

# AT THE FRONT

by

## Norman Thomas

Congressmen who use the teller system of voting to avoid being recorded on hot issues like the death sentence on holding companies in the public utility field are cowards who should be punished. We hope the effort of the Scripps-Howard papers to spot the Congressmen as they pass down the aisle will succeed.

As for the merits of the death sentence for holding companies the record of Insull, the Associated Gas and Electric and others show how richly they deserve it. The arrogance of their lobbies invites it. If I were a Congressman I should vote for the death sentence but without much enthusiasm.

Why? Because I am a Socialist and doubt the success of these attempts to reform Capitalism. In so far as they succeed—which will not be far—they distract attention from the real remedy for evils deeper than the holding company, evils inherent in Capitalism itself. What we want is Socialization of power.

### BANKHEAD BILL

As nearly as I can learn, the Bankhead Bill in the form in which it passed the Senate is a beautiful example of sloppy legislation supported by well meaning liberals at enormous expense to the public without any reasonable hope that real good will be accomplished. The bill, you will remember authorizes an expenditure of a billion dollars by the Federal Government to put Tenant Farmers on small farms. They are to borrow money from the government at about the terms at which the Government gets the money and will pay for those farms during a sixty year period.

As it stands the bill contains no guarantee of real help to tenant farmers.

There is no assurance whatever that the difference between the rate at which tenants can borrow money from the Government and from private interests alone will guarantee then success in farming. They may be subject to sixty year peonage to the Federal Government, if not, the public may hold-the-bag for the cost of the experiment. There is no guarantee that subsistence farming can be combined with a system of allocating crops to which the Government is committed.

There is no guarantee for equality of treatment of Negroes. Bank Aid

There is every reason to believe that the primary purpose of the bill will prove to be one of bailing out banks, mortgage companies and land-owners loaded up with land. It is criminal that no provision should have been written into the bill fixing a maximum price to be paid on condemnation proceedings for this land, let's say on the basis of a capitalization of its earning power.

Finally, there is no adequate provision in the bill to permit a

(Continued on page twelve)



## MOONEY MUST BE FREED!

The seventeen-year-long fight of workers throughout the world for the freedom of Tom Mooney came a big step nearer to victory when the California Supreme Court ordered a hearing on Mooney's petition for a writ of habeas corpus, set for September 3rd.

Victory is not yet certain. The State of California will resort to every legal technicality to keep Mooney within the walls of San Quentin penitentiary. Between now and September 3rd, American labor must exert every effort to insure Tom Mooney's freedom.

# Socialist Call

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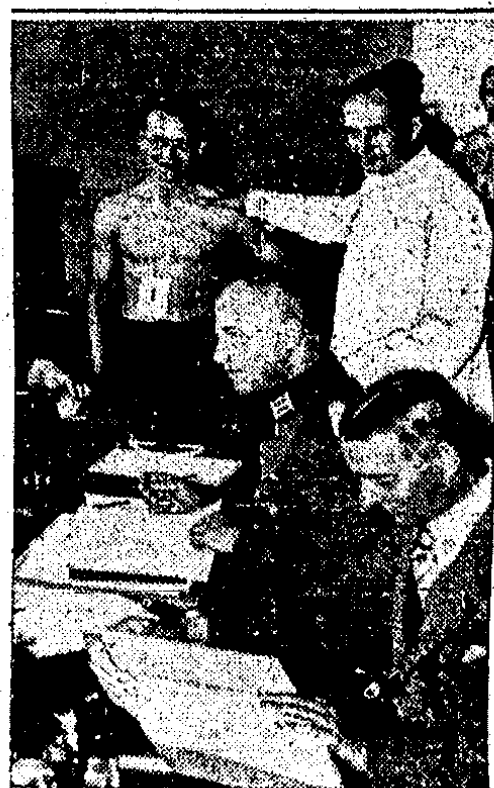
PRICE 5 CENTS

# HITLER RULE TOTTERS AS LABOR AWAKENS

Story On Page 2



NATIONAL GUARDSMEN are on the job in Tacoma, Wash., helping the bosses break the 40,000 strong, miles long picket line of the lumber strikers. Tear gas and bayonets were used to smash every street meeting of the workers—but the strike is still on.

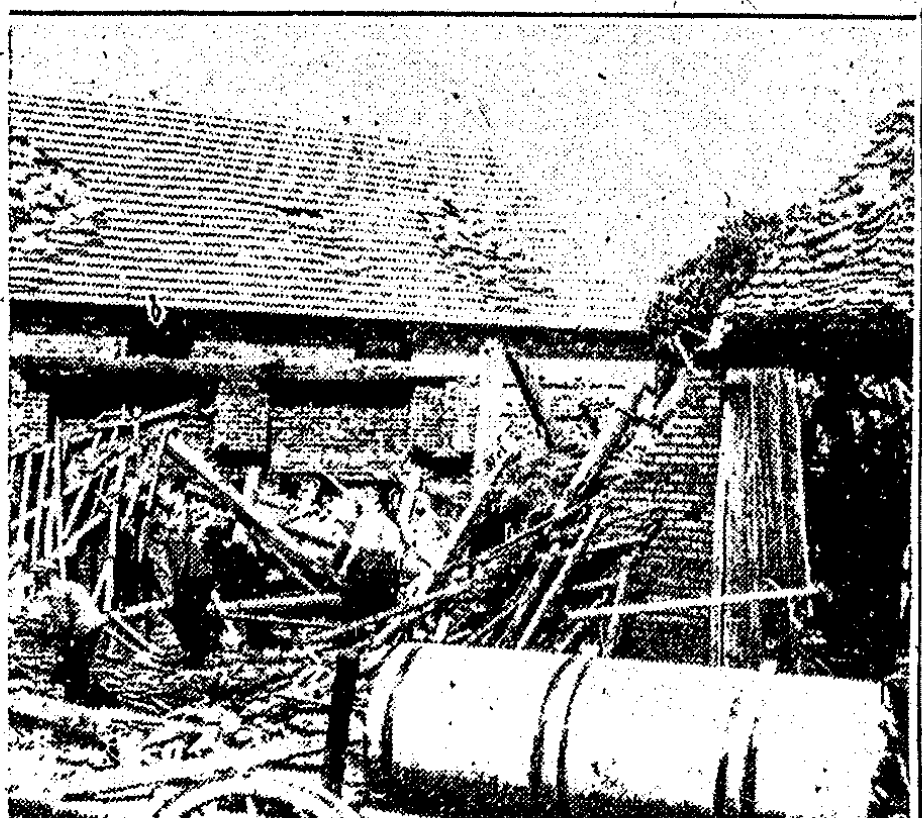


THIS WAR-BABY (born in 1914) is being prepared for the next slaughter by Nazi army doctors. Born in one war, killed in another!



HITLER'S WAR PLANS were set back by the munitions plant blast (right) which took 60 lives. Here is one section of the plant after the explosion.

JOHN L. LEWIS (left) of the United Mine Workers, called off the projected strike of 450,000 miners twice in two weeks because of faith in the White House. With him is "high-pressure" assistant secretary of labor, Edward F. McGrady.



# SOCIALIST N E C MEETS JULY 13

Story on Page 12

# Nazi Propaganda Fails To Satisfy Needs Of People

BERLIN (TIS)—Almost a year has passed since the Nazi blood purge of June 30th, 1934; but every day offers new proof of the bitter struggle raging underground the newly laid structure of Hitler Germany.

Outwardly Hitlerism reigns supreme. Many promises intended to satisfy the hunger of the German people for power and prestige have been fulfilled; rearmament and constant new military demands have created an artificial economic boom; industrialists and generals are the masters of the Third Reich; the middle class glorifies in Germany's new military power and her aggressiveness; the opposition within Nazi ranks has been drowned in rivers of blood; the German state for and of and by the Nazi party is slowly amalgamated and blended into the new structure that closely resembles the feudal Germany of pre-war days.

### Resistance Growing

Yet while the masses groan under new and ever increasing burdens, their resistance against the regime of tyranny and suppression is slowly growing. Prices are skyrocketing; scarcity of material is increasing; wages have reached new low levels. Germany's social legislation, a source of pride for decades, has been cut down to the bone.

The destruction of the powerful trade unions has been followed by the employers' despotic rule. Living conditions have gone from bad to worse. Its reflexes are becoming visible in the growing dissatisfaction and grumblings of the workers.

Unwillingly fascinated by the military glamor of the new masters, yet the masses fear the consequences of a new world conflict. No amount of propaganda has been able to wipe out the older workers' fearful memories of the last war.

### Convincing Proof

The recent workers' council elections offer convincing proof of the growing realization on the part of the workers that the Fascist regime is implacably hostile to the aims of organized labor. The distrust in which the workers hold the new regime is best illustrated by the outcome of the council elections in the tramway and street car municipal enterprises of Frankfurt-am-Main.

The slate of Nazi candidates which last year received approximately 90 per cent of all votes cast, drew this year only 25 per cent, and this despite unceasing propaganda efforts. No wonder that thinking people view this result as a telling symptom of the change that is taking place within the ranks of the German workers.

### WHAT PRICE GLORY?

FORD CITY, Pa.—James Edgington, World War veteran wounded in the battle of Chateau Thierry, failed to return from work at a mine that he had leased. His wife, alarmed, summoned a neighbor, went to the mine and discovered her husband crushed to death under a fall of rock.

Edgington had leased the mine to help feed his family, a wife and six children, when wages that he received at the Buffalo Valley mine of the Pittsburgh Limestone Co. were insufficient to keep his family from want.

## Pullman Porters Win Long Fight

WASHINGTON — A ten-year-old struggle for union recognition was won this week by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, affiliated to the AFL. By virtue of an overwhelming victory in a government-sponsored union election, the Pullman Company is compelled to recognize the porter's union.

The brotherhood, which claims 6,000 of the 8,300 porters and maids, won by the sweeping majority of 5,931 to 1,422 for the company union. The company has fought with every conceivable form of petty meanness against the efforts of its porters and maids to organize.

Organized in federal unions in the AFL, the brotherhood is seeking a charter as an autonomous international. It is expected that the AFL executive council will recommend this to the coming October convention. A. Philip Randolph is president of the brotherhood, with headquarters in New York.

## "Take A Job!" Is Ultimatum

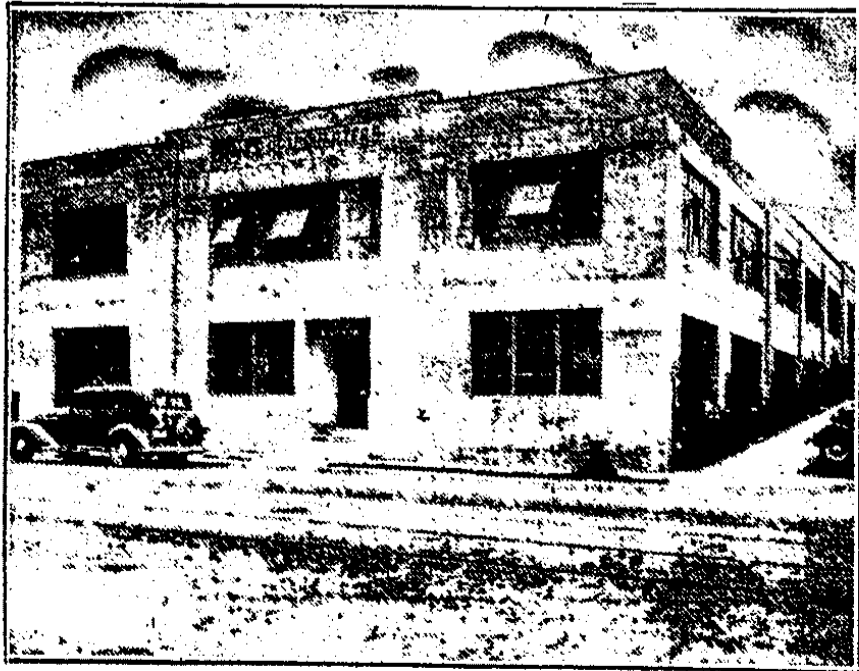
By WHOSA MORON

General Johnson got a prize. It was presented to him by the National Council for Bulldozing the Unemployed, of which Johnson was made honorary president. The prize consists of five genuine holes cut from five pants pockets of five jobless men.

The occasion which demanded this signal recognition was the strikebreaking general's latest aid to the sweatshop bosses.

Said he: "Wherever a worker gets a chance to take a private job, even if it pays less than he is getting on relief, he should be made to take the private job."

## New Home For Co-ops



The Washington State Grange Cooperative has its offices in this fine new building in Seattle. Fireproof and well-lighted, it marks a great step forward in the northwest cooperative movement.

## Hands Across The Sea



Despite Hearst's "yellow menace" war scares, there's nothing but international workers' solidarity in the handclasp of Secretary Joseph Schlossberg of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Kanju Kato, Japanese labor leader now touring the United States.

## See New Spanish Revolution Soon

LONDON—Wealthy Spaniards are expecting another revolution in Spain within the year.

This is the interpretation given in London to the significant influx of rich Spaniards. Since March, 1933, a great many German refugees have been flowing into London, but the flow of Spaniards is a new trend.

Among those coming are a number of army officers and gentlemen of leisure well in touch with the course of events in Spain. It is felt that these people, unconvinced of the ability of the Spanish government to maintain the status quo and still less convinced of the possibilities of victory by the fascist Primo Rivera but very strongly convinced of a new rising of revolutionary forces within a year, are selling all their holdings and moving to England.

