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BOSSSES TURN VIOLENCE AGAINST ALUMINUM, AUTO AGRICULTURAL UNIONS

PLANTERS RAID FARMERS' HUTS TO BEAT WOMEN

WASHINGTON, — (FP) — Louisiana planters bow to no one in their technique of union busting, affidavits presented to the Senate civil liberties committee here show.

Signed by three Louisiana members of the Farmers Union, the affidavits tell how a crowd of wealthy planters ransacked the home of William Scott, president of the West Feliciana Parish local, invaded his home with the intent to kill him, and beat his wife with pistol butts until she was unconscious. Members of the committee said they might investigate the situation.

The affidavit of Irene Scott, wife of the union president, read, "Last Thursday night (June 24) Willie left the house and went to a brother's house to get some corn. I was alone and pretty soon I heard a big crowd of men come stamping up on the front porch. They were yelling at me to let them in.

"They were yelling that they wanted Willie and the white organizer of the union who had been there the day before. They said 'We want Willie. We got a line to hang him and that white man.' I told them Willie wasn't home.

"So they took an ax and broke down the door of the hings and come at me and cursed me and hollered at me and said, 'We're going to kill you if you don't tell us where Willie Scott and that god damned white union organizer is.' But I wouldn't tell them nothing so Mr. Tom Woods had a pistol and he took it and knocked me over the head with it. Mr. Tom is a big landowner and owns a big store in Wey-anoke.

"Then Mr. Frank Percy said, 'Don't beat her up with that pistol too much because than we won't be able to find out where they're at.' Mr. Frank Percy owns a big cattle farm and a gin. But Mr. Tom cursed and hit me again and knocked me out of my senses. Than they went out on the front and was grumbling and mumbling to themselves. They were all white men, 15 altogether I counted, and all of them were well-to-do farmers and against the union. I couldn't hear much about what they were talking about but they was saying something about 'breaking up that god damned union.'"

CIVIL WAR IN ALCOA



Alcoa Bears Mark Of Andy Mellon's Anti-Labor Thugs

by Francis Bentham

ALCOA, Tenn.—The name of this town is Alcoa. It's short for ALuminum COmpany of America.

The name should give some indication as to the kind of place it is. It's a company town from the name down to the giant aluminum plant of Andy Mellon.

And this week, Alcoa is the name of a battlefield and a cemetery, where the Aluminum Company of America is sending out its hirelings to mow down members of the Aluminum Workers' Union who are striking for a basic hourly wage of 60 cents an hour.

That's what they get up North—60 cents. Down here it is only 45.

Company Starts Violence

When workers formed their picket lines, a company truck attempted to crash through. The truck was loaded—with guns. Had the truck broken through, the company plant would have been transformed into an armed fortress pouring hot lead into the ranks of these workers.

company guards saw the truck stopped, they opened fire on the strikers. So anxious were they to shoot and so clumsy were they in their shooting that in addition to killing one striker and wounding nearly two dozen more they caught some of their own men in their cross-fire.

The violence was all one sided. The workers were completely unarmed. The fighting was tragicomic. The company guards must have been picked up out of the gutters to do their dirty work. They handled their guns with clumsy clownishness, swinging small pistols with two hands, hitting everything and nothing.

Strikers cowered behind autos and posts. The union, which is an AFL affiliate, has 85 per cent of the plant's 3,000 workers. The strike-breakers are imported. The local people refuse to scab.

Thugs Pose As "Loyal" Ford Men

DETROIT, Mich. — "We are hired temporarily to take care of these union men who distribute pamphlets," grumbled one of Ford's gangsters to Arnold Freeman, staff photographer of the Detroit Times, it was established at a hearing of the National Labor Relation's Board.

The "tough" who let the cat out of the bag was recognized by Freeman as one who had been mixed up in a hold-up case.

When Freeman asked whether the "down-river gang" was on hand, the Ford thug replied:

"Yes. That's the chief over there. Take his picture. You

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Alcoa Deputy in Action

Lewis Hits Green's Words as "Drooling From Lips of Traitor"

WASHINGTON, D. C.—John L. Lewis, Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, ripped into William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, in answer to Green's statement on the steel strike, in what was the most heated interchange which has passed between the rival leaders since the open breach between the two organizations.

Briefly Lewis said Green's remarks are the "droolings from the pink lips of a traitor."

In a more elaborate statement, Haywood Brown and Jonathan Kelly of the Newspaper Guild, CIO affiliate, assailed Green as "a successor to Benedict Arnold." Chafing at the action of the AFL in trying to break the Guild's strike against the Seattle Star, the Guild statement said:

"Somewhere beyond the River Styx Benedict Arnold is preparing to announce his own retirement as he clips his hands and proudly shouts: 'Gangway for William Green!'"

"At the very moment that his brethren in the AFL are lying dead or dying outside the walls of Mellon's aluminum plant in Alcoa, President Green sits back and prattles about labor violence." Thus, Green joins with Gladdier in encouraging the vigilante movement which is the American equivalent of nazism."

Green's Statement

Green's statement, which aroused this outcry, accused the CIO of doing untold damage to the American labor movement. "No hostile employer in America has done the cause of organized labor more harm than those who formulated, executed and administered the policies of the CIO

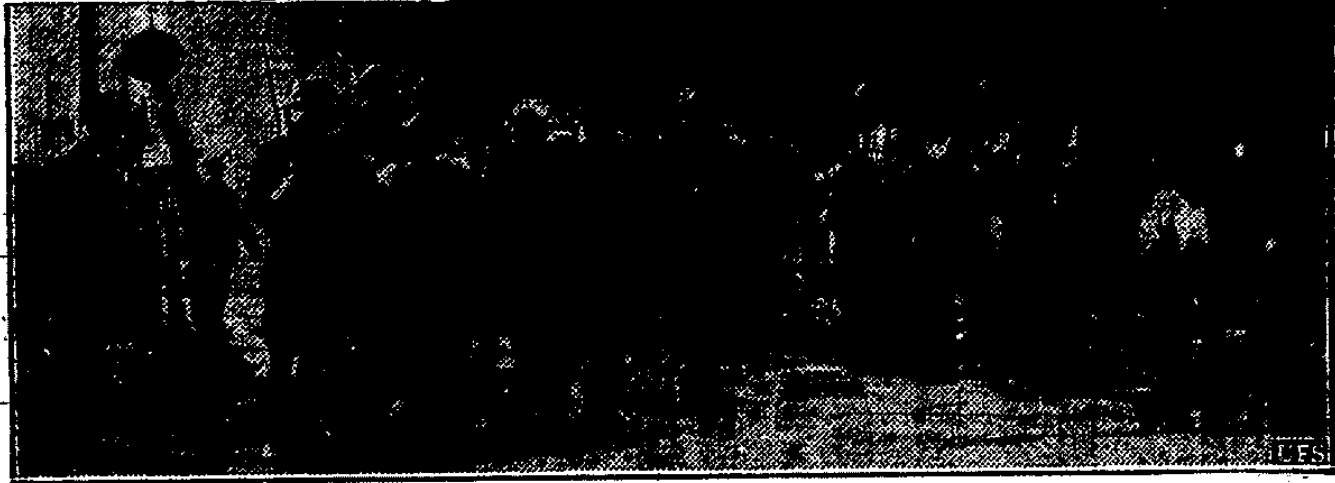
during the past 18 months," Green declared. His statement gloated over what he declares is the failure of CIO's strike against little steel.

"It now becomes certain that the steel strikes at Chicago, Cleveland, Johnstown, Youngstown, Canton and other cities are lost," Green said. "That means that the CIO failed to meet its first major test successfully. The strikes exacted their toll in human life and human suffering. No one can correctly measure the extent of the distress which individuals and whole communities have suffered and will suffer."

"CIO a Failure"

"The hosts of labor are truly sorry because of the failure of the costly experiment and its tragic outcome," Green continued. "They regret that thousands of workers were persuaded to sacrifice themselves as victims of ill-advised and untimely strikes. Resentment and disappointment among these workers is bound to follow."

It was the contention of Green that "as a result of the creation of hostile public opinion against the CIO, the AFL must intensify its fight against the enactment of repressive legislation such as compulsory arbitration, the incorporation of trade unions and the restriction of the rights which organized labor may exercise both in carrying out contracts and in the inauguration and prosecution of justifiable strikes. We cannot permit all organized labor to be penalized because of the stupid mistakes of the CIO."



Ohio National Guardsmen give scabs the right of way.

Black-Connery Bill Amendments Further Weaken Labor Value

The potentialities of the Black-Connery wages and hours bills for improving the status of industrial workers were considerably dimmed by amendments to the bill incorporated in the draft reported to the Senate by its Committee on Education and Labor last week. A

maximum minimum wage that can be established under the bill's provisions was set at 40 cents an hour and the shortest work week at 40 hours.

As introduced, the bill provided for a Labor Standards Board with power either to increase or decrease the general minimum wage and maximum work week set by the bill. The new form of the bill excludes the possibility of standards being set for any industry or section of the country higher than the general ones.

Labor witnesses and a few business men as well—advocated

setting the general work week at between 30 and 35 hours in their testimony before committee hearings. This was necessary, they pointed out, to give places in private industry for the millions of unemployed, and was economically sound because of recent technological improvements in industrial practice and because of the rapid increases in man-output figures.

Less Than Subsistence

The maximum wages which can be fixed under the revised bill—40 cents an hour—will mean, on the basis of a 40 hour week, an

annual income of \$832, much less than the minimum subsistence income as computed by various non-partisan agencies.

It is more than likely, however, that in many cases the Board will set the minimum at far below this maximum, and that the "under-nourished and under-privileged third" for whom the bill is supposed to provide will remain under-nourished and under-privileged.

Exempted from the provisions of the act are seamen, some railroad men, fisherman, all agricultural workers, professional men and executives, and the employees of local merchants.

Child labor in the beet and onion fields and all agricultural work is sanctioned. Parents and guardians are permitted to employ children under sixteen, and the Department of Labor is further allowed to grant exemptions for child labor employers.

"U. S. Employees Don't Have Right To Strike"—FDR

Employees of the United States Government do not have the right to strike or picket, according to Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

While granting the rights of employees of Uncle Sam to join unions, both AFL and CIO, the President of the United States refused

them the right to enter into collective bargaining or to employ legitimate union tactics to improve their conditions.

The New York Sun twits the President of the United States upon his inconsistency in seeming to favor unionism in other fields, while opposing anything but what amounts to company unionism in his own field. On Saturday, July 16 it writes:

"It depends upon whose ox is gored. The New Deal not only permits employees in private business to bargain collectively and to strike, but shuts out private employers from any rights or privileges which they might be supposed to enjoy in a law pretendedly drawn for the abatement of labor troubles. But the Master of the New Deal announces that all the favors given so liberally to the trade unions now waiting on private business will not be enjoyed by Federal employees. They may join

unions, but no union will be recognized as their sole bargaining agent. The Federal government will not enter into a contract with its employees, collective or individually. And no Federal employee may enjoy the right to strike."

The New York Sun writes to congratulate Mr. Roosevelt on his action in denying civil employees the rights of other workers. It continues:

"This decision is heartily to be approved. Coming from any other President of the United States it would have excited no surprise. Coming from President Roosevelt soon after the announced determination of John L. Lewis to unionize all Federal employees except those in the Army, the Navy and the Post Office Department, it suggests a sudden shift from the man whose bushy brows and strong-arm methods have kept the New Deal in twitters and jitters."

LAGUARDIA TIED TO BANKERS WARNED SOCIALISTS IN 1933

The following excerpt is from the Socialist Municipal platform of 1933:

Fusion is composed of discordant elements and has no social program to make the city government the servant of the people. Its back-bone is the discredited Republican Party of Hoover, Mellon, Mills and Tammany's ally, the Koenig machine. Back of Fusion, as with Tammany, are the bankers, the utility barons and the big landlords, the economic source of political corruption.

Fusion is without a plan to wipe out slums, to solve the transit problem, to end the gouging of the public by the utilities, to free the city from the dictatorship of the bankers, or to promote the general welfare. Fusion, which seeks public office on the issue of corruption and extravagance, supports the present economic system, the breeder of corruption.

The rebuilding of our city calls for vigorous action in regard to the pressing and vital problems affecting the every-day lives of the masses of the people.



A wounded Alcoa picket

WATCH THE WRAPPER

on your copy of the Socialist Call. If the number on the lower left of this notice, or any number less than this number appears on your wrapper it means that your subscription has expired. Renew immediately.

122 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

Reuther and Dale Chosen Organizers Flint Auto Local

FLINT, Mich.—The Flint local of the United Automobile Workers of America Saturday at the largest meeting in its history voiced its confidence in Organizers Roy Reuther and Ralph Dale by electing them local organizers in order to keep them from being transferred out of

Flint as ordered by the General Executive Board of the international and Homer Martin, president.

