

# UNEMPLOYED PREPARE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

## The Misery That FDR Spreads

The cold number—20,000—signifying the number of people discharged from relief in New York City as a result of Roosevelt's relief cutting policy carries with it no horrifying emotional experience.

But when investigators begin to probe into the separate lives of each of these 20,000 in New York, or any place else in the United States, they discover the murderous character of the President's policy.

When George Albee, Federated Press reporter, began to trace the President's policy into the lives of individual jobless, he found:

### Broken Home

Robert Brauner is 32. His wife died recently of heart disease aggravated because she could not afford necessary medical attention when her third child was born. Brauner is left now with three motherless boys, aged 10, 7 and 3. "My little family is all I have left," he says. He must surrender his boys to an institution.

### Suicide

Louis Vaughn, 27, was looked upon as a fine young painter. Handed the fatal pink slip, Louis knew there were no jobs. His body was found floating in the Hudson river.

### Penniless

With heart trouble, and going blind, Emma Lessin was on the project to "mother" the children at a recreation center. The children loved her, but they will not see her again. Sick and barely able to see, Emma is penniless.

### \$1.35

Regina Silverman's husband ran a little restaurant. When he died, big, jolly Regina had to go on a WPA sewing project. Pay was only \$16.50 but it made her glad to know she was sewing clothes for the unemployed. Now Regina, 57, has \$1.35 to her name. "What am I going to do? You ask me what I'm going to do?" she says. "What can I do? I can drown myself in the river."

### Eviction

Harry Brown, 42, used to catch for the Pittsburgh Pirates. He

is a war veteran. He worked on a playground project to support his tubercular wife till his pink slip reached him. Harry and his wife are being evicted with \$2 to their name.

### A Fighter

Elizabeth Mance, 60, looks like a little old maid school marm, with her spectacles and her gray hair, but she's a scrapper. Her WPA job was mending and cleaning library books—good work that needs to be done. Fired, alone in her furnished room with nothing to eat except promises of relief "some day soon," Elizabeth says gamely: "The WPA is rotten but it's better than starving. There's plenty of money in this country and plenty of jobs. We've got to fight and we can't fight alone. Unions, that's what we need! The Workers Alliance is mine."

### Death Warrant

With her father dead and her mother an invalid, Lillian Pike, 21, is the head of a family of 7. Fellow workers on her Ellis Island project noticed that she was pale and weak. Her \$21.57 salary just wasn't enough for seven mouths, and she was going without food so her little brothers and sisters could eat. The WPA officials who handed Lillian a slip might as well have handed her seven death warrants. The least that can happen is that the family will be scattered.

### MARITIME UNION AFFILIATES WITH CIO

NEW YORK.—The National Maritime Union, organized three months ago by rank-and-file groups which left the Intl. Seamen's Union voted at their first convention here to affiliate with the Committee for Industrial Organization. It was announced that the convention action would be referred to a membership referendum.

## Is This War?



This picture of Chinese anti-aircraft gunners reminds us of the war in the Far East. Despite the existence of a Neutrality Law which compels President Roosevelt to embargo both sides in the war, the chief executive has not acted. This is in sharp contradiction to his behavior in the Spanish civil war, where, on his own discretion, he acted promptly and decisively to impose such an embargo as injured the cause of the Spanish masses. Is this neutrality?

## The Klan Rides Again As Court Aids the Floggers

By Frank McCallister

BARTOW, Fla.—Judge Robert T. Dewell, in Criminal Court, set trial date for the Joseph Shoemaker flogging murder case for October 5. There was no explanation for the date—even weeks away—which was suggested by County Solicitor Manuel

M. Glover of Polk County after conferring with defense attorneys.

Indicted on this charge as principals are former policemen, C. W. Carlisle, C. A. "Smitty" Brown, John P. Bridges, Sam E. Crosby, and F. W. Switzer, who were convicted of kidnaping E. F. Poulnot, but were granted a new trial on appeal to the Florida Supreme Court. Others indicted as principals are Arlie Gilliam, Ed Spivey and James Dean, Orlando Klansmen; former police chief, R. G. Pittsworth, and Manuel Menendez, former police stenographer, are charged as accessories.

In reversing the decision sen-

tencing the five former Tampa cops to four years each in prison for kidnaping E. F. Poulnot, the Supreme Court said, "The charges alleged police brutality of a most revolting character, amounting to a reflection on our civilization as a people." They made no statement regarding their six months' delay in handing down a decision.

In the meantime, the despised Klan raised its hooded head in nearby St. Petersburg when 200 Klansmen paraded in full regalia the night before election at the heart of the negro section.

(Continued on Page Two)

## Demand WPA Cuts Be Halted

The largest gathering of unemployed in recent years will be seen in Washington August 23, when the National Job March of the Workers' Alliance will take place. The March was called by the unanimous vote of the WA National Executive Board, following the failure of appeals to the Works Progress Administration to stop the 427,000 layoffs, which were completed July 15, and the 300,000 more to follow by October 15. More specifically, the March is called to rally support behind the Schwelienbach-Allen Joint Congressional Resolution, which, if passed, would make impossible the firing of WPA workers, unless employment could be found for them in private industry, at decent wages, not less than the prevailing wage rate.

### Demand Decent Wages

At the same time, that the Alliance is convinced that private industry cannot employ the laid-off workers at decent wages and that the mass lay-offs are backed by the Chambers of Commerce and other bosses organizations in an attempt to reduce wages throughout the country to combat union drives to organize the unorganized, the Alliance demands increased appropriations in WPA funds since the present, reduced WPA funds are totally inadequate to cope with the situation. The Alliance demands either that work be found for laid-off WPA workers in private industry at decent wages or that adequate work relief be provided for them.

In the March, four main columns and ten auxiliary columns of auto caravans, leaving from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will move across the country, to converge in Washington. The marchers will include not only unskilled and skilled workers but also white collar WPA workers, artists, dancers, engineers, writers, and representatives from practically every profession represented in the WPA program.

### Charge Discrimination

The WA has charged the Progress Administration with discriminatory action in its unwarrented discharge of workers, who are merely suspected of being aliens, through a letter by the WA National President David Lasser to Harry L. Hopkins, national administrator of WPA. Lasser's letter charges that "a perfect reign of terror is being instituted against the foreign born in many sections of the country. In New York City the pattern continues."



# New Strike Storm Sweeps England

**A** STORM of strikes is sweeping British industry. The period of quiet, which reigned in the British Isles since the great unsuccessful General Strike of 1926, is at an end. New militancy is coursing through the body of organized labor in Britain.

The case-hardened British trade union bureaucracy, which has been unable to meet the needs of the time, is making every effort to keep the new strike movement in check. This has led to the necessary growth of unauthorized strikes, to expulsions, and to splits in the British trade unions.

During the last two years unofficial strikes have occurred in all parts of the country, involving a total loss of working time officially assessed in 1936 at about 900,000 working days.

In February 1936, 2,500 men struck at Smithfield market against the refusal of the employers to consider and concede their claims for higher wages and other demands. The machine of the Transport Workers' Union intervened against the strike. The Strike Committee organized a united return to work and built up 100 per cent trade unionism with a system of market stewards. In a few months the employers made big concessions.

### AIRCRAFT

The aircraft industry has witnessed a whole group of strikes. March, 1936, saw unofficial stoppages of 1,000 at de Havilland factories at Hatfield and Stag Lane, London. One thousand men demanded the withdrawal of a new efficiency timing system. In the same month 600 struck at Fairey Aviation, Stockport, and 1,200 came out in sympathy at the Hayes factory of the same firm.

The issue was dilution, the firm trying to get work done at cheaper rates than previously by replacing skilled labour by lesser paid labour.

### TRANSPORT

Road Passenger Transport is another industry which has seen many unofficial strikes. In March 1936 the trams were out at Streatham and Clapham depots against changes in meal relief and at Wood Green against harsh new schedules.

In 1937, March saw 9,000 Scottish busmen out for 10 days because the company refused to give proper consideration to their complaints of hardship and low wages, and 6,000 Glasgow Corporation busmen thought them right to strike and hacked their approval by levying themselves 2s. 6d. per week.

In April 10,000 busmen in the English counties took part in a movement to secure better wages and conditions. In June the Yorkshire busmen struck, and in July the men were out in the Ribbles area and in Devon.

These instances would surely give to any impartial observer the idea that there must have been widespread discontent and that the workers were chafing under conditions too irksome to be borne.

### CLOTHING

But these are only half the list. In February, 1936, 3,000 clothing workers at the big Burton factory, Leeds, struck in support of a wage demand by the sisters, and eight other Leeds clothing factories walked out in support.

In August 3,000 pit prop workers at Mill docks struck to be included under workers' conditions. In September 54 miners at Blantyre staged a walk out for 50 hours on wages, and 30,000 others struck for one day

in protest at the company's refusal to allow them to go down. In October 4,000 Glasgow dockworkers were out.

