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PRICE FIVE CENTS

Strikers and Scabs Clash in Johnstown



Violence Flares Over Seven-State Strike In Steel

By JOE CIANO

YOUNGSTOWN, O.—The center of militant steel strike activity has shifted in the past three weeks from Chicago, scene of the bloody and fatal Memorial Day mass murders, to Youngstown for its June 19 riot resulting in two deaths and thirty injured.

Johnstown at the beginning of the week where Governor Earle declared martial law and had the Cambria plant of Bethlehem Steel surrounded by 500 state police forcing it to close down, and again back to Youngstown when Governor Davey sent the militia in to prevent Republic Steel and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company from reopening.

The militia was used not only to keep the plants closed but also to turn back the 2,000 rubber workers on their way from Akron to Youngstown to aid the strikers.

In Johnstown the martial law decree was issued immediately following the threat of 40,000 miners to march into the city to help the steel strikers.

Although it originally asked for the state police, the company now hints that it may bring suit to have the Cambria plant reopened.

The Governor has stated that he has no intention of lifting the order for martial law, lest the bloodshed which has been averted since the state police were installed, should commence again.

Prior to the establishment of martial law, 14 were injured in Johnstown. Of these four were strikers, two were miners on picket duty, three were bystanders, and four, non-strikers.

May Spread Strike

While in Johnstown, David Watkins, sub-regional director of the CIO hinted at the possibility of spreading the strike to Bethlehem plants other than Cambria.

In Warren, Ohio, an injunction was issued limiting the number and activity of the pickets and restraining them from arming themselves with clubs or weapons of any sort, obstructing streets or highways, interfering with any persons in the county, or in any way intimidating or threatening scabs or damaging company property.

As an answer to this injunction the number of workers on the picket lines multiplied rapidly and

talk of a general strike was heard in all labor groups.

Protest Strike

In Youngstown a strike of 1,800 truck drivers was called in protest against police brutality in the riot last Saturday night when two pickets were fatally injured while 300 county policemen battled with the strikers. Should the company carry out its threat to reopen despite military orders, the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee threatens a general strike which will involve not only the members of the United Automobile Workers of America but also more than half a million miners.

In Pennsylvania, Governor Earle insists on the maintenance of the status quo—that is: martial law and placing the entire situation before the Federal Steel Mediation Board for a settlement.

The board appointed by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, consists of Charles P. Taft 2nd, a Cincinnati lawyer; Lloyd K. Garrison, dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School, and former chairman of the National Labor Relations Board of the NRA; and Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor and an organizer for the AFL with Samuel Gompers.

Begin Negotiations

The Mediation Board began its conferences with union and company officials early this week. After one day, the officials of the steel company walked out on the negotiations, stating that they would not return voluntarily—but would return if necessary. The board is considering a number of compromise solutions—although the company still maintains that it will not sign an agreement with the CIO which it called "utterly irresponsible."

President Roosevelt wired the companies to adhere to the request of the Mediation Board and the Governor to keep the plants closed.

Expose Coughlin Fake Auto Union

Father Coughlin's stooge auto union received another setback last week when George Addes, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers of America, characterized the Workers Council for Social Justice as a "name, smacking of Coughlinism, its program of company unionism, and its officers of company stoogism."

Referring to the peculiar process of "electing" officers for the union, Addes further stated that "workers will want to know who these people listed as officers are and how did they get to be officers."

Legitimate trade unions elect their officers from the membership through democratic procedure—the officers are not self-appointed before there is a membership. "Workers will also want to know the identity of the mysterious financier so interested in sponsoring a disguised company union."

Comparing Coughlin's latest brain-child with past attempts of labor's enemies to foist company unions on the workers, Addes concluded that "this is another device of the enemies of the working people to destroy labor unions. The same type of persons tried to fool workers with company unions, with the Automotive Industries Employees' Association, with the American Labor League, and with the Ford Brotherhood of America."

Auto Union Moves To Check Strikes Not 'Sanctioned'

By NORMAN CLARK

DETROIT, Mich.—The spread of so-called "unauthorized strikes" in the Mid-West CIO area has caused the General Executive Board of the United Auto Workers to issue a statement to all locals through its international president, Homer Martin,

declaring that "the International will not support or tolerate any strike or stoppage of work which has been called or caused, unless the procedure for the calling of a strike as provided for, in Article 13, has been conformed with."

The General Executive Board further stipulated that "all members responsible" for any "unauthorized stoppage of work" should be disciplined by either fine or suspension or both and that "any local failing to take the necessary disciplinary action, the International Union may discipline the individual members, local union officers to the extent of expulsion of such officers or members and the revocation of local union charters."

Saginaw, Lansing, Pontiac

This declaration came on the heels of the "unauthorized" Saginaw Valley, Lansing and Pontiac stoppages, all of which involved CIO forces, especially the auto union.

The Lansing walkout, called to free union activities from ruthless police treatment, resulted in a virtual establishment of workers' control over the Capital—and won the union's demands as well as organized several thousands unorganized at one blow.

The Saginaw Valley sit-down,

which shut off power supplied to half a million people in Bay City, Saginaw and Flint, was called after the signing of an agreement. The men did not return to work, however, until another agreement signed in Washington was brought to them by plane.

Twenty-four hours after, auto workers in Pontiac closed shop to start a parade of solidarity to aid their tear-gassed brother unionists of steel in Monroe, Michigan. Only Homer Martin's appearance and decisive action halted the spread of this move to numerous towns in Indiana, Ohio and Michigan.

Prepare To Negotiate

The unauthorized stoppages the union officers undoubtedly fear will be an embarrassment in preliminary negotiations for a new agreement with the corporations. Likewise, negotiators in steel must, as CIO affiliates, bear a degree of responsibility for the explosions in the auto fields.

Martin, in a supplementary statement, placed primary responsibility for unauthorized strikes upon the corporations which he charged were provocatively dodging their obligations under the agreements.

"General Motors," he said, "and other corporations cannot escape the responsibility for many of the disturbances, stoppages of work and other occurrences which have affected the agreements with United Auto Workers of America. It is quite evident that there has been a concerted action of powerful corporations of this state and throughout the country to discredit both organized labor and the state and national administration through provocative action on the part of officers, executives and supervisors of the companies."

CALL Crisis Is Still On

This week we are back to twelve pages. But we do it on a gamble. Next week, we will have to go back to eight, unless some of the rescue money that came in last week—and it was little enough—increases this week.

What are you waiting for—a four page paper before you act? The editors and staff of the CALL can go without meals to get out the paper. What can you do, now?

—(Save the CALL—Get Subs)—

Progressives Beat Racketeer—'Left' Bloc in Local 16

The election which was held on Tuesday, June 15th in the Waiters' Union, Local 16 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Union, resulted in a sweeping victory for the Progressive slate.

This victory closes another chapter in the long struggle that the workers in the food industry have had to wage in the recent past to rid themselves of a gang of unscrupulous racketeers who have been controlling Union affairs.

Progressives who have a record of loyalty and devotion to the cause of progressivism, of clean unionism built around a policy of democratic procedure have, in this election, presented their case to the membership and were endorsed almost unanimously.

During the campaign, the Progressives sought a united front with all class-conscious progressive elements on their program and wanted a joint slate to be presented. The "left" or the "rank-and-file" could not agree to this "limited" program. They favored a "broader" united front based on an "all-inclusive" leadership. This "all-inclusive" leadership was supposed to include the remnants of the Coulicher machine that organized themselves, and became known as the "Non-partisan Committee."

No Bloc With Racketeers

The Progressives would not, under any circumstances, have anything to do with this group. The elections were contested on a program and principles presented by the Progressive Group forces, against the all-inclusiveness and "non-partisanship" of the other two groups, and the membership has approved the principles and program of the Progressive Group.

The new administration will consist of a truly representative character—within it there will be 5 Progressives and 2 Non-Partisans and 2 Lefts on the paid staff, 1 Progressive, 2 Left and 2 Non-partisans on the Executive Board. Similarly on the other committees, the Progressives have gained complete control.

Siegel and Diamond

David Siegel, the newly elected president of the Union has a long history and clean record of union service and is recognized by the membership for his loyalty and devotion in their behalf.

Bill Diamond, the newly elected Labor Chief is the most popular individual in the Union today, and received the highest vote on the slate, polling almost 1,600 votes of the total number of votes cast, which was about 2,700. The only ones who received a larger vote, were Obermier, Albertson and Tieger who were not opposed in this election. They received in the vicinity of about 1,800 votes each. Tieger received the highest vote for an unpaid officer.

Harry Rosekrans, leader of the Progressives, a very active and militant young worker, was next highest in the votes received.

With this victory of the Progressives, the Food Workers' Industry in New York is now placed in a much better position to organize 100 per cent the still unorganized centers. The Progressives are confident of establishing a unified administration backed by the confidence of the entire membership, and will now proceed to further victories and further consolidations to take

their place in a real Progressive force in the labor movement.

Result of Election

A full list of those elected follows:

President: David Siegel; First Vice-President: Dennis Gitz; Second Vice-President: Jules Garcia; Third Vice-President: George Gordency; Secretary-Treasurer: William Albertson; Assistant Secretary: Joseph Rodriguez; Recording Secretary: Bernard Tieger; General Organizer: Mike Obermeier; Labor Chief: William Diamond; Business Agents: Harry Rose-

krans, Max Fried, John Green, Leo Stenzler; Sergeant-at-Arms: George Heller.

For the Executive Board: Carmine Margiotta, Samuel Heller, George Delegis, Joseph Klein, Theodore Martin, Hans Hohn, Kitchen Dept.; John Gentzle, Bartenders' Dept.

Mr. Siegel, President of the Union, has issued a statement in which he declares:

"The victory of the progressive elements in our union points the real way to clean unionism. The door is now open for us to enter a period of organizing the unorganized in the culinary industry and of improving conditions in our shops. Thanks to the intelligence and courage of the membership we have saved our union from internal decay and outside interference."

Oil Worker Union Shows Progress; Lacks Direction

By GEO. J. PAPCUN

KANSAS CITY, Missouri.—The 8th annual convention of the International Oil Workers' Union is the largest in its history.

Delegates from all over the United States have come to this key convention to build a real interna-

tional, to organize more than a million workers never before organized. The convention acted on important constitutional measures, and adopted far-reaching demands in the oil industry, including 36 hours a week, minimum yearly income to be guaranteed to every worker from common laborer to semi-executives.

It condemned the AFL for its splitting tactics and endorsed the CIO, with which it officially affiliated itself by action of the convention.

Robert Oliver, of Local 333, suspended by the action of Pres. Fremming, was reinstated. A resolution was adopted making it possible for a member of a union in a different industry to become a member of the oil workers' union if he should be employed in and around the petroleum industry without the payment of a new initiation fee, if his card is paid up in the union recognized by the oil workers' union. The convention condemned Spanish Fascism, and Hitler and Mussolini for their fight against the Spanish people.

Back CIO

The convention heard Adolph Germer, a representative of the CIO, deliver an address on the purposes of the CIO and an attack on the AFL leadership for trying to maintain craft unionism.

Paul Rassmussen active in organizing workers in Kansas City was also a speaker. He described the organization of labor in Kansas City into both AFL and CIO.

After him, President McClure of the Montgomery Wards local, now on strike, spoke.

The convention had a large percentage of workers as dele-

gates. There was a good deal of discussion as to democratic control of the union, but a leadership was lacking to lead it against the machine. One of the important points won by the rank and file was the right to approve agreements by representatives of the members affected.

The union found itself in good financial condition compared to its Tulsa convention, when it was thousands of dollars in debt. The main reason for its healthy finances is its district organization where locals have direct representation; and the efficiency of the national Secretary-Treasurer, Connerly. The convention was aware of the weakness in membership and the tremendous job it has to perform in organization.

The convention was in a stalemate for several days because it had no definite leadership and program, and because of its distrust of its conservative president Harvey Fremming, who had, and has very little support among the oil workers.

The convention, in its constitution, forbid Fascist and Communist membership in the organization.

—Save the CALL—Get Sub!

Scapegoat

NEW LONDON, Texas.—Supt. W. C. Shaw is the scapegoat in the New London school tragedy. He is 60, unemployed and out. E. W. Reagan, wealthy landowner and president of the board, said: "We believe the entire community will have a more cooperative feeling if you were replaced." Testimony showed that Reagan himself was involved in the taping of the wet gas line that led to the death of 450 children.

Socialists Demand Freedom To Issue "La Battalla" and Justice for POUM Leaders

(The following cable was sent by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to the Loyalist Government in Spain, following the reported arrests of leaders of the Party of Marxist Unity, together with others.)

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, U.S.A. meeting in New York reaffirms support of your struggle against fascism but we urge restoration and preservation of civil liberties for all working class elements even for those with whom there are strong differences of opinion. Stop.

Request free speech for La Battalla and fraternal consideration of Andreas Nin, and other working class leaders. Stop.

If Nin is brought to trial we favor having present an International Commission of workers. Stop. Only in freedom now for all working class elements can the struggle be won for freedom from capitalism and fascist tyranny.

(Signed) ROY E. BURT, Executive Secretary, Socialist Party

Loopholes in Black Connery Bill Leave Many in Economic Peril

By RAYMOND GORDON

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The most exploited and distressed section of "America's under-nourished and under-privileged third" is completely ignored by the provisions of the Black-Connery wages and hours bill now before Congress.

The bill, drawn up at the request of Roosevelt, specifically excludes from its section on minimum wages, maximum hours, child labor and unfair labor practices all agricultural workers and those working for employers with a small number of employees.

In this last category will fall almost all domestic employees and a large portion of the home-workers who, with the agricultural workers, form the lowest paid section of the working class.