## Nutmeg State Unions Build Labor Party

By ABRAHAM PERLSTEIN

HARTFORD, Conn. — Calling

for the establishment of "an anti-capitalist labor party organized by the trade unions and other working-class organizations and sympathetic professional people, farmer and Negro organizations," several hundred delegates from AFL and independent local unions last week set for themselves the task of building a state and national labor party.

The delegates claimed to represent 42,000 unionists and more than 150 local unions. William Kuehnel, president of the Hartford Central Labor Union, was elected permanent chairman of the continuation committee.

Four of the fifteen men elected to the continuation committee are Socialists who attended the conference as union representatives.

By Staff Correspondent

DETROIT—Presenting a program for the organization of a bona-fide Labor Party in Detroit, the Socialist Party locally was outvoted in the United Labor Conference for Political Action. Instead of the conference majority, a united front of communist organizations and local unions, voted to present a "labor ticket" which would bind no candidates nor guarantee organizational loyalty to the slate.

Pointing out that the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor had not yet come out for a real Labor Party, Socialist delegates declared that a mere "labor ticket" can only serve to perpetuate confusion among the working people, maintain the traditional belief in the need of good men in government and prevent the development of an independent political party of the working people.

## LABOR IN ACTION

By JOHN HESLING

Workers running the boats out of San Francisco to Sacramento and Stockton, California, and other river ports, may strike because their demand for an increase in wages has been turned down by the employers.

The solidarity of organized labor and unemployed organizations affiliated with the Workers Alliance has been proved by the five months strike of 1,500 building trades workers and 1,400 unskilled laborers against conditions on Toledo FERA projects. Union wage scale and guaranteed minimum hours were won. All work on Toledo building projects were halted until the relief officials came through. General Johnson, watch your step in New York!

The midwest Council of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers has voted to ask its convention, meeting in Philadelphia, July 15th, to raise a \$5,000,000 defense fund to fight chiseling manufacturers.

Boston street car men demand 75 cents an hour instead of a 69 cent wage, their spokesmen have informed the public trustees of the Eastern Massachusetts Railway Company. The management of the street railway had previously offered an increase of 1 cent an hour. The 1,500 car men voted down the company proposal fast.

The Atlantic District Council of the International Longshoremen's Union is convening this week in New York to discuss the problem hanging upon union recognition in New Orleans. The national convention of the I.L.A., which meets in New York beginning July 8th, will map out a national program. In the last month the I.L.A. has organized 2,300 longshoremen in New Orleans, out of the 3,500 in that city.

Acting Director Joel Seidman, of Brookwood Labor College, in the absence of Tucker P. Smith on six months' leave, announces an intensive training course in labor problems from August 12th to 23rd. The course is open to active workers in trade unions. Unions are setting up scholarships for their members.

The clergymen of Spokane, Washington, through their ministers union, are showing their organized strength in sharp criticism of the Spokesman-Review, capitalist daily, for exploiting newsboys under a new-fangled "efficiency plan." The newsboys of Spokane ought to organize like the boys in Cleveland.

Despite the opposition of the St. Louis school board, teachers have organized a local of the American Federation of Teachers. It is the only teachers' local in Missouri. An organization campaign is under way in other cities.

Industrial Workers of the World celebrated their thirtieth birthday during June, boasting greater organizational gains during the past year. Their General Defense Committee has a remarkable record of militant defense action.



# Martial Law Can't Smash Coast Strike

TACOMA — Continuance of martial law in the Tacoma saw-mill strike, three months old, has not yet resulted in breaking the strike. Despite efforts made by conservative leaders of the Carpenters' and Joiners Brotherhood to return some of the men to work, thousands are still out determined to win a general agreement.

In Tacoma, outdoor meetings have been forbidden, men are arrested without charge or warrant, prisoners are held incommunicado in the horse stables of the armory, women and children have been gassed and numerous clubbings and bayonet prods have been visited on the strikers.

But the soldiers are not sawing any wood. Even the lumber trust papers admit that there is only a pretense of work by skeleton crews of strawbosses and scabs.

More than 40,000 lumberworkers are out all along the Pacific coast for a living wage and standard hours. The local leadership is progressively militant in contrast to the "get the men back to work" attitude of international officials.

# Boyd, Jailed, Leads Classes In Socialism

CHIPPEWA FALLS, Wis. — Paul Boyd, Wisconsin Socialist organizer, wastes no opportunity to spread Socialist propaganda.

When he and 24 other Chippewa County relief strikers were jailed here for "unlawful assemblage," Boyd immediately started daily classes in Socialism right in the jail, and led them for four days, until he was placed in solitary confinement for his agitation. Harold Livingston, James Perry, and Olin Swenson, other Socialist Party members arrested along with Boyd, continued the classes, however, and by the time the strikers were released, had converted them all to the party's program.

# Lehman Accedes To ILG Demands

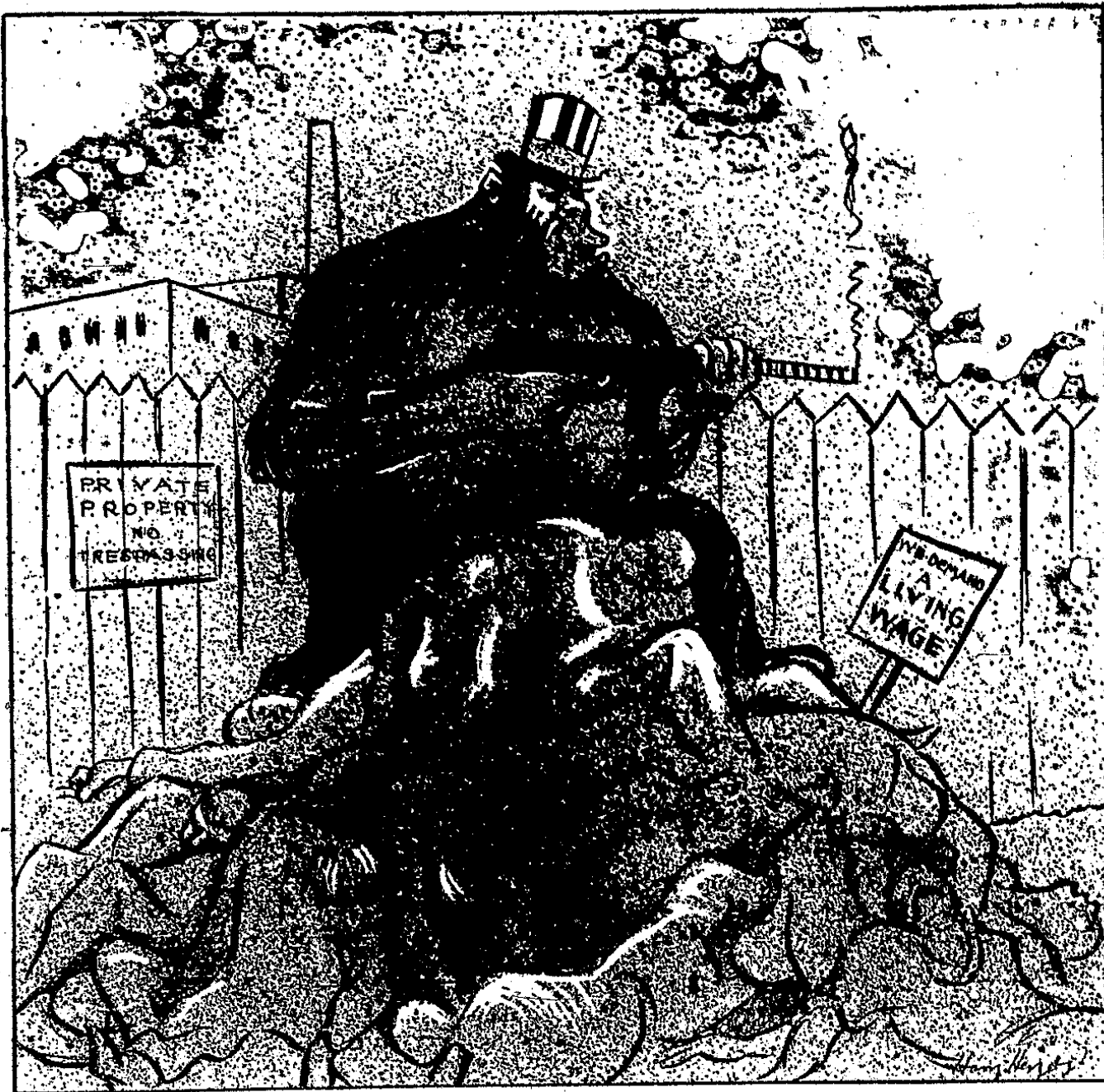
NEW YORK—Afraid of the consequences of a projected strike of more than 40,000 cloak and suit workers in the New York garment industry, Gov. Herbert Lehman this week acceded to the major demands of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and "urged" manufacturers to accept them.

It seemed certain that the manufacturers would not dare risk a strike without government support and would accept the governor's proposal.

Lehman "urged" the manufacturers to agree to a new contract in which the point at dispute (limitation of contractors) would be continued as the union had demanded. Wages and hours are to be unchanged. Minor issues such as working conditions are to be arbitrated.

The ILGWU had set aside a million-dollar strike fund to aid the strike.

**THE GOOD DIE YOUNG**  
John D. Rockefeller's 96th birthday is July 8.



Perhaps when the guns are fired on July 4, Independence Day, workers throughout this "land of the free" will remember the 16 men who died in the United States in this year of grace, 1935.

These men met their death, not on a futile battlefield, but on picket lines and in struggles with police. Many of them had spent years in organizing labor unions, some were war veterans, leaving wives and children.

Perhaps living workers will remember the combat in New Mexico, when two of their number were

killed in an attempt to demonstrate against the eviction of unemployed miners, a fight in which 125 members of the American Legion and "other good men" aided the police in shooting into sympathetic crowds of workers.

In all parts of the United States from the dead in New York to the men shot down in California, these atrocities have occurred repeatedly. When the workers asked for bread, they were met with bullets; when they asked for a decent wage they were killed.

# SEC Pushes Wealth Tax In Connecticut

NORWALK, Conn.—A vigorous state-wide campaign to secure support for the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment was launched by Arnold E. Freese, Socialist State secretary, this week, following unanimous approval of the amendment by the party's State executive committee at Hamden Sunday. Unions, farm organizations and other labor and progressive groups will be solicited for endorsements.

**To Seek Income Tax**  
Responding to criticisms of the actions of Socialist Senators at the recently adjourned session of the General Assembly in voting for a sales tax relief bill, the state committee instructed its legislative committee to inaugurate an aggressive campaign for a graduated income tax bill to be introduced at a special session of the legislature.

The committee was also instructed to meet at an early date to make other plans for the special session and to investigate thoroughly other tax schemes proposed for the financing of relief.

**Support Hillquit Bill**  
Action on the Hillquit amendment was in the form of a resolution prepared by Devere Allen of Wilton, Socialist national executive committeeman, and City Clerk Fred Schwartzkopf of Bridgeport. The resolution declared the amendment would free the American people from "the present-day confusion and inability to move ahead with laws for protection of those who need it."

# Strikers Ignore Machine-Guns

GALENA, Kans. — Ignoring machine guns commanding a view of the picket lines, lead and zinc miners on strike in the Oklahoma, Kansas - Missouri area continue their battle for better working conditions and union recognition.

Strikers have resorted to mass picketing in an attempt to shut the mines tight. In Galena, they practically imprisoned 28 company thugs until rescued by 200 Kansas national guardsmen.

In Oklahoma, State officials have been leading raids on places where strikers congregate.

**SEEK AGREEMENT**  
NEW YORK.—Inaugurating an active campaign to enforce demands for decent working conditions among the patternmakers of this area, Morris Schwartzstein, manager of Local 31 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has asked dress employees of the city to enter into negotiations for an agreement with the union. Subsequent moves by the patternmakers' union will depend on the attitude of the various dress employers' association, Schwartzstein declared.

**HOSPITAL STRIKE**  
Mass organizations are invited to participate in the picket line to be formed by the Beth Moses Hospital Workers Council at the Council's headquarters, 23 Arian Place, Brooklyn at 1:45, on Sunday, July 7th. The Beth Moses Workers are fighting with the hospital administration, to win recognition and the right to bargain collectively. The picketers will march in front of the hospital.

# Middle Class Support Aids French Unity

PARIS—French fascism was dealt a powerful blow when the "Popular Front," previously confined to Socialist and communist parties and minor Marxist groups, was broadened to include the liberal Radical Socialists.

Although Herriot, former premier and nominal leader of the Radicals, opposed the steps toward anti-fascist unity and even threatened a split, he was repudiated by the middle-class groups that make up the party. Deladrier led the action for unity.

Although the first major united action had been planned for July 14, France's Day of Independence, with a monster demonstration against the fascist "Croix de Feu," street demonstrations showed Radicals marching with Socialists and Communists behind the red flag.

If you build the workers' press, you build the workers' movement.

# Uneeda Biscuit Package Smaller

How large corporations manufacturing consumers' products, milch the public is clearly shown by a letter recently received by the CALL from S. Bass, Newark, N. J.

Bass encloses with his letters two labels from Uneeda Biscuits, one produced before the strike, the other after the strike.