January 1937 saw 1,000 engineers at AEC striking against the introduction of boy labour on a machine. At Victoria Armstrong Barrow, the District Committee of the A.E.U. put a ban on overtime, and the A.E.U. Executive put a ban on the District Committee. They are still suspended.

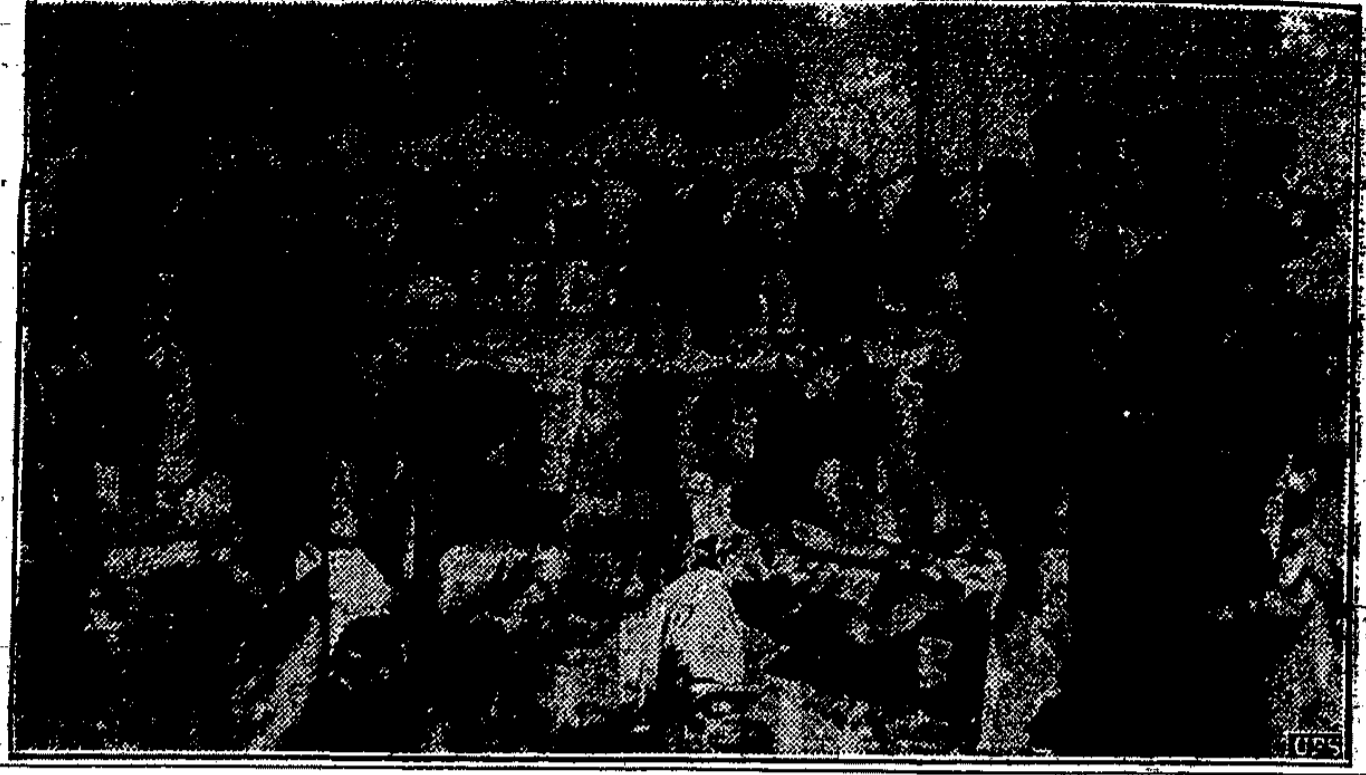
In March the building workers on the Earl's Court job, where hundreds of accidents had occurred, went on strike for 5s. a week danger money. The Executive of the Electrical Trades Union expelled the London Committee of the union for backing up the men.

### AT DERBY

In the same month 270 grinders at Rolls Royce, Derby, struck for a wage rise. The A.E.U. Executive expelled Herdige, the London District President, who gave help to the strikers. Spontaneously 13,000 Clydeside apprentices came out, and 100,000 engineers backed them with a one-day stoppage, the issue being the employers' refusal to negotiate with the unions on the last demands. And 2,200 men struck at Parkhead Forge for higher wages.

In April 1,200 workers at the Pressed Steel Works, Oxford, struck for 100 per cent trade unionism. In the same month the craftsmen of the Port of London ship-repair industry after banning overtime for 19 months got a new agreement with a wage increase and an hour off the working week. Eight hundred men at Barking Power Station won big concessions by threatening overtime ban.

# Homeless Basque Children



A picture of the homeless Basque children, the victims of ruthless Fascist attacks upon defenseless homes. At left (by coincidence) is William Carney, prejudiced American reporter, who has been filling the press with false rumors about unjustified assaults upon the supporters of Franco. The horror in the land of the Basques reminds us of the need to get behind the Norman Thomas Home for Basque Children. Send your contributions to the Young People's Socialist League, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Illinois.

# Strike for Closed Shop Illegal in N. J.

By Aaron Levenstein

### Capitalism cannot tolerate the functioning of trade unions—such is the decision of the Chancery Court of New Jersey.

Frankly resting on the capitalist nature of American law, Vice-Chancellor Leon Berry handed down an injunction last week against seven striking unions. "A strike which has for its object the closed shop is unlawful," he said, adding that "a contract providing for the closed shop is illegal and unenforceable."

The sacred obligation of contracts, so dear to the hearts of corporation lawyers, becomes pro-

fare if invoked in behalf of trade unionists whose only real protection is the closed shop.

Explaining the legal basis for his decision, the court declared: "However obnoxious the statement may be to some individuals or classes, it must be admitted that we are a capitalistic nation, whose wealth has been built up upon the concept of property and individual rights therein. So long as we continue to be a capitalistic nation, protection of those rights must be given by our courts if government and law and order are to continue to exist."

"Under our basic laws property rights are entitled to the same protection as personal rights."

The injunction restrains the unions which are striking against the International Ticket Company from performing any of the normal activities of a strike. "The object of the strike (the closed shop) being unlawful, all acts in support thereof, including picketing, are also unlawful," the court declared.

New Jersey thus joins Massachusetts, Maine and other states in condemning the closed shop and strikes pursued toward that end as illegal. In Maine, six CIO leaders of the shoe workers, headed by Powers Haggood, vice-chairman of the Socialist Party, and their attorney, Sidney Grant, were recently sentenced to six months imprisonment for violating an injunction issued on similar grounds. They are out on bail now, pending the disposition of their appeal, after having served some two months. Bail had originally been denied them, but they were released a few weeks ago on a writ of habeas corpus obtained by Arthur Garfield Hays, acting as attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers' Defense League.

and the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa are urging that letters be sent to Governor Fred F. Cone, Tallahassee, Fla., demanding that the law be invoked against lynchings and that a legislation be made in the Shoemaker case.

The Workers' Defense League

# Again The Klan Rides

(Continued from Page One)

They were attempting to intimidate negro voters from going to the polls in a Municipal election the following day. The Negroes, however, defied the Klan and voted anyway.

### Klan Again

In Tampa, E. F. Poulnot, flogging victim, and several other leaders of the Workers' Alliance were fired from their WPA jobs as a result of a sit-down strike supported by a general walkout of the Workers' Alliance in Tampa which ended last week. An appeal is being taken to Washington by the Workers' Alliance and a national drive is being waged to secure the reinstatement of these working class leaders who have been grossly discriminated against by the reactionary administrators of the WPA in Florida.

# Free 4 Scottsboro Boys; Fight to Save Rest to Continue

"Gee, I haven't been so happy since I was 2 years old," was the first thing said by one of the defendants in the Scottsboro case when he learned that he and three others had been freed.

After spending six and a half years in jail, four of the nine Scottsboro boys are today in New York free once again, as a result of the decision of the state to not prosecute all the indictments. Of the other five, one has been sentenced to the penitentiary for ninety-nine years, two for seventy-five years, one for twenty, and one has received a death sentence. Liebowitz regards the fact that finally they have escaped the electric chair as a miraculous victory. The fight to save the other five boys from the unjust and horribly long sentences pronounced on them is not being given up.

# Florida Klansmen "Murder" Negroes

### TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—The state in which Joseph Shoemaker was lynched almost two years ago by Ku Klux Klansmen now has two more lynchings to

its discredit. Had the murderers of Shoemaker been punished, it is more than likely that the two Negro boys who were dragged from the county jail last week by a mob and riddled with bullets would still be alive.

