

AT THE FRONT:

Norman Thomas

THE AFL DECISION
FERTILE FOR FASCISM
KANSAS AND ARIZONA

A BLIND man can see that a split in the AFL will inevitably lead to a war between rival unions in various trades and industries out of which the bosses, and only the bosses, will profit. Intelligent delegates to the next AFL convention may still have it in their power to avert a split or mend it, and every pressure should be put upon them to that end.



Greatly as we desire unity we must, however, insist that if worse comes to worst, a split is better than paralysis or a return to the old policy under which the main concern of the AFL seemed to be for the peace and per capita of the old line labor leaders in the craft unions.

My guess is that if there is a split the new and vigorous forces now organized in the Committee for Industrial Organization will pretty rapidly win the field.

Basic Issues

Naturally there has been and will be a great deal of legalistic argument concerning the right of the AFL executive council to suspend the CIO unions. This argument has importance, but rank and file workers must not lose sight of the primary issue. That is not legalistic. It concerns the vitality and health of the American labor movement.

Until the CIO began to push the work of organizing the heavy industries, which happen to be the key industries in America, there was every reason to believe that in this field the victory would go to the company unions, the complete open shop, and ultimately to Fascism. The AFL was not doing the job. It could not do the job as long as it had to turn over key workers to the craft unions which claimed jurisdiction. The CIO was formed to do a necessary piece of work. It was not trying to destroy existing craft unions, much less the AFL. It was doing what the whole AFL should have been doing.

When President Green says that the issue is not craft unionism versus industrial unionism because the AFL has room for both, he is telling the literal truth and at the same time begging the question and misrepresenting the facts. The conflict arises from the fact that the craft unions will not and cannot organize factory industry, but that when someone else does it they demand that the members whom they claim and their dues should be turned over to them. In varying degree that has been the trouble with the brewery workers, the shipyard workers, the radio workers, and even the steel, rubber, and auto workers.

Fertile For Fascism

There is no denying that here in New England, especially but not exclusively among the great Roman Catholic population, Father Coughlin is making a great impression and has a large following. More and more his methods are the methods of a fascist demagogue. The National Union for Social Justice is as

(Continued on Page Two)

FASCISM IN AMERICA! CAN IT HAPPEN HERE?

SEE PAGE TEN

OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

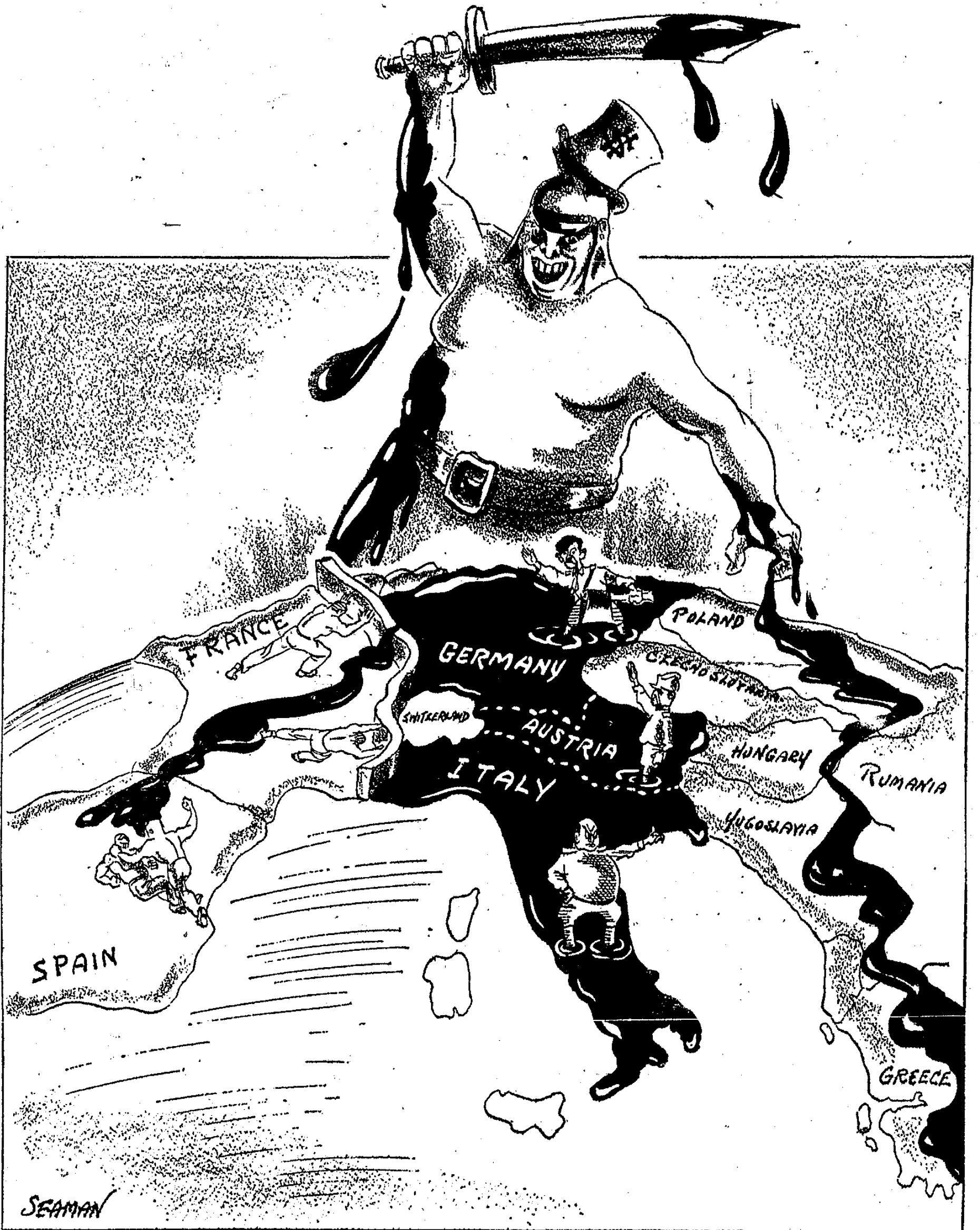
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PRICE FIVE CENTS



Flood In Europe

Thomas Assails GOP Distortions Of His Letters

NEW YORK.—Hitting back at distortions in the Republican press of his reply to Governor Landon's now famous letter on labor, Norman

Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, hit Landon's reply as "a description of a very unsatisfactory condition from a labor point of view." Thomas made his views known in a letter to the editor of the Los Angeles Times, reactionary Republican daily, which had declared that Thomas admitted "he had been fully answered."

Declaring that he disagreed sharply with Landon's support of company unions and his strike-breaking record, Thomas declared that Landon had met only one part of his question with a clear-cut answer. "He still has much explaining to do on his general labor stand," he declared.

Thomas' letter read in part:

"In your issue of August 1st there appears an editorial entitled 'Landon's Labor Position.' In the course of it you say, 'It must be said for Thomas that he is man enough to admit that his question has been fully answered.' I never made any such admission. On the contrary, I called attention to the fact that Governor Landon did not say specifically what he would do about the C.I.O. organizing campaign in the Steel Country, or the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union campaign in the Cotton Country.

"I disagreed sharply with the Governor's implied position in favor of Company Unions, which are never free unions, but always rest upon actual or implied coercion. I criticized very sharply the Governor's record in failing to push labor legislation in Kansas and in using troops so that in effect he broke a strike.

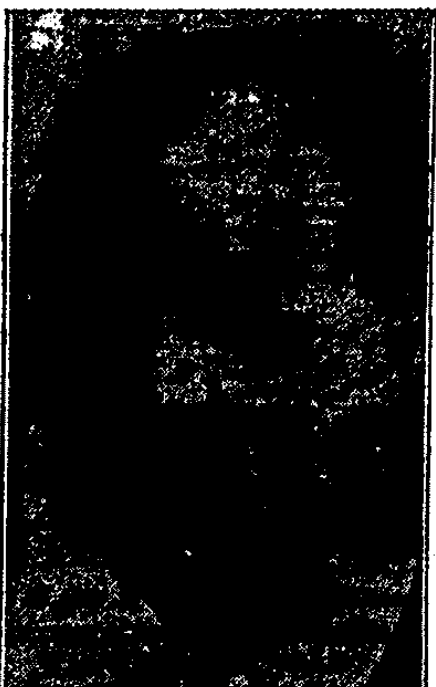
"What I did say was that his statement on the right of labor to organize in its own unions was definitely in advance of his acceptance speech. To this I may add that I think it was as explicit a statement as the President himself had given, at least down to the time of his signing the Wagner bill.

"Landon is one of the many governors who have a bad record on labor laws and on the use of troops or other strike-breaking forces. The other governors are mostly Democrats, and in fairness to Governor Landon it ought to be pointed out that the governors of most of the southern states, Governor McNutt of Indiana and possibly Governor Marland of Ok-

McNutt Dodges Debate With Thomas

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., (LSP).—Two letters sent by Roy Lancaster, executive secretary of the Socialist Party of Indiana, to Gov. McNutt of Indiana, challenging him to debate with Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, have remained unanswered. McNutt, the New Deal spokesman in Indiana, is known as the 'Hoosier Hitler' because of repressive measures he has used in breaking strikes.

MOBBED



Maynard Krueger, prominent Socialist and vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, who was driven out of Warsaw, Illinois, by a vigilante committee when he went there with officials of the Pocketbook Workers' Union.

lahoma, have even worse records from a labor standpoint. "That is no praise for Governor Landon. It is a description of a very unsatisfactory condition, from a labor point of view. Governor Landon met one part of my question by a clear-cut statement. He still has much explaining to do on his general labor stand."

—THOMAS AND NELSON—
Vote Straight Socialist For a Better World.

The Socialists Carry On In Arid Arizona

The following article is from a report of Stephen Gaugh, noted Los Angeles Socialist, who was sent to Arizona by the national headquarters of the Socialist Party to direct the drive for signatures to put the Party on the ballot there.—Editor.

By STEPHEN GAUGH

I have read the story of Dante's Inferno, and now I know what it means. I am suffering from the heat without going to the fields, can't get enough water to drink, weak as a kitten, and I'm sick. But I can't stop—I've got to go through with my mission. The workers depend on me and I will not fail them, until I can't go on any more—that will be when I'm dead.

Few men can withstand the terrific heat in the fields—but relief officials demand that they work or starve. They go until they drop in their tracks.

I can't understand how anyone can see so much suffering and sorrow without getting red blood in his veins. Can you tell me how anyone can sit down to a full meal without having done something about it? Women have cried on my shoulder, one took my hand and held it to her cheek and patted it. Several men have

gripped my hands so tight the bones cracked; one or two have embraced me in their arms when I appeared at the door.

One old lady said her husband had voted for Debs and when her husband died, he had told her that the Socialist Party would someday come to her door and it would be the beginning of a New World, and that she should do as the Party told her. She signed up and asked, "Is that all?" "Yes," I answered, "for the time being." She then grabbed my hand and held it to her cheek and I felt her warm tears fall.

These are only incidents in passing and illustrate the warmth of greeting we receive.

—RAISE \$100,000 FUND—

The hunger of poverty-stricken America must be answered with the nourishing food of Socialist literature! Hundreds of organizers must be put into the field to carry forth the message of labor freedom! This will take money—and YOU must give it. Contribute TODAY to the \$100,000 campaign fund of the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

AID STRIKING MILKMEN



Here is one of the Socialist Party sound trucks which was removed from campaign activity to lend a helping hand to the Nashville, Tenn., striking milk drivers. The Socialist Party has always stood ready to aid in every way the struggles of organized labor.



Norman Thomas Says:

LABOR HAS A JOB THAT IT MUST DO

(Continued from Page One)

much his property as his own watch. Although he is supporting Lemke diligently, he announces that he will not have his organization support him officially. In this he follows the example of the Townsend planners and it is probably good politics. The Union Party is not likely to be very durable and Coughlin can go right on using his own organization for his own purposes.

The ease with which men like Coughlin and Gerald Smith can go on selling their gold bricks to the American public shows what fertile soil the outstanding fascist leader (which I don't think Coughlin is) will find when new crisis gives him his opportunity. That leader is not going to be stopped by trying to sell the American public the New Deal with a union label on it!

New Deal Governors

However successful labor's Non-Partisan Committee may be in getting or holding votes for Roosevelt and in uniting labor leaders, Waldmanites and communists, it is not doing the job of giving hope or purpose to the masses. They know too well how much is wrong with it, and how completely New Deal governors, without rebuke from Roosevelt, have played the capitalist game. Didn't that great New Deal Governor, Ross of Idaho, call out the militia the other day for use against the striking lumberjacks?

Kansas And Arizona

Here are the excerpts from two letters—copies of which came to me on the same day.

The first is from an excellent and very damaging report on Governor Landon's labor policy in the zinc and lead mining area in Kansas by Steve H. Johnston of the Kansas Allied Workers. Governor Marland of Oklahoma followed about the same policy in the Oklahoma part of the same territory.)

"If instructions were given the troops to disarm civilians and mine company guards alike and not to interfere with labor meetings, peaceful activities and picketing, such instructions were

certainly never carried out." Mr. Johnston then goes on to report interference with picket lines and meetings and continues:

"I, personally, was arrested and tried before a military kangaroo court at Galena, Kansas, for participating in a riot that I absolutely knew nothing about till it was all over. A pure frame-up. I am forty-seven years old and have been a peace officer in Cherokee, Kansas, for twelve years and was never before arrested in my life. Having been asked by the captain of the National Guard to sever my relations with labor and sell my services to a mining company near Baxter Springs and refusing to do so, I should have known what the results would be."

