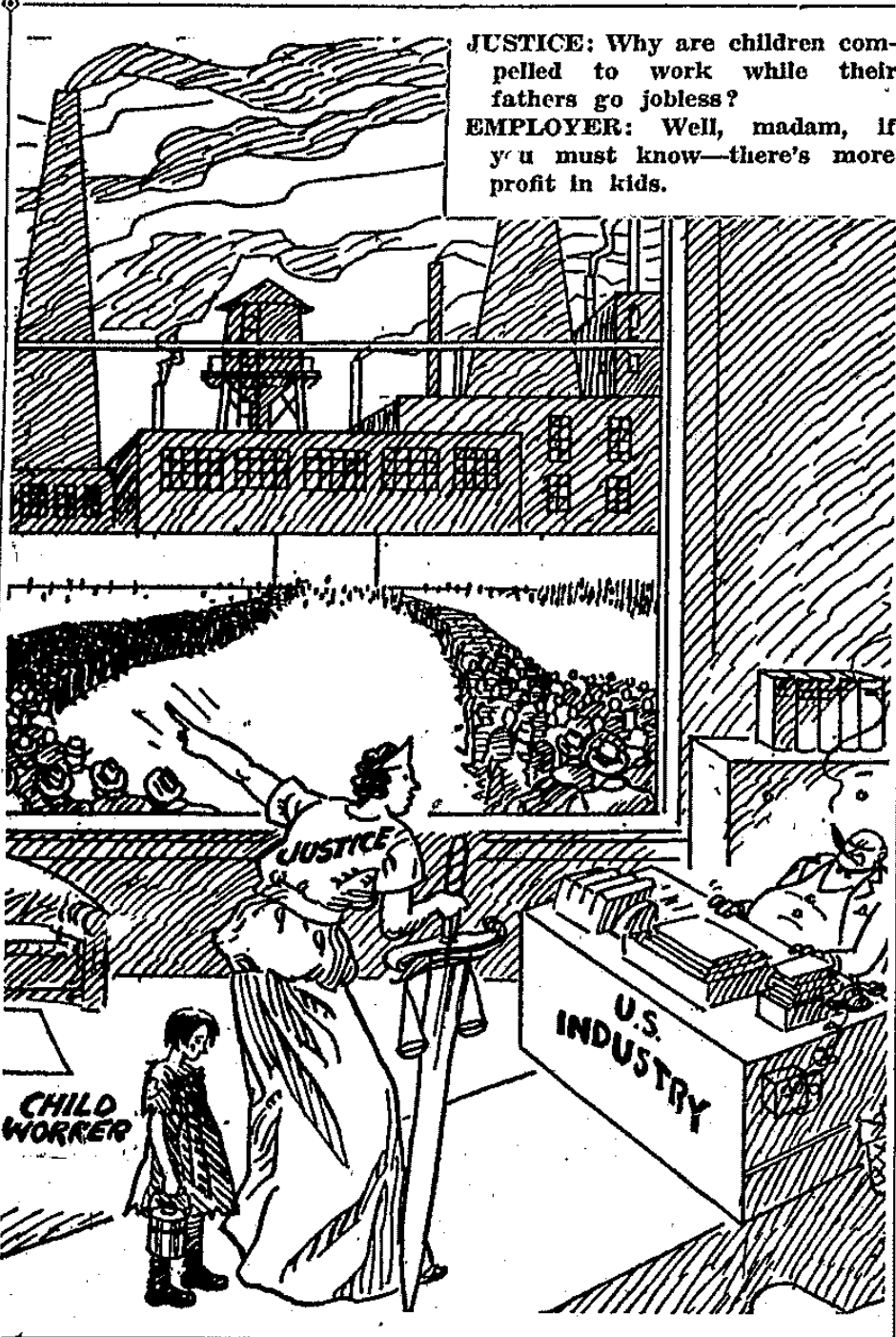
"Reports were received by the National Child Labor Committee in late 1935 of children of 12, 13 and 14 years of age employed in New Jersey at from \$4.00 to \$7.00 a week; in Massachusetts, for \$4.00 a week and in other states, under similar conditions."

What has America the Beautiful done for these children? Year after year, efforts are made to enact legislation that will protect them from the greed of American business. When these efforts are successful the hypnotists of the Supreme Court mesmerize them into unconstitutionality. And the children go on working. The travel-worn Child Labor Amendment still wanders from state to state begging for ratification.

Among the states that have turned a deaf ear to the plea of the children are New York and Kansas—two states that have provided the American people with presidential candidates. The Empire State gave Franklin D. Roosevelt to the nation; Kansas offers Alf M. Landon as its gift to the people.

Both states have enjoyed the "progressive" leadership of their candidates in their own state capitols, New York under the governorship of Roosevelt, Kansas under the governorship of Landon. Neither state has ratified the Child Labor Amendment! While both Roosevelt and Landon talked in favor of ratification, neither exerted pressure on his legislature to compel action.

Both say soothing words to the weeping factory children; but they do not lift a finger to wipe



the tears away. They are willing to tolerate these conditions in America the Beautiful, where—

"The golf links lie so near the mill That almost every day The laboring children can look out And see the men at play."

At the same time as millions of children are in the factories and mills, their parents are unemployed.

America can be beautiful. It has riches enough to satisfy the needs of the nation. Children need not toil while there is still brawn and brain clamoring to be used. Knowing this, the Socialist Party calls for the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment and the Farmers and Workers Rights Amendment, which will make it possible for us to protect our children and our working people.

But even more than that, if we are to make America beautiful, we must destroy the system of greed and profit that makes America ugly today.

"In Socialism and Socialism alone," as the Socialist platform declares, "will we find the solution of our problem. Under Socialism, the socially necessary industries would be socially owned and democratically administered by workers, consumers and technicians . . . The workers would no longer be forced to pay tribute to private owners."

Part of that tribute paid by workers has been the life of millions of children. Socialism will save those lives and give them a happy future.

## Hoan Directs Thomas Drive

(Continued from Page Three)

ordered all Party locals and branches not to affiliate with the League.

After hearing Benjamin Gebiner, secretary of the Jewish Verband, the NEC ordered all members of the National Committee of the Verband to resign their positions by July 20 on the charge that they had aided in the formation of an opposing political party, the Social-Democratic Federation. If the resignations are not forthcoming, the Verband charter will be automatically revoked. This action, the NEC declared, does not affect the individual branches of the Verband pending reorganization; these latter will continue their affiliation with the Party itself.

All party subdivisions were ordered to withdraw official connection with the New Leader, former Socialist newspaper, after the NEC heard reports that the New Leader had endorsed the SDF.

## WPA Workers Collapse

NEW YORK.—Undernourished from years of living on a relief diet, more than 50 girls, employed on a WPA sewing project in New York, collapsed from the heat while working at their machines this week.

