

SEP 11



Tune In On Norman Thomas Saturday Night

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, will be heard by millions Saturday night, Sept. 12, when he will speak on a coast-to-coast radio network on the issues in the national campaign.

You will want to hear him—so will your neighbors and your friends. Why not arrange a radio party in your home or in your union headquarters? Your friends will thank you for the opportunity to hear one of America's greatest thinkers.

Below are listed the stations affiliated with the "Blue" Network of the National Broadcasting System which will carry the speech. (IMPORTANT: If your local station is included in the list

but does not announce the speech in advance, call up your station manager and tell him you want to hear Norman Thomas.)

WJZ—New York
WBX—Boston
WBZA—Springfield

KSTP—Minneapolis
WEBC—Duluth
WDAY—Fargo

WFIL—Philadelphia
WBAL—Baltimore
WMAL—Wash.
WSYR—Syracuse
WHAM—Rochester
KDKA—Pittsburgh
WGAR—Cleveland
WXYZ—Detroit
WENR—WLS—Chicago
KWK—St. Louis
WMT—Cedar Rapids
KSO—Des Moines
KOIL—Omaha
WREN—Kan. City
WSAI—Cincinnati
WTMJ—Milwaukee
WIBA—Madison

KFYR—Bismarck
KLO—Ogden
KGO—San Francisco
KECA—Los Angeles
KFSD—San Diego
KEX—Portland, Ore.
KJR—Seattle
KGA—Spokane
WRVA—Richmond
WVAR—Norfolk
WPTF—Raleigh
WSOC—Charlotte
WWNC—Asheville
WIS—Columbia
WFLA—WSUN—Tampa
WIOD—Miami

WATCH THE TIME!

Norman Thomas will speak at:
9 to 9:15 p. m., Eastern Daylight Time.
8 to 8:15 p. m., Eastern Standard Time.
7 to 7:15 p. m., Central Standard Time.
6 to 6:15 p. m., Mountain Standard Time.
5 to 5:15 p. m., Pacific Standard Time.

Norman Thomas

DISCUSSES

The Roosevelt Labor Party

ON PAGE 6

OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Socialist Call

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

Stop The Supreme Court Dictatorship

Labor is faced by a nine-headed dictatorship—the Supreme Court of the United States, the high priest of private property and social poverty, the hired guard which capitalism keeps at its gates.

During the past few years, the nine old men have been on a rampage. Whatever seemed the least bit likely to affect the great god Profit was immediately shot down under a heavy fire from the rifle of judicial veto.

It is an old fight, this struggle against the reactionary policies of the judges. Abraham Lincoln led that fight once when he urged the country to fight the Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court ruling that sanctified human slavery. Lincoln said then:

"Somebody has to reverse that decision, since it is made; and we mean to reverse it, and we mean to do it peaceably."

Unfortunately, it was not done peaceably. The Supreme Court, with its ruling that Congress could not forbid slavery, helped to plunge the country into a civil war for four bloody years.

In 1936 the American people are again faced by a court which is blocking the road to progress. While politicians speak vaguely and run away

from the issue, the Socialist Party presents the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment as the method by which to end the tyranny of the court:

"The Congress shall have the power to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen (18) years of age;

"To limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage earners in any or all occupations;

"To protect by law the right of all employes to organize and bargain collectively with their employers;

"To provide for the relief of the aged, invalid, sick and unemployed wage earners and employes in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensations or indemnities from the public treasury;

"To establish, acquire, operate or regulate agencies for the marketing and processing of agricultural products;

"To establish acquire and operate natural resources, properties and enterprises in manufacturing, mining, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities and in any other business, which shall be governed democratically for the benefit of the public by commissions consisting of representatives of workers, consumers and technicians;

"And to legislate generally for the social and economic welfare of workers, farmers and consumers."

Stop the Supreme Court dictatorship! Vote for the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment by voting Socialist!

THE ROOSEVELT REAPER



AFL Suspends 10 Unions As CIO Continues Drive

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The American Federation of Labor lost one-third of its membership, totalling more than a million workmen, as a result of the automatic suspension this week of ten of the twelve unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The suspension of the unions, which include such powerful organizations as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the United Mine Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, followed from the decision of the AFL executive council, ordering withdrawal from the industrial union bloc under penalty of the disciplinary action. The unions refused.

Preceding the suspensions by a few days, David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU resigned his post on the executive council in which he had cast the only dissenting vote in the dispute over the CIO.

Lose Seats

With conventions of 11 unions and 10 state federations of labor scheduled for September, it is expected that various sections of the AFL will make themselves heard in protest before the opening of the convention in Tampa next November 9 when the CIO unions will have the opportunity to appeal the decision. Since these unions will have lost their seats on the floor, however, it is doubtful whether they will attend.

John L. Lewis, head of the CIO, has said: "My own thought is that such an appeal would be futile, a waste of time and money." The CIO has announced no immediate change in its program. "We're going to continue doing just what we have been doing," Lewis said when the suspension order went into effect. "We're going to continue organizing the unorganized. The CIO will carry on just as before."