That shows how little trust labor can put in Landon. Here's the next quotation from Stephen Gaugh who is organizing for the Socialist Party in Arizona:

"I feel like I am in Dante's Inferno, it's so hot, and everyone is in so much misery, due to one dollar and one dollar fifty per day wages in the burning sun of the agricultural fields ten hours a day . . . Many are cut off relief entirely, and there is no Workers Alliance to take up their grievances, and they are half starved, living in sheds, boxes, or pieces of tarp stretched over poles, while little kiddies, naked, crying for food, pull at their mother's skirts. Few men can stand the terrific heat in the fields, but relief officials demand that they work or starve. Those who cannot endure the tremendous pressure of a burning sun are compelled to starve. Relief workers are compelled to sign a sworn statement that while on relief they will take no part in political activity, sign no petitions, or pass hand bills or cards. This was meant for us and makes a great obstacle."

Governor Landon is not responsible for this, the Democratic Administration is. No, capitalism is responsible for the whole business and the issue is Socialism versus capitalism.

Gene Poulnot For Congress

My congratulations to Comrade Poulnot of Tampa on his nomination for Congress and on the final sentencing of his kidnapers. Florida Socialists deserve well of the entire country.

Murray Baron Is Nominated

I am delighted to hear of the nomination of my friend Murray Baron for President of the Board of Aldermen of New York City. It is a deserved recognition of one of our younger labor leaders, an able and well-trained man, who will prove, I am sure, a fine campaigner, and, if elected, a thoughtful and competent official. We need to develop our younger men and give them a chance to show their power. Murray Baron is one of our very best.

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.

**74 EXPIRED!
RENEW NOW!**

Labor in Action

KANSAS CITY — Samuel S. White, prominent Socialist and an organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union here, was kidnaped by company thugs and badly beaten while on organization work.

NEW YORK — More than 10,000 knitgoods workers walked out after all efforts by union officials for a peaceful settlement were rejected by the bosses association. David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and Thomas F. McMahon, president of the United Textile Workers of America, are chairman and vice-chairman of the strike committee, respectively.

READING, Pa. — Two thousand pickets turned out in the Socialist city in a tremendous demonstration against code violations by the Berkshire Knitting Mills here. The pickets represented three states.

SYRACUSE, N. Y. — Threats of a general strike here were heard as the Remington-Rand strike entered its third month. The Central Trades and Labor Assembly has demanded the removal of the head of the police detail at the plant.

BATTLE CREEK, Mich. — A 23-year-old labor battle was ended here when the Duplex Printing Co. signed a union agreement with the International Association of Machinists. The union has conducted a consistent campaign against the plant since 1913.

NEW YORK — The Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, ardent supporters of the New Deal, have refused to recognize the American Newspaper Guild, AFL union of editorial workers. Roy W. Howard, chain head, was praised by Hearst for his stand.

NEWARK, N. J. — As an aftermath to the RCA-Victor strike here, which ended last week, union leaders charged that the company had imported strikebreakers from New York in violation of the Byrnes Law, passed by Congress to prohibit inter-state transportation of scabs.

GADSDEN, Ala. — New anti-labor laws passed in Gadsden, steel, rubber and textile center 50 miles from Birmingham, have led union organizers to believe that the city will be made a key point in the effort to stop the unionization of Southern labor.

AKRON, Ohio. — When the police chief refused to use force to disperse 200 striking pickets of the newly-formed Street Repair and Maintenance Workers' Union, Mayor Leo D. Schroy of Akron fired him. The union called the strike when five members were dismissed for union activity.

TOLEDO, Ohio. — Union workers on the city's gas companies here threatened a strike which would leave Toledo helpless when utility officials refused to agree to union recognition and collective bargaining.

NEW YORK — More than 3,000 workers held a demonstration in the fur market here in sympathy with the strike of the Fur Floor Boys' Union.

RAISE \$100,000 FUND
INVITE THOMAS

BROOKLYN, N. Y. — The national convention of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks (Colored) have asked Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, to speak before them on August 21 in this

New Attack On Madrid Is Failure

By PIERRE VAN PAASSEN
Federated Press

MADRID — (By Airplane to Paris)—Fascism masquerading as the champion of law and order has plunged the land of Spain into bloodshed and chaos. But Fascism is getting paid back in its own medicine.

Although the Fascists had the majority of the army on their side, they were beaten back by the armed workers who fought with the desperation of lions. I spent 14 hours on the Sierra Guadarrama in the company of Largo Caballero, the Socialist chief, when the battle of Madrid was at its height.

I saw a battalion of working-class girls launch a bayonet charge against the perfectly-equipped Fascist-led troops. I saw the aftermath of the fighting on the Colde Leon, another mountain pass leading into Madrid, and scores of women's bodies fastened to the ground with bayonets stuck through their abdomens.

But I also saw the Fascists being hurled back. Also barehanded the workers' militia tackled the legions of Molla. On the day when that general promised to take Madrid and crucify 100,000 workers, I saw the cloud of dust of his retreating army as it was pounded by the artillery which the workers had captured and turned around.

In Catalonia, Barcelona, I saw the attack on the Colon Hotel, where thousands of Fascists had assembled to terrorize the city until General Godet could land with his troops, join with the city garrison and dominate Barcelona. Godet was taken prisoner. The garrison was annihilated.

Today in Barcelona, a Workers' Revolutionary Committee is ruling. The famous monastery on Mont Serrat on the hill overlooking the city has been turned into a sanitarium for tubercular patients. The banks are run by workers' committees. All the public services have been nationalized. The old ruling class is reaping the inevitable reward of ages of inhuman oppression and cruelty. The first act of the revolutionary committee was to turn the vast and gorgeous villas of the city into vacation homes for children of slum dwellers.

'Guns to the CCC' Is Curley Demand

AYER, Mass. — Further evidence of an intensive drive to popularize the idea of militarizing the CCC camps was given here when Gov. James E. Curley, a prominent New Dealer, launched a violent attack "at certain pinks in our colleges and universities and in certain of our pulpits" who oppose army influence in the camps. Gov. Curley spoke at Camp Devens near here.

"The CCC should have at least one hour's training a day in military discipline and in the manual of arms," he declared.

Observers viewed Curley's statement as part of a national move by the Roosevelt administration to prepare the country for a secret Congressional bill to militarize the camps. This bill, drafted by Assistant Secretary of War Woodring, will be introduced in the next Congress, according to facts recently revealed in The

CANDIDATE



Eugene F. Poulnot, victim of the Tampa foggers, was nominated for Congress by the Socialist Party convention in Florida. Charles E. Jensen, another Socialist who was kidnaped at the time, was nominated for governor.

Sentence Cops In Tampa Case

TAMPA, Fla. — The five former Tampa policemen convicted of kidnaping Eugene Poulnot, Socialist organizer, were sentenced this week to four years imprisonment. Charges arising out of the fogging and murder of Joseph Shoemaker are still pending against the convicted policemen.

Poulnot, Shoemaker and Dr. Sam Rogers were kidnaped last November and mercilessly beaten because of their labor activities.

The conviction and sentencing of the criminals was pressed by the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa.

The successful prosecution of the guilty was hailed by Socialists and labor groups throughout the country.

In a statement released by the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights, James Rorty, prominent author, declares:

"Under the circumstances, the convictions constitute a victory for Norman Thomas, the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa of which he is chairman, and the forces of organized labor which they rallied and organized."

Funds are still needed by the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa to assure complete victory in the work it has undertaken. Contributions should be sent to the committee at its New York office, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Unions Protest Split Decision Of AFL Council

WASHINGTON. — Storms of protest from unions throughout the country burst over the heads of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor this week, following its decision to suspend ten major unions unless they sever their connections with the Committee for Industrial Organization by September 5. Two other unions, whose officers are connected with the CIO, were left untouched pending further clarification of their positions.

For three days, the council listened to charges against the CIO unions, describing as "dual unionist" their efforts to enroll workers in mass production industries into

AFL organizations. The prosecution was conducted by John P. Frey.

The only member of the council to dissent was David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union which is one of the unions facing suspension.

"I voted against the suspension of the unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization," Dubinsky later explained, "as an expression of my personal conviction and in conformity with the sentiment of the organization which I represent, that this punitive action on the part of the executive council is a blow to unity in the ranks of American organized labor, which is bound to cause an irreparable amount of damage and inflict untold harm on masses of wage earners everywhere."

Dubinsky had urged that the whole problem be referred to the next convention of the AFL in Tampa, and had stated that he would abide by a mere majority decision even though a two-thirds vote is necessary for expulsion.

"Stupidity" Says Lewis

John L. Lewis, head of the CIO as well as the United Mine Workers of which William Green, craftist AFL president, is a member, announced that the CIO would stand firm. "An act of incredible and crass stupidity," he termed the council's action.

"The shame of the act of dismemberment will lie on the heads of the council, and they can answer to their own membership," Lewis said.

Within a few hours after the decision, telegrams of protest began to pour into AFL offices here.

"Completely unprecedented" and "needlessly drastic," said a wire from 8,000 members of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers in Reading, describing the action.

Seven local unions in Columbus, Ohio, followed the lead of the city's central labor body and passed a resolution condemning the "splitting tactics" of the executive council.

A unanimous resolution passed by the New Haven, Connecticut, Central Labor Council denounced the attitude of the AFL leaders.

Support CIO

At the same time, pledges of support poured into the offices of the CIO. Locals of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers announced that they were "100 percent behind the Committee for Industrial Organization." Others reiterated their intention to throw their support to the industrial unionists in their drive to organize the mass production fields. The Paterson district of the American Federation of Silk and Rayon Workers declared that the CIO "has already inspired the confidence of thousands of workers, organized and unorganized."

In spite of the great excitement occasioned by the executive council's decision, organizers of the CIO now working in the steel areas continued with their activities. Plans for coordinating the steel and automobile unionization campaigns were pushed. The United Automobile Workers Union, a CIO affiliate, announced that its membership had already increased 100 percent. The auto workers are in the CIO.

SOCIALIST AT THE FRONT



Largo Caballero, leader of the Spanish Socialists, in the Guadarrama mountains, directing the workers' militia in the defense of Madrid against the fascist rebels. Working-class troops have prevented the army-trained forces of General Franco from capturing the capital.

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OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN PAPER, SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.

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Business Manager: Hal Siegel

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THE AFL DECISION

By its decision to suspend ten of the twelve unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, the craftists on the executive council of the American Federation of Labor have taken a long step on the road to self-destruction.

The action is not so much a blow at the individual unions in the CIO as an injury to the AFL itself and to the hopes which even unorganized workers had pinned on it. To be sure, the split will weaken both sides; but in the long run, it will merely mean to the CIO unions that they must redouble their energies. Nevertheless, workers are genuinely concerned over the set-back that disunity will occasion.

At a time when labor is confronted with new tasks in addition to the old obstacles, it is tragic to find a group of men, anxious to maintain their power over craft union divisions, attempting to split ranks. For years their potential economic strength has been sapped by jurisdictional disputes and artificial barriers; but they have been content to remain sitting on top of the heap.

The industrial unionists, on the other hand, have concerned themselves with the task of enlisting the unorganized millions into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor on the only practical basis, namely industrial organization. Undaunted by the prospects of sacrifice—both of men and of money—they plunged into the task. They understood that so long as the job was left undone, the entire labor movement was an easy prey to the powerful bourbons-industrialists.

The failure of the executive council to meet this responsibility left wide-awake unionists no alternative but to assume the task themselves.

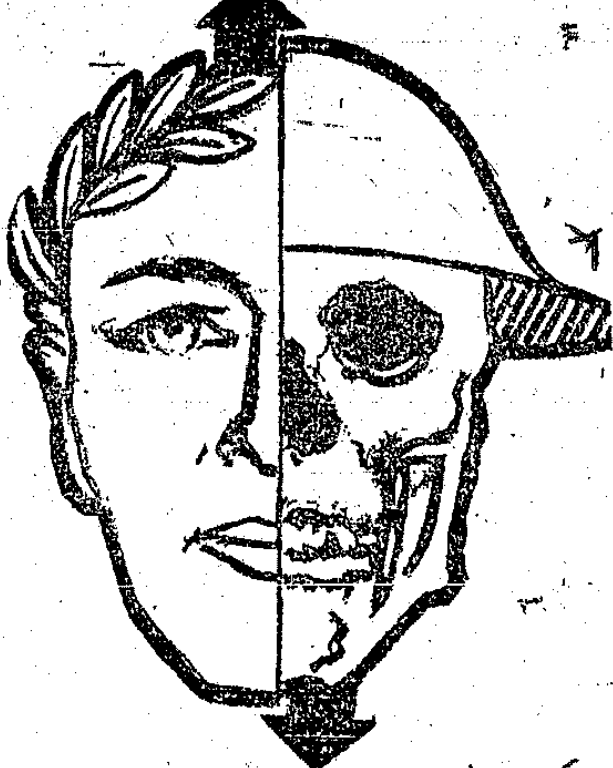
Should the executive council go through with the suspensions on September 5 and carry out its program of suicide, it will not succeed in blocking with its dead body the onward march of unionization in the mass production industries. Labor will not give up the drive. It will push through.

The grimness and deliberation with which the executive council acted leaves little hope that division may be avoided. Still, it is not too late. Even in this twilight hour, the protests of labor throughout the nation should serve to halt the executive council in its folly and awaken its members to an understanding of the grave responsibility which is theirs.

—THOMAS AND NELSON—

SCENE IN BERLIN

When Jesse Owens, American Negro athlete, made his spectacular records in the Olympic meets in Berlin, he knocked all of the Nazi theories of race superiority into a cocked hat under Hitler's nose.



No wonder the Fuehrer had a hasty retreat from his box!

But Hitler's flight was more than a retreat. It was a confession that labor's arguments against participation in the Olympics were true.

Anxious to get the opportunity afforded by the games to propagandize for Fascism, the Nazis made all sorts of pledges to observe the elementary principles of sportsmanship. But the fair countenance of Olympian virtue has already been revealed as the hideous fascist face of

cruelty. Germany's race-baiting continues, and labor's charges are sustained.

Hitler had hoped that the Olympics would be the occasion for a glorious display to visitors from all corners of the globe. He meant to stand before them in all the glory of a Nordic triumph.