The bill, introduced simultaneously in the two houses of Congress by Senator X. Black of Alabama and the recently deceased Representative Connery of Massachusetts, prohibits the manufacture of goods involved in inter-state commerce, under 'oppressive conditions' or by children below 16.

"Oppressive conditions" exist when pay is below the minimum scale, hours above the maximum, or certain unfair labor conditions exist. Neither the minimum wage scale nor the maximum hours were included in the bill as introduced. The Joint Labor Committee, now holding hearings on the bill will insert them before it is reported on the floor of Congress.

A Labor Standards Board of five members, appointed by the President with terms of five years except for the first five whose terms run from one to five years, is set up by the bill. It will determine the minimum wages and hours for each industry and section of the country, varying them either up or down from the general scale as it sees fit. It determines when "oppressive conditions" exist and in general administers the provisions of the bill. It, however, has no direct means of enforcing its decisions and must appeal for a court order to do so.

Lewis And Green

Two provisions of the bill have raised the protests of both John Lewis, CIO head, and William Green, AFL chief. One provides that the Board's ruling on wages supersede union contracts when the latter calls for a lower scale. They felt that the change that some workers might get less than the minimum was more desirable than that a government agency be given the power to review union-employer contracts.

The second objection was to the provision giving the Board power to set "adequate" wage schedules above the minimum for various classifications, provided that none of these schedules exceed \$1,200 a year or 80 cents an hour, in unorganized fields. It was feared that such a ruling might result in the outlawing of

attempts of workers, who organized after such a schedule was set up, to raise their pay above that determined by the Board.

"Suppose a wage was set for the lumber industry in its present unorganized state and through collective bargaining the workers demanded a higher wage," said Lewis. "Why, the employers would publicize the country to the effect that the government had already said what constituted a fair wage for the industry. I am not sure what some of our Federal judges would say about it, knowing some of those judges.

Free Men Or . . . ?

"We might have the impossible situation of judges ordering men to remain at work under conditions which they considered unjust. In such circumstances, the courts might take years to decide whether the American workers are free men or indentured servants."

Sidney Hillman, head of the T.W.O.C. and associate of Lewis, however, approved this section. He stated that while it might be undesirable in large scale industries such as coal and steel with which Lewis has had contact, it was desirable for the smaller scale industries such as textile and shoe manufacturing.

The Board is practically instructed to set up differentials between the North and South and between other sections of the country and between the city and outlying districts by a section calling upon it to consider the cost of living and "all other relevant circumstances."

Thus instead of raising wages in the notoriously low-wage areas, it is likely to help perpetuate the present levels.

Unions Undefined

The bill's definition of unions makes no distinction between company-unions and bona fide unions. Presumably it would outlaw strike-breakers, but its definition of them is loose enough to permit of evasion in many cases.

They are specifically permitted to prevent alleged "irreparable damage or to maintain essential public services." This clause may be interpreted by the courts as in effect outlawing strikes by many types of utility and transport workers.

Like most laws effecting such practices, the penalties are so small as to be almost meaningless. The maximum fine in most cases is \$500.

Four Power Anti-Soviet Pact Moving Toward A Conclusion In Europe

By GUS TYLER

The last chapter in the isolation of the Soviet Union from all its capitalist allies was written this

Fascist Meet Fascist



Mussolini, Italy, meets Blomberg, German, to plan Spain War.

week in the headlines of the world press. "Britain Turns Toward Pact with Germany and Italy," is the streamer running over Augur's (spokes-

man for the British foreign office) article in the New York Times of June 18.

"Russia Is Pushed Aside by Other Big Powers," writes Eugene Young on June 20.

The popular explanation for the new Four-Power alignment of Britain, France, Germany and Italy, excluding Russia is the loss of confidence on the part of the democratic powers in the Soviet military strength caused by the latest executions of supposedly reliable military heads.

Although it is not unlikely that the strange executions hastened the movement toward a four-power set-up, leaving Russia in the lurch, and although it is altogether likely that the military decapitation provided an excellent opportunity to announce a break from the USSR, it would be a mistake to imagine that the capitalist alliance against the Soviet Union is something of sudden and recent origin.

CALL Predicted Move

Although the capitalist press of the world has been, up to now, strangely silent about the possibilities of a growing rapprochement between Hitler and England at the expense of the Soviet Union, the CALL has had occasion to indicate this trend on many occasions. More than a year ago, on March 21, 1936, we wrote:

"Strange as it seems, there is more than a possibility that the Franco-British pact will not at all displease Hitler.

"A Franco-British Pact will undoubtedly be brought within the framework of some broader agreement, involving Germany. Recalling Britain's strong inclination toward Hitler's proposal, it is likely that a new

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Locarno will be written . . . (Locarno included Britain, France, Germany and Italy, excluding the USSR.)

"The Loophole in the pact of such a nature is the necessary vagueness in defining the relations of Germany to the Soviet Union. Such a pact may very well be an excuse to give Hitler a free hand against the Soviet Union."

In this original statement of our estimate, immediately following the reactions of the European powers upon Hitler's reoccupation of the Ruhr, the CALL defined both the general trend and the details of the new Four Power line-up:

1. England would draw France into her orbit by a two power pact.
2. England would draw France with her, away from the Soviet Union.
3. A common arrangement would finally be worked out with Hitler leaving Russia in the cold.

The French Line

During the last French election when anti-German jingo talk was running high in Paris, the CALL insisted that this talk would not be kept up—that France in England's orbit would swing to rapprochement with Hitler. On March 28, 1936, we wrote:

"Once the election is over, the French ruling classes will follow the English example. Tension will lessen if an agreement will be made.

"Such an agreement must temporarily satisfy Germany without endangering France.

"The anti-German talk will turn to pro-English talk. A new alliance will be concluded."

The Spanish Friends

That France could not move an inch without Britain was abundantly apparent upon the outbreak of the Spanish civil war, when Sir Robert Vansittart, British ambassador to Paris, clubbed Leon Blum into abandoning his desire to aid the Loyalist Government.

The friendly attitude of Britain to Franco proved conclusively that there was no unbridgeable chasm between London and Berlin. The establishment of the first inter-

national patrol, which was obviously based upon a previous political agreement in regard to Anglo-Italian relations in the Mediterranean and Franco-German attitudes toward the Soviet Union, gave rise to the first open declarations in the international capitalist press concerning a new Locarno in Europe.

As far back as November 28, we spoke of the anti-Soviet pact as a reality:

"Within six months, Hitler Germany has turned the tables of Europe. From an encircled nation Germany has become an encircling nation. While the aim of the Soviet Union was to surround Germany with a new cordon sanitaire . . . Hitler Germany has so maneuvered as to throw a ring about the Soviet Union, breaking the workers' state from its allies."

Bombing of Almeria threatened to shatter the basis of the Anglo-German structure. The price that Hitler seems to have asked for a renewal of the International patrol was the head of Russia.

"The first sign (of this new Locarno)," writes Eugene J. Young, "was given in the negotiations for the renewal of the international patrol of Spain, broken by the Loyalist bombings of German and Italian warships. Previously Russia was consulted in such matters, because France insisted she must be. But this time she was ignored. Britain, France, Germany and Italy thereupon made their own arrangements."

Exchange Military

Immediately the German and French military staffs met for the first time since the World War. General Beck meets General Gamelin.

Simultaneously, Baron von Neurath prepared to go to London for "heart-to-heart" talks.

"In all the capitals," writes Young, "the tone of the press and the propaganda agencies changed. Stress was laid on the possibilities of a four-power agreement on broad lines."

There is, of course, an inner schism within the Four Power Pact, which must again and again evidence itself. No doubt, there will be some maneuvering for position in regard to the Spanish situation, with the German-Italian half of the four power bloc seeking gains as against the Franco-British group. The regrouping of all the capitalist powers against the Soviet Union has not eliminated the imperialist rivalries as between the still capitalist-imperialist powers.

The capitalist press is rather gleeful about this new turn, and insists that it brings peace closer and removes the danger of war. Workers must know that this is vicious nonsense! The danger of Franco-German war is lessened, no doubt. But the danger of an early Japanese-German war against the USSR is tensely with us.

The only real ally of the Soviets will then be the international working class. It is in the light of these developments that the Russian trials and executions are so unfortunate. Not because they have lost the alliance of a virtually lost France, but because they have estranged millions of workers from the Soviet Union, have disgusted them and made them doubt the truth of the workers' state.

The Soviet heads must learn that their only true friends are the masses of the world; their friendship dare not be lost.

Forced Resignation of Blum Causes Crisis in France

A crisis in the French Cabinet, causing the resignation of Leon Blum as Prime Minister, arose this week upon the Premier's attempt to procure emergency powers with which to handle the economic difficulties of the nation.

The more conservative elements of the Popular Front chose the opportunity to force the hand of Blum by demanding that he take more vigorous action against strikers in the building trades.

Ever since Blum entered office the Conservative Radical-Socialists in the government have been

demanding more and more stringent action from Blum against direct action of workers. No matter what concessions were made to the capitalist liberals, on this score, they were still unsatisfied.

For their part, however, they have been attempting to force the cabinet to take the lead in cutting social services at the expense of the people, and to make ever greater concessions to the financiers—whom the Popular Front was elected to fight.

Although the mass of the French were behind the Blum government, there was increasing bitterness against the pressure from the "right" in the cabinet and an increasing unwillingness to make concessions to it. The fall of Blum was sharply resented by the masses, for they considered it to be a victory for the "right" coming as the climax to the long campaign of whittling down the purposes of the Popular Front election. There is fear that this resentment will break into the open in the form of militant demonstrations.

Although the Socialist Party refuses to head the new Cabinet (Camille Chautemps, right-winger of the liberal party, has been called in to form it), it pledges its support to the new Government in the Chamber of Deputies.

The Communist Party of France, which controls a sizeable delegation in the Chamber and whose vote is needed to sustain any "leftist" government, has broken with its nearly two-decade old policy of refusing to enter the cabinet of any capitalist government and is now demanding a portfolio in the cabinet.

(Save the CALL—Get Subs)—

Ask Embargo Of Nazis, Italy

Representatives John M. Coffee, Democrat, of Washington, and John T. Bernard and Henry G. Teigan, Farmer-Laborites of Minnesota, today joined in denouncing German and Italian bombardments by land, sea and air of civilians in Bilbao and other cities of Loyalist Spain and in demanding the immediate invocation of the 1937 Neutrality Act to embargo the shipment of war materials to Germany and Italy.

The statements of the three Congressmen were occasioned by newspaper reports of German and Italian activity on the Bilbao front and were made in telegrams to the Rev. Herman F. Reissig, executive secretary of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

In addition to demanding the imposition of an embargo on Germany and Italy, Representative Coffee called for the cessation of direct or indirect profit-making from munitions or essential materials of war.

Representative Bernard, in his statement, appealed to "all American citizens who would have the Basque people from extermination" to bring pressure on their Congressmen, and on Secretary of State Cordell Hull and President Roosevelt.

The State Department should have no difficulty in determining that Germany and Italy are active participants in the Spanish War, Representative Teigan's statement said.

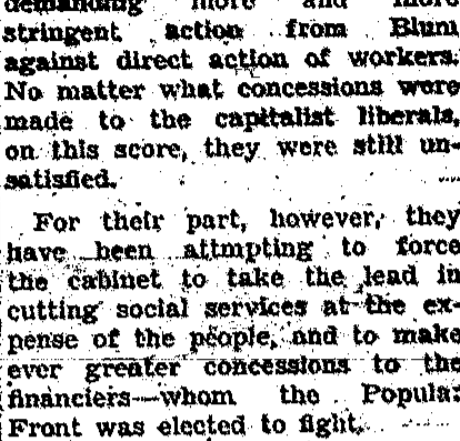
The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy is a relief organization, headed by Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which has already made shipments of food and clothing valued at more than \$250,000 to the refugee population of the Basque country and Loyalist Spain.

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Fight On!

NEW YORK—The seventy-five year sentence of Haywood Patterson, affirmed by the Alabama supreme court will be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court, declared the Scottsboro Defense Committee, in a statement issued here.

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Leon Blum

Although the mass of the French were behind the Blum government, there was increasing bitterness against the pressure from the "right" in the cabinet and an increasing unwillingness to make concessions to it. The fall of Blum was sharply resented by the masses, for they considered it to be a victory for the "right" coming as the climax to the long campaign of whittling down the purposes of the Popular Front election. There is fear that this resentment will break into the open in the form of militant demonstrations.

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(Save the CALL—with donations)—

YPSL Resolution On Thomas Home

At the request of various Spanish agencies, various United States committees for aid to Spain and especially the United Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy are instigating campaigns for the establishment of children's homes in Spain. The YPSL approves and supports these campaigns whose success will greatly influence the future of Spain. In this country the capitalists do not hesitate to use American children for exploitation, through widespread child labor, restricted education and other means. To an even greater extent this is happening in Spain today, where the fascists conduct their warfare even against the children. If allowed to continue unimpeded this will result in the crippling and warping of the generation which, today children, will tomorrow be the backbone of Socialist Spain. The Socialist future of Spain depends on the survival, fitness and working class training of the children today.

Therefore the YPSL, proud to be the first American youth organization to launch its campaign in this field, resolves to contribute to the saving of the workers' children of Spain by establishing a Norman Thomas Home for 20 children of workers and peasants killed in the front lines of the anti-fascist struggle in Spain.

While emphatically supporting the United Youth Committee locally and nationally for joint homes, we call upon every Ypsel, every circle, members of the Party and those who sympathize with the Socialist movement to join in the campaign to raise \$1,000 for the Norman Thomas Home by the time of the YPSL National Convention at the beginning of September.