Before the strike, the package contained four ounces. After the strike, in precisely the same kind

# Bosses' Daily Hits Socialist City Attorney

MILWAUKEE—How does a Socialist city attorney act?

The answer is provided in the enemies he makes. In a leading editorial in the Milwaukee Sentinel, organ for big business, the stamp of working-class approval is placed on Socialist City Attorney Max Raskin by a bitter personal attack which reads in part:

"It is just about time for City Attorney Raskin to wake up to the fact that he is the city attorney for Milwaukee and not the counsel for any class or group of its citizens."

To which Raskin might well reply: "I was elected by the workers of Milwaukee to protect THEIR interests."

"After refusing to issue warrants for striking milk drivers," the editorial continues, "Mr. Raskin suddenly becomes energetic and caused the arrest of a non-striking driver."

"Strikers have a right to carry on in an effective manner; scabs and thugs cannot use their rotten position to carry on attacks against striking workers," might be Raskin's answer.

"But we do know that the people of Milwaukee," continues the labor-baiting editorial, "are getting heartily tired of a city attorney who manifestly takes sides in these controversies."

"I was elected to take sides for labor and against industry," can be Raskin's reply. "Certainly the bosses are tired of me—but the workers will again return the Socialist administration."

Editorials don't faze Raskin. He continues acting as city attorney for the workers of Milwaukee.

# Porter Pledges Aid to Herndon

Mr. Angelo Herndon, New York City.

Dear Comrade Herndon:

I am glad to confirm in this letter the readiness of the Socialist Party to conduct a mass petition campaign for your freedom. Our part in this campaign will be directed by our National Labor Committee, which serves as the defense arm of our party.

I am designating Murray Baron, manager of the Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Workers Union, and John Francis Sullivan, Secretary of our Public Affairs Committee, to confer with your defense representatives concerning the details of this campaign.

The Socialist Party salutes your courage throughout the long, harrowing course of the outrageous frame-up directed against you, and pledges its aid in the efforts to secure your freedom. We hope that this may come soon.

Fraternally yours,  
PAUL PORTER.

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## A Dangerous Document

The members of the California State Legislature knew what they were doing when they killed a bill requiring the reading of the Declaration of Independence in all schools.

The Declaration of Independence contains dynamite.

Any document that boldly states that it is not only the right—BUT THE DUTY—of the people "to alter or abolish" "any form of government that becomes destructive" to the rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is patently seditious and not fit for impressionable minds.

The rulers of America would like to forget the Declaration of Independence.

The workers and farmers of America will not.

The ideals and aspirations for which that bold handful of colonists were willing to fight to the death the greatest military power on earth can well inspire us today.

There was by no means unanimous support for the Declaration of Independence in 1776. There were enemies within who preferred bondage to England. There were merchants and bankers who by no means believed that all men are created equal. To them the revolution was a trade dispute.

After the white heat of revolution had cooled off, they got the upper hand, and ever since then they have run this country.

The fight to carry on the splendid slogan of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to its logical conclusion is today the fight of the Socialist Party.

In 1776 it meant freedom from British landlords and imperialists.

In 1935 it means freedom from American capitalists and bankers.

## The Youth Congress

The Second American Youth Congress, now meeting in Detroit, will be remembered as one of the most important conferences in recent American history, if it succeeds in doing two things.

First, it must really unite youth, by being a genuinely representative body. It would be sad indeed if the Congress has ousted Viola Ilma only to fall under Communist control.

Second, this unity must be for an intelligent purpose. Unless the orientation of the Congress is definitely progressive and pro-labor, unity would be meaningless.

Such a progressive orientation cannot consist simply of empty phrase. It must take the form of endorsement of concrete proposals such as the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment, the Child Labor Amendment and a progressive, decent substitute for the wage-cutting National Youth Administration.

## AN IMPOSSIBLE JOB



## The Opportunity For Socialist Ideas

### HOPE FOR SOCIALISM

To the Editor:

Never before was there such a wonderful opportunity for the success of Socialist ideas and ideals as exist today. The panaceas for our social ills so hopefully proposed by the Roosevelt administration have been weighed and found wanting.

The problem of forced unemployment looms larger than ever before. The number of workers traveling along the highways seeking jobs has increased in the last two months. A startling feature of this migration is the increase of family groups; parents and children trudging along the road, seeking jobs that will provide them with food, clothing and shelter. What a disgraceful spectacle in this, the richest country on the globe!

In a vain effort to prevent the complete collapse of capitalism, the supporters of that system have incorporated in their plans some of the immediate demands which the Socialist Party has advocated for many years. Old timers will remember the working platform of the Socialist Party, adopted at the 1912 national convention in Indianapolis. But while some of the thunder of the Socialist program has been stolen by the old political parties, none have dared to tamper with the Socialist lightning, "Production For Use"!

Socialists may sometimes be dismayed, but they should never grow discouraged. Filled with the enthusiasm of youth and the ideals of a great cause, the younger element in the party is sure to march

The letters appearing in this column do not necessarily express the point of view of the SOCIALIST CALL. This column is intended to present a cross-section of the opinions of Socialists and sympathizers.

forward with surprising speed in the next few years.

The time is ripe. The industrial, financial and social chaos which the Socialists have foretold has arrived. The intelligent workers are fast learning that to use their economic arm alone in this struggle is futile. To win victory, they must use their political arm as well.

O. K. WHEELOCK,  
Cleveland, Ohio.

### SALES TAX

To the Editor:

Although I have only recently joined the Socialist Party, I have been an active member of the trade union movement for 23 years. I have seen a lot of mistakes made by organized labor and its leaders during these years. But I was certainly surprised and ashamed to read recently that a man who has been connected with the labor movement in this State

for a long time believed in the sales tax.

I hope the Socialist Party, and especially the national executive committee, will continue its fight on the sales tax because the sales tax is one of the newest and most effective tax schemes the capitalists have thought up to reduce the standard of living of workers who are already having a hard enough time to keep alive. Socialists should only support taxes like the income, inheritance and capital tax, which put the burden of government where it belongs—on those who have gained their wealth by exploitation and who are well able to bear the load.

A sales tax puts the burden of government on the shoulders of the working class. No Socialist or labor man, therefore, can possibly support or even tolerate a sales tax. —P. D.,  
Brooklyn.

### THANKS

To the Editor:

I have been getting The CALL for about two months now and I think it is the best Socialist weekly in the country.

FRED GRAHAM,  
St. Petersburg, Fla.

So provocative were the tactics of the conservative element in the Party that in our June 22nd issue we were compelled to treat with some of the issues raised in order to defend the Party.

To those readers who feel that we are launching a factional policy we address this assurance—

The SOCIALIST CALL will continue its original policy—aiming to be a propaganda paper—a constructive force on behalf of the Socialist movement and the working class.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD.



# TURN TO THE LEFT

By S. A. De Witt

## Lines for a Pay Envelope

Keep your beasties lank and thin,  
Feed enough to stretch the skin,  
You can never get a pull  
From flank and belly fatted full . . .  
And though the thought is low as sin,  
Profits won't be coming in,  
From bullocks that are sleek and full,  
Keep them thin and make them pull.

## Following the Sun

If only I could rise as stolidly as dawn,  
And view a city's ugliness  
As calmly as a strip of pastureland.  
If only I could go to rest at evening  
Upon a heap of golden featherbeds  
And listen to the music of the stars.  
If only I could as easily forget  
The pain and cruelty that streak a day  
And carelessly sink down to sleep  
Upon the bosoms of dispassionate hills.

## To a Tired Rebel

You who once burned with rebellion  
At the sting and the stripe of a knout,  
Remember how sad are the ashes  
Of fires that have burned themselves out.

## Carousal

Come, Reason, you and I will make  
For some white island on a lucent sea,  
And for one whole oblivious day  
Revel and tittle and stir envy in tate gods.  
From all the winecasks of the tipsy moon,  
From all the goblets of the drunken stars,  
We'll taste of each, and when the senses sing  
And dervish suns go spinning to the tune,  
We, too, will totter down upon a bed  
Of mist, and take our respite from an age  
That threatens bedlam for the strongest brain.  
O do not warn me overmuch, I ask,  
Of what there be to deaden and forget.  
I know what clings with lechery to life,  
I know how much is maggotty with death,  
That even if we drank the moon casks dry  
And drained the starlit glasses to the dregs,  
There might not be a slumber deep enough  
To numb the pain or halt the cruel fog  
Of madness from enveloping our dreams.  
Come, Reason, let us hasten for a fling  
Utterly beyond all reasoning.

# SALES TAX MAKES WORKERS, FARMERS PAY COST

Why is a Sales Tax?  
A sales tax is the answer of capitalist legislators, be they Democrats or Republicans, to wealthy industrialists and financiers who demand that the poor, not the wealthy, be taxed.  
The sales tax has developed during the last few years as a new and effective weapon to make workers and farmers pay for the miseries of depression—as if they don't pay enough by being unemployed and broke.  
Twenty-nine states now have sales tax laws in one form or another. In April, 1932, only three states imposed a sales tax. Increase during three years of depression, (two of New Deal) is twenty-six.

Main excuse for the sales tax of late has been this gag:

"The state is broke. The unemployed are hungry. The Federal Government won't give us money unless we raise some. Real estate is over-taxed now. Only outlet to avert starvation is a sales tax."

With newspaper ballyhoo and publicity this story usually brings results—a sales tax on necessities. Latest state where it worked is New Jersey. When Governor Hoffman was inaugurated last January he promised to impose (1) sales tax; (2) income tax.

### N. J. Follows Leader

Somehow (not thru influence of Wealth, oh no!) income tax idea went flooey, but on July 1 a two per cent sales tax on all purchases, including food, went into effect.

New Jersey followed its neighbor, New York City, where Wall Street bankers had threatened to withhold loans to the city unless Mayor La Guardia forced thru a sales tax. La Guardia, the man who, singlehanded, licked a Federal sales tax when in Congress in

1932, had no choice but to kowtow to the money bags.

That a sales tax does not bring the money its sponsors boast is proven by New York City's experience. Instead of \$20,000,000 during the first half of 1934, only a little over \$17,000,000 came in. That the people are beginning to fight the sales tax is shown by recent happenings in Arkansas and New Jersey.

### We Won't Play

Following a decision by the Arkansas Supreme Court that the State sales tax was constitutional, workers and merchants in a dozen cities started circulating petitions binding signers to ignore the tax.

The sales tax is an income tax upside down. Instead of taking heaviest on those who have, it falls heaviest on those who have not. Instead of taxing the rich in proportion to their wealth it takes the poor in proportion to their poverty. The sales tax is inequitable and unjust. It forces the worker with a small income to help support workers with even less income. It forces the unemployed on relief to pay toward the little charity they receive. The sales tax is really the upside down income tax. But it is well under capitalism, where everything is upside down.

Revolt against New Jersey's sales tax is widespread. Only half of the 90,000 retailers in the state bothered to get licenses by July 1.

In Camden, factory and shop workers are openly defying the sales tax. Workers making purchases are refusing to pay the tax, many telling merchants to "try and get it." Instead of patronizing restaurants, where they would pay a tax, workers are taking their lunches with them in picnic baskets.

### Farce

Governor Hoffman has admitted that he wants a sales tax to aid big real estate owners. Real estate taxes will be reduced, according to Hoffman, if intake from the sales tax is high enough.

Biggest farce of all in the situation is the action of the Relief Bureau, which has announced that those receiving cash relief will be given an additional amount of money to offset the two per cent they will be obliged to pay on purchases. Just take it from one pocket and put it in another.

# THE NOBEL PRIZE AND HITLER

By DAVID R. BERENBERG

Hitler's handy man, Dr. Goebbels has, nominated his master for the Nobel Prize for Peace. Some such exhibition of brutality and cynicism was to have been expected. But in this case brutality has no effect. And cynicism of this sort will, I trust, nauseate, rather than favorably impress the committee in whose keeping the prize is.

More, it is very likely that the prize will this year be divided between President Masaryk, of Czecho-Slovakia, and a man who is at this moment in one of Hitler's concentration camps because he really believes in peace. That man is Carl von Ossietzky, one-time editor of the *Weltbuehne*, a German paper at the time devoted to the unpopular truth.

Ossietzky is a pacifist. That does not mean that he is a coward who wilts at the first approach of hostility. He is one who is ready to suffer for peace, to fight for it if need be. He went to jail even in

pre-Hitler Germany, because he dared to make public the facts about Germany's illegal re-arming. He is in a concentration camp now because he, like thousands of others, will not eat his words, because he will not lick the boots of Goering, Goebbels and Hitler. In a word, because he is a man.

Normally, I must confess, I am not impressed with peace prize, peace plans, or with the usual unrealistic pacifist methods, which always crumble at the first approach of war. When a man like Wilson gets the Nobel Prize as he did, after the war, the institution loses all meaning. In fact, very few of those who have received the prize have done more than utopian words in behalf of peace. In this case, however, the situation is a little different. Giving the prize to Ossietzky will not, rehabilitate the Nobel Prize in my eyes. But it will be a magnificent slap in the face for Hitler, and for his jackals.

# PATTERN IN RED

By McAlister Coleman

"Therefore have these commonwealths been ever the most durable and perpetual which have often reformed and recomposed themselves according to their first institution and ordinance. By this means they repair the breaches, and counterwork the ordinary and natural effects of time."