This action was taken by the local immediately after Reuther

spoke analyzing the economic and political situation in Flint. At the conclusion of his speech he made known his decision to remain in Flint "to complete the job" and read his resignation as

international organizer he sent to Martin in order to remain here.

There was a tense moment when he read, "I am therefore submitting herewith my resignation as an international organizer of the U.A.W.A. in order that I might remain in Flint."

Cheers greeted his conclusion.

"In remaining in Flint my only desire is—as a member of Local 156—to assist in completing the building of Local 156 as a permanent, militant and progressive organization in keeping with the program and spirit of the UAWA and the CIO."

The motion to elect Reuther and Dale, who was in Milwaukee that day on union business, local organizers was made by Kermit Johnson, Chairman of the Chevrolet division and a leader during the sit-down strike last winter.

In a widely distributed leaflet, headlined, "Keep Reuther and Dale in Flint! Let Us Continue to Build Local 156!" 62 of the leading officers and committee men of the divisions of the local, said, "A small minority of men in Local 156, seeking power for itself, has persuaded the members of the General Executive Board of the International Union to transfer Roy Reuther and Ralph Dale out of Flint."

"Is it in the best interests of Local 156 to withdraw Reuther and Dale?"

"It is not."

"Why was this done?"

"There is only one reason—politics in the union."

Want Unity

The leaflets after proposing the hiring of these two organizers concluded, "We want it understood that come what may, we intend to continue building our union on a strong, militant, progressive, democratic basis as an integral part of the International Union and the CIO. In Unity there is strength."

The signatures on the leaflet included Johnson, John Lantzfeld, secretary of the Chevrolet division; Frank Fox, chairman of the AC division; Nellie Benson, asst. secy. A.C. division; Louis Baraty, chairman of the Buick division; Arthur Case, vice-chairman of Buick; Ed Geiger, secretary of Buick; Bill Mose, chairman of the Fisher 1 steward body; Bruce Manley, Fisher 2 delegate to the joint council; John Thrasher, Standard Cotton delegate to the joint council; Bill Roy, Chevrolet permanent bargaining committeeman; and Walter Moore, Fisher 1 strike leader.

Back Steel

At the same meeting the local voted to support materially the steel strike and laid plans to enter local politics as an independent force.

It is commonly known that the move of Martin and the GEB in Flint was an attempt to jockey for more votes for the Martin forces at the coming UAWA convention in Milwaukee starting Aug. 23.

In addition to the transfers of Reuther and Dale, Organization Director Bob Travis was demoted to an organizer and three new organizers were sent in to Flint. All three of them are known as Martin followers. They are Russel Merrill of South Bend, Fred Dieper of Georgia, and Delmont Garst of St. Louis. These three together with Travis and Gola Sheddock, another Martin supporter, make up an organization committee responsible to Martin.



Frankenstein (left) and Reuther (right) testified before the Labor Board on Ford-Fascism.

Thugs Pose As Ford Men

(Continued from Page One)

got mine."

The witness then identified the picture of the "chief," for whom a warrant has been issued on the grounds of felonious assault.

These gangsters posed as "loyal Ford employees. Walter Reuther and Frankenstein, officers of the auto union, testified as to the brutality inflicted upon them.

Describe Slugging

"I was slugged on the back of the head," said Reuther. "I tried to shield my face by crossing my arms. They pounded me all over the head and body. One of the fellows, a leader, gave the orders.

I was knocked to the ground and beaten. . . . They picked me up and threw me down bodily on the concrete floor. They kicked me again and again. They tried to tear my legs apart. Seven times they raised me off the concrete and threw me down on it.

"They pinned my arms and shot short jabs to my face. I was punched, dragged by my feet to the stairway. I grabbed the railing and they wrenched me loose. I was thrown down the first flight of iron steps. Then they knocked me down the other two flights."

The account of the brutal beatings of 15 union men and women was corroborated by Dr. Raymond P. Sanford, of Chicago, observer for the Conference for Protection of Civil Rights. He identified some of the Ford gorillas and told of seeing a woman kicked on the ground.

Remove Signs

The Ford counsel tried to establish that the overpass was private company property, but Lawrence H. Knapp, board attorney, showed that it was used by peddlers and has been leased to public use.

Several witnesses told how on July 5, when it was believed that a new distribution of literature was about to be attempted, signs were posted on the platform of Gate 4 reading: "Private property. Do not pass literature of any kind. Signed, Ford Motor Co." This was before the company had foreseen the challenge to their property rights there. The signs were removed before labor board observers arrived.

According to a United Press report, the Americans fighting in Spain have aided the following drives; which the Loyalist claim as victories:

- 1—Cut the main road to Toledo at a point just outside Madrid's southern outskirts, leaving the Estramadura road as the last big arterial highway for Rebel troops and supply movements.
- 2—Captured six strategic towns in the Sierra Guadarramas.
- 3—Captured 700 prisoners at Villanueva del Pardillo who were quoted as saying that they had begged the Insurgent high command for reinforcements without avail.
- 4—Used a battalion of the Garibaldi Brigade of anti-Fascist Italians in driving back the Rebels.
- 5—Captured 1,500 prisoners in six towns.

Spain Patrol

With the non-operation of the International Patrol of Spain, the French Government has declared that it will not permit international observers on the border between it and France. The government has simultaneously stated that this does not mean that the government will permit men or supplies to go through France to Spain.

Hundreds of Labor Athletes Perform at Sports Event

More than twenty-five unions, both CIO and AFL, were represented by 286 athletes in the closed union events at the second annual Labor Sports Carnival held last Sunday at Randall's Island. Over 15,000 spectators saw the games.

A mass calisthenics demonstration was put on by 100 picked members of the Workers' Sports League, American section of the Socialist Sports International.

The program of the Carnival was divided between the events open to unionists alone, and events open to A. A. U. members. Holders of several world records and national and world champions participated in these events.

Many Unions

Among the labor organizations represented were: Butchers' Union, Furriers' Joint Council, Cloak and Suit Pressers, Shipping Clerks, Dress and Waistmakers, Cloak and Dress Drivers and Helpers, Amalgamated Garment Cutters,

Joint Council of Knitgood Workers, Building Service Workers, Photo-engravers, Italian Waist and Dressmakers, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Clothing Cutters, Cloak and Suit Operators, Biscuit and Cracker Workers, Meat Cutters, Millinery Workers, Doll and Toy Workers, Out-of-Town Department of ILGWU Coat Makers, YCLA WPA Teachers, Uniformed Firemen's Association, Local 94, Beltmakers, Whitegood Workers, Children's Dressmakers, Wholesale Dry Good Employees, Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants' Union.

This soldier is protecting the anti-Fascist stronghold of Catalonia on the Aragon Front.

AMERICANS CONTRIBUTE TO ANTI-FRANCO DRIVE

While the International powers were deadlocked over Spain, young Americans fighting in the anti-Fascist forces have been moving from victory to victory against Franco.

TWO MORE ARE MURDERED BY TOM GIRDLER

By Joe Ciano

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—In the not distant city of Massillon, Republic Steel claimed the lives of two more men as the price for labor's attempt to organize "little steel."

This murderous attack on the pickets was followed by a raid upon the CIO. At the point of a bayonet, the office was shut down.

This was accompanied by a most reactionary decree forbidding picketing.

In the face of what has been happening in this state, it must openly be conceded that the steel strikers are meeting their greatest foe in the armed forces of Ohio. Governor Martin L. Davey is strike-breaking.

Workers in other parts of the country have much to learn from the action of Davey. It was he who used the troops to close steel plants for a few hours; once he won the trust of labor, he did an about-face and opened fire upon them.

Youngstown Agreement In Doubtful State

The truce between the CIO and Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company is in a doubtful state.

Governor Townsend who negotiated the truce, looks upon it as a regular agreement. He maintains that a written memorandum submitted to him by the Company, which became the basis for the settlement, has the force of a written agreement.

Firm officials deny this.

The truce, like that with Inland Steel, gives the union bargaining rights for those members of the plant who are union members. Unlike the Inland agreement, however, disputes are to be settled by company and CIO without reference to the Indiana Labor Commission.

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WHITHER ROOSEVELT

Whither Roosevelt? That's the question written large over current events in America during the last three weeks.

For several months following the elections of last November, Roosevelt maintained a measure of friendliness toward his erstwhile labor friends who helped to put him in office. He ditched the unemployed. But he still held on to the trade unions.

The last three weeks, however, have been observing the gradual breaking of the Roosevelt-labor link and the forging of a Roosevelt-capital link stronger than at any time in the past few months.

Roosevelt, in his second term, is repeating first term history: after the honeymoon comes the Katzenjammer. After Roosevelt's initial good-will measures in 1934 came the coolie relief bills, the battle against the unemployed and against the unions, the reactionary auto labor board, the ever lowering NRA codes. Now, for the second term, history repeats itself.

The removal of half a million jobless from the relief rolls is nothing new. That is just the timely culmination of a process which has been going on now for some months.

But Roosevelt's attack upon the steel strikers is something new. We say "attack," because his clever line of a "plague on both your houses" is an attack upon labor.

Now is the time for every honest friend of organized labor to tell the truth about violence in strikes. This violence is fomented by the bosses. Labor has shown remarkable restraint and patience in the midst of abnormal provocation.

When anybody, nowadays, makes labor and capital equally guilty of the present bloodshed in the labor-capital arena he is either a fool or an enemy of labor. And Roosevelt is no fool.

Nor can his remark be interpreted as a casual phrase of ambiguous meaning, a slip of the tongue. Roosevelt's single Shakespearean sentence has been followed by very plain, unshakeable declarations by Secretary Madame Perkins and by Secretary of Commerce Roper.

Now—when the sit-down is no problem—Perkins condemns the sit-down.

Now—Roper opens fire upon labor's violence.

Roosevelt's further declaration that government employees may not strike or enjoy the right to collective bargaining is a statement to the effect that civil servants have no union rights. The mere right to belong to an organization which can not protect their job or win improvements in conditions is an empty right.

On top of this—in a short period of time—Roosevelt's administration chisellers go to work on the Connery-Black Wage and Hour Bill. The minimums which were low to begin with, are cut; the maximum hours are extended. The reactionary press cheers and pats Roosevelt on the head.

On top of this—in the same period of time—Roosevelt waters down his own court reform plan. A weak plan to begin with, a poor substitute for a real bill striking at the roots of judicial autocracy, Roosevelt now make a weaker plan, inserting poorer substitutes for poor ones.

The opposition to court reform is not weakened by this latest move of Roosevelt. In the administration's retreat reactionaries sees weakness. And this weakness emboldens the opposition.

On top of this, Roosevelt vetoes a bill to give low rates of interest charges to farmers who are in debt.

Farmers, trade unionists, unorganized workers, social legislation—all hit in a period of three weeks, by Roosevelt.

If one wishes to find a date for the beginning of the "turn to the right" one must go back to the Jefferson Island conference of the Democratic Party.

It was a party "harmony" conference. That's just a nice way of saying that a dangerous rift, perhaps a split, was menacing the Democratic Party of America.

The real backbone of the Democratic Party of America—the capitalist interest—felt that Roosevelt had played around with the "people" long enough. He had paid back his election debt to his "left" wing. Now the men who really were "the party," demanded an end to this nonsense, and demanded material guarantees against any further encroachments by labor.

The Jefferson Island conference told Roosevelt that he was the Democratic Party, not just a free lancer. Roosevelt listened, learned—and now he behaves.

AT THE FRONT



By NORMAN THOMAS

John Lewis in an interview in the Scripps-Howard press vigorously and effectively insisted that the CIO must push forward its organizing campaign without rest or halt. When the AFL plays the role of company union and when William Green preaches an unfair and hypocritical sermon to the CIO, there is nothing for the CIO or its leaders to do but fight the AFL. Nevertheless it is hard to believe that the AFL rank and file wants a fight so fraught with danger to the workers' cause.

It is a challenge to the workers to bring about a peace which does not jeopardize the principle of industrial unionism and the aggressive effort to organize the unorganized. Now that the AFL has at long last rejoined the International Trade Union movement, cannot some of the experienced leaders of that organization quietly help to bring the right sort of peace?

CENTRALIZE ALL UNIONS DRIVES

It is no news to readers of this column that for years I, like many other socialists, urged upon the AFL the importance of centralized machinery to push forward organizing activities and a genuine democratization of its constituent unions to safeguard the rights of their members. The first part of this task the CIO is magnificently performing. It is contributing to the second in many ways, notably by the fact that its constituent unions do not discriminate against Negroes.

But there is another definite step which the CIO might advantageously take without delay. That is to put through a code which will guarantee full protection to its members not only against exploitation of members by possible racketeering but against the occasional trade union bureaucrat or autocrat.