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WORKERS' EDUCATION

More and more as the CIO extends its influence into various and tumultuous sections of industry, is there becoming apparent the definite, the pressing need for an energetic campaign complementary to that of organizing, and loosely called "educational."

Opportunism which says, "get the boys organized and the rest will follow" does not serve in such critical times as we are now going through. Far-sighted leaders in the garment and automobile unions have recognized the fact that merely signing up masses of industrial workers into unions is not enough. There must go on all fours with organization, education that gives the new recruit some idea of what he is doing when he takes the union obligation.

Workers' education in this country came to its peak around 1921. Since that time, until yesterday, a number of hostile factors have combined to nullify the work begun so hopefully by the pioneers. The apathy, in many cases the deliberate sabotage of the movement on the part of the AFL hierarchy was not the least important of these factors.

There is sufficient evidence of the low estate into which any intellectual effort has fallen under AFL auspices in the fact that "Old Cunnel" Frey is spoken of in the pie-counter Federation circles as "the scholar of the labor movement." To call John Frey a "scholar" is comparable to the recent attempt of the commies to palm off Earl Browder, who has not one page of decently written English prose to his credit, as a literary light.

Now that the dead hand of the Federation is rapidly being removed from the throat of labor there is a magnificent opportunity to take up again the work of the educational pioneers many of whom are still very much in the field despite the heart-breaks of the early days. The CIO leadership can call on these old-timers, assured of their loyal co-operation. To them may be assigned the task of training the hundreds of younger educational directors for the desperately needed front line work that is just ahead.

No organization can long endure that fails to inform its rank and file as to its long-range program and purposes. This may be a truism but it is a truism that is often forgotten in the clash of picket-lines and the dust and sweat of daily organization.

We have recently had a closeup of the educational program of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. To those beginning similar programs in steel, automobiles, rubber, etc., this may well serve as a model.

At this point there will be some who will say: "How does it concern anyone what happens to a steel worker after the SWOC has signed him up? So long, that is, as he pays his dues, attends his union meetings regularly and is subject to union discipline?" The theory is that the worker has learned his lesson of solidarity and that from the time of making out his application, he is necessarily class-conscious. He leaves his affairs in the hands of leaders of his own choosing and becomes automatically a "good, union man." This attitude, of course, implies a distrust of the rank and file which was common enough among some of those who are now leading the CIO in the days of B.C. (Before Conversion.)

Let's hope that as good pragmatists they will now go along with Dewey when he says: "To learn to be human is to develop through the give-and-take of communication an effective sense of being an individually distinctive member of a community; one who understands and appreciates its beliefs, desires and methods, and who contributes to a further conversion of organic powers into human resources and values." Workers' education must give to the rank and file "an effective sense of being an individually distinctive member of a community"—a community of his fellow-workers. Otherwise it is no more than a feeble duplication of classes in English, Uplift and Swimming that are to be found in any Y.M.C.A.

There is the story of the Anarchist general who was asked how many troops he had dispatched to a certain embattled point on the Spanish front. Dramatically he waved away his questioner, "We are sending multitudes, torrents," he shouted, "who are we to be clutched by the iron fist of statistics?" Turn that story inside out and the Anarchist veteran does not seem so absurd. It is heartening to note the statistics of the rush into CIO. But the most ardent CIO sympathizer doesn't want the marching song of that rush to be, "We don't know where we're going, but we're on our way."

—(Save the CALL—with donations)—

WAR FUNDS TO JOBLESS

"WPA Art Works Drop 3,000; Some in Tears."

"\$50,000,000 Bill for Navy Ships Wins Approval."

These two headlines ran in one issue of The New York Daily News.

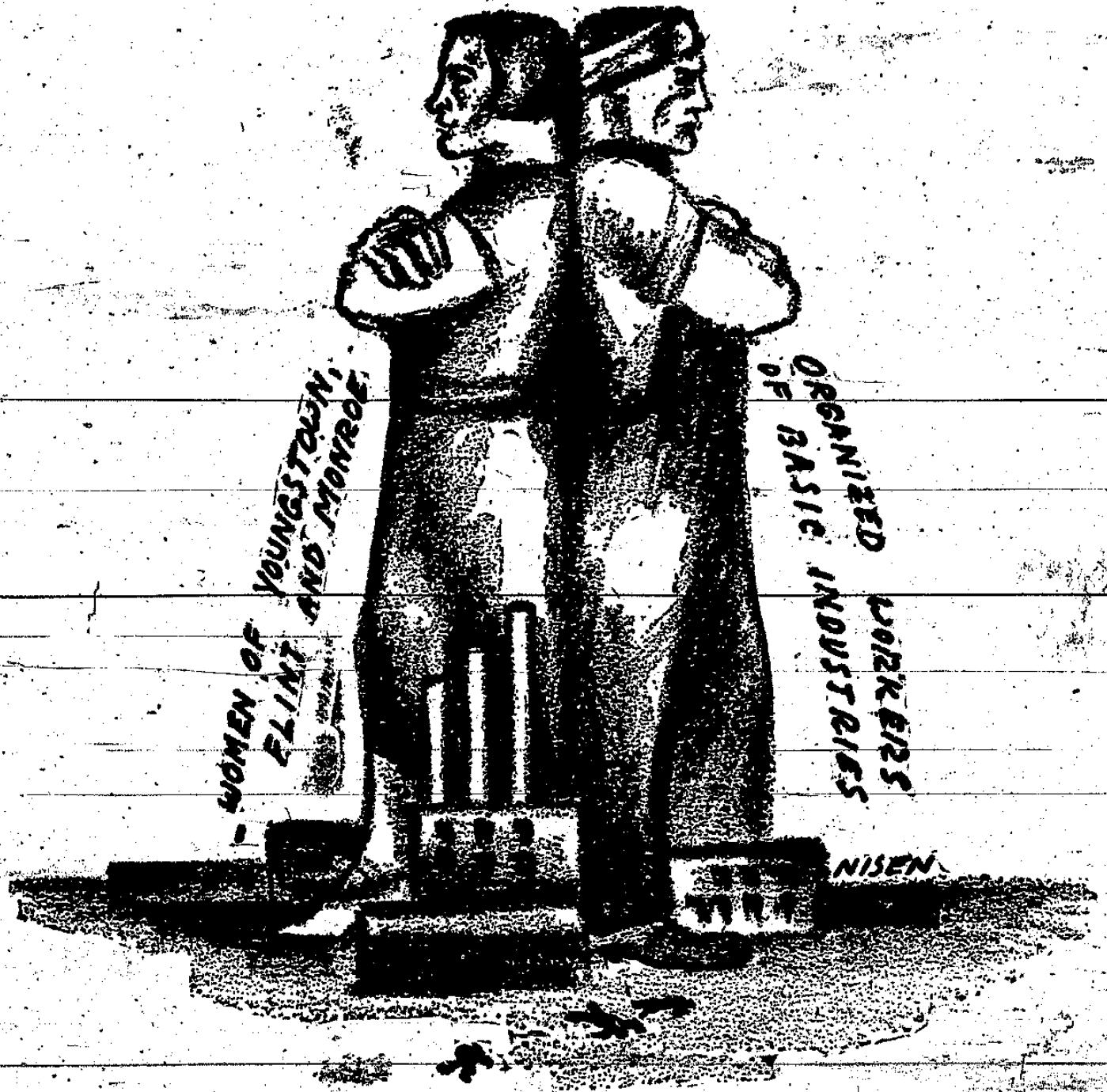
What an accidental, and therefore all the more forceful, condemnation of Roosevelt's spending and saving policy.

Spend for war; skimp on the jobless. That is the administration slogan.

The Workers' Alliance, meeting now in Milwaukee, must raise high the cry for "War Funds to the Jobless."

—(Save the CALL—Get Subs)—

Solidarity



Party Branches Rally to Sub Drive to Keep 12 Page Call

Evidence is mounting that the party branches and members throughout the country are rallying to the decisions of the party as voiced at the special convention and at the NEC meeting at Philadelphia, and are becoming increasingly aware of the need of using the CALL as an instrument for effective Socialist work.

Despite the fact that we were forced to curtail our size to eight pages last week, and may again even next week, we are getting an increasing volume of support for the CALL Drive for subscriptions.

—(Save the CALL—Get Subs)—



—(Save the CALL—Get Subs)—

Allard Writes

Each week brings some messages which show the regard which our field workers are displaying for the CALL. This week Gerry Allard, newly elected state secretary of the party in Illinois, writes to tell the work which is being done with the CALL in the Southern Illinois district. His letter follows:

"Enclosed you will find \$6 for six one-year subs to the fighting SOCIALIST CALL. This is the result of my initial efforts of trying to revive the party in the coal fields of Southern Illinois.

"We in Southern Illinois have a special interest in the CALL. With this in mind our forces in this part of the country are hell-bent to work for a greater circulation of our paper.

"There could be no greater setback for socialism at this time than to permit the CALL to cease publication even for one one issue. The Gillespie comrades, many of whom were engaged in the recent miners sit-down and who have more guts and energy than they have money, voted last night to contribute five dollars to the CALL.

"As I proceed on my tour throughout the state of Illinois I shall push for a greater circulation of the CALL and what is equally important, I shall do all in my power to see to it that the

Illinois quota goes over the top.

Gillespie Active

Our readers will be interested to know that our Gillespie comrades used over 100 CALLS each week during their strike.

The attitude which Comrade Allard expresses for all the Illinois organization is the necessary one for the whole party: Pushing CALL subscriptions; full use of bundles of the CALL systematically; and fulfilling the quotas in the Drive for \$10,000.

Racine, Wis., Leads Sub Drive

Diligent work by the members of Local Racine, Wisconsin, has put this branch in the lead in the Drive for new CALL subscribers, with a total of new readers of 18.

Other branches which have achieved the rank of "Builder Branch" in this important drive are the 18th Ward, Cleveland, and Sioux City, Iowa, with 10 each.

Leading New York City branches in the drive are Washington Heights with 10, a "Builder Branch" and the Upper West Side, with 9.

Close at the heels of these branches are North Adams, Mass., with 9, and Central Newark and San Francisco with 8 each.

Branches having 5 new subs each are Evansville, Ind.; Houston, Texas; 8 A.D. Bronx, and 5th Ward, Chicago.

Those securing 4 each to date are: Flint, Mich.; Jamaica, L. I., and German Branch, N. Y.

The list of branches which have sold 3 subs each includes: Jugo Slav Branch 27; Cleveland, Peoria, Ill.; South Langhorne, Pa.; Penoscot, Me.; New Haven; Lane County, Ore.

All branches and locals must rally immediately to the support of the CALL.

—(Save the CALL—with donations)—

NEGRO-WHITE SOLIDARITY IN TEXAS UNIONS

DALLAS, Texas.—Cement mill workers in Texas are organizing into the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, a CIO affiliate. The employees of the Atlas Portland Cement Co. at Waco is the latest group to apply for a charter.

Sam S. White, educational director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union of Dallas, and Carl Brannin, State Secretary of the Socialist Party and member of the American Federation of Teachers were invited to speak at the meeting and helped get the new union under way.

Solidarity With Negroes

L. M. Barnes chairman of the local group in announcing a proposed contract with management stated that while the white workers would have four holidays, the Negroes would have five since he had added Emancipation Day, June 19 for their special benefit. Negro workers are taken into the union without discrimination.

The company has already increased wages ten per cent and has agreed to pay time and a half for all time over eight hours.

The rate for common labor has been 40 cents per hour, with 53 cents the top for the two electricians employed. The company is a subsidiary of the U.S. Steel Corporation. The labor cost in a barrel of cement which sells for \$2.60 is about 50 cts.

—(Save the CALL—with donations)—

AFL SCABBERY

The unpleasant role which the AFL leadership has elected to take becomes more and more obvious. Daily instances of efforts of AFL organizers to grab contracts with employers in order to block CIO organizing efforts are reported in the press. Such actions are even being committed in strike situations, and AFL locals which refuse to seab on CIO strikes are being penalized.

WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

More and more "trials," "purges" and "conspiracies" are ground out by the Stalin political machine, but no trial in itself marks the end of the "reign of fear" which these trials typify. Each trial prepares the ground for wider and more extensive applications of the "extreme penalty" to people who have, for one reason or another fallen out of favor with Stalin.

A new phase has begun in the trials. The first two, particularly the first one, were confined largely to people who at one time or another in the past had been political opponents of the Stalin regime. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Piatakov—all had previously been in factions of the Communist Party which had fought Stalin's faction.

The official "explanation" of how they had become "enemies," "wreckers" and "allies of fascism" was as follows: After years of political opposition, they had given up all hope of winning the party to their point of view thru normal party methods. After each fight with Stalin they emerged weaker, Stalin stronger. Their mass base had been destroyed. They were driven to desperation by the very hopelessness of their cause and had lost all sense of balance. They saw no possibility in winning except in the physical annihilation of their main opponents.

This led to plans for assassination and terror. They saw no possibility of destroying the all-powerful Stalin machine except with the help of outside forces. This led to conspiracies with Germany and Japan for intervention.

In spite of the absence of any sort of objective evidence, this version was accepted by many naive radicals because they wanted to believe that the Soviet Union could do no wrong.

Trials of Military

Now let these same naive radicals try to apply this same "explanation" to the latest purges. Chervakov, for 14 years president of the White Russian Republic; Gamarnik and Tukhachevsky, marshals in the Red Army; Ubovich, Yakir, Eideman and the other generals of the Red Army; these men had never been in any opposition; they had always supported the majority at whose head stood Stalin. Had they been driven desperate by many years of opposition, of isolation, of persecution?