Read that, my lords, who are now so vocally concerned with the sanctity of the Constitution. Read that my Anglophiles, who profess to reverence the orderly Parliamentarianism of the English. And reading, remember that these were words spoken by the forthright John Pym before that August day in 1642 when revolution broke out in England and Cromwell's grim cavalry broke the royalist ranks at Naseby, three years later.

The English Revolution was the direct result of the refusal of the overlords to "counterwork the ordinary and natural effects of time" upon the frame-work of their government. Indirectly it was

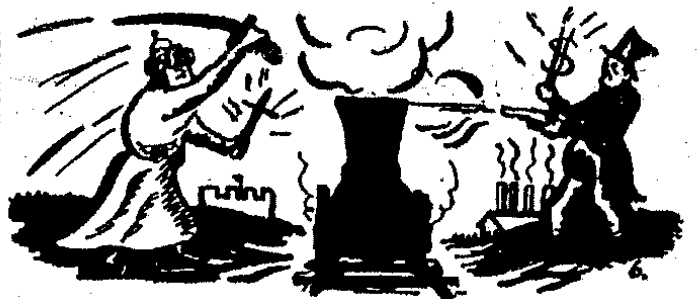


the result of the levies and impositions of the inner monarchial, monopolist circles upon the new bourgeoisie of England. So that Colepepper could tell the insurgent Long Parliament that monopolies were "a swarm of vermin which have overcropped the law. Like the frogs of Egypt they have gotten possession in our dwellings, and we have scarce a room free from them; they sup in our cup, they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye-vat, wash-bowl and powdering tub; they share with the butler in his box; they have marked and sealed us from head to foot."

To be sure that was a bourgeois revolution born of Calvinism and cash. "It is not wholly fanciful to say," writes Tawney in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, that on a narrower stage but with not less formidable weapons, Calvin did for the bourgeoisie of the Sixteenth Century what Marx did for the proletariat of the nineteenth." Nevertheless the fact remains that it was a revolution, and a bloody one to boot, that the rigidity of the defenders of "law and order", their unwillingness to bow to change lost them their heads.

What evidence is there that among the leaders Constitutionalists of today, James M. Beck, Newton D. Baker, Senator Borah, there is any understanding of the holy Hell that such an intransigent stand as theirs inevitably raises? Let them insist, if they will, that a Constitution written for the most part by large land-owners and seekers for special privilege, must never be changed to meet the needs of a new economic order. And then let them not complain when the people rise.

Do they answer that it is a naive and fanciful reading of history to imagine that any such issue as the autocratic negation of democracy by the Supreme Court can create a favorable revolutionary climate? The more fools they. Time and again, Socialist speakers advocating change without violence have come plump against the issue



that the decision of the Supreme Court now poses anew. What happens, asks the heckler, after your nationalization schemes and the rest have won popular consent only to be destroyed by the Nine Old Men? Obviously, if Socialism is to mean anything, the Constitution must be drastically amended or we must be prepared for the use of force.

Apparently academic, this issue drives straight to the realities of both democracy and dictatorship. It is central and may not be ignored by anyone aware of his times.

In place of loose talk, let's have some tight thinking on this subject. Many militants are inclined to dismiss the whole business as "bourgeois reformism." They cannot see how faithfully the present situation follows the historic revolutionary patterns.

# World Socialism

## FRENCH SOCIALIST CONGRESS

By HERBERT ZAM

The Mulhouse Congress of the French Socialist Party was expressive of the continually new problems which the rapid advance of history is placing before the workers. The Party weighed the results of a year's joint activity with the communists, bringing to the fore the problem of organic unity. The Party's struggle against French fascism, carried on against the background of the events in Germany, Austria and Spain, placed on the agenda the question of the seizure of power and the establishment of a workers' government.

The formal decisions of the Congress can only be considered tentative, as the Party is going through a historic process whose results cannot be judged from a single Congress. In the ranks, clarification and crystallization is continuing—the best sign that the Party is alive and vital and is preparing to solve its difficulties in a revolutionary fashion.

The Mulhouse Congress disclosed the fact that the shift to the right of the French communists, reflecting the shifts in policy of the Soviet Union, had become so pronounced that on all important questions the French CP was to the right not only of the revolutionary wing of the SP but of the SP as a whole.

### Coalition Government

Comrade Blum thus disclosed that the communists had not only assumed the initiative in the formation of a parliamentary "left" cartel (What has happened to "class against class?"); but had pressed for the formation of a coalition government with the participation of the Socialists and supported by the Communists. Fortunately, the Socialists avoided such a trap. The determined anti-coalition viewpoint was expressed in the unanimous expulsion of Frossard. The united front with the communists was unanimously approved and continued for the future, but a considerable amount of criticism was offered. The "left" (Zyromski, Pivert) criticized the leadership for lukewarmness and pointed to the neglect of direct Socialist propaganda and organization.

From the right Faure and Lebas pointed out that in actual practice, united front activity accommodated itself to the ideas of the entire anti-fascist mass (the broad "Peoples' Front") which aims to draw in the petty bourgeois masses. In order not to frighten them, the goal of Socialism was not mentioned. The communists were practically insistent upon giving the united front activities this general direction.

### Organic Unity

The Congress adopted the recommendation of the National Committee to work for organic unity with the communists. It was pointed out by the speakers that this must be the logical goal arising from united action between the two parties and their drawing together on questions of policy. In this connection the activity of the delegation on the International Executive was approved, including a proposal that negotiations be undertaken with the Communist International looking toward united action and eventual unity.

The subject at the Congress which aroused the most heated discussion, was the question of the seizure of power. Two main tendencies manifested themselves: The solution of Blum-

Faure-Severac majority proposes to elaborate an economic program and organize a mass movement embracing the Socialists, communists, trade unions and petty bourgeois masses to place the Party in power. If the fascists and the generals seize Paris, a general strike and the mobilization of the suburbs (the "red ring" around Paris) would compel them to capitulate.

The left minority laid the main emphasis on the preparation for a direct struggle for the seizure of power. It demanded a reorganization of the Party to prepare it for extra-parliamentary struggles and more energetic action against fascist aggression.

In the voting on these two general policies, the left showed great strength. They cast 965 votes for three resolutions of this general character against 2,025 for the Blum-Faure-Severac resolutions. The supporters of Vincent Auriol (the parliamentary secretary), 229 strong, abstained from voting but united with the Blum majority in the elections of the National Committee.

The Congress majority therefore consisted of three groups, two of them being to the right of Blum. The left also consisted of several groups, including the Trotskyists, who agreed with the general thesis of the left for a workers' government but added their own special viewpoint (4th International, etc.). They obtained 105 votes.

### Left Gets Ten

In the elections of the National Committee, the majority secured 21 members, the left obtained 10 members, and the Trotskyists secured one.

An incidental, not direct, issue was "national defence." Blum hailed the latest communist policy as an acceptance of his 1920 position and declared that organic unity would now be easier. Zyromski agreed with Blum, but Marcceau Pivert of Paris took issue with them. He declared against "national defence," but said he didn't want that issue to interfere with the achievement of unity which is absolutely necessary. The Trotskyists, also came out against "national defence," and they were threatened by Blum that if they interfered with the achievement of organic unity, they would be left out of it.

### "National Defence"

If "national defence" becomes an important issue in the French Party, there will undoubtedly be tremendous opposition to it. The revolutionary workers in the French Socialist Party, having had their experience with social chauvinism in 1914, did not discard it only to adopt the more modern, more militant and more dangerous version, communo-chauvinism. This latter is nothing but petty-bourgeois patriotism cloaking itself with the red toga of "defence of the Soviet Union" (not Belgium). The French Socialists will find little reason for organic unity if it is to be used for "national defence" rather than for capturing power.

# RAP F. D. R. YOUTH PLAN

## Negro Student Confab Is Set For Next Fall

By Lionel Florant (SLID NEC member, Howard University)

WASHINGTON—An interscholastic conference on Negro affairs is in the making for the Fall at Howard University, Washington, D. C. It is another attempt to mobilize student sentiment in the South and start student action on the problems of racial discrimination and segregation that cut across every phase of life in the South, including many of the trade unions and working class organizations.

Only in isolated areas has dire exploitation brought the ranks of white and Negro labor together in a common struggle. The classic case which sets the example of what can and must be done is the Socialist-led Southern Tenant Farmers' Union of militant white and Negro sharecroppers in Arkansas, who have fought valiantly, losing their shacks and being shot down in their struggle with the landowners.

The failure of radical groups to win Negro students and workers in the South over to the cause, is recognized by all. The logical place for activity would be in the trade unions. However, the American Federation of Labor policy in regard to the exclusion of Negro labor from many of its locals has made this sort of activity almost impossible.

A militant racial movement of Negro nationalism may develop in the South, where it would have dangerous consequences, as it would split the strength of the students and play into the hands of the capitalists who desire racial discord in the workers' ranks.

This growing danger, and the glowing possibilities seen in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, are primarily responsible for the coming conference.

### YCLA INSTITUTE BEGINS

The Young Circle League is conducting its organizers' training school from July 1 to July 6. The course is devoted to the official YCLA Institute and will include concentrated courses leading to the development of efficient organizers. Many prominent speakers of the Workmen's Circle are included among the discussion leaders.

### Surprising?

Aubrey Williams Josephine Roche National Youth Administration, Washington, D. C. (By Wire.)

Glad to cooperate by sending student committee to assist immediately preliminary work of National Youth Administration. Feel it vital that student organization active for relief and against retrenchment be represented as suggested. Are formulating complete proposals for most effective youth program, on the basis of our experiences in student movement.

ADAM LAPIN, Executive Secretary, National Student League, 31 E. 27th St., N. Y. C.

## Mass Meetings Commemorate Paul Stricker

NEW YORK — Five hundred young people attended a neighborhood mass meeting held in Williamsburgh last Friday to



commemorate the heroic death of Paul Stricker and protest the existence of fire-traps such as the one in which he came to his untimely end three weeks ago.

The speakers related how Stricker had rushed four times into a blazing slum structure to rescue a score of people, only to meet his death at the fifth attempt. They unanimously put the blame on the slum housing existing in the working class neighborhoods of the city.

Additional memorial meetings will be held all over New York, with one planned for Brownsville this week.

The first of a network of Paul Stricker Clubs for Better Housing is being organized in New York's leading slum district, the Lower East Side. The clubs will be formed in every settlement house in the city.

Paul Stricker was a member of the Young People's Socialist League.

## Students Call New Program

### "Greek Gift"

NEW YORK—The new National Youth Administration was denounced as a "Greek gift" in a resolution adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, meeting here June 29 and 30.

While not emphasizing the demand for adequate remuneration and union wages, raised by Young Socialist National Secretary Winston Dancis last week, the resolution pointed to the danger of a "government supervised youth and student movement" arising from the "youth centers" to be established under the new set-up.

### Nothing to Gain

Pointing to Roosevelt's record on such issues as war and Negro rights, the student body warned the youth of the country that it had nothing to gain from the present administration.

The resolution also explained that the National Youth Administration represented largely a "shuffling of administrative agencies," that it is "totally inadequate in the light of the 3,000,000 unemployed young people," and that young people are to be used as a source of cheap labor to replace adult workers under the guise of "apprentices."

### NSL Offers Aid

"We are greatly disappointed," the National Executive body declared, "at press reports that the National Student Federation of America, the National Student League, and other student organizations have publicly endorsed or have offered their aid to the administration in establishing this project."

In conclusion the resolution stated:

"We urge the students of America to redouble their efforts to build their own organizations. We warn our fellow students not to be taken in, as have many American workers and farmers in the recent past, by the Greek gifts of the capitalist-dominated, military-minded Roosevelt administration."

## "A Little Child Shall Lead Them"



Embarrassed cops standing by as a mass picket line of school children, organized by the Red Falcons, marches past to picket for striking New England workers despite police ban.

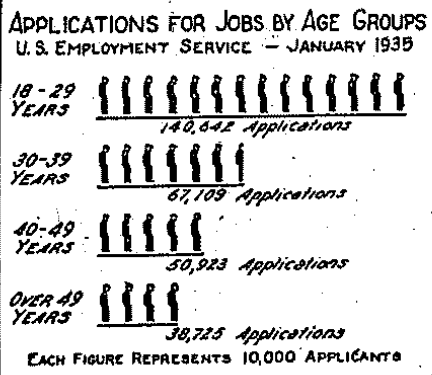


Secretary of Labor Perkins has revealed some interesting facts. She reported as of July, 1934, that of our 6,800,000 employable high school and college graduates between the ages of 18 and 29, 2,450,000 are without jobs. Of those between 18 and 24, 44 per cent of the high school grads and 35 per cent of those holding college diplomas are out of work.

Of the 300,000 people on relief in October, 1934 who had never had a job, 90 per cent were between the ages of 16 and 25.

Thirty per cent of the applications for work in fifteen states, during November, 1934, came from young people 18 to 24 years of age, the U. S. Employment Service reports. But these young men and women received less than a quarter of the jobs.

And Roosevelt's solution is to offer a fraction of the unemployed youth, under government supervision, and probably as substitutes for adult workers, the magnificent sum of \$15 a month!



## YPSL In Hillquit Amendment Drive

NEW YORK—A sweeping "Plan of Action" which will galvanize the Greater New York Federation of the Young People's Socialist League into action for the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment was announced by the new city Management Committee Wednesday night.

The campaign will be launched under the slogan of "Fight Hearst and his reactionary supreme court! Pass the Workers' Rights Amendment!" The entire city League will be converted into a vast agitational machine for the passage of the amendment.

