

# Socialist Call

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 21, 1935, at the Post Office at New York under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. II—No. 73

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

**AT THE FRONT:**

## Norman Thomas

CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN  
WHERE LONDON STANDS  
ROOSEVELT'S RECORD

IT IS very disquieting to see how little American people, including many American workers, understand the Spanish situation. I know of an important old-line labor leader who shrugged his shoulders and said, "Reds or Fascists, what do we care?" By contrast, the generous gift of the International Ladies Garment Workers for the support of the Spanish workers made through the International Federation of Trade Union is most heartening.



Actually, a victory for the rebels in Spain would mean for that country another night of cruel intolerance and economic exploitation of peasants and workers. It would throw Europe into darkness. It would encourage Mussolini who has already openly tried to aid the rebels. It would surround France with Fascist powers. (Is not the French Government justified in more active support of the Spanish Government than it has yet extended?)

One does not have to approve of what the Spanish Government has done or left undone in detail to hope, first, for its unqualified victory through the aid of the gallant workers; and second, for a steady march toward Socialism. It is clear that a mere negative, anti-Fascist republicanism is not enough. Indeed, the very weakness of the government and its lack of a vigorously pushed constructive program, were responsible on the one hand for mob violence from the left and from the right, and on the other, for leaving disloyal army officers in a position to start this rebellion. The workers have something to learn from this, but there is no use crying over spilled milk. The Fascist rebellion must be defeated.

### Landon's Stand On Labor Rights

If voting and campaigning are to mean anything at all, we ought to get the leading candidates to say in plain English where they stand and what their words mean on important issues. For this reason, as I recorded in last week's column, I wrote a letter to Governor Landon asking him specifically where he stood on the right of unions to organize unorganized industries or factories. I asked him to apply his opinion to the work of the Committee for Industrial Organization in the steel country and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in the cotton country. In the course of my letter I said that I disagreed with his apparent contention that company unions could ever be truly representative of the workers.

To this letter the Governor finally replied. He made no reference to the CIO or STFU organizing campaigns. By implication, he approved, but did not discuss, the company unions as representing the employees, but he came out unequivocally for the right of labor unions to organize the unorganized. From several points

(Continued on Page Two)

# THOMAS HITS FDR, LANDON LABOR STAND

STORY ON PAGE TWO



### ON ALL FRONTS

Unemployed, labor, tenants—on all fronts, America is organizing for the conquest of plenty. The pictures on this page show a part of the struggle against capitalism, the system of Roosevelt and Landon.

Directly above is the battle front in New York City when Mrs. Toni Maxwell barricaded herself and her 9-months baby with sandbags, barbed wire and an American flag against a city marshal and an eviction notice.

Top, left, is capitalist "law and order" in Democratic Alabama. Troops were called out by Roosevelt-supporter Governor Bibb Graves after cotton textile workers had struck for living conditions. In the insert is Mrs. Lois Harris, wounded by strikebreakers.

Bottom, left, are the organized unemployed in action at Pennsylvania where they met to protest Democratic-Republican buck-passing and to demand the passage of a \$100,000,000 relief bill introduced by Socialist Assemblyman Darlington Hoopes.



# Thomas Challenges Roosevelt On Labor

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential candidate, turned his guns on President Roosevelt in an address delivered to more than 5,000 workers here, after having forced Governor Alf M. Landon, Republican candidate to come out into the open on his labor program and admit, at least, that labor has the right to organize. Thomas had challenged Landon in an open letter to clarify his position.

The Socialist candidate continued to ply the old party candidates with challenging labor questions. Discussing Landon, he said:

"I now ask him to clarify his stand on company unions. Is he, as his acceptance speech would seem to indicate, opposed in principle—aside from any constitutional question—to the Wagner Law forbidding company unions? Does he, or does he not, recognize that in this area the Bethlehem Steel Company has used the intimidation of job control and a spy system to maintain industrial serfdom?"

"Is it his position that all that we can expect of government during an organizing campaign is that it should keep its hands off, except to prevent open violence; that it should say to the Iron and Steel Institute and the C. I. O. 'Sic 'em Tige; sic 'em Touser'?"

### Challenges Roosevelt

Directing his fire at the Democratic candidate, he addressed several questions to Roosevelt.

"It is understood that he is friendly to the Committee for Industrial Organization," Thomas said, "and he has the active support of the labor leaders in it. But he took his nomination from Senator Joseph T. Robinson, permanent chairman of the Democratic Convention, Democratic leader of the Senate, and representative and beneficiary of the plantation system, with a record of exploitation and terrorism which is if possible worse than the record of the steel industry. Mr. Roosevelt made a special trip to Arkansas in Senator Robinson's behalf at the very time when the strike of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union was in progress. He held his peace.

"Here, then, is the question. Mr. Roosevelt, how much is your friendship for labor worth? You hope to carry Pennsylvania by the votes of the workers, what about Arkansas and the other cotton states where the worse exploited workers have no votes? These states are all Democratic. You have done nothing to help the sharecroppers and your Administration has done some things to hurt them. Will you now declare, publicly and explicitly, where you stand in reference to them, their problems, and their right to organize without fear of the whip and the mob?"

### Hits Company Unionism

CAMDEN, N. J.—Invited to address the RCA radio workers here in the campaign to install the United Electrical and Radio Workers in the plant through the poll now being taken, Norman Thomas urged genuine unionism as "your hope that you can be men and not mere serfs of a powerful company."

Congratulating the workers on their heroic strike, he said: "The majority of you supported a long, hard strike. Against odds, you won the right to have your union recognized as the bargaining agency for all the workers in the RCA plant.

"Consummate your victory by turning out a great vote when the poll is taken, and then help your less fortunate brethren, wherever they are, to win a similar victory."

## NIX, THEY DON'T VOTE



Will President Roosevelt protest the terror against the sharecroppers in Arkansas, even if, because of unfair poll taxes, they can't vote? This was the challenge Socialist Norman Thomas delivered in his Allentown, Pa., speech last week. Above is a typical sharecropper family.

## Nelson Tours Eastern Area; In New York City August 13

NEW YORK—George A. Nelson, Socialist vice-presidential candidate, will be welcomed to New York City at a reception tendered in his honor on Thursday, August 13, at 8 p. m. in the club-room of the Hotel Delano. City candidates for office will launch their campaign at the same time. Harry W. Laidler, candidate for governor of New York, will also speak.

He will be the guest of honor at a reception tendered him by the Independent Committee for Thomas and Nelson, Thursday afternoon, August 13, at 206 East 18th Street.

Nelson's trip is part of a flying tour through the eastern end of the country after he was heard by thousands in Illinois and Indiana. He showed impressive strength among the farm elements in the middle west where he is well-known because of his activities as a leader of dirt-farmers in their fights against the financiers. Nelson, who owns and operates his own farm, is vice-president of the National Farm Holiday Association.

Nelson will be the main speaker at the Farmers' Day picnic in Reading, Pa., on August 9. After speaking in Delaware, he will go to New York. His schedule in that state is:

August 12, Altamont Capital District Fair at 10:00 a. m.

August 16, Westchester County Socialist Picnic at Puff's Farm, Fort Hill Road off Central Park Avenue.

August 16, Mass meeting at Masonic Temple, Cannon Street, Poughkeepsie, 8:30 p. m.

His tour in Illinois was an unqualified success. Eight meetings were held in seven days for the Wisconsin farm leader. Crowds ranged from 300 to several thousand at Starved Rock. Three of the meetings were held in communities where no Socialist speaker had ever before spoken.



GEORGE A. NELSON

## Socialists Fight to Place Thomas, Nelson On Ballot

CHICAGO (LSP)—Working against obstacles, Socialists in a number of states which have election laws discriminating against minority parties are determined to have candidates appear on the ballot.

Stephen Gaugh, young Socialist, has been appointed a special organizer to aid Arizona Socialists to get their ticket on the ballot.

In Maine, the Socialist party was not discouraged when their state ticket was ruled off the ballot on a technicality. State officials ruled that each name on the petition had to be notarized individually. The usual practice has been to notarize the completed petitions. Even with this adverse ruling, the Maine Socialists are working hard to see that the names of Norman Thomas and



### Norman Thomas Says:

## LANDON'S LETTER MISSES THE ISSUES

(Continued from Page One)

of view this unequivocal statement was clear gain. It is worth remembering. To get it was a service to the right sort of campaign discussion.

### Roosevelt's Record

Roosevelt's labor stand is somewhat better than Landon's. He would probably hold to it better against his reactionary party than Landon against his backers. But unless Roosevelt has given private assurances to some of his labor friends which have not been made public—and which aren't worth much unless they are made public—his record is not so much better than Landon's, as Major Berry, the communists and the Waldmanites try to make out.

He did sign the Wagner Bill which probably Landon would not have signed. But I recall no more unequivocal statement on the right to organize than Landon made—certainly he made no better statement in 1932. No Republican could have a worse record than he in dealing with the share-croppers and their rights. Let your mind run back on the Colt Arms strike; what the President did in the matter of the rubber, steel, and automobile codes; the San Francisco water front strike; and the settlement of the general textile strike; and then say honestly whether that was the record of great and intelligent friendship for labor.

Fresh from the general textile strike and from the horrible stabbing business in Belmont, North Carolina, I tried in vain to see the President or to get a memorandum to him about what was happening in Democratic states. If some labor leaders do not want a clarification of the issues concerning labor maybe it is because they have an uneasy conscience, and know that the difference between Roosevelt and Landon at this point is not the difference between day and night and does not justify forming a "labor" party to support Roosevelt.

### Strike-Breaking In Kansas

This is no excuse for Governor Landon's record. In spite of what he says, his use of militia did help to break or make ineffective the strike of the lead and zinc miners. I understand, for one thing, that his troops limited the picketing to two at each mine. The best I heard for the Kan-

sas troops, when I visited the God-forsaken tri-state area, was that they were not as bad as the Oklahoma troops. And don't forget that the Governor of Oklahoma is a supporter of the New Deal! Kansas does not even have a law to protect these workers against silicosis. And that is a very black mark against the Governor.

### A Job For The L. N. P. L.

As I write this there lies before me a report on the condition of the workers on the great Fort Peck, Montana dam, one of Mr. Roosevelt's pet projects. It appears that workers are compelled to live in barracks whether they like to or not; that the barracks are uncomfortable, populated with bed bugs, and the food very unsatisfactory. Workers who have tried to organize their comrades and have served as spokesmen for them have been fired. So far, complaints to Washington have been in vain. Here's a little job for some of the Labor Committee supporting Mr. Roosevelt to look into and get a little action on. At least let them ask a price for their votes!

### Waldman Goes For Roosevelt

According to the newspapers, our Waldmanite friends had a convention and after singing a few hymns of hate, decided that the fulfillment of their Socialist dreams was a chance to vote for Roosevelt, Garner, Lehman, and maybe some more good Democrats. It is understood that one of the high points of the meeting was Waldman's act before the audience of eating his famous speech denouncing the Forward for supporting Lehman in 1932. Of course the rationalization of all this is that our Waldmanite friends are now safe in the arms of a labor party.

To be sure this labor party is only an annex to the Democratic Party. It is the kind of party that no American Socialist ever thought of endorsing before. Even European precedents, which have not shown too much success for Socialists in coalition governments, do not apply. Under the European parliamentary system Socialists can make terms and maintain their identity to a degree impossible under our Presidential system.

### The Nazi Olympics

This Olympic Games business and the squabbles of the American team are anything but edifying. It is something that Negro athletes won in the citadel of the fake Nordic myth. But so far everything that the American Olympic people do makes us sorer that they missed an opportunity of staying away and by staying away to protest Nazi intolerance.