Some 2,800 girls are employed on the project in the same building. Badly ventilated rooms resulted in the prostration of the workers. The Project Workers Union had complained to the authorities that conditions were intolerable but no action had been taken.

The Union has been promised a five-day week, but no order to that effect has yet been issued.

## WIN AGREEMENT

NEW YORK. Seven hundred pocket book workers in this area working on ladies' hand bags won a minimum wage scale in a union agreement.

## IT CAN BE DONE

Starting July 25 \* the SOCIALIST CALL focuses the spotlight on the campaign . . . four full pages each week. X-Raying the candidates—platforms—issues.

Filled with original cartoons, pictures, charts and graphs, illustrating our platform . . . your doubting friends will SEE why they must VOTE SOCIALIST.

Our contributors (a who's who of militant journalism) will slam away at the twin parties of plutocracy and their little sister Lemke . . . no punches pulled—no holds barred.

We're out to build an audience of 200,000 rooters for Socialism, but we won't stop there. Remember, every CALL subscriber means 10 votes on election day.

Below is a sub blank . . . take it—into the mine, the shop, the field, the office—wherever you go . . . pull it out . . . fill it up . . . then speed it to us.

Let's make this year's vote for Norman Thomas a tribute to his fearless leadership. Make him known and loved from the panhandle to the lakes, from coast to coast.

This is our year. Let's do a job we can be proud of.

## IT WILL BE DONE

\* July 25th—MOONEY ISSUE.

August 1st—ANTI-WAR ISSUE.

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# Organize To Win Your Freedom

[The following speech by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, was delivered over a national radio broadcast Friday, July 10, to open the Socialist campaign.]

**B**EHIND the tumult and shouting of our quadrennial political campaign there are certain basic, absorbing questions that we ought to be asking. They cannot be answered by rival professions of devotion to such noble abstractions as liberty and democracy. Everybody—Landon, the Liberty League, William Randolph Hearst, Roosevelt, Senator Robinson from Arkansas, Governor McNutt, author of Indiana's military law—professes devotion to liberty and democracy. The question is: what kind of liberty and whose liberty?

Parties are means, not ends. Their value depends upon how they help us to answer these insistent questions: Why, if the experts are right and we have the resources and equipment to make \$2,500 a year minimum for each worker and his family, should farmers and workers count themselves lucky to average a thousand or twelve hundred? Why, with all our unsatisfied needs, should there be more than eleven million unemployed? Why should we be reducing crops when the children of the share croppers go in rags and suffer from pellagra, that, unnecessary disease of malnutrition?

## What Is Their Answer?

If every party loves liberty, why are Mooney and Billings still in jail? Why is there a Black Legion, a revived Ku Klux Klan in Florida, Vigilantes in California, peonage and terrorism in Arkansas and Alabama? Why is the effort to organize steel workers a major social struggle? If every party loves peace, why do we spend a billion dollars, more than any nation in the world, on our army and navy? What answer have the parties?

We Socialists have our answer. We recite the grim facts of poverty, tyranny, and drift to war. We say: It is not the Old Deal or the New Deal that has failed. It is the system of which both are the expression. It is our social order, based on jingoistic nationalism and capitalism and the loyalties which go with them. Our escape from war and fascism depends upon our building a new order, a world federation of cooperative commonwealths.

## Plenty, or Scarcity?

How can we expect abundance when we produce for the profit of owners—increasingly absentee owners—whose profit depends upon relative scarcity? How can we expect justice and liberty under a system which rests upon exploitation, a system where the few own that upon which the lives of all of us depend, and by virtue of ownership largely control the means of communication and the machinery of government? How can we expect peace when each nation is a law unto itself in an interdependent world, and rival capitalist nations are driven to compete ruthlessly for markets, raw materials, and profits? The system is appropriate to war, not peace.

We cannot escape collectivism and interdependence in a machine age. We can

**"Bitterly as these parties quarrel, all of them alike are trying to cure tuberculosis with cough drops. Their brands are different. They use different flavors and different drugs; some better, some worse. But neither the Landon, Roosevelt, Lemke or Townsend brand and flavor can do the job. The cure and the only cure is Socialism . . ."**

**"With great insistence we propose the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution in order to end government by judicial oligarchy and to make democracy constitutional . . ."**

**"It is not the Old Deal or the New Deal that has failed. It is the system of which both are the expression. It is our social order, based on jingoistic nationalism and capitalism and the loyalties which go with them . . ."**

make collectivism. For this end we Socialists fight this campaign. For this end we encourage workers to organize their unions and consumers their cooperatives as well as their party.

## All Seek Reforms

I shall amplify this answer by more specific reference to our platform of 1936. But first let me make our Socialist position clearer by brief comparison with the position of the other parties. All of them: Republicans, Democrats, the new Coughlin-Lemke Union Party, even the communists for the moment, are concerned with reforms possible within capitalism.

The communists, of course, still believe that eventually revolution in America must closely follow the Russian model. But this year, they say, the struggle is between democracy and fascism—democracy very imperfectly expressed by Roosevelt; fascism by Landon and his backers. Pending this building of a farmer-labor party which is their great demand, they are helping Roosevelt serve democracy by "pressure from the left" and directing their campaign against the fascism of the Republicans.

We believe their diagnosis dangerously misleading. Fascism is a menace. Landon may do things which will encourage its coming; so may Roosevelt. But Liberty League reaction isn't fascism. The fascist demagogue will talk like Huey Long or maybe like Lemke, not like Landon or Knox. We best fight against fascism, and best prepare for a real farmer-labor party, by organizing and educating for Socialism.

What will bring fascism is new economic catastrophe or America's entry into war. What do the Republicans or Democrats propose to prevent this drift to economic catastrophe or war? Grant that the Democratic platform is less inconsistent and more friendly to organized workers—not, of course, to share croppers—than the Republican, the difference is not as wide as a barn door or as high as a church steeple and it will not suffice.

The Democrats do not even promise as much as the German workers had before Hitler and that didn't save them. Roosevelt did not force through a Democratic Congress a revised Guffey bill, the Wagner Housing bill, or the Pure Food and Drug Act. He has not lifted his finger for the sharecroppers, in part the victims of A. A. A. Neither party will really dare to balance the budget at the expense of the unemployed, but both will

try the old Roman way of seeing with how few crusts and how cheap circuses the employed can be kept quiet.

With much of this criticism the Coughlin-Lemke Union Party would agree, but it accepts the profit system. It is populism born too late, a populism which today has resemblances to fascism. It is a party not democratically created, but handed down from on high, born full grown with candidates and a 15-point platform resembling the old Nazi platform in Germany.

"Congress shall legislate"—as if Congress were God creating the world—living wages; the destruction of monopoly, but good business for little men; profits for all farmers; "adequate" pensions for the aged; no more mortgages for land owning farmers, but nothing specific, as yet, for tenants. All this within the present Constitution and without planned production! Better believe in Santa Claus and be done with it. What the Union Party really means is a boost for inflation and a help for Landon.