Every device known to Socialist propaganda will be mobilized in the drive, from special stickers and pamphlets to broad youth conferences, mass meetings, and mass mobilizations.

### Great Activity

The coming week will witness unparalleled young Socialist activity, with a meeting of "activist" members on Monday, pasting of stickers and preliminary district youth conferences throughout the week, a "red night" in the East Bronx on Friday, and a mass mobilization to greet the Party National Executive Committee on Saturday, July 13.

The city Management Committee was elected at the meeting of the YPSL City Central Committee last Saturday. It consists of Aaron Levenstein, Ben Horowitz, William Gomberg, Phil Heller and Melvin Willback.

### TAX ON AIR

The Fascist dictatorship in Italy taxes even the air one breathes, for as a result of the taxes being levied on windows many workers are doing away with windows to their dwellings. — GIROLAMO VALENTI in La Stampa Libera,

# AYC CONVENES

## Unity Needed, Declares N.Y. Youth Group

NEW YORK—The New York State Youth Committee Against Child Labor, representing half a million organized young people in this State, gave its qualified support to the Second American Youth Congress in a statement issued by William J. Kopp, acting chairman.

Kopp declared that his committee was willing to "help build a Youth Congress which will be representative of all sections of organized youth and which shall orientate itself around the progressive and labor movements," but expressed fears of the Congress being "just another Communist innocent organization."

"It is our opinion," stated Kopp, "that unless the Congress is made acceptable to such national organizations as the Y's, the Christian Youth Council, the American Federation of Labor we shall have to seek other methods of building a united youth movement."

### Proposes Program

Concretely, Kopp proposed in behalf of his organization that the permanent Congress's Executive Committee be placed in charge of all activities and consist of representatives chosen by the leading national youth organizations, responsible only to the organizations which they represent. Kopp is also the head of the New York State Christian Youth Council.

The New York State Youth Committee has been referred to as a model united youth body. Organized two years ago to bring the leading youth organizations together on the issue of child labor, it met with unprecedented success.

Virtually all the leading youth organizations of the state have joined the Committee, including the Greater New York Federation of Churches, the Christian Youth Council, the National Student Council of the YWCA, the National Student Federation, the Epworth League, the Christian Endeavor Union, the Young Circle League, Young Judea, the Young Women's Christian Association, the United Parents Associations, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and the Young People's Socialist League.

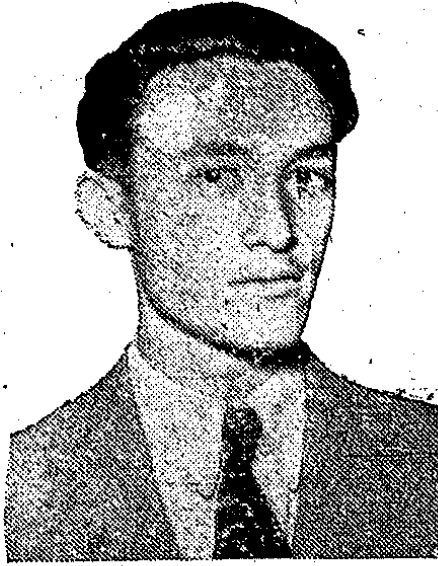
### Includes All Needs

Within the past year the Youth Committee has broadened its objectives to include the needs of all young people, and has added to its opposition to child labor the demand for "adequate educational, recreational, and financial provision for youth."

The major church and labor organizations of the city have endorsed the efforts of the Youth Committee. The New York's trade unions are now engaged in a campaign to raise funds for it.

Two outstanding weekly features in the CALL—columns by McAlister Coleman and S. A. DeWitt.

## Youth Editor



Melos Most, youth editor of The CALL, who will be a delegate from the Young People's Socialist League to the American Youth Congress.

## YPSL CONVENTION

PITTSBURGH—If the members of the Young People's Socialist League are not down in force at the American Youth Congress it will be because they are saving their pennies to attend the young Socialist National Convention here on July 19, 20 and 21.

The convention will mark the close of the YPSL National Membership Drive, and of two banner years of Socialist youth work.

All arrangements have been made here for housing, feeding and entertaining the delegates. The Pittsburgh League has intensified its recruitment and strengthened its organization more than ever, so as to live up to its position as host to the convention.

The National Office has prepared a new League handbook, a series of discussions on current youth issues to be presented to the convention, and a special convention edition of *The Challenge*.

## Two Thousand Delegates Of Youth Organizations In Detroit For Congress

By Staff Correspondent

DETROIT—Two thousand delegates, representing millions of organized American youth, are meeting here in a three-day session to plan united action on problems confronting them. Among the larger organizations represented are church youth groups, labor unions, student bodies, political groups and the Young People's Socialist League.

## Young Dress Workers Plan General Strike

NEW YORK—A general strike of New York's ten thousand shipping clerks and floor boys employed in the garment industry is expected very shortly. The election of a General Strike Committee took place at a membership meeting of the Ladies' Apparel Shipping Clerks' Union held Monday night.

At the meeting, which was attended by six hundred of the young unionists, the secretary reported that the union's membership had tripled in the past two months, and that at all mass meetings, virtually every non-member present joined.

A wage scale embodying steep increases was recommended in the report of the organizer and unanimously adopted.

The young workers voted to increase their dues to help build the union.

Despite the Hearst campaign of lies against the Congress which, coupled with unwise communist tactics, have made the non-radical delegation smaller than had been expected in the beginning, hope for a genuinely representative Congress became brighter as leaders of different tendencies, meeting in pre-Congress conferences, found common ground for harmony in program and action.

The Congress has been endorsed by various labor groups and central trades councils in all parts of the country, including central bodies in San Diego, Detroit, Lansing, Toledo and Seattle.

(New York labor leaders refused to comment on reports that President William Green of the American Federation of Labor had ordered local unions to withdraw delegates because of communist participation in the congress—Ed.)

## 3-Point Congress Program Adopted

CHICAGO—The Young Circle League of America, foremost fraternal youth organization in the country, has adopted the three-point program for the American Youth Congress, which was originally drawn up by the Young People's Socialist League.

The program is as follows:

1. To arouse an intelligent interest among young people in political, social, and economic problems, through joint educational projects, publication of study outlines, round table discussions, etc.
2. To conduct a vigorous campaign in behalf of special youth problems such as the abolition of child labor, opposition to militarization, aid to jobless youth, etc. In this respect, the Congress must arrange for such types of action as will enlist the whole-hearted co-operation of all elements.
3. To avoid becoming a political instrument of any group or part of a campaign of any limited combination of groups. Specifically, the AYC shall not affiliate or join with other federated groups except by unanimous authorization of participating groups.

## Kids Do Dirty Work



Cleveland parents who were ashamed to be seen buying bread during the bakery drivers' strike sent kids to do it for them.

# The Middle Class and Socialism

## Building On Middle Class Prejudice

By Raymond Gram Swing  
Editor, The Nation

Almost every written and spoken word in America is addressed to the middle class to keep alive the illusion that America still promises to be a middle class paradise. Only a few newspapers know enough to talk about politics and economics as it is.

Your Wall Street Journals make no bones about it; the radical press makes no bones about it.

But in the main, if you read American editorials, you are given the impression that this is a democracy, that it is one of the blessed lands of the world because it is a democracy, that it has grown great and strong and rich through a system of competitive individualism and will decline if that system is abandoned. The middle class believes this, and the right wing of labor believes it.

Our system of government is made to appear of the greatest significance, and the power of vested interest is hardly ever disclosed. Political democracy is pushed into the foreground, and economic democracy is mentioned. That, I should say, is essential if finance capitalism is to control the country. It thrives in that kind of so-called democracy.

It is doing better in America than in any country in the world, than under Fascism for instance. If you ask your finance capitalist about his political philosophy he will be quite sincere in saying that he believes in democracy and the great institutions of American liberty.

### An Illusion

But where you have an illusion you always have something to hide. The truth cannot be told to the middle class in America, that it has little actual political power and that America has lost its chance to be a middle class paradise and that it is not going to achieve economic democracy. The truth, however, can remain hidden only so long as the middle class is fairly well off.

Once you get poverty, once the middle class gets a sense of defeat and humiliation there is room for a new appeal. Where you have frightened people you have demagogues. And all demagogues work in the same way, they try to restore to frightened people the faith that they really are in control of their own destiny. The middle class, having believed that it had power, then having experienced the depression, wants to be told that it can save itself. And there you have at once the key to the appeal of Huey Long and Father Coughlin.

Huey Long promises first of all wealth to everybody. That is, he would do something through political action that in the past was to be done by opening up a great continent. Call it naive, if you will. This is the purest crystal of middle class aspiration. Huey Long is not interested in putting an end to the hopeless myth of middle class supremacy; he wants to make the myth come true.

I had the impression from talking with Long that he knows very little about theoretic fascism and at the same time he is fascinated by the three figures, Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini. They are, I should imagine, mysteries to him. Stalin,

he dismisses because he is trying to make a go of dictatorship without capitalism. Mussolini and Hitler aren't sharing the wealth. They are going about things in ways he can't fathom. I think it is true that he hasn't kept abreast of contemporary political thought at all.

### National Figure

I am not one to believe that Long has lost ground and that his star already is setting. Speaking nationally he has gone through two stages. First he was merely notorious, the man of Sands Point, the clown, the windmill orator, the funny queer fellow from the South. Then, this Spring, he suddenly became a national figure. He became this through everyone talking about him. General Johnson helped him but he also helped himself.

Now people aren't talking about him so much, but that doesn't mean that he has ceased to be a national figure. There he is, a young man, who will be 45 in 1940. He isn't a national leader, but he now has the national stage to walk on according to his abilities. But he can only lead under given conditions. If we have enough of a business recovery for the middle class to stop being frightened Long and Father Coughlin both will pass to the Walhalla of the Know-nothingists and Populists. But if the middle class suffers still more we shall be in danger of being Louisiana-fied and Heaven will hardly care to help us.

### Coughlin

Father Coughlin was the first since the depression to tell a vast middle class audience something different from the traditional claptrap about democracy and American institutions. He and his frightened listeners discovered each other, and as soon as the discovery was established Coughlin turned into the most sensational demagogue in America in a generation. His audience revealed to him two passionate interests.

One was its hatred for the financial overlords of Wall Street, the other was its fascination with the great mysticism of money. Of the platform of the League of Social Justice the three most revealing planks are one which guarantees the freedom of conscience and education without mention of free speech, free meeting and free press, and a second which urges the simplification of government; and a third which proposes to place labor unions under what Father Coughlin calls the protection of government.

This program arose out of the fusion of middle class minds with the mind of Father Coughlin. It is the most recent diagram of middle class thought in America that we have. And it confirms that Hearst is a pretty close expounder of middle class prejudice in being sympathetic to fascism, hostile to labor and indifferent to free thought and free speech. These two, working separately, and deriving their inspiration from pretty much the same source, arrive at pretty much the same formula. Hearst is more plutocratic than Coughlin and less fanatical about



RAYMOND GRAM SWING, editor of The Nation, who spoke on the menace of Coughlin and Long before the annual conference of the League for Industrial Democracy.



HARRY W. LAIDLER, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, who was one of the speakers at the L.I.D. annual conference.

The CALL presents on this page summaries of speeches delivered at the annual conference of the League for Industrial Democracy last week.

Other such summaries will be carried as feature articles in the CALL during the summer. These will include speeches by such men as Professor Sidney Hook, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, David P. Berenberg and Abram Harris.

## Illusions of the Middle Class

By NORMAN THOMAS

What is the middle class? Historically, it is the class which made the present capitalist system. It arose in opposition to the aristocratic class whose pretensions rest on birth; whose economic power is based largely on their position as landlords.

In its struggle for power, the middle class, for instance, in the French Revolution, made use of the proletarian masses, the day laborers of town and country, but its interests were not their interests, and it continued, and in important respects, greatly increased

currency, probably because he has vast financial interests. Coughlin is slightly more liberal than Hearst because he is a leftwing churchman.

But when it comes to defining what the middle class believes they both skate over the essentials of freedom, both are fearful of a labor movement which might wrest economic power from capitalism, both detest Communism and pray for continuation of property and profit.

### Fascism

The fight for the soul of the middle class is on. The traditionalists assail it from the right, trying to hypnotize the middle class into believing that its old dream can come true under finance capitalism. The demagogues on the left tell the middle class it must fight back at finance capitalism, distribute wealth and control the banks. This is the chief issue, political and economic, so far as I see, for some time to come.

The demagogues will win if the middle class remains frightened, the plutocrats if somehow they can produce even a temporary recovery. I do not mean that the demagogues will beat the plutocrats. Once they are strong the plutocrats will join them as in Germany and Italy, and we shall march to our own brand of fascism, trampling our liberties to maintain private property and the profit system in a radical-sounding disguise.

What we do not have is a labor movement as strong even as Italy's before fascism, or nearly as strong as in Germany before Hitler. So we would have nothing which we could even hope would serve to check the advance of fascism.

the area of exploitation of wage workers.

In time, with the concentration of control and of wealth there has emerged out of this generalized middle class a relatively small plutocracy, an upper middle class which is the true dominant class today, although under the forms of democracy and the instigations of capitalism, it has been obliged to make some concession to the workers and the lower middle class.