### WATCH THE WRAPPER

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

**73 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!**

## Labor in Action

STERLING, Ill.—The steel organizing campaign got off on its right foot when 1,100 striking workers at the Northwestern Barb Wire Co. here won a complete victory in the first major strike of the campaign. A 3-week strike won union recognition and a 10% wage raise.

PITTSBURGH — When the Hubbard & Co., steel hardware manufacturers, ordered a 3-day lockout to smash union organization plans in the Etna-Lawrenceville district, the workers decided to lengthen it by a 4-day strike—so they could get a week's vacation.

SANTA ANA, Calif. — Orange pickers on strike in this area are being evicted by grove owners from their miserable shacks in a desperate attempt to smash the strike after vigilantes, teargas attacks and semi-martial law failed.

LEWISTON, Idaho — Goosestepping in the accepted fashion of governors of both old parties, Gov. Ben D. Ross, Democrat and Roosevelt supporter, ordered the militia out in this area when 3,500 lumber workers, organized in the Industrial Workers of the World, struck for a \$5 daily minimum wage.

NEW YORK—A dramatic 48-hour "death watch"—a picket line in all hours of the day and night—was thrown around WPA headquarters here to call attention to the plight of jobless white-collar workers.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn. — Presidents of two hosiery local unions were arrested on the picket line at the strike-closed Bennett-Hubbard Candy Co. here when armed police broke into the orderly ranks of the marchers.

SHEBOYGAN, Wis.—Five hundred Kohler strikers and sympathizers marched in dead silence for one hour July 26 around the company's plant as part of the memorial services for Lee Wakefield and Henry Englemann, slain by company thugs in 1934. The strike is still in progress after two years.

NEW YORK — A citywide drive to organize 50,000 workers in 1,700 laundries into the International Laundry Workers Union has won the support of the New York Women's Trade Union League.

DETROIT — President Homer Martin reported an increase of 100% in membership to the general executive board of the United Automobile Workers of America at their quarterly meeting here. The union now embraces more than 80,000 members, he declared.

HOLLYWOOD — The closed-shop agreement signed by the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and major newsreel companies calls for a minimum salary to cameramen of \$100 per week for 40 hours work.

NEW YORK (FP) — While workers in a score of industries were pushing organization campaign plans, two of the country's biggest corporations were announcing near record profits.

American Telephone and Telegraph reported profits of almost \$37,000,000 for the second quarter of the year, eight million over the same time last year. At the same time preliminary figures from the U. S. Steel Corp. indicated their half-year's operating profits would be about \$17,000,000.

## AFL Council Begins Trial Of CIO Bloc

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The craftist executive council of the American Federation of Labor opened its trial of unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization this week and sat in judgment on the unionists it had itself accused of dualism and insurrection.

The charges did not effect any interruption in the drive being conducted by the CIO for the enrollment of workers in the mass production industries, notably steel, into the AFL. The constituent unions of the industrial bloc refused to appear at the trial, charging that the council had no such powers as it was assuming in attempting to discipline them. They cited the AFL constitution to that effect.

### Hear Compromise

Before hearing the opening speech of John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department, who had signed the formal charges, the council listened to a compromise proposed by Henry K. Ohl, president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. He urged that the council cooperate with the CIO in its organization drives, but that the CIO, in turn, limit itself to activities in the steel and rubber industries, pending a report to the 1937 AFL convention on the whole subject by a special committee.

The proposal was brushed aside by the executive council members who seem to be intent on carrying through their program of disciplinary action against the progressives. Frey, who accepted the characterization of "prosecutor," attacked Ohl's proposal and asserted that he was "in no mood to recommend anything" that might leave the CIO in existence.

The "trial" however, did not slow up the steel drive of which the CIO is now intent. Its Steel Workers Organizing Committee has issued the first number of its bi-monthly newspaper, "Steel Labor," an attractive publication which is passing into the hands of thousands of mill workers.

As part of the drive, John L. Lewis, CIO head, made public a table of figures showing the low wages received by the workers, averaging \$12.73. "No major industry had such a deplorable record," Lewis said.

### ALL-TIME HIGH

MANCHESTER, England (FP) — Adding 279,571 new members in 1935, cooperatives in England, Scotland and northern Ireland reached an all-time high of 7,482,000, figures released by the Cooperative Union show.

# Eye-Witness Tells Story Of Civil War In Spain

[The following article by Bernardo Ruiz, fireman on the S.S. Magallanes and a member of the workers' committee on board that ship, was told to Ernest Mendez, CALL reporter. It represents the first eye-witness account of the Spanish civil war from the workers' point of view to appear in the United States.—Editor.]

By BERNARDO RUIZ, Fireman, S.S. Magallanes  
As Told to ERNEST MENDEZ

While in the harbor of Coruna, our ship was in the line of fire from the land batteries. But in spite of the shrapnel the seamen were constantly in touch with the loyal workers' forces ashore. Despite the opposition of

## FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY



FIX Photo—Passed by the Spanish censor. This exclusive picture, rushed to the CALL from Madrid, shows two members of the workers' militia whose defense of their freedom has excited the world. The young girl at the right is less than sixteen years old.

Captain Munoz, the commander of the Magallanes, members of the crew put off in bum-boats for shore with all the side-arms, medical supplies and food we could gather. In the harbor we placed ourselves under the command of the loyal militia leader, Captain Sanchez.

In Coruna, some of the men on the ship were for deserting and joining the workers' militia, but the better judgment of cooler heads prevailed and we realized that our ship must be kept loyal to the government. To ensure the loyalty of the ship's officers, we have set up a workers' committee on board.

It is due to the heroic action of the workers of Coruna and the stalwart defense they put up that the Fascists have been unable to reach Madrid. Because Coruna is one of the few good Spanish seaports on the Atlantic it was one of the first cities to be attacked at the outbreak of hostilities and the rebels concentrated a great many of their troops around it.

For a while, we thought that the officers of a British destroyer in port would cause trouble for us as there was a great deal of communication with messengers between the destroyer and our ship. However, we constantly kept a few of the men from the black gang (stokers—E.M.) in the foreground as a warning that the men on board were loyal to their government. Some of the men were discussing what the British government would do and they spoke of the fact that England has wanted the Spanish-Moroccan town of Ceuta for many years.

[Ceuta in Spanish Morocco is just across from the Strait of Gibraltar and commands the entrance to the Mediterranean. If any nation controlled both Gibraltar and Ceuta, it would therefore gain absolute power over the Mediterranean.—E.M.]

The workers on board will not allow the ship's officers to turn it against the government. We are organized and ready for any eventuality.

CHICAGO.—Ashland Auditorium will be the scene of a meeting of Chicago Socialists and communists to express solidarity with the Spanish anti-fascist working-class forces Tuesday evening, August 11. Among the speakers will be Maynard C. Krueger of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party.

The Chicago Federation of Labor pledged solidarity with the Spanish trade unions in a resolution that was unanimously adopted.

NEW YORK.—Thousands of trade unionists, Socialists, communists and anarchists gathered in Union Square here last week in solidarity with their Spanish comrades. In reply, Caballero cabled: "GREETINGS. WE SHALL CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COMMON LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE UNTIL FASCISM HAS BEEN CRUSHED."

## Illinois Unemployed Fight Relief Cuts

By HERBERT PASSIN

CHICAGO.—Illinois' relief crisis is leaving a trail of desolation, misery and starvation in its wake and will long be remembered. The relief has been slashed mercilessly with absolutely no regard for the minimum vital necessities of the unemployed.

Unable to get hospital attention, a young boy on relief died of rabies. A Negro woman, at a meeting of the South Side Federated Council on Relief in Chicago, pleaded for assistance because her son was lying dead in the county morgue, and she had no money with which to have him buried. A mass funeral was held for a woman in Chicago who died of starvation.

This desolation and destitution is the lot of the unemployed all over the state. Pitiful cases in desperate need of hospital care, special diets and medicines get no care whatsoever. Evictions,

shutting down of gas, light and water, reduction of food orders—these are the tragic results of the shameful buckpassing of the city and state administrations. In Chicago, there is no rent paid, no hospitalization, no gas, no electricity or water bills paid. Only food orders are given. And the unemployed are budgeted at 26 cents a day per person for food.

When the state legislature meets at Springfield, Aug. 4, the Illinois Workers' Alliance, a part of the Workers' Alliance of America and endorsed by the A. F. of L., is going to give it a rousing welcome with a huge hunger march. There the legisla-

## LABOR UNIONS ARM WORKERS



Arms and ammunitions were distributed to volunteer workers' militia in Madrid in a heroic effort to stop the well-trained Fascist troops from victory. The initials on the automobile used as a distributing center, C.N.T., spell out the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo, one of the labor groups in Spain.

# THE SOCIALIST CALL


Published every Saturday by The Call Press, Inc. Address all communications to The Socialist Call, 21 East 17th St., New York City. Telephone: GRamercy 5-8779.

By subscription: \$1.50 a year; \$1 for six months. Foreign, \$2 a year. Special rates for bundle orders and club subscriptions.

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

Editor: Aaron Levenstein

Business Manager: Hal Siegel

Vol. II  Saturday, August 8, 1936 No. 73

## SETTING THE PACE

Norman Thomas is setting the pace in this campaign. For the first time in years, the old party candidates are being compelled to answer questions about labor.

This week the Socialist candidate cornered Alf M. Landon, challenging the Republican to state his position on labor without the quibbling vagueness of the words used in his acceptance speech.

"It is clear that you do not believe that government should outlaw company unions," Thomas wrote to Landon. "Where do you stand on the present drive to organize the steel industry or on the effort of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union to organize share-croppers?"

Forced into the open by Thomas' questions, Landon conceded that labor had the right to organize, but again dodged the painful necessity of speaking definitely on the steel drive and the share-croppers situation.

The American workers are grateful to Thomas for bringing the issues of the 1936 campaign so squarely to light. Even the capitalist press, like the New York Post, editorially congratulated Thomas on smoking Landon out.

John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers, summarizing the exchange between Thomas and Landon, declares:

"Mr. Landon, in his letter to Norman Thomas, concedes the right of labor 'to send in an organizer,' but he still thinks the unorganized should have 'complete freedom from interference from any one whatsoever.' In his acceptance speech he says this includes even a fellow employee.

"Of course, this policy, taken from the repeated declarations of the National Man-



LEWIS

ufacturers' Association is designed to isolate workmen from the trade union movement."

But while the Socialist candidate is being hailed by even conservative pro-Roosevelt spokesmen for having drawn the issues so clearly, a peculiar united front in action is cemented. The communist, Earl Browder, and the "People's Party" impresario, Louis Waldman, who has endorsed Roosevelt's candidacy, lock arms together and goose-step back into the notorious "third period" of the Communist International.

"Thomas is helping Landon," chirps Earl Browder, quoting a perverted Hearst editorial. The communist presidential candidate in this instance rises no higher than the authority he quotes.

"Thomas is helping Landon," wheezes Louis Waldman, content to rest on his own authority.

As if to put Landon on the spot is to help him!

Does not the former revolutionist and the former socialist know that every time a capitalist politician opens his mouth, he exposes his class prejudice?

The truth is that both Browder and Waldman are helping Roosevelt's campaign. Yet they know that at bottom there is little difference between Roosevelt and Landon for both of them are sons of capitalism and seek to maintain the madness of its profit-system. They fear that Roosevelt, who must also answer Thomas' searching questions, can make replies that hardly vary from Landon's.