In the month that I have been back home I have read and heard in increasing volume gloomy predictions of the serfdom of the individual worker should the closed shop win. It is of course true, as I think Sam Gompers once admitted, that in a closed shop union discipline, at any rate expulsion, means economic death for the workers. And the more complete is the organization of the CIO the more impossible will it be, for the possible victim of unfair discipline in any union to get a job.

It is all right for union leaders to say that this danger can be exaggerated and that those who write letters to the papers about it are anti-unionists, but the danger does exist. It may yet feed fascist reaction. It is almost certain to inspire state and maybe federal legislation ostensibly designed to protect the individual. And such legislation in a capitalist society always has in it a real menace to unionism. The best step to avert these possible evils is by action in the CIO to give genuine protection to democratic rights of workers in all its unions, and especially in closed shops.

WAGE AND HOUR BILL WEEK

This federal minimum-wage and maximum-hour bill may help a little against sweatshop standards but it is too hedged about with limitations to do much.

Certainly it is anything but a substitute for union activity and any impression that it will make unions unnecessary must be vigorously dispelled.

BILL ON FARM TENANCY

Congress has at last passed a bill for giving federal aid to farm tenants who want to become farm owners. The present bill both in the form in which it passed the Senate and the House is comparatively modest and experimental in the sums appropriated and gives a fair degree of protection to the new owners. It is a tremendous improvement on the wild billion dollar Bankhead bill as first introduced, a bill which I am proud that I denounced, much to Senator Joe Robinson's disgust.

That was primarily a bill to bail out banks and insurance companies and land-poor planters. It will take an intelligent vigilance to see that the present bill is not thus misused, especially since the Senate has taken from the proposed Farmers' Home Corporation the power of eminent domain, and has seen to it that all the juicy jobs will be political patronage and not under civil service.

At best the program of subsidizing a new crop of land owning farmers to the tune of fifty-million dollars a year will not solve the farm problem, especially in the cotton country. There the answer must be, not a subsidized peasantry with a background of slavery and sharecropping, but collective farms under trained management, run on the cooperative principle.

FILIBUSTER THE COURT REFORM

This Senate fight on the compromise Supreme Court bill still threatens to degenerate into an indefensible filibuster. The bill contains some clearly useful provisions and on the whole there is more to be said for than against the rather awkward proposal to add one new judge a year for every sitting judge over the age of seventy five. But a measure like this in no way goes to the root of the problem. The whole business has been handled, not only by the President, but by his liberal and labor supporters, in such a way as to muffle almost completely a heaven-sent opportunity to educate the public to a fundamental change, which requires the end of the dictatorial power of the Court over economic and social legislation.

WHAT HAPPENED TO WPA PROMISES

In the campaign of 1936 I along with other socialist speakers insisted that returning prosperity was precarious; that it would leave a great army of the unemployed; that such governmental economies as there would be would be at the expense of the unemployed, and that the budget would not be balanced in any reasonable time, either by economy or scientific taxation. The latest news on the size of the deficit; the danger of the war boom; the folly of buying gold only to bury it, and most of all, the cut in relief which has been followed by what the papers call "grave disorders," and much suffering of discharged WPA workers, abundantly prove the truth of what we said.

For the plight of the unemployed Congress, and to some extent the WPA Administration are responsible, but more responsible than either is the nature of our whole system. The President cannot meet the problem by the \$400,000,000 cut he urged on department heads. They won't even save that much money.

PRICE OF THE DICTATORSHIP

The price of dictatorship is a never ending series of repressions and crimes. In Poland and some of the Balkan states the Jews are the chief of many victims. Any day may bring news of great pogroms. In Germany, at the moment, persecution of Protestant ministers takes the center of the stage. One has more sympathy with them than with the Catholics because the Vatican, despite its criticism of Hitler, has been his partner in the Spanish horror. In Austria Schussnigg has again reminded us how arbitrary is his dictatorship, even if it is occasionally more lenient and whimsical than the German, by the sentence of Dr. Marie Lazarsfeld for possessing socialist literature. For this crime she had already, like many other socialist prisoners in Austria, been detained four months without trial, and then sent by the police to a concentration camp for two terms, one of three months and then another of six months, without trial. Now at last she has been tried in a court and given three months for the same offense! Such is Austrian justice!

One year of the European war in Spain draws to its end. In that year against enormous odds the Spanish workers, at first almost bare handed, stopped the victorious march of fascism. They would not now be caught in desperate struggle were it not that they have had against them the dictators of Portugal, Italy, Germany; most of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the British ruling class. It is the business of the workers of the world to do all in their power to see that that evil alliance does not win.

\$3,000 IS AIM OF SOCIALIST YOUTH FOR A SPANISH HOME

Three thousand dollars is needed for the establishment of the Norman Thomas Home for Spanish homeless children. This project is the main drive of the Young Peoples' Socialist League between now and the YPSL National convention which will be held in Philadelphia from Sept. 2 to 6, 1937.

The campaign now swings into its third week with reports from various YPSL sections that the drive is going across.

All YPSL sections have been directed by the YPSL National Office to remit 20 per cent of their assigned quotas by July 20. This initial money will be used for immediate developments of the Norman Thomas Home. On July 8, 9 and 10 the N. Y. YPSL conducted a tag day as part of its drive to raise its \$800.00 quota. This tag day received the enthusiastic support of Yipsels and Party members.



James T. Farrell

On "The Nation"

Along with peace treaties, ideas, and the human organism, journals of opinion are not eternal. Writing in *The Nation* (issue of July 3rd) Oswald Garrison Villard referred to the mortality of magazines as a kind of word of caution to *The Nation* as it embarked on its career under a new editor-publisher, Freda Kirchway.

He said: "Nothing is as changeable as fashions in magazines. Dead are all its (The Nation's) original rivals and contemporaries, notably *The Independent*, *The Outlook*, *The Observer*, *Harpers Weekly*, *Leslie's Weekly*, and many more. . . And how many have perished which started up during this period" of *The Nation's* history.

Such a word of caution is especially pertinent when it comes from Mr. Villard, himself former editor and publisher of *The Nation*, and one of the most able and honest editors and journalists ever produced in this country. For in an editorial concerning its own future (issue of June 19) the present editors of *The Nation* exhibited a dangerous confidence, even cockiness, which the future might not justify.

On Liberalism

"Liberalism," it said, "itself has achieved a new respect, especially among its former left wing opponents. . . Liberalism itself has taken warning (against the menace of fascism) and toughened its defenses against the day of testing. As a representative of radical democratic thought, of realistic liberalism (later on in the same editorial, the phrase

"militant liberalism" was also used) *The Nation* has drawn in thousands of new readers who have become friends and advocates.

While *The Nation* has been drawing in new friends, one wonders whether or not some of its old friends are becoming restive as a result of its recent editorial policies and pronouncements. I am sure that *The Nation* has no more ardent a friend than Mr. Villard himself. And yet as one reads his weekly column in its pages, one notes that he is expressing views which are in almost flat disagreement with those to be found in the editorial pages.

Versailles

He has spoken in his column with justifiable pride of the good fight which *The Nation* conducted against "the madness of Versailles" under his own editorship. Today, he sees *The Nation* implicitly contradicting and reversing that policy through a process of rapid conversion to views which are likely to lead, only to "the madness" of a new Versailles.

Last May, he wrote a column criticizing the editorial policy on war which *The Nation* had adopted, and warning it that "if we get into the next war, it will mean the disappearance of our democracy." Once again, we find

our liberal intelligentsia adopting an attitude similar to that which their predecessors held in 1917 and in the years preceding the American entry into the last war. The very same slogan is being fashioned—"the defense of democracy."

The present terrible situation in the world flows out of the last defense of democracy. Where now are the lessons of history? During the 1920's, some of the best of American historical scholarship was dedicated to the destruction of the myth of "war guilt." Only for what? Only for the liberals, radicals, Stalinists of the 1930's to revive that myth?

The re-establishment of that myth seems to be one of the policies which *The Nation* classifies under phrases such as "realistic" and "militant liberalism." Perhaps the "militant" is correct, for, whether or not the editors of *The Nation* realize the implications of their position, it is a war position. For instance, we find that now, the League of Nations is exposed for what it is and was (an instrumentality to defend and freeze "the madness of Versailles"). *The Nation* rises to its defense. It does this editorially, and some of its contributors such as Vera Michaels Dean and Louis Fischer have done so in signed articles.

Court Plan

Mr. Villard has also disagreed with the editors of *The Nation* in their policy of supporting the President's Court Plan. In a column (issue of March 27), which was subtitled, "What Is The Nation Coming To?", he quite forcibly and intelligently registered that disagreement. He took Heywood Broun, a fellow contributor, to task for Broun's polemics in defense of the Court plan.

In particular, he attacked Broun's simplification of the issue. For Broun has presented the issue as if it were a choice of fighting the good fight with those who are good and progressive, or else of joining in with Hearst, the "reactionary" *Herald Tribune* and others. Broun fails to realize that when two men say the same thing, they do not mean the same thing. In other words,

Broun destroys all perspectives but two most general ones—"for" or "against."

Mr. Villard smacked such a position head on, and in so doing, he ploughed through *The Nation's* defense of the Court Plan.

Once again, the liberal intelligentsia, this time under the banner of "realistic liberalism," dupes themselves with the illusions which turned their 1917 predecessors into a generation of "ired radicals."

Once again, they assume that they can give guidance to the old political parties, and have their guidance registered. They can turn the President's policies into their own policies. Such seems to be the implicit assumption behind their "realistic liberalism."

Shades of the Randolph Bourne who wrote those two famous articles in *The Seven Arts Monthly*! Once again, the liberals delude themselves into thinking that they can ride the whirlwind of a war, and turn it into a good fight. This seems to be the liberalism which *The Nation* has described as having come of age.

Moscow Trials

There is also a flat difference of opinion revealed in what Mr. Villard had written in his column concerning the Moscow trials, and *The Nation's* editorial statements on the same and on related issues. Mr. Villard has asked in his column, "are we guilty of a horrible crime if we dare to insinuate that Stalin the mighty has murdered?" *The Nation*, in one of its reversals of position on the Moscow trials stated that:

"It is possible that it will be another hundred years before all the actual facts about the recent Soviet trials are known."

This editorial appeared in January. Since then, *The Nation* seems to have taken its own advice seriously. It seems to have waited out the first six months of that century with patience and suspended judgment. It now has only ninety nine and a half years to go. Also, as the mob for its new editorial regime, *The Nation* has advanced the slogan, "the older, the bolder."

Its position of century long patience concerning Russian events can obviously be an excellent testing of that slogan. After the elapse of the necessary century, it can then assemble the facts which others of lesser patience have uncovered, and then, in the month of January, 2037, it can write an editorial on the Moscow trials and the Stalin regime as bold (or almost as bold) as have been the statements of Mr. Villard on the same issue in the year 1937.

However, *The Nation's* first six months of patience concerning this issue convinces me that it was imprudent in its prediction of the time element. The additional executions, purges, suicides, arrests of recent months, leads me to believe that it was utterly incautious.

In 1937 AD

Its editors should have stated that it would have required a thousand years before the facts are all in. And of course, if *The Nation* waits a thousand years instead of a century, it will be still older and, presumably, even more bold. In the year 2037, it should be able to write a more bold editorial on the Moscow trials than it could write in the year 2037. In fact, if it waits a thousand years instead of a century, it should be able to write a most strenuous campaign to save the life of Nicolai Bukharin.

Barcelona

Following the tragic Barcelona insurrection of last May, *The Nation* printed an editorial in which it dragged in the expected red herring — Trotskyism. Bertram Wolfe, a Lovestonite just returned from Spain, objected to this editorial in a long letter which *The Nation* printed in its

LID CONDUCTS A SCHOOL FOR THE SUMMER

Student leaders representing seventeen colleges in fourteen states assembled in New York for the fourth annual summer school of the League for Industrial Democracy voted unanimously to support the McConnell bill extending the arms embargo on Spain to Germany and Italy and sent letters urging its passage to President Roosevelt to Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, and to the Foreign Relations Committee of the House.

"If Spanish democracy fails before the onslaughts of Germany and Italy, democracy all over the world will have suffered a death-blow," Stephen Laid, Swarthmore, chairman of the school's executive council stated. "American student leaders cannot ignore their responsibility to lend every measure of support, direct or indirect, to the Spanish government."

The LID Summer School, operating in conjunction with the American Student Union, offers a six week program of study in labor problems, socialism, and student organization, supplemented by field work designed to add practical experience to theoretic background.