Bitterly as these parties quarrel, all of them alike are trying to cure tuberculosis with cough drops. Their brands are different flavors and different drugs; some better, some worse. But neither the Landon, Roosevelt, Lemke, or Townsend brand and flavor can do the job.

## What Can We Do?

The cure and the only cure is Socialism. We seek power in the state to take over in orderly fashion all the commanding heights of the economic order: coal, iron, oil, public utilities, banks, the great industries, the dairy and other foodstuffs. Consumers' cooperatives and credit unions will be encouraged. Socialized enterprises will be democratically governed under boards representing consumers and producers.

**An Economic Council will plan for abundance. Leisure will be enlarged and unemployment ended by producing what we can and should. We can set a probable minimum of \$2,500 for each family, with higher remuneration to according to deed. Every able reward various classes of workers bodied adult must live by work, and by planned control of production and hours there will be jobs for all.**

We shall work for international arrangements to guarantee worldwide minimum standards for workers, abolish fiscal wars, end imperialism, and allocate raw materials. We shall cooperate for peace, but we shall take no part in war under whatever pretext it may be waged.

When the workers with hand and brain get what they create the capitalist drive for the profits hoped for from imperialism will be abated.

We seek freedom as well as peace and plenty—a freedom fully possible only when men enjoy both security and leisure, and are not dependent upon an owning class for their jobs.

## Organize and Win

"But," many of you may say, "this sounds beautiful but it is far in the future. We must eat now. We cannot wait to feast in Utopia." Why is it so far in the future? Because you make it so by voting your fears and not your hopes, by your defeatist belief that the abundance that we can produce "is too good to be true." We Socialists promise you nothing that you will not organize and win.

We do not forget today's needs. Look at the immediate demands consistent with Socialism, carefully stated in our platform:

They include public housing to conquer slums and give employment, genuine social security, including unemployment and old age pensions, health insurance and maternity benefits; specific measures of help for farmers, including crop insurance; a bill of civil and religious liberties; protection especially for the Negro against lynching and race discriminations; a guarantee to workers of the right to organize and bargain collectively in bona fide unions; the shortening of the working week to help end unemployment; and the destruction of the brutal machinery of strike breaking. We demand for youth opportunities denied them and promise them escape from militarization.

## Abolish War Profits

To help keep the country out of war we propose to take the profit out of war and preparations for war, to end American imperialism, to establish genuine neutrality, and to lead the world in disarmament, not armament.

We are against the sales tax! We are for income and inheritance taxes and a graduated capital levy or tax on wealth in private hands in order to support the costs of government, wipe out the dangerous burden of debt, and aid in socialization. We would use land value taxation to help end private landlordism and recover unearned increment on land.

With great insistence we propose the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution in order to end government by judicial oligarchy and to make democracy constitutional. Unlike the Democrats, we do not have to wait for popular government to be kicked around any longer before we know what we want. We want Congress to have the right to legislate for the economic and social wellbeing of the people.

These proposals are more fully stated in our platform. I shall amplify them more specifically in a series of speeches. But the great purpose of our campaign is no one of them, important as all of them are.

**It is to advance Socialism in our time, our one hope of plenty, peace and freedom**

# World Socialism

## WHITHER THE FRENCH COALITION

By HERBERT ZAM

WHEN Leon Blum assumed power in France as the head of the "People's Front" coalition government, the hopes of the advanced workers throughout the world were aroused to a high degree. In spite of very negative experiences with other coalitions in other countries, it was hoped that because of the exceptional condition in France, the experiences there would be of a different character. These hopes were held not only by workers who saw in the establishment of the coalition a victory for Socialism, but also by revolutionists who had no faith in the powers of the coalition to accomplish anything of lasting value. At the Congress of the French Socialist Party where the decision was taken, not only the Blum majority, but also the two left groups, the Zyromski wing and the Pivert revolutionary left, voted in favor of entering the government under the conditions outlined.

### The Real Change

The preliminary achievements of the Blum government during the first few days of its life gave body to these hopes. The favorable settlement of the series of strikes, the establishment of the forty-hour week, the measures pronounced against the fascist bands—all must be definitely entered on the credit side of the ledger. But the progress hasn't been uniform, nor have the developments all been in a direction indicated by the first few days. On a whole series of questions, the Blum coalition government has not only been unable to carry out a thoroughgoing revolutionary Socialist program, but has even found it impossible to apply the electoral program of the People's Front. The army and other military forces have been centralized under one command, but the period of compulsory service has not been reduced or eliminated. Essentially the same elements remain in real control of the army. The Bank of France, against which the first assault was to be directed for the destruction of the power of the bankers, remains untouched. Only very minor reforms are to be carried out. The Bank directors have shown their gratitude by whole-hearted cooperation with the government. No steps have been initiated by the government for the institution of woman suffrage. The reforms proposed for the colonies are of a purely administrative character and leave untouched the exploitation of the colonial people by the French imperialists, or the question of independence for the colonies.

One of the main arguments in favor of the formation of the coalition government was that it would move against the fascist movement. In reality the government has been unable to take substantial measures against this movement. The measures it has taken have only served the purpose of diverting the fascists to "legal" political activity, and have helped lay the basis for a mass fascist party, which the government will tolerate, in the same manner that Hitler was tolerated by the various coalitions in Germany.

### The 'Sit-Down' Strike

Perhaps the most disappointing act of all was the announcement of Minister of the Interior Salengro, under pressure from the Senate, dominated by the same Radical Party which is part of the government, that hereafter "sit-down" strikes would be treated as "illegal," in contradistinction to Blum's earlier declaration that nothing would be done in the way of action against workers engaged in such strikes. These "sit-down" strikes, initiated by the masses more or less as a spon-

taneous movement on the eve of the assumption of power by the present government, were more than an economic strike for better conditions. They indicated very definitely that the masses considered that the government would have to have extra-parliamentary assistance in the carrying out of its program, and by their character—staying in the factories, rather than walking out—the workers, consciously or not, indicated the direction in which the struggle must develop further—toward the socialization of industry. In the light of this, the decision of the government to move against strikes of this character can only be interpreted as a gesture against any type of extra-parliamentary activity by the workers.

It would be futile to enter into a tirade against the Blum government for its mistakes and failures. The fault lies not with the Blum government, but with the original sin—the setting up of the coalition government. By its very nature, a coalition government cannot accomplish anything but preserve a very bad status quo, since any move against the foundations of capitalism would immediately rend the coalition. In France, as in England at the time of the first Labor government, the capitalists are endeavoring to use the Socialists to tide them over a very stormy period. After the chestnuts have been pulled out of the fire of economic and political chaos, the capitalists will give the government its walking papers. We saw an example of this only recently in Sweden, where the allies of the Socialists broke up the government over a trifling sum appropriated for old age pensions, because they felt themselves strong enough to do without the coalition. The opposition in principle of the revolutionary Socialists to participation in coalition governments together with capitalist parties derives not from an abstract dogma, but from the concrete experience of the workers in all countries, where coalitions have, without exception, brought results contrary to the interests of the workers and have played into the hands of the fascists. Even the brief experience with the French coalition forecasts the same results. The abandonment of the traditional policy of the French Party has not been justified. The reluctance expressed in the resolution authorizing the assumption of power, has been further strengthened and has led to statements indicating a possible change of course.