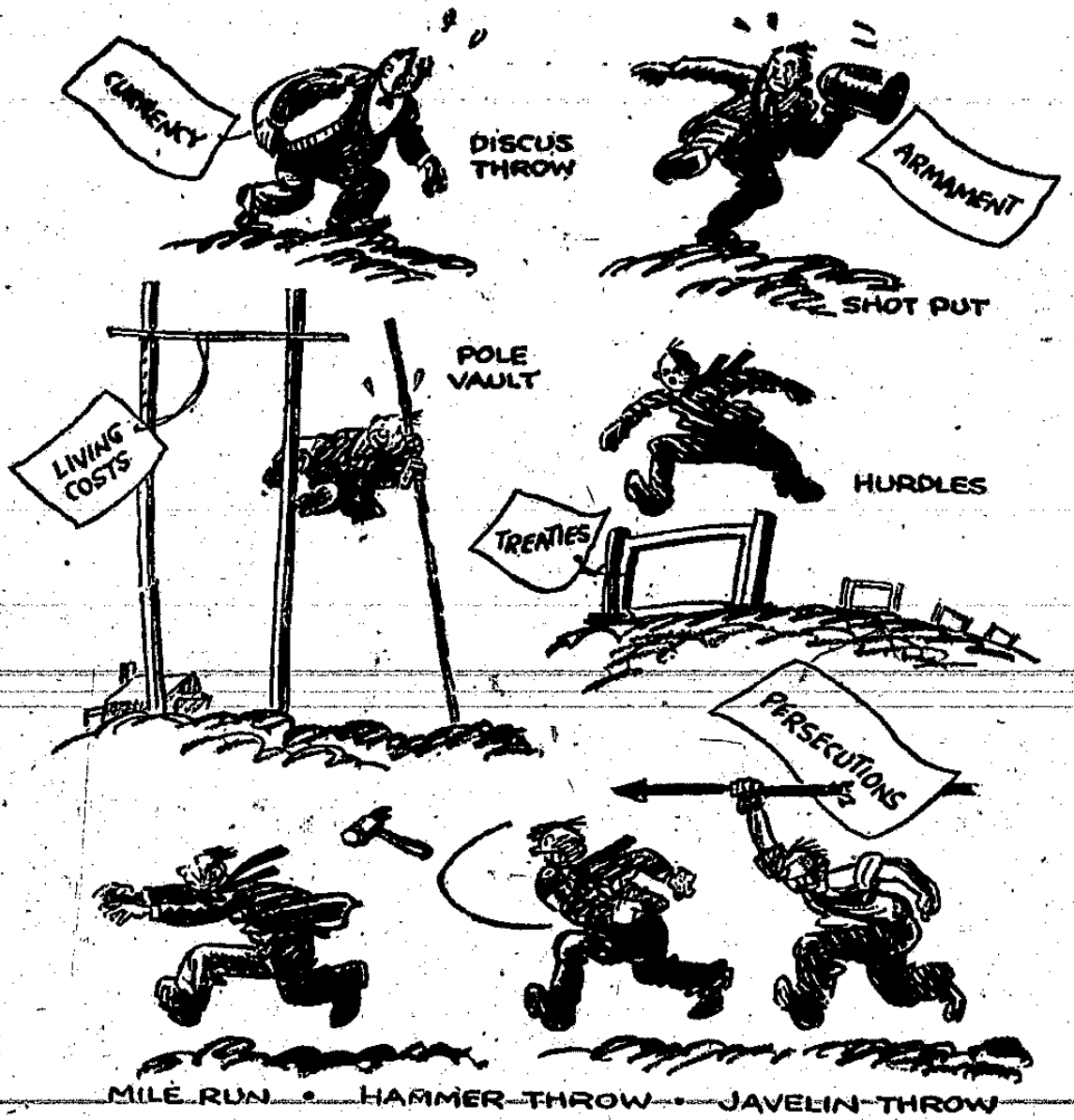
But the Olympic guests will carry away with them the picture of his retreating back.

Outside the stadium where Jesse Owens humbled Hitler, Olympian heroes are engaged in another contest. The workers of Germany, are forming their ranks for an assault on the citadel of reaction.

The Olympics have given Hitler some uneasy hours. There are others in store for him. Already in Spain, the tide is beginning to turn. The wave of blood that had been spreading over Europe has been stopped by the heroism of the Spanish workers.

It is time for you to be leaving your box, Herr Hitler!

Germany—The Ideal Place For The Olympics



Courtesy, Committee on Fair Play

A Letter From Tom Mooney

To The Editor:

I want to compliment you in the highest possible terms for the splendid Mooney Anniversary Edition which THE CALL published. It is a marvelous job and deserves the highest possible commendation from the friends, sympathizers of the Mooney case and the workers everywhere; and you shall have my everlasting, undying gratitude and profound, heartfelt, thankful, proletarian appreciation.

With every good wish to you and the staff of THE CALL, I send you all my warmest comradely greetings and personal, affectionate regards for your success.

TOM MOONEY, No. 31821 County Jail 1, San Francisco, Calif.

—VOTE SOCIALIST—

We'll Keep

The Change

To The Editor:

Enclosed please find slip for seven new subs and money order for \$5. The \$3.50 goes to pay the subs and the change you can keep to buy the water cooler for your staff. To imagine you're working hard to build a movement able to conquer capitalism without even a refreshing drink of cold water makes me feel the same thirst here in the mountains. And that annoys me.

OSCAR WILSON Lake Pleasant, N. Y.

—RAISE \$100,000 FUND—

The Farmers And Socialism

To the Editor:

As a Pennsylvania ranchman and stock raiser who has been wrestling with adverse conditions and seasons in Huntingdon County for the past 11 years, I often wonder whether I would be any worse off as a workman or farm manager on one of the immense state-owned, highly mechanized agricultural projects in Russia.

Here in America, we "rugged individualists" who own land are forced to battle against both nature and economic law to baffle the sheriff and retain our economic footing. Not many farmers can afford to install modern machinery because the cost is prohibitive; consequently with a

"Being certain that whichever major nominee is elected the public will be rooked and that the chief thing in Roosevelt's favor is that he might be a week or two longer than Landon in calling out the troops if Lewis and his boys pushed the steel masters up against the wall, I don't give a damn which one of them wins."

PAUL WARD, In The Nation

come only when we shall work and vote for Socialism. Vote for Thomas and the Socialist Party. SIMON BASS.

Newark, N. J.

—VOTE SOCIALIST—

Thomas Campaign Is 'Great Stuff'

To the Editor:

The campaign is here again, and the old parties are clawing at each other's throats, putting on a great show until after election day.

Thank heavens that there is still somebody left who talks about things that really matter. Norman Thomas is doing a swell job, forcing attention to the problems of the people.

He's gotten off to a swell start for this campaign. Generally, the capitalist newspapers try to ignore the Socialists, but this time, against their will, they've got to pay attention.

This campaign will be remembered for the fact that Thomas has fired away at all those who are consciously or unconsciously blocking the way to progress. His Townsend convention speech was the greatest example of courageous statesmanship we have seen in our time. While opportunist favor-seekers called him names for standing up and telling the truth, intelligent men and women all over the country are honoring him for it.

His letter to Landon, which forced the Republican candidate into the open, was another splendid contribution to clear thinking in this campaign. The people have a right to know where the candidates stand. Even though we don't dare to believe everything the old party politicians tell us, or we'd wake up the morning after election day with broken hearts, it's a good thing to keep popping questions at them. Make them say Yes or No. Every time they start twisting and dodging, they tie themselves up.

Norman Thomas' campaign is great stuff. It's going to mean a record vote.

WALTER GARDEN Albany, N. Y.

few exceptions the average run of farmers just "muddle along" and fill early graves, with slavish, sense-deadening work frequently hurrying them into the undertaker's hands.

As I see it, some form of Socialism, adapted to our special needs and conditions in America, is the only hope of the American farmer if he ever wants to benefit from the inventions and conveniences of the modern machine age.

WILLIAM GREGORY MOORE, Neffs Mills, Pa.

—THOMAS AND NELSON—

Socialists Build Labor Party

To the Editor:

All true Socialists are in favor of a genuine farmer-labor party. The Socialist Party of America is one of the important agencies which are now and will in the future be working and helping to bring about such an organization. It therefore behooves all true, self-respecting men and women in the ranks of labor to work and vote for the candidates of the Socialist Party.

True freedom, real opportunity and the peace of the world will

How's Your Neighbor Voting?

LABOR AND POLITICS

By Pete Hawks

THERE'S one thing I can't figure out and that's the habit so many union members have of forgetting everything they learned about sticking together—when they go near a polling booth. There are many boys I know who'd take it in a fighting mood if someone suggested they might walk past a picket line, but they regularly scab at the ballot boxes.

It seems simple enough. When we're in the shop, we know that we're out to rook the boss before he rooks us—it's a pure case of dog-fight between us and the time-keeper. He'd just as soon as not dock us a couple of dollars for breaking some rule we never heard about; he works hand in glove with the superintendent who works hand in glove with the manager whose job is to see that the profits are as big as possible. Now me, I don't care very much whether the boss gets any profits for clipping



coupons at all; I'm only interested in getting as much dough so that the wife and kids can enjoy themselves some in this life.—And me, too; I'd like to enjoy life once in a while, myself. So if I chisel the boss out of some extra dough or work less, I figure, I'm just that much ahead.

Pulling Together

I'm a member in good standing in the union—for a reason. I know I need that dollar a month I shell out for dues. But I discovered long ago that nobody could do very much all by himself—it's first of all a question of getting together with somebody who's got the same goal as you and then both pulling together. And that's what a union's for. All the boys in the shop get together and stick together in trying to get a few extra dollars.

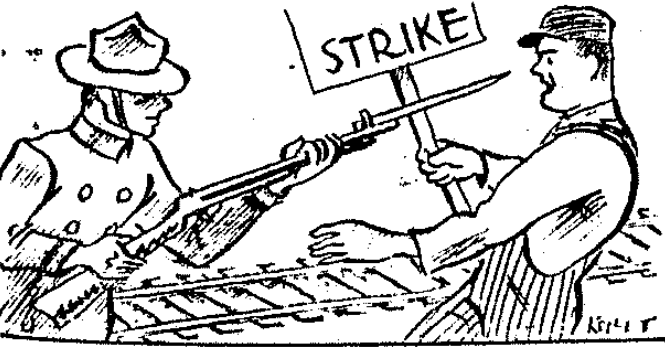
Now, if this is so in the shop, just why don't the same ideas hold good about politics? Those boys in Wall Street who pretty well run all the factories in the country (although there isn't one of them that could turn a lathe if he tried it) don't just run—or mis-run—the factories; they've got their fingers in every juicy pie the continent over. They usually run the mayor and get low taxes; they run the governor and get anti-picketing laws and the National Guard to break our union if we go out on strike; and they darned well run the President and Congress. Why, they contribute millions of dollars every four years to the Democratic and Republican Parties just so they know that the candidates of these two stay bought.

Well, I've never thought that these big Wall Street bankers were throwing away money just because they liked to. They're not in this thing for the air. They're out to run the government so they can run their factories without too much trouble—and the government can help them do just that. "Running their factories without too much trouble" means that they don't like the idea of the men getting higher pay or shorter working hours; as a matter of fact, if they can slash wages or make us work longer, it'd be all right with them—and if the government helps them do this, well, they got no kick.

But smart workers see right away that they've got to fight the boss after they punch the clock just as much as they do during the working-hours. Because he's fighting them then, too. Just like they organize into a trade union for their protection and advancement on the job, they've got to organize into a workingmen's political party to see that the government helps them and not the owners of industry.

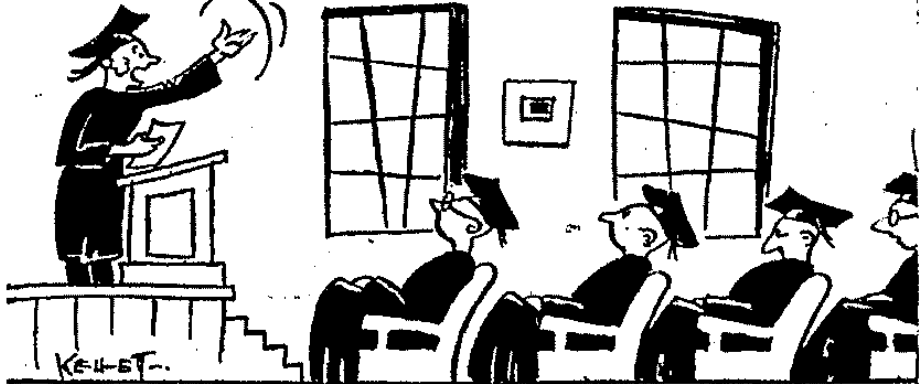
The Socialist Party

The only political party in the field that has remained loyal to the cause of the workingman and kept the flag of labor flying has been the Socialist Party. Since it was founded by Eugene Victor Debs, after he saw how the government broke the



famous Pullman strike, it's never wavered from its aim of setting labor free from wage slavery. And this party in the field today is the only way a workingman who's got any brains at all will vote

IT'S SERIOUS! LET'S CUT THE KIDDING!



This Column Is Through Fooling Around!

The third week of the uprising in the CALL offices finds both sides settling down to a determined siege.

"It's time to cut the kidding!" says a statement issued by the editorial workers to the Disassociated Press. "We still demand our water cooler, and we mean to get it. But our demands, under the pressure of worsening conditions, have increased: we want at least half a pay-day every now and then!

"We are still in need of that water cooler to refresh our flagging spirits. The weather's got us flat on our backs and we need something to revive us. Give us that water cooler!

"Last week the Call management issued a plea to the world to feel sorry for the Business-Manager. We feel sorry for the B.M. But after all, he is an ingenious fellow. He knows how to recognize the difference between a creditor and a customer, and he acts accordingly. But what we don't like is that his cleverness should result in the invention of the Payless Pay-Day.