Charged with attacking a policeman, the victims, both 18 years old, were left dead under crudely scrawled placards, reading: "Warning, this is what will happen to all Negroes that harm white people."

The jail from which they were taken without any resistance from the officials, was four blocks away from the state capitol in Tallahassee, scene of a recent visit to Governor Fred P. Cone by representatives of the Tampa Workers' Defense League and the Committee for the Defense of Civil Liberties in Florida who had come to protest the failure to prosecute Shoemaker's lynchings.

Governor Cone, who had pleaded ignorance of the facts in the Shoemaker case in reply to the demand for action, asserted that he would "prosecute anybody we get to the limit of the law" in the double-

murder perpetrated last week in his own state capitol.

"This was not a lynching—it was murder," he told newspapermen. Florida citizens are now wondering what distinction the Governor makes between lynching and murder.

Police Sergeant Harry Fairbanks, who claimed that four armed men had forced him to accompany them to the jail, said that the murderers told him, "We want the jail keys and we don't want any foolishness."

"I got up and gave them to them," he said.

News of the outrage has brought fresh demands for the passage of federal anti-lynching legislation. It was recalled here that the Florida congressmen had vigorously opposed the passage of the Gavagan bill against lynching several months ago in the House of Representatives, alleging that there was no need for such legislation. It is known that one of them, at least, is closely connected with the Ku Klux Klan, members of which have been proved to be the killers of Shoemaker.

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# BOSS VIOLENCE IN THE U.S.

## Memorial Day Massacre Was Wanton Murder

WASHINGTON.—One of the most damning indictments of a public law enforcement agency ever made by a Senate committee is the report of the Senate civil liberties committee on the Chicago Memorial Day massacre which was submitted to the Senate here.

- 1. That the attack of the Chicago police was entirely without provocation.
- 2. That the marchers who were brutally shot down were proceeding entirely within their legal rights in an attempt to establish a mass picket line around the Republic Steel Co. plant.
- 3. That following the unprovoked police attack, absolutely no provision was made to take care of the wounded and at least one person died as a result of police heedlessness and inhumanity.
- 4. That the group could have been dispersed without disorder and loss of life.
- 5. That investigation of the occurrence by city authorities was farcical and prejudiced and "the action of responsible authorities in setting the seal of their approval upon the conduct of the police not only fails to place responsibility where responsibility properly belongs but will invite repetition of similar incidents in the future."

higher than the lower of the estimates.

"Any evidence that shots were fired from the crowd has been discredited."

**Wounded Denied Aid**

Referring to the conduct of the police after the clash, the report declared, "The uncontradicted oral and photographic evidence, corroborated by admission of the police themselves, establish that their treatment of the injured was characterized by the most callous indifference to human life and suffering."

"Wounded prisoners of war might have expected and received greater solicitude." In addition, the report stated, police denied

aid to the wounded proffered by fellow strikers and, in one instance, dragged a man "with no more care than would be employed on a common drunkard," loosening the tourniquet which had been applied to his thigh. The man later died from loss of blood.

Testimony by police offered to the committee is analyzed and shown to be contradictory and without corroboration either by photographs or testimony of other witnesses. Statements made by the police to the State's attorney's office immediately after the shooting were denied the committee and instead affidavits drawn up a month later were presented.

After summarizing the testimony presented to it, the committee declared in its report. "The encounter first occurred at the sight of the police line. We accept Capt. Mooney's statement that the police threw tear gas into the lines of the marchers before any shots were fired. The occasion for the use of tear gas is not clear from the evidence. We find no evidence of any physical encounter before the tear gas was used."

"The photographic evidence and the testimony of Reverend Flisk suggests that the crowd had already begun to retreat before the gas exploded in its ranks. Within a few seconds after the gas was thrown a stick and perhaps other isolated missiles were thrown from behind the ranks of the marchers and at the same moment a policeman stationed just to the left of the patrol wagon fired three times into the air.

"Capts. Mooney and Kilroy and Ralph Beck (Chicago Daily News reporter) all agree that it was not until after this firing commenced that a 'shower of missiles' came from the ranks of the marchers, these also from some 50 feet behind the first line. Simultaneously with this shower of missiles the police fired a volley of shots estimated by the witnesses as from 20 to 200 shots. From evidence of the sound track on the Paramount News film we believe that the number of shots were closely approximated the

### TERROR IN CANTON

By Mrs. Fred King

CANTON, Ohio.—Another striker died in Massillon City Hospital on Sunday night, July 18. Doctor says he died of heart failure, but CIO officials say he was murdered.

We have definite proof that this man, Loggil Dross, was in his house attending to his own business on the Sunday night of the terrible Massillon slaughter on Sunday night, July 11, and the Republic Steel gun thugs came to his home and broke the lock on the door and tossed in some gas bombs.

Mr. Dross had to run through that terrible gas to get out, then they beat him up terribly and took him to the jail and kept him there a couple of days.

Well, one week later he died. Funeral today.

Our picket lines will be re-established today at 4 o'clock a.m. by order of the court.

Canton and Massillon city officials who were responsible for the violence, are in Washington, D.C., now, in jail, and are being tried in court.

CIO officials left last evening at 7 o'clock to go to Washington to testify against them.

### Massillon Police Armed By Republic Steel

WASHINGTON (FP)—Strike-breaking by the Republic Steel Corp. at Massillon, Ohio, was described to the National Labor Relations Board here by Police Chief Stanley W. Switter as hearings began upon a complaint filed with the board by the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee.

Switter related how Carl Myers, manager of the Republic plant near Massillon, asked him, "Why don't you take action like they took out in Chicago and put them, where they belong?" and how members of the Law and Order League put constant pressure on the city administration to force opening of the steel mills.

Under questioning by Lawrence Hunt, counsel for the board, Switter told how Gen. Wm. E. Marlin of the Ohio National Guard also put pressure on him to deputize a number of special police for the purpose of opening the plant.

Switter said that Marlin suggested swearing in a number of Republic scabs as "Home Guards" and special police and that when police

### NLRB "Lousy S. Of B."—Bennett

DETROIT.—Harry Bennett, Ford's personal director, drove up to Gate 4, May 26, just after thugs had beaten 14 union men and women, inflicting injuries which some of them will carry to the grave.

Meeting two service men there, he congratulated them for their "good work" John Gollanski, sweeper in the Ford plant, swore in the labor board hearing into charges of coercion and intimidation brought against the motor company.

Before Gollanski, left his vantage point where he could overhear the talking, he heard Bennett, he testified, refer to "those lousy s— of b— from Washington."

The evidence threw Ford lawyers into a fit of consternation. The witness recognized Bennett from pictures and was positive in his identification. Louis Colombo, Sr., chief Ford counsel, badgered, bullied and abused the witness in an effort to shake his story, but failed.

**Fire Union Men**

Before resting its case, the board called nearly 100 witnesses

and took 2,000 pages of testimony. Over 30 workers told of being fired for union membership or sympathies. Ford steel-pipe methods were described. One tactic was to assault workers and then fire them for "fighting."

Evidence of service men armed with teargas guns was placed in the record.

That the Ford Brotherhood of America is fostered by the company in violation of the Wagner act was another charge carefully investigated. Workers told how membership cards were circulated during company time by foremen and service men. They were told that "they'd better sign up if they knew what was good for them." If they didn't have the 50-cents, sometimes the foremen would urge them to accept a "loan."

### Hershey Vigilantes Seize 5 CIO Men After Meeting

By George Stone

HERSHEY, Penn.—Another example that all is not well in Hershey, self-styled "workers-paradise," was vividly demonstrated when vigilantes seized five CIO organizers here after a meeting and escorted them into town under the threat of tar and feathers.

The meeting, called by the United Chocolate Workers, Local No. 2 was originally scheduled to be held in Indian Echo Cave Park, Hummelstown four miles outside of Hershey. This park had been hired by the Union last week. Monday night the manager of the Park came to Mary Schneider, organizer for the Chocolate Workers and told her that the Hummelstown National Bank had notified him that they would immediately foreclose the mortgage on the Park if he would persist in renting the place to the Union. Thereupon the manager returned the deposit and told Mrs. Schneider that the Park was unavailable.

John Edelman, Regional Director of the CIO for Eastern Pennsylvania and Mrs. Schneider, who already had leaflets distributed for the Park meeting then decided that the meeting would be held at a deserted school house just two miles away from the Park. Nobody knew of the location because it was feared that violent steps would be taken to prevent the gathering. So a leaflet was distributed announcing that a motorcade would leave the Union headquarters at 8 P.M. and all those interested in attending the meeting should follow the procession.

Quite a few cars were in the procession when the motorcade left the Union headquarters from Hershey. But a number of the workers had learned of the meeting location and were there when the procession arrived at the schoolhouse. The reason for this is that they did not want to be seen in the procession.