### Communists Approved

The communists of course are already trying to profit by the bad experiences of the government. But let us recall once more that they are the real fathers of the coalition idea, and are still defending, in principle, the formation of "Peoples' Front" governments. Their refusal to participate in the government which they had so vigorously fostered is a piece of unprincipledness not easily explained away. The Blum government is now at the parting of the roads. It can either follow the path of traditional coalitions, with the same results—or it must boldly strike out on a path of independent working class action, combining parliamentary with extra-parliamentary activity, and gradually shake itself free of the incubus of the Radicals. Only the latter path can bring positive results for the French and the international working class.

# Give and Take — Mostly Take



ABRAHAM LINCOLN once said: "God must have loved the common man; that's why He made so many of them."

The common man in our time is a workingman. From day to day, he takes his place at the factory machine, at the work-bench, at the desk, or behind the plow. By his labor, he creates goods—but they do not belong to him; they are the property of the man for whom he works, the capitalist, that is, the man who owns the machines or tools.

In one sense, the worker is always a salesman and the thing he sells is his ability to work, his labor-power. His customer is the capitalist who needs the worker's labor-power.

The capitalist is always interested in bargains. There must be a profit in the deal; otherwise he will not hire the worker. And the profit always comes from the fact that the worker creates more than his wages. Up to a certain point, the work done goes to pay his wages, but after that, it goes to make up the profit of the employer. Ordinarily—except when unemployment will help protect profits or prevent losses—the more hours a day the worker spends on the job, the greater is the amount of profit that the employer gets out of his work.

### Wages Down—Profit Up!

The employer understands this. It is plain to him that if the hours of his workingmen are longer, they will be producing more profit for him in the value of their goods over and above the wages he pays them. It is also clear to him that the lower the wages are, the higher will be his profit, since the wages are the part that he gives back to the workers. If he returns less, he keeps more.

Workingmen understand this, too. That is why they fight against long hours and fight for higher wages. They are better off when they get higher wages and shorter hours—in other words, when their employer gets less profit from their labor.

There is another way in which employers can add to their profit. The use of machinery makes it possible for the laborers to turn out more goods. But the employers want machines that are as cheap as possible—again because it will leave them more profit. Cheap machines, however, are very often dangerous to workers. Pro-

tective gadgets to keep the workers from getting caught in the wheels and levers cost money.

### Death and Profit

Recently the whole country was shocked when it learned that tunnel workers were being practically murdered as a result of the fact that their employers were not providing them with masks to keep the dust out of their lungs. After only a few months of such work, they would get the disease called Silicosis and die off in a short time. It was cheaper for the employers to get new workers as death took away the old ones than to provide the means of protecting their lives. Workingmen are cheap; safety methods are dear. Human life is a small thing compared to profit.

It is profit which is the enemy of the workers. In order to protect themselves against it, workers have organized to cut it down as much as possible. Profit makes long hours—the labor unions fight against profit by fighting for shorter hours. Profit makes low wages—the labor unions fight against profit by fighting for higher wages. Profit makes bad conditions in the factories—the unions fight against profit by fighting for better working conditions.

At the same time, the workers try to get laws from the government against some of the means by which the employers get profit. They demand factory inspection laws, a shorter work-week and minimum wage laws. But because the employers control the government through their control of the Democratic and Republican parties, such bills are hard to pass. And even when they are passed the Supreme Court, in the name of profit, declares the laws unconstitutional as it did recently, for example, in the case of the New York minimum wage law.

### Fight the Profit System

For these reasons the workers have their own political party, the Socialist Party, which carries on a war against the profit-system. While it fights for immediate demands—higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions—it points out that the root of the whole trouble is profit.

The Socialist Party is organizing the workers in order to wipe profit off the face of the earth so that the workers will be able to get the full value of their labor.

[The above is one of a series of articles on various phases of Socialism.]



# FARMERS HAIL NELSON

## THE OHIO JOBLESS 'SENATE'



Above are some of the leaders of the recent "Unemployed Legislature" as they lounged about the Senate chambers in Columbus, Ohio. In the foreground, left to right, are: Lee Morgan, speaking, Socialist president of the Workers' Alliance in Cincinnati, Ben Gray of the national committee of the WAA, Nelson G. Meagley of Toledo, Socialist secretary of the Ohio WAA and David W. Sallume of Yellow Springs, Socialist member of the WAA state committee.

## Farm Convention Hails Socialist As Bankers' Foe

ST. PAUL, Minn.—George A. Nelson, Socialist candidate for Vice-President, is hailed as a fighter who "has earned his spurs in leading the struggles of the farmers," in an article in *The Holiday News*, organ of the National Farm Holiday Association. Nelson was elected as vice-president of the Association at its recent convention.

### YPSL Urges AYC Change

NEW YORK.—Meeting in a 3-day session here this past weekend, the national executive committee of the Young People's Socialist League heard reports on the Third American Youth Congress, took steps to form youth committees for Thomas and Nelson, outlined plans for a 5-week summer school for organizers and made preparations for International Socialist Youth Week.

Reporting on the American Youth Congress, National Secretary Ben Fischer reviewed the struggle that young Socialists and trade union delegates had waged on the floor to prevent the AYC from being converted by communists into a young "People's Party," embracing divergent and contradictory elements. As against this, the YPSL had proposed that the AYC follow the policy of joint actions on specific issues, operating on the basis of mutual consent.

"Socialists differ with communists," Fischer said. "Both differ with liberals. Liberals differ with conservatives. Around a political program (such as the one embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of Youth adopted by the Congress) these elements cannot unite. If they do unite, it is on the basis of the views of the more conservative elements with the toleration of the radicals. This is not unity; it is compromise, confusion, toleration."

Fischer pointed out that "the Youth Congress adopted a constitution, flowing inevitably from its Declaration, which makes it a super-organization whose decisions bind every organization and threaten to make of them a subdivision of the Congress, destroying the integrity of the constituent groups. This is the path of building a new federated young people's political party."

**Defend Socialism**  
He declared that the YPSL gave its loyalty to the Socialist Party which "insists upon the recognition of existing class divisions, contrary to the view of the American Youth Congress; the Socialist Party also insists that only a fundamental reconstruction of our economic and political order will bring 'Peace, Freedom and Plenty.'"

Believing that "the Youth Congress still has a chance," the young Socialists intend to remain in the Congress, setting forth their point of view and rallying constituent organizations to help make it a "genuine united front medium for common action on specific issues, a function which will help develop leftward-moving youth towards the labor movement and towards Socialist convictions." They will not, however, accept a seat on the national council under existing conditions.