"There's another thing we're kicking about. We can stand the suffering ourselves. But think of poor Esther, the stream-lined stenographer of the business office. Every time she peeks into the editorial office, what does she see? If it's not a pinochle game, it's a group of hungry workers



chewing their pencils. She faints at the thought of our dying of lead poisoning!

"It's time we cut the kidding, though. You can take the pay out of pay-day and even the ribbons out of our typewriters, but you can't take the temper out of our temperature—unless you take steps to remedy the situation. After all, even editors must live!"

To which the business office promptly replied in a Disunited Press Dispatch: "Why?"

After all, the boys with the eye-shades are right. For the past three weeks they've turned out issues that have been completely sold out. Many of you in the great wide American spaces know that we haven't been able to fill your orders if they get in

ARE YOU LISTED?

Donations hit the all-time low record this week—\$15.45. The Call has got to depend on at least \$50 a week from such sources. Only 196 subs were received during the week.

DONATIONS

Louis Sadoff, Brooklyn, N. Y.	\$6.00
Central Branch, Boston, Mass.	2.00
Jacob Rutes, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
Milton Heinicke, Trenton, Ill.	2.00
C. M. Albrecht, Houston, Texas	1.00
Joseph Grlgat, Irvington, N. J.	1.00
William Cordiner, Jackson Heights, N. Y.	1.00
M. Kornreich, Bronx, N. Y.	2.00
List No. 1882	2.00
Bertha Weiss, N. Y. C., List No. 2718	.00
Previously received	15.45
Total	\$1,830.90

SUBSCRIPTIONS

F. L. Barnes, Portville, N. Y.	7
Local Allentown, Pa.	6
Jugo-Slav Branch 20, Illinois	4
R. Bigony, Reading, Pa.	4
Local Omaha, Neb.	4
Milton Heinicke, Trenton, Ill.	3
S. P. Illinois	3
Alan Scott, New York City	3
12th A. D. Manhattan, N. Y. C.	3
Mac Wollin, Bklyn., N. Y.	2
Hildegard Smith, Hutchinson, Kans.	2
Carl Walk, Easthampton, Mass.	2
Sam Schwimmer, New York City	2
Bertha Weiss, New York City	2
Upper West Side Branch, New York City	2
A. E. Porter, Whitefish, Mont.	2
August Gold, Bklyn., N. Y.	1
Local Wayne County, Ill.	1
Upper 6th A. D. Bronx, N. Y.	1
J. Drashler, S. I., N. Y.	1
Interboro Br., N. J.	1
S. P. Cook County, Ill.	1
Frank L. Barnes, Olean, N. Y.	1
Total subs for the week	196

CONTEST

Ben Horowitz, Bklyn., N. Y.	20
Eugene Haag, Reading, Pa.	17
S. P. of San Francisco	15
Dora Torch and Ruth Chapman	11
Hugo Rasmussen, Indianapolis, Ind.	11
J. Fishman, Bronx, N. Y.	7
Joe G. Brinocar, Peoria, Ill.	7
Rueben Jones, S. Norfolk, Va.	6
J. Monarch, National Organizer	6
Ralph Bigony, Reading, Pa.	6
A. Zager, No. Chicago, Ill.	6
L. Van Camp, Royal Oak, Mich.	5
E. D. Snyder, Portland, Ore.	5
D. Palmieri, Peoria, Ill.	5
Kenneth W. Porter, Boston, Mass.	5
Mrs. A. M. Prescott, Sioux City, Iowa	5
Selden Osborne, Los Angeles, Calif.	5
Jim Miller Cosgriff, Philadelphia, Pa.	5
Martin Bernstein, Newark, N. J.	5
Lewi Tonks, Schenectady, N. Y.	4
Mrs. Sid Tipping, Gillespie, Ill.	4
A. Kerpel, Bklyn., N. Y.	4
Glaberman, N. Y.	4
Earl Engelhart, Jeannette, Pa.	4
Monroe Sweetland, Salem, Ore.	3
Alan Silvius, San Francisco, Calif.	3
Frank McCallister, St. Petersburg, Fla.	3
Saul Parker, N. Y. C.	3
M. McCormick, Denver, Colo.	3
Carlo Larese, Erie, Pa.	3
D. P. Donahue, Pocatello, Idaho	3

later than Tuesday morning. But in spite of the jumping circulation, wages are not being paid.

Do your stuff, friends of the CALL. Bury your tomahawks in that old Demon Deficit. Rouse up the dollars and the quarters; collect donations from friends and shop-mates. Turn in the cash; rustle up the currency so that the CALL can grow bigger. We're waiting to hear from you.

Looking Backward

NEWARK, N. J., August 12, 1916. (From the files of The New York Call).—Allan Benson, Socialist candidate for President, opened his campaign here before a crowd of 6,000 with a vigorous attack on President Wilson's defense of the railroad interests. He pledged Socialist support to the impending strike of the railroad brotherhoods.

NEW YORK, August 11, 1932. (From the files of America For All).—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, invaded "the enemy's country" here when he spoke on the steps of the U. S. treasury building in the heart of Wall Street. More than 2,000 heard him attack the stock exchange as "glorified racketeering."

LIBERALISM LOSES

By McAlister Coleman

LEON TROTSKY would have us believe that the best place to get the low-down on the French situation is in front of a radio set in Norway. Similarly it may be that the best place for observing the bizarre developments of the American political campaign is in a made-over school-house on the North Road of Martha's Vineyard.

However remote from the shouting and the tumult, it would be hard to be further removed from the palpable realities of the situation than are most of the "Leftist" commentators, presumably sending back spot news. Their wishes are spawning thoughts all over the lot.

For instance, there is the wish that a Farmer-Labor party is the natural corollary to the endorsement of sevelt. That "non-partisan" labor committees for the support of this old-line political hack or that slick demagogue signify the emergence of the long talked of "independent political action" on the part of labor. That labor, in short, can run with the hares and hunt with the hounds, and have any philosophy in any way different from the "reward your friends and punish your enemies" of the AFL.

Yesterday's Politics

If lazy-minded liberals and fair-weather fellow-travellers with the fantastic communist entourage want to rationalize their compromises, that's natural and oh so historically consistent. They've been doing it for years. Their fathers before them said: "I'd vote for Debs but—But I don't want to see M'Kinley elected, so I'm voting for Bryan." Then they or their fathers said: "I'd vote for Debs but—But I want to be sure Wilson gets it." And they have been saying: "I'd vote for Thomas, if—If Al Smith (or Franklin Roosevelt) wasn't running." Always the alibi and always the disillusionment.

Now the carrot before the donkey's nose is in the shape of a Farmer-Labor party in 1940. Be good boys, play ball with the Democratic life-savers of capitalism and some day, who knows, you will open your eyes and find a nice, new Farmer-Labor party in your stocking.

Plain Nonsense

What egregious nonsense. As though a Farmer-Labor Party that would be anything but another cog in the Democratic machine could be formed by such coalitions as are now taking place. Will some liberal, some communist buff supply the answers to a few questions?

1. By what miracle of modern surgery do you separate a part from its whole, when you tell us that a vote for Roosevelt is not at the same time a vote for Farley, Joe Robinson, Governor McNutt, Curley of Massachusetts, Hague of Jersey and the rest of the labor-hating, Fascist-minded wheel-horses of the Democratic Party?
2. What fascist menace contained in the Republican platform and its candidate is not also to be found in New Deal bureaucracy and the steady militarization of the nation under Roosevelt?
3. What guarantees do you find in the Democratic platform or in any of the utterances of Democratic candidates that, in the event of Roosevelt's election, the Administration will swing Left?
4. Who, among the organizers of the "non-partisan," Democratic laborites, Major Berry, John Lewis, Phil Murray, Van Bittner (save the mark!), Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky, have indicated by word or deed that this vaguely adumbrated Farmer-Labor Party will have any philosophy or program other than the old "business unionism" of the late Sam Gompers?

"Dr." Roosevelt

5. How do you get rid of capitalism by voting for the one man in the country who, more frequently than any other, has been around with oxygen tanks when the system has been threatened with collapse?

6. How do you manage to look at yourself in the mirror when you recall the speeches you have made, the pieces you have written, about the need for "revolutionary change"?

If the answer to all this is that we are, in the words of Grover Cleveland, confronted with a condition and not a theory, then where are the men and women who, abandoning the outworn theory of "inevitability," are striving with all that is in them to substitute for the condition of slavery the condition of freedom? Even from this far-off island it is evident that they are marching in the ranks of the Socialist Party behind the banners held high by Norman Thomas and George Nelson.

Despite Fascist Terror:

A Better World's In Birth!

"Arise, ye prisoners of starvation, Arise, ye wretched of the earth. For justice thunders condemnation, A better world's in birth . . ."

Over a large portion of Europe, dark clouds hang. Men who must live in the oppressive air of a fascist nation dare not talk to each other of their longing for freedom without first gazing over their shoulders to note whether the ear of a police spy is in range. A word of dissent, that reaches the attention of the authorities may mean imprisonment, torture or death.

But in spite of the terror, forces are at work, filled with a faith that these things will not always be. They know that out of the ashes to which their countries have been reduced by the fascists will rise a new society, a Socialist world in which man will be able to lift his head with dignity and breathe the air of freedom.

Socialists Go On

Perilous as the work may be, the Socialists have continued with their propaganda in spite of the Mussolinis, the Hitlers and the Schuschniggs. Many of their comrades have lost their lives in the fight, but the Socialist parties go on with their activities of liberation.

It was through a sea of Socialist blood that the fascist tyrants waded before they could come to power. With their very lives, Socialists attempted to block the road.

Through many years of martyrdom they had hardened themselves for the test which fascism was to make of their loyalty. They had been compelled to face tyrants before and had not flinched. In Germany, they had stood firm against the oppressive measures of Bismark, displaying fidelity to their ideals of a co-operative world in the face of prison sentences. During the war, many of them had submitted to a process which prepared and hardened them for the days to come. Some like Jean Jaures of France, because of their opposition to international murder, were themselves assassinated. In the United States, their comrades like Gene Debs dared to speak boldly, though loss of liberty was the price they had to pay.

But the suffering before and during the war was as nothing compared to the stupendous trials that were to follow.

Began In Italy

It was in Italy that murder was first enthroned as the chief weapon of government. When Mussolini seized power and democratic expression of opinion was doomed, the Socialists continued their fight. In order to crush them, Mussolini ordered the assassination of their leaders. Among the first on his list was

AUSTRIA, February, 1934.

Socialists heroically gave their lives in a valiant effort to stop the bloody advance of Fascism in Central Europe. Below is a Vienna street scene during the fighting; at the left is Julius Deutsch, commander of the Austrian Socialist militia, wounded during the battles . . .



the borders of Germany and Italy into the little land of Austria. Unhesitatingly, the Socialists took up arms and faced death sooner than surrender to the murderous dictatorship.

The epic story of labor's struggle for freedom contains a glowing chapter in the accounts of the Austrian struggle. It was here that fascism first encountered an organized armed struggle against its parade into power. Under the leadership of the Socialist party, the workers shouldered rifles and faced the deadly artillery attack of the fascists. Workers' homes, the pride of European housing, built by the Socialist municipality of Vienna, was pounded by howitzers with reckless contempt for the lives of women and children. Defenders of freedom were led to the gallows or bludgeoned into unconsciousness. But above it all, rang the words of Otto Bauer, Socialist leader:

"We have lost a battle; we shall win a war!"

Enslaved though Austria is, the Socialists are still a vital force. In spite of the government spies, workers' demonstrations still take place. Leaflets still flood the streets of workingclass neighborhoods.

Socialists Ready

The Socialist Defense Corps still keeps its ranks. Large stores of ammunition are known to be in their hands, awaiting use at the proper moment. Though the government still searches for arms and, on occasion, turns up a store-room and even a secret wireless station, the authorities are in dread of the future. The forests are vast armories in which Schutzbund regiments drill. In Vienna alone, 8,000 specially trained men, disciplined and determined, form the backbone of the Socialist army. And even the ranks of the fascist troops are filled with workers who use the opportunity to drill and to carry weapons, with the thought of a Socialist victory ahead.

But the Socialist offensive against fascism is not limited to struggles that are to come. At this very moment, Socialist men and women—and even children—are facing the fascists from behind the shelter of barricades in Spain. With workers of other political faiths, they are defending themselves against a fascist uprising. They are determined to win either glorious victory or glorious death.

This is not the first time that they have shown a willingness to surrender their lives in the cause of a great ideal. In October 1934, they suffered defeats. But they returned to the battle, unafraid.

Theirs is not a fight just to resist new encroachments on their liberty. It is, instead, a struggle to win a greater measure of freedom. Their aim is not merely to save an old world from new tyrannies, but to build a new world free from old tyrannies, to lay the foundations of a co-operative, Socialist society.

SPAIN, August, 1936.

Socialists again take up arms against fascism. Led by Largo Caballero (right), Socialist union leader who narrowly escaped death from a Fascist sniper, workers and their wives marched together and fought together to defend their liberties. Below are some of the workers' militia on Madrid roof-tops . . .



AMERICA?

American Socialists, loyal to the tradition: "We Will Fight Fascism to the Death!" are enlisted with their comrades abroad in this great conflict. Freedom will yet be won.

the great Matteotti, eloquent labor spokesman in the chamber of deputies. He was found murdered in the street—a sacrifice to liberty.

The chamber of deputies had not yet been completely effaced. The next day, the martyr's comrades took their seats in the parliament without any hesitation, prepared to continue the battle. As the roll was called, the clerk of the chamber, even though it was known that the Socialist leader lay dead, called out his name: "Matteotti."

For a moment, there was silence.

And then, a score of voices from the seats of the Socialist deputies rang with the cry:

"Present!"

Down through the years that have followed, that word echoed as the Socialist answer to the challenge of the fascists. No matter how great the tyranny, how deeply stained with the blood of workingmen, the Socialists have continued to answer, "Present." The spirit of Matteotti still moves in their hearts and gives them courage to remain and fight.