Trade Unionist Speaks Working on the problem of labor organization this week, the students will be addressed by Leonard Bright, Vice-President of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union; Martin Wersing, Utility Workers' Union of the United States and Electric Workers' Union; Noah Walters, Organizer of the Laundry Workers' Union; Brendan Sexton, Chairman of the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party and former President of the Workers Alliance of New York City; Rose Schneiderman, President of the Women's Trade Union League; Charlotte Carr, Executive Director of the Emergency Relief Bureau; Louis Budin, labor attorney; J. E. S. Hartman, editor of the "The Advance," and Eileen Symes, writer and journalist.

The sessions of the Summer School are held at Greenwich House, 27 Barrow St. It is under the direction of Mary W. Halper, Exec. Secretary of the N. Y. League for Industrial Democracy, and Fay Bennett, Molly Yard and Betty Harris of the American Student Union.

correspondence columns. Replying to Mr. Wolfe, *The Nation* stated that it depended largely upon Mr. Louis Fischer for the data on which it based its editorial. Mr. Fischer, answering Mr. Wolfe, stated that he had relied, considerably, upon the accounts printed in *The New York Times* and *The New York Herald Tribune*. I presume that I might not have been the only reader of *The Nation* who concluded as follows from this exchange of letters: If *The Nation's* editorial policies are based on the accounts of events in *The Times* and *The Herald Tribune*, why read *Nation* editorials? Why not just skip them, read the sources, and do one's own interpreting?

Well might a word of caution be accepted by the editors of *The Nation*. Their "realistic" and "militant" liberalism that has come of age is dangerously similar to the unrealistic and unphilosophical liberalism of twenty years ago that has never learned really to grow up. It is a liberalism which has compromised itself badly on the war question, and on the issues involved in the Moscow trials. It looks pretty much like a liberalism which prompts comparison with the Bourbons who learned nothing . . . and forgot . . . nothing.

WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

The Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, at its Paris meeting, June 25-26, adopted a strong resolution of censure against the foreign policies of Premier Van Zeeland, of Belgium. The resolution reads:

"We learn according to certain reports, that M. Van Zeeland . . . recommended the granting of large loans to Italy and Germany on the condition that these States agree to pursue a more liberal commercial policy and reduce their military expenditure.

"If this is true, the Executive protests strongly against this intention.

"In view of the growing financial and economic difficulties which their armament policy creates, financial help given to Hitler and Mussolini would only serve to preserve their terrorist and warlike regimes.

"The Executive puts democratic governments on their guard against such an attitude which, far from bringing about peace by a consistent and resolute policy of collective security, assures the Fascist and Italian dictatorship time to revive, which they so much need, and then to continue their warlike policy with renewed force."

This censure of Van Zeeland is very well in order. It is a good thing for the international labor movement to see the heroes of "democracy," whom the workers are asked to place their faith in, collapse one by one.

We all remember how Van Zeeland was being praised to the skies as a bulwark against fascism. Now we are told that (objectively) he is an ally of fascism.

Is not the case of Van Zeeland typical? Has not this been the role of all exponents of "democratic" capitalism against fascism capitalism? And is Van Zeeland's policy an exception? Wherein does it differ from British or French policy outside of the specifically Belgian nationalist features? (France and England also have their specifically nationalist features) Is not the repudiation of Van Zeeland therefore a repudiation of the entire course of struggle against fascism both internally and in foreign affairs which has up to the present so strengthened fascism and weakened the workers? Let the necessary lessons be drawn!

The workers must break with the capitalists. They must undertake a vigorous struggle against capitalism and not merely against some of its outstanding evils. Only in this way can fascism be

defeated and the cause of the workers advanced.

Executive Action a Struggle

The action of the LSI Executive is the result of a long, if quiet struggle which the trade union movement and sections of the Socialist Party in Belgium have conducted against Van Zeeland in connection with his slogan "Organization by vocation" in the latest declaration of policy issued by the government. This also included a plan for the compulsory registration of all trade unions with the government and certain control by the government of trade union activities.

The central committee of the trade unions organized an extensive national "study" of this program by the functionaries in all trade unions and cities. The result of the "study" was a uniform rejection by the trade unions of the government plan.

The trade unions first of all condemned the government for its failure to consult with them on its policy regarding labor organization. They considered this a virtual repudiation of the trade unions. The policy itself they characterized as the beginning of the corporatism of the fascist states by which the rights of labor organization are completely destroyed.

The unions declared that they will combat to the bitter end all such tendencies, no matter where they find expression. This policy is endorsed by the Socialist Party. In an article by the secretary, he calls upon the workers to defend their independence, which is the backbone of trade union existence. He categorically rejects compulsory registration.

The power of the trade unions will be completely destroyed if they lose their independence, he points out. Should the government attempt to carry into effect its declarations on labor, the trade unions declare themselves prepared to take up the fight.

It is noteworthy that this struggle against Van Zeeland also marks the widening of the rift in the Socialist Party. Such old fighters as Vandervelde and De Brouckere are leading the anti-Van Zeeland wing, while the pro-Van Zeeland wing is led by De Mann and Spaak, the leading figures in the Van Zeeland cabinet.

Filipino Uprisings Against Move of US At Militarization

Domination of the Philippines by the U. S. is being met with mass revolt in the form of refusals to serve in the colonial army, and by armed uprisings.

More than 30,000 young men have been arrested throughout the Philippine Islands and charged before

the courts for their refusal to register for military training under the so-called National Defense Act, drafted by General MacArthur of the US staff, military adviser to President Manuel L. Quezon.

The provincial jails are crowded with these prisoners and other places had to be fitted to accommodate them.

The problem of feeding them has become so perplexing to the local governments, that Secretary of the Interior, Elpidio Quirino, had to instruct the town authorities to request the families of the detained young men to bring food for them.

Orders were also issued to stop the wholesale arrests and prosecutions.

400,000 Drafted

Under the National Defense Act, an army of 400,000 men is to be organized in ten years and for this purpose compulsory military training has been introduced. But the young people, from the very outset, showed themselves reluctant to undergo military instruction in the training camps.

Open Revolt

In Mindanao, one of the three big islands comprising the Philippines, the Moros who compose the major part of the population there, have revolted and taken up arms against the Government in opposition to compulsory military training.

Desertions en masse from the training camps have also taken place recently. More than 900 trainees left three camps—which gives some idea of the strength of the movement.

All these arrests and desertions show the stubborn opposition which the Quezon-MacArthur militarization program is meeting. Meanwhile unrest and discontent engendered by these and other policies are growing rapidly and spreading among the masses. The new American High Commissioner, Paul V. McNutt, is trying to jam the US policy down the throat of the Philippines.

DANCE HUNGER STRIKER WITH REBEL ARTISTS

NEW YORK CITY.—Edith Turgell, one of the active hunger strikers on the New York Dance Project of the WPA, will teach a class for Rebel Arts. The strikers forced the withdrawal of the Pink Slips after a 5 day stay-in.

The class will meet every Tuesday at 6:30 at Rebel Arts headquarters, 35 E. 19th St., New York.

Sharp Fight on Court Bill Conceals Need For Attack On Judicial Autocracy

By Raymond Gordon

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "Where there is smoke, there must be fire," runs the reasoning of a great many people, and the Senate, in its current debate on the Supreme Court "reorganization" proposals, is manufacturing smoke on such a mass-production basis as generally to

obscure the issue of genuine revision of the Court to end its auto-

Roosevelt's Supreme Court

The Old—The President was to appoint new justices to the Court for each member of the Court who, having reached 70 1/2 years and having served 10 years, did not resign.

The New—The President may appoint a new justice for each justice who reaches the age of 75, except that not more than one such appointment can be made in any one calendar year. The total membership of the Court cannot exceed 15, and no new appointments shall be made upon the death or resignation of a Justice except to maintain the Court's membership at at least nine.

cratic control over social legislation.

Senators, never at a loss for words, seem striving to outdo themselves both as to the length and noisiness of their speeches. Rarely used rules of procedure have been invoked to forestall threatened filibusters, but the current harangue appears destined to continue for many weeks to come.

The distance of the present proposals from an honest consideration of the problem of the Supreme Court's dictatorship is plainly shown by the character of the debate. No intelligent discussion of the issues, no logically reasoned analysis of the question, but rather an unprincipled fusillade of "dead-cats" and personalities. Wrangling, heckling, bitter partisan politics dominates what was to have been a "great national debate."

Political Prestige

The real issue now seems to be not the Supreme Court but political prestige. The terms of the Logan-Hatch substitute, introduced by majority leader Robinson with White House approval, which for all practical purposes, has supplanted the original bill, are rather innocuous, and this substitute is further amended to exempt the Justices now over 75 from its pro-

visions, will be rather meaningless for years to come.

But political prestige is always important. Defeat of the measure will be a political blow to the President and will mean a lessening of his control over the Democratic Party. He has been criticized too strongly on this issue for him to accept defeat if it can be avoided. On the other hand, the die-hards have fought the bill and the President with such extraordinary viciousness that they cannot back down an inch without suffering a loss of face.

Five Months Ago

The original bill was introduced five months ago following a message by the President. That its purpose was to forestall attempts at more drastic action is indicated by the trend of opinion as shown by N.Y. Times article, of the month preceding Roosevelt's message. "Basic Law Change Gains in Congress" read one headline, "Norris Backs Drive on Supreme Court," "Senator Would Bar Majority Decisions" were others. Senator Gillette introduced a bill requiring the vote of seven Justices to override Congressional legislation. The drive for the Workers' and Farmers' Rights Amendment, specifically giving Congress power to pass widespread social legislation was on. It was to stem this rising tide that the Roosevelt proposal came.

Opposition to the President's proposals have come almost entirely from Bar Association units and from lawyers. A survey of 50 N. Y. Times articles picked at random, reporting attacks on the bill, showed that in 39 cases it was lawyers or groups of lawyers that opposed the bill as compared with 11 cases in which others objected to it. To the lawyer, the complicated judicial system is his *raison de etre*, and the judicial dictatorship of his special class. As a lawyer, he fought the bill as a step toward a possible limitation of his special position and privileges.

All the new plan is likely to mean is one additional Roosevelt appointee for perhaps six months or a year. Even Supreme Court Justices do not live for ever, and with one now over 80, another over 78 and others almost that age, retirements are almost certain to come soon. If Justices have been appointed under the provisions of the Robinson bill, Roosevelt will lose the opportunity to add his own appointees to replace them.

Revolutionary Socialism

Can Trusts Save Capitalism?

By Gus Tyler

1. Growth of Trusts

When capitalism is young and hopeful, it proclaims:

"Competition is the life of trade."

When, in the course of this competition, one capitalist kills off many, a new idea develops which is almost the exact opposite of the notion of competition. Trusts, combinations, corporations, and cartels, by controlling and regulating huge sectors of production, shall eliminate crises. Competition is no longer viewed as the life of trade but as the death of regular trade. And trustification becomes God.

The notion that trusts would end crises is almost as old as the first trust.

The simplest answer to this argument is the history of the last fifty years. Crisis after crisis has come to the capitalist world—in countries where the large trusts existed. With the passing of the years, the trusts have flourished—and so have the crises.

Why have the trusts failed to eliminate crises?

2. Trustified Crises

Trusts do not eliminate competition. They merely take the economic warfare away from pig-

mies and transfer it to the arena of the giants. There is war as between the corporations instead of small producers;

Even complete monopolies can not succeed in regulating capitalism in order to prevent a crisis. The very best that a monopolized capitalist industry can do is to maintain a comparative balance for itself—but only at the expense of other industries.

Let us see just how this works: In the present competitive society industries produce more than can be consumed. The masses WANT more, but because of the nature of the wage-profit system can NEVER have the money to buy what it produces.

Under such a set up, some one industry, like the bread baking industry may establish a monopoly. It will produce just enough for the market; it will set a fixed price—high enough to produce with profit. It will seek, in its own industry, to eliminate slumps, to smooth over all periods when it will have to sell at a lower price because it has over-produced.

Now let us consider John Dough, the consumer.

He needs bread. He can get it from only one company. And he must pay the price that the monopoly demands—or go without bread. If he can find any substitute for bread, like potatoes, he will probably buy it. And

that will set the bread producers in competition with the potato producers. If he can not get any substitute, he will pay the price for bread that is demanded of him—no matter how exorbitant it may be.

But when John Dough spends more for the loaf of bread which he so vitally needs, he has less to spend on ice cream or canned soup or an auto or a movie. To the extent that the bread monopoly stabilized itself by price control it upsets other industries.

In the long run, even the monopoly is affected by this. Once other industries suffer, close shop, and go bankrupt, the market for bread is further contracted. This injures its sales, its employment, etc.

But someone may say: Suppose all industries were monopolized. This is the same as saying: Suppose all the capitalists got together in a convention and tacked 10% on to all their prices.

This would not forestall a crisis. It would almost instantaneously precipitate a new crisis. The market for goods would be instantly curtailed. If they wished to cut production to meet the curtailed market, they could only do it by discharging some of their employees. This would further cut the market. Machinery would stand idle. This would further increase the overhead.