The YPSL NEC reported its views to the Youth Committee of the Socialist Party, which approved the policy adopted.

The article recites Nelson's career as an Alaskan 'sourdough,' as a crusader for farmers' rights, and as a Socialist.

#### Led Farmers

"Nelson first joined the Socialist Party early in its history during the first decade of this century," the "News" says.

"For the next 20 years he worked in the farmer and labor movement of Wisconsin, organizing cooperatives, following the tradition of that hardy stock of American pioneers in working his own farm while leading the farmers of western Wisconsin in the many fights against grasping bankers and ruthless mortgagors.

"In all of these battles he has been successful. In his area not one single farmer has been thrown off his land. Practically every business in his area is cooperatively owned due in no small part to his efforts as a leader in the cooperative movement."

#### Thousands Hear Him

Nelson has already been acclaimed at large meetings where he has spoken in Wisconsin and Minnesota in the past month. He will conclude his Minnesota tour on July 25 when he will address the Socialist state convention. On July 26 he will speak to 25,000 people at the Wisconsin state Socialist picnic.

Starting on July 27 in Waukegan he will spend a week in Illinois, speaking in a different city every day. He will cover the following cities after Waukegan: Yorkville, Bloomington, Trenton, Gillespie, Galesburg and Starved Rock. From Illinois he will go into Indiana and Michigan.

## Sharecrop Strike Wins Wage Raises

MUSKOGEE, Okla.—With increased wages won in all localities, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union executive council meeting here, announced the end of the sharecroppers' strike which for a month received nationwide publicity because of the terror used against the strikers.

In a public statement, the council declared that "the STFU comes out of this struggle with greatly increased strength." They acclaimed as an added victory of the strike the fact that "it has demonstrated that Negro and white workers in the cotton fields have become aware of their common interests and are willing to get together and fight for them."

Federal action against the lawless planters was demanded by the council. A resolution of thanks to trade union and liberal groups in the north and elsewhere that contributed money, clothing and other help was adopted.

Preparations for strike action in the cotton picking season, if necessary, are already under way, it is understood. Cotton picking begins in southern Texas late in August, in the lower south in September, and farther north in October.

## Jobless Fight Relief Cuts

### Unemployed Win In Illinois After Demonstration

CHICAGO.—It took a demonstration of hungry unemployed men and women, members of the Illinois Workers' Alliance, to force the Chicago City Council to pass a tax levy for relief. While police on the outside were trying to disperse the picket line around city hall, the councilmen on the inside lost no time in voting on the levy although they had been evading the issue for weeks.

The relief situation had been so bad in Chicago that relief stations were closed and food orders could not be mailed for lack of postage. Unemployed men and women besieged the homes of council members and forced a special meeting.

#### Alliance Demonstrates

Members of the Workers' Alliance jammed the council chamber and shouted, "We want cash relief," until they were thrown out by several hundred police officers hastily summoned by Mayor Kelly. When they started picketing outside of city hall, mounted policemen rode on the sidewalk in an attempt to disperse the crowd with the use of their clubs and their horses' hoofs.

Relief authorities confessed that this revenue added to the city's share of the sales tax will still be insufficient to cover the needs of Chicago's unemployed.

A large demonstration is planned for July 18 in front of the offices of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, and the city hall and local relief stations will be picketed every day by the Workers' Alliance.

Paul Porter, former labor secretary of the Socialist Party, said: "The Chicago incident is only one example of the scores of such incidents which will take place in this country. Relief will be cut. The unemployed will starve. Politicians will dilly-dally until the unemployed exert pressure. First clubs will be used against those on relief, but if that fails to halt them, additional funds will be hastily found."

### Hoopes Demands Solons Learn Relief Diet

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Convinced that "Experience is the best teacher," Darlington Hoopes, Socialist legislator from Reading, introduced a bill in the house which would force Pennsylvania solons to eat on a relief diet until the Democrats and Republicans ceased playing politics with unemployment relief funds.

Although Hoopes' bill did not provide for the eviction of legislators "from their comfortable homes" as impractical and inhuman, he declared that:

"Until such time as unemployment relief shall be established upon an adequate basis, each member of the Assembly is hereby directed to spend no more than 18c a day for food," and that

"If any member of the Assembly shall partake of food furnished by his family, friends or legislative lobbyists, he shall be judged in contempt of this House and shall be brought before it."

The bill was sent to committee—to be killed by the Republicans and Democrats.

### Pennsylvania Hunger Marchers Ask Immediate Aid

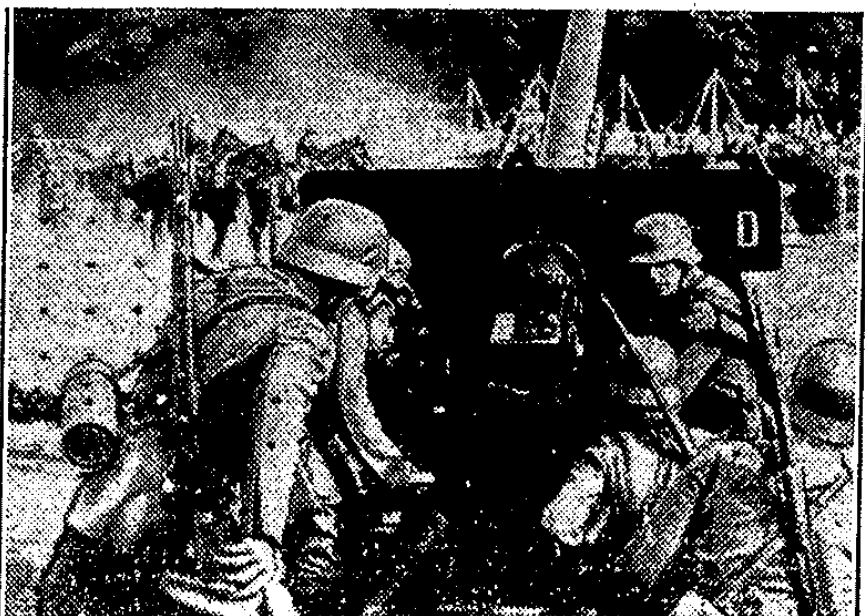
HARRISBURG, Pa.—The Democratic and Republican politicians have finished playing ball with each other on the question of relief. A bill appropriating \$45,000,000 was finally passed by the Pennsylvania legislature while hundreds of unemployed demonstrated outside the capitol demanding the enactment of the \$100,000,000 appropriation bill introduced by Darlington Hoopes, Socialist representative.

For days, while Democratic Governor Earle haggled with the Republicans, the unemployed were left without relief.

As members of the Workers Alliance poured into Harrisburg to stop the costly game being played at their expense, state troopers patrolled the capitol. When the Senate voted the \$45,000,000, hundreds of jobless who crowded the galleries booed and jeered.