Edelman was one of the speak-

ers. He exposed the pamphlet, "Civil War in Hersheytown" which is being sold by the American Legion in the Hershey Department Store, owned by the Company as a tissue of lies.

The meeting ended by a display of fireworks. All the workers departed early. Five CIO workers, Mrs. Schneider, Edelman, Sid Addison, Harold Am, and Robert Wolfe, all attached to the Philadelphia staff, remained to dismantle the sound equipment.

Suddenly they found themselves surrounded by 10 plug-uglies who threatened to kill them. Bitterly abusing them, cursing them, hurling all sorts of vile epithets in the presence of Mrs. Schneider, who is a middle-aged woman. Then the vigilantes, after badgering the CIO group for some time ordered them to get in their cars and drive to Hershey. Besieged with cars in front of them and in back of them, the party was escorted to Hershey and left on the outskirts of the town.

Edelman then phoned to the State Police Headquarters at Harrisburg, 12 miles away. It took more than an hour and a half to get a police escort. Edelman said he would protest this seeming indifference to Governor Marle. He also said that he would file a complaint with the newly created Civil Liberties Bureau in the Department of Labor and Industry concerning the whole fracas.

A complete report of the affair along with a general history of the Hershey plant is now in the process of preparation by Mrs. Schneider which will be transmitted to the National Labor Relations Board in Philadelphia.



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## A LESSON IN POLITICS

Officially, the President's Supreme Court reform plan was put to rest last week.

Formally, the attempt to modify the court was alive and kicking for almost a year.

Really, however, the president's move to change the judiciary was still-born. It was dead when he first proposed it.

The fate of the Supreme Court reform movement is an invaluable lesson in politics. A study of FDR's attempt to juggle the judiciary will tell the wise politician just how not to do things.

To begin with, Roosevelt refused to deal with the real issue behind the case of the People versus the Supreme Court; namely, the issue of judicial autocracy.

The real complaint against the Supreme Court is not that it was nasty about the NRA, at one time, or the child labor laws, at another. These drastically reactionary decisions merely illumined the true character of the court, revealed the enormous power that resided in the hands of five men.

When the Supreme Court ruthlessly murdered the Blue Eagle, the answer of Roosevelt could have been direct and, probably, telling in its effect upon the destruction of judicial autocracy. What was in order was an amendment depriving the court of its power to review legislation and declare it unconstitutional, or, at least, a constitutional amendment giving congress the power to legislate for the social well being without interference from the Supreme Court.

Roosevelt proposed neither. He refused to face the issue squarely. And since his labor backers applied no visible pressure upon him to go forward with a frontal attack upon the Supreme Court, he felt less reason to assume responsibility for such a fight all by himself.

So Roosevelt proposed his first compromise plan.

The compromise plan had absolutely no principled argument to back it up. So Roosevelt had to find excuses for it. He offered two reasons: first, to bring the court into swing with the times; second, to speed up court procedure.

The opponents of the reform immediately proved the second argument to be nonsense. And the first argument they shattered by two quick moves. First, the court came into the spirit of the times by finding New Deal legislation constitutional. Second, a judge resigned to give Roosevelt a chance to appoint another man, to make certain that the court's mood would not change too rapidly.

Had Roosevelt attacked the court from a principled point of view, in order to challenge judicial autocracy, these concessions from the "court" would not have weakened his case but would have strengthened it.

The reversal of attitude toward the New Deal proved that the court was as whimsical as the legislature, and therefore had no God-given power to adjudge as to what is constitutional and what is not. Quite an argument to end judicial dictatorship!

But since Roosevelt had decided to fight with excuses rather than principles, all his opponents had to do was destroy the excuses and thus leave him unarmed.

So soon as Roosevelt's excuses were shattered, the enemies of court reform began to fight in earnest. Each day they gained ground. And Roosevelt could only keep his people in line by cracking the party whip.

But Roosevelt and his followers were fighting without heart. They could not explain why they were fighting. They wanted to quit the fight. So they decided to offer another compromise, such a compromise as might be acceptable to their opponents and would thereby bring the fight to a close.

The result was just the opposite! In politics, as in war, retreat does not lead to an honorable peace. Weakness emboldens the foe.

The opponents of court reform began to strut like crowing cocks when they heard of the new compromise. But wisely, they did not claim victory, yet. They said that the new compromise was even worse than the original. They would have none of it.

The death of Robinson was no more than a dramatic coincidence in the struggle around court reform. The real death blow was delivered to the president's plan not because the conservative Bourbon, Joe Robinson, died but because the liberal, philanthropic Governor of New York suddenly came to life.

The picture of Herbert Lehman, "strong right arm" of Roosevelt, hammering the last nail into the coffin of court reform, is symbolic. For indeed it was Roosevelt who, by a refusal to conduct a direct assault upon the Supreme Court, was guilty of infanticide.

Not that a direct fight would have won a clear victory over the court. But perhaps, under such circumstances, those who would save the court would have made the compromises which Roosevelt proposed and lost!

# AT THE FRONT



## By NORMAN THOMAS

The Scottsboro verdicts were not a victory for justice, but a shocking and cynical perversion of it. Of the four boys who are free two were around thirteen years old at the time of the alleged

crime, one was almost blind and the other suffered from a serious venereal disease. The Alabama authorities knew all this, which they now admit, six years ago, but they still held the boys under an imprisonment during which repeatedly they were in fear for their lives. What is still worse is the plain fact that the four who have been convicted were convicted solely on the testimony of Virginia Price, a woman of the lowest character who also implicated in that testimony the four who are now set free on motion of the prosecution.

Congress or thirteen states had blocked the amendment, then he could have demanded with overwhelming force, as a last resort, a bill to change the composition of the Court.

Such a campaign would have educated the people on the vital issue of government. It would have been even more efficient than the President's own campaign in forcing the Court to change the line of its decisions at the price of its consistency.

The method that the President chose confused the issue and probably lost the chance to bring up a more fundamental change. His defeat has given new confidence to the reactionaries. It leaves the real fight still to be waged.

### ROOSEVELT AND LA GUARDIA

For the failure of the President's Court fight and for his own bad tactics in it, the explanation is not wholly, or even chiefly, personal. In the campaign of 1936 the President did not want to raise real issues. He preferred a blank-check victory on the vaguest sort of popular-front program. Well, he got it. Only to lose out on Court reforms. And now the United Mine Workers are publicly criticising his Administration, which they backed so generously, for its failure to protect the lives of striking workers and their friends.

The present struggle in the steel regions has cost seventeen lives, all of them lives of workers. In all fairness, union committees which are now beginning to criticise the President ought to realize that his Administration has done every bit as much for them as they had a right to expect from the Democratic Party, constituted as it is, even with Roosevelt at its head. If they want more, the workers must build their own party as they are building their own unions.

To a certain extent this comment applies also to the LaGuardia administration in New York. LaGuardia has done as much as any man has a right to expect of a Mayor elected on a Fusion ticket under the existing constitutional set-up.

Where he has gone wrong—and he has gone wrong at important points—it has been for two reasons: (1) Every Mayor—even a Socialist Mayor—of a city is bound by the laws and customs of the capitalist system under which he must administer his office. Unlike the President he has practically no power to initiate fundamental changes. (2) No Mayor can be absolutely independent of the principal groups to which he owes his election. As long as LaGuardia takes the Republican nomination, even if he has to win it at the Primaries from a hostile machine, he is under some obligation to Republicans and the Republican viewpoint, which is certainly not the workers' viewpoint.

The American Labor Party may think it lacks the strength, perhaps it lacks the desire, to make its candidate and supporter, Mayor LaGuardia, refuse to seek the Republican nomination. But for that failure in strength they and the workers will pay a price.

### THE COURT

Let's think about what might have been. Suppose President Roosevelt in the last campaign had brought the very real and important Supreme Court issue before the public and demanded an amendment to the Constitution—the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment, for instance—or even one less good. Unquestionably he would have been re-elected, perhaps with a majority less than the heterogeneous landslide which he accumulated, but big enough to be impressive. With this mandate he could have put an amendment through Congress and brought it to a prompt and perhaps favorable vote in the states. If a stubborn minority in

for attempted cooperation with the A.L.P. which won the overwhelming majority of the Central Committee and has now been unanimously endorsed by the State Executive Committee? For one reason and one reason only. Our best hope of advancing socialism lies in doing our utmost to work with a labor party and to educate it. For us to help or to seem to help to defeat the principal candidate of the Labor Party—and the A.L.P.—is a labor party however imperfect from a socialist standpoint—with the practical result of putting any section of the Democratic City machine in power, would embitter our relations with labor for an indefinite period.