A new crisis would set in.

3. The Trust Struggle

Trusts instead of saving capitalism create the forces that will destroy capitalism.

When the monopolies raise prices, especially for necessities, they goad the workers into protest, into strikes, into movements for a betterment of their conditions.

The large productive apparatuses established by the trusts bring many hundred workers together under one roof, under one boss. These workers are subjected to the same tyrannies; they react as great organized forces.

The trusts, because of their wealth, can purchase thugs, and gangsters, can buy police and politicians, can fight labor with gas and bullets. The trusts draw sharper the line between capital and labor and sharpen the nature of the conflict.

The trusts are not only no guarantee against economic crises but are a factor leading to the

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CIO Maritime Meeting Slights Sailors Union, Omits Joseph P. Ryan

By John Newton Thurber.

Twenty-two maritime unions meeting in Washington made plans this week to hold a "Unity Conference" in Chicago, August 16, and a national maritime workers' convention, also in Chicago, September 20, in order to form a CIO Industrial Maritime Federation.

The steering committee for CIO maritime organization is composed of John Brophy, CIO Director; Mervyn Rathborne, Radio Telegraphers' president, secretary of the committee; Harry Bridges, Pacific ILA head; Joseph Curran, general organizer of the National Maritime Union; V.J. Malone of the Pacific Marine Firemen; Capt. Pinchin of the Masters, Mates and Pilots; and John Green, socialist president of the Shipyard Workers.

The stated objective of the August 16 conference is "the establishment of a national union for unlicensed seamen under one CIO national charter." The second meeting will see the formation of the national Industrial Maritime Federation.

Although the important Sailors' Union of the Pacific was represented by its assistant secretary, E. R. Stowell, it received no recognition on elected committees, which reflects the tremendous influence of Harry Bridges, who clearly dominates the committee of seven.

Ryan Absent
A notable absentee from the Washington confab was Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen. The importance of Ryan in this new set-up was discussed in the CALL two weeks ago. A wave of protest arose throughout maritime circles at the growing closeness between John L. Lewis and Ryan, causing him to be omitted.

When the announcement of the decisions of the conference was made, Ryan declared that it was an evidence of bad faith on the part of Lewis. Ryan asserted that Lewis has agreed to submit any plans made by the CIO for maritime organization to him before carrying them out. He indicated that eastern longshoremen might keep out of the CIO, and denounced the CIO maritime leaders as "under Communist influence." Ryan's statement did not make any specific threats against the CIO however.

Meet With Ryan
Indicating that Ryan is not necessarily ruled out of the CIO maritime picture, a sub-committee of three, Bridges, Curran and Rathborne was elected to proceed to New York to confer with Ryan "for the purpose of presenting Mr. Ryan with the CIO program for the complete organization of the maritime transportation industry." According to the statement of the committee, "If Mr. Ryan refuses to accept the CIO terms" the CIO will proceed to issue a charter to the Pacific Coast ILA, and proceed to organize Gulf, Atlantic and Great Lakes longshoremen in defiance of Ryan.

It was decided to offer affiliation to Ryan on the basis of "complete reorganization along democratic lines, and in conformity with CIO principles." The object in view, it was stated, is to have the ILA pledge to "cooperate actively with all maritime unions at all times, and to leave all decisions of national importance to be decided by national ILA membership referendum."

Further Plans
A plan was approved at the Washington meeting for eventual affiliation of locals of the metal Trades Councils on the west coast

which are concerned with shipyard and ship repair work to the CIO through the Shipyard Workers' Union. John Green, Bridges and Malone were named as the committee to carry out this program. In the past Bridges was instrumental in pushing these workers into the AFL in preference to the Shipyard Workers' Industrial Union.

It was also voted to request the CIO to employ five organizers for the NMU to help organize the New York harbor.

Final action on most of these plans await the holding of the first convention of the NMU, which to date has no constitution or regularly elected officers, nor does it hold a charter.

SUP Checked

The tactical victory of Bridges and his associates in pushing the Sailors Union of the Pacific into the background at this meeting stands in sharp contrast to the strength which the SUP showed in the recent Portland meeting of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. The following report from the "Shipyard Workers" shows the interplay of forces there:

"Despite the unanimous vote for CIO affiliation, the convention

was torn by internal dissension. The SUP has voted eight to two in favor of the CIO, but they held their vote in abeyance until their affiliation was guaranteed by certain safeguards.

"To neutral observers at the convention there was ample evidence of terrific friction between the delegates. Even some of the leading Longshoremen delegates were on the warpath against the leadership and inconsistent policies of those in control of the bloc. The contest for leadership in the MFP is considered the crux of the struggle, with the greatest conflict in principle between the seafaring groups on the one hand, and certain Longshoremen and their craft union allies on the other.

"For that reason, it is generally believed, the SUP withheld its favorable vote on the question of CIO affiliation until it received definite assurance that its identity would not be lost in the shuffle, and that it would obtain a separate charter.

Van Gelder Aids

"Shipyard workers will remember that several months ago, National Secretary-Treasurer Philip Van Gelder was instrumental in starting the CIO avalanche in the West Coast maritime group, when he arranged for a conference in Washington between John L. Lewis and Harry Lundberg of the SUP. At that time the controlling bloc in the MFP had not yet adopted their pro-CIO line, and tried unsuccessfully to drive the seamen back into the ranks of the reactionary AFL International Seamen's Union from which the SUP had split off.

"The question of industrial Union affiliation is opposed by certain groups, because it would upset the balance of power now jealously in control of the majority bloc. While professing CIO sentiments, this same bloc remains in control largely through the support of certain discredited craft union fakers. It is still a painful mess for labor, but there are strong hopes that the CIO will act as a cleansing agent."

"Corp. Lawyers Can't Press Pants" CIO Reply in Detroit General Strike

Special to the SOCIALIST CALL
By Harry Fleischman
Press Representative Detroit ACWA

DETROIT, Mich.—A general strike in the cleaning and dyeing industry, here, last Friday closed down 70 plants in the city, as all the 2,000 employees in the industry stopped work.

"The walkout was called by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a CIO affiliate," Hyman Schneid, prominent Socialist and ACWA general organizer, said, "and was voted when negotiations for a minimum wage scale with the Michigan Plant Owners' Association collapsed."

Negotiations between the plant owners' association and the Union started a month ago on a minimum wage scale, but the association rejected all offers made by the union and offered no substitute.

The recent negotiations were based on an agreement reached in March between the Union and the Association. This agreement provided for a closed shop, the check-off system, a 46 hour week, a 10 cent an hour raise for hourly workers and a \$2.50 a week raise for salaried workers.

The agreement further provided for arbitration on the minimum wage scale, which was to go into effect by July 15. The employers, however, rejected all those suggested by the Union as impartial arbiters, and could suggest in turn only bankers and corporation lawyers.

Present demands of the Union include a \$20 weekly minimum for unskilled workers, 75 cents an hour average wage, 40 hour week and continuance of other terms of the March agreement. The Union has further insisted

that the wage increases must not be passed on to the public. "When the March agreement went into effect," said Schneid, "the plant owners boosted prices twenty-six and a half per cent, more than enough to take care of the new wage increases."

A threat by Lester Deeley, lawyer and spokesman for the Michigan Plant Owners Association that "we will attempt to open again on an open shop basis" brought the reply from union leaders that "corporation lawyers can't press pants. Without workers, the plants will stay closed. The workers are behind us 100 percent and we will win this strike."

Militant picketing of all plants has been started and an early break in the ranks of the employers' association is expected.

The United Auto Workers have offered their full support to the strike and have given the use of their radio program to the ACWA. The Union's position in this strike was presented to the public in a radio address over station WJBK by Harry Fleischman, the union's press representative.

In addition, the Allied Tailors Association, representing most of the small tailor shops in the city, has come out in support of the strike.

"We've gone through a lot . . . for kids our age"



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

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

"Some of us will never see our parents again. They have died in the fight to make Spain free. Hundreds of us are without homes . . . lacking food, . . . needing medical care.

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

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... by tearing out the coupon and mailing whatever you can to help defray the expenses of maintaining . . .

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- \$1,000.00 will maintain 9 war orphans for one year.
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I Believe in the Social Revolution and Triumph Of Worker's Democracy

By CLAUDE MCKAY

(The following very interesting letter by the well-known writer Claude McKay was sent to us apropos of an article appearing in the CALL on the writers' congress by James Rorty)

Dear James Rorty:

I was invited to join the League of American Writers and was under the impression that it was an organization composed of all writers of left liberal and radical persuasion. On the membership list I

saw such names as Bruce Bliven, John Chamberlain, Waldo Frank, Horace Gregory, Josephine Johnson, Archibald MacLeish and Vincent Sheehan.

But the night of the opening meeting of the Congress at Carnegie Hall, when I listened to Earl Browder attacking Waldo Frank and Trotskyists and Anarchists, I felt that the Congress was being used for official Communist propaganda and walked off the platform. And I did not attend any other meetings.

That same evening I read your article in the Socialist Call. You state that "the primary test by which writers were chosen to take part in the Congress was... their attitude toward the Moscow trials."

But I don't think that I was chosen for that, because all my Communist acquaintances are aware that I do not accept the official Soviet version of the Moscow trials. I am even a little farther than that to the right. I don't like any dictatorship.

Democracy

Now Mr. Rorty, the points you make in your article are interesting, the facts illuminating. But I'd like to know precisely what you propose to do about them? As I see the situation, it appears to me not merely a difference of tactics between radical factions, but fundamentally a part of the great struggle between genuine democracy and dictatorship. More and more today the world is being divided into two great camps of people who still believe in democracy and people who prefer dictatorship.

But because there exists on the left flank of bourgeois democracy

a regime of proletarian dictatorship in Russia, some liberal intellectuals argue that as Russia is a proletarian state they should suspend criticism of its mistakes and criticize only the fascist dictatorship maneuvered which menace the social progress of the world.

But these intellectuals are either led or maneuvered by intellectuals who give their allegiance to the Comintern, who believe only in the principle of dictatorship and have nothing but contempt (which is sometimes concealed) for genuine workers' democracy. Such a situation naturally produces intellectual confusion.

No Utopia

Personally I don't believe in Utopia nor that there is any state which can put itself above criticism. And it seems to me that more than any the Soviet state stands in need of radical criticism and analysis always and precisely because it is generally admitted by radical workers that it is perhaps the greatest social experiment in the history of the human race.

Also I think intellectuals unworthy of their name when they abdicate the right to independent thinking, discussion and criticism. I regard the independent intellectuals as the spiritual descendants of the prophets and sceptic philosophers, who always fearlessly opposed and criticized the priests, while the Communist and Fascist intellectuals, intolerant of criticism, stem straight from the scribes who always blindly and faithfully served the hierarchy



Children learn to use gas masks in Japan.

of the priests. There has never been and never can be any compromise between the two types of intellectuals.

Dictatorship

I lived under the Communist dictatorship, a fascist dictatorship and a colonial dictatorship and found each system different in its social development with some good features and some bad. But in the intellectual sphere I felt something which was common to each of them. And that was a feeling of fear among those who desired to think and express themselves independently.

I come to the conclusion that any regime was bad under which people were afraid to think and talk independently. For throughout the ages it is the persistence of independent thought and criticism against reaction, which has made social progress possible.

I am against all dictatorships, whether they are social or intellectual. I believe in the social revolution and the triumph of workers' democracy, not workers' dictatorship. Finally I'd like to ask what you and other intellectuals like yourself propose to do.

Complaining and denouncing are not enough. The scribes are highly organized and can accomplish much. Is it not possible to have an organization of independent writers?

WANTED

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.

PERSONAL

TEACHER, 27, away from home town, wishes to correspond with young man, professional, of liberal or radical persuasion. Box 45, Socialist Call.

Notice to All Socialists On WPA or in Unemployed Locals

General membership meeting on Friday, July 23rd at 8:30 P.M. at Irving Plaza for members of Workers' Alliance Socialist League; Local 453, Teachers' Union Socialist League; WPA section of the BS & AU; and the Socialist League in A.P. of A.E.C.T. in New York.

You must attend and take part in the formation of general policy on internal questions in the unemployed organizations and the critical WPA and relief situation.

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In this issue of the SOCIALIST CALL, and in each ensuing week, will contribute a timely section on "The Cultural Front" for our feature page.

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JULY 19

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I am sorry I cannot be with you on the historic occasion of July 19. For the children of those who have died, please accept my contribution. (SC)

Address

Name

FLASHES FROM SPAIN

Translations from the Spanish Press casting interesting light on what is happening behind the Loyalist lines . . . Factual substantiation of the articles which have been written exclusively for the CALL by Sam Baron and Liston Oak, who have recently returned from Spain.

BEAR WITNESS GIL ROBLES!