For four hours the unemployed who came here in a hunger march organized by the Workers Alliance held mass demonstrations in the State House Plaza. On being in-

## MURDER REHEARSAL



As the capitalist world once more arms itself to the teeth in preparation for the next war, daily rehearsals are taking place in the fine art of destroying cannon fodder. Here are German artillerymen simulating war conditions during a recent military review.

Party Activity:

# McCormick Re-elected

## Colorado

The state convention elected the following as the state executive committee: Whitehead, Holland, Chesler and Axelson, of Denver; Randall of Englewood; Al Sikkima of Goldfield; Slater and P. C. Simkins of Niwot; Porter of Boulder; P. L. Chew of Selbert, and either C. E. Zingheim of Canon City or Senter of Goldfield, who were tied in the voting. The state executive committee will resolve the tie. Paul S. McCormick was re-elected state secretary.

Plans are under way to hold a third annual Socialist summer school in Colorado. The national office will provide two of the teachers and a committee of three Wyoming and two Colorado Socialists is already functioning. Red Feather Lakes, Colorado, will probably be the site.

This is the first project of the informal cooperating federation of western states organizations organized by delegates to the national convention.

## Florida

Tampa Socialists celebrated the opening of their new headquarters with a housewarming party at which M. E. Edson and Frank McCallister delivered short talks on the purposes of the Socialist Party. There were many young people present who formed a circle of the Young People's Socialist League.

## Massachusetts

At a meeting of the State Executive Committee of Mass. on Sunday, July 12, a motion was passed, calling for a State Convention on Saturday afternoon, July 25, to elect a new State Executive Committee.

## New Jersey

The party local in Trenton has been reorganized. It meets every Wednesday night at the Labor Lyceum, 159 Mercer Street. Michael Charnofsky is corresponding secretary and Mrs. Ray Cook is financial secretary.

## New York

The state executive committee has designated Frank Trager,

# \$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$

In a Chicago office building, there is a mail-box that sags with letters. They bear post-marks from cities in every part of the United States and are addressed to the Socialist Party of the United States, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

They ask questions. They offer to help in the campaign for Norman Thomas and George Nelson. They demand leaflets, pamphlets, mass meetings, radio broadcasts, Socialist organizers. They want Socialism!

And the national office, under the guidance of National Secretary Clarence Senior, is planning to give all these things to the hundreds of thousands who demand them. But for that, money is needed! And money is being raised—through the \$100,000 fund drive.

Stuffed as that mail-box is with demands for Socialist propaganda, it still has room for letters containing the means to provide that propaganda. There's room for envelopes with contributions toward the \$100,000 that are needed to finance the thrilling campaign that is ahead.

Don't forget the mail-box in the Chicago office building. You can deposit your contribution by addressing an envelope to the Socialist Party of the United States, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

state secretary, as campaign manager. The state office will soon move into new campaign headquarters from which it will direct the Empire State drive.

Local Nassau County put itself in shape for the campaign by holding a county convention on July 12.

Hugh McCoy has been appointed full time organizer by the Westchester County organization.

## Ohio

Local Dayton has been reorganized in preparation for the campaign. The new officers are William Russell, organizer; Charles H. Stapleton, secretary; E. J. Perron, financial secretary; and A. J. Craig, literature agent. H. Lee Jones is the Socialist candidate for congressman-at-large.

## Oregon

Three hundred and fifty Socialists participated in the Oregon State convention at Salem on July 12 and unanimously endorsed Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson, Socialist candidates for President and Vice President. Clarence Rudder was named as candidate for Senator against Charles L. McNary, Republican incumbent.

Monroe Sweetland was elected state chairman, and Leha Stripling, Rose Alexander, Don Sweetland and Rudder were elected members of the executive committee.

Since 1934 when the Oregon state organization withdrew from the national organization there has been no official Socialist Party in the state.

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### Books

# 'Days of Wrath'

By BRUNO FISCHER

Properly speaking Andre Malraux's "Days of Wrath" (Random House, \$1.75) in length and construction is not a novel but a long short story. This is not a warning to those who buy their literature by the bulk to beware of being gypped. There is more literary fare in the 174 very brief pages of this book than in a dozen *Anthony Adverses*.

Malraux's position as one of the foremost revolutionary writers in the world is well established. (By the way, who is the foremost if not Malraux?) His "Man's Fate," as far as this reviewer is concerned, is the definitive novel for the period which it covers. These are words of high praise. They are meant to be. "Days of Wrath" is a compact,

brilliantly written, long, short story of a communist's experience in a Nazi concentration camp. The translation from the original French is excellently done.

Here again, as in sections of "Man's Fate," Malraux concerns himself with the single-minded devotion of an individual to working class revolution. Nine days of terror in a concentration camp could not swerve Kassner, the hero, from that devotion. Fighting down fear and insanity, it did not for a moment occur to him to betray his comrades in exchange for liberation, nor to give up the highly dangerous underground work in Germany, if and when he were released.

He is given his liberty at last through the self-sacrifice of another comrade, who gives himself up to the Nazis pretending to be Kassner because Kassner is more valuable to the movement. After a graphically-depicted airplane flight, Kassner rejoins his wife and child in Czechoslovakia, prepared to take up his revolutionary activity where he had been forced to leave off by his arrest.

It is a moot point whether the treatment of prisoners in Louisiana prison camps is more horrible and sadistic than in Nazi concentration camps. But Louisiana is supposed to be part of the United States and not fascist Germany. The most interesting chapters of "Where Do I Go From Here?" by Robert O. Ballou as told to Roger Benton (Lee Furman, \$3.00) are those which deal with the inhuman tortures under which prisoners are compelled to work in cane fields for the profit of the sovereign state of Louisiana.

For the rest, it's an ordinary enough story of a forger who convinces himself with, one must admit, a certain amount of validity, that he is no more of a crook than the bankers and business men from whom he steals.

His second jail term was in Atlanta, where he had the honor to be Gene Debs' cell mate. His admiration of Debs, which he shared with all the inmates, amounted almost to worship.

When Debs was finally released, he relates, "every window on that side of the building was filled with heads of cheering, and many weeping, men . . . Halfway to the gate he raised both arms to the cheering men, arms which seemed to say, 'I wish I could

## N. Y. Party Notes

Every Socialist is urged to attend the Central Trades and Labor Council Mooney meeting at the New York Hippodrome on July 30. The Party will issue a leaflet in support of the demonstration.

The City Convention will take place Saturday afternoon, July 18, at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street. Among matters to be dealt with are:

- (a) Adoption of a municipal platform, nomination of candidate for the presidency of the Board of Aldermen.
- (b) A thorough discussion on the organization of the Local.
- (c) Adoption of resolutions of policy to guide Party work.
- (d) Amendments to the Local by-laws.

The following branches have either been reorganized or begun as a result of the national convention:

Cloakmakers, Italian Manhattan, German, East Flatbush, Greek, Polish Manhattan, Polish Kings, 12 AD Kings, 6 AD Bronx Jewish, 4-14 AD Kings Jewish, Second Harlem.