This "explanation" cannot work here. Why should these men, who had everything to lose and nothing to gain by engaging in such conspiracies as they were charged with, have taken these fatal steps? The trials were secret, but we are told that all the executed men confessed. The texts of the confessions have not been published. The men were not represented by counsel, as is permitted in capitalist court martials. No one knows what transpired at the trial. And yet the advanced workers throughout the world are expected to accept the stories out of the Soviet Union as gospel and keep their mouths shut.

In a capitalist country, where mercenary motives surely play a much more powerful role than in the Soviet Union, the disclosure that a military figure had been selling secrets to another country always creates a sensation. Here, in the Soviet Union, the workers' fatherland, more than half of the top military staff are so accused, and we are expected to look upon it as merely the routine functioning of the "Stalinist" state.

Crisis

It is obvious even to a superficial observer that the Russian Revolution is passing thru a terrific crisis. This crisis is not modified by the truth or falsity of the accusations against those executed. (This column is of course, firmly convinced of their falsity). But let those who believe their true demonstrate how it is possible, twenty years after the revolution at the end of the second five year plan which was to establish socialism in Russia, two years after Stalin had declared that classes no longer exist, to find enemies and traitors not among the capitalist and kulaks, but in the very heart of the organizations which are building socialism.

The crisis is not merely internal, but external as well. The capitalist press universally declares that the discovery of "traitors inside the Red Army" makes it necessary to dismiss the Soviet Union as a first class military power. Now they can ignore and scorn the Soviet Union. And they have already proceeded to do so.

International Repercussion

It is noteworthy that in the reconstitution of the international patrol of Spain, Russia was not even consulted. England, France, Germany and Italy settled the matter among themselves. British opinion is now strong for an abandonment of the Soviet Union and a rapprochement with Germany and Italy. If this happens, France will drag along.

Von Neurath and General Ludwig Beck have already visited England and France to build fences for the new alignment. This is the final result of the "brilliant" strategy which was to have isolated the Fascists. Russia will be isolated. The fascists are emerging victorious. Spain will have been sacri-

(Continued on Last Column)

The Elements Of Revolutionary Socialism

By GUS TYLER

1. On Theory

"No coarser insult, no baser aspersion, can be thrown against the workers than the remarks—'Theoretic controversies are only for academicians.' Some time ago Lassalle said:—'Only when science and the workers, these opposite poles of society, become one, will they bureaucratic structure wherein crush in their arms of steel all obstacles to culture.' The entire strength of the modern labor movement rests on theoretic knowledge."

That's the way in which Rosa Luxemburg, way back in the '90s, introduced her arguments for the booklet, "Reform or Revolution." And this introductory remark to a series of articles on revolutionary Socialism is just as necessary today as it was then.

Learning must not remain the property of the wealthy. Theory must not be monopolized by a few "leaders" in the working class movement. Knowledge must be carried into the ranks. And those who would make no effort to do it are not only guilty of "coarse insult" to the workers but are laying the foundation for a

"leaders" merely order and the rank-and-file is expected to follow blindly. And those workers who are loathe to arm themselves with the weapons of learning will find themselves again and again the dupes of false Messiahs. Theory in the ranks can alone end the despairing parade of blind leading the blind.

"As long as theoretic knowledge remains the privilege of a handful of academicians in the party," said Rosa, "the latter will face the danger of going astray. Only when the great mass of workers take the keen and dependable weapons of scientific socialism in their own hands, will all the middle class inclinations, all the opportunist currents come to naught. The movement will then find itself on 'sure and firm ground.'"

2. Time Tells

The forty intervening years have not tarnished a syllable of this statement. The friction with experience has merely polished it off to shine more brightly now than it did then.

For now, forty years later, we can record incident after incident where workers, with full faith in their leadership, organized around revolutionary phrases for class conscious purposes, have been led astray. For now we can record the shameful surrender of that movement in Germany for which Rosa wrote, and whose opportunist trends she early espied, and against which she sought to warn and intellectually arm the workers.

Rosa was unsuccessful. And—strangely—unsuccessful in the midst of success.

At the great congress of the

greatest party of the working class, the resolutions written by the revolutionists were carried. According to convention votes, Rosa and her colleague, Kautsky, won against the opportunists, against those who would destroy the revolutionary objective of the labor movement. Formally, Rosa carried.

But the revolutionists carried—only formally. Actually the opportunists won. The party machinery remained in the hands of men who invariably spoke "left" and acted "right."

3. The Decay

The workers in the ranks still heard the familiar ring of the revolutionary phrase. But in their day by day actions, they were limited only to the struggle for reforms. The social revolution—the society in which the workers would be alto-

gether free, for the wealth of the world would be theirs—was a phrase reserved for high-days and holidays, a sort of Platonic dream.

Those who insisted upon keeping alive the spirit of militant struggle, in preparation for the tough times ahead, for the crises, for the explosions inherent in capitalism, were just "academicians," "theoreticians," intellectual pests, who were constantly annoying the labor movement about thoughts of the future when there was so much to worry about today.

The immediate experience of the workers in Germany did not impel them to take the revolutionary road. Capitalism was then in bloom, expanding, growing, offering jobs, some security, and some hope.

Debilitated by their growingly comfortable environment and intellectually disarmed by those bureaucrats who would keep theory out of the hands of the masses, the great Social-Democracy, collapsed pitifully when the first great crisis of capitalism—war—came, and capitulated disgracefully when the next great crisis

of capitalism—fascism—struck. The workers of America owe a vote of thanks to those who have republished Rosa Luxemburg's work in English.

The American labor movement is quickly solving the problem of "quantity." The next months, just as the past few months, will see new hundreds of thousands added to the organized labor movement. Today, in its pioneer stage, it lacks neither militancy nor idealism.

Tomorrow will bring new problems, the problems of perspectives, of keeping alive the spirit of fight and sacrifice, of preventing internal decay and a political hardening of the arteries. Workers will have to prepare themselves for new and different struggles ahead, against war and fascism and new economic crises.

(Next week, a second article dealing with the "Contradictions of Capitalism," based upon Luxemburg's "Reform or Revolution," will appear in the CALL. The aforementioned booklet can be obtained from the Three Arrows Press, 31 E. 17th St., for 25 cents.)

(Save the CALL—with donations)

JUST IN PASSING

By McAlister Coleman

Martha's Vineyard

It was at Naugatuck that we had lunch and our first blow-out. This establishes some sort of record for our annual hegira to the Vineyard as we usually break down completely around Westport. Altogether things went splendidly as it wasn't until Providence that anyone ran into us.

This was a young man driving another Ford. He only took off our front license plate and part of our bumper and didn't even threaten to start suit, as do most other drivers who run into us. Of course it was pretty hard to hurt us much as we were so tightly packed in that all movement was impossible.

Passing Fall River we remembered that we had forgotten the bath-tub and a spare ice-box, but it was too late to turn back then. Anyway there's always the Atlantic Ocean to bathe in and it's so darn cold up here that we won't need an ice-box until next month when I will probably be asked to drag it up from town on my back.

Not that I'm much good at any of this domestic stuff but someone is always trustful enough to think that some day I'll improve.

Not Kosher

It wouldn't be kosher if we ever got anywhere without enough marching, counter-marching and general confusion to get ten thousand Greeks safely across all of hostile Persia.

It's what always happens when you go away to the country for a good rest. You are so plumb exhausted and nerve-shattered that for days after your tumultuous arrival you just lie around in a darkened room and shudder every time you think of how narrowly you missed hitting that old lady in New Bedford and wonder if you'll ever be the same after the Providence mix-up.

Maybe you've gathered that I don't like long trips in automobiles. Well, I don't like short ones either. I like choo-choo trains and steam-boats and aeroplanes. But I don't like automobiles. People who like to get in one of the hollish things and drive off in all directions all seem to me to be slightly touched.

There are those who drive so fast that your screams are snatched from your palsied lips by the wind of your going. There are those who drive fast in everything but a line of traffic when they crawl along at such a snail's pace that you are in constant danger of being rammed in the rear.

There are those who start off without having the faintest idea as to their whereabouts and are always yelling for directions out of the car window. There are those who think that red lights have something to do with the radical movement and who pass them contemptuously.

Debate Cops

There are those who like to debate with policemen—and who always lose. There are those . . . But you know the rest from the cars you have ridden in, if like me, you are never a driver, but always a worried by-sitter.

At all events here we are and I'm trying to get off these stray thoughts on a typewriter whose space-bar snapped in two in the car on the way up. I can't give you much gossip of the Vineyard as I haven't been out of doors yet. Xerxes, our kitten, who didn't like the trip up any more than I did, is sitting a corner holding paws and being sympathetic.

Xerxes is a good city cat who looks on rural spaces with urban suspicions. Every now and then we can hear a cow in a neighbor's field mooing in a stupid fashion. In our room there is the ominous droning of a bee who has apparently decided to spend the summer with us. We are waiting for the folks to come back from town. They went off in the automobile two hours ago saying they'd be back with food in half an hour. We're having a wonderful time. Wish you was with us.

(Save the CALL—with donations)

Knitgoods Workers Are Organizing

Louis Hornick and Co., notable for the frame-ups and arrests of the officials and workers of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union, which charged that the union was guilty of unlawful methods, has been found guilty of abrogating agreements and refusing to comply with the Wagner Act.

Organization of the knitgoods workers is now in full sway, with close to 2,500 workers on strike throughout the country for union recognition.

(Continued from First Column)

ficed in vain. After having isolated itself from the international proletariat by its alliances with imperialist countries, Russia is now isolated from its erstwhile "friends," the "democratic" countries in which it placed so much faith.

(Save the CALL—with donations)

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE AFL--V.

The Federation in the World War Years

The Conservatives Gain Against the Militants

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

By Lillian Symes

IN the general reaction following the McNamara affair, the A. F. of L. leaders had become more conservative than ever in an effort to redeem their damaged respectability. Leaders of the Federation, particularly Mitchell of the United Mine Workers and Woll of the Photo Engravers became the social buddies of the big industrialists in the National Civic Federation which had been organized to "bring capital and labor together" giving a pre-view of what was to happen on a still larger scale in the post-war era of the New Capitalism and Business Unionism.

In 1912, the Federation voted down two to one, a resolution introduced by the socialist-progressive bloc that "where practical, one organization should have jurisdiction over one industry." But in spite of its official allegiance to old forms, the Federation was forced by the pressure of events and continuous agitation from below, into certain forms of amalgamation which were a denial of its old craft autonomy gospel.

In addition to the industrial unions already functioning within it—such as the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the United Mine Workers, the Brewery Workers, and the new needle trade unions, "departments" such as the metal trades were organized in this period. Glass workers joined with the painters, culinary workers with the bartenders, while agitations for industrial unionism or amalgamation seethed within the molders, the Butchers, the tobacco and cigar workers.

As an answer to the growth of the Wobblies in the Northwest, an attempt was made to form an industrial union of both skilled and unskilled workers in the lumber industry—the Timber Workers' International Union—in 1913. In 1912, a resolution was passed at

the national convention "favoring" the organization of migratory workers. But nothing was done about this. It was merely a verbal victory for the radicals.

These moves toward structural changes and toward organization of the unorganized, were fought by most of the craft union officials and were led by a large vigorous bloc of socialists and labor militants within the Federation. Between 1910 and 1915, this bloc constituted a growing and serious threat to the trade union bureaucracy. Within it were some of the ablest speakers and organizers in the labor and socialist movements. Though many of them were to grow tired, to lapse into inactivity, conservatism or Old Guard opportunism after the World War, their untiring and brilliant fight against the Gompers machine during these years made it the most lively and hopeful period in A.F. of L. history.

Four out of five of the United Mine Workers' vice-presidents were Socialists. Party members represented the Machinists, the Typographical Union, the Brewery Workers, Gompers' Cigar-Makers and a dozen other powerful unions at A.F. of L. conventions.

Together with the avowed socialists were fighting labor militants like the leaders of the Illinois Federation of Labor and unaffiliated radicals from other Federations and unions. They caucused together at Conventions, prepared their own program, presented and defended it in brilliant debate and nominated their own alternative to Gompers' re-election as president.

Conservatism Gains

A. F. of L. conventions during this period served as a stimulating forum for the debate of economic issues and drew a wide outside audience.

In the midst of this period, in 1914, the United Mine Workers' convention passed a resolution favoring a national Labor Party.

By 1916, the Federation conservatives had lightened their ranks, organized a steam-roller technique capable of crushing all opposition, and launched a vigorous counter-offensive against all Federation militants.

They were assisted by objective circumstances. The war in Europe had stimulated American industry while the cutting down of immigration made for a comparative shortage of labor. Wages were rising—as was the cost of living. Also rising, was a wave of patriotic and "preparedness" propaganda of which the Federation politicians did not hesitate to take full advantage, even while expressing their devotion to peace. The war had sundered the international labor movement and weakened the prestige of its more advanced leaders, a fact which reacted against the labor radicals in the United States. Only in the garment unions with their more radical rank and file—mostly for-

sign born—was the socialist leadership unaffected.

In 1914, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, under the leadership of Hillman, had split with the moribund United Garment Workers to form an independent industrial union outside the A.F. of L. and made sensational progress within the next few years. The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, continuing within the Federation, also continued to grow under socialist leadership and by 1920 was the sixth largest union within the Federation.

If the effects of the World War in Europe had strengthened the hands of the Federation conservatives and weakened the influence of the radicals, the entry of the United States into the War practically wiped out the latter. Except for those who capitulated to the war fever and scurried to join hands with Gompers and the Government, the Socialist labor leaders were immediately under a cloud, denounced as traitors, and

Hun-lovers by the labor partisans. The non-socialist militants who had supported them split into pro-war and anti-war camps. The latter group, influenced more by

Irish sympathies than by international solidarity, made no public display of their opposition. The German unionists were, of necessity, reduced to comparative silence.