Editorial in ADELANTE, June 10, 1937 (Paper of Largo Caballero):

"The methods of slander, provocation and violence, currently applied by the CP to paralyze whoever disagrees with the directives it chooses or takes from above, have now been transferred to the JSU (United Socialist Youth) by its Communist Leaders.

"The Bonapartist tendencies that appeared first at the famous Valencia Congress where the leadership of the Marxist Youth was taken over by those who believe themselves exclusive representatives of both Socialist and Communist Youth, without having consulted either, have progressively increased under the leadership of Santiago Carrillo, and with the support of the CP.

"The situation has now reached a point of repugnant provocation and violence against our comrades Gregori, Martinez Diaz, Tundidor, and Cerezo. We would indeed be naive or ignorant if we believed, or asked anyone else to believe that the scandalous and filthy methods employed by the present leaders of the JSU, are their own, knowing that they have learned them from the CP, which uses them systematically to do away with whatever hampers its illicit or proper objectives.

"Naturally this can happen only to the degree that one allows it by not giving the necessary answer. We do not believe that problems can be solved by adopting attitudes that can produce violence. It has always

been improper among workers, especially now.

"Adelante has been very careful not to print anything from young Socialists, except those articles that carried on the struggle within the permissible limits. It never entered the struggle itself, and much less, like Frente Rojo (Communist Paper) by inventing things that would increase ill-feeling among the Marxist youth. But what has happened to Comrades Gregori, Tundidor and Cerezo (which did not surprise us) we consider so grave that we can not do less than speak openly against those responsible.

"Our party is used to the struggle against all enemies of the people, whatever costumes they may wear, and in whatever organization they may be hiding. Let Gil Robles and Lerroux, their parties, and all others who tried to destroy bear witness!

"The Party which has inherited from the 'Radicals' (the conservative Lerroux Party) everything that dragged them down may as well realize once and for all that the future, whether it likes it or not, belongs to us.

"If they want to, they can go ahead with their slanders, provocations and violence. We will never desert those who have every right to their own voice and their own existence."

I am accurately interpreting the feeling of the old Socialist youth militants who find themselves, as if by magic, betrayed. . . ."

DISRUPTION BY CP NOTED

From The ADELANTE, June 16-18-20, 1937:

(A Resolution of The Provincial Congress of the Socialist Federation of Valencia . . .)

"Until the CP apologizes publicly for the insulting remarks made recently by the members of its political bureau, Jesus Hernandez and Pasionaria, about our dear comrade Francisco Largo Caballero, and about our party, the conference declares that further collaboration with the CP is not possible and suspends all liaison committees established in province."

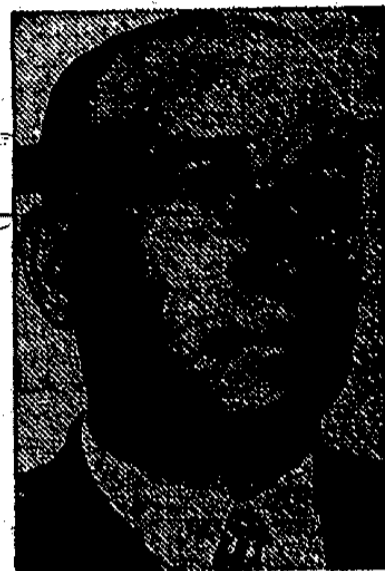
(The provincial secretariat of Albacete of the Federation of Land Workers (U.G.T.) issues a manifesto on the subject of unification.)

"Another of the problems which the conference and our National Committee has examined in detail is the union between the parties and the organiza-

tions which, being proletarian, are separated by certain ideological points or social concepts, but travel to the same goal:—the liberation of the working class.

"As to this, we must recognize that this union that everybody has been hearing so much about is ever farther away now than it was several months ago. . . . There is a certain political party which doesn't stop at any methods to seize the direction of our organization and unions. This has been demonstrated with documents at the National Conference of the National Federation. We must keep our eyes open; allow no one to undermine our work and much less, make us prisoners. We want union

with all our class brothers but not on the basis of betrayals, surrenders and absorption. . . . Don't forget that there are many redeemers of the land-workers who defend small property with all their might, but whose actions contradict their words. We have always advocated protection for small property but let us not include as "small property" those who are still exploiting the workers as in the times of the monarchy. . . . This is what we have to watch out for, and not repeat blindly everything that is said to us either capriciously or with deliberate intentions, with the object of making a party or absorbing our organization."



Largo Caballero

"However, we had agreed that this position would be adopted for the effect on the outside, but never to strangle the legitimate conquests of a revolutionary character made by the working class.

"And something else: A truce would be intolerable for Spanish anti-fascists and true anti-fascists all over the world but it might turn out to be greatly convenient to the interests of the foreign powers. When the history of this shameful episode can be written with concrete data, the naive Republicans will discover how much falsehood there is in this current towards a Republican-Communist alliance dictated behind the backs of the masses who follow the banners of both these parties."

DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA

From An Article by Juan Lopez:

(CNT ex-minister of Commerce in the Caballero cabinet, published in CNT, June 19).

"It is evident that among the Republicans there has appeared a current favorable to the directives of the Spanish section of the Communist International. . . . To what point is the position of the Communists sincere?

It is necessary to understand the political mechanics of the Communists to get an idea of this. In the first place, the naive Republicans should remember that the CP is blindly and absolutely obedient to the directives sent out from Russia. The Communists are sincere in their democratic republican position so long as it suits the foreign policies of the government of the USSR. . . . The Spanish Communists have yelled to heaven every time we have said that Russia, in its policy of international collaboration with foreign powers, becomes a brake upon the world revolution. But the facts demonstrate a solid foundation for our beliefs.

"Moreover the democratic republican propaganda opens up another objective: it permits the Communists to broaden the base of their party by admitting into it all shades of Republican opinion. Do the naive Republicans think that because of this they have found in the CP the weapon to defend their sincere Republican ideals? If so they are mistaken. In the zig-zags of the foreign policies of the IC the moment can arrive when the slogan is changed and the CP becomes a weapon turned against the Republic. . . . In still another respect the Republicans have swallowed hook, line and sinker.

"From the first days of the insurrection when our masses overflowed in a revolutionary upsurge, the most conservative republicans realized that the proletarian revolution was here. However, keeping in mind the aid given by Germany and Italy to the Insurgents, as well as the timidity of Great Britain and France and their decision to give no arms to Loyalist Spain (on the supposition that this would be giving arms to the revolution) they (the Communist International) advised the Republicans, the Socialists, the Communists, the Anarchists and all the Spaniards, not to let the true character of our revolution appear on the outside. . . . Instead, we were supposed to propagate the idea that Spain continued to be a democratic republic. Indeed, the organs of the Communist Party have been the champions in this kind of propaganda, directed, however, not to the outside, but within Spain itself. . . . The CNT has given the most solid assurance to the outside that Spain continues to be a democratic republic. First with our September program, making possible the conjunction of all the anti-fascist forces, and most recently with our minimum program that all the world knows: In these programs, and in the participation of the CNT in the government, genuine weight has been given the idea that Spain continues being a democratic republic.

MURDER OF 16 CNT-ERS

Solidaridad Obrera, March 24, 1937: (Details of the murder of sixteen members of the CNT in Plaza Villa Nueva de Alcará, in the province of Toledo).

"On the 15th day of March, at 3:30 in the afternoon, Jesus Lozano Camara, member of the CNT, was standing in the Plaza. He was called over by a militiaman named Vincente Villa Nueva, alias 'Facote.' They talked for a few minutes, after which Jesus left. As he turned around to go back to the Plaza, Facote pulled out a hand grenade, lighted it, and threw it at Jesus, who was torn to pieces. Manuel Blanco Barrios was a witness. As if this had been a signal, volleys of shots were fired at the headquarters of the CNT from the offices of the Defense Committee and from the plaza.

"One of the leaders of this attack was the militia sergeant, Maximino Merin-Mansanero. The day afterwards, he was a member of the tribunal which was supposed to investigate and judge the events. When the attack began, there were four or five comrades and some 10 children in the CNT headquarters, also two comrades from the UGT and one left Republican. For some time before, our comrades were being arrested as they came in from their work in the fields. Their union cards were taken away from them and torn up and they were thrown into a cellar where, a few hours before, the mayor of the town had given a banquet to the militia and the leaders of the political parties, and they had conversed with excitement about the CNT."

CP COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Two Excerpts from CNT, May 26, 1937

"They talk about incitement to murder. If this is true, it should be condemned. But with greater energy, the crime itself should be condemned. To

date we haven't noticed the Madrid press paying any attention to the accusations we made against the murders of revolutionary workers, committed nearly always by people who have Communist Party membership books."

"CP is trying to persuade us that the revolution is made by opening churches, watching over the interests of the small business men, cherishing small property, giving privileges to small industrial employers, respecting the shameful salary system, opposing the progressive establishment of salary levelling, shutting the

workers' organizations out of the government, systematically opposing the socialization of the means of production and consumption, taking the agrarian collectives apart, yielding to the demands of international capitalism, denying that this is a favorable moment for the realization of the proletarian revolution, which for the Communists was on the order of the day at about the time when they first appeared in Spain.

"So: For Pepe Diaz' Party, the Revolution is made with counter-revolution and the counter-revolution is revolution. . . ."

SOCIALISTS BETRAYED

From ADELANTE, May 10, 1937:

(From an article by Leoncio Perez, ex-editor of the United Socialist Youth paper, ex-editor of Claridad, and at present one of the editors of Adelante, organ of the Socialist Federation of Valencia.)

"The organ of the United Youth in its first epoch . . . confessed publicly that this organization would follow no political line other than of the Communist Party . . . and more recently another leader of the Youth stated that the line of the Central Committee of the CP was not only the line for the Communists but also the Youth line. . . . Let all those who affirm that the unity basis has been carried out note how the facts are misrepresented. . . . I, having signed the unity pact and having therefore right to talk openly in this way, demand that the basis be carried out to the letter, and in making this demand I believe that

AFL Henchmen Expel 10,000 CIO Members in North N. J.

NEWARK, N. J.—William Green's splitting tactics have penetrated industrial North Jersey. "We prefer solidarity," declared William J. Carney, Regional CIO director, as Green's New Jersey henchmen carried through the expulsion of over ten thousand trade-unionists, in a bureaucratic manner unprecedented in the local labor movement.

The gag rule was imposed on protesting delegates to the Essex Trades Council, by Jacob Baer, its president. "Mr. Chairman... Mr. Chairman"—a dozen council delegates rose to protest against the expulsions of the CIO unions. Back came the reply from Baer, pounding the gavel on the table, "The incident is closed, I'm not going to allow a word of debate."

Loud boos echoed through the hall, and several AFL union delegates denounced the splitters. The furor created by the expulsion of the CIO unions, and the manner in which it was carried out, caused predictions that some AFL unions would, in protest, withdraw from the Essex Trades Council.

Prisoners Threaten Withdrawal
Harry Wendrich, one of the leading local trade-unionists and influential council representative of the Printing Pressmen's Union, said that in light of what had happened, he is going to ask his union to withdraw from the council. This action gained the support of Harry Mindlin of the Newark Letter Carriers' Union, who sharply protested against the CIO expulsions, and stated that he would

also ask for the withdrawal of his union, "because there is no democracy in the council."

Among the unions expelled are: the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, two of the council's largest affiliates, and the Newspaper Guild, United Office and Professional Workers, Essex County Teachers, Cleaners and Dyers, Industrial Agents, United Automobile Workers' Union, the Fur Workers' Union, and a faction of Machinists formerly with the Association of Machinists.

Lose One-Fourth Members
Through the purge the council lost one-fourth of its membership, as well as its treasurer, Oscar Chinch, manager of the Cloakmakers' Union, who resigned just a few minutes before the expulsion ruling, stating that "as a gentleman I must resign before I am thrown out."

Closely on the heels of the expulsion came the announcement from William J. Carney, Regional CIO Director, that "we are setting up our own trades council, to be called the Industrial Union Council, CIO."

In addition to the ten thousand ousted unionists, the CIO Council will include over 25 new locals chartered by the local CIO during the past several months.

Carney stated that a meeting of all CIO Union leaders is being called, and that the new council will be functioning within two or three weeks.

Senator Proposes New Peace Plan in CIO-AFL War

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A "trial balloon" has been sent up by a Senator close to labor forces in an attempt to find a formula for peace between the CIO and the AFL. It has been reported here this week.

Despite the pacific intentions of the proposal, it was believed to be foredoomed from the outset, since both CIO and AFL are driving full-steam ahead in their mutual attempt to hold sway in the labor movement. Neither William Green nor John L. Lewis were consulted in the drafting of the proposal.

The key point of the plan is to have President Roosevelt intervene in the labor situation to bring peace to the warring factions. Roosevelt, however, has been advised to keep out of the fight until the chances of peace become brighter.