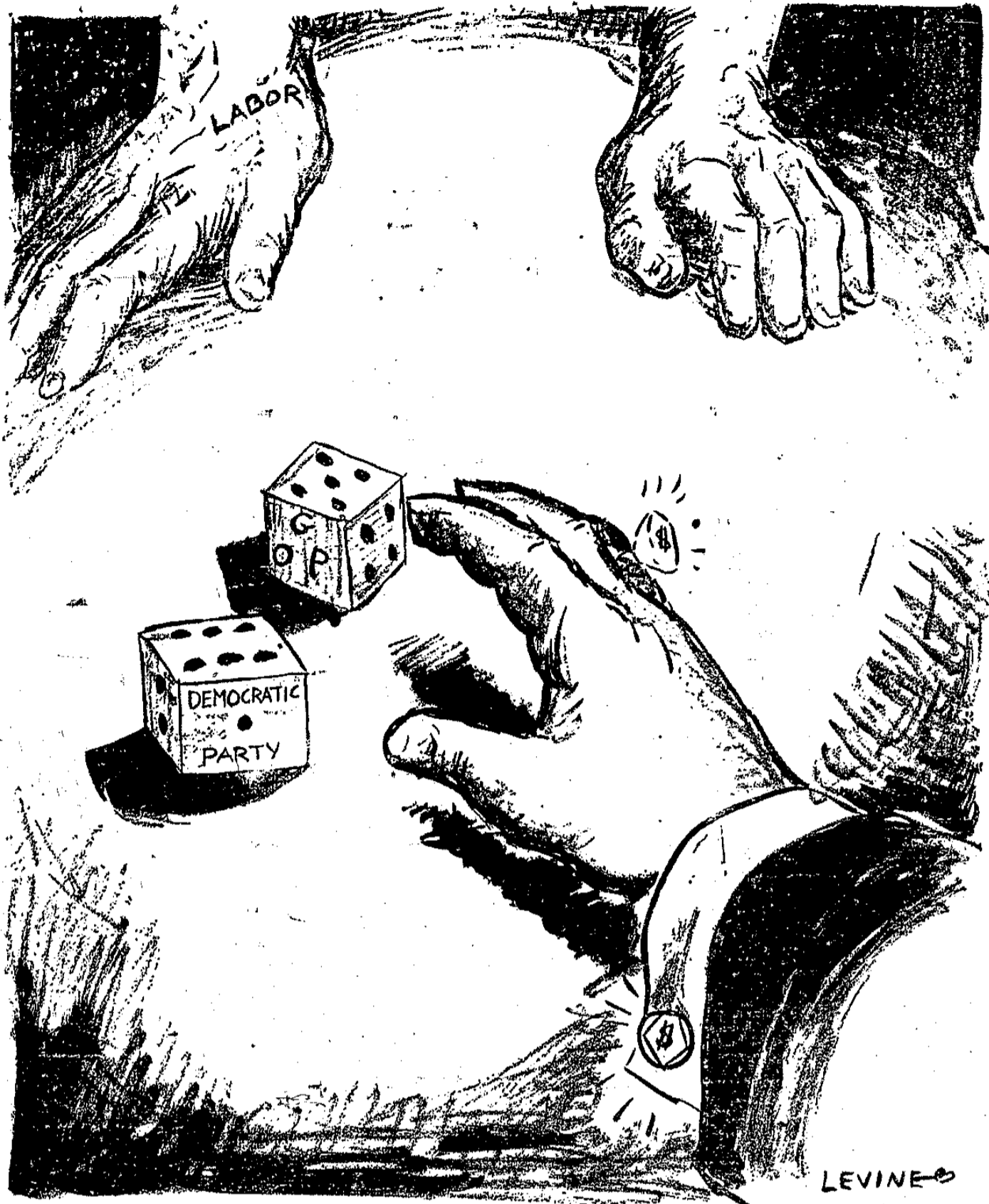
"Mr. Roosevelt, how much is your friendship for labor worth?" Thomas has challenged the Democrat. "What about Arkansas and the other cotton states where the worst exploited workers have no votes? These states are all Democratic. You have done nothing to help the share-croppers, and your administration has done some things to hurt them. Will you now declare publicly and explicitly where you stand in reference to them, their problems, and their right to organize without fear of the whip and the mob?"

Will Browder, a workers' candidate, join in this challenge to Roosevelt?

To be sure, it hardly matters. Thomas is waging an aggressive campaign for Socialism and against capitalism. That is the important fact. Dishonest attacks from whatever source will result only in the disgrace of those who make them.

**With unyielding determination, Thomas is showing the workers of the country that the margin of difference between Roosevelt and Landon—yes, and those who openly or secretly support them—is narrow indeed. The Socialist candidate is summoning the American workers, not to choose the lesser evil, but to seize the greater good—the opportunity to build a political and economic movement that will establish a workers' and farmers' government.**

## LOADED DICE



## 'Good' Men Versus Evil Spirits

To The Editor:

It took the muckrakers 25 years to teach us the fallacy, under capitalism, of government by "good" politicians. Yet some of our radicals and labor leaders haven't learned the lesson and continue, particularly in the present political campaign, to regard politics as a moral arena where "good" men fight evil spirits with pious abstractions.

Roosevelt and Landon are both "good" men—for the capitalist class. They have money in their pockets, they don't beat their wives and they've never been arrested. But I thought radicals are supposed to have an economic understanding of politics. And judged in this light, it is impossible to be "good" while working for the preservation of the profit system. In the present chaos of society only he is "progressive" and "liberal" who makes at least the minimum commitment to an economy based on social ownership. Neither Roosevelt nor Landon has made such a commitment.

Liberals and radicals, bereft of class interpretation, made heavy investments of idealism in Wilsonian Liberalism. Preferred. They voted for the "New Freedom"—and got the old Ohio Gang. They were sold short in the gilded post-war age by a finance capitalism which fattened because it understood the true nature of politics, and which didn't mind if the office boys, like Coolidge, had the local color of a titmouse, or, like Roosevelt, front page dental charm—so long as the political puppets were responsive to the right stimuli in the line of protective tariffs, company unions and "freedom from restrictive legislation."

Beware of Greeks bearing gifts, especially if they have a word for

it. Or several words which spell: "Vote for Roosevelt to keep Landon out."

Are we going to be fall guys in November? Rather, let us do what is good politics and valid idealism—support the Socialist Party and its program for peace, plenty and security.

MORRIS SCHOENFELD.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

### A Socialist Youngster

To The Editor:

I am going down-town to play newsboy and sell my copies of the Socialist CALL to the public. I am game enough to try it. I am 55 years so I ought to be able to keep up with the youngsters who sell the capitalist papers. Wish me luck.

MRS. A. M. PRESCOTT.  
Sioux City, Iowa.

### A Golden Opportunity

To The Editor:

Referring to the letter by Samuel Weller in the CALL, relative to letters addressed to the open forums of the capitalist press, let me say, Socialists throughout the nation who are not using this as a medium to spread Socialism are passing up a golden opportunity.

I have been using the ink and space of my local paper for more than two years, with from one to three letters nearly every Sunday. Many times I have used news articles and editorials, word for word as they appear in the CALL. For next Sunday I will have the story of the class struggle taken from the CALL, "How Did We Get That Way?"

When writing these letters, if your local paper is a Republican

mouthpiece, attack the system through the Democratic Administration and inject just enough to let the readers know you are not favoring the Republican Party. By doing this and being popularly known as a Socialist, the readers will take it for granted that the article is Socialism even if the word is not mentioned.

T. R. HALL.  
Ludington, Mich.

### Help Make Party Policy

To The Editor:

When every Socialist sets himself to convert as many as he can, the goal will be well within our grasp. Join the party and offer yourself for volunteer work. There is need for a million "Jimmy Higginses" and those who have no money to contribute can do much by contributing an hour or two a week in the distribution of literature.

Recently I talked to a lady and tried to get her to join the Socialist Party. She replied: "I am a Socialist, I vote the Socialist ticket. Why should I join the party? I would not have to join anything to be a Republican or Democrat; why, then, should I have to join the Socialist Party to be a Socialist?"

My answer was: "Don't you think it! If you want to join the inner circle of the Republican or Democratic Party and have anything to say in the making of its policies and platform, it will cost you a darn sight more than the 35 cents a month dues you would pay in the Socialist Party, and no exempt stamps issued to keep the unemployed membership in good standing."

W. H. RICHARDS.  
Indianapolis, Ind.



# Which Way For The Middle Class?

By ALFRED LOWELL

"THE middle class today is far worse off than before the war," says Professor Jerome Davis. This statement can be engraved across the face of the useless stock certificates which are gathering dust in the attics of many middle-class homes in America.

With an election campaign going on now, large sections of the middle-class will have to decide if they want to continue living in misery and insecurity. A vote for Roosevelt or Landon will mean a vote for things as they are; a vote for Norman Thomas will mean a vote for things as they should be.

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 (as for instance in the French revolution) made use of the proletarian masses, the day laborers of town and country. But the interests of the middle class were not the interests of the common folk; in fact, it served in many respects to increase the misery and exploitation of the lower class.

With the passing of time, as the stream of wealth, growing ever larger, passed into the hands of a class, growing ever smaller in numbers, there developed a relatively small plutocracy, an upper middle class which is the true dominant class today. But the greater portion of those who consider themselves members of the middle-class do not belong to that class. Like the workers, they receive terribly low incomes and are constantly haunted by insecurity.

## Conditions Get Worse

A general picture of America shows this to be the truth. Look at the chart on this page, which shows the income groups in the United States during 1929, a year that the historians tell us was a prosperous one. Now conditions are even worse. The lower line of the chart, if drawn in 1936 would be much longer and include millions more. As it was, a glance will show you that in 1929, year of "prosperity," the largest individual classification was that of families that have only a bare subsistence and live in actual poverty.

Now the situation is even worse. Many people have been kicked down the ladder by the upper class as it expanded its own enterprises in the search for profit. The small shopkeeper, the independent merchant, the ambitious executives, have been forced out of the middle class parlors and dumped into the cellar. As Socialists predicted, capitalism would demand concentration of wealth; it refuses to tolerate the small men; it forces them out of business.

What lies ahead for the middle class? To be sure, there is an amazing persistence of middle class traditions, which are shared to some extent by workers who still hope that their sons, if not themselves, can rise out of the working-class. Robbed of their property by the operations of capitalism, some of the impoverished middle-class think it is possible for them to climb back on the ladder—if only some law is passed, some scheme is tried out; if, for example, Lemke cuts the dollar bills in half, by infla-

tion, and makes two dollars where there was only one before.

But the patent medicine vendors cannot help. Security can come only in terms of factories, mines, mills, shops, and their ownership by society for the benefit of all who are willing to work, instead of their ownership by a handful for the benefit of their private bankrolls.

## We Cannot Go Back

When Roosevelt and Landon talk of Recovery, they mean the recovery of 1929 "prosperity." Look at the chart again. How far will we have gone even if we crawl back to the sorry picture represented in those figures?

But the truth is that we cannot go back. In the year 1936, the middle class must face these facts:

(1) The old days are gone forever. We cannot restore the America of Andrew Jackson plus a bath-tub, a radio and an auto.

(2) No matter how much the middle class may be flattered by Democrats and Republicans and the quack-demagogues, it cannot win against the plutocracy, on one hand, and the workers, on the other. It must make its choice, siding with one or the other.