It would not in the least help us to educate anybody. On the other hand, by refusing to endorse LaGuardia, if he runs on the Republican ticket, while at the same time we refuse to aid a Copeland or a Whalen against the A.L.P., we are in a position constructively to make our points plain to the voters, especially to the voters who are building the A.L.P. In this connection it must not be forgotten that while we could not run a Socialist campaign in the nation without nominating a presidential ticket we can run a socialist campaign in the city, without pushing a candidate for Mayor, provided that our action furthers the development of the right sort of labor party. That can only be found out by dealing with the A.L.P.

This is my answer to the various socialist friends and comrades who publicly and privately have expressed surprise, regret, or deeper emotions concerning the New York resolutions of the municipal campaign.

### SPAIN

The supreme concern of all foes of fascism must be for a decisive loyalist victory in the great battle for Madrid. But it is consistent with this absorbing interest not to forget our concern for civil liberties and the right of the workers to their own associations in loyalist Spain. The news indicates that there will be public trials for the leading Anarchists and members of POUM now under arrest, but that none but Spaniards will be allowed to attend. That is an utterly indefensible position for the government to take. Hitler didn't take it in the Reichstag fire cases. The U.S.S.R. up until recent years followed no such policy. Yet in Spain it is the Communist Party, which is responsible for this intolerance. Indeed it was the Party through friendly police chiefs, rather than the governments in Barcelona and Valencia, which took the initiative in the wholesale arrests. Pressure on Valencia for the preservation of civil liberty must be continued.

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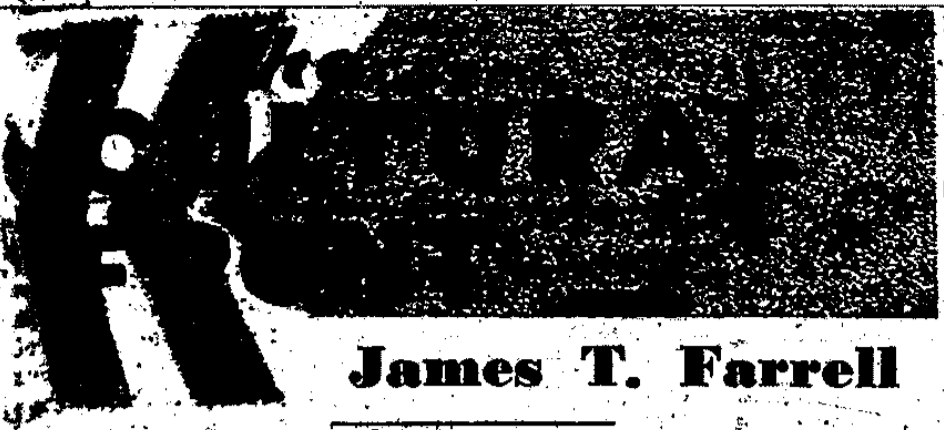
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James T. Farrell

Making Hollywood Keep the Ten Commandments

Mr. Martin Quigley is the man who first conceived the need for the Production Code which is today accepted by the organized motion picture industry.

Mr. Quigley argues that the motion picture has created problems which have not attended the development of other forms of expression.

Moral Selectivity

However, his conception of selectivity is not based on the internal necessities of the medium and the material, but rather it is conceived in moral terms.

Censorship laws and political control of censorship are, he claims, demonstrably unworkable.

During the post war period, and partly because of the "degraded" character of much of the material presented in novels and plays.

Herein is presented a typical view of those who favor censorship. Also, it should be stated, that Mr. Quigley presents his views without the bigotry and aggressive self-righteousness of the professional Comstockers.

Peddlers of Pornography

Censorship in terms of such a viewpoint, never hurts the pornographic writer or producer. He who wants to peddle pornography is more successful when there is censorship.

The only one penalized by the acceptance and implementation of this view is the serious artist and the intelligent and sensitive appreciator of art.

to the fight against sin. Without sin, the priestcraft would be put out of business.

Mr. Quigley may claim that a moral victory has been won, and that Hollywood productions are cleaner than they were.

The Status Quo

Behind the restrictions based on moral grounds, there are others that are political in nature, restrictions which practically demand that the film production be a defense of the status quo.

The evaluation of Shakespeare in the terms of Mr. Quigley's views would turn him into one of the most debasing influences ever known.

Freedom of Press in Milwaukee; Farrell Novel Is Not Banned

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—An irate parent, an almost forgotten state law, and an over-zealous policeman gave Milwaukee an entirely undeserved black eye last week.

Copies of "A World I Never Made," a new novel dealing with slum conditions in working class districts of Chicago, were taken by the policeman from a rental bookstore which had been charged with lending the book.

The Socialists were the first to point out that the manner of dealing with the situation was wrong.

No Censorship

"In a democracy, censorship won't do . . . Once let censorship get a good foothold and the next thing might be the banning of books and pamphlets on political and economic subjects . . .

WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

The Rykoff-Bukharin Mystery

THE mystery of Rykoff and Bukharin has apparently been solved. For many months the entire radical world has been wondering when the much advertised trial of these two Old Bolsheviks would be staged.

"You understand now the events of the last few weeks have increased the difficulties of communication with you. It has become even more difficult to obtain accurate news.

"Nevertheless, I have managed to find out something, and from a very reliable source—the fate of Bukharin and Rykoff.

Radek's Role

"Both Bolshevik leaders were 'given the works' in order to make them 'confess'.

Play Protected

Local Socialists and others interested in freedom of the press remember the storm that was caused in the country when "Tobacco Road" was being driven out of one city after another.

"If all the books which contain obscene passages were banned, some of the greatest works ever produced by the human mind—such as Shakespeare and the Bible—would have to be barred."

Following the closing of the show by the mayor of Chicago, the company moved to this city.

claiming that such a confession was absolutely essential to the interests of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party; he also tried to influence them with his own example.

"Radek himself is at present living on an estate in Central Russia, in a mansion surrounded by a park. His entire library has been given him, and he has the fullest possibilities for working.

Why They Confess

This report, if true, should help throw some light on the "trials" and "confessions" in previous cases.

Those who refuse to "confess" are given secret trials and quickly executed, as was done with the Red Army Commanders, or exiled and isolated, as was done with Bukharin and Rykoff.

There are even stories that some of those reported to have been tried and executed, were never even brought to trial, secret or open.

For example, it is reported that Gamarnik was never tried. He was under arrest for a long time before the news became known and was killed during the preliminary hearings.

The Political Meaning

The continuation of the arrests and trials should not only set aside all doubts in the minds of the naive "friends of the Soviet Union" as to the truth of the charges, it should even make it clear that the people arrested were not even "Trotskyites" or "Bukharinites."

The Komsomols were a Stalinist stronghold, both in the fight against Trotsky, and particularly in the fight against Bukharin. Being the generation since the Revolution, they were brought up on the rigors of civil war, of the self-sacrifice of the five-year-plan.



Revolutionary Socialism—VI.

Role Of Unions In Capitalism

I. THE TRADE UNIONS

The first acquaintance with the class struggle which most workers have is through the trade union. It is the elementary weapon of labor. Through the trade union, the worker fights for a better wage, for better hours and working conditions.

Because most workers in trade unions view their fate in terms of their own narrow experience they are apt to overestimate the power of the union. The most that a union can do is to get for labor a maximum wage within the framework of capitalism and under prevalent conditions in the market.

Thus when a crisis hits business, it is no longer possible for industry to grant to labor the same wage that it gives the

workers under ordinary conditions. And, likewise, when the whole capitalist system begins to collapse the trade unions can win concessions from the capitalist only within a certain framework. Trade unions can soften the pangs of exploitation but can not abolish exploitation. And as exploitation grows more keen with the pressure of capitalist depression, the unions must fight harder and harder to hold their ground. As capitalism narrows, so the possibilities of pure and simple trade union action narrow.

2. UNIONS TODAY

This does not imply that a trade union can not play a really revolutionary role, in addition to its day by day role of winning minor gains for the workers. It is the truth, however, that

trade unions, operating within capitalism, can not fundamentally change the character of capitalist exploitation, although they can win momentary improvement. The truth is that the trade unions must become part of a greater and more revolutionary movement to root up the system of exploitation completely.

Rosa Luxemburg, in her "Reform and Revolution," wrote prophetically:

"Once industrial development has attained its highest possible point and capitalism has entered its descending phase on the world

market, the trade union struggle will become doubly difficult.

"In the first place the objective conjuncture of the market will be less favorable to the sellers of labor power, because the demand for labor power will increase at a slower rate and labor supply more rapidly than at present.

"In the second place, the capitalists themselves, in order to make up for losses suffered on the world market, will make greater effort than at present to reduce the part of the total product going to the workers (in the form of wages."

3. THE TEST OF TIME

Fifty years of experience have given factual content to this prophetic statement.

In Germany, the great trade union movement went down under the savage attack of the capitalist class.

In Britain, labor is fighting a defensive war against the continual assaults of British capital upon the standards of labor.