The industrial union leader refused to make any statement as to further plans of the CIO in advance of a meeting of the representatives of its affiliates. No such meeting will be held until after the convention of the International Typographical Union September 12.

Shipbuilders Hit Roosevelt

CAMDEN, N. J.—A motion to endorse the candidacy of President Roosevelt was overwhelmingly defeated by delegates at the first convention of the independent Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America here.

Phil Van Gelder, an active Socialist, led the forces fighting against the resolution. He attacked Roosevelt's labor record and declared that the New Deal administration had shown its true colors in the recent strike led by the union.

The convention instructed its general executive board to seek affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization. The union has been close to the CIO forces since its inception and has received financial aid from unions affiliated with the CIO.

An organization drive through which it hopes to win for industrial unionism every employe of the nation's shipbuilding companies into its ranks was announced at the convention. At the same time it declared its readiness to cooperate with other marine groups in the formation of a maritime federation on the Atlantic coast, similar to those already established on the Pacific and along the Gulf of Mexico.

Other resolutions called for a boycott of all Hearst publications and the formation of an independent labor party.

LEADERS OF CIO



Here are some of the leaders of the Committee for Industrial Organization who were suspended by the AFL executive council. From left to right: Thomas F. McMahon of the textile workers, John L. Lewis of the mine workers and Thomas H. Brown of the Smelter Workers.

Steel Organizers Attacked By Thugs

PITTSBURG.—The steel barons are beginning to let loose a storm of violence against steel union organizers in an effort to block the gains being made by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers.

Kenneth Koch, recently fired by the Weirton Steel Company and now one of the organizers of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, has already been the target of two attacks. Huge rocks wrapped in stocking cap have been tossed through the windshield of his car on two different occasions.

This is the way E. T. Weir, national chairman of the Republican finance committee and a notorious Liberty Leaguer, is having his company fulfill the promise contained in a recent Iron & Steel Institute advertisement that it would "protect" its employes from violence and discrimination. Koch had been an employe for 15 years, but only recently became active in the union and was discharged.

Follow Koch

Mill police, together with a group of company strong-arm men, have followed Koch with two cars wherever he went ever since he became an organizer.

Attempts to keep the steel workers from contact with SWOC organizers have revealed the panic with which the steel barons face the unionization drive now being conducted by the Amalgamated Association in conjunction with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Steel workers throughout Pennsylvania were ordered last week to report for work on Labor Day in order to keep them from participating in Labor Day meetings called by the organizers.

Assault Organizers

Phillip Murray, chairman of the SWOC, announced this week that two organizers in Weirton, West Virginia, a few miles from Pittsburgh had been assaulted and brutally beaten by company thugs. Murray said that he was

arranging for a thorough investigation.

Reports of progress in the steel campaign are being received from all centers. In Portsmouth, Ohio, there are already 4,500 workers organized in strong locals of the Amalgamated Association. The Portsmouth Central Labor Union had only 21 locals before the steel organizers arrived in town; the number has now been raised by their activities to 38. Five more are waiting on steel to organize them.

Vote Straight Socialist For a Better World.

WILL IT HAPPEN AGAIN?



Will a scene like this, photographed during the 1934 teamsters' strike in Minneapolis, happen again? Local 544, militant Minneapolis union, has again called its members out on strike to get a living wage. The scene above shows a wounded striker after a fray with police.

Denver Jurist Hits Interference With Free Speech

DENVER, Colo. — (LSP) — Found—a judge who knows the bill of rights of the Constitution of the United States.

Municipal Judge Ellet N. Shepherd fined Everett Brandenburg \$75 for attempting to break up a Socialist street meeting.

Addressing Brandenburg, the judge said, "To interfere with the right of free speech is the most despicable of crimes. Although many policemen will not agree with me, I think it is a worse crime than murder. You may think what you were doing was American. I think it was very un-American."

Laidler Hits Milk Dealers

NEW YORK — Declaring that "the flow of milk must be as unhampered by private profit as the flow of water," Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate for governor of New York, proposed municipally-owned creameries, pasteurization plants and dairy distributing agencies to safeguard the interest of both the producers and consumers. Dr. Laidler expressed support of the proposed "holiday" of milk producers in the New York area.

The holiday was temporarily postponed by farm leaders as they prepared to attend a conference called by Governor Lehman. They made clear, however, that they would accept no compromise which would erase their demand for higher prices for milk.

Laidler, attacking a 1c increase in milk prices decreed by the giant milk trust, declared that the trust had garnered high profits while exploiting both the farmer and the public. He charged that dairy corporation officials received exorbitant salaries of \$60,000 and \$108,000 per year.

"Neither the farmer nor the consumer can expect a square deal until the wastes of distribution are reduced and the profit eliminated from this vital industry," he declared.

"Individualism in general production has vanished. Individualism in distribution must also vanish. We must complete the wheel of evolution and change from individual ownership of the means of production to social ownership or we will face growing disaster."

Minneapolis W.P.A. Men Win Demand

MINNEAPOLIS — Convinced that under the Roosevelt administration, only strike action will win, organized labor made Minneapolis the "hot-spot" of the nation as more than 13,000 workers walked out in seven different industries.