This should not cause any despair on the part of the middle class, for there are these two additional facts to give hope:

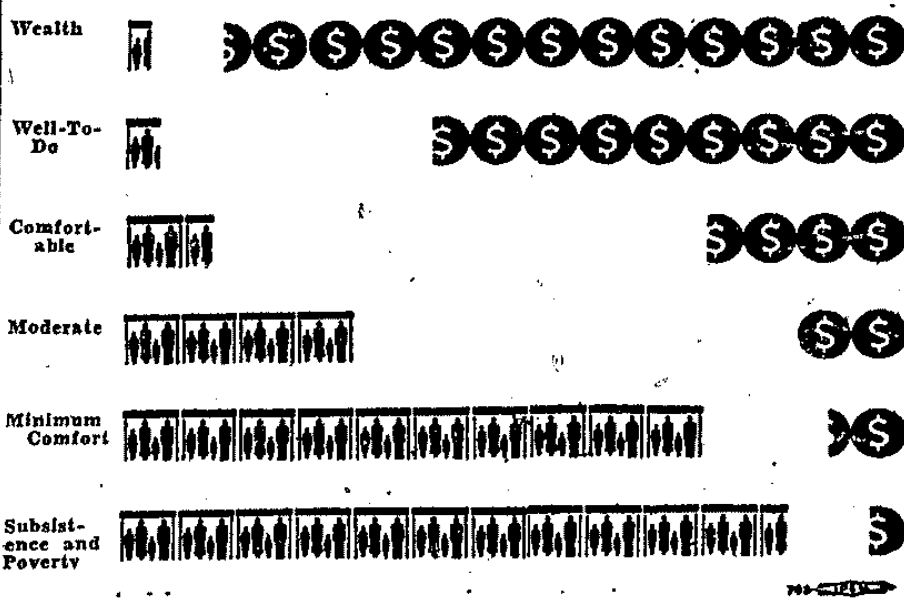
(3) We have the means to produce moderate abundance for all and we can rapidly increase our capacity to produce.

(4) The basis of the acceptance of abundance or of the cooperative commonwealth is the proper award of workers as workers, not the paralyzing reward of ownership as ownership.

Therein lies the way out for the suffering middle class. To support Rooseveltism or Landonism, both of which defend the competitive profit system, is to support the system that brought them to ruin and that keeps them in fear of insecurity. The road to plenty, however, is open to us. It is the path of Socialism, symbolized in this campaign by the candidacy of Norman Thomas.

# IN WHICH GROUP ARE YOU?

THE NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN VARIOUS INCOME GROUPS, 1929



EACH FAMILY GROUP REPRESENTS ONE MILLION FAMILIES, EACH CIRCLE \$2000

# White Collar Serfs Need Socialism

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

MANY white-collar workers have been long of the opinion that their interests are separate and apart from those of their brothers who go to work in a flannel shirt and eat their lunch from a dinner pail. Their work is cleaner. They are closer to the employer. In many instances they are in confidential relations with him.

They receive salary instead of a wage and usually obtain short vacations with pay. Some of them own stocks in one or more of the country's utilities or great corporations. They think they are members of the great, respectable, conservative middle class of the nation, not of the working class.



LAIDLER

## Interests Identical

Economically, however, the interests of most of them are practically identical with the interests of the rest of the working class.

They receive their income not as a result of property ownership, but as a result of their intellectual or manual contribution. Their salary is usually a small one, and they are constantly faced with the menace of insecurity and unemployment.

They cannot, it is true, be lumped in the same salary class any more than can the skilled and the unskilled, the organized

and unorganized miner, construction worker and textile worker.

The average member of the teaching profession in 1930 obtained around \$27 a week, teachers in rural districts \$18, and Negro rural teachers, less than \$8. Salaries of technicians and minor executives varied widely, the average manager of a chain store obtaining around \$35. One-third of all private practicing physicians secured less than \$2,500, though the highly paid doctor brought the average income of the general practitioners up to a little less than \$4,000, and of the specialists and family doctor combined to about \$5,300.

In general the white collar workers obtain during prosperous times just about enough to keep them going, while tens of thousands of store clerks secure hardly more than a starvation wage. During periods of depression their salaries are mercilessly slashed, while millions find themselves among the jobless.

During the last few years of hard times, the salaries of thousands of women clerical workers in New York City have fallen from 25 per cent to 40 per cent. Here is one advertisement appearing in the newspapers of New York City:

WANTED STENOGRAPHER-BOOK-KEEPER: This position in small office or more. Now offering \$12-15 a week. No beginners.

Restaurants not long ago were advertising for graduates of Harvard, Yale and Princeton to learn the restaurant business at a beginning salary of \$15 weekly.

## Unemployment Increasing

In 1932 over one-third of the clerical workers were reported as out of work. A survey by Columbia University in 1933 showed more than nine out of every ten architects without employment. The large majority of engineers in 1933 were jobless, and about 2 out of every 3 chemists. The situation among musicians, half of whom had been displaced in the moving picture industry by sound films, was a tragic one.

The New York Emergency Work and Relief Bureau reported some time ago that about 40 per cent of those seeking jobs were "white collar" workers, including executives, technicians, statisticians, editors, efficiency experts, engineers and personnel managers. Tens of thousands of white collar women were stranded in the great cities.

From every standpoint of economic interest and of logic, the white collar worker should be fighting on the side of a new social order, a Socialist society.

# Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

A bitter life and death struggle is being waged in Spain between the forces of freedom and liberty and the forces of reaction and terror. The life and happiness of the Spanish people hang in the balance as they strive to ward off the black chaps of fascism which descended upon them with lightning swiftness a few days ago. With keen anxiety, the working-class of the world is awaiting the outcome.

The spectre of bleeding Spain rises to haunt and threaten the progressive forces throughout the world. What is happening in Spain can happen anywhere. It can happen here in America!

## The Challenge

Does the cooperative movement in America dare face the spectacle of the threatened enslavement of Spain with an easy and untroubled conscience? Can it continue in provincial smugness to blind itself to the reality of the dangers of a fascist America? Can it cherish its naive belief that it can remain politically neutral and independent in the coming struggle despite the despatches from Spain?

Spain's challenge to the American cooperative movement is not a new challenge. The challenge has been made before. In Italy, Mussolini and his cohorts have killed whatever freedom the cooperatives enjoyed. Their property has been confiscated and their organizations dissolved. The labor of decades has been smashed in a moment by the poisonous hand of fascism.

In Germany, Herr Hitler has ousted the consumers from democratic control of their societies.

## The Answer

The speed with which the Spanish fascists put into operation their destructive coup holds a special warning to American cooperators. How can they hope to deal with reactionary thunderbolts? Obviously a few cooperative grocery stores or gasoline stations, built after years of snail-paced development, can never meet the devastating swiftness of fascism.

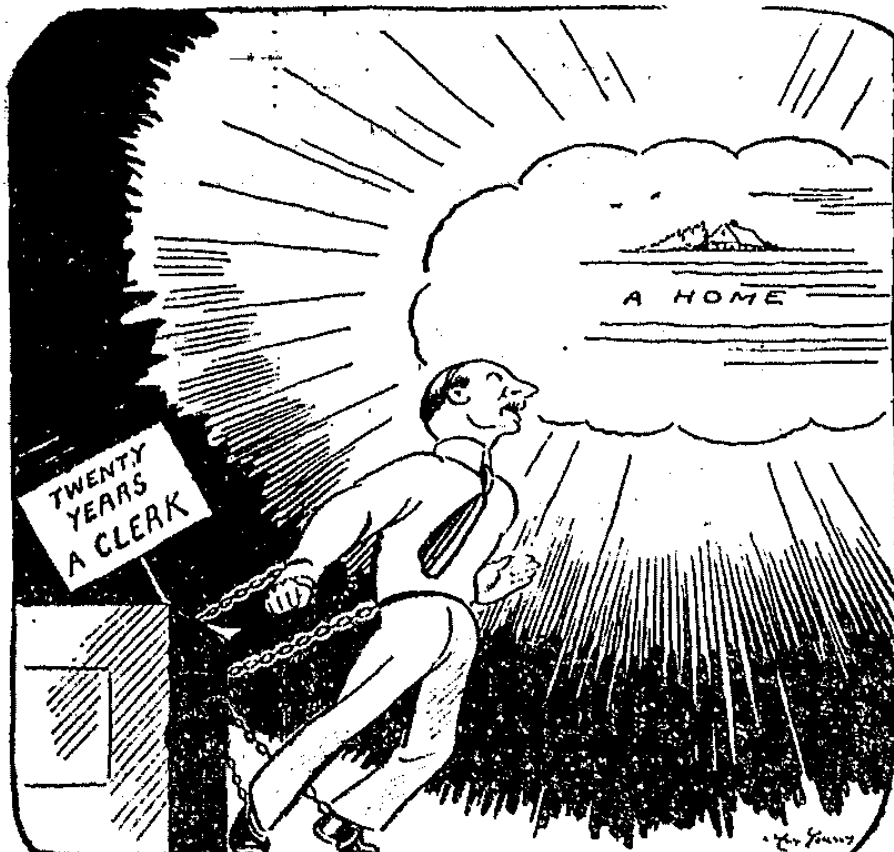
American cooperative leaders owe it to their movement and to themselves to face the grave implications of the fascist revolt in Spain. They must no longer treat labor and political questions as though they were plagues. They must break with the old-line political parties who are as determined to maintain the competitive profit system as we are to replace it with a cooperative commonwealth. They must not allow their members to sabotage the aims of the cooperative movement by voting for Roosevelt or Landon. They must throw their support to the only party that is pledged to bring about the cooperative commonwealth, the Socialist Party, and its national candidate, Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson.

# Pick 'Scab' Hotel As Labor HDQ

NEW YORK.—The American Labor Party, formed to attract labor votes for Roosevelt, swung into action this week by establishing headquarters at an on-union hotel. To get to the offices of Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, a Roosevelt job-holder on the Labor Relations Board who was appointed state campaign director for the ALP, one must walk through a picket-line established by Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers who have struck the hotel as "unfair."

The ALP, by endorsing Roosevelt, has also endorsed the entire Tammany Hall electoral slate, including City Boss James Dewing and National Boss Jim Farley.

# THE VANISHING HOPE



How a Rugged Individualist Became a Ragged Individualist.

# The Roosevelt 'Labor Party'

By JOHN BALL

THOSE who have become tired of seeing the American working class tossed from Democrat to Republican, and from Republican to Democrat, caught in the blind alley of the American two-party system have looked upon a great third party, a Labor Party, not only as a means of giving the working class independent political expression but also as a means of giving progressive leadership to the great mass of American voters who would otherwise just be pawns in the game of capitalist politics.

In the present period of capitalist decline, when both the old parties are paralyzed in the grip of the crisis, we are vitally concerned therefore, with the policy of Labor's Non-Partisan League, especially in New York State where it has taken the lead in establishing a "Labor Party."

## Is This A Labor Party?

Is it really a Labor Party? The answer is a flat "No!" For years the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York endorsed the Tammany slate. But that did not automatically make either Tammany or the Central Trades a Labor Party.

The New York labor party is a creature of Labor's Non-Partisan League for the re-election of Roosevelt. It is a party created to re-elect Roosevelt. The Declaration of Principles reads:

"The American Labor Party of New York State enters the campaign of 1936 with a three-fold purpose:

"To defeat the combination of reactionary anti-labor and anti-social forces headed by Governor Alf M. Landon, and to assure the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency of the United States for another term."

But it does not stop with Roosevelt. It goes on:

"To re-elect the Hon. Herbert H. Lehman to the Governorship of New York for another term."

No Labor Party is founded by heading its declaration of principles with a demand for the re-election of the representatives of the capitalist class both in state and nation.

The procedure in the organization of this "labor party" is an excellent indication of its purpose. No conference of unions was called for the purpose of organizing a New York State labor party. A number of individuals decided to endorse Roosevelt. Then, to get organizational backing for their endorsements, they created a labor party in order to elect Roosevelt.

## Where Is It Going?

More serious than the question of the immediate nature of the New York labor party is the question of its future development. Where is Labor's Non-Partisan League going?

There is a great danger that, if the Labor Non-Partisan League continues to travel in its present direction, it may hinder rather than enhance an American Labor Party development.

For underlying the surface of the New York set-up is sub-current among the organized workers for independent political action. For many years, the major unions connected with the new "party" gave open endorsement and campaign support to the Socialist ticket. This year, Labor's

Non-Partisan League is trying to catch these votes.

The attempt is to direct this vote not only in support of Roosevelt and Lehman, but by a similar logic, in the direction of a Senator Wagner, or a Mayor La Guardia, or a Berle. In short, a traditionally class-conscious and a potentially increasing independent labor vote is being turned in support of the "lesser capitalist evil" right down the line.