Internationally, the working class faces the immediate struggle for the preservation of trade unionism.

The one exception to this rule today is the United States where for years labor was largely unorganized. In America, the

richest capitalist country of the world, we are experiencing a short period of trade union organization, wherein capital is on the defensive.

The immediate experiences of the American workers, however, must not blind them to the ultimate logic of their struggle. Within the near future, perhaps with the coming of a new crisis within half a decade, capital will renew its assaults internationally, and American capital will come along.

CARL MINCKLEY DIES

Carl Minckley, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin, member of the German Social Democracy in the days of Bebel and Liebknecht, is dead.

Sympathy of the entire party is extended to party members in Wisconsin in whose ranks a great gap has been made. A valiant worker has passed on. His loss is mourned by all who knew him.

Sweden Smuggles Aid to Franco

STOCKHOLM (NNS)—Indications that Stockholm has become a center of gun-running for the Spanish fascists came to light in a recent legal tangle. This was the so-called Allegro affair which involved the

shipment of 2,000,000 cartridges destined for Franco but consigned to the Emir of Yemen whose country is a notorious transit stop for the trade to Spain. Some higher officers in the Swedish army have made a specialty of brokerage deals in arms to countries otherwise unable to obtain them.

shipment of German cartridges destined for Spain over Yemen was found upon arrival to consist of red bricks. The brains behind the swindle pocketed their gains and are now being sued by the crew of the ill-fated "Allegro" who had been promised a handsome bonus for the job, but received nothing. That suit established the fact of the arms smuggling.

SOCIALIST YOUTH

By A. Hamilton

National Secretary, Y.P.L.

A memorandum has just been received from the International Youth for Republican Spain. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Young Socialist International, the Young Communist International, the International Federation of Socialist Students, the World Student Association, a delegate of the Spanish Youth Front the Young Socialist Guard of Belgium, the National Committee of the Young Socialists of France, and a variety of other youth organizations and individuals, as well as representatives of other sections of the S.Y.I.

The Commission unanimously adopted a memorandum on the situation created by the active intervention of the fascist powers in the Spanish conflict, for submission to the League of Nations and the member governments.

The memorandum consisted primarily of demands on the League of Nations such as: "The immediate convening of the League of Nations Council in order to take all measures which are envisaged for such cases in the League Covenant (aggression against a member state.)"

It was tragically raised to a world-scale to read this document coming from a meeting representing a large section of the Socialist and Communist youth organizations throughout the world. Here were the representatives of a large section of working class youth gathered together supposedly to outline a campaign of action on behalf of the Spanish loyalist forces; here were leaders representing youth organizations supposedly recognizing the fact that capitalist governments could never act on behalf of the international working class.

And all they had to say to the young workers and students of the world was "the attempt of the democratic governments . . . has proved a failure."

The face of this meeting was turned toward Geneva, toward sanctions and the inevitable development of war if the nations of the League were to carry through sanctions against the fascist powers for their intervention on behalf of Franco. Revolutionary Socialists are compelled to ask the question: "Then what support for the military forces of the government engaged in this war." And the logical answer in line with the policy laid down by the International Youth Commission would be—"yes."

Revolutionaries had the right to expect that such a representative gathering of Socialist and Communist youth would send out a call to the youth of the world to rally for independent action

against the governments responsible for contemptuous action of the working class, for the stoppage of shipment of arms and munitions and other necessities of war to Italy, Germany, and France. Instead the Commission attempted to place the emphasis of the world youth upon reliance of capitalist nations.

The United Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy which had a representative at the Paris meeting has issued a statement to the Commission that amounts to a repudiation of the actions of its representative in voting for the recommendations of the Commission. Mr. Blasco who has been representing the U.Y.C. in Paris was instructed to introduce the following motion at the next meeting:

"1. That the Commission take immediate steps toward the organization of united front committees for Spain in all countries not at present having them, through the cooperation of all youth groups sympathetic to Spain.

"2. That the Commission immediately issue a call to young workers of all countries to refuse to help in the manufacture, loading or transportation of any arms, munitions or war materials of any sort destined for use by Franco or by Germany, Italy or Portugal.

"3. That the Commission prepare now to issue a call to the youth of democratic nations to organize national youth pilgrimages to the capitals of their nations, the purpose being to draw from all corners of each nation to its capital on the same date in the fall in order to protest its government's neutrality policy, participation in non-intervention, or general policy on Spain; and to arrange that on the same date all German and Italian consulates in all democratic nations be picketed by young people not able to join in the national pilgrimages.

The Young People's Socialist League has issued a statement to the sections of the Socialist Youth International and to the Executive Committee of the S.Y.I. against the repressions of working class groups in Spain and supporting the action of the United Youth Committee in calling on "young workers of all countries to refuse to help in the manufacture, loading or transportation of any arms, munitions or war materials of any sort for use by Franco, or by Germany, Italy or Portugal."

In actions such as this and the mobilization of youth in demonstrations before the Italian and German consulates and against a neutrality policy that means support for the Spanish fascists lies the hope of the loyalist struggle in Spain. In the United States it means unrelenting struggle against the pro-fascist neutrality policy of President Roosevelt.

MEMORIAL MEET FOR '34 MARTYRS OF MINNEAPOLIS

MINNEAPOLIS—Two working class heroes—Henry Ness and John Belor—who lost their lives during the historic 1934 truck-drivers' strike were honored by the entire organized labor movement here with a giant memorial demonstration. Editorially The Minneapolis Labor Review, official organ of the

central labor body, declared: "If all those who have benefited by the sacrifice Ness and Belor made will attend the memorial meeting, there will be present every man and every woman who works in the city of Minneapolis."

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# Defeat of Franco in Spain Demands Persecution of Revolutionists Halt

## Communists Indulge in Falsification, Forgery

By Gus Tyler

The defeat of Fascism in Spain requires the unity of the working class. On the basis of this primary unity of labor can be erected a solid structure of fighting unity with non-proletarian elements in Spain, such as the middle class, the peasants, the Moors. But without working class unity, all other solidarity is difficult to accomplish and is certain to be unsuccessful.

The real basis for uniting the revolutionary workers of Spain is the program of Socialism. The early days of the war proved that beyond all doubt. Spontaneously, the workers of Catalonia, together with workers in the rest of Spain, seized factories, took hold of the principal means of communication and transport, placed them in the hands of their trade unions (CNT and UGET), and thereby instituted a system of workers' control of production.

The proletariat was not divided on this question, because nothing was nearer the heart of the Spanish workers than trade union possession and control of industry.

### A Socialist Spain

This program of Socialism in industry did not mean a conflict with the second great revolutionary class of Spain: the peasantry. Quite the contrary! This program of workers' control of industry could logically be extended to the emancipation of the feudal lands by the peasantry, and thus prove a bond of unity rather than a point of conflict. A Socialist program for the peasantry of Spain, "land to the peasants," came as instinctively to the agricultural labor as to workers' control of production to the industrial laborer.

The Socialist Party, in drawing its concept of a program for Spain, advanced these demands of "workers' control of production" and "land to the peasants," as means of uniting the workers among themselves and with the peasantry against the Fascists.

The Socialist Party also advanced a Socialist revolutionary program for bringing into this anti-Fascist unity the petty-bourgeois and the Moors. The middle classes of Catalonia and the Basque region could be won to the anti-Fascist front by the offer of autonomy. The Moors could be won to the workers' side by a direct grant of freedom to Morocco.

This program alone could preserve the unity of the revolutionary ranks and offer to the workers, the peasants, the middle classes and the colonial masses the necessary future to inspire them in their present struggle against reaction.

### The Reaction

This program was in part realized during the early days of the war. In the course of the war, however, the Socialist aspect of the fight against Franco has been continually submerged, until today it has virtually disappeared.

In the SOCIALIST CALL of last week, we explained editorially how this happened.

The Soviet Union's policy in Spain is the answer. The Soviet Union, in the tow of British diplomacy, is opposed to the immediate realization of Socialism in Spain. The victory of Socialism in Spain, especially with the aid of Russian arms, would disrupt the pact, which the Soviet Union has been trying so assiduously to conclude with the democratic capitalist powers. All Soviet policy rests upon an

alliance with Britain, which it hopes to get. Russia is willing to pay any price for that alliance, even if the price is the head of the Spanish revolution.

Through the Communist Party, and through direct pressure, the Soviet Union has operated in Spain to make impossible any revolution of a Socialist character now or in the near future.

### Russia Wins Out

The great value of Russian arms to the Loyalist government, and no one can or should deny the invaluable military aid that the Soviet Union has extended to the anti-Fascist army, has been realized in exchange for political concessions from the Spanish masses, or at least a section of it. Russia demands, in exchange for aid, the decapitation of the Spanish revolution.