The peace formula proposed, as a tester, provides:

- (1) CIO unions would become affiliated with the AFL as a "Mass Production" department, parallel to the building trades, metal trades and printing trades departments.
- (2) A system of joint membership would be arranged, so that workers would belong to both the union of their craft and the union of their industry.
- (3) Skilled mechanics having dual membership in craft and industrial unions would pay union and national dues to their craft union.
- (4) Collective bargaining ar-

tinued to say that it was an everyday occurrence to see half a dozen men lying around beaten into unconsciousness, and completely bruised.

When asked about the sentiment of the people of Germany in regard to Hitler, he stated that it would be very difficult to get an accurate estimate, but he is certain that to the 10 per cent which are with Hitler, 90 per cent are agin' him. But he continued, "the ten per cent in favor of him are the ones who are in power; the other 90 per cent are afraid to say anything."

STOPPAGE WINS INCREASES FOR CLOAKMAKERS

NEW YORK CITY.—An agreement affecting 35,000 cloakmakers and 1500 shops was concluded after a stoppage for several days that paralyzed the great New York Industry, called by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, CIO affiliate.

The new agreement provides for a 10 per cent wage increase. Week workers shall receive a flat raise of \$5 a week. On June 1st, 1939, a thirty-two and a half hour week, instead of the present thirty-five hour week will go into operation.

German Refugee Awaits Death

Max Alfred Meister, a charming German refugee of 25, is now at Ellis Island fearfully awaiting deportation from this country to which he escaped, believing that in this land of freedom, he would be safe from the bullets or life imprisonment which will greet him should he be sent back to Germany.

Comrade Meister, a member of the German Socialist Party, was first arrested in 1933 because of his activity in the Socialist Party, and incarcerated into a concentration camp for six months after which he was released.

Since 1933 he fled from one part of Germany to another, and finally went to Spanish Morocco, where he was when the revolution broke out. From August to October, 1936 he was imprisoned in a concentration camp by Franco because "I was a foreigner, and didn't belong to the Fascist Party. In October, I was deported by Franco and sent to Emden, Germany."

Sure of Asylum in U.S.
From Emden, Meister was transferred from one concentration camp to another. "While boarding the train," he said, "I had a chance to jump out on the other side, without having been seen by anyone. I walked to Hamburg, and there I got on the freighter on which I was a stowaway to the United States. After four days without food and water I was forced to give myself up to the officers of the freighter, the Bagdad."

They turned him over to the immigration authorities when the ship docked. But still Meister was sure that here he would not be denied the right of asylum as a political prisoner from Nazi Germany.

Now, however, he is at Ellis Island, his case in the hands of the Workers' Defense League and the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. The case was appealed to Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, when the Immigration Board decided that Meister would have to be deported as an alien to Germany, from which he could return to the United States after one year

if he secured the permission of the Secretary of Labor.

Deportation Means Death
The fate of this is apparent when one realizes that Meister escaped from a concentration camp and sneaked out of Germany. When asked what he thought awaited him in Germany, he answered in the same hesitant but calm tones in which he related his entire story, "I suppose that I'll be imprisoned for life—or shot."

Meister went in to the history of his fight against the Nazi regime, and gave a detailed picture of the pitiful treatment received by the prisoners at the hands of the storm troopers.

"The first time that I was taken to a concentration camp together with other comrades, we were beaten up and thrown into a cement cellar. Two of the others were beaten to death. When we refused to give our reasons for belonging to the Socialist Party and to answer their questions about weapons and ammunitions that were hidden in Germany, we were beaten with heavy rubber hose and kicked by the guards in their heavy boots."

With his large, poorly-shod feet he indicated the manner in which the guards would continue to kick every man who was lying on the floor, practically senseless and completely helpless. He con-

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Stalin Tells Why He Shot His Soviet Generals

From "The New Leader" of Britain

The "News Chronicle" (June 23) publishes a memorandum drawn up personally by Stalin to explain the "crimes" of eight Russian Generals who have been shot.

The French and Czecho-Slovakian Governments were nervous about maintaining their military alliances with Russia in view of the charge that Russian Generals were acting as German agents. To meet the danger that these alliances would be broken, Stalin has made the following explanation:

Arrangements would be made through the industrial unions, with skilled craftsmen getting preferred status which would protect them from reduction to the status "of the unskilled workers."

(5) Jurisdictional adjustments would be made between the two divisions where necessary.

To expedite the peace, it is proposed that Green be given a high diplomatic post, as a means of retiring him from the situation. Lewis, however, would be allowed to remain in charge of the Mass Production Department.

In Green's place, it is proposed that George H. Harrison, president of the Railway Clerks, who had enviable success in arranging peace in the recent fight among factions in the building trades unions, should be elected head of the enlarged AFL.

The senator also proposes that as an added inducement to Lewis, that full adherence to Lewis' Labor's Non-Partisan Political League be assured.

"According to Stalin's memorandum, Tukhachevsky and the others were not charged with treason in any vulgar sense.

No Betrayal
"They did not betray secrets to the potential enemy for money; nor, apparently, did they betray military secrets, properly so-called, at all.

"He insists, however, that they were in constant touch with German agents and military officers, and were at pains not only to discuss conditions in Russia, but to criticize the policy of the Soviet Government.

"They (the generals) are accused of having had a desire to wreck the Russian alliances with bourgeois governments and of hostility towards a line of action which finds expression in Russia's membership in the league.

"They wanted Germany to be embroiled in war with other capitalist states and Russia to remain outside the conflict.

Establish Communism
"Only when the capitalists were exhausted by such a war and the workers in revolt everywhere, should the Red Army march—establish a Communist state of society.

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STAGE and SCREEN

WPA Theatre Going Strong

Historic Pageant of Northwest Is Presented

A historical pageant, depicting eight significant episodes in the nation's formative period leading to the establishment of the civil government in the Northwest Territory, was staged Tuesday, July 13 by the WPA Federal Theatre Project on the steps of the U.S. Sub-Treasury Building at Broad and Wall Streets.

The pageant, written by O. K. Reams, marked the official opening of the sesqui-centennial celebration of the settlement of the Northwest Territory and the signing of the Ordinance of 1787.

Passed on July 13 by the Congress of 1787, meeting on the site of the present Sub-Treasury Building in New York City, the Ordinance is the original document from which the first ten amendments of the Constitution were taken. With this ordinance in existence, it became possible for the pioneers to migrate westward and legally colonize the "Northwest."

The pageant traces the events preceding the passage of the Ordinance ending with the westward march which led to the settlement of Marietta, Ohio, in 1788.

The celebration will continue through October, 1938. The most spectacular feature of the program will be a caravan trek starting from Ipswich, Mass., December 3, 1937, and following the original trail of the 48 pioneers who were the first settlers of the Northwest Territory.

Forty-eight CCC boys, are from each state, will comprise the caravan company. They will re-enact the pageant in each overnight stop. Travelling by covered wagon, boats and ox-carts, the "pioneers" plan to visit 250 cities in the territory, bringing the journey to an end in Marietta in October, 1938.

The closing scene of the Sub-Treasury pageant was marked by the release of a thousand carrier pigeons to figuratively carry westward the message announcing the passage of the Ordinance and the opening of the Northwest Territory to colonization.

Auto Union Will Distribute New Anti-Scab Movie

The Auto Workers Union of America has acquired the right to exhibit copies of "Millions Of Us," anti-scab movie. It will use the film at its summer school and for showing in automobile production areas.

"Millions Of Us" was produced anonymously in Hollywood by talent volunteered from the industry. The producers, are planning two more productions. "Millions Of Us" deals dramatically with the problem of the need for understanding and unity between employed and unemployed workers.

"Swing It" New All-Negro Show Next Tuesday

"Swing It," an all-Negro musical comedy produced by the Variety unit of the WPA Federal Theatre Project, will open Tuesday evening (July 20) at the Adelphi Theatre.

Cecil Mack wrote the book and assisted Milton Reddie with the lyrics. Eubie Black composed the musical scores.

"Swing It" cast with 45 musical comedy veterans, headed by James Boxwell, Leo Bailey, Ella Peas, and Dirkson and Thompson.

The project's first musical comedy to be presented in the Broadway district relates a story of Mississippi steamboating and the struggle between two captains for supremacy of the river.

Goldwyn Signs Hecht To Long Contract

Samuel Goldwyn has just signed a long term contract with Ben Hecht, concluding one of the largest financial arrangements ever made with an individual author. This is the first time Mr. Hecht has been willing to sign a long term contract, having previously only worked in pictures for a short period at a time, recently completing the script of "Nothing Sacred" for David O. Selznick.

Mr. Hecht's first assignment for Mr. Goldwyn will be a musical, "Sweet Land of Liberty," which will go into production immediately following "The Goldwyn Follies." Mr. Hecht will adapt "Sweet Land of Liberty" from the original by George Bradshaw and Joe Bigelow.

Mr. Goldwyn has granted the author a leave of absence commencing early in October to come to New York for the Broadway production of his new play, "To Quito and Back," which the Theatre Guild will present with Sylvia Sidney.

Mr. Hecht will then immediately return to the Goldwyn studios where he will write the screenplay for the forthcoming "Duchess of Broadway."

Columbia Picture Released July 15

Ralph Bellamy, Betty Furness, Robert Armstrong and Raymond Walburn, share the leads in "It Can't Last Forever," the Columbia Pictures comedy which will be released July 15. Lee Loe and Harold Buchman wrote the story and screen play from which Hamilton MacFadden directed. The supporting cast includes Thurston Hall, Marc Lawrence, Charles Judels, John Tyrrell, Donald Grayson, Ed. Pawley, Wade Boteler, Walter Shumway, George Hickman, Beatrice Curtis, Clyde Dison, Harold Goodwin, Eddie Loughton and others.

Helen Westley Signed For Picture

Helen Westley, noted stage and screen actress, was engaged for a featured role in "Til Take Romance," Grace Moore's next Columbia musical production, now in work under the direction of Edward H. Griffith. Melvyn Douglas is the star's leading man. Frank Forest, American operatic tenor and Stuart Erwin have already been signed for this picture, the scenario for which was written by Jane Murnin in collaboration with George Oppenheimer.

With The Party

The following motion was passed by the City Central Committee of Local New York on the Municipal campaign.

Because of considerable disagreement on this question, it is now before a referendum of the membership of Local New York.

"That we nominate a full Socialist ticket for Municipal offices, Assembly and Constitutional Convention, with the understanding, however, that on the basis of discussions with the American Labor Party we may withdraw candidates in order to cooperate with it and to make identical nominations with it. Such action will be on the following conditions:

"1. No endorsement will be made of candidates on any old party ticket.

"2. Our candidate for Mayor against La Guardia may be withdrawn if, in the course of discussion with the A.L.P. and in the development of the campaign it becomes apparent that such action will strengthen the labor movement and our hope of usefulness in building a national labor party.

"3. Any and all changes must be approved by the Central Committee."

Youth Pickets Consuls For Spain Solidarity

As a part of an international picket line, established on the suggestion of the Young Socialist International, organizations affiliated with the United Youth Committee to aid Spanish Democracy will picket the Italian and German Consulates in New York City on the afternoon of Monday, July 19, at 5.30 p. m.

REGISTRATION DRIVE PROCEEDS

Approximately one-third of the locals and branches of the Socialist Party have responded to the registration drive now in progress, reported, Roy E. Burt, executive secretary, to members of the national executive committee.

State secretaries have been sent the list of branches and locals in their states registering and are now asked to throw all their energies behind those units of the organization not yet responding.

Over 100 locals in that many cities over the country have reported they are at work registering their membership. A small percentage of them have completed the work and mailed in their registration cards to state and national offices.

Practically every local registering has indicated that it expects an increase in its membership during this drive. A Michigan local reports the brightest prospects of Socialist progress among labor elements in their community in years, following consistent work with new and flourishing industrial unions.

The "Socialist Handbook," including the constitution and resolutions passed at the national convention of the party, is being used throughout the country during this registration. It is being sold to each party member as he registers. Subscriptions to the "Socialist Call" and the "American Socialist Monthly" are sold at the same time.

"This period of party building is bringing hundreds of Socialists back in touch with the organization," stated Comrade Burt. "It is arousing new activity and bringing new contacts in mass movements. This registration is not an end in itself, but the means to the end of building a more effective organization to work for the establishment of Socialism." Have you registered?

CABLE TO ILP

Fenner Brockway
Independent Labor Party
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EC 4

American Socialist Party endorses sending of commission of inquiry to Spain and requests information regarding arrangements for legal counsel for defendants with view to support your efforts obtain justice.

SOCIAL and DANCE

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THEATRE PARTIES

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

What Is News From Hollywood?