The War Day

THE federation executives knew that their day had arrived and offered "our services to our country in every field of activity." Under the stress of patriotic emotion, labor shortage, industrial mobilization and unprecedented public and private spending the war period was to be a Capital and Labor honeymoon.

The Federation became the petted child of the Wilson Administration. "In every department of government," wrote Professor Commons, "that employs labor or fixes the price that manufacturers shall charge, there is a leading official of the American Federation of Labor."

Under the National War Labor Board, and in return for its pledge to speed up all processes of production, the Federation received official recognition of collective bargaining; even in such anti-union strongholds as steel and the stock-yards, the basic eight-hour day, a "living wage," etc. Huge war profits made for higher wages. By 1919, the Federation had grown to 3,350,000 members. Many more workers could probably have been organized had a more vigorous drive for membership been carried on.

Though it did not know it at the time, the year which marked its highest membership also marked the beginning of the twilight for the A.F. of L. Fourteen years later, under the impetus of the

NRA, its membership was to swell again almost to war-time proportions, but this later growth was merely to hasten the process of division and disintegration. The basis of that process was laid during the post-war era of the New Capitalism.

Under the stress of war-time demands, mass production in the United States had been geared to higher levels. It was not to be expected that this process would discontinue with the Armistice. Industry had discovered new labor saving devices, new processes of "rationalization," while millions of workers had been removed from production.

When those workers returned, looking for jobs, industry would not—and could not—reverse the tendencies it had set in motion. Those tendencies—toward scientific management, automatic machinery, standardization of products and quantity production, reduced the skilled worker to the status of the unskilled or semi-skilled. Craft unionism faced the alternative of internal revolution or decline.

(Continued next week.)

A Retrospective Analysis Of The Writers' Congress

By GEORGE BAKER

"When the applause died down James Farrell arose and suggested that the Congress conclude its final session by singing the 'International.' This was done." So ends the stenographic report of the first American Writers' Congress held in 1935.

The recent Congress (No. 2) neither began nor ended on such a note; rather it made a desperate effort to squelch anybody who dared even raise any discussion from a revolutionary Socialist point of view. Mr. Joseph Freeman, political commissar of the Congress, had to be reminded when he called for all those who disagreed with the concept of the "People's Front" to get the hell out, that the Call to the Congress specifically stated that principles laid down herein were not to be accepted on pain of "literary excommunication" but were to be open for a full and thorough discussion.

The exclusion of famous writers on obviously political grounds was authoritatively stated by Mr. Freeman to be their opposition to the "United Front." Mr. Freeman had to be politely reminded of the "Social-fascism" days and its transformation into the present period of "Trotsky-fascism." And further more said Mr. Freeman, in high dudgeon, the

Racists won't make any distinction between any of us. So why, popped in Dwight MacDonald does Mr. Freeman? From a literary point of view the Congress accomplished nothing; it raised no point of discussion of a fundamental character. As Mary MacCarthy of the "Na-

tion" put it: All papers were of a "These truths are held to be self evident" nature; most were purely factual, raising neither criticism nor questions of an important nature.

SUPERFICIAL DISCUSSION OF SOVIET LITERATURE

Try as they might, the "impresarios" of the Congress could not avoid all embarrassing questions. For instance, the report on Soviet literature completely skirted fundamental questions; it devoted itself to an enumeration of the millions of copies of Pushkin, etc., published recently. In an atmosphere charged with electricity (and into which the ex-White Guard General, Victor Yakhanoff, had been invited along with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana) four questions were asked of the reporter, Mr. Albert Rhys Williams: What are some of the current books being published in the Soviet Union; will you give a literary analysis of Avdyenko's "I Love"; what has happened to Pokrovsky's books on the history of Russia; why were Trotsky's works on Marxian esthetics removed from the Soviet libraries. Not too innocent questions, to be sure, but questions that might well bear discussion at a Writers' Congress.

Eli Siegel answered by a fervid speech in which his most important point was that he "loved Stalin's style." The General pointed out that there were even greater editions of Pushkin than Mr. Williams had stated; concerning Trotsky, this was a purely political question, as we little boys who had asked the question should surely know. Dana gave things a new twist when he said that Trotsky's book was out of date . . . and further, "it is not in demand." Mr. Williams, imported expert on Soviet Literature, had no answer to the first two literary questions.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS ALL VOTED DOWN

This sounds like a strictly negative report . . . yet there was nothing presented at the Congress to help clarify the present world situation for the writer. It is still to be seen whether Granville Hicks' report really signified the beginning of a serious discussion among writers of the problem of war and fascism and the methods of combating this twin menace of capitalism.

In a speech which seemed to reflect some of the criticism of the Congress which had been raised in a "Craft session" earlier that day (at which he had been chairman) Hicks presented, without solving it, the question of those writers who will refuse to fight for democracy because they think it means defense of special privilege. Actually this should have been the keynote discussion of the entire Congress rather than a final report.

On the basis of such a discussion there might have been a clarification of issues; resolutions of a truly United Front character might have been adopted. As it was, all the resolutions were of a strictly Communist Party orientation . . . with support of every "Peoples Front" organization the Executive Committee could find. To belong to the Congress one must support "the Peoples Front in every country."

Another constructive suggestion voted down was the proposal for a literary magazine to be sponsored by the Congress. Introduced by Sol Fudoff and a group of young Communist poets, a plea was made on the basis of fighting "Trotskyism" on the literary front; for exposing "those" elements in Spain. Even so the Communist Party was afraid; it might be competition for the New Masses; it might have to print material by really important writers like James Farrell and Waldo Frank, merely because they are the outstanding literary figures in America today.

STEWART REPLACES WALDO FRANK

In conclusion, on Frank: officially chairman of the Congress, advertised many weeks ago as a signer to the Call to the Congress and as scheduled speaker, he made the "literary error" of writing a letter to the "New Republic" a few short weeks ago. In his letter he professed his belief in the complete validity of the Moscow trials, but raised the problem of what could be done to convince the great mass of those who were puzzled; he suggested a commission of the Second and Third Internationals.

Mr. Frank was nowhere in evidence, either in body or spirit. In his place as chairman was elected one of America's best paid Hollywood comedians Donald Ogden Stewart, whose concluding remarks were to the effect that we were all tired (and well we were) and we ought to adjourn.

—(Save the CALL—Get Suits!—)

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Court Room Scenes

'Justice' For Illinois Jobless—by Ed Parker

(The following description of the court room scenes was written by Ed Parker, jobless leader, brought to trial on framed charges. It was written while he was in jail.)

New Trial for Ed Parker

CAIRO, Ill.—Exposure by Workers' Defense League lawyers of the presence on a jury of an apparently "planted" town constable last week brought to a dramatic end the first effort of authorities here to convict Edward Parker, organizer for the Illinois Workers' Alliance, and four members of the Alliance, on riot charges growing out of a peaceful demonstration of starving unemployed who in January had saved the town from floods.

Granting the motion of Chief Defense Attorney, Francis Heisler of Chicago, for a mistrial, Judge Darce F. Rumsey announced the case would be called again on the July calendar. Assisting Heisler in the defense was David F. Lansdon of Cairo. Heading the prosecution was State's Attorney M. J. O'Shea.

A week after the trial, Parker was released on bail of \$4,500, executed by the National Surety Corporation. For nearly a month, the officials had refused on various technicalities to free the organizer although the bail had been raised.

Monday morning, May 24, finally arrived—the day of the trial. The big courtroom was filled with 300 or more spectators, seated and standing in the Court. Most of them are friends or members of the IWA, determined to see justice done their organizer. On the bench is His Honor, Judge Darce F. Rumsey, bald and irritable toward the defense, showing his indifference by frequently turning his back on defendant and audience and observing the scene outside the windows.

Near him is State's Attorney O'Shea, a white-thatched and white-suited southern gentleman, sitting with his feet on the Court's rail. His lower lip hangs out loosely, presumably from many years enjoyment of snuff.

Near me are our attorneys, young David V. Lansden of Cairo, who bravely took his entire legal career in his hands by accepting the Court's appointment and defending me, and Francis Heisler of the Chicago Chapter of the Workers' Defense League, veteran of many such trials. (Son Ivan Heisler is here, too, and doing some successful sleuthing, as well as WDL Secretary Marjorie Kipp and LID Secretary Bernard Kirby who gave the disturbing illusion to the local lights of a paid staff assisting the defense.)

Six true bills of indictments have been found against me; one for riot, three for assault with intent to murder, one for unlawful assembly, one for arson and malicious mischief; but only one (for riot) is called by the court. The trial begins. The spectators became quiet and strain their ears to hear the proceedings. Is the prosecution ready? It is. Is the defense ready? No, we wish to present some motions first.

First, "To Discharge the Defendant" on the ground that I was arrested without warrant during a peaceful demonstration at relief headquarters, and that no complaint was signed against me until days after my arrest if at all. The Court scratched its head thoughtfully,

then fearing that maybe there might be something to this business after all, directs the clerk to issue a capias and the sheriff to arrest me all over again right there in the court. The arrest took place then and there with all the ridiculousness of such solemn proceedings.

Second, "To Approve the Bond" so the defendant can be released; well the Court wasn't ready to rule on that yet and if Attorney Heisler is so impotent as to insist on that ruling before presenting his next motion, why he can just be excluded (though not excluded for long).

Third, "To Disqualify Attorney Peyton Berbling" from assisting the prosecution. He is an American Legion lawyer who seems to have no official standing and whose fee, the rumor is, was paid by the county with money otherwise available for relief purposes. Motion also denied.

Fourth, "To Quash the Indictment" because of certain defects in the indictment and because of the illegal manner of selecting the grand jury. Motion denied; the defense shouldn't be so technical.

Fifth, "To Continue the Case" until our most important witness (who have been chased out of town by the "law") can be found. These witnesses are also my co-defendants, Homer Kelly, I. Horn, Willie Jones and Alberta Parker, members of the I.W.A., who are also indicted on the same counts as I am, except for the arson count. Statements are presented to the court signed by Kelly, Horn and Alberta Parker that they are willing to testify for me any time and are kept away from Cairo only because they were jailed and released on condition of leaving town. Motion almost automatically denied.

Is the defense ready? Yes, necessarily so. (By this time, after lunch, the motion on the bond has been denied in its amended form.) The rest of the afternoon is spent selecting the jury, including one shifty-eyed individual by the name of Fred Wagner who insists that he is not employed by the city or county, more particularly in the

police department. Court adjourned. Back to my cell.

Tuesday morning: Court convenes. We tell the judge that when Heisler and Lansden walked up the steps to the courtroom this morning they observed Assistant States' Attorney Berbling talking to one of the jurors. When they objected to such illegal action, Berbling informed them in no uncertain terms that no outside lawyers could tell him what not to do. The Court listens gravely, refuses to take any action.

Trial Held

If His Honor will inspect the county records he will discover that Fred Wagner was duly elected constable in November, 1933, to serve until November, 1937. His Honor remembers the insistent questions directed at Fred Wagner and his answers.

The defense presents a motion for mistrial. Motion granted! The defense moves for continuance. Motion granted for a continuance in general,

that is with the next term of court in July!

Next case, bailiff. We are all amazed at this sudden victory. The prosecution caught with a planted jurymen; its whole case so weak that it uses this excuse for a continuance, not until the next day when a new jury could be chosen, but until July. The word passes around to the spectators as to the meaning of these legal procedures, and smiles break out.

Still in Jail

Again I am removed to my cell. I am still in jail while writing this.

The bond for my release was amended as suggested by the Court—but new irregularities are discovered by the Southern Gentlemen. They are determined to keep me here, but I know the Workers' Defense League is at work and I shall soon be released to continue my work as an organizer. The one thing the prosecution cannot object to is a cash bond. And all workers and friends

of workers are urged to lend immediately to the Workers' Defense League money for this bond.

The Workers' Defense League undertook my defense. The Chicago and Minneapolis Chapters as well as the New York office have raised funds for court fees and other necessary expense. The Chicago chapter has provided legal services, has sent speakers on my case to the Delegate Convention of the Cook County IWA, to mass meetings all over Illinois and Minnesota.

A stinking southern jail is no lovely place to spend a hot summer in, but I can stand that easily if I know that every Comrade and class conscious worker outside is doing at least his bit to put this fight across to a successful wind up and in so doing break open this rotten feudal oppression and let the workers through to take a hand in shaping their own emancipation. Yours for a fight to the finish!

(Save the CALL—with donations)



Beat 'em up first and then jail 'em. That's the way they handle steel strikers in Johnstown, Pa.

(Save the CALL—with donations)

(Save the CALL—Get Subs)



Mayor Daniel J. Shields of Johnstown, Pa., who threatened to organize 3,000 American Legionnaires and others into a police force.

(Save the CALL—with donations)

Horror of Chicago Massacre Of Steel Workers Prevents Exhibition to the Public

ST. LOUIS.—The newsreel record of Chicago's Memorial Day massacre of Republic steel strikers, suppressed by Paramount as likely to provoke riots throughout the country and as too horrible to show to the public, was described in detail in a copyright

story in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, as it was viewed in secret showings before agents of the LaFollette civil liberties committee at Washington.

"Those who saw it were shocked and amazed by scenes showing scores of uniformed policemen firing their revolvers pointblank into a dense crowd of men, women and children, and then pursuing and clubbing the survivors unmercifully as they made frantic efforts to escape," the paper relates. At each showing, additional instances of frightfulness were detected. A typical sequence in the massacre of pickets at Republic Steel's South Chicago plant is described as follows:

"Suddenly without apparent warning, there is a terrific roar of pistol shots, and men in the front ranks of the marchers go down like grass before a scythe. The camera catches approximately a dozen falling simultaneously in a heap. The massive, sustained roar of the police pistols lasts perhaps two or three seconds.