By clinging to its present attitude the Labor Non-Partisan League will make its fate the fate of the "better" capitalist party, a fate which in the present era of capitalism is necessarily one of progressive degeneration.

There are rumors to the effect that immediately after the 1936 campaign the forces in the Labor Non-Partisan League will break loose and set up a really independent party. Surely this is a worthwhile perspective. Every progressive element in the unions affiliated with the New York labor party should turn his energies in this direction.

But if this is really the perspective of the Labor Non-Partisan League there are not any statements to indicate it, and the whole line of action points in an opposite direction.

The Labor Non-Partisan League, by supporting Roosevelt in 1936, makes it harder to break from him for 1940. The vote during the last four years has been swinging away from Roosevelt. This drift from Roosevelt is motivated by a mass movement of discontent with a regime that is impotent in the face of crisis. Any sane analysis of Landon's

*"The two old parties now in control of the government in all its departments are managed and financed by the wealthy privileged classes and represent the interests of these classes. They are not likely to legislate their own class out of existence or even of economic privileges.*

*"The hope of the workers, therefore, lies in a political party of their own, challenging the power of the old capitalist parties and electing their own representatives to legislative and administrative bodies in numbers strong enough to control or at least influence their policies."*

—MORRIS HILLQUIT.

program reveals that he can offer even less than Roosevelt. But in the absence of a party offering an alternative to both capitalist parties, the masses would leave themselves as in a wild fever from one uncomfortable side to another.

## The Evils of The 'Lesser Evils'

When 1940 comes, then what? Roosevelt, or a less favorable substitute, will face even greater opposition. A Landon, or a less favorable substitute, will have even greater support. The forces of labor, having failed to organize independently, will have even less confidence in its chances. Once more, labor may fall into the pit of the "lesser evil."

The Labor Non-Partisan League is maneuvering itself into

a position where it will not only take full responsibility for what Roosevelt does but will also be unable to drive him to the left. Their program raises no separate demands, because to make real labor demands would be to expose Roosevelt.

The logic of the Labor Non-Partisan League is to take Roosevelt, bad as he is, because he is not as bad as Landon. That logic leads them not to "embarrass" Roosevelt, not to press him, not to expose him. That logic leads them to become the official labor apologists for Roosevelt, even when they disagree. That logic makes preparation for a Labor Party impossible.

Strange as it seems, giving support to the "lesser evil" must in the long run insure the victory of the "greater evil." The drift from Roosevelt will continue to "go Lan-

don," unless Labor accepts the alternative of an independent party with an independent program.

Irony of history! Love for Roosevelt will beget a Landon, just as voting for Hindenberg against Hitler, just as voting for Wilson against War got us Wilson and War!

Events move fast and a real Labor Party must be organized immediately. The first step must be to sever all ties with the parties and politicians of capitalism. The next step must be a political program of labor demands. With the support of organized labor, with such a program, a Labor Party can absorb the votes of discontent leaving Roosevelt, can cut the ground from underneath the Union Party, can dam the flow to Landon and even cut into the Republican farm, middle class and trade union (if you please!) support.

This is the only realistic, practical perspective. This is labor's alternative to the present policy and political perspective of Labor's Non-Partisan League as so far evidenced. To the task of building a real American Labor Party the Socialist Party summons the organized working class. It is a laborious task; arousing apathetic workers, changing, almost reversing, the policy of the New York "Labor Party." But it will be worth the effort!

## World Socialism:

# A New 'Labor Party' For Britain

By HERBERT ZAM

Since leaving the Labor Party, the British Independent Labor Party has steadily declined in membership, and also in influence in most sections of the country. Precisely at a time when the opportunities for revolutionary work inside the Labor Party were greatest, after the ousting of MacDonald and his clique for their complete capitulation to Baldwin, the ILP separated itself from the main body of the politically organized workers in the expectation that these workers would soon flock out of the Labor Party. But things have not worked out that way. The workers renewed their hope in the Labor Party after the cleansing, and instead of flocking out began to return in great numbers. The expectations of the ILP did not materialize.

Now even the ILP leadership realizes this. An effort is being made to undo the damage. At its last convention the ILP decided to launch a campaign for labor unity, not through affiliation with the Labor Party, but through the launching of a super Labor Party. The text of the decision reads:

"The ILP welcomes all tendencies for united action by the working class in the class struggle, and would welcome a federal association of workers' political organizations which would permit freedom of propaganda and action. Within this Federation joint action would be taken on a program of maximum agreement, whilst the parties within the Federation would retain freedom of criticism and action on other issues, including their own press, platform and program, and the right to vote separately in Parliament."

It is obvious, with the exception of the last point, that what is described here is the manner of functioning of a labor party. Even the last point has been carried out in practice, although outlawed by the statutes. Consequently, the decision of the ILP is in essence a recognition of the need for being associated with a labor party, and a refusal to recognize that the

present Labor Party meets the bill. It is true that efforts have been made from time to time to transform the Labor Party into a highly disciplined organization, limiting the independence of the affiliated sections. But in practice, the federated character of the Labor Party has remained unchanged. No effort was made to enforce the "standing orders" even against the ILP at the time of the dispute. The ILP became frightened at the possibility of enforcement of these rules some time in the future and ran out.

Even if the proposals of the ILP are carried out and the super-Labor Party is established, what guarantee is there that the same dangers will not arise? Will there not be tendencies for super-centralization? Will there not be MacDonalds in it? Will the component elements be materially different than they are today? Obviously not. Therefore, the proposals of the ILP are either utopian or a subterfuge, a refusal to recognize the errors of sectarian existence and boldly return to the Labor Party. The ILP cannot solve its difficulties by grandiose schemes of new super-parties. It must base itself on the realities of today—and those realities demand that the ILP, the main revolutionary force in the British working class today, return to the Labor Party and continue its work for revolutionary Socialism. The Socialist League has shown that such work can be done even under the present structure and leadership of the Labor Party. The ILP today has no real reason for refusing to follow its example.

## Communists and The Labor Party

The predicament of the ILP has become greater since the "new line" of the communists,

part of which is a campaign to be permitted affiliation with the Labor Party. When the ILP left it was somewhat under the pressure of the communists, who were at the time in the throes of their "third period" mania. Upon leaving the Labor Party, the ILP entered into a permanent united front with the CP which came to an end when the CP broke it to support the candidates of the Labor Party during the last election.

The campaign of the CP for affiliation is already having some success, thus thoroughly refuting both the ILP and the former CP arguments that revolutionists cannot come into the Labor Party. At its last conference, the Miners' Federation decided, by a vote of 283,000 to 238,000 to vote, in favor of CP affiliation provided the CP "accepts and abides by the constitution of the Labor Party." Since the unit rule is compulsory at the Labor Party Conference, this means that the 521,000 votes of the miners will be cast in favor of CP affiliation.

While CP will not be admitted this year, if the CP line remains the same, it is almost certain that a favorable vote is only a matter of time. The present line of the CP is so much like that of the Labor Party that only the differences and prejudices of the past stand in the way of affiliation.

The ILP is constantly contradicting its own claims that the Labor Party can no longer be influenced. In a recent issue of its organ the "New Leader," there is a report of a session of parliament entitled "Revolt Becomes Revolution." It is a description of how, in a vote on armaments, the ILP parliamentary delegation secured the support for its posi-

tion, first of 64 Labor members, and then, by continuing the militant fight, of the entire Labor delegation. If that could be accomplished from the outside, not among rank and file workers but among the parliamentary "bureaucracy," how much more could be accomplished on the inside? Is not this report of the "New Leader" a most telling argument against the present ILP policy and in favor of affiliation?

## Communist-Social Credit Alliance in Canada

A brilliant example of the workings of the new communist policy of alliances with anybody in order to secure "results" is brought to the attention of the CALL by Monroe Sweetland, new chairman of the Socialist Party in Oregon. In Edmonton, Alberta Province, Canada, there was an election for alderman. The communists were so anxious to have "unity" that they withdrew their own candidate in favor of the candidate of the Social Credit party, in spite of the fact that the CCF, which is the Canadian Labor Party, also had a candidate in the field. The CCF very correctly refused to endorse the Social Credit candidate, since the first requirement for the building up of a real Labor Party is severance with the old (and new) capitalist parties.

In the city election in Portland, Ore., the communists supported Ralph Clyde, the Townsend candidate for Mayor. So we see that this is not a Canadian aberration, but part of the new "broad" line of the communists, to whom the Socialists have become "sectarian" because they refuse to embrace Aberhardt, Townsend, Roosevelt and other false saviors of the people.

Party Activity:

# Townsend Speech Printed

The much discussed speech Norman Thomas delivered at the Townsend convention has been printed as an attractive pamphlet by the campaign committee of the Socialist party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

Single copies are 5 cents, 10 cents by mail. Twelve copies sell for 50 cents; 100 for \$3.50.

## California

San Francisco Socialists were represented in a committee that went to see the Chief of Police for a permit to hold an anti-war meeting on August 1. Permission was denied, but arrangements for the meeting went on just the same.

## Colorado

State Secretary Paul S. McCormick reported to the state committee at its meeting July 21 that 14,600 persons attended Norman Thomas' recent meetings in the state. A conference is being called to arrange for the organization of party branches in Western Colorado.

## Illinois

Six full-time organizers are now in the field. They are: John H. Malone, Edward Adams, Charles Rossio, Joseph Brinocar, C. H. Mayer and Edward Parker. In addition, volunteers are at

**ANTON SAMEC**  
Illinois Socialists mourn the untimely death of Anton Samec, member of the Socialist County Central Committee, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and the executive board of the Illinois Labor Party. He was one of the leading members of the party.

work, and the sound truck is touring the state to get the 25,000 signatures, with 200 minimum in each of 50 counties, that are needed to get on the ballot.

Chicago Socialists paraded with red banners in the anti-war parade on August 1. Led by a banner reading, "Workers of the

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## CANDIDATE



Claude Williams, courageous Arkansas minister, who was flogged by Southern planters when he went to investigate the murder of Frank Weems, has been nominated for Governor of Arkansas on the Socialist ticket. Williams will run against Gov. Futrell, a Roosevelt supporter, who refused to stop the terror against the sharecroppers.

World, Unite to Abolish War and the War System — Capitalism," the Socialist contingent drew cheers from the spectators.

## Massachusetts

A special state convention was held on July 25. Candidates for office were nominated, with Alfred Baker Lewis as the candidate for Governor, Albert Sprague Coolidge for U. S. Senator and Walter S. Hutchins for Lieutenant-Governor. The state executive committee was increased to fifteen members.

## Minnesota

The state convention, held July 25-26, decided on "critical support" for the Farmer-Labor candidates but will run one state candidate. The Lemke Union Party was denounced as led by ambitious demagogues.

## New York

Local Poughkeepsie will have a meeting with Winston Dancis on Monday, August 10.

## Ohio

The town of Martins Ferry heard John Monarch, national organizer of the Socialist Party. The Daily Times paid a high tribute to Monarch by printing a vicious attack on him and then refusing to publish his vigorous reply.

## Rhode Island

The state convention, held Sunday, July 26, received a charter from the national executive committee of the party. Dr. Eric Stone was elected state secretary. Candidates for state and national office were nominated, including Joseph Coldwell, war-time cellmate of Gene Debs, for United States Senator. William McGuinness is the candidate for governor.

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## Books

# Art and Propaganda

—By BRUNO FISCHER—

During my high school days hardly more than a decade ago, I first tasted of Left literary criticism. It was Upton Sinclair's "Mammonart." There wasn't much else at the time dealing with literature from a radical point of

view, and it impressed me vastly. I remember quoting in my English classes whenever I had a chance Sinclair's opinion that the merit of an artist was measured solely by his view toward whatever class struggle happened to be going on at the time. Thus, Michael Angelo was a poor artist because he worked for the pope.