The chief tradition of the middle class, as distinguished on the one hand from the plutocracy and the other from the workers, are (1) traditions of respect for property without discriminating between different kinds of property; witness for instance, the confusion of mind on this subject evident in Father Coughlin's speech or Huey Long's and (2) traditions of economic individualism. Its chief illusion is that the old economic basis for a genuine middle class still exists or that it can be restored by a few comparatively simple legislative enactments.

### Tradition Lasts

In purely economic terms, the Marxian prediction concerning the squeezing-out of the middle class is being fulfilled with a high degree of accuracy. The principal fault in that prediction was that Marx and his earlier followers thought that the process would take place sooner than it did. Nevertheless, there is an amazing persistence of middle-class traditions, which middle-class traditions in America are shared to a very considerable extent by workers who still hope that their sons,

if not themselves, can rise out of the working class.

Untaught American radicalism is today a middle-class radicalism. For that reason it is far more likely to be exploited by an American brand of fascism or by a fascist demagogue who will seek to become dictator than by a Socialist or by a Communist leader.

### Plain Truths

Our hope depends upon insisting upon such plain truths, as these:

- (1) The old days are gone forever. You cannot restore the America of Andrew Jackson plus a bathtub, a radio, and an automobile.
- (2) The middle class, no matter how much it may be flattered by the demagogue, cannot win as against the plutocracy on the one hand and the workers on the other.
- (3) We have the means to produce moderate abundance for all and we can rapidly increase our capacity to produce.
- (4) The basis of the acceptance of abundance or of the cooperative commonwealth is the proper award of workers as workers, not the improper, paralyzing reward of ownership as ownership.

It is certain that in modern times no valid social revolution will be achieved in a country like America, simply by the power of the urban proletariat. The building of the cooperative commonwealth is impossible of achievement with or without great violence except as large sections of a public which thinks in middle-class terms, comes to think instead of what is possible under a cooperative commonwealth of the workers with hand and brain.

## SOCIALIST CALL

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# Problems of Revolutionary Socialism

## What Is Social Democracy Now?

The following letter from a comrade well known to me, a comrade who has performed great services for the Socialist Party in the past, is so representative of the ideological confusion reigning in some parts of our party that I believe it deserves to be discussed publicly. Omitting some very personal passages, the letter continues:

"It is hardly necessary to tell you that it was painful for me, after having fought side by side for so many years for the same ideal and (the same party to part company with you. However, you must admit it was your fault and not mine. You have changed. I have not. I am and will always be a Social Democrat while you have abandoned Social Democracy.

I still cling to the old ideal of Democratic Socialism, while you changed it for the theory of revolution and dictatorship; I still believe that our business is to serve the trade union movement, while you want to control it.

You will admit after all, that the only real problem that we face is how to organize a real mass Socialist party in America, or what amounts to the same thing, how to reach the mass of the American workers with our Socialist message. You surely do not believe that you can reach this mass by writing articles and lecturing on revolution, dictatorship etc. If we could for a while forget these purely theoretical problems, and devote ourselves to organizing the workers for their daily needs and demands, we would, I am sure, be much more successful in our difficult task.

A. S. The arguments of A. S. have the great merit of not being original and therefore representative. Everyone of us has heard similar arguments at our meetings and has read them in our press. The personal tone is purely accidental. The arguments are not against any individual comrade, they are against the large and growing body of revolutionary, or to use the American term, Militant Socialists. It is well that we take up their arguments and dispose of them once for all.

## What Is Social Democracy Now?

It has become the fashion among certain American Socialists to refer to themselves as Social Democrats. When Social Democracy was alive, active and growing, the term Social Democracy was rather unpopular among American Socialists. One was then referred to as a Social-Democrat instead of just a Socialist, somewhat contemptuously, at best ironically. It meant an Americanized Socialist, one who constantly "bothered his head" about "European" theories. Only lately have these same people begun proudly to call themselves Social-Democrats.

Up to 1914, the term Social-Democrat had a well defined and very specific meaning. Since then it has lost all meaning. The Communists, in their propaganda, have misused it terribly. In Communist literature a Social Democrat is not only every anti-Communist, but also every non-Communist. For them it has become a word of derision and contempt. In Communist literature one can find the label of Social-Democrat pinned on Karl Kautsky and John Dewey, Leon Blum and Bertrand Russell, Otto Bauer and Arthur Henderson, George Plekhanov and Abraham Cahan. Even Trotsky is said to have returned to Social-

Democracy. A term so loosely and so indiscriminately used loses all meaning.

Unbelievable as it may sound, the Social-Democrats, especially the American Social-Democrats, have practically accepted the Communist purely negative definition on Social-Democracy. Social-Democracy for them is also nothing more than anti-Communism. It has no positive content. They accuse the militant or left wing Socialism of having abandoned Social-Democracy, because they believe that the militants have certain sympathies for Communism, or at least, for Soviet Russia.

### Opposing Opinions

One can not state what the Social-Democratic attitude to revolution is because there are many Social-Democrats who hold opposing opinions. Zyromsky is a Social-Democrat who believes in revolution, and William Bohn explains to readers of the New Leader that every revolution is a misfortune to be avoided.

Otto Bauer is a Social-Democrat who believes that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an inevitable stage on the road to Socialism, and Karl Kautsky is a Social-Democrat who believes that a belief in proletarian dictatorship is incompatible with Socialism.

There are Social-Democrats who believe that Socialism is being built in Russia, and Social-Democrats who believe that everything Russian comes from the devil. . . . Both Harry Lang of Hearst fame, and Heinrich Ehrlich the eminent leader of left wing Socialism, are Social-Democrats. A volume could be filled with such comparisons—but this will suffice for our purpose.

If one can be a Social-Democrat and accept everything that other Social-Democrats reject, and reject everything that others accept—it really means that the term has lost its meaning. It stands for nothing. When Comrade A. S. says that he is a Social-Democrat, he made only one thing clear, that he is not a Communist. But he has not in the least explained what he is.

If an individual be permitted to use this vague now meaningless term, no such permission can be granted to a party. A party can not be leased on such a purely negative basis as anti-Communism. A party must first of all base itself on its positive program. Social Democracy at the present moment does not stand for anything positive. When one is accused of having abandoned Social Democracy, he is justified in asking: To which Social Democracy do you refer, Comrade—to the Social Democracy of Otto Bauer or Otto Wels, of Karl Kautsky or Heinrich Ehrlich, and so on and on, and then the entire question becomes absurd.

## What Social Democracy Was?

Until the outbreak of the war the word "Social Democracy" had a very specific, limited meaning. It was synonymous with Marxian socialism. The two terms, Social Democracy and Marxism were interchangeable. There were non-Marxian Socialists also, but they did not call themselves Social Democrats. The non-Marxian socialists in Russia were known as Social Revolutionists, (S. R.), the non-Marxian Socialists in Great Britain, organized in the I. L. P. never called themselves Social Democrats. The small group of Marxists in England under the

## What Was Social Democracy At One Time?

leadership of H. M. Hyndman on the other hand, proudly called themselves Social Democrats.

There were differences of opinion within the Social Democratic movement. There were differences of opinion within the Marxian movement, there were different interpretations of various phases of Marxian philosophy. The Social Democratic movement was not monolithic. No party that is alive and does not want to become a sect, is, or can be, monolithic. Monolithism is the special contribution of Stalin to the Communist misfortunes. The Bolshevik Party was a Social Democratic party up to 1917. It never was monolithic. Differences of opinion within it were always freely expressed.

Even after 1917, when the name of the party was changed to Communist, monolithism did not become part of the discipline of the new party. Differences of opinion within the party were legitimate

This is the first of a series of four articles on Problems of Revolutionary Socialism by Haim Kantorovitch, written specially for The CALL. Kantorovitch is one of the leading theoreticians in the international Socialist movement. The next article will appear next week.—Ed.

and were freely expressed in the party press until Communism was discarded in favor of Stalinism, and intolerance became the chief article of faith of what was left of the Communist International.

In spite of the differences of opinion, Social Democracy retained its specific meaning. Briefly stated it rested on the following foundations.

- (a) It accepts Marxism as the ideological foundation of its practice.
- (b) It was proletarian. It based all its hopes on the working class alone, and formulated its tactics on the interest of the proletarian class struggle.
- (c) It looked upon its reform activity and its fight for the immediate demands of the workers as nothing more than a preparation for the inevitable social revolution by means of which the working class will get control of the state and use it for the purpose of establishing socialism.

These fundamental bases of the Social Democratic movement were theoretically justified and vehemently defended alike by Karl Kautsky, George Plekhanov, Emil Vandervelde, as by Rose Luxemburg, Leon Trotsky and Nicolai Lenin. In fact it was Karl Kautsky who declared that whoever does not accept the inevitability of the social revolution was no socialist at all, and strange as it may sound to some, it was not Lenin but Menshevik Plekhanov who found the dictatorship of the proletariat to be the heart of Marxism, who elaborated on it and defended it against its critics. Even in his later years when he fought bitterly against the Soviets, his thesis was not that the dictatorship of the proletariat was not a necessary transitory stage to socialism, but

that Russia was not ready for it, and that it would therefore end in disaster.

It is therefore clear that if there is any talk about abandoning Social-Democracy, it is not the left wing socialist who is guilty. The fundamental principles of Social Democracy were abandoned by those who persist in using or rather misusing the name. The militant Socialist is the real heir to the social democratic tradition and the fundamental principles which were abandoned by those who now call themselves Social-Democrats. We will not fight about a name. Those who usurped it may have it, but those who accuse us of having abandoned the fundamental principles of Social-Democracy, thereby only display their ignorance.

## Democracy—It's Limitations

"I still cling to the ideal of democratic Socialism," declares Comrade A. S.—that implies, of course that other Socialists, the left wing Socialists have abandoned the idea of democratic socialism. What have they substituted? Presumably, dictatorial Socialism. I have read this logical nonsense in more than one "socialist" argument.

It is logical nonsense because dictatorial socialism is contradictory. Socialism presupposes democracy. Socialism is the highest form of democracy. No amount of nationalizing of industries, no amount of government control can produce socialism unless coupled with the fullest democracy. There is no socialism in Russia in spite of its success in destroying all vestiges of private property in industry and agriculture. There will be socialism in Russia only when genuine democracy, workers' democracy, will be introduced.

The argument that the left wing Socialist has abandoned the ideal of democratic socialism evidently means something else. It really means that the left wing Socialist has abandoned the hope that democracy, that is the mere fact that there is a democratic form of government in some country, makes all other means of struggle for socialism unnecessary.

Let us for a moment again turn to the history of the social democratic movement. Social democracy was always "democratic socialism." The victory of Marxism over all other schools of Socialism was not only the victory of one philosophy over another. As a matter of fact the purely philosophic teachings of Marx had very little influence on the socialist movement. While for a handful of philosophers the all important problem was dialectic vs. formal logic, materialist vs. idealist epistemology—the problem for the living and fighting movement was the Marxian theory of social revolution opposed to all other theories, the Marxian road to socialism as opposed to all other roads. And what was it that distinguished the Marxian road from all others? It was the fact that Marx and Engels based their hope for the social revolution not on the activities of conspiratorial groups who "will make the revolution," but on the broad, open, legal political and democratic struggle of the work-

## Democracy Is A Weapon For Workers

ing class. In existing democracy, in spite of its many defects and short comings, Marx and Engels saw the most important, the most powerful weapon that the working class could use in its fight for socialism.

## Democracy Is a Weapon

Both Marx and Engels, however, knew that while democracy was a powerful weapon to be used in the class struggle, it did not take the place of the class struggle. It cannot serve as a substitute for it. Under a democratic form of government the different social classes meet on the political arena, where they are trying to fight out purely economic issues. They have simply translated their economic interests into political terms. In this fight where, theoretically, all classes meet on terms of equality, the forces are far from equal. All the advantages are on the side of the ruling class. They control the most important means of communication, as well as the power of economic coercion. When the ruling class of California was beginning to be really afraid that Upton Sinclair might be elected governor, thousands of workers received notice a few days before election that their factories were closing because they would have to move to other states should Sinclair be elected. The notices also informed the workers that in case Sinclair were defeated they need not wait for further notice but were to come to work the following day.

Volumes could be filled about the democratic victories of the masses, but of which they were robbed as soon as they had won them. Much more than a vote is necessary for the working class to retain its democratic victories. A proletarian political party that can not supplement its political gains by its economic strength is a weak thing indeed. The New York Socialist aldermen and assemblymen who were legally and democratically elected after decades of hard political work were unceremoniously thrown out by the ruling class. Their protestations to the effect that they were "the people's choice" helped them very little. There was no danger that this violation of democracy would be met by a general strike, and therefore there was nothing to be afraid of. The class conscious bourgeoisie understands the nature of capitalist democracy much better, it seems, than the right wing Socialist.

Many years ago Leon Trotsky excellently formulated the class-conscious bourgeois thought on democracy. "The capitalist bourgeoisie calculates," says Trotsky, in this fashion: "while I have in my hands lands, factories, workshops, banks; while I possess newspapers, universities, schools; while, and this is the most important of all—I retain control of the army, the apparatus of democracy, however you reconstruct it, will remain obedient to my will."

(Continued Next Week)

# The March of the States

With local organizations in 34 cities and towns throughout the State, the Socialist Party of Ohio is actively spreading the message of working class freedom. This means a net increase of nine branches since Robert D. Dullea became State secretary in April, 1934.