"Instantly, the police charge on the marchers with riot sticks flailing. At the same time, tear-gas grenades are seen sailing into the mass of demonstrators, and clouds of gas rise over them. Most of the crowd is now in flight. The only discernible case of resistance is that of a marcher with a placard on a stick, which he uses in an attempt to fend off a charging policeman. He is successful for only an instant. Then he goes down under a shower of blows.

"In several instances, from two to four policemen are seen beating one man. One strikes him horizontally across the face, using

his club as he would wield a baseball bat. Another crashes it down on top of his head, and still another is whipping him across the back.

(Save the CALL—Get Subs)

"These men try to protect their heads with their arms, but it is only a matter of a second or two until they go down. In one such scene, directly in the foreground, a policeman gives the fallen man a final smash on the head before moving on to the next job.

"A girl, not more than five feet tall, who can hardly weigh more than 100 lbs., is seen going down under a quick blow from a policeman's club, delivered from behind. She gets up, and staggers around. A few moments later, she is shown being shoved into a patrol wagon, blood cascading down her face and spreading over her clothing.

(Save the CALL—with donations)

"A man shot through the back is paralyzed from the waist. Two policemen try to make him stand up to get into a patrol wagon, but when they let him go his legs crumple, and he falls with his face in the dirt, almost under the rear step of the wagon. He moves his head and arms, but his legs are limp. He raises his head like a turtle and claws the ground.

"A man over whose white shirt front the blood is spreading perceptibly is dragged to the side of the road. Two or three policemen bend over and look at him closely. One of them shakes his head, and slips a newspaper under the wounded man's head. There is a plain intimation that he is dying.

(Save the CALL—Get Subs)

MINN. FLP LOSES MAYOR; RETAINS CITY COUNCIL

MINNEAPOLIS.—The Farmer-Labor Party lost the mayor's office in hotly-contested municipal elections but kept control of the city council, retaining 16 seats compared to their opponents' 11.

Gen. George E. Leach, reactionary coalition candidate linked to the open shop Citizens' Alliance, though publicly disavowing it, received 89,764 votes to 71,908 for Kenneth C. Haycraft, Farmer-Labor nominee. In the aldermanic race, the most decisive Farmer-Labor victories were won in the first, third, ninth and tenth wards. Two of three Farmer-Labor judges, W. A. Anderson and J. A. Poirier, were returned to office.

The total city vote fell to 161,672 from its November mark of 221,029. A larger vote could have changed the results materially.

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Case History of Supreme Court Proves it Has Been Consistently Anti-Labor

By EDWARD GROVE

THE recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court sanctioning the right of workers to organize for collective bargaining and to engage in peaceful picketing; upholding a state minimum wage law; permitting Congress to pass old age and unemployment insurance laws; setting aside the Georgia insurrection law under which Angelo Herndon was sentenced to some 20 years on the chain gang, have given the Court's radical critics something of a black eye.

According to the latter's Marxian analysis, the Court, it would seem, did the wrong thing in every one of these decisions; instead of squeezing down the working class and outlawing labor unions and collective bargaining, the Court did the very opposite. From this, many are concluding that the Court has at last taken

cursorry glance into the past history of the Supreme Court can afford to smile at this naive view. It simply does not square with the facts, past and present. Let us look at the leading decisions of the Supreme Court as they have affected the rights of working men and women, before and since the New Deal.

The Court: 1908-1926

CHILD LABOR. Two attempts on the part of Congress to regulate child labor were rejected by the U. S. Supreme Court. The Court held:

(1) Congress may not regulate child labor by keeping its products out of interstate commerce. Child labor is a question for the states only; it cannot be regulated in this indirect manner. (Hammer vs. Dagenhart, 1917.)

(2) Congress may not regulate child labor by taking its products in interstate commerce. (Bailey vs. Drexel Furniture Company, 1922.)

Minimum Wage Laws. The Court held that a law passed by Congress or the states to provide minimum standards of pay for women in industry is unconstitutional. Reason: an interference with workers' liberty and freedom of contract. (Adkins vs. Children's Hospital, 1923.)

Civil Rights and Liberties. Practically every kind of protection which workers need in respect to their civil rights—the right to trial by jury, freedom of assemblage, speech and press; the right of Negroes and Jews to hotel, railroad and theatre accommodations; the right of American citizens to vote—have not been protected by the United States Supreme Court. The cases are too numerous even to mention.

Every time it has come to a showdown in any one of these matters, workers have gone to jail for doing what they thought every American citizen had a right to do, or they have found themselves without any protection from the highest Court. On one flimsy pretext or another, the United States Supreme Court was not able to save Sacco and Vanzetti; Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro boys are still languishing in jail. Anarcho-criminal-syndicalist laws have been upheld in New York (Gittow vs. People, 1925) and California (Whitney vs. California, 1927). Under these laws militant class-conscious workers who,

in their fight for the rights of the working class, express themselves clearly and truthfully on the subject of capitalism and the United States government, are terrorized and sent to prison for long terms. The subject of civil rights thus forms one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Supreme Court.

Collective Bargaining, etc. The Court's labor decisions have bound the American workers hand and foot. It is here where we best see the vicious and reactionary role played by the highest court. Below are the more outstanding of these anti-labor decisions which have annihilated labor's right to organize, strike and picket:

(1) No state may limit the working day of workers in industry. A state law which attempted to forbid employers from working bakers more than ten hours a day was held unconstitutional because it interfered with "freedom of contract." (Lochner vs. New York, 1905.)

(2) An attempt was made to protect workers who joined labor unions from getting fired. The Court threw such laws out. It held that a Federal or a state law which forbids employers to discharge workers who join labor unions is unconstitutional because it deprives employers of their property without due process of law. (Adair vs. United States, 1908; Coppel vs. Kansas, 1914.)

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(3) In another famous case, the Court ruled that yellow-dog contracts — agreements under which workers promised not to join a labor union—which were used to suppress labor unions, are legal. Union organizers who attempted to persuade workers to disregard such contracts and join a labor union may be restrained from carrying on this work by court injunction. (Hitchman Coal & Coke Company vs. Mitchell, 1917.)

(4) The Court's rule on picketing was set forth in the famous American Steel Foundries case. It held that mass picketing is forbidden and illegal, and may be restrained by injunction. Pickets are limited, as the Court declared, "to one representative for each point of ingress and egress in the plant or place of business" (a totally ineffective and useless kind of picketing!). The American Steel Foundries vs. Tri-City Central Trades Council, 1921.)

(5) An attempt to wipe out labor injunctions against workers was also held unconstitutional. The Court said that a state law which forbids the issuance of injunctions to employers against workers, in labor disputes, is unconstitutional because it "deprives the owner of the business and the premises of his property without due process of law." (Truax vs. Corrigan, 1921.)

(6) Organized boycotts undertaken by workers against their employers was held punishable by law. The Court said that members of a labor union who engage in a boycott may be restrained by

court injunction; failure to obey will result in fine or imprisonment. *Gompers vs. Buck Stevedoring Company, 1911.*

(7) Sympathetic walkouts were also prohibited. Workers who engage in sympathetic strikes or secondary boycotts may be restrained by court injunction; failure to obey will result in fine or imprisonment. (Duplex Printing Press Co. vs. Deering, 1920.)

(8) Officers and members of labor unions are liable under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act for treble the damages sustained as the result of an organized boycott. (This is an example of how the Supreme Court went out of its way to enforce a law against workers which was intended to be used against corporations only.) (Loewe vs. Lawler, 1914.)

(9) A labor union itself is liable for treble the damages sustained under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act as a result of an organized strike, the payment to be made from the Union's treasury. (United Mine Workers vs. Coronado Coal Co., 1925.) Under this outrageous decision the Apex Hosiery Company of Philadelphia is now suing the American Federation of Hosiery Workers for \$3,000,000 for damages supposed to have been done during a sit-down strike in its Apex plant!

(10) There is no absolute right of American workers to strike which the Court will recognize. Justice Brandeis has declared, "Neither the common law, nor the Fourteenth Amendment, confers the right to strike." (Doherty vs. Kansas, 1926.)

truth and justice. The bitter experiences of workers with that august tribunal conclusively prove that the Supreme Court knows class justice—one kind for the bosses and another for workers.

The Court has always had one big job which it has performed remarkably well: under the sham and pretense of impartiality it has rendered decisions which have preserved the capitalist system and upheld the robbery and exploitation of Big Business.

Under the guise of interpreting "legal concepts as 'due process of law,' 'equal protection of the laws,' 'freedom of contract,'" the Supreme Court has made big corporations a privileged class with every possible kind of protection, while the same words have failed to provide Negroes with any civil or political rights, failed to grant workers any protection from exploitation, failed to give children a happy childhood and a decent education.

In a word, the Supreme Court has been the legal executive committee of the ruling capitalists class, bound to suppress the efforts of the working class to force a fairer distribution of the products created in industry.

(3) The technique of the Supreme Court for preserving capitalist hegemony has been a simple one: when a law is passed by Congress favorably affecting the working class, it is declared unconstitutional on the ground that it invades the domain of the states; when a state passes the same law, it is invalidated on the grounds that it interferes with freedom of contract, denies due process of law, etc. Thus have the workers of America been given the run-around by the United States Supreme Court.

(4) A judicial oligarchy composed of nine old men must not be permitted to exercise a life-and-death power over the workers and farmers of America. As the first step towards destroying the capitalist system which is the root of all insecurity, unemployment, war and fascism, the power of the Supreme Court to oppress workers must be taken away. The Supreme Court dictatorship must be destroyed!

(Another Installment Will Appear Next Week.)

—(Save the CALL—with donations)—

GENERAL STRIKE IN CELLULOID

By MILT COHEN

NEW YORK—Starting with a meeting of more than 1,000 celluloid and cellophane workers, a General Strike in the industry of more than 12,000 was launched under the direction of Marvin Feldman, Manager of the Button and Novelty Workers Union, Local 132, ILGWU.

"No more shall this industry see wages of \$7 and \$8 a week, and hours ranging as high as 52 and more. Our cardinal demands will be the forty hour week, and a \$15 minimum," announced Feldman.

—(Save the CALL—Get Subs)—

The Supreme Court "Explains" Its Decisions

THE Supreme Court's apologists have always presented us with a finely painted picture of these justices as learned men, pillars of society, impersonal arbiters dispensing justice with equality to rich and poor, propertied and propertyless alike. Do judges make law? Of course not! Do they have any bias or prejudice? Again, no! Do they ever say, "We believe in capitalism and will go miles out of our way to protect the interests of Big Business from any action taken by its workers." Certainly not! According to the judges themselves, their job is to interpret the constitution in accordance with long-recognized principles of justice and equity. They act merely as a mouthpiece to make known the results which

Socialist Analysis of the Supreme Court

TO the words of David Lawrence and his ilk, Socialists have an answer which is best summed up in the word Baloney! Instead they offer an explanation which is consistent with the foregoing cases, one tried and tested in the crucibles of American labor struggles since the beginning of the century:

(1) The inadequate pro-capitalist education which workers in America have received in school, from the capitalist radio, press, and pulpit, etc., has always tended to make them look with awe and re-

spect upon the Supreme Court, to make them accept its dictates unquestioningly, without hesitation or a murmur of protest.

(2) It is an unmitigated falsehood to say that the Supreme Court is an impartial arbiter of

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AMERICAN SOCIALIST QUARTERLY, Vol. 2, No. 3 and No. 4. These numbers are needed to complete files for binding. Other back numbers can also be used. Communicate with Herbert Zam, 21 E. 17th St., New York, N. Y.

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Elegy by Max Ascoli, Professor at the New School for Social Research

Chairman: Dr. Robert Bolaffis

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SPECIAL RATES TO CALL READERS



Maritime Workers on Strike

Marine Workers Pacesetters in CIO Drive to Organize

By John Newton Thurber

The forward swing of marine and waterfront workers during the past week set the pace of labor organization as it marches forward and under the banner of the CIO. From east coast and west coast as well as from the shipyards, comes the word of advancing organization.

The CIO-AFL controversy colored most of these developments, most dramatic of which is the rapidly increasing tie-up of steamships up and down the east coast, as a curtain-raiser for the pending NLRB referendum of unlicensed seamen to decide whether AFL's Seaman's Union or the National Maritime Union, favorable to CIO, shall represent them.

Cause of the trouble was the forcing of eight CIO men from the crew of the liner New York at Boston in the middle of the week. By the end of the week more than a half dozen boats were tied-up in New York harbor, while others were held in other ports. NMU leaders charge the ISU with attempting to sabotage the coming referendum.

SHIPYARDS

Although New York is not a shipbuilding center of such great importance as several other east coast areas, the metropolitan area does have extensive shipyards. It leads the nation in repairing and reconditioning old ships.

CIO's Industrial Union of Marine and Shipyard Workers, led by John Green and Phil Vangelder, Philadelphia Socialist, has closed nearly every shipyard in Brooklyn, Staten Island and on the New Jersey waterfront.

The union, which faced determined "loyal workers" for a few days, is demanding full recognition for collective bargaining from all the companies. Answer of the larger management has been to close shop and decline to bargain.

RYAN

Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association and of the New York City central labor council, avowed hater of the CIO and bulwark in the fight against more effective organization of waterfront workers, apparently sees that his game is up.

Twice this week he conferred with John L. Lewis at Washington. Lewis told them to "Use their own good sense" as to the purpose of the confab.

Washington reporters speculated on the possibility of Lewis and Ryan striking a deal on the east coast situation.