Marxian criticism had advanced far beyond the naivete of Sinclair, but remnants linger. Marxian criticism hasn't had an easy time. Aside from the natural difficulty of hammering out principles, there was, and to a certain extent still is, the added handicap of the literary dictatorship exerted over a section of radical intellectuals by fourth-raters like Michael Gold, as well

as the baleful influence of those who evolve over-simplified dicta in the name of Marx.

James T. Farrell, in "A Note on Literary Criticism" (Vanguard, \$2.50), has done a noteworthy service to the cause of Left criticism. The author of the brilliant "Studs Lonigan" trilogy, whose business it is to produce novels for critics to criticize, turns critic of critics and examines what at present passes for Left criticism. It's a necessary job, and Farrell has the equipment to do it.

## Stepped on Toes

Needless to say, he has stepped on the toes of the most sacred of the New Masses gang, and the cries of almost incoherent rage which have risen from that sanctimonious quarter indicate that he has done the job well.

I have not the room to discuss all the aspects of the subject which Farrell takes up. Just one, which is probably closest to readers of the CALL.

Marx wrote that heretofore "the philosophers have only interpreted the world; the point, however, is to change it." Some so-called Left critics—in particular those with communist alignments—have developed this to mean that the function of proletarian literature is to change the world. In short, that proletarian writers should write "novels that will teach farmers how to organize and the workers how to conduct strikes."

Thus, writers should carry out the duties of labor leaders, assuming that writers know as much about organizing as the average union member, which they do not. And it leads, quite naturally, to the over-glorification of the protagonist in the manner of morality plays, which may be good propaganda, but is bad art. As a matter of fact, it isn't

## Charter Lifted For Disloyalty

CHICAGO—The national charter of the Jewish Socialist Verband has been revoked by the national executive committee of the Socialist party, its parent organization, according to Clarence Senior, executive secretary of the Socialist party. Senior explained that this does not affect the status of branches of the Verband whose members are still considered members of the Socialist party.

Officers of the Verband were given ten days to express their loyalty to the Socialist Party after evidence had been presented to the Socialist national executive committee that these officers had actively encouraged the formation of the Social Democratic federation. By not complying within ten days, the charter was automatically revoked. Jewish speaking branches will now affiliate directly with local Socialist organizations and will carry on activity as in the past.

## Tennessee

Gubernatorial candidate Kate Bradford Stockton opened her campaign with two weeks of outdoor meetings held in Nashville, Chattanooga and other towns.

## \$100,000 NEEDED

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even good propaganda. In view of the fact that the best-selling proletarian novels rarely achieve 3,000 copies, the writers would serve propaganda better by writing leaflets. Mac Coleman's column in the CALL, for example, is read by some fifty times as many people as read his splendid working-class novel, "Red Neck," which sold as well as most.

The job of the working-class novelist is to write novels of high literary merit from a working class point of view. He may also write articles and propaganda tracts, but he mustn't confuse them with novels.

Farrell's book has opened my eyes to several critical sins I have been committing in this column and elsewhere. For that I'm grateful. Needless to say, I disagree with him on several matters, which is right and proper and as it should be in a book of this sort.

If took ability and courage to write this book. My hat's off.

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1. Every one with the exception of employees of the Socialist Call is eligible.
2. Only yearly subscriptions will count. (THIS MEANS THAT RENEWALS OR LESS THAN YEARLY SUBS DO NOT COUNT IN THIS CONTEST.)
3. Every subscription sent in to the Contest Editor, Socialist Call, 21 E. 17th St., N. Y. C., bearing post mark after July 10th and before August 12th will be credited to the person sending in the sub.
4. Every sub blank should bear the name of the contestant sending in the sub.
5. The bound volumes will be distributed while they last.
6. The post mark on the letters containing the subs will be used in judging the winners. THIS WILL PUT THE CONTESTANTS on the Pacific Coast on an equal footing with those on the eastern seaboard.
7. Winners will be announced in the August 22nd issue of the Socialist Call.
8. The management committee of the Call will be the judges and their judgment on all questions will be final.

**DON'T FORGET! All subs must be sent to the Contest Editor and be postmarked after July 10 and before August 12.**

Dear Contestant:

Some subscribers are complaining that they are not getting the Call from the date they subscribe. Remember, it is not necessary to send in all 20 subs at once. We are keeping careful record of all subscriptions as they are received. So send your subs in every two or three days.

CONTEST EDITOR.



**\$100,000 Fund Drive:**

# Wyoming Tops States

## Socialist Campaign Bonds Sold

Party members are busy at work laying plans for raising \$100,000 to provide ammunition in the 1936 Socialist party campaign, according to reports coming daily into national campaign headquarters at 549 Randolph Street, Chicago.

With 51 per cent of its quota on the Socialist campaign fund drive raised, Wyoming tops the list of states which have raised money for the drive. Kentucky comes next with 45 per cent of its quota raised, and then California which has raised 24 per cent of its quota.

Cooperative Commonwealth bonds, contribution cards and collection lists to help locals on their way in raising their quotas for the campaign fund drive have been issued by national headquarters.

Signed by Thomas

The bonds, a valuable memento of the 1936 campaign, suitable for framing, certify that the buyer has contributed toward the establishment of the Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth. They are attractively printed in two colors in script and old English type on heavy grade water-marked paper with the party seal, and are signed by Daniel W. Hoan and contain the signatures of Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson.

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### PLEADER



Rose Schneiderman, president of the Women's Trade Union League, making a plea in New York for the freedom of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. She spoke at a meeting which marked the 20th anniversary of the imprisonment of these world-famous labor prisoners.

standing campaign under the capitalist system," states Marjorie Kipp, director of the campaign fund drive, "is an expensive proposition. But we must do it. If we are to carry the message of Socialism to all voters ways and means of raising money in this country we must devise to do so.

"We have four months in which to raise \$100,000, no time to lose; and so much to gain in a thousand-fold more effective organization with the literature, broadcasts, organizers and speakers which this money will make possible.

"Work at national headquarters progresses slowly because of the lack of funds. This is also

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Write for Particulars

### Communists Judged By Own Statements

The latest publication of the Young People's Socialist League on the subject of war is a documentary study of the new line of the Comintern, "Out of Their Own Mouths" (YPSL, 21 East 17th Street, N. Y. C., 39 pages, ten cents). It is edited by Harold Draper.

"Out of Their Own Mouths" is a carefully documented account of the surrender of the Communist International to the philosophy which led radicals in 1914 to support the war. The editor provides little comment of his own, contenting himself with the bald quotations from communist sources, referring the reader to another pamphlet published by the young Socialists, Gus Tyler's "Youth Fights War."

As a marked contrast to the position of the communists, Draper prefaces the study with the full text of the resolution on war adopted by the national convention of the Socialist Party in Cleveland which declares: "As in 1917, American Socialists will refuse to support any war the capitalist government of America might undertake."

### Labor Bulletin

Filled with hard economic facts about America today, the first issue of Labor Bulletin, published by the Labor Research Front, appeared this week. Among the contributors are Joel Seidman, John Blair and Charles Stewart.

true for state and local organizations. Some states such as Wyoming, Kentucky and California are doing splendid work. Many other states are also getting right to work with the realization that during the next month money must be raised to prepare and get out material, and lay the organization groundwork necessary for an intensive campaign of meetings, literature distribution, broadcasts and organizing in the last months of the campaign."

Cooperative commonwealth bonds can be secured from national campaign headquarters by individuals who wish to do their share in this Socialist presidential campaign.

### August Shtime

The August issue of the Socialist Shtime, Jewish Socialist organ, contains an article on "Where is Labor's Non-Partisan League Going?" by Gus Tyler, "The CIO and the AFL" by David Meyer, "The Verband and the Socialist Party" by B. Lipman, in addition to editorials, correspondence and branch reports. It is published by the Central Bureau of Jewish Branches, 21 East 17th Street, N. Y. C.

### Going To The Theatre?

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## New Soviet Movie at Cameo Tells Story of Gypsy Life

GYPSIES, a Soviet movie produced by Meshrabpomfilm, distributed in the United States by Amkino. At the Cameo.

The latest Soviet picture to reach these shores, "Gypsies," is another picture that Hollywood might well envy—one that combines melodrama with a beautiful picture of Russian life. It is a story of the attempts of the Soviet government to bring within the boundaries of civilization those nomads who have for many years been part and parcel of Russian folk-legend. The obstinate resistance of Danilo, the gypsy chief who realizes that his dictatorial power over the tribe would be nullified, makes the work of the Soviet representative more difficult.

### in hollywood

By JOHN R. CHAPLIN

HOLLYWOOD—Lion Feuchtwanger, famous exiled German novelist, is going to Moscow to adapt his book, The Ugly Duchess, for a Soviet studio. "Uncle Carl" Laemmle will not be allowed to accompany Universal's basketball team, which will play in the Olympics in Berlin and there is some question as to whether Hitler will allow the team to use its usual symbol-mascot, Oswald, the Lucky Rabbit. He may not be Aryan....

Jumbo, we hear, netted more than a million dollars before the super-est of all super-spectacles closed its doors.... with the success of The Great Ziegfeld, and a life of Daniel Frohman being planned for the screen, as well as a picture centering around the old New York Hippodrome, Metro is contemplating two show-business films on the lives of John W. Considine, Sr., and Alexander Pantages....

Charlie Chase, the inhibited comedian, has left the Hal Roach studios after 17 years there as a writer, director and actor.... Stanley Cortez, brother of Ricardo, has been promoted from second to first cameraman at Universal. Ricardo will get a chance to quit acting and go into the production end at the same studio.... Errol Flynn will have the spot originally intended for Leslie Howard in The Green Light. Olivia deHaviland will be opposite him....

For filming location shots in New York, R. K. O. and Samuel Goldwyn, who had sent head cameramen east from Hollywood, were obliged to put local cameramen on the job according to the closed shop agreement. The first cameramen, members of the American Society of Cinematographers, were allowed to supervise work, but actual filming could be done only by International Alliance of Theatrical Employees men, as in the Hollywood studios....

The still pictures which you see in movie magazines and on newspaper drama pages cost the film industry close to \$300,000 a year.

The latter wins over Yulko, a poor gypsy, who through example and propaganda brings to the rest of the tribe some idea of the spirit of cooperation that must be had in modern society. Danilo, in his rage, assaults Yulko's daughter and attempts to frame a Russian. But Alta, the daughter, lives to accuse the old chief and sees her father return triumphant from a duel with Danilo.

There might be more to the plot, perhaps—but with the inspired acting of Lala Tchornaya as Alta and Alexander Granach as Danilo, the picture must be classed with those other Soviet classics that have become imperishable in the memories of American movie-goers.—SR.

### Radical 'Bible' Fails in Effect

An interesting attempt to translate the New Testament into modern Negro dialect, accompanied by beautiful drawings, fails in Herb Kruckman's "Hol' Up Yo' Head" (Pitel Publishing Company).

The failure is due largely to the self-consciousness of the text. The drawings, fortunately, can stand by themselves and alone make the book worth while.

Kruckman strains too hard in the confines of the New Testament to express our current political problems. The effort was bound to fail. Modernization of Biblical stories in Negro dialect, reflecting contemporary problems, has been successful only when presented in a spirit of naivete. A sophisticate can accomplish nothing.

The drawings are fine because they have no unnatural connection with ancient history. Their truth is beyond any historical setting. A. L.

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### Hotel-Bungalow Accommodations

Nominated by Hearst:

# The Story of Alf M. Landon

Time marches on! Four years ago, William Randolph Hearst gave to the nation Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Now it's Alf Mossman Landon, governor of Kansas. How times do change, and so does the taste of William Randolph Hearst. Democrat yesterday, Republican today. It's as easy as taking off your hat.