And Russia is having its way. This is no time for furious fulminations against the Soviet Union for its betrayal of the Spanish revolution. But the fact must be coldly recorded.

Just to keep the record clear, the SOCIALIST CALL, for the last four weeks, has run factual substantiation of its arguments. We gave written testimony, always quoting our source, to the effect that all revolutionists, whether they be POUM, or Anarchist or even revolutionary Socialists were being exterminated by force, violence, imprisonment and the torture chamber at the hands of the Communists. We pointed out that the Communists were being successful in bending the government to their purpose.

We waited to be contradicted, by even so much as a word, by the American Communist Party, which continued with its slanderous campaign of identifying all revolutionists in Spain with Fascists—just as in 1936 they identified Norman Thomas with Landon, just as in 1937 they identified Louis Waldman with Tammany Hall because he opposed LaGuardia's running on a Republican ticket.

Finally, we have obtained our answer.

### 'The Great Contradiction'

The first part of the answer is to lampoon the Socialist Party, and especially Norman Thomas, for taking the contradictory position of joining in a united front in America to give aid to the Loyalist Government while at the same time criticizing the political program of that same government. The editorial writer of the DAILY WORKER wants to know how we can ally the spectacle of "Norman Thomas speaking in a unity meeting for the defeat of Fascism, and at the same time permitting one of its writers, in the official organ, Liston Oak (and they forgot to add, Sam Baron, and Norman Thomas, and the editorial board—G.T.) to attack the People's Front Government."

Why does not the DAILY WORKER ask the same question of Largo Caballero in Spain? No reform political endorsement to the government

in Spain, while joining with it in a military struggle. His paper criticizes the government, while uniting with it in a common battle.

Why does not the DAILY WORKER ask the same question of the POUM and Anarchist leaders who are being persecuted? These men, even while arrested or tortured by the Communists, call upon their followers, heroically, to maintain the unity of the anti-Fascist ranks.

### The United Front

Perhaps this is just as good a time as any to read the Communists a lesson in the united front. A united front is made up of various organizations, which have disagreements in program and tactics. When a party enters a united front it does not forget its principles. And when the Communist Party demands that other working class parties must accept

the non-revolutionary, and sometimes almost counter-revolutionary program of the Soviet Union, as a condition for unity then it must take full responsibility for breaking the united front.

We Socialists have not hastened to raise the danger to the Spanish revolution. We have delayed, perhaps too long. We were so anxious to maintain complete unity, that even when we first heard about the suppression of our comrades in Spain at the hands of the Communists we maintained silence. We hoped the Communists would come to their senses or be brought to their senses. Even when the Communists forced the resignation of our Comrade Caballero, we did not break into the press with the news. Even though we knew that Caballero had acted honorably in refusing to submit to the demands of the Communists for the extermination of all "left" forces, we did not shout.

But when the Communists launched their campaign of mass arrests, of torture, of forced confessions, of murder against the "left" we could no longer be silent.

Do the Communists think that in the name of unity they can ask us to be silent while they exterminate our comrades and wipe out the Spanish revolution? Why then, in the name of unity, do they not halt this vicious anti-working class campaign?

We have not broken unity. We shall continue to have our spokesmen in America, just as in Spain, join with the representatives of other parties to cooperate in the struggle against Fascism. But even while doing so we reserve the right to battle those who under cover of unity prepare to stab us in the back.

### The Claridad Canard

The second high point in the reply of the DAILY WORKER (and we skip minor falsehoods too numerous to deal with in one article although we shall finally put every one to rest) in the statement of Harry Gannes: "The majority of the Socialists in Spain (including Caballero's own newspaper, CLARIDAD, spokes-

man for the UGT, the powerful Socialist led trade union) condemned the former premier for his notorious laxity in the face of Trotskyite-Fascist rear-guard spying, plotting and sabotage." Then he goes on to summarize the arguments of Claridad, "Caballero's own newspaper."

This little trick of Harry Gannes must be recorded as one of the most dishonest bits of falsification that the rather well-perfected Communist He machine has ever turned out. For what are the facts?

Claridad WAS once controlled by Caballero. But when the Communists came into control of the Madrid area (militarily), they also took over the machinery of the Madrid UGT. CLARIDAD passed OUT OF THE HANDS OF CABALLERO, INTO THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. In the hands of Communists, Claridad became an anti-Caballero journal, following the Communist line of attack against the Socialist Premier.

And Gannes has the nerve, the gall, the unmitigated bureaucratic certainty that he will never be discovered, to write that "Caballero's own newspaper" condemned the "former premier." How can any honest reader of the Daily Worker ever trust such a clumsy liar!

### The Great Forgery

Gannes' third argument (and his strongest) is a letter which was purported to have been found in a Brazilian ministry, supposedly referring to Andres Nin, leader of the POUM, as Comrade N. . . . a Fascist agent.

So untrustworthy is the letter, however, because of the manner of its discovery, the lack of real evidence in it, that no one in Spain outside of the Stalinists put any faith in it.

When the Government Press Department, under Communist control, sent out the fraudulent letter, no foreign correspondent in Spain would touch it. There was one exception. Every Communist press correspondent picked it up and played it for all it wasn't worth.

When some of the other foreign papers picked up the same item to reprint in their papers of Britain, their correspondents in Spain lodged protests.

What is more, when the POUM leaders were arrested the Pres-

ident of Catalonia, Companys, together with the Liberal, peasant, CNT (Anarchist), and UGT members of the Government sent protests to Valencia. Let Harry Gannes take note that even Signor Vidiella, spokesman for the UGT and usually a supporter of the Communist Party line, joined in the protest.

The protest was delivered to the Valencia Government by Miravet, Liberal head of the Propaganda Department. And in his report in the name of the Catalanian Government he stated it as the view of the body for which he spoke that THIS DOCUMENT ALLEGED TO IMPLICATE NIN AS A FASCIST WAS A FRAUD.

And finally, to top all, the Central Government at Valencia replied that the document did not necessarily refer to NIN at all. Well, Mr. Gannes, falsifier par excellence and circulator of forged letters, what shall your answer be now?

### CIVIL LIBERTIES

NEW YORK.—For the first time in many years, the civil liberties balance sheet is on the favorable side at the end of a 12-month period, with gains exceeding losses, the American Civil Liberties Union reports.

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# Mayor La Guardia "Friend of Labor" Broke Cab-Strike

By George Baker

Father Divine finished speaking . . . his modulated syllables rolled to a ringing close, and Mr. La Guardia was on his feet. It was a tense moment. Few knew La Guardia, few seemed to care. But the Fusion candidate knew his Harlem.

He raised his hand in an attitude of blessing. "Peace, Father Divine, Peace be with you all!" He had struck the right note. They cheered. "I say, Father Divine, no matter what you want, I will support you. I am going to clean up this city."

The congregation disagreed; they pointed with outstretched arms to Father Divine. Father Divine was going to clean up the city, not La Guardia.

" . . . and I came here tonight," La Guardia continued, "to ask Father Divine's help and counsel." That was all right; that was good.

"Wonderful! Peace! Amen!" And so Mr. La Guardia passed on from Father Divine's Service.

WHILE the above item could very easily be mistaken as an excerpt from a modern version of "Alice in Wonderland," actually it is a news report of a La Guardia mayoralty campaign incident in 1933. But it's not unusual. As a matter of fact, it's taken for granted that a politician of the familiar stripe who carries on a vigorous campaign must go through such routine matters as religious

meetings, baby kissing, etc. Nobody for a moment believes that the aspiring candidate loves every baby that he kisses . . . or that he cares for babies at all. Should one put any more stock in the "necessary" pro-labor speeches?

A month after he took office La Guardia had an opportunity to show what a "liberal" mayor can do in a strike situation. Four hundred taxicab drivers employed by the Elmore Company in Brooklyn held a mass meeting at which they voted to strike. The next day, February 3, 1934, 15,000 cabbies were out; February 4, 30,000 were out, tying up the industry.

There was no strong organization; no more than a few hundred belonged to any one of the four small unions involved. The demands varied; the wage demands ran from 40 cents to 50 cents an hour; minimum hours from 40 to 60. On one point, however, all were agreed; that the five cent tax on fares (passed during the O'Brien administration) be turned over to the hackmen.

This tax, which had been declared unconstitutional, had never been collected by the City and was now resting in the pockets of the taxicab companies. The drivers claimed that their tips had fallen because of the tax, and they were really the ones entitled to it, for their weekly average earnings were now about ten to twelve dollars.

## Mayor Sympathized

The Mayor sympathized with the aims of the strikers. He even said so. And he also said "on the other hand":

"I want to warn you against trying any rough stuff. If you do I will get rough, too; and I can be rough if I try it. I warn you against hiring any strongarm men or gangsters, and I want you to inform me if you hear of any of the companies doing so."