After his conference with Lewis, Ryan said: "I'm interested in getting the best deal I can for the longshoremen." When asked if it was possible that he would affiliate the ILA to the CIO, he replied: "We'll decide that later."

CALL readers will remember that Harry Bridges conferred with Ryan several times during the past winter, and that the Bridges proposal for a Maritime Federation against me to for a considerable arrest if at all, for the scratched its head in

various waterfront crafts. To date, Ryan's jurisdiction over the longshoremen has been virtually unchallenged by either Bridges or the coast Maritime Workers Union, which has aimed its attack on the ISU.

WESTERN FEDERATIONS

Meeting in neighboring halls in Portland, Oregon, last week, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific and the Federation of Woodworkers, rebellious section of the Carpenters Brotherhood, voted to submit the question of CIO affiliation to referenda of their memberships.

The Maritime Federation, embracing 40,000 members declared that member unions "must definitely move to support, in every way possible, the policies and program of the CIO even to the point of direct affiliation."

Harold Pritchett, president of the Woodworkers, declared that his 120,000 members are "as good as in the bag" for the CIO. 40 organizers are to be thrown in the field immediately, concentrating on the logging areas of the Northwest at the outset.

When this plan is completed, the organization may push on to include mill, plywood, box, veneer and furniture workers, and ultimately all wood-handling workers in North America. This ambitious plan reflects the recent visit of John Brophy, executive director of CIO, to the northwest.

AMBRIDGE

Violent physical combat between CIO and AFL workers on a picket line was gleefully portrayed on the front pages of New York tabloids this week, as a result of a clash in front of the National Electric Products Co. in Ambridge, Pa.

The plant had been struck by CIO's United Electric and Radio Workers. After the police had intervened with tear gas, Burgess P. J. Caul, a member of AFL's

Plasterers Union, halted the shooting.

Doubt as to the authenticity of the "loyal workers" who were attempting to crash the picket lines with signs proclaiming membership in AFL's Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was expressed by the Ambridge CIO organizer after the fray. Burgess Caul joined in this, declaring that not one of the 50 "back to work men" were from Ambridge, and stated that those who were questioned in the hospital after the battle admitted that they were imported to break the strike.

AFL's IBEW has not hesitated to close contracts in order to forestall the advance of the UE and RW. It is certainly to be hoped that this first outbreak of violence in the east was not connived at by AFL leaders. It most certainly illustrates the possibility of various elements using the AFL-CIO strife as a means of injecting strikebreakers on the scene under an attempted respectable guise.

AFL SOLIDARITY

Not all the developments of the

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week were toward the CIO. Several voices sounded off for the AFL, from places where any other report would have been little short of revolutionary.

While CIO was constructing new central bodies for the industrial unionists of Duluth, Minn., Los Angeles, Calif., and elsewhere, in the wake of the execution of AFL's expulsion order, the New York Central Trade and Labor Council ratified the action of its executive board in dropping 46 CIO locals through steamroller tactics which included throwing one delegate from the meeting for his opposition.

After hearing a series of addresses denouncing the CIO, the New Jersey State Council of Carpenters voted solidarity with William Green and the AFL.

In response to a telegram from the San Francisco local urging CIO-AFL peace, the Federation of Musicians, meeting in Louisville, voted 532 to 1 for continued allegiance to the AFL.

The Musician's vote came after James Petrillo, Chicago, president of the AFM (who rides in a heavily armored car) and C.A. Weaver, Des Moines attorney, ex-professional bassoon player and one of the vice-presidents, had attacked CIO and John L. Lewis bitterly. Weaver declared that Lewis is "as ambitious as Julius Caesar, as autocratic as Louis XIV and as ruthless as death."

KENOSHA

A formula for avoiding a breach of CIO and AFL locals in Kenosha was reached there last week, when it was decided to petition the AFL for exemption from the expulsion order.

If this is denied, a CIO central body will also be established, but the two will continue to meet together, according to announced plans.

IOWA

Resounding answer to the expulsion order was given by the

Handbook of Socialists For 1937 Published

The Socialist Handbook for 1937, containing the major decisions of the party's special convention in Chicago, March 26-29, has been placed on sale at 15 cents a copy.

Appended to the book is the new constitution of the party, which was adopted at the close of the Chicago convention.

The party's declaration of principles, reproduced in the booklet, is a concise pronouncement of Socialist philosophy and of the party's immediate and ultimate programs.

The resolutions cover, among other things, such matters as party unity, the so-called People's and United Fronts, Spain and the much criticized resolution in full on the AFL-CIO issue.

It will be worth reading, it is pointed out, to anyone interested in the present ferment among workers, regardless of the reader's personal philosophy or political leanings, because it gives at least a bird's eye view of problems that are uppermost in the public mind today.

Iowa Federation of Labor convention, meeting at Sioux City, when it voted 349 to 3 to reject J. S. Lewis, president of the federation, in a fiery address, declared: "Judas betrayed Christ and Benedict Arnold his country, but neither will stand out like Bill Green if he wrecks the labor movement."

DESERTION, DELIBERATION AND DEFIANCE

Other desertions from the ranks of the AFL during the week included the Doll and Toy Workers Union, having over 2000 members, and more locals of the Retail Clerks, the bulk of whom have already deserted the AFL, fold in New York.

Pending the annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers, all locals of the union are being polled to find their attitude on the question of CIO affiliation. No action is expected to be taken until the convention meets.

Adding its voice to the Brewery Workers, 53,000 New York Building Service Employees have refused to pay the one cent a month special assessment to the AFL warchest.

GOMPERS

Among those expelled by the AFL in its recent purge of Government Employees in Washington was Samuel Gompers, son of the late head of the AFL. Gompers, 50 years an employe of the Department of Labor, was urged by the AFL to desert the suspended and expelled locals which are negotiating with the CIO and join its new chartered local.

He refused the AFL overtures, declaring that "My father was opposed to dual unionism."

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GERMAN Branch. Meets second Tuesday of each month during summer. Yorkville Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. G. Hoffman, Organizer.

BRONX

2ND A.D. meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 1401 Jerome Ave. Sophie E. Nelson, secretary.

8TH A.D. Meets every Wed. 7 West Burnside Ave. (near Jerome) Rm. 20. Lester Lermond, Sec'y.

AMALGAMATED, Upper 8th A.D. meets every Tuesday. Inquire L. M. Reich, 100 Van Cortland Pk. So. Apt. C 44.

BROOKLYN

DOWNTOWN KINGS. Regular meetings every Thursday at 8 P. M., 42 Smith Street. A. Walsh, Sec'y, 140 Warren Street. John Timm, Organizer.

BORO PARK BRANCH, 4914 New Utrecht Ave. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8:00 P. M. Edith Feferholtz Sec'y.

LONG ISLAND

SUNNYSIDE. Meets 2nd & 4th Wed. at 3908 48th St., Sunnyside, L. I. Emily Oxhandler, Secretary.

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CURTAIN CALLS

Revivals which should be of interest to CALL readers start this week at the Cinema de Paris on lower Fifth Ave. Scheduled are the Soviet hit "Beethoven Concerto" and the Gallic "L'Ordinance." . . . For the past week and continuing indefinitely at the World Theatre is the much discussed compilation of newsreels "Tsar to Lenin." All the dialogue is by Max Eastman. . . . The annual opening of the series of Stadium concerts by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra will begin June 22 at 8:30 in the evening. . . . Movie-goers who are discriminating in their tastes and have a preference for foreign pictures can see them in their own neighborhoods as second runs. The Astor Theatre in Brooklyn and the Ascot in the Bronx are two such theatres to satisfy such cinematic tastes. . . . In process of preparation for the screen is the thickly successful novel "Gone With the Wind." . . . Some day the higher priced houses on Broadway will recognize that the SOCIALIST CALL controls an intelligent patronage and the moguls will begin to send passes to the Call Theatre Editors.

Tamara



Who sings her original role in Fortune Gallo's presentation of the Shubert production of "Roberta," opening the operetta season at the Jones Beach Stadium Saturday night, June 26. Miss Tamara again sings the famous "Smoke Gets In Your Eyes" song.

'The Thirteen', Soviet Film at the Cameo

By Nathan Levine

"THE THIRTEEN," produced by Mosfilm, U.S.S.R.; directed by Mikhail Romm, with Ivan Novocoltsev, Helen Kurima and Andrei Doinin; at the Cameo.

The Soviet cinema has again reached new heights with its latest American release, "The Thirteen." Here is a film whose power is in its simplicity; whose people are utterly and intensely real; whose photography is a lyrical triumph, the like of which is rare on the American screen.

Theatre Guild To Star Silvia Sidney In Ben Hecht Play

Sylvia Sidney, Walter Wanger star, has been borrowed by the Theatre Guild, it was announced, for her first return to the New York stage since she left it seven years ago. Miss Sidney will star in "To Quito and Back," a Ben Hecht play which will inaugurate the Guild's twentieth season. Her leading man will be Leslie Banks, English actor who scored here several seasons ago in "Springtime for Henry."

Miss Sydney, who is at present engaged as co-star with Joel McCrea in Samuel Goldwyn's picturization of "Dead End," will head for New York when this film and another picture assignment are completed. Her theatrical rehearsals will begin August 31, with the premiere of the play set for October 11.

(Save the CALL—with donations)

Seven New Scripts Issued By the N.Y.A.

Seven plays, marionette and radio scripts based on the activities of the National Youth Administration and written by playwrights in the Play Bureau of the WPA Federal Theatre Project will be released this week to state directors of the N.Y.A. and to amateur dramatic groups throughout the country for production on a non-royalty basis.

The National Youth Administration was the first federal project to be selected for "humanizing" through dramatic treatment by the Play Bureau. Given access to the Governmental files, the WPA playwrights discovered a wealth of incident, plot and character suitable for the projected scripts.

The seven plays, complete with diagrams of simple stage sets and lighting plans that will be offered to amateur groups, are "The Wildcats," a play dealing with the cellar clubs of large cities; "Lifting the Bushel," "N.Y.A.," "Lost Generation."

EXTRAORDINARY CONCERT OF CHORAL MUSIC 150 Voices of the AMERICAN MUSIC LEAGUE Stuyvesant High School (1st Ave. and 15th St.) THURSDAY, JUNE 24, 8:30 P. M. Subscription—25c

It happened ten years ago, when across the hot desert wastes of Central Asia travelled ten Red Army men, their commander, his wife and an old geologist. Coming upon an old oasis, they discover in the well a number of foreign machine guns and only a slow dripping sliver of a once abundant supply of water. They had stumbled upon an old water hole of a band of Basmachi (desert bandits), for whom the Red Army in that area had been searching unsuccessfully during the last year.

Knowing that the band will return soon for water, of which there is very little, the thirteen prepare to keep the Basmachi at the oasis until the regular army unit can be summoned by messenger. When the desert gang arrives, its leader meets with the commander but both sides cannot agree to terms and there follows a long and terrible sniping encounter in which the thirteen are slowly decimated.

"The Thirteen" is splendidly written, acted, directed and photographed. Only such perfect coordination could produce a film of such unpretentious magnificence. "The Thirteen" is a work of art; it should not be missed.

(Save the CALL—with donations)

Season of Stadium Concerts Begun

All tables were sold for the opening of the Stadium Concerts' 20th Anniversary Season last Wednesday night. Five hundred extra seats were especially reserved, however, within the enclosure facing the stage.

(Save the CALL—with donations)

(Save the CALL—Get Subs)

SPANISH FIESTA and CARNIVAL Under the Stars Sat. Night, June 26, 1937 HECKSCHER FOUNDATION, 1 E. 104th St., N.Y.C. TORRES and His Swingcoping Caballeros Sponsored by DEPARTMENT STORE EMPLOYEES' UNION LOCAL 1250, CIO Tickets on Sale at 80 E. 11th St., N.Y.C., Room 238 Advance admission, 50c Admission at door, 40c PART PROCEEDS FOR SPAIN

An Open Letter to Socialists From the National Secretary

By ROY BURT

In acting to put the new Party constitution and organization set up into effect at once by a nation-wide registration of Party membership June 1st to July 15th the National Executive Committee counts upon the whole hearted loyalty and cooperation of every Party member and every section of the organization state and locally. If the Party is to get any benefit from the new emphasis in Socialist Party work, declared by the Special 1937 National Convention to be disciplined and planned work in the mass organizations, the Party, state, nationally and locally must know exactly who and what the Party forces are.

A Three Way Check

As will be seen by reading the directives sent to branches and locals the registration is meant to put the complete census of Party strength and its distribution through the labor movement in the hands of the local, the state and the national organization.

At the same time the registration will counteract the summer slump in dues payments to the national office and in support to the Party press. If the decisions of the 1937 National Convention are to be carried out it is precisely the support of the national office and of the Party press which must be strengthened at this time.

No Napping

There is a real danger to the Socialist Movement at the present time, which may be disastrously weakened from two points. First there is an appearance of return of prosperity which in spite of unemployment and other factors is lulling many people including Socialist sympathizers and some members into a feeling that capitalist crisis is very remote and far away. This same false sense in the years before 1929 resulted in a steady loss of interest and decline in membership of the Socialist Party.

Second there is an unparalleled forward movement of the mass organization of workers due to the C.I.O. Altho' contrary to the steady decline of the trade unions in the pre-1929 years, there is a tendency for the Party organization to be stripped of every available organizer and leader as they are conscripted for trade union work and unless Party work is emphasized this trade union ad-

vance will not be matched by the spread of Socialists influence, resulting in immense confusion and loss to Socialism's cause when the next crisis of capitalist society due to either war or economic collapse, occurs.

Now is the time to hold Party lines and advance them wherever possible. This purpose can be served by the national party registration. The responsibility goes down to the last local and branch, to the very last member of the Socialist Party. Bring Every Present Member into good standing—recruit at least five new members to every local or local branch!