Petitions to put the Party's candidates on the ballot for November must be in the city office not later than August 4.

Despite extremely hot weather, hundreds of Socialist trade unionists met last week to map plans for the organization of Thomas-Nelson Labor Committees in practically every local union in New York.

Norman Thomas' acceptance speech and a 4-page leaflet on "What Is Socialism" can be secured for \$1.75 per thousand by city branches. For out-of-town locals, the price is \$2.00 per thousand, postpaid.

## Aid the Cuban Prisoners!

The Labor and Socialist Defense Committee and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense are jointly conducting a national campaign in behalf of the heroic trade union and labor party leaders of Cuba, now being tortured in the dungeons of Batista and Gomez.

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).

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 and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Room 1106, 112 East 19th Street.

### JOIN U. M. W. A.

CALGARY, Canada. (FP)—Coal miners of Alberta and British Columbia, organized in the Mine Workers Union of Canada, voted by a 5-1 majority for affiliation with the United Mine Workers of America.

take you with me—into a better day and a better order of things, and a roar went up from the windows which could have been heard a mile away."

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# Wanger Moves To Rome

## To Produce Movies

By JOHN R. CHAPLIN

HOLLYWOOD, (FP).—Walter Wanger, usually considered one of Hollywood's "liberals," whose Gabriel over the White House had been thought to be a mistake rather than conscious attempts at Fascist propaganda, has just returned from Italy, where he founded a new movie company bearing his name and sponsored by Mussolini. Wanger will send his American contract stars to Rome and shoot the Fascist films.

The success of Fury, as predicted, is starting a lynch and near-lynch cycle: Emanuel Cohen will produce Happiness Preferred, in which the innocent hero barely escapes lynching . . . George and Ira Gershwin are going to write the score of the next Fred Astair-Ginger Rogers musical . . . Jean V. A. Weaver, well known for his "poems in American," is doing the dialogue for David Selznick's forthcoming Adventures of Tom Sawyer, in the vernacular . . .

Gene Fowler, the man who ran

## AT THE CAMEO



A scene from "Anna," new Russian film, directed by Piryov and produced by Messfilm. It is now on the screen of the Cameo Theatre.

out on the Screen Guild during its epic fight, with a shout of "rugged individualism," and who then wrote a satirical poem against himself, has now seen the light: he has refused a long-term contract at 20th Century-Fox, in order not to violate the guild's code . . .

### Rebel Arts Notes:

## Summer Groups In Full Swing

Summer activities of Rebel Arts, labor and Socialist cultural organization, are in full swing at its New York headquarters, 35 East 19th St.

Applications are being received for the summer project in labor drama under the leadership of Emanuel Raices, director of the Rebel Arts Players, in association with Florence Lasser and Milton Weinstein. Interviews will be held on Tuesday, July 21 at 8 p. m.

The meeting of the Rebel Arts Puppeteers scheduled for July 10 has been postponed and will take place on Thursday, July 16, at 7:30 p. m. Helen Fichandler, director of the group, will outline activities in preparation for the coming election campaign and will detail groups for action under the new team plan announced last week in The CALL. Puppet scripts should be submitted at once.

### Missed the Boat!

Persons who have tickets that were not used on the Moonlight Sail of the New York Socialist Party last Saturday can use them this Saturday night on the same boat, S. S. Bear Mountain, leaving the Battery at 8:30 p. m.

### Play Sing Sing

NEW YORK.—A team representing the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, made up of the pick of the eleven local union baseball teams, has scheduled a game with Warden Lawes' crack Sing Sing nine for Sunday, August 2, at 1:30 p. m.

## Going To The Theatre?

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## Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

Recently I called attention to the announcement by President Roosevelt of the appointment of a commission of three persons to investigate and report on the Consumers Cooperative Movement in Europe. The members of the commission are Jacob Baker, former assistant administrator of the WPA, Leland Olds, Secretary of the New York State Power Authority, and Charles E. Stewart of a large engineering firm.

None of these persons has had any administrative experience in the Consumers Cooperative Movement. Baker for some time was in charge of the self-help cooperatives set up by the Roosevelt government, which differed widely in principle and aim from Consumers Cooperatives. Essentially the self-help cooperatives were a means by which unemployed workers are given a grub-stake by the government and under supervision are required to support themselves out of products of their own labor. Olds' sole claim to connection with the Cooperative Movement lies in that he is a member of a New York Cooperative; Stewart has no known cooperative background.

### Primary Purposes

Baker, who is chairman of the commission, announced just before sailing for Europe that the "primary purpose of our commission is to determine the actual contribution of Consumers Cooperatives to the maintenance and strengthening of democracy. With Europe torn between communist and fascist dictatorships it is important that we determine what factors have been responsible for the maintenance of democratic institutions in those countries which still retain the democratic form of government."

It is important for Socialists in the Cooperative movement to point out that the fruits of this commission cannot be realized under the Roosevelt government. Impartial and unprejudiced investigation of the Cooperative movement in Europe by sympathetic persons serving no vested interests cannot help but reveal that it has accomplished a great step

towards the Cooperative Commonwealth of Socialism, in which capitalists serve no useful function and are outlawed. They cannot fail to report that the Consumers Cooperative Movement in these countries is invariably intertwined with the Labor and Socialist Movement and that each of these mutually assist and augment each other.

### No Hope In FDR

There is no reason to believe that President Roosevelt, whose background and contacts have been similar to those of the vested interests in America, whose New Deal Government has consistently avoided any real reform, whose NRA and AAA are essentially policies of controlled scarcity and controlled price, fundamentally in opposition to the principles of Socialism, whose political party is so inescapably bound up with the interests of capitalism, should take up and effectively enforce the recommendations of a committee which should show Consumers Cooperation as a revolutionary weapon against capitalism.

Roosevelt democracy is essentially a democracy for capitalist interests. He cannot, even if he were willing, engage upon so revolutionary an activity as an effective program of consumers cooperation.

The Cooperative movement will have to learn that it is a radical movement, that its interests are diametrically opposed to the preservation of the capitalist system and that it cannot seek and expect aid or assistance from a capitalist party. It must learn its political ally must be the Socialist Party which is the only Party that represents the interests of the people who make up the membership of the Cooperative movement—the working class.

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# Norman Thomas:

## MAIN ISSUE IN THE CAMPAIGN IS CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM

ALL the strangely assorted company of skeptics—liberals, labor men, Communists, Waldmanites, who join in the cry that this is not the year to talk Socialism but only "democracy against fascism" or reaction, are invited to consider, for what it is worth, the following facts:

Never in any Presidential campaign have I talked to so many people or met with such interest in the early stages of the campaign as this year. And never have I insisted so strongly that the issue is Socialism and not immediate demands, however valuable some of the latter may be.