Jimmie Durante Returns to Screen

Jimmie Durante, star comedian, whose last picture appearance was in Columbia's "Carnival," returns to the screen, this week, from a series of successful Broadway stage appearances, which kept him from films for several seasons. He was engaged for a featured role in Columbia's "College Hero," the Saturday Evening Post story by Corey Ford. His latest stage appearances were in "Jumbo" and "Red, Hot and Blue." Between his theatrical engagements Durante made several pictures. Some of his later screen vehicles were "Palooka," "Hollywood Party," "Student Tour," "Strictly Dynamite" and George White's "Scandals."

Grace Moore Star in Opera Vehicle

Grace Moore will sing selections from six operas in her new Columbia starring vehicle "Til Take Romance," now in production under E. H. Griffith's direc-

tion. Among the numbers on Miss Moore's list at this writing are: 'Jewel Song' from "Faust"; 'Gavotte' from "Manon"; "Andre Chenier"; the duet from "Madame Butterfly"; "Traviata" and "Martha". The star will also sing "Til Take Romance," a modern number, written by Ben Oakland and Oscar Hammerstein 2d. Melvyn Douglas appears opposite Miss Moore in "Til Take Romance," with Stuart Erwin, Frank Forest and Helen Westley also signed for feature roles.

"The Awful Truth" Now Shooting

Ralph Bellamy was assigned to one of the feature roles in "The Awful Truth," the Irene Dunne-Cary Grant co-starring picture, which the company is now shooting, under the direction of Leo McCarey. Wyn Cahoon, Cecil Cunningham and Joyce Compton, will also be seen in important parts. The story is based on Arthur Richman's stage comedy with Dwight

Taylor and Vina Delmar credited with the screen play. Mr. Bellamy, who has been under contract to Columbia for several seasons has recently appeared as the leading man in "Let's Get Married," "Counterfeit Lady" and "It Can't Last Forever."

Jean Parker Is In New York Again

Jean Parker, Columbia's contract starlet, who has just completed the feminine lead opposite Douglass Montgomery in "Life Begins With Love," arrived in New York this week for a brief vacation. "Life Begins With Love" is Miss Parker's first picture under her new contract with the company. Others who will be seen in featured roles in this comedy drama are Edith Fellows, Leona Maricle, James Burke, Katherine Claire Ward, Herbert Ashley, Earle Bunn, Lumsden Hare, Romaine Callender, Margaret Armstrong and Aubrey Mather. The story was authored by Dorothy Bennett and prepared for the screen by Thomas Mitchell.

Where To Dine

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THOMAS FOR MAYOR

Mayor LaGuardia Reversed His Stand On Taxing the Poor

By George Baker

For many years Fiorello LaGuardia was one of the shining lights in the House of Representatives. Aggressive, social-minded, he represented in Congress the sentiments and strivings of the progressive forces in American life. Then something happened; he was elected mayor of New York City at a time when the lowest point in the crisis was being reached—and LaGuardia became a "new man."

The true test of a politician are his acts in an administrative office. Acting as merely one legislator in a body of four hundred legislators, it is very easy for him to cry loudly about the "down-trodden mass," to introduce bills of real social value (which he knows beforehand have little possibility of passage). Particularly is this true when the legislator is in a "progressive" minority. LaGuardia himself admitted this in a reply to Manhattan Boro President Sam Levy, when the latter had voted against a tax measure in 1934.

"I am quite sure, Mr. President, that I cannot justify it (the tax) to your satisfaction. I remember that for many years I spoke for a minority, and it is very easy to take a strong stand against any tax measure when you speak for the minority."

This series of articles will try to bring out the position of the "old" and "new" LaGuardias whenever a vital issue came up. This article will deal with the sales tax particularly; further ones will deal with LaGuardia's attitude towards the unemployed, strikers, the transit problem, etc.

1932

The time is 1932. The unemployed masses are stirring. Having gone thru three years of severe depression, seeing no immediate solution to their problems in sight, they are beginning to make their demands for further relief felt in Congress. In order to raise a large revenue in the shortest possible time, a national sales tax of 2.25 per cent is proposed. And here LaGuardia steps in. First he has the tax amended to exclude food, clothing and farm implements. Then he pounces on these concessions as "sugar coatings" for the "iniquitous sales tax." Now he continues the fight. The tax on gas, oil and electricity are to be removed. And finally, the tax is defeated.

And the fight is not an easy

one, for at the time billions of dollars had already gone out of the treasury for emergency purposes, and the bankers were crying out: "Balance the budget."

La Guardia was accused of wishing to "soak the rich" by his insistent demand for a larger surtax and inheritance tax. He was attacked as "alien in mind and spirit to Americanism. . . . He has no loyalty to our form of government and shows every intention of destroying it."

To these ravings La Guardia replied: "There are only two things a poor man has in this country. They are his home and his love and loyalty to his country."

Arguments on Tax

Nor was this opposition a passing mood. It was opposition to a principle. It came from the conviction that "a sales tax . . . is odious. . . . To say that the tax is equitable is ridiculous. A family spending \$1000 a year for subsistence. . . . means that that family will pay at least a \$22.50 tax. . . . Such a burden is out of all proportion even to the gentleman who is dieting on caviar and pate de foie gras."

And further: "The opposition comes from the splendid Representatives from the North, East, South and West, who know the needs of their people at home, who know what this tax will mean to the struggling workers, to the unemployed, to the small business man, and to the small manufacturer. And, laying politics aside, they refuse to be threatened by big business and by the big bankers who have come to Washington since we (Congress) have convened."

Somehow or other we pulled thru . . . taxes were raised from other sources. And now the cry became loud and insistent: "Balance the budget." But, "you can't reduce taxes for the next ten years," La Guardia told a business men's convention before which he

spoke in October, 1932. "You are going to be appealed to in the next few weeks by all three parties on promises of a reduction of taxes resulting from governmental economies. Gentlemen, this is impossible."

1933

But this did not prevent La Guardia from running in 1933, on a platform of "economical government." And the bankers were overjoyed, for they knew that the "scientific management" of La La Guardia would better insure the payment of almost one-third the budget interest fees (actual figures are about 180 million out of about 600 million). And the new Mayor did not let them down. His first act in office was his economy act, cutting the salaries of city employees.

When he was reminded that he had pledged himself in his mayoralty campaign not to cut civil employee salaries, he replied:

"I said that if the city finances permitted there would be no salary reduction. But this is an unusual bill for an unusual situation. The city's budget must be balanced."

So it must, so it must.

But this did not balance the budget . . . nor did the month's payless furloughs forced on the teachers. A new method of taxation had to be found. The "bankers' agreement" limited revenue for real estate to 429 millions and even to get this amount the tax rate had to be raised from \$2.33 per \$100 of assessed valuation to about \$2.70.

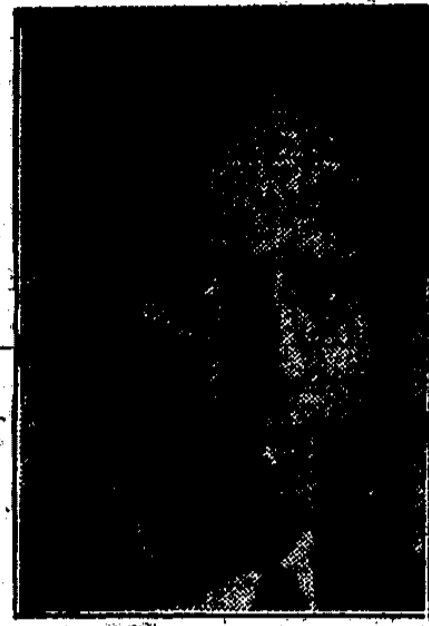
Business Tax Shelved

Now began a mad hunt for "schemes." First a tax on utility company incomes was proposed, then a very small tax on gross business incomes; taxes on hotel charges, on subway and taxi fares, on city bridges were suggested. Even a lottery was given serious consideration. Finally the utility and business taxes were passed.

The business men stormed, declaring they would have to reduce wages or employment. Grover Whalen showed his big white teeth, claimed business wouldn't be able to weather the stress. Percy C. Mangus, president of the New York Board of Trade, registered his opposition.

The Fifth Avenue Association shed bitter tears. Thirty-two

The Socialist Party of Local New York, at the meeting of its Central Committee last Monday



resolved on a vigorous campaign in 1937 for the Municipal, Assembly and Constitutional Conven-

speakers representing powerful and financial mercantile interests in the city protested against the bill. . . .

The bill was eventually shelved.

A state of alarm was created for the public press. Relief was being "threatened." Actually, the bankers were worried about their interest. And they were so worried that they arranged a conference with the Mayor. Here the representatives of J. P. Morgan, the National City Bank and the other large financial interests in the City proposed a city tax of one per cent on sales and salaries. But La Guardia "ignored" the bankers. Exactly two months after the conference the now famous two per cent sales tax was passed.

Passes Sales Tax

Protests came from all sections of the working population, from small business men. La Guardia was forced to pay the bankers. He cried that the Tammany Board of Aldermen had forced him into the situation by its veto of his proposed business tax.

But this was a year after he took office. Surely a man of his experience should have foreseen the coming crisis in relief. Surely he could have demanded from the State Legislature higher income taxes, inheritance taxes, etc.

But that same year he was supporting the Republican candidate for Governor, Robert Moses, and he was in no position to force the Republican state legislature into the embarrassing position of refusal to vote further taxes on the rich.

(Further articles on LaGuardia and his stand on vital issues will appear in later issues of the CALL).

tion ticket. Jack Altman, Executive Secretary announced that the Party had arranged nominations to assure a full ticket in the primaries and made its own designations.

The designations are as follows:
Mayor—Norman Thomas.
President of the Council—Murray Baron.
Controller—Frank R. Cross-walth.
Borough Presidents: Manhattan—Marlon Severn;
Brooklyn—David Corey.

A partial list of candidates for the new City Council was nominated, the balance to be filled in later:
Brooklyn—Harry W. Laddler.
Queens—Samuel A. DeWitt.

Vigorous Campaign

"In planning its campaign for 1937," says the local statement, "the Socialist Party again reiterates its historic opposition to Tammany Hall and all that it stands for. But opposition to Tammany is not enough. We acknowledge that the LaGuardia Administration has fought Tammany and many Tammany methods with energy and a certain degree of success. Its failures are inherent in its relations with the Republican Party and in its attempt to define good government without asking "good for what?" and "good for whom?"

"The answer is not the same for the landlord and banker, interested in high real estate values, and the slum dweller, desperately concerned for good housing; for the workers on whom every sales tax principally falls and the well-to-do and the rich, greatly concerned to keep the income tax down.

Government For Masses

To bring out the necessity of consciously using government in city, state and nation as the servant of the masses and to end exploitation the Party will devote itself in the forthcoming campaign.

"In that campaign it will take account of the existence and wishes of the American Labor Party to which Mayor LaGuardia gave general allegiance in a speech in Madison Square Garden in the campaign of 1936. With this party we Socialists are not in complete agreement chiefly because of its refusal hitherto to cut itself completely loose from the old parties and their candidates. But we do recognize the importance of the ALP now and in the future in helping to build that nationwide labor party to which Socialists are and long have been committed.

Maximum Agreement

"Therefore, in presenting municipal issues and arranging the final personnel of our ticket we shall seek the maximum amount of agreement with the ALP consistent with the Socialist position. We recognize the advantages of identical nominations wherever possible by the only two working class parties now on the New York State ballot. But, our desire for co-operation with the ALP does not extend to including among our nominees candidates who are also on the old party tickets."

Thomas, Barsky to Speak July 19

NEW YORK.—On Monday night, July 19, New York's Anti-Fascist forces will join anti-fascists throughout the country in expressing solidarity with the Spanish masses against the Fascist invasion of Hitler and Mussolini. July 19 marks the first anniversary of the life and death struggle being waged by Spanish

workers and farmers, with the aid of the International anti-fascist forces against a Fascist dictatorship in Spain.

The New York commemoration meeting will take place at the air-cooled Madison Square Garden. It is being sponsored by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

and the Confederated Spanish Societies. Norman Thomas, National Chairman of the Socialist Party will be one of the main speakers along with Fernando De Los Rios, Spanish Ambassador, who is making his first public address since his return from Spain. Dr. Edward Barsky, Chief of Medical Bureau Hospitals in

Spain, who is returning from a seven months at the front on the SS Statendam, Saturday, July 17, will give a first-hand report at the Garden meeting.

Also to appear at the meeting is Humberto Gulliano, leader of the Garibaldi battalion now fighting in Spain. He will be introduced by G. Valenti, Editor of

La Stampa Liberta. Other speakers include: Representative Jerry J. O'Connell, Earl Browder and Vito Marcantonio. On schedule for the evening are also, a chorus of 200, a 150 piece symphony orchestra, Spanish folk dances, and Heshla Tamanya, Ethiopian soprano who will sing.