Craven Retreat Or Advance?

If the workers and peasants of Spain fall back and retreat, give ground to Socialism's enemies, it is at least only because they are faced by overwhelming superior force, nationally and internationally. The Socialist Party of the U. S. A. will have no excuse for retreat except internal weakness, disloyalty or downright cowardice. COMRADES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY LET US PLAY AN HONORABLE SOCIALIST PART. LET US MAKE A FORCED MARCH TO KEEP IN STEP WITH THE GENERAL WORKING CLASS ADVANCE! LET US PUT THIS REGISTRATION OVER BY JULY AND PLACE ON THE ROLLS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY 15,000 MEMBERS WITHOUT A DOUBTER OR DESERTER AMONG THEM BY THE END OF THIS REGISTRATION. INDIANA AND MINNESOTA LEAD OFF IN RACE

Indiana and Minnesota share the honors of being the first states from which locals reported on the registration drive. From Indiana Locals Elkhart and Columbus nosed in the lead while from Minnesota, it was the Minneapolis Local which beat the rest to the draw. What about St. Paul says the National Office registrar? What about the other 46 states in fact?

(Save the CALL—Get Subs)

'The Road Back' Is Caricature of Remarque Book

Barring certain superficial defects, "All Quiet on the Western Front" made a fine and memorable movie because it had the advantages of a concise script, good direction and inspired acting. It was effective because it was able to present a dramatic condemnation of the insane horrors of war through the eyes of a central character, Paul Baumer. Erich Maria Remarque's sequel to All Quiet, "The Road Back" is a poignant chronicle of the efforts of ex-soldiers, physically and mentally maimed by the great war, to orientate themselves to another, perhaps more baffling turbulence, the turbulence of post-war "peace."

On the screen, "The Road Back" is a riot of ineptitudes, a promiscuous caricature of an important theme. It destroys whatever brief flashes it does have by an entirely disproportionate amount of foolery and plain foolishness. There are times when "The Road Back" is pure, unrelated comedy.

(Save the CALL—with donations)

'Another Dawn' at Music Hall

Kay Francis and Errol Flynn in "Another Dawn," a romantic adventure film involving a group of British officers and their wives garrisoned on the Iraq desert, opened at the Radio City Music Hall, Thursday, June 17.

The film, an original screen play by Laird Doyle, is played by a supporting cast that includes Ian Hunter, Frieda Inescort, Herbert Mundin, G. P. Huntley, Jr., Billy Bevan, Clyde Cook, Richard Powell, Kenneth Hunter and Mary Forbes.

A Warner Bros. production, "Another Dawn" was directed by William Dieterle who has made such pictures as "The Story of Louis Pasteur" and Miss Francis' "The White Angel." The musical background of the film was composed for the picture.

THEATRE PARTIES

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

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AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

THIS is the time to emphasize that the basic responsibility for the confusion, disorder, monetary loss and bloodshed of the strike rests with the independent steel corporations. It is due to the refusal of these corporations to put in writing and sign a collective agreement which most of them profess to be willing to negotiate. Even a child knows that in a matter as complicated as a collective agreement in a great steel mill nothing can be clear or binding which is not reduced to writing.

own house against racketeers and establish genuine internal democracy and protection for the right of its members against arbitrary dictation within the union. Much of the opposition to the closed shop, sometimes even among workers, would disappear with this guarantee of democracy.

In this connection I want to congratulate the progressive elements of Local 16 of the Hotel, Restaurant & Cafeteria Employees' Union on their notable victory in New York City.

—(Save the CALL—with donations)—
THE SHOE WORKERS STRIKE IN MAINE

That shoe workers' strike in the Lewiston-Auburn area in Maine has been lost sight of considerably in the excitement of the steel strike. It has been going on since March 24th and in spite of the fact that Powers Hapgood and six other leaders were sent to jail, the strike is going to win.

I was immensely impressed by the spirit, intelligence and organization of the workers. Already many factories have signed up and probably there will be an election in most of the rest which the workers will win.

Meanwhile Hapgood and the organizers, except Ernest Henry, are in good health and spirit. Henry who is suffering from an advanced stage of tuberculosis was kept three weeks in a dark, ill ventilated jail with the other men. Late at night after their cells were locked he, by himself, had a terrible paroxysm and hemorrhage which his comrades could see and hear but not help. This carelessness, this exposure of men in jail to the infection of tuberculosis is inexcusable and is the kind of thing that continually happens.

The injunction under which these men are in jail sets one of the worst precedents imaginable.

—(Save the CALL—with donations)—
ON A FARMER LABOR PARTY

I notice that my friend, Robert Oliver, organizer for the oil workers connected with the C.I.O., warns the L.I.D. Conference that we must expect a severe Fascist reaction, particularly against the C.I.O. John Bosch, the able and forward looking president of the Minnesota Farmers Holiday Association, told the convention: "It would be ten times easier to organize the farmers against labor today than for labor." He urged a national conference of farmer-labor and allied groups to determine community of interests and to work for a farmer-labor party.

Now these warnings of reaction are thoroughly well grounded. They must be expected in the nature of our present society. Labor cannot and should not avoid such reaction by minimizing or refusing to press its just demands.

But there are some things that labor can do to weaken that reaction and to cut the ground from under it on the part of considerable sections of the middle class. Three such steps are obvious: (1) Disciplined conduct of unions and of strikes which will prevent a serious aggravation of public opinion by strikes suddenly called by comparatively small groups without union sanction; (2) an absolute end of jurisdictional quarrels between different unions—such quarrels as now are tying up certain shipping in New York.

In the short time that I have been home I have come across instance after instance where the A.F. of L. unions are playing a role scarcely to be distinguished from company unions, a role of actual strike breakers in some cases in their struggle against the C.I.O.

This is a disgrace to labor which I cannot believe that the rank and file of A.F. of L. members will want to tolerate.

Finally, labor should clean its

Defense League and the American Civil Liberties Union are actively cooperating now with the union.

—(Save the CALL—with donations)—
DEMANDS WORKERS' RIGHTS IN SPAIN

Every government, especially a government engaged in civil and foreign war, has a right and a duty to seek out spies, traitors, and fascists. Of course, the Spanish government has this right and duty.

But the recent wholesale arrests in Barcelona and Madrid, including leaders of the POUM and Anarchists, looks like the old wicked device of a smoke-screen behind which the government consolidates its new position to the right.

The general position of the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party on Spain is entirely consistent with

indeed it demands—the protection of the workers' civil liberties. We want no more party dictatorships or reigns of terror in the name of opposition to fascism.

But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the fall of Bilbao demands more than ever that public opinion be rallied to the struggle against Franco. The effect of the fall of Bilbao in strengthening the fascists in Europe and the Tories in Britain may be most serious. Nevertheless without fascist Germany and Italy and the Tory governing class in Britain and the aid they gave him Franco can never win.

SEEKS DEMOCRACY IN U.S.S.R.

The successful flight of three gallant Russian aviators from Mos-

cow to Vancouver, Washington, is a magnificent achievement. It is symbolic, I think, of the best of the energy and courage and capacity of Russian life. It is a thing that warrants us in our great hope for Russia and for socialism in Russia despite the continuing news of the reign of the terror. More than ever I believe that that reign of terror, plots, fear of plots, counterplots, repression, is born of a continued attempt to rule a great country under a small party dictatorship or bureaucracy. The inevitable consequence of that sort of thing, historically has been told, and so it always will be. Socialism as a condition of its health must find ways increasingly consistent with genuine democracy, and increasingly free from party dictatorship to carry on any government which falls in its power.

Circumstances compelled the writing of this column early Monday morning when insufficient information was at hand to permit intelligent comment on the fall of the Blum cabinet or on certain developments in the steel areas of Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Workers' Defense League Leads Protest Against Robinson As Supreme Court Judge

Appointment of Senator Joseph T. Robinson to the Supreme Court would be "a blow to every movement for social justice in America," according to a joint letter to President Roosevelt signed by 60 well-known labor leaders, ministers, educators, attorneys and writers made public yesterday by the Workers' Defense League, 112 E. 19th St.

David L. Clendenin, Treasurer of the Workers' Defense League said in making the letter public:

"The Workers' Defense League is the official defense agency for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union which has about 25,000 members in Arkansas. Our lawyers and investigators know how futile it has been to hope for aid from Senator Robinson in abating planter terrorism in his own state."

Excerpts from the letter follow: It is difficult to believe reports from Washington which accept as a forgone conclusion your appointment of Senator Joseph T. Robinson to the Supreme Court.

By general agreement, it seems that Senator Robinson's only claim to a place in the Supreme Court is political. He is to be rewarded for long years of service—not to the nation, but to the Democratic Party. A lengthy legislative career does not necessarily qualify a man for the Supreme Court; a long legislative career notable solely for its blind adherence to shifting party demands, is even less qualification. Indeed an appointment under such circumstances would fall into the same classification as rewarding efficient ward heelers with political jobs.

In America today, the State of Arkansas is the focus of one of our foulest economic sores—the problem of the sharecropper and the tenant farmer. The cotton fields of Eastern Arkansas have produced brutal terrorism, poverty and social degradation which have made Americans cry out in protest. For thirty-four years, Joseph T. Robinson has served the State of Arkansas as representative, Governor, and Senator. Not once, in all this time, have conditions in his native state prompted him to attempt a solution. His twenty-four year record in the United States Senate does not even indicate an adequate appreciation of the problem.

We submit that there is little in Senator Robinson's background or record that qualifies him to pass on these questions.

Workers' Alliance Convention Maps Program to Aid WPAers

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Facing a layoff of 427,000 WPA workers by July 15, the Third Annual National Convention of the Workers' Alliance of America opened at Plankinton Hall, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 22. About 1,000 delegates attended, representing some 800,000 unemployed and WPA workers in 45 states. About 80 per cent of the delegates are WPA workers.

The four day convention met to work up its program, policies, and tactics on relief and WPA, and to elect officers for the coming year.

According to David Lasser, National President of the Alliance, who presided at the convention, one of the important questions of discussion was the method by which to defeat the pending WPA cuts and to carry on the campaign of the Alliance for expansion of the WPA program and for a 20 per cent increase in monthly wages.

Swing Labor
 Other important items on the agenda were a survey of the struggles of organized labor, first with regard to the many strikes now being carried on, and second with regard to the split between the AFL and CIO.

Orders have been out to the two thousand affiliated groups of the Alliance calling for an immediate campaign to defeat the layoff of 427,000 WPA workers scheduled between now and July 15. Declaring that additional layoffs are expected after July 15, to make a total of over 700,000 by October 15, Lasser stated that

this supreme crisis for the whole WPA program must be met vigorously. He urged the calling of special membership meetings, the flooding of all projects with leaflets warning the WPA workers of the pending cuts, and the registration and mobilization of all discharged workers.

—(Save the CALL—Get Subs)—

THOMAS ROUSES MAINE STRIKERS

LEWISTON, Maine.—Norman Thomas, national chairman of the Socialist Party, was in Lewiston, Maine, from New York City this week. It is here that Powers Hapgood, leader of the two-month old strike of the United Shoe Workers of America, in the Androscoggin County Jail, confined for violation of an injunction issued against the strikers.

In the afternoon, Thomas addressed a mass meeting of the strikers, speaking as a member of the national committee of the Workers' Defense League, of which Hapgood is also a member.

—(Save the CALL—with donations)—



Tom Girdler, head of Republic Steel, leader of the brutal fight against the steel workers.

The refusal to reduce an agreement to writing is another example of the anti-social nature of these corporations.

—(Save the CALL—with donations)—
ON A FARMER LABOR PARTY

I notice that my friend, Robert Oliver, organizer for the oil workers connected with the C.I.O., warns the L.I.D. Conference that we must expect a severe Fascist reaction, particularly against the C.I.O. John Bosch, the able and forward looking president of the Minnesota Farmers Holiday Association, told the convention: "It would be ten times easier to organize the farmers against labor today than for labor." He urged a national conference of farmer-labor and allied groups to determine community of interests and to work for a farmer-labor party.

Now these warnings of reaction are thoroughly well grounded. They must be expected in the nature of our present society. Labor cannot and should not avoid such reaction by minimizing or refusing to press its just demands.

But there are some things that labor can do to weaken that reaction and to cut the ground from under it on the part of considerable sections of the middle class. Three such steps are obvious: (1) Disciplined conduct of unions and of strikes which will prevent a serious aggravation of public opinion by strikes suddenly called by comparatively small groups without union sanction; (2) an absolute end of jurisdictional quarrels between different unions—such quarrels as now are tying up certain shipping in New York.

In the short time that I have been home I have come across instance after instance where the A.F. of L. unions are playing a role scarcely to be distinguished from company unions, a role of actual strike breakers in some cases in their struggle against the C.I.O.

This is a disgrace to labor which I cannot believe that the rank and file of A.F. of L. members will want to tolerate.

Finally, labor should clean its



POWERS HAPGOOD

It must be carried to a higher court, and if the higher court sustains this kind of injunction, the law must be changed. It is an outrageous thing that just because the Supreme Court of Maine is on vacation and because there economic and other pressure has been used upon lawyers in Maine to keep them from helping labor, these organizers have had to sit in jail with no bright hope of any sort of review of their case within their six-months term.

One of the prisoners is himself a lawyer whose offense seems to be that he publicly advised his clients that he did not think Judge Manser's injunction valid.

There's a precedent for you! Manser himself is alleged to have told a Boston paper that the men could purge themselves and come out by apologizing, getting out of Maine, and stopping the strike. If so, there is judicial tyranny for you. It is not too late for action and I rejoice that the Workers'

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