At this very hour, in the blackest sections of Germany, the anti-fascists are spreading their message of working-class organization! Hitler the Horrible has not succeeded in building enough dungeons or concentration camps to keep them imprisoned.

Unions Alive

Forbidden literature circulates from hand to hand. The illegal unions are still alive, maintaining an underground existence. Only a short time ago, a conference of German mine workers' representatives was held in London. It was decided to broadcast through the miners' ranks an underground appeal for support. In ringing terms, it tells of the steps that have been taken to reorganize the battalions of labor and concludes:

"We struggle silently and often unknown to you. Help us whenever you become aware of our work. Help us whenever

and wherever you are aware of our presence."

This work has its hazards. Within recent weeks, the number of persons involved in mass trials has almost reached the figure of 3,000. The recent European Conference for amnesty for German political prisoners has summarized the results of its investigations with the startling statement that more than 225,000 people have been condemned for political offenses in Naziland since 1933.

The experiences which labor has had in Germany and Italy have shocked the world. They have served to awaken men and women everywhere to an understanding of the need to resist the spread of this Black Plague of Europe with every weapon available.

In Austria

It was in February, 1934, that the tide of fascism poured over

"An idea for which so many men fight and die must be great and noble. It cannot and will not die out. The bloody sacrifices of the February days shall not have been made in vain. On the contrary, they will give new moral strength to those who war for the liberation of the working class.

"We cherish the confidence that the bloody events of those days will serve coming generations as a symbol; that they will be a shining symbol of faithfulness to duty for the youth of the working class. When in later days a happier generation shall walk the earth in the light of freedom, the dead of February, 1934, will be held in honor.

"But we who live in these days of transition, in this time of battle, we do not think of giving up the fight. We have been beaten, but we are not subdued. In us lives the will to remake the world. That is the task we must perform. That is the admonition of the dead to the living.

"The dead of February—they have not died. They will live again."

- Julius Deutsch, Commander of the Austrian Republican Guard.

HOW A HERO DIES

"He stood at the post with his back against it. Spitzer, the hangman, went up the steps, with his white gloves and his black hat; he tied the end of the rope over the cross-piece; he put the noose around Wallisch's neck. And then Wallisch shouted: 'Es lebe die Sozial Demokratie, hoch! Freiheit!' But the last syllable of the last word—Freiheit—was choked out of him."

-From "Vienna Diary" by Naomi Mitchison on the death of Koloman Wallisch, Austrian Socialist leader.

Dishonor Roll:

Martial Law Ordered By New Dealer

OROFINO, Idaho — The Democrats have chalked up another one! The dishonor-roll of Democratic governors who have called out strike-smashing troops now includes Governor "Cowboy" Ben Ross of Idaho, New Deal defender.

Shortly after the declaration of martial law in Clearwater county because of the lumbermen's strike, five pickets were shot down. One is dead, another dying. The dead lumberjack is Mike Stitz.

Help Gunmen

Company gunmen are now being reinforced by national guardsmen to break the month-old strike of the men for sanitary camps, single bunks, clean bedding and higher wages.

"Cowboy" Ross is a New Dealer and is campaigning for the job of United States senator because, he says, he wants to hold up the arms of Franklin D. Roosevelt in his prayers for labor. Roosevelt has not declined to accept the support of any anti-labor governors.

The Democratic governor of Idaho now takes his stand alongside of New Dealer Paul V. McNutt of Indiana, Roosevelt's middle west campaign manager, whose use of the militia to break strikes has won him the title of the "Hoosier Hitler." And Roosevelt's troop of strike-busting governors has a new recruit.

Landon and Ross

While friends of labor hurried to the aid of the Idaho lumbermen, Roosevelt-rooters continued to point their fingers at Governor Landon, Republican presidential candidate, for having used the militia against the zinc and lead strikers in Kansas. They keep silent about Governor McNutt and Governor Ross just as they kept silent about Landon at the time of his picket-smashing act.

Calling out the militia is unimportant until around election time when the Democrats begin to look worried about the troubles that labor had during the past four years. One reason for the good health of Democratic politicians is that they worry about such things only once every four years. And then they're worried about it only when they can say, "He did it."

Socialists Aid

The lumbermen, however, still have some friends, but not in old party quarters. Twenty-six pickets arrested in Clearwater County are being defended by the General Defense Committee. The Workers Defense League has wired "Cowboy" Ross:

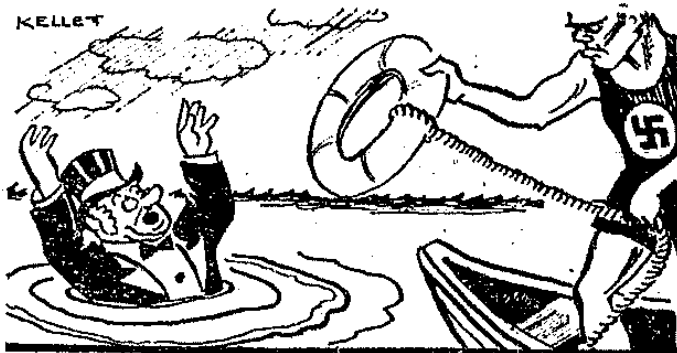
"Workers Defense League emphatically protests your de-

When Capitalism Yells For Help!

MOST people like freedom. They want to be able to say what they think, read what they like, eat the kind of food that pleases them and live in homes that are neat and comfortable.

But under fascism, freedom to do all these things is forbidden. Just look over the European countries where fascists dictators are dancing around like a combination of comic opera Napoleons and Chinese torturers.

Fascism is the disease of nations, brought on by capitalism as it tries to save itself from going to pieces. When profits are falling, when unemployment is increasing, when the workers are organizing and getting ready to take things over, capitalism lets out a yell for help. And Fascism



comes running up, the life-guard who is going to save the drowning system.

Wages Go Down

As capitalists chase each other around the lot in the hunt for profits, they push wages down for the workers and rob the middle class of their bits of property.

As things are today in America, "democracy" is the method by which the industrialists, the owners of the nation, run the country. They control the two big political parties that elect the law-makers, the judges, the governors, and the presidents. With their campaign contributions, they practically buy the parties. This gives them a free hand in the government.

But when the workers find conditions getting worse, as the profit system makes them starve more and more, they begin to unite their strength for the purpose of fighting back. Trade unions are organized to improve working conditions and to stop wage-cuts. Political parties of the workers begin to grow stronger and stronger until they threaten to take away from the big businessmen their control over the congresses, the courts and the police departments, while the trade unions threaten to destroy the absolute power of the business men over their factories.

At the same time, the middle class suffers terribly. The small shop-keepers are forced out of business by the big monopolies. Seeing themselves forced down into the working class, they fight to regain the position they once held. They look with fear at the monopolists and with dread at the workers.

Out of these conditions comes fascism. The mask of democracy cracks, and soon crumbles to pieces. Tyranny is set up.

The capitalists, who would rather keep their power dressed up in the fancy clothes of democracy, are compelled to choose. They choose the tyranny of fascism.

As a matter of plain fact, the capitalists could not themselves set up fascism. The truth is

that they never can do anything themselves; even to run their industries they must have the help of the workers. Actually, they are few in numbers. They must have the assistance of masses, and sooner than surrender to the workers in this crisis they throw their dependence on the middle class, which foolishly believes that it can win back its old prosperity by keeping capitalism alive. The truth, however, is that those days are gone forever, and not all the bloody doings of fascism can bring them back.

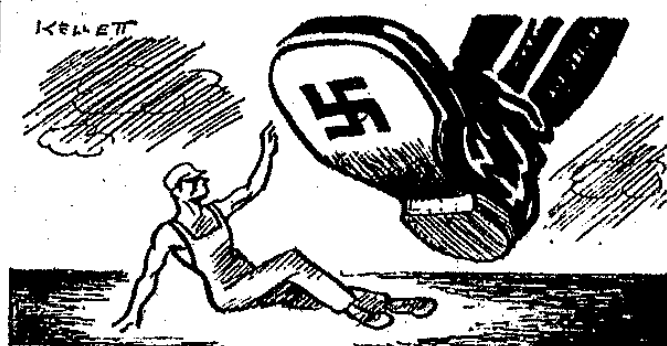
Pays the Gunmen

When capitalism decides that it needs fascism to pull it out of the hole, it supports the fascist parties and their armies of hoodlums. It appeals to ignorant prejudices, hatred of the Jews, Negroes and Catholics as well as radicals. It provides the money to print the newspapers, to buy the different-colored shirts, to pay the hired murderers and to get their guns.

Because the middle class hates the "international bankers" and the "monopolies," the fascists attack the plutocrats. Sometimes they even steal labor names, as Hitler did, and call themselves "National Socialists" in spite of the fact that they are as far from Socialism as the earth is from the sun.

But when the fascists shoot and murder their way into power, it becomes clear that they can do nothing for the middle class, and certainly not for the workers. All that they try to do is to keep capitalism from dying.

Because fascism is aimed at saving the profit system, it talks about setting up a "corporative state." It appoints a "council" for each industry—councils in which only the employers have a voice. This makes it easier to cut wages and to lengthen hours on a national scale, with the backing of the iron fist of the government. The workers are gagged to keep them from talking back; their trade unions are wiped out; their political parties are made illegal. People who complain are tossed into prison, and when the prisons aren't big enough, they are dragged off to concentration camps. Workers, are murdered. Intellectuals



who have ideals are imprisoned, and ignorance and brutality become the law of the land.

And the middle class which has made this possible by supporting fascism discovers that it has gained nothing. They still have the profit-system waving its whip over their backs—the same profit system that brought them to ruin.

If we are to avoid the dangers of fascism in America, we will have to act speedily to end the profit-system and to put in its place the co-operative system of Socialism.

[The above is one of a series of articles on various phases of the Socialist program.]

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

The American cooperative movement is playing host this week to two British Cooperators, A. V. Alexander, Member of Parliament from Sheffield and Fred Hayward, chairman of the executive committee of the Co-operative Union, the British cooperative educational organization. Alexander has some decided opinions about the cooperative movement which will bear discussion here in America before we take them to be applicable to the American scene.

"The cooperative movement," he says, "makes no millionaires and no paupers. It is indigenous to the people. It gives them a stake in the country. By providing daily, continuous benefits for its members, it is proving a bulwark against Fascism and dictatorship."

I do not think I can wholly agree with him.

The cooperative movement can and should be an important section of the working class movement. It has a definite role to play preparing for revolutionary change, during the revolution and in the building of the future Socialist society. It should not be permitted to deviate from this role by a progressive conservative growth induced by the great success it is enjoying in Great Britain. From this stage it is but an easy step to nationalism and all that is hateful to labor's cause.

In Formative Stage

In America the cooperative movement has not reached the stage where it can be said that it is giving its members a stake in the country. It is merely in the stage of formative growth, when the kind of comradely analysis and criticism it receives will do much towards lending it tone and color. That is why it is so important to the working-class movement that Socialists devote more time and energy in the cooperative movement.

The very weakness of the cooperative movement in America does not permit its characterization as a "bulwark against Fascism and dictatorship," even by wishful thinkers. This would be true even if the American movement were to be proportionately as large as that of Great Britain. I assert this not because I believe that conditions in America are so different from that of Great Britain, but because I do not believe that the cooperative movement anywhere can be isolated and labelled the "bulwark" against fascism.

Cooperation has a function that is helpful and desirable but not necessarily vital in raising a bulwark against fascism. For cooperation is slow; it is laborious in growth; it is lethargic in action. It has no technique as swift and paralyzing as the strike nor as influential as political control to match the speed with which fascism threatens.

In America

But lest those Socialists, who disdain the cooperative movement, use this as an argument against Socialist activity in the cooperatives and lest those Socialists already active in cooperative circles lose heart in their work, it should be pointed out that in America the cooperative movement is destined to play a more important role than in any other country. It is catching the dissident elements much more rapidly and permanently than any other protest group, trade union, radical, political or potentially fascist. For this reason it is vital that the historic role of the cooperatives as the preparatory school for Socialist thought and action be encouraged, nurtured and directed by class-conscious, revolutionary Socialism.

Capitalism

BABY STARVES WHEN RELIEF IS CUT

MT. HOLLY, N. J. (FP)—The prosperous town of Mt. Holly, which refused to provide the jobless father of Edward Louis Dudley, one month old, with money to

buy milk, has graciously offered \$25 to cover funeral expenses.

The father, returned from his child's funeral, reported that "when the doctor told us the baby needed milk, I pleaded for a milk order. Frank Graham, one of my neighbors, used his telephone to appeal for the milk to Harry W. Britton, overseer of the poor. Mr. Britton said he couldn't give me the milk."

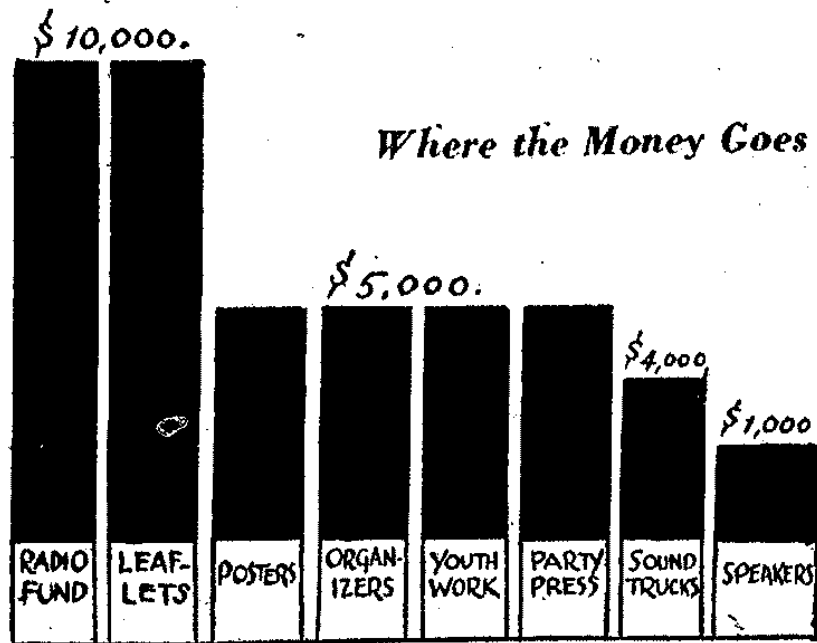
In 1932, the Democratic Party pledged 'a navy and an army for national defense, based on a survey of all the facts affecting the existing establishments, that the people in time of peace may not be burdened by an expenditure fast approaching a billion dollars.'