Now Willie' is tossing his hat in the air for Alf of Topeka. A man you never heard of until the Yellow King spelled his name in big letters. Now you're asking: "Who is Alf Landon?"

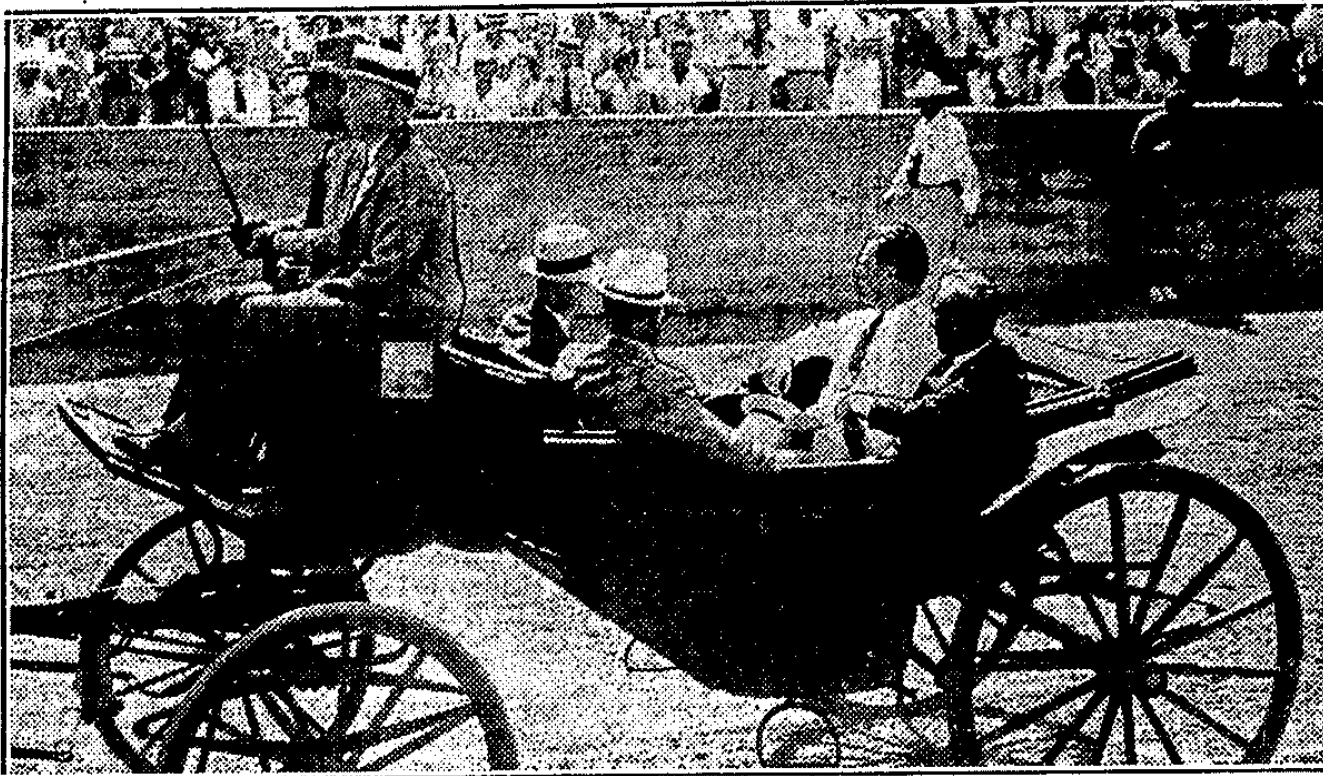
And here is the answer: Oil operator and Strike-Breaker.

Governor Landon made his fortune in oil. By working in close contact with John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company, the Kansas Coolidge, "the common man of the people," fattened his bank-roll. The men who work his fields and create the wealth which flows into his pockets are not union men. And the governor says he doesn't think they will join any union. They've been with him such a long time!

Landon's sole boast has been that he has balanced the budget of his state. But the unemployed of Kansas, have answered that it was balanced at the expense of the health of the unemployed—by cutting relief. Governor Landon's boast covers a relief rate of \$1.08 a week doled out to families that include three persons.

One dollar and eight cents a week—try that on your stomach,

## BACK TO THE HORSE-AND-BUGGY



Alf Landon is rather proud of that phrase a high-paid New York advertising man thought up for him—"Back to the Horse-and-Buggy." But while he was governor of Kansas, as far as social legislation was concerned, we were back to the ox-cart and wooden plow.

and see how you like the balanced budget of Alf Mossman Landon.

Social welfare legislation in Kansas has been ordinary. But like such laws in the federal courts and in other state courts, they have been nullified by the judicial dictatorships. When the minimum wage law for women and children in Kansas went the way of labor legislation, into the teeth of nullification, Governor

Landon sat back, like his Democratic opponent in the White House, and did nothing. Only the Socialists have come out flat-footedly for a Farmers and Workers Rights Amendment that will protect labor legislation from destruction at the hands of the Supreme Court. Faced with problems of this kind, Landon smilingly tells reporters that he is "just a horse-and-buggy governor."

### Supported New Deal

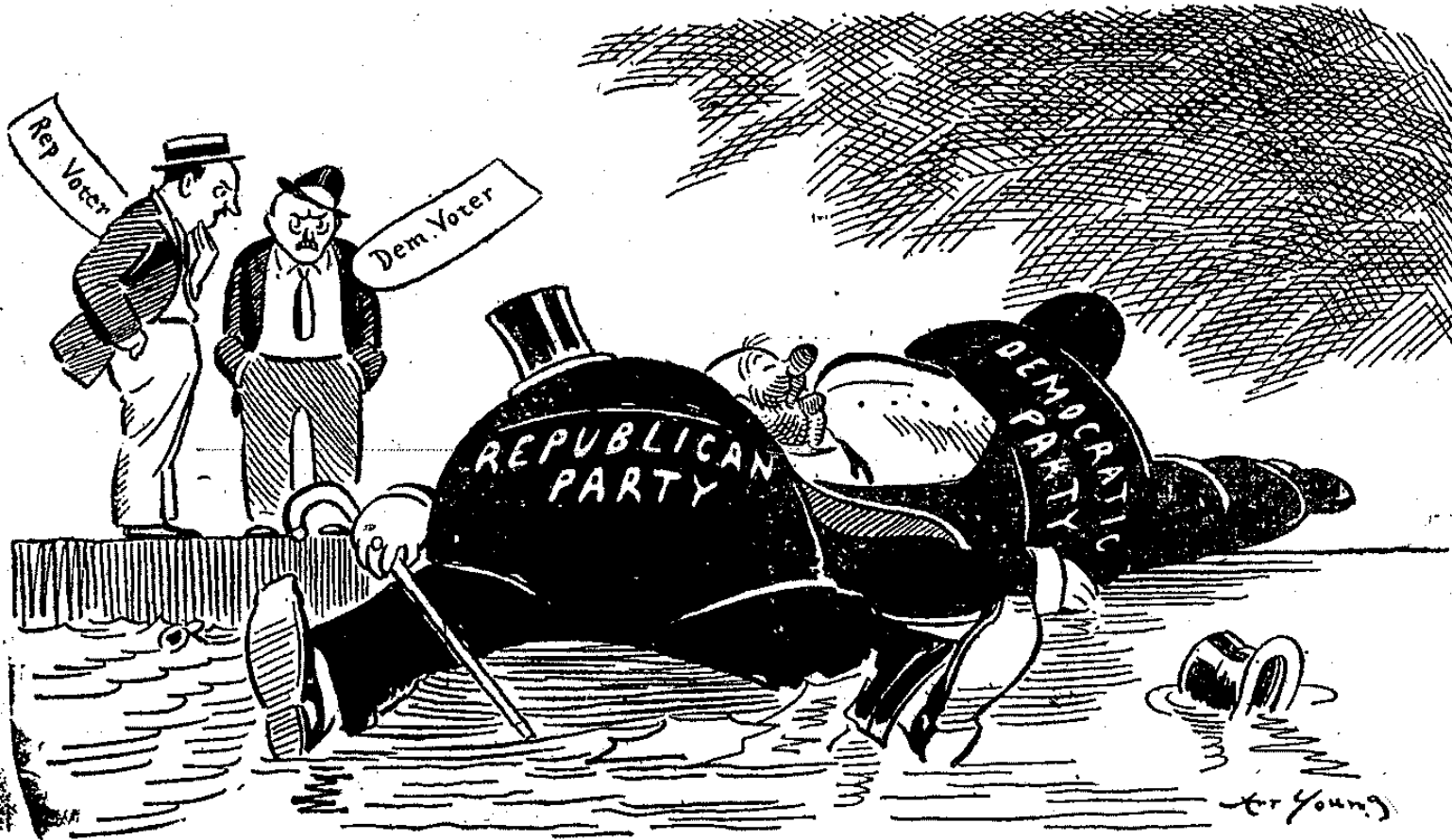
Peculiarly enough, however, Landon was a supporter of the "New Deal" until he began to see visions of his daughters playing on the White House lawn. Easygoing, comfortable governor that he was, he did not oppose Roosevelt's program until politics made it necessary for him to take up the cudgels. He talks about

returning America to "a free competitive system" and like his Democratic opponent, he favors the "American system of initiative and profit." (Stop guessing; the first phrase comes from Landon's acceptance speech; the second comes from Roosevelt's. Get your microscope and see the difference between the defenders of capitalism.)

In his native state, labor doesn't like Landon. The workers remember that it was Governor Landon who sent out the militia at the request of the company lawyers in the strike of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union in 1935. The strike hasn't ended yet; but the picket-lines were broken. In this respect, Landon can march shoulder to shoulder with Governor Paul V. McNutt, Roosevelt's boy friend from Indiana, who leads the states in turning out the tin-hat high school boys against strikers.

All in all, Landon offers nothing to the workers and farmers that Roosevelt has not already given. And that is mighty little. Paul W. Ward, the Washington correspondent of the Nation, sums up the picture:

"The only essential difference between Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Alfred Mossman Landon at the moment is that Roosevelt is in the White House and Landon is in Topeka."



**"Do We Have To Vote For Those Bums Again?"**

# Socialist Call

August 15... Anti-Fascist Issue

Aug. 22... Civil Liberties Issue

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**OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY**

**The Roosevelt Record:**

# Do You Remember The NRA?

**I**F ANY MAN had a chance to make the most of the capitalist system in America, it was Franklin D. Roosevelt.

When he came into office in March, 1933, the economic system seemed to be dissolving rapidly to the tune of the crashing of thousands of banks on all sides. Even the most conservative of the capitalists was scared out of his wits and willing to do anything to save the remains.

Roosevelt had the confidence of the people, the support of a good majority of Congress, and more actual power than any president before him. Those groups which might be expected to oppose reforms were altogether demoralized. If capitalism had any more life in it, Roosevelt was in a position to put it on its feet again.

Today, there are two general theories among the ruling class as to how to get out of the depression caused by the drying up of markets and the falling rate of profits. One is the fascist method: to cut wages—which means smashing the trade unions and the Socialist movement—and to get wider markets abroad by grabbing colonies from the other capitalist countries. This is what Hitler and Mussolini are doing.

The other method is the liberal one; to try to raise wages and prices at the same time, "so that capital and labor will both gain," and to stabilize business by getting rid of cut-throat competition.

This is the method advanced by the Brain Trust of liberal professors. They wrote the Recovery Act, a bewildered Congress passed it, and Roosevelt signed it. It sounded like a good idea. Wages were to be raised by the NRA codes, hours were to be shortened, child labor prohibited. The famous section 7A was to forbid the employers from interfering with the workers' right of collective bargaining through their own unions, and to keep the employers from making the workers sign Yellow Dog contracts. It looked very nice.