### Great Interest

The Civic Auditorium at Portland, Oregon, where the Convention of the National Education Association was held, was packed to capacity and the applause went to Socialism. I spoke to several thousand people at the Pocatello, Idaho, July 4th celebration; to about 3,500 people at the Greeley, Colorado Summer School; to audiences of several hundred in Salem, Oregon, Laramie, Wyoming, and Fort Collins, Greeley, Colorado, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and Lincoln, Nebraska. Some of the meetings were afternoon meetings, many of them were held in intense heat, and yet the interest was high. I want to thank the comrades for the good work they did in connection with them everywhere. It is scarcely fair to single out any comrades for special praise but Leo Vernon, Ed Adams, and the Illinois sound truck did some splendid work in Nebraska as did Marvin Halvorsen and Charles Jennings in South Dakota. They were also aided by Comrades Burke and Russell from the Twin Cities.

At Portland one of my opponents was Governor Paul McNutt of Indiana. He is an able and forceful politician, an excellent speaker, who is building himself up very successfully for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1940. He eulogized Roosevelt and the New Deal but he eulogized them as a conservative might eulogize them. A labor man who thought the New Deal was progressive in its labor outlook would be surprised at McNutt's treatment of it. He did not dare to defend his own Administration against the charges which I brought of the misuse of military law. He ignored my attack. Yet this is the man who is popularly regarded as the Democratic hope for 1940 in much of the middle and far West.

### Political Rights

The last four years have seen the steady march of law and the interpretation of law to make it difficult for a minority party to get on the ballot. We failed in Nebraska to get a convention in 750 electorates pledged to form a new party and to support the ticket. I think we shall be able to get on the ballot by a second convention or by petitions which will put us in the independent column. South Dakota requires 6,000 signatures, a number very difficult to obtain in a state large in geographical area but comparatively sparsely settled.

The worst states, as Socialists who have studied the situation well know, are Louisiana, Florida, North Carolina, and Ohio. They make it impossible or practically impossible to get on the ballot at all, at least for the Socialist Party. We may have to make a legal test in Florida. It would be worth it. All these states have been under Democratic governors,

and the Democratic Party in all of them is responsible either for the original laws or for failing to remove them from the statute books. Roosevelt has never mentioned this subject in his defense of liberty and democracy. Neither has he ever mentioned the poll taxes and other devices by which white and colored workers are kept from voting in many of the Southern states.

### FDR Supporters

When I got back to New York I discovered that the communists and Waldmanite ex-socialists who agree so nearly in their views on war have a new bond of common belief. Both of them, it appears, want some sort of a labor party in New York State even if openly or tacitly that labor party should endorse Roosevelt for President and Lehman for Governor.

The Waldmanites had a convention which changed the Social Democratic Federation into the People's Party, and after acrimonious discussion appointed a committee to negotiate with Labor's Non-Partisan Committee for Roosevelt to form a labor party. By and by the Waldmanites will have more names than members. The basis of the labor party would be endorsement of Roosevelt and Lehman and, I suppose, a chance for a few Waldmanites to run for Assembly, or something, in districts where regular Tammany candidates are a little too strong for our ex-socialist friends to stomach. This is the logical development of the Old Guard movement which we have been prophesying. It first showed itself at least as early as the New Leader's enthusiasm for Roosevelt's "insecurity" bill for which it claimed Socialist paternity. Well, maybe Jim Farley has a few jobs left to pass around to his new allies even if they haven't much to deliver.

Socialists who get free copies of the New Leader will be able to judge how much weight to attach to it and its pronouncements about Socialism and democracy in view of this support of Roosevelt.

### Our Duty

While both Waldmanites and communists want a curious sort of labor party in New York, I do not suppose that the Waldmanites want the communists even though the communists apparently are willing to include themselves, the Waldmanites and anybody else in a labor party. As communists, however, they do not want to assume "political responsibility" for Roosevelt. They appeal to the Socialist Party and to me in particular to come along into their labor party, which doesn't yet exist, because the water will be fine—if any. Our immediate duty it appears is to make our one urgent aim the defeat of Landon.

The answer is plain. Our one immediate duty is to agitate, educate and organize for Socialism. Neither Waldmanites, communists, nor ourselves can build for Socialism of any sort by endorsing Democrats, going in for a hodge-podge of opportunistic reform and excusing it by saying that only from a Republican victory comes the danger of fascism. The communists are sublimely confident in themselves. But there is in logic no reason to think that they can play with opportunism and escape the consequences any better than the German Social Democrats, who had more excuse for their opportunistic program.

The farmer-labor party that we want, the only farmer-labor party worth getting, is a farmer-labor party entirely free from capitalist old party alliances. There is no chance of building such a party this year, certainly not in a state where labor is going to endorse a Democratic candidate for Governor as well as for President.

### Townsend and Lemke

There are circumstances in which the National Executive Committee—wisely I think—has given permission to Socialists to join state Farmer-Labor parties. When I say wisely, I mean wisely under the circumstances. At the very least they are cut entirely loose from the capitalist parties and they are endorsing neither capitalist party candidates for President.

In some of the farming states I suspect that communists and others who have been enthusiastic for these parties may find that they will be stampeded for Lemke. The communists have decided that it is all right to play around with the Townsend Plan Club, but that Lemke is a Landon stooge and a potential fascist. It is mighty hard to make the distinction plain to the mass of voters in Nebraska and Iowa and the Dakotas. Really there is no such difference between Townsend Planners and Lemke. Both protest against real evils; both want for the farmers, the aged, or various other groups what they ought to have in a well run society but what they can't get under capitalism. I am inclined to think that the Townsend Plan Clubs are rather stronger than the groups supporting Lemke. They also may support Lemke although it would be poor policy for them to do so. It would hurt their tactics of capturing Congressmen under either the Republican or the Democratic label.

As far as I can see, a Congressional investigation has not hurt the Townsend Plan Clubs. With much justice they see in it an attempt by Congress to evade the main issue. We Socialists must make it plain to the Townsend Planners and others that we stand for the best old age pension that can be paid in a well rounded system of social security out of funds derived from taxes on wealth. We do not stand for sales taxes which fall on workers, or for raising impossible hopes in the minds of the aged, or for the dangerous delusion that the Townsend Plan is really all that is necessary to make the world right. If communists want to play around with Townsend Plan Clubs, that is their privilege, but they'll have hard work to make the voters see why the Townsend Plan Clubs should be encouraged and Lemke discouraged.

For myself, and I think for the Socialist Party, I can say that we are surer than ever that our hope and the hope of mankind lies not in all this political maneuvering, this balance of more or less, but in straight hard work for Socialism. When a genuine farmer-labor party becomes the best means of working for Socialism we shall support it. But it is childish optimism to think that a labor party which endorses Roosevelt and Garner in the nation and Lehman in New York will have any real significance except as an ally for the Democratic Party, a means of easing the conscience of some people who hate to take Tammany along with Roosevelt, and for others a possible road to political advancement.

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