The 1936 military budget of the Roosevelt administration is more than a billion dollars.

Has Your Neighbor Read Norman Thomas' Speeches?

Party Activity:

'All I Have' Is Given As Contribution to Fund



CHICAGO, Ill.—Representing a real sacrifice, a contribution to the national campaign fund of the Socialist Party came from an old people's home in Kansas. The contributor wrote:

"I decided to send you all I have which is \$5.00. I have been in this home seven years. I am now 80 years, and eight months of age, and have been a Socialist since June, 1899. I hope to see the Socialist Party in Power! I hope your Socialist president will get a vote five times larger than ever before."

— VOTE SOCIALIST —

Western Conference

The Western Conference which takes place September 12-13 at Red Feather Lakes, Colorado, will include in its agenda: the organization of a general committee and the election of officers; the issuance of a bulletin; the routing of speakers; co-operation between state organizations; a western organizer; discussion of a western newspaper; western problems.

Persons intending to be present should notify Paul S. McCormick, 1026-17th Street, Denver, Colorado.

Illinois

Campaign rallies will be held Saturday and Sunday, August 22-23, in Gillespie in connection with the meeting of the state executive committee. The following week, the Illinois summer school will open. Gubernatorial candidate John Fisher will speak to an audience of 10,000 at the Lacon Homecoming. He is also scheduled to speak from the same platform as Governor Horner at the Springfield Labor Day celebration, sponsored by the Springfield Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers.

The upper North Side Branch of Chicago is holding a picnic on Sunday, August 16, at the Forest Glen Forest Preserve.

Kansas

The state convention will be held September 19-20 in Wichita at the Labor Temple. Wichita Socialists have been running a series of open air meetings on the lawns of comrades' homes.

N. Y. Convention Nominates Baron

NEW YORK CITY.—Murray Baron, prominent New York trade unionist, was nominated by the Socialist Party city convention here this week as candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen.



Baron is the manager of the Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Makers Union. He has held the post of organizer in locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and has been a party candidate for various offices.

A Socialist municipal program, embodied in a platform on which Baron will campaign, was adopted before adjournment.

Massachusetts

A fund raising dinner in the gymnasium of the Northampton School for Girls, 78 Pomeroy Terrace, will be held on Thursday, August 13, from 5:30 to 8 p. m., by local Socialists. An Italian dinner will be served for 50 cents.

New Jersey

A membership meeting of the Essex County local raised \$105 to launch the campaign. New campaign headquarters will be opened August 22 at 4 Centre Street, Newark, N. J. Rubye Smith is campaign manager.

New York

Five full-time organizers will be in the field this week: Hans Peters and Mickey Harris in the Hudson-River valley; Fred-Siems and Greg Bardacke in southern and central New York, and Bruno Rantane in Western New York. August Gold, instructor in the Debs School, will make a brief speaking tour through Binghamton, Utica, Rome, Saranac Lake and Malone between August 13-27. The state office has printed the state platform and the acceptance speech of Harry W. Laidler, candidate for governor.

Tennessee

Kate Bradford Stockton, Socialist candidate for governor, has already talked to more people than any other Socialist candidate in this state in the campaign.

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Books

Labor And The State

By BRUNO FISCHER

The latest addition to the League for Industrial Democracy Pamphlet Series is a study of "European Trade Unionism and Politics," by Franz Neumann (112 E. 19th St., N. Y. C., 15c). It is edited by Carl Raushenbush and there is a preface by Harold J. Laski.

Organized labor in the United States is slowly finding out what the trade union movement in Europe has known for decades—that one of its chief activities must be political. Conservative American labor leaders have on the whole been syndicalist in outlook, relying (or pretending to rely) almost wholly on direct industrial action to obtain benefits for the workers.

At the same time, however, they try to bring pressure on the state through those capitalist politicians whom they consider their friends. Even some who speak of themselves as radicals go in for the practice of begging capitalist politicians for handouts in return for labor votes. This obtains especially in 1936 when many union leaders are supporting Roosevelt and other stooges of the bosses in the hope that labor will be thrown a crumb.

More Realistic

European labor is more realistic. Unions in Europe are part of or closely connected with political parties representing their interests—in nearly every case Socialist parties or labor parties which are Socialist in belief—which aim not only at putting pressure on the capitalist state in order to obtain immediate social benefits, but chiefly to convert the capitalist state into a workers' state.

With the increase in influence of the working-class organizations, both political and economic, the state becomes increasingly the arbiter of social relationships. But a biased arbiter, for always in the final analysis it is a capitalist state; and while it may toss crumbs to the workers, it will function primarily in the interests of the bosses.

Neumann points out the ominous significance of the English Trades Disputes Act of 1927, in which the right to strike and picket is definitely limited. Let us not forget that during the heyday of the NRA, when a number of concessions were granted the workers, Roosevelt lieutenants, speaking for Roosevelt, proclaimed that, with the NRA, there was no longer any necessity for workers to strike, and there

meetings that have been run. Three-quarters of the state's campaign quota has already been raised.

— RAISE \$100,000 FUND —

Capitalism's Waste Bared by Research

"This country was \$30,000,000,000 short of producing enough goods and services to give its people a decent standard of living in 1935," is the conclusion of an article in the first Labor Bulletin, published this month by Labor Research Front, 21 East 17th Street, New York. The article, "Wealth Lost by Wasting Labor Power," states that during the depression labor power could have built 7,000,000 more homes and provided 16 billion articles of clothing and 45 billion dollars worth of other goods and services, but that all this labor power was wasted.

This is the first appearance of Labor Bulletin, which will be issued monthly. Regular features will include a monthly survey of economic trends by Dr. Joel Seidman, reports on original research by members of the staff of Labor Research Front, and reviews or letters of current publications of interest to labor.

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\$3,000 For Best Play:

Labor Stage Offers \$3,000 In Original Drama Contest

NEW YORK—Two prizes totalling three thousand dollars will be offered by Labor Stage, Inc., for the best American plays of social content, it was announced here last week by Julius Hochman, vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, sponsors of Labor Stage.

Two thousand dollars will be given the playwright submitting the best full-length, original play which expresses the aspirations of the labor movement; the winner of the second prize will get one thousand dollars.

The contest winners will be decided upon by a majority vote of a board of judges consisting of three union representatives and eight representatives of the theatre to be announced later. It will close on December 15; those wishing to enter the contest are advised to communicate with Louis Schaffer, Labor Stage, Inc., 106 W. 39th St., New York City.

"It is our hope," Hochman declared, "that these prizes will play their part in the creation of a vital theater by encouraging the socially-conscious playwright to turn his mind to the living themes now beckoning from every corner of the country. The heroic struggles in steel, motors, rubber, textiles, the slow hunger of relief—all are historic roles being interpreted by the people today."

"We are convinced that the board of judges, acting as trustees for the prizes, will be able to stimulate a lasting contribution to the theater of social content by encouraging and discovering playwrighting talent of the first order."

DANCING GYPSIES



Lola Chernaya, brilliant Soviet actress, in a scene from "Gypsies" now at the Cameo.

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Hold Auditions For Fourth Rebel Arts Chorus Season

Auditions for the Rebel Arts Chorus, labor choral group, will be held on Wednesday evenings, 7 p. m., at the Rebel Arts Studios, 35 East 19th Street, N. Y. C. The Chorus is directed by Aaron Mezisky. It welcomes all who can carry a tune.

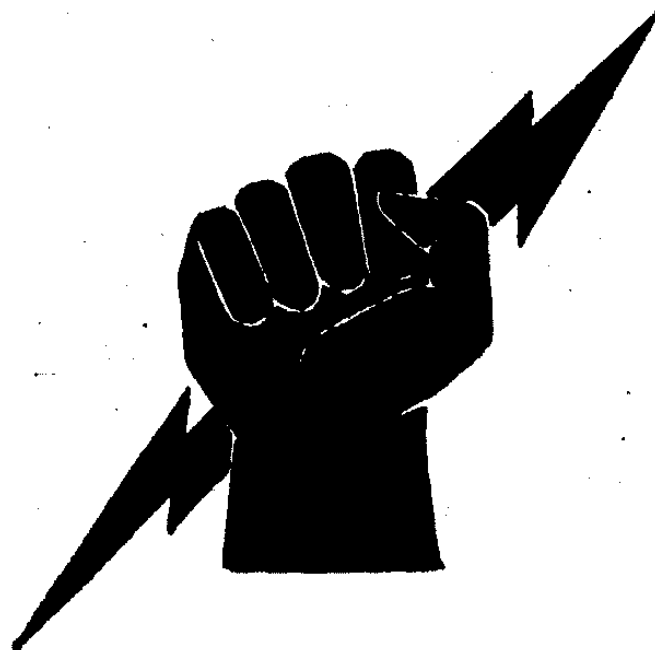
The Chorus, about to begin its third season of activity, has given 26 public performances in the past two years, appearing at the International Pocketbook Workers Union convention, the Labor Drama Festival, Scottsboro Defense rallies, and several Socialist and labor memorial meetings.

Some of the most famous labor and revolutionary songs of other lands were first sung in English by the Rebel Arts Chorus, special translations and arrangements being made for this purpose. Among

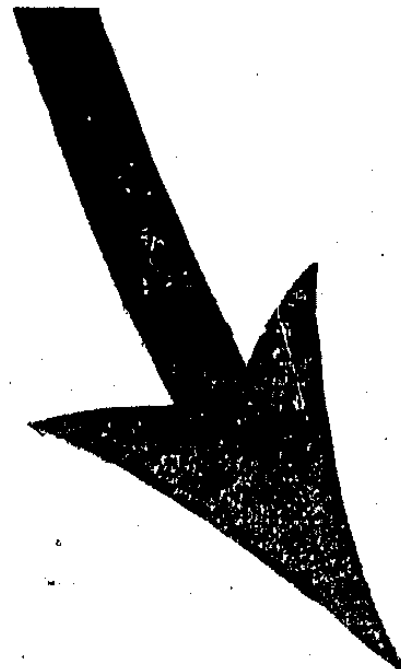
these were: The Oath (Die Shvuoh), famous pledge song of the Polish Bund, Hymn of the Workers (Inno die Lavoratori), better known as the Turati Hymn because its words were written by the Italian labor leader.

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AUGUST 22—CIVIL LIBERTIES ISSUE
AUGUST 29—WOMAN AND SOCIALISM ISSUE

Bundle Orders MUST Be in the CALL OFFICE by the Tuesday Preceding Date of Publication

in hollywood

By JOHN R. CHAPLIN

HOLLYWOOD (FP) — Ralph Morgan, who was a militant in the Actors Equity strike in New York years back, and one of the more liberal Screen Guilders in Hollywood, has organized a London-for-President Club. However, film work will take him to London soon, and keep him from stumping for Sunflower Alf . . . Remember Ping Bodie, one of the greatest names in baseball history? He's an electrician now at the Pathe studios in Culver City . . . Clarence Brown has received from Italy the script of Leonardo da Vinci, which Mussolini hopes to get him to come to Rome to direct. His address is M. G. M. studios, Culver City —and a postcard from you might help him to decide against the idea . . .

Fred Keating is doing an article on Actors and the Labor Situation for the Screen Actors Magazine . . .

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CAN IT HAPPEN HERE?

BY NORMAN THOMAS

[The relation of the Fascist menace to the American people with specific reference to the 1936 campaign was discussed in the following speech by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, which was recently delivered over a New York radio station.—Editor.]

Already in this campaign charges of Fascism have been rather indiscriminately hurled about. Roosevelt, according to some of his Republican critics, seeks a dictatorship which some of them call communist, and some call fascist, with no sense of the difference. Landon, according to the communists, is a fascist or a semi-fascist which term they apply even more emphatically to Lemke whom they regard as Landon's "stooge." Where lies the truth?

This question is the more important because the danger of an American Fascism, which almost certainly will call itself by another name, is real and great. As a people we shall not fight that danger successfully unless we understand it. To use *Fascism* or *Fascist* as a word to describe everything that you do not like is an extremely unintelligent way to educate the public in an understanding of Fascism.