And he made another bold proposal: to the companies offer of 40 per cent of the tax to be given to the men, he countered a demand for 50 per cent!

Before the matter could be put to a vote by the strikers La Guardia announced a settlement on the 50 per cent basis. They asked for a \$20 minimum for a sixty hour week; La Guardia promised them an NRA code. He warned the strikers not to prolong the settlement negotiations, reminding them of his power to put additional chauffeurs

on the streets through his control of the hackmen's license bureau. The cab owners, emboldened by La Guardia's stand, agreed to "partial" recognition of the union and threatened to get their cabs rolling with police protection, even if the strike continued.

Again the Mayor announced in the public press that "he regarded the strike as settled." But the drivers were still out . . . so it was necessary to send out police to protect the cabs and prove that the strike was settled. Police Commissioner O'Ryan announced that the police were getting back their night sticks; La Guardia announced "hearings" for an NRA code. The cab owners announced that they were "happy" to deal with Morris L. Ernst, the Mayor's mediator.

The companies, of course, never lived up to their end of the bargain. The tax money was not divided with the drivers; the Parmalee and other large companies refused to recognize the union—instead they set up "company" unions. At the taxicab code hearings they suggested a basic wage of \$12 a week for 54 hours. It is little wonder then that the hackles struck again a month after the "settlement."

This time La Guardia "refused to intervene." The City administration, as a matter of fact, was "upset" because the men had struck "while Mayor La Guardia's committee on taxicab survey was about to hold public hearings on a new taxicab code."

## Combined Forces

For a month the hackles carried on their strike against the combined forces of the companies and their hired gangsters, the police, who drove scab cars, broke up mass picket lines and demonstrations, against the yellow press and against the Mayor and his so-called mediators.

La Guardia proposed a plebiscite; the strikers accepted, but the companies refused. In spite of this, he blamed "both sides" for the violence and Orner, one of the strike leaders, was brought up before the state anti-racket bureau for a hearing. Orner showed that no officer of the union received more than a dollar a day; that the books of the union were open for inspection; that support came from other trade unions and the Socialist Party.

Many strikers were arrested. None of the gangsters hired by the companies were arrested.

"The police could always enforce the laws of the state . . ." shouted the Mayor. "The police department will allow no more parades, processions or riotous scenes, and will deal sternly with racketeers and gangsters on either side," from the Police Commissioner. Actually the police never interfered with the gangsters (it would probably be construed as interference with "private property") but when a mass meeting in support of the strikers was held at Cooper Union it was guarded by foot police, mounted police, riot cars, machine guns, etc.

A month after it had started the strike was broken; but the Mayor's survey committee went blithely on . . . fully determined to find out "both sides."

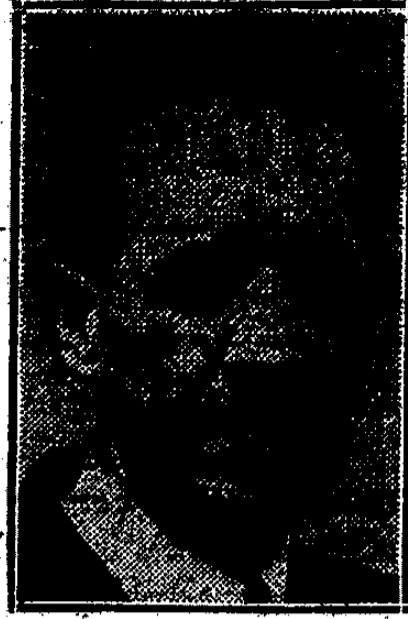
The taxi strike has been gone into in such full detail because it illustrates very clearly the position of a liberal politician in a difficult labor situation. However, during the same time there were other strikes going on, notably the hotel strike, in which the police played as vicious a role. It is interesting to note that throughout this period nobody stopped to think "how much worse it would be under Tammany?"

But not only in New York was labor on the move. In San Francisco the waterfront was tied up from May to the end of July . . . and there had even been a short general strike. One had to act fast . . . to be prepared for an emergency. So the police department in New York City was ordered to set up a rifle squad of 1200 men. The men were to be picked from among those with former military training . . . and were to be equipped with armored motor cars. Protests came in from leading trade unionists. The Mayor was forced to reply. He denied that the new regiment was to be used against strikers. "The new Police Rifle Regiment is simply the old Riot Squad under a new name. The new name was chosen because many policemen object to serving in a division bearing the name 'riot.'" Poor, sensitive souls . . . the Mayor has such great pity for them.

## Register Unions!

On the same day another order

## Tammany



James J. Dooling, young and aggressive leader of Tammany Hall, corrupt political Democratic Party machine of New York, died this week. Just before his death, Dooling advanced the reactionary anti-New Deal Democrat, Royal S. Copeland, as his candidate for Mayor. The Democratic machine is split in New York, with four of the five county leaders against Copeland. The Republicans are also split: If the working class forces of New York City were to run an independent candidate this year, instead of endorsing the Republican La Guardia, the organized labor movement might win its place in the sun of the Metropolitan politics. The action of the American Labor Party in endorsing La Guardia, especially if it wins Communist and Old Guard support, will ruin the chances for a successful workers' campaign for a labor mayor.

was sent out over the police teletype: an order for the registration of all trade union leaders. In return for a photograph and life history each union official would receive a credential from that outstanding upholder of trade unionism, the Police Department. Letters like this flowed into the Mayor's office.

"We don't know what autocrat in your department conceived the idea of herding American labor leaders into some form of registration system, no matter how thinly veiled. The late Czar of Russia used to make a specialty of things like that" from Charles

Johnson, head of the AF of L Joint Labor Committee

Heavy Construction Work. From Jonathan Eddy, executive secretary of the Newspaper Guild:

"If permitted to stand, the eventual result will be to segregate to the police commissioners without hearing or trial the right to suppress any and all labor organizations, just as in Germany, Austria and Italy."

The New York Board of Trade considered the registration a "forward and progressive step." To what?

La Guardia tried to crawl out without loss of face. First he claimed the trade unions had asked for it; then he said O'Ryan was responsible. O'Ryan blamed La Guardia. At any rate, the order was finally quashed.

O'Ryan, though, was becoming somewhat embarrassing. The trade unions were being angered by his tactics. La Guardia was asked to remove him. "But," he said, "O'Ryan has improved the morale of the police department . . . and criticism is due him not because of ineptitude(?) but because of an aggressive desire on his part to give the city the best police administration possible!"

The open split between them came less than a month later during the Brooklyn knit goods strike in the summer of 1934. La Guardia decided to "allow" mass picketing. O'Ryan disagreed. He, too, of course, was "sympathetic and fair to labor . . . but there are dangers inseparable from mass action . . ." The Mayor pointed out to him that he would reconsider his stand, that he would hold a conference with District Attorney Geoghan on the "legal aspects." Two minds with but a single thought, but using different methods to achieve their ends.

La Guardia called O'Ryan names; O'Ryan called La Guardia names. Chief Inspector Valentine was appointed the new police commissioner.

## Same Tactics

A new commissioner . . . but the same old tactics: in the seaman's strike, in the hospital workers' strike . . . in all strikes, the police are sent to protect "law and order." Occasionally, after a particularly vicious outbreak, La Guardia "tsk's, tsk's" in public and promises an "investigation."

# Mass. State Office Gets 24 New Subs By Registration

Using the party re-registration as a weapon for pushing the sale of CALL subscriptions as it was designed to be used, the Massachusetts state office, through Alfred Baker Lewis, state secretary, sent in a total of 24 new subscriptions this week, putting it at the head of state offices for the sale of new subscriptions.

In addition to these new readers who were secured in Massachusetts through state wide re-registration, a number of former subscribers were induced to renew their subscriptions.

Comrade Lewis recognizes, as the party branches over the country realize, that if the CALL is to thrive and be effective, the party organization must give it support.

## New Subs Or 8 Pages?

The CALL is relying on its income from subscriptions to cover a large portion of its expenses these summer months. Party branches must renew their support of the CALL Drive for new readers, and must go out and get former readers to renew if we are not to be forced to operate from now until Labor Day on an 8 Page basis. The answer is up to the party organization!

Even with the use of state wide machinery however Massachusetts has not yet been able to pass the two leaders in the CALL drive for new subscribers. Racine, Wisconsin, which has been showing the whole party how to get new readers, increased its lead this week by sending in 6 more subs.

Its total is now 37.

## Push Bundles

The Philadelphia Yipsels, leading all Yipsel organizations in the drive, and second in the drive thus far, have stood at 26 this week, only two notches above Massachusetts. In Philadelphia they are working hard on sale of the CALL bundle, pushing their sales to the 150 mark last week.

Washington Heights now stands in fourth place nationally, with 15 new readers. The second New York branch is the Upper West Side, with 12.