After a year of the NRA, labor found that the law helped the workers only where they were strong enough to enforce their demands by themselves. Where they were weak, the government did nothing for them.

In 1933, the strike was the worker's best weapon, and he could get ahead only by organizing a union. This was just as true in 1934, under the NRA.

Yet for a time it seemed as if the NRA wanted to take away even this from labor. In the NRA, capitalism was doing the best it could for the workers—while still paying dividends—and the ruling class didn't want the workers to think they could get more.

That is the reasoning behind the statement of Hugh S. Johnson, the head of the NRA, that "labor . . . will get in these codes the maximum of

*Seventy-five percent of the chairmen of the NRA code authorities appointed by Roosevelt were either executives of dominant employers' associations, or the heads of leading corporations in the industries for which they were required to administer "fair" labor standards.*

*During the Roosevelt administration, the profits of big business jumped but employment and wages crawled.*

**mandatory guarantees of section 7A of the Recovery Act."**

And later, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor said that it was in the failure of section 7A that "the most cruel disillusionment of the workers regarding the NRA has occurred."

Clarence Darrow, chairman of a committee appointed by Roosevelt to study the effects of the NRA, came to the same conclusion. "I think labor must depend on itself," he said. "The NRA safeguards are on the other side. The whole thing was obviously made for the rich man—for big business. It couldn't be for anything else."

In concluding, let us quote from the report of the Darrow Committee:

**"It (the NRA) has not discouraged, but, in the ways we have pointed out, it has fostered those practices and systems under which one per cent of the nation's population has been enabled to possess itself of sixty per cent of the nation's wealth."**

**what the particular economic situation permits, and no amount of militant pressure can change that result." And again: "The plain, stark truth is that you cannot tolerate the strike."**

Johnson was moving toward the other method of saving capitalism, the method of Hitler and Mussolini, but Roosevelt was not yet ready for it. For the time being, all talk of prohibiting strikes was hushed.

But the government continued to do nothing for labor. When the Recovery Act was violated, as in the case of the Honde Co., of Buffalo, the Harriman Hosiery Mills, the Weirton Steel Co., the Budd Manufacturing Co., and many others, the workers found they could get nothing out of the courts. In some cases Attorney-General Cummings refused to prosecute the companies, even though the National Labor Relations Board ruled that they had violated section 7A of the law. In other cases the workers' petitions for their legal rights were tied up in the labor boards or the courts for months. The machinery set up by the law to adjust labor disputes served mainly to tie up the workers in litigation.

**The NRA made prosperity—for the lawyers. The workers got the National Run Around.**

What lesson did labor learn from capitalism's last attempt to plan?

As early as March, 1934, John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, declared that labor had been forced to "use its economic strength, or the strike, in order to secure the

# When They Push The Middle Class Down

**I**T'S good to have friends when you're mixed up in a fight. You need all the help you can get.

In the battle that's going on every day between the workers and the owners of the factories, one of the advantages of the workers is that they outnumber their enemies. In fact, the longer the fight goes on, the more new recruits come into the ranks of the workers. To be sure, they don't come willingly. They are forced to join hands with the working people by the actions of the profit system itself.

You would imagine that capitalism would try to keep people from joining the ranks of the workers who, of course, will gain from the added strength the new-comers bring. But the Puppets of Profit are helpless in the grip of their own system. The more they chase after profits, the more they drive people into the working-class from other sections of the population.

In the past few years, this has been taking place under our very eyes. Small shop-keepers, little businessmen and tradespeople of all kinds, who did not depend on wages for their livelihood and who looked down on the workers, have been forced out of their "middle class" into the army of working people. They have gone bankrupt.

against the big capitalists, who could sell their goods cheaper because they could sell much more, who could buy things cheaper because they could buy much greater quantities, who could keep up with new methods of production.

### Become Workers

As the middle-class elements take part in the competition of capitalism, they are defeated by the superior powers of the bankers and the industrial magnates. They find themselves swallowed up by big business, which grows fatter and fatter, making greater and greater profits by eating up the smaller men. The ruined merchants and shop-keepers then find themselves pushed into the working-class by the capitalists. As McAlister Coleman has said, paraphrasing the words of a popular song, "They push the middle class down. And the system goes round and round."

While the unhappy individuals who make up the middle class still own property themselves, they do not want to have anything to do with the workers. In fact, they look upon the workers as their enemies. The middle class wants to go on drawing profits, but the workers want to end the profit system. So long as they still own their little shops, middle-class people are conservative and want to keep things as they are.

But once they find themselves ruined by capitalism and compelled to join the army of the workers, they understand that the profit system is their real enemy, that security for them can exist only if private ownership, on which profit depends, is abolished. Then they join with the workers in urging that the industries become the property of the whole nation, to be used for the benefit of all who toil.

Of course, some of them have dreams of going back into the past. They yearn to see themselves set up again in their little business. When they

have such visions, they become an easy prey for the fascists who feed this kind of opium to their victims until they get into power. But when the fascists do get control, they forget their promises, and no complaints are made—or you land in a concentration camp.

**As a matter of fact, nothing can be done to restore the middle class to its old glory as small property-holders. The hands of the clock never turn back.**

Intelligent members of the middle class know this. They can see, by looking at the wreckage of their friends' hopes, that in the end they too will be swallowed up in the jaws of the great



capitalists, and that therefore they must join with the working-class to protect their own future interests.

At the present time, the old party politicians, in order to catch middle class votes are talking, as Roosevelt and Landon are doing, about maintaining "a free competitive system." Intelligent middle class elements know, however, that competition will kill them. They are therefore joining with the Socialist Party, which is the party of the workers, in trying to build a co-operative system, where no man will own the life of his neighbor by owning the property which is necessary for the life of all.

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



The property which they owned has been taken away from them.

This was bound to happen to them. With their small amounts of capital they could not stand up

**Norman Thomas**

DISCUSSES  
**Gov. Landon's Letter**  
ON PAGE 1

# Socialist Call

Vol. II—No. 73

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

# INDEPENDENTS ENDORSE THOMAS FOR PRESIDENT

## Many Liberals Back Socialist—Organize Campaign Group

NEW YORK.—Independents and liberals from every walk in life, high and low, have banded together under the banners of the Thomas-and-Nelson Independent Committee to do their share in the Thomas-Nelson campaign—a

campaign that has already made political history. Thousands have enrolled in the committee during the first months of its existence. The committee is located at 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Postmasters, doctors, stenographers, grade-room teachers and newspapermen, have joined with some of America's most prominent citizens and intellectuals in pledging their unqualified support to the candidacies of Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson. A partial list made public by the committee includes the following:

Authors: Freda Kirchwey of The Nation; Max Eastman, former editor of The Masses and philosopher; Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago; Lewis Gannet, book editor of the New York Herald-Tribune; James Rorty, noted

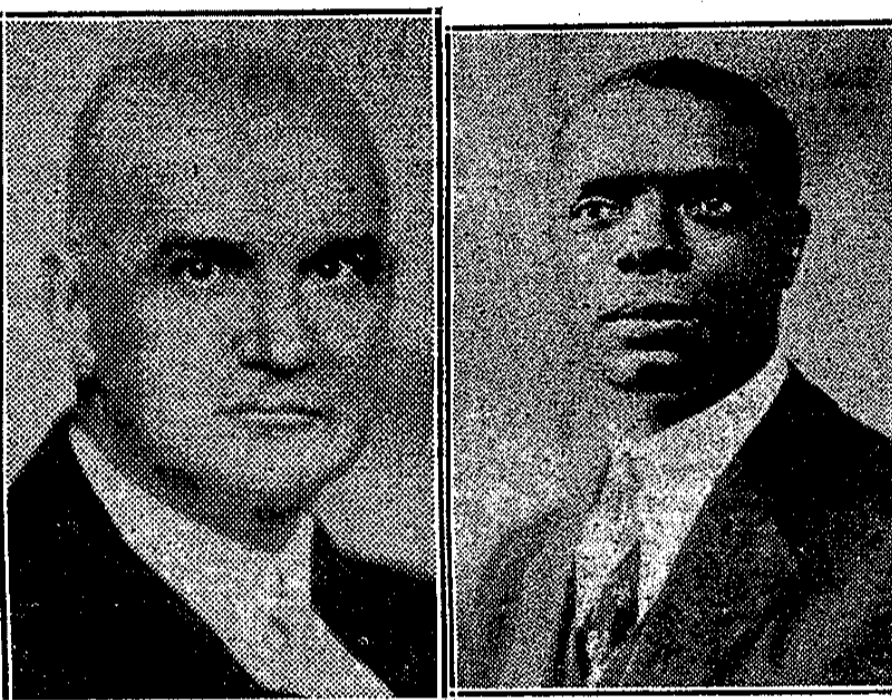
contributor to magazines; and Helen Woodward, novelist.

Ministers: Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist Church; John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church; and Charles Webber of Union Theological Seminary.

Educators: Dr. Morris Cohen of City College of New York; Sidney Hook, noted Marxist and professor at New York University; Louis Hacker and Harold Rugg of Columbia University.

Many teachers and students at Teachers College at Columbia University attended an organization meeting of the Independent Committee this week which was addressed by Dr. Rugg, Prof. George Hartman, Socialist candidate for Supreme Court in Pennsylvania, and Mary Hillyer, secretary of the Independent Committee.

## FOR THOMAS AND NELSON



Here are two of the leaders of the Independent Committee for Thomas and Nelson. Right is William Pickens of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a noted fighter for Negro rights. At the left is Bishop Francis McConnell of the Methodist Church, long a leader in the fight for the civil liberties of labor.

## Thomas Tells Textile Labor Job Solution

MANCHESTER, N. H. (LSP)—When Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, speaks here Saturday evening, Aug. 15, his subject will be "How A Socialist Administration Would Open and Operate the Amoskeag Mills." For once upon a time Manchester workers had jobs, even though the wages weren't anything to boast about. But then the Amoskeag textile mills, which employed 12,000 people, went bankrupt. A record crowd is expected to hear Thomas.

Norman Thomas will speak in the following cities this week:

- Providence, R. I., Aug. 8 (evening).
- Workmen's Circle Camp, Ashland, Mass., Aug. 9 (afternoon).
- Worcester, Mass., August 9 (evening).
- Brockton and Quincy, Mass., Aug. 10, (evening).
- Maine, Aug. 11 and 12.
- Holyoke, Northampton and Springfield, Aug. 13.
- Berlin, N. H., Aug. 14 (evening).
- Concord, N. H., Aug. 15 (afternoon).
- Manchester, N. H., Aug. 15 (evening).
- Fall River and New Bedford, Mass., Aug. 16.

## 'I Pray For Knox and Vote For Thomas'—Chicago Rabbi

CHICAGO, (FP)—Frank Knox, ex-Hearst executive and now publisher of the Hearstified Chicago Daily News, ran into what the superstitious would consider a jinx at the elaborate notification ceremonies in the Chicago Stadium July 30.

He learned that he had been nominated for the vice presidency on the Republican ticket and he accepted with vague but stirring words about Americanism and freedom. Just like Landon's acceptance remarks.

The jinx lay concealed in the fact that the GOP seemed unable to line up a single Chicago rabbi to say a prayer along with the

Roman Catholic and Protestant divines except Felix A. Levy, a well known Chicago liberal. Levy told Federated Press the next day that he had informed the Republican committee of his lack of sympathy with the Landon-Knox ticket and platform but they insisted that he pray just the same.

"I feel it my duty to pray for anyone who needs prayer," Levy declared, "and the Republicans certainly need it. But I think I shall vote for Norman Thomas."

The crowd, which filled the big hall, though there were always seats to be found throughout the long evening, left early after they got a good look at Knox.

## MAIL THIS TODAY!

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

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

### THE LIFE OF NORMAN THOMAS

### Childhood

By RALPH LEVINE