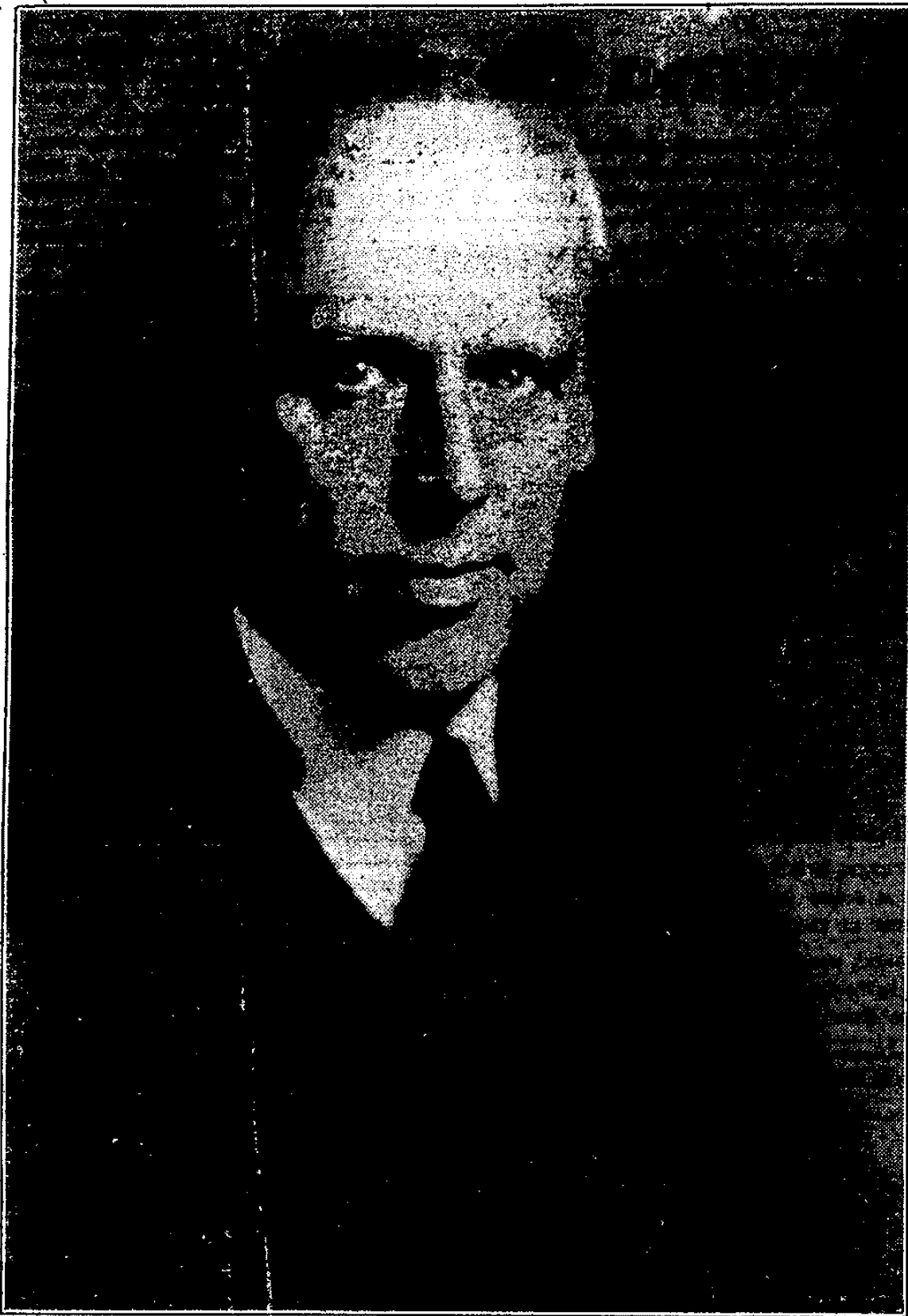
Fascism is brutal and intolerant, but there was plenty of brutality and intolerance in the United States before Mussolini invented Fascism. There is a sense in which Fascism is desperately reactionary, but it does not follow that all reaction is Fascist. Certain acts and certain tendencies in America may pave the way for Fascism, although those responsible for them by no means intend to produce Fascism.

What Is Fascism?

What then is Fascism? It is an extralegal, usually violent, effort, primarily of the middle class or a large section of it, to maintain its own status and perpetuate the class division of income. It begins on the basis of an appeal to middle class discontent. It is opposed on the one hand to plutocracy, or "the international bankers," and, on the other, to the organized proletariat. Its slogan is not "workers of the world unite," but "little men"—of Germany, Italy, or America—"unite against the robbers and the Marxists." Fascism in its earlier appeals is what we in America would call radical. Mussolini's earlier programs and the Nazi hodge-podge sounded a little like Father Coughlin's or Lemke's program but were more radical. A characteristic Fascist appeal is not in the least like a speech by Herbert Hoover, Alf Landon or a Liberty Leaguer.

The kind of rich men who now support the Liberty League and the Republican Party are very likely in a crisis to support Fascism as preferable either to confusion or to Socialism as did many of their comrades in Italy and later in Germany. But for these rich men Fascism is at best a second choice which they will not take as long as they hope to get back the age of Coolidge or William McKinley. This is the hope of the Liberty Leaguers in the United States. They do not want to be regimented as Mussolini and Hitler have regimented the industrialists of Italy or Germany. They do not want their candidate to talk about nationalizing heavy industry. It is only in a crisis that does not yet exist in America that this type of man turns Fascist. Fascism is not primarily a conspiracy of plutocrats; it is a stage in the development of capitalist nationalism, a stage where the original impetus comes from the middle class discontent.

But when the Fascist leader and demagogue seizes power he cannot possibly carry out his vague promises to play Santa Claus to the little man. In office he is compelled by the logic of events to try to prolong the life of capitalism by practicing a high degree of state capitalism. That is, he perpetuates the profit system under a considerable degree of state ownership and a greater degree of state regulation. He keeps the people quiet by brutally suppressing his critics, by controlling all the means of communication, and by playing upon their patriotic fear and pride. He offers them the religion of the totalitarian state, with himself as the leader of his party in absolute command. He saves them all the



trouble of thinking. He may feed the peoples' stomachs badly, but he gorges their national pride. Fascism, in short, is dictatorship and its reaction, but it is dictatorship and reaction which operate under a peculiar set of slogans and sanctions. It is not the open and unabashed dictatorship of an aristocracy or a plutocracy.

What gives Fascism its chance is crisis and confusion. What will inevitably give it its chance in America is new economic catastrophe or our entry into a new war. The way for Fascism may be prepared by those who are not now Fascist. It will be prepared by all those whose policies or lack of policies pave the way for new economic disaster or war. It will be paved by all those who cultivate mob-hysteria of any kind or who break down the public understanding of, and regard for, civil and religious liberty. In other words, Fascism may have many pioneers who are not themselves avowed Fascists. Indeed, American Fascism will not be purely imitative; it will deny that it is Fascism and will probably praise democracy. Huey Long did this regularly in the Senate at the very time that he had established his dictatorship in Louisiana.

Men and Parties

Now, let us apply our description of Fascism to men and parties in 1936. Roosevelt has indeed tried a degree of state capitalism which Mussolini has said was in line with his principle of a corporative state. In an emergency he was given very great powers by Congress. But Roosevelt never advocated the totalitarian state, and it is a complete misuse of words to argue that he was, or sought to be, a dictator in the sense in which Mussolini or Hitler is a dictator. He has done far less than he ought to vindicate civil liberty, for example in Arkansas, but certainly he has not laughed it to scorn as did Mussolini and Hitler. They suppressed labor unions, on the whole he has encouraged them, especially in regions

where it has been to his political advantage to do so. He has alarmingly increased the strength of militarism in America, but he has not made it a religion, as have the Fascist dictators. Some of the things he has done, or left undone, may, in the ultimate verdict of history, be found to have paved the way for Fascism. He is not a Fascist and Republican declarations or insinuations that he is a Fascist arise from ignorance or hypocrisy. All declarations in favor of liberty in the mouths of the supporters of the economic exploitation championed by Landon, the Liberty League, and the Republican Party, smack of conscious or unconscious hypocrisy.

But if Roosevelt is not a Fascist, neither is Landon. He is, as his friends proudly proclaim him, a good "average American," whom fate made an admirable man to push forward as the representative of men and interests who did not dare to show themselves too openly. He typifies reaction in the strict sense of the word; that is, he wants to go back somewhere in American history to Coolidge, McKinley, or maybe all the way to Jefferson. He gives no evi-

The point to which this argument leads is that those who want to fight reaction, and more especially Fascism, are doing precisely the wrong thing by trying to teach workers with hand and brain that the issue in 1936 is "democracy," our present very imperfect and hypocritical democracy, "versus Fascism." It is Socialism against capitalism.

It is only as we rapidly set in motion the forces that build the co-operative commonwealth that we shall be able to defeat the totalitarian state of Fascism. In this task of education and organization there is no time to be lost. Peace as well as abundance depends upon ending the dominion of private profit derived from private ownership of resources and machinery necessary for the common life.

True democracy must be achieved on the industrial and economic front. The way to keep what democratic right we have is definitely to fight for more. That means a steady and well organized struggle to substitute production for use, resting on social ownership of the great means of production and distribution, in place of production for the private profit of private owners, who, to an increasing degree, are absentee owners. Only on this basis can we get the abundance of which Townsendites and many others justly dream. This, in brief, is the case for Socialism in the campaign of 1936.

dence as yet of knowing what it is all about. He is going to talk without conscious insincerity about the rights of the American citizen. In general he will probably be at least suspicious of, if not hostile to organized labor.

With his nomination, as someone has said, "the elephant moved West." But its fodder still comes from Wall Street. Probably Mr. Landon is quite sincere in professing love of the Constitution and of American ways. There is much in what he says and in what he leaves unsaid, more in what he would do and leave undone if elected, which may prove the way for Fascism; but it is absurdly and dangerously misleading to call this modest, conservative, rather bewildered Kansan, a Fascist. The people of America must understand that the Fascist demagogue, whenever he appears, will talk a far more exciting and radical language than Alf Landon.

The 'Lemke' Party

Lemke and his assorted backers, Father Coughlin, the Reverend Gerald Smith, and Doctor Townsend, far more nearly approach the Fascist pattern. Lemke's platform with its impossible promises of something for everybody under capitalism, closely parallels the Nazi platform. The way in which Lemke was nominated, by himself and Father Coughlin, was Fascist and not democratic. His appeal is to middle class discontent. His whole movement is dangerous as a portent, but it is not likely to get far this year. He may get some support from forces behind Landon, as a matter of political tactics in the fight against Roosevelt. Dorothy Thompson, in a recent column, warned Republicans, and business men generally, against this type of playing with fire. The day may come when a future and more powerful Lemke will get more support from the same sort of interests and men to save their hides. But that day is not now at hand. In no sound historic sense is the fight this year, as between Roosevelt and Landon, a fight between democracy and Fascism. The communist assertion that it is can only serve to bewilder the public and keep voters from taking those steps which might offer real resistance to Fascism.

The issue is not even "Roosevelt against reaction" to the degree that some labor leaders have asserted. Unquestionably Roosevelt, personally, has more to offer labor than has Landon. It is impossible, however, to vote for Roosevelt without voting for Garner and the Democratic ticket. Garner, and the Southern democrats generally, are at least as reactionary as Landon, and they have a lot to say in Democratic councils. Have some of my labor friends not noticed the smell of tar about the person of some of their comrades on the Democratic band-wagon, fresh from a flogging party in Florida, in Arkansas, or in Alabama?

Besides, the issues of war and Fascism will not be much affected by either Roosevelt or Landon. Roosevelt alone will not keep us out of either any more successfully than Wilson kept us out of war. There is nothing in the Democratic platform or record to suggest that that party has the secret of preventing fresh economic catastrophe or war. And it is from one or other of these crises that we shall get Fascism.

DOUBLE-CROSS!

Roosevelt And Auto Labor

By MARTIN STONE

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, graduate of exclusive Groton and wealthy Harvard, millionaire politician and professional "friend of labor," doesn't like strikes. If strikes come, however, he tries to keep clear of them; he lets the "conciliators" from his Department of Labor handle them or he lets the Democratic governors of the various states send the National Guard into strike areas to break them.

But sometimes he gets involved in spite of himself—and then he shows his true class colors, the colors of capitalist greed and anti-labor prejudice. Such a strike was that of the sharecroppers banded together in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, the story of which will be told in another article in this series; such a strike was that of the automobile workers.

Except it wasn't a strike—and that's the story. It's the story of a double-cross without any frills—just a plain, home-grown, old-fashioned double-cross.

When Labor Revolted

The story goes back to the industrial feudalism of the Automobile Belt. There in the company-controlled cities of Hamtramck, Dearborn and Highland Park, the automobile workers lived for many years virtual slaves to the moguls of motor—chained to the factories by the seemingly unbreakable links of stool-pigeons and low wages. Even their private lives were not their own—the spies of Henry Ford and of General Motors ordered their private lives about as ruthlessly as did the Simon Legrees of the South before the Civil War or the tyrannical nobles of the feudal era in Europe.

The Revolt Begins

But, early in 1933, the revolt began. The workers heard the magic words of labor organization and began to build powerful unions to break their chains. Shop after shop was organized—hurdling all obstacles, it seemed as if America's No. 2 "open shop" industry was rapidly on its way toward recognition of the right of collective bargaining.

To win this right, the automobile workers knew well what was expected of them. They knew that Walter P. Chrysler, Henry Ford and Alfred P. Sloan would not listen to reason "around the conference table," but that they would understand a working-class strike that would close the gates of the factories and let the huge machinery rust and idle.

In the months when the workers had come meekly to knock on the doors of the Roosevelt boards and departments and administrators and courts which were supposed to enforce Section 7-A of the NRA, they had got nothing. But no sooner did they decide to take the matters in their own hands than the government woke up and ran after them. Roosevelt sent a personal telegram to Pontiac, where a meeting of union leaders was in session, asking postponement of the strike. The men were suspicious, they were doubtful—but they bowed to the will of the President of the United States. They postponed the strike.

There they listened to the fine words of the smiling gentleman in the White House. He told them that he was in favor of organized labor and lulled their suspicions. And as they sat and listened to this love-lullaby, they agreed to the plan Roosevelt proposed—a plan of pure-and-simple government control of unions.

One sentence of this proposal

is interesting today, in view of the election campaign. It reads:

The workers are to choose their methods of dealing with the employers "without coercion, restraint or intimidation FROM ANY SOURCE."

Do you recognize the phrase? It was most recently used by Alf M. Landon, the Republican nominee.

When the union representatives returned to Detroit, they awoke from their dream. They realized that they had been double-crossed. For the Roosevelt plan, put simply, was merely this:

Elections were to be held in every plant under the supervision of the Automobile Labor Board. The workers were to vote for "representatives," individuals who might or might not be members of labor unions. These individuals were to act as the collective-bargaining agency, "around the conference table" with the bosses.