Although some branches dropped away they were in minor communities. This was more than made up for by the organization and reorganization of branches in important industrial and farm areas. Notable among these new fields are the onion marshes of Scioto and Harding counties where over half of the 400 onion weeders are members of the party due to the cooperation especially of the Toledo comrades; the southern Ohio coal fields as a result of a tour of John Monarch; the rubber and steel industries around Canton, Massillon and Akron; and farm communities around Summit County and the Miami Valley.

### Youth Work

With only Cleveland actively on the Young People's Socialist League roll call a year ago, today there are nine circles in seven cities. This past April these circles organized a State federation and are carrying on organization work in other cities.

The Red Falcons which was unheard of less than a year ago now have six flights in Cleveland and likely prospects in five other cities.

The student strike against war in April was very successful in Ohio and in most cases led by young Socialists. The largest high school strike—over 4,000 in Collinwood High School—in the country was held in Cleveland under the leadership of the Y. P. S. L.

The Student League for Industrial Democracy is now organized in many of the important colleges and universities and additional groups will be formed in high schools in the fall.

### United Drive

The enthusiasm and activities of the Ohio Socialists has resulted in putting this State among those who this year increased their contribution to the United Socialist Drive over last year.

Over 50 per cent of the Ohio quota has been raised already and a concerted drive is being made to raise the rest before August 1st.

### Dues Stamps

The report which was issued last week by the national office showing a decrease in the number of dues stamps sold in Ohio for the first five months as compared with last year does not necessarily mean a reduction in membership, according to reports coming in from various parts of the State.

Very few branches report any loss in membership while most of them report an increase.

Statistics from the Federal Government show that Ohio is one of the most depression-ridden states in the North. Many members who are unemployed have never gotten over their reluctance to take exempt stamps. National office figures show that the number of exempt stamps bought by Ohio increased much more in proportion than that of regular stamps.

### Speakers Toured

In the past year, the State office has toured almost every speaker sent through by the national office besides arranging special tours for many comrades. Most meetings boasted capacity audiences.

Julius Deutsch and Tony Sender were used in the larger cities, while Fred Henderson, Roy Burt, Norman Thomas, John Monarch

## — Ohio —

By HY FISH

and Joseph Caldwell spoke in many of the smaller cities as well.

Socialist speakers were on hand to address the participants in many of the strikes in the State.

John Sommerlatte, the Socialist candidate for Governor in the last election, spoke at more than 40 meetings during the campaign in all parts of the State.

Joseph Caldwell has just completed almost two weeks in Ohio and upon his return from the middle West will spend several more weeks here.

### Regional Organization

To facilitate organization work, locals in close proximity have banded together into regional leagues. Their function is purely educational and organizational.

The first of these was the Miami Valley Socialist League centering around Yellow Springs and including such locals as Dayton, Piqua, Xenia, Middletown, Hamilton, Cincinnati, etc. Another is the North East Ohio Socialist League which includes Akron, Warren, Youngstown, Canton, Massillon, Ashtabula, Fairport Harbor, Stow, Cleveland and others. With Toledo as a base, the North West Ohio Socialist League was formed a few months ago. All three have regional organizers in the field.

### Industrial Activities

Socialists and branches have not missed any opportunities to be of service to organized labor and work together with the trade unions particularly in Toledo, the hot-spot of the nation. Other locals active industrially are Cleveland, Willoughby, Massillon, and Akron. Many other cities have reported increased cooperation with the trade unions, notably Dayton.

Unions which have been aided by Socialists have been several auto workers federal unions, rubber workers, steel workers, battery workers, ladies' garment workers, textile workers, utility workers, dairy workers, office workers,

## Party Activity

### Ohio

Joseph Caldwell of Rhode Island, who was the main speaker at the Debs meeting in Canton, will probably return to Ohio after August 15th, for a speaking tour of the State.

The four-dollar fee for the Socialist summer school held in Ashtabula from July 8 to July 29 will include all the living expenses for the students who are between the ages of 14 and 20. Write John Sommerlatte, 2019 Warren Lake-wood, Ohio, for further information.

Cincinnati is busy forming new branches in Madisonville and Evanston. Their meetings are reported to be beehives of activity.

Akron Socialists, over the top in the United Drive, are raising funds for a sound truck to be used for street meetings. A Socialist orchestra and chorus is being formed by the branch.

men's clothing workers, and many miscellaneous Federal locals.

In Toledo for the first time the Central Labor Union participated in a May 1st demonstration while in Cleveland over a dozen A. F. of L. unions also for the first time united with Socialist, Communists, IWW, MESA, and other workers' organizations, in staging a mass demonstration and march on May 1st.

In Cleveland Socialists were among the founders and active workers in the Workers' Education Council which was endorsed by the Cleveland Federation of Labor. At one time last winter some 800 workers were attending workers' education classes in Cleveland under these auspices.

### Unemployed Work

In unemployed work, Ohio has also not been lax. Although only recently beginning activity and in spite of the "head start" of the Musteite controlled Unemployed League, the Ohio Workers Alliance has made rapid progress. The first State convention was held June 23 in Columbus with 82 delegates from all parts of the State present.

As a result of the constructive activities of the Socialists, a majority of the executive board of the OWA is Socialist. Party members successfully led the FERA strike in Toledo and are planning similar action in other parts of the State.

One of the features of the State convention of the OWA was the address by Thomas Donnelly, State secretary of the Ohio Federation of Labor, who pledged cooperation from organized labor.

Socialists organized the Ohio Association for Unemployment Insurance which now represents over 80,000 members affiliated through their organization.

### Summer School

This summer the State office is cooperating with the Finnish comrades in running a three-week summer school in Ashtabula for young people. There is also a possibility that a Socialist Summer School will be held in Massillon with the cooperation of the national office.

### Debs Pilgrimage

The fine attendance in Canton at the Debs Anti-War Pilgrimage on the seventeenth anniversary of the Canton Speech was an indication of the extending influence of the Ohio Socialist Party.

Over 3,000 workers journeyed from all parts of the State and adjoining states to participate in this pilgrimage which was combined with the first State picnic held since the war.

### State Convention

The last State convention was larger than the preceding ones and was marked by spirited enthusiasm and loyalty to the party organization. The slogan adopted at the convention in April was "Double Membership—Treble Activity." This challenging goal was suggested by Mayor Hoan, chairman of the national organization committee, and brought to the convention by Paul Porter, national labor secretary and Roy Burt, national organizer for the party.

Ohio Socialists, while they recognize the long hard task ahead of them, realize that this State is one of the most promising fields for Socialism. They are working diligently in concerted harmony to build an instrument which will effectively play its part in the establishment of Socialism.

An enlightened membership imbued with revolutionary ardor is carrying Ohio well on the road to a realization of this goal.

## Introduced Amendment



John Vaninetty of New Britain, prominent Connecticut Socialist and trade unionist, who introduced the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment into the New Britain Central Labor Union. The central body endorsed it on Vaninetty's motion.

## Begin Southern Workers' School

LITTLE SWITZERLAND, N. C. —Thirty-five women workers from seven Southern states assembled here at the ninth session of the Southern Summer School for Women Workers to study the aims and tactics of the labor movement.

Operating in close co-operation with Southern trade union leaders, several of whom are members of its board, the school is making a special effort to train the students for active and effective work in their local unions. The courses offered include economics, English, public speaking, parliamentary law, labor dramatics, health education and current industrial events.

Among the leading trade unionists who will speak and lead discussions at the school are Steve Nance, secretary of the Georgia Federation of Labor, and Mark Starr, educational director of the International Ladies' Workers' Union.



# The Power of the Printed Word

1776 Thomas Paine in his pamphlets, "Common Sense," gave heart to the timid and quickened the sluggards into action. The service he performed had an untold value. He routed the Tories, united the scattered forces of the Revolution and crystalized the sentiment for Independence. He demonstrated the power of the printed word!

1935 It is significant that out of the growing discontent, industrial strife and increased militancy of the workers, there should appear the SOCIALIST CALL. Founded upon the belief that there can be no independence until there is economic security, until there is Industrial Democracy . . . dedicated to social change . . . to a Workers' World.

The CALL can become a mighty voice for labor, it can badger the Tories of 1935, it can weld the scattered forces of labor and make for social change. But the CALL must be circulated in shop and factory, on the street and in the home.

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# Party Activity

## Colorado

Summer school here will open at party headquarters in Denver, 106 17th St., on July 19. After a mass meeting Sunday, July 21, the school will move to Pine, Colo., for a four-day open air session. Activity of the summer school will be climaxed by a picnic July 28, to include the Socialist Party and the Workmen's Circle.

Roy Burt, Socialist national organizer will be in charge of instruction. Carl Campbell, representing Local Denver, is in charge of administrative details.

Applications for the school, accompanied by \$1.00 registration fee, should be mailed to Carl Campbell, 1026 17th St., Denver. Expenses will be small, varying from \$7.00 to \$10.00, with lodging furnished by Denver Socialists.

## Michigan

The Socialist Party is running Alan Strachan, well-known auto trade-unionist, in the coming election for the Detroit City Common Council.

## New York

The following is a partial list of candidates nominated for public office in New York City:

- Bronx**
- ASSEMBLY:**  
 1st A. D. Alex Rosenblatt  
 2nd A. D. Ernest Doerfler  
 3rd A. D. William Gomberg  
 4th A. D. Meyer Levenstein  
 5th A. D. Solomon B. Marcus  
 6th A. D. Emanuel Goldberg  
 7th A. D. Herman Woskow  
 8th A. D. George Steinhardt

- ALDERMAN:**  
 25th Dist. Henry Sobotko  
 26th Dist. Estelle Abramson  
 27th Dist. Alfie Breslaw  
 28th Dist. David Tulchin  
 29th Dist. Sol Perrin  
 30th Dist. Aaron Levenstein  
 31st Dist. August Tyler  
 32nd Dist. Isadore Polstein
- MUNICIPAL COURT JUDGE:**  
 1st Dist. Alfred S. Belskin  
 Harry Kavesh  
 2nd Dist. Matthew M. Levy  
 Samuel Orr

- CONGRESS:**  
 22nd Dist. Tyrell Wilson
- Queens**

- ASSEMBLY:**  
 1st A. D. George Gibbe  
 2nd A. D. Anna Bercowitz  
 3rd A. D. Henry Layburn  
 4th A. D. Jack Karro  
 5th A. D. Arthur Simpkins  
 6th A. D. Edward Gottlieb
- ALDERMAN:**  
 1st A. D. Matthew Gerda  
 2nd A. D. Edward C. Johnson  
 3rd A. D. Ben Hill  
 4th A. D. Sam DeWitt  
 5th A. D. Jack Humfrees  
 6th A. D. Vito Tancredi
- COUNTY JUDGE:**  
 Victor Levin
- DISTRICT ATTORNEY:**  
 Leonard Lazarus
- COUNTY CLERK:**  
 Sue Miller
- COUNTY REGISTRAR:**  
 Julia Kaplan
- COUNTY SHERIFF:**  
 Robert Koeppicus

**NEW YORK**—The meeting of the Bronx County Committee of the Socialist Party originally scheduled for July 11 has been postponed to July 18, Robert Greenfield, executive secretary, has announced.

# CALENDAR

**Friday, July 5**  
 Fred Harwood will speak about "Reminiscences of an American Rebel" at the Bellamy League meeting, at Greenwich House, 27 Barrow St., New York City, at 8:30 p. m. Important meeting.

**Saturday, July 6**  
 Henry Jaeger, prominent Socialist, will speak at an open air meeting sponsored by the Sunnyside branch at Greenpoint Avenue and 47th Street at 8:00 p. m.

Workers' Unemployed Union, Local 19, of Brownsville will install its new officers at a beer party at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St. Admission 10c—Free beer.

The officers elected were B. Gutchin, chairman; L. Lemansky, Bertha Polsky, vice-chairman; E. Brown, secretary; J. Speiser, financial secretary and M. Seligman, treasurer.

Circles 11, Bronx seniors and juniors, dance at Westchester Hall, at Ward and Elder, Bronx, at 8:30 p. m. Admission 15c.

**Friday, July 12**  
 YPSL Red Night. Assemble in uniform at 809 Westchester Avenue, Bronx, at 8 p. m. All Yipsels must be present!

**Saturday, July 13**  
 Mass meeting to greet members of national executive committee of the Socialist Party. For Socialists and Yipsels only—admission by party or league card. At Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, at 8:00 p. m.

Monster mass meeting and parade against the high cost of living. Parade will begin at Pennsylvania and Sutter Avenues, Brooklyn, at 3:30 p.m. Participants include union members, unemployed, Socialists, Workmen's Circle, Young Circle League, Young Paole Zion and Yipsels.

## AFL To Probe Negro Color Bar

**WASHINGTON**—The whole question of discrimination against Negroes in the American trade union movement will be thoroughly aired at an open hearing to be held here this month by a special committee of the American Federation of Labor.

Appointed recently by President William Green in conformity with instructions of the AFL's San Francisco convention, the committee consists of John E. Rooney of the plasterers union, chairman; John Brophy of the mine workers, secretary; John W. Garvey of the building laborers, Jerry L. Hanks of the barbers, and T. C. Carroll of the maintenance of way employes.

Among those expected to appear before the committees hearings is A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who raised the issue of barring of Negroes from unions on the floor of the last A. F. of L. convention. Randolph at that time sought the expulsion of "any union which violates the constitution of the American Federation of Labor by maintaining the color bar."

**CALL THE COPS!**  
**CHICAGO**—The Burns Detective Agency, notorious anti-labor snooper, had \$760 stolen by its cashier.

## Nazi-trained



"Hell!" shouted 4-year-old Billy Dehne when asked what the Nazis do. He spent two years with grandparents in Germany

## Police Attack Canadian Rally, Injuring 100

**REGINA, Canada**—Attempting to make their way to Ottawa to protest peacefully to the government about intolerable conditions in Canadian relief camps, three thousand British Columbia relief strikers were stopped in this city by martial law and a reign of terror directed from Ottawa by Premier R. B. Bennett. Mounted police on Tuesday broke up a mass meeting of the strikers by tear gas, swinging batons, and a rain of gunfire that seriously injured more than one hundred.

**Called Troops**  
 Seeking a minimum wage of 50 cents an hour for unskilled labor and union wages for skilled labor, a 30-hour week, a minimum of 20 days' work a month demilitarization of the camps, and other guarantees as to working conditions, the relief camp workers have attempted to go "on to Ottawa" to present their demands to the "liberal" Dominion government. Flatly refusing to consider their grievances, Premier Bennett has ordered the men to return to their camps and has called out troops to enforce his order.

Armed Royal Mounted police, under instructions to stop the jobless leaving Regina "by train, truck or foot," are holding the strikers virtually imprisoned at the Regina Exhibition Grounds. All highways were closed, as orders went out to starve the strikers into submission.

**Donors Prosecuted**  
 "Any person who supplies any form of accommodation, buildings, rented or free, or transportation or food will be prosecuted." Col. S. T. Wood, in command of the mounties has announced. Despite the order, however, large numbers of Regina workers continued to smuggle food and money to the men.

# Theatre

## Young Circle League

By BILL SHULMAN

The Young Circle League, a non-partisan organization, sympathetic to the ideals of the labor movement, has a dramatic studio which is in the vanguard of those groups trying to express in dramatic terms the unrest of the masses and the struggle for a new society.

It is the aim of the Young Circle League Dramatic Studio "to eventually create a theatre that will reach the masses in the same manner as the Group Theatre and the Theatre Union have done." The Studio, which does not draft outside actors, carpenters, or electricians has produced plays that are a credit to the labor movement. This reviewer has had the pleasure of witnessing several of their productions and has always found Young Circle League productions toeing the mark in a professional manner.

The Studio invites all writers of social plays to submit them for production.

The Studio also hopes for an exchange of labor plays for production. It has several hundred

**NOTE:**  
 This is the second of a series of articles on different labor drama groups existing throughout the country. Contributions will be welcome.

copies of their plays available to any group at a small charge to cover printing cost.

The aim of the studio is to present plays that deal with the lives of workers. These plays must have theatrical value "and must bring home the facts of the horrible system under which we suffer."

Starting their career in 1930, the Young Circle League first trod the boards in "Squaring the Circle." Up to date, they have produced such plays as the "Adding Machine," "Processional," and Phillip Stevenson's trilogy and have participated in various theatre tournaments.

For the future, the Studio intends to organize a Writer's Group to get material presentable by a labor group.

# Movies

## Soviet Slapstick

**PETER VINOGRADOV**, Soviet film with scenario by Leo Slavin and with English dialogue titles.

No longer concerned with the problem of the readjustment of men with old ideas to a society with new, Soviet camera men have set up their tripods in a new locale. Shelving away themes of epochal sweep and magnitude, Russian producers are directing their cameras at the future hope of the new order, the rising generation.

*Peter Vinogradov*, the story of the aspirations of young Soviet students, seems to be patterned especially to appeal to an American audience. Comic coloring is furnished by a young man whose mannerisms are very much like those of our own Harold Lloyd. Individual actors are played up and made to appeal in much the same manner as our own matinee idols.

The new drive for a higher moral standard in the Soviet Union is reflected in this pleasant film. Peter Vinogradov, a young irre-

sponsible inventor, is left flat at the end of the picture when both girls he has promised to marry are engaged to two of his best friends.

Humorous elements injected in the film help make this latest importation from overseas a chuckling affair. The photography is well executed and the backgrounds are chosen carefully.—B. S.

## PLAN STRIKE

**NEW YORK**—With the complete support of the general executive board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Bathrobe Makers' Union has announced plans for a general strike in the bathrobe industry. The threatened strike, according to Harry Greenberg, manager of Local 91 of the I. L. G. W. U., will be the union's answer to arrogant employers who have refused to agree to "uniform and human labor conditions in the industry."

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# Francis J. Gorman Backs Workers' Rights Amendment

WASHINGTON.—Francis J. Gorman, vice president of the United Textile Workers and leader of last year's general strike, announced his support of the Hillquit amendment here this week and agreed to become an active member of the national labor committee supporting the bill.

CHICAGO—Gathering momentum daily, the nation-wide drive for favorable action by Congress on the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution brought endorsements of the bill by scores of labor, farm, and progressive groups in all parts of the country this week.

Urging vigorous action by workers' and farmers' organizations throughout the nation to secure a favorable report on the measure by the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives, Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party, suggested that a barrage of letters and telegrams be directed at once to Rep. Hatton W. Summers of Texas, chairman of the committee before which the matter is now pending.

The amendment, drafted by the late Morris Hillquit, has been introduced in the Lower House, by Rep. Vito Marcantonio of New York as House joint Resolution 327.

**Endorsed By Church Council**  
NEW YORK—Labor and progressive organizations throughout the New York metropolitan area continue to record endorsements of the Hillquit amendment. Among those announcing their support this week were Joseph Schlossberg, national secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the Economic Conference of the Federal Council of Churches, the latter through an approving editorial in its monthly, The New World.

CHICAGO—Endorsement of the Hillquit amendment by the Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, representing 25 A. F. of L. locals, was announced here this week by Morris Siskind, president of the federation.

At the same time, the pocket-

## Joker

There were 595,000 more jobless persons in the good old U. S. A. in April of this year than twelve months earlier, according to the International Labor Bureau at Geneva.

Roosevelt's publicity department might try to fool workers at home, but they had to send the right dope to Geneva.

Just another joker in the new deal pack.

book makers' union inaugurated a drive for endorsement by the Chicago Federation of Labor. The Federation, whose executive committee now has the bill under advisement, has published the text of the amendment in its official organ.

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Following the lead of the railway machinists' district No. 78 convention, the Federated Trades Council here has announced its endorsement of the Hillquit bill.

**Unionists Back Bill**  
NEW BRITAIN, Conn.—On motion of John Vaninetty, veteran Socialist and labor leader, the New Britain central labor union has endorsed the Hillquit amendment.

DALLAS, Tex.—The Dallas local of the American Federation of Teachers has endorsed the Hillquit bill and asked the local central labor union to follow suit.

**Farm Leaders Approve**  
MERRILL, Wis.—Delegates of the County Equity Union Convention enthusiastically and unanimously endorsed the Hillquit bill at their meeting here last week-end.

RANDON LAKE, Wis.—President Albert P. Schulz of the Sheboygan County unit of the Wisconsin Cooperative Milk Pool has promised to lend vigorous help in the enrollment of farm and labor leaders in committees to support the Hillquit amendment.



**JOHN ROOSEVELT**, son of the president, first broke into the newspapers when he led Harvard militarists in a futile attempt to break the pacifist anti-war strike. Then, as a member of the Harvard crew, he lost to Yale. Now, he's got a soft job with the TVA.

## At The Front

By Norman Thomas

Continued from Page One

large part of this money to be used to encourage co-operatives under efficient government guidance and management in their formative period. Nothing is clearer than that the cotton problem will not be solved by putting tenant share-croppers on twenty, thirty, or forty acre tracts which they are going to purchase from the Government.

The whole tendency in cotton production is away from this sort of thing. In cotton production what we need is the encouragement of co-operatives or well run collectives on a large scale. At most what should be given tenants is a secure lease with Government help rather than a title which they will struggle to buy unsuccessfully.

### ROOSEVELT TAX

If the tendency of tax rates announced by Administration leaders really represents what the President wants in the way of new taxation, he doesn't want much that is worth while. The new measures will not raise enough money to avoid the danger of inflation. The taxation of wealth is not heavy enough and doesn't begin far enough down the line to accomplish the purpose of breaking up great fortunes.

A tax expert in the New York Times says that most great fortunes are so well organized in family companies that the law won't hit them. The new tax on corporations is graduated according to total net profits; it ought to be graduated also according to the rate of profit. For instance, a medium sized company may be paying 10 per cent dividend, a big company with a large total net earning may be paying only 3 or 4 per cent dividend; surely the rate of profit ought to be taken into account.

Finally I repeat that a huge inheritance tax is a mighty useful measure in a program of socialization, but far less useful under capitalism. These inheritance taxes, if they work at all, will throw a lot of securities upon the market as each rich man dies. The law should provide that the taxes can be paid with securities so as to hasten the process of socialization. But that isn't what Roosevelt wants. His arguments lately have been in behalf of small investors not of workers.

### REFORMING CAPITALISM

At this point I can hear some reader, at any rate some non-

Socialist reader, cry out, "Always knocking! Why don't you ever praise steps in the right direction even if they are little?" The answer is plain. We Socialists do praise steps in the right direction, but we want to be sure that the steps are in the right direction. We want to be sure that the good isn't the enemy of the best and that the good isn't the gold-brick type of good.

Now I don't blame the Roosevelt Administration for not working for Socialism. It was not elected to work for Socialism. The real responsibility rests upon the workers with hand and brain. They cannot exercise that responsibility effectively by the intermittent application of pressure politics to old party politicians. They have got to have their own party.

We would like to build the Socialist Party into the mass movement of farmers and work-

## Socialist NEC To Be In N.Y. July 13 To 15

With the Bronx and Queens County organizations of the party, as hosts, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will meet in New York City from Saturday to Monday, July 13 to 15. In conjunction with the representatives of the official party organizations, a Committee of Sponsors, made up of the prominent and active New York Socialists, has been organized.

Among the subjects to be discussed by the NEC will be the intensification of the drive for the Hillquit amendment and the strengthening of the Party's prestige with organized labor. It is also expected to consider the New York situation and attempts by right wing State organizations to set up independent conferences.

A mass-meeting of party members and Young Socialists has been arranged for Saturday, July 13, at Irving Plaza and 15th Street. The full National Executive Committee will be present to meet New York Socialists. Admission will be by party card only.

The eyes of the country will be turned on this important session of the highest body in the Party. It is expected that a large number of Socialists from various parts of the country will attend.

All New York Socialists are urged to set aside the night of Saturday, July 13th, to attend the membership meeting.

The Arrangements Committee has set up its office with the American Socialist Quarterly, official theoretical organ of the Socialist party of the United States, at 21 East 17th Street. Communication should be addressed to Sol Rosenberg, representing the Committee, at that address.

If that mass movement of farmers and workers can come more quickly through a Federated Farmer-Labor Party we are ready. But we want to have reasonable assurance that there will be a real party going the right way.

## Coughlin Planning Dual Auto Unions

BY STAFF CORRESPONDENT

DETROIT—Holding forth the "will-of-the-wisp" of a \$2,150 annual income, Father Coughlin, self-appointed "Fuehrer" for the American people, is out to organize the automobile workers into labor unions.

He is going to organize them through the Automotive Industrial Workers' Association, originally set up by the discredited and defunct Automobile Labor Board.

Showing again his animosity to the American Federation of Labor, Coughlin is ignoring the United Automobile Workers of America, affiliated to the A. F. of F. This animosity has been thinly veiled by Coughlin in personal letters in which he declared that he "did not approve of the methods employed by the American Federation of Labor."

In a special series of articles in the CALL, Herman Wolf exposed Coughlin's anti-labor bias and predicted that he would attempt dual unionism.

In line with his policy of protecting the interests of General Motors (Coughlin acted as GM's stooge during the bank crashes in

March, 1933), the priest does not propose to raise workers' wages by cutting into profits. In a speech before the Automotive Industrial Workers' Association, he declared:

"How are we to proceed? The right way is not to destroy the profit system. Insist on taking more from the public as well as from the profits. If you strike, do not do it on a false basis. There is an illegitimate marriage between finance and industry, when industry should be with its true wife—labor."

In other words, Coughlin's program means:

1. Do not strike against the industrialists—these poor souls are on the edge of the breadline.
2. If you want to fight, strike against that intangible thing called Wall Street.
3. The workers' united front lies with the bosses against the bankers!
4. If you're going to try to get your wages raised, see that the cost of the car goes up—so that the undernourished bosses don't suffer!

## Has Your Union Endorsed It?

CALL readers are urged to introduce resolutions in their trade unions and fraternal organizations endorsing the Hillquit "Workers' Rights Amendment" to the Constitution. The resolution reads:

ARTICLE XXII, Section 1. The Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws throughout the United States to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age; to limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage earners; to provide for the relief of aged, invalid, sick and unemployed wage earners and employees in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation or indemnities from the public treasury, from contributions of employers, wage earners and employees, or from one or more such sources; to establish and take over natural resources, properties and enterprises in manufacturing, mining, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities and other business to be owned and operated by the Government of the United States or agencies thereof for the benefit of the people, and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers, farmers and consumers.

Section 2. The power of the several states to enact social welfare legislation is unimpaired by this article, but no such legislation shall abridge or conflict with any Act of Congress under this Article.