In other words, Roosevelt sponsored a government-controlled, industry-wide company union.

The Auto Labor Board

The men in the shops showed what they thought of this plan when they cast thousands of votes for Andy Gump, Jiggs and Mussolini. They laughed it out of existence.

—And the Automobile Labor Board, which Roosevelt set up by personal fiat. Who were the members of it. There was Nicholas Kelley of the Chrysler Corporation, representing the employers; there was Leo Wolman, who hailed company unions as "the American system," as the government's representative; there was Richard Byrd, supposedly representative of labor but actually repudiated by every section of the organized labor movement.

The character of this board can be shown most clearly by their decisions. Byrd from the start agreed to the policy of "unanimity" which meant that there would be no minority reports. And, as one goes through the records of the hundreds of cases of discrimination that were argued before the board, case after case ends with the notation:

"The Board does not find the employer to have violated the rules."

Or: "The Board finds that the employer has discriminated against John Jones because of his union activity; it therefore requests that the employer reinstate Mr. Jones as soon as possible."

That the Automobile Labor Board and the government's company union were ridiculed out of existence is no fault of Roosevelt; the unions fought it from its inception. They made farces of its hearings and, after futile experiments, even refused to bring cases before it.

—But you can't blame Roosevelt. He tried hard enough. — And the bosses don't blame Roosevelt.

"All's well that ends well!" said Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors when he visited the White House to thank the President for his "mediation."

Hosiery Workers Accuse Democrats

By JOHN HERLING

CAMDEN, N. J.—Four thousand hosiery workers of New Jersey have demanded of Chairman James A. Farley, who is responsible for the conduct of Franklin D. Roosevelt's reelection campaign, that he take immediate action against Frank Hague, national committeeman and leader of the Democratic Party in New Jersey.

The hosiery workers, members of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, whose president is Emil Rieve, charge the New Jersey Democratic boss with having ordered members of the New Jersey Senate to defeat an anti-injunction bill whose passage might have benefited the workers of the state.

Farley has not yet replied to a letter which was addressed to him as chairman of the Democratic National Committee. The Hosiery Worker, official union paper, printed the communication which was signed by John W. Edelman, research director of the Hosiery Workers Federation, Carl Holderman, head of the district council at Paterson, N. J., and James Bamford of the south Jersey branch.

Hit Labor

Despite the intensive efforts made in behalf of the anti-injunction bill by the leading trade unions of the state, such as the Dyers Federation, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Hague, on the stationery of the Democratic National Committee, sent out his order to kill the anti-injunction bill.

At various union gatherings, such as picnics which abound at this time of the year in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, hosiery workers express their irritation not only with the defeat of the anti-injunction bill at the hands of the Democratic boss, but also with the failure of President Roosevelt to push the Ellenbogen Textile Bill to passage. The president did not say that the bill "must" pass, and since the Democratic congress took only "must" bills seriously, the measure died somewhere off the premises between the House and the Senate.

— VOTE SOCIALIST —

Wages Fall On Landon Bridge

TOPEKA, Kan.—Workers on a \$616,000 state bridge here are getting less than the prevailing wage and are working under open shop conditions.

Labor men report that the bridge, being constructed under the administration of Gov. Alf M. Landon, Republican nominee for President, is being erected by skilled labor at a wage of from 50 cents to \$1.00 an hour, with few men getting top figure.

The prevailing wage in that region for similar skilled work is from 88 cents to \$1.37 an hour.

Recently the contractor, the Missouri Valley Bridge Co. of Leavenworth, Kan. obtained an exemption from the state reemployment service to permit him to hire skilled workers from outside the state. The contractor contended that there "was a shortage of skilled labor—in Kansas."

Protests from Topeka unions brought cancellation of the permit, but when "unions offered men for the work at prevailing rates, the contractor refused to pay."

Work on the project continues with skilled and semi-skilled workers getting paid at unskilled labor rates.

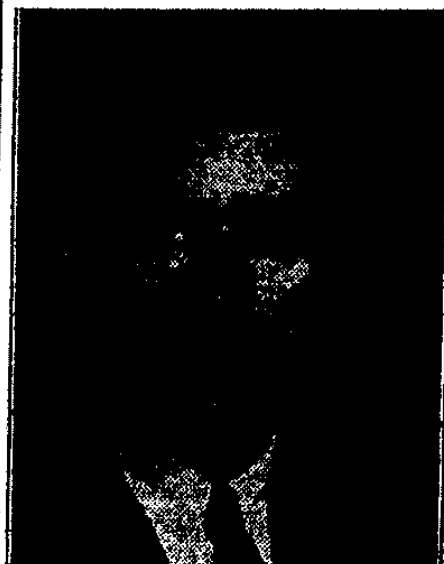
ALL DEMOCRATS



Just a nice, family picture of three Democratic big-shots, reading from left to right—Patrick Nash, Democratic "boss" from Illinois, Frank Hague, New Jersey "boss" whose activities against labor bills the hosiery workers have protested, and James A. Farley, the "bosses' boss."

Ballot Fight On In Four States

CHICAGO, Ill. (LSP)—Reports from four states, Vermont, Maine, South Dakota and Nebraska, indicate that the fight to get on the



Clarence Senior

ballot continues, according to a statement from Clarence Senior, campaign manager of the Socialist Party.

The state executive committee of the Socialist Party of Vermont made the decision at a recent meeting to put on an intensive drive for signatures to get on the ballot in spite of the ruling of the Secretary of State that each of the 1300 signatures required must

'Bankrupt' City Hears Thomas

BOSTON—Norman Thomas will bring the message of Socialism to New England in an automobile tour through the textile and industrial centers of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. His schedule follows:

- August 14, Berlin, N. H.
- August 15, Manchester, N. H.
- August 16, Westport and New Bedford, Mass.
- August 17, Vermont.

His speech in Manchester will be broadcast over Station WFEA at 8:00 p. m., Eastern Standard Time. He will discuss: "How a Socialist Society Would Open and Operate the Amoskeag Mills." The mills were recently made bankrupt and thousands were thrown out of work.

be notarized. Cedric R. Flagg of Middlebury, provisional state secretary of the party, will head the drive.

Marvin Halvorsen, national organizer, reports from South Dakota that the drive for 6000 signatures there is going ahead, but that additional help is needed.

Meetings held in Maine Aug. 11 and 12 by Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential candidate, have speeded the gathering of the required number of signatures there.

MAIL THIS TODAY!

CLARENCE SENIOR,
Socialist Party, U. S. A.,
549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

Tell me more about Norman Thomas and what he stands for. Is there a Socialist branch in my community?

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

Norman Thomas

DISCUSSES
The AFL Decision

ON PAGE I

Socialist Call

Vol. II—No. 74

SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

POLITICAL MESSIAHS ATTACKED BY THOMAS

Labor Hope Is Own Strength, Socialist Says

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, in discussing "Would-be American Messiahs" here last week, declared that "it will be a calamity if labor puts its trust in Roosevelt rather than in its own organization, or if labor should compromise its essential demand for plenty, peace, and freedom, at so cheap a price as he and his party have offered."

"I have criticized Governor Landon's labor record. It is bad," Thomas went on to say. "It is a simple statement of fact that it is not as bad as the labor record of a great many Democratic governors, including, I suspect, Governor Green of Rhode Island. It is nothing like as bad as the record of Governor Futrell of Arkansas or Governor McNutt of Indiana, or Governor Ben Ross of Idaho, or the Democratic Governors of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia during the textile strike."

Thomas said in part:

"What marks the political messiah is the fact that he appoints himself as our savior and then creates his own following or I am tempted to say, his own mob. This is very different from a democratic leadership of intelligent citizens. It is the sort of thing which in Europe has led to Fascism, and it may do the same in America.

Impossible Cures

"One of the usual marks of the self appointed political savior is that he promises impossible cures. All of these cures are like offering cough drops to a man sick with tuberculosis. In some cases

the cough drops are positively dangerous.

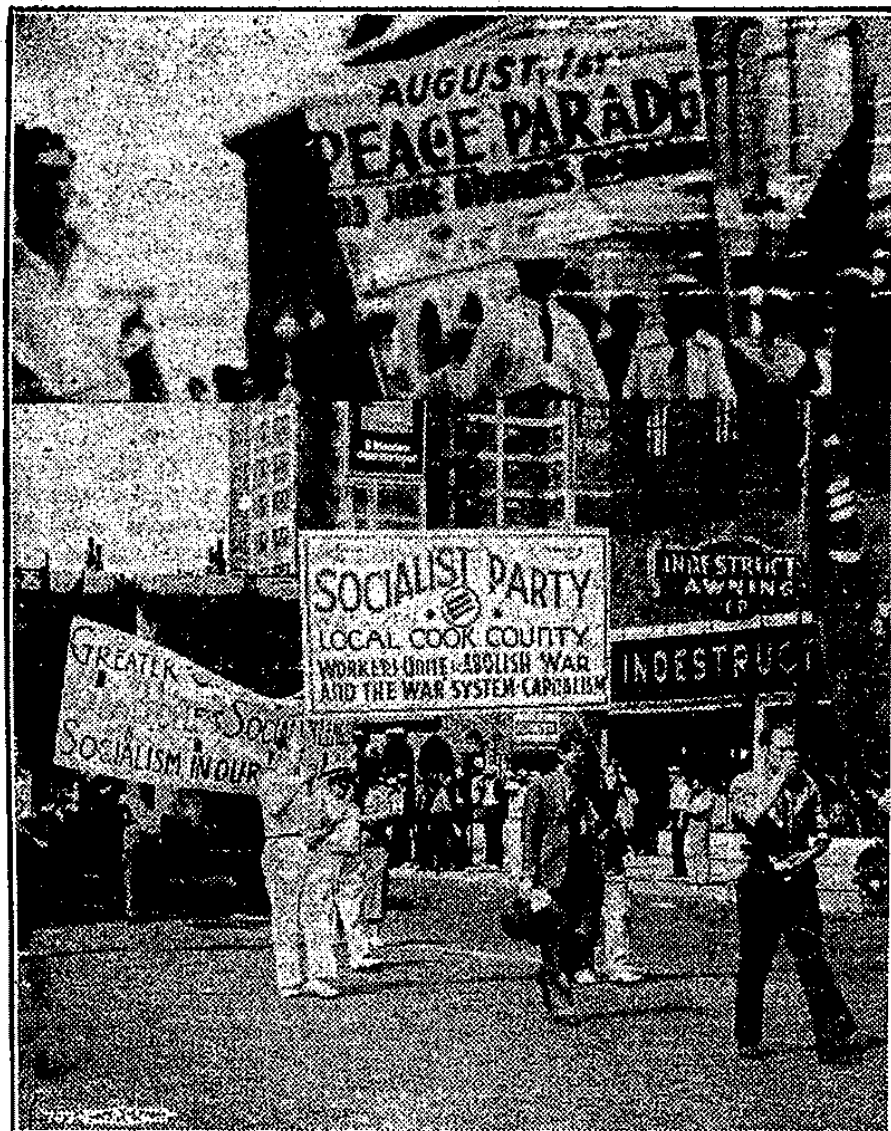
"It would scarcely be fair to call either Governor Landon or President Roosevelt a messiah in the sense in which I have used the word. There is a tendency by their supporters to overpraise them both. In particular, some of my labor friends have carried their support of Roosevelt to a point where they greatly exaggerate his labor record and the difference between him and Governor Landon. It will be a calamity if labor puts its trust in Roosevelt rather than in its own organization, or if labor should compromise its essential demand for plenty, peace, and freedom, at so cheap a price as he and his party have offered.

Anti-Labor Governors

"I have criticized Governor Landon's labor record. It is bad. It is a simple statement of fact that it is not as bad as the labor record of a great many Democratic Governors, including, I suspect, Governor Green of Rhode Island. It is nothing like as bad as the record of Governor Futrell of Arkansas or Governor McNutt of Indiana, or Governor Ben Ross of Idaho.

"This you will say is very negative. It is important in order to make the record clear. On the positive side once again let me assert our Socialist faith.

FIGHT WAR MENACE



A section of the Socialist contingent in the Chicago August 1 anti-war parade. The Socialist Party of the United States, in the tradition of its great leader, Eugene V. Debs, continues to fight against war and its parent, capitalism.

THE REAL GOODS

To the Editor:

I heard Norman Thomas speak over the radio recently, and I want you to know that we are getting the real goods about politics. I'm voting Socialist this November. The difference between Landon and Roosevelt is only the difference between twins from the same mother. And the mother in this case is big business.

DOROTHY LAHM.

Seattle, Wash.

Nelson Hits "Triple-A"

READING, Pa.—More than 8,000 Reading workers and farmers heard George A. Nelson, Socialist candidate for Vice-President, attack the Roosevelt agricultural policies as the destruction of food while men and women went hungry. Sarcastically he suggested that the AAA program be extended to industry so that "shop girls will get 25 per cent of their wages for staying at home."

Nelson denied that the election either of Roosevelt or Landon in November would mean any vital difference to the national welfare.

"You can elect either or you can elect both," he declared. "The result will be the same."

—\$100,000—

SPEAKS IN N. Y. STATE

NEW YORK—George A. Nelson, Wisconsin dirt-farmer leader and Socialist candidate for Vice-President, will speak in New York City on Thursday, August 13, at a reception tendered him by the local Socialist Party at the Hotel Delano, West 43rd Street, near Broadway.

After the New York City meeting, Nelson will tour the state in the interest of the Socialist platform. His schedule follows:

August 16, Westchester County annual picnic.

August 17, Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County.

August 18, Binghamton, Broome County.

August 19, Olean, Cattaraugus County.

August 21, Watertown, Jefferson County.

August 22, Ithaca, guest speaker at the Tompkins County Fair.

Except for the Ithaca meeting which will take place in the afternoon, all other meetings are scheduled for 8:30 p. m.

THE LIFE OF NORMAN THOMAS

School Days

By RALPH LEVINE