10,000 WPA workers, who demanded wage increases to a minimum of \$20 a week and a 4-day week with the same number of working hours as before, walked out in what they termed a "holiday." Authorities immediately yielded to the 4-day week demand but referred the matter of wages to WPA Administrator Harry Hopkins.

More than 1,800 flour mill workers have tied up all but one of the city's huge flour mills as they walked out in sympathy with members of the Flour, Feed, Cereal & Elevator Workers' Union, almost 1,000 of whose members have been on strike since the middle of August.

Teamsters' Strike

The most spectacular of the strikes is that of 400 teamsters, members of the General Truck Drivers Union, Local 544, who are picketing 17 wholesale grocery firms for pay increases and union recognition. Local 544, which is led by Socialists, has been the center of militant union activity in Minneapolis for many years.

Other strikes in progress in the flour capital include that of wholesale jewelry workers, about 100 of whom are seeking union recognition and wage increases; 350 workers at a wood treating factory; and more than 100 in the Ryeg Crisp plant.

Attack Socialists

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—For the second time within three weeks, Samuel S. White, militant Socialist organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, was slugged and beaten here. Also beaten was Hyman Schneid, Chicago Socialist organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Richard Brazier, Amalgamated organizer of St. Louis.

The three were attacked in the heart of the city on the open street by husky gangsters. White was gashed above the left eye and was badly bruised about his shoulders, chest and arms. Schneid's left shoulder was dislocated and Brazier was also gashed above his eye.

Are Arrested

Immediately after they were given emergency treatment, White and Brazier were arrested by the police and thrown into a cell. They were held until Wave Tobin, ILG local manager, effected their release.

White has been active in a garment workers' strike here. Previously he had been kidnaped and taken for a ride to Kansas. An investigation by Federal authorities was ordered of the first attack after international officials of the unions brought pressure to bear in Washington.

Don't Save This Call — Pass It On!

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.

78 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

Labor in Action

MILWAUKEE—The strike conducted by the American Newspaper Guild against Hearst's Wisconsin News has been settled with the management agreeing to pay a minimum wage of \$40 a week for a 5-day, 40-hour week. All strikers are back on the job after the splendid victory.

NEW YORK — A complete victory was won by District Council 9, Brotherhood of Painters, under the leadership of Socialist President Hyman Marcal. Wages are to be \$9 for a 7-hour day, and the contracts provide against the kick-back racket.

SEATTLE—Action of the Seattle central labor union in placing Hearst's Post-Intelligencer on the unfair list since the American Newspaper Guild struck it, was approved by President William Green of the AFL.

FORT WAYNE, Ind. — The convention of the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America meeting here heard an address by Leo Krzycki, prominent Socialist and CIO organizer. It endorsed industrial unionism.

NEW YORK—The Joint Council of the Knitgoods Workers Union has smashed the Metropolitan Knitted Textile Association and has won union recognition and an agreement providing for the 35-hour week.

RICHMOND, Mo.—Construction of the postoffice here, a WPA project, is held up by a strike of 16 union laborers who are demanding the union scale of 30 cents an hour instead of the 10 cents they are now getting.

AKRON, O. — Over 100 delegates representing 35,000 organized rubber workers will meet here on September 14 for the first annual convention of the United Rubber Workers of America.

NEW KENSINGTON, Pa. — Five hundred workers in the New Kensington plant of the Aluminum Company of America have conducted a sit-down strike in protest against the suspension of a girl worker. They are members of the Aluminum Workers of America.

Where Thomas Will Speak

Norman Thomas will tour the middle west and the Southwest next week. Sept. 18 will be Southern Socialist Day at the Texas Centennial at Dallas when Thomas will speak. His schedule follows:

Sept. 10—Morgantown, W. Va. (Afternoon); Wheeling, W. Va. (Evening).

Sept. 11—New Kensington, Pa.

Sept. 12—Lansing, Mich. (Afternoon); NBC Broadcast, Detroit (Evening).

Sept. 13—Columbus, Ohio (Afternoon); Massillon, Ohio (Evening).

Sept. 14—Akron, Ohio (Afternoon); Toledo, Ohio (Evening).

Sept. 15—Lexington, Ky. (Afternoon); Louisville, Ky. (Evening).

Sept. 16—Nashville, Tenn. (Noon); Chattanooga, Tenn. (Evening).

Sept. 17—Memphis, Tenn.

Sept. 18—Dallas, Tex.; 8:30-8:15 p. m., Radio speech over Stations FAA, Dallas, WBAP, Ft. Worth, KPRC, Houston.

Sept. 19—Afternoon, Oklahoma City, Radio speech over Stations WKY, Oklahoma City, KVOO, Tulsa.

Sept. 20—St. Louis, Mo.

Spanish Socialists Take Reins

U. S. Refuses To Stop Aid To Fascists

WASHINGTON — In spite of demands made last week by prominent American Socialists, President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull have refused to take any steps to stop shipments addressed to Spanish ports held by the fascist rebels.

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, and Devere Allen, member of the Socialist national executive committee and American member of the executive bureau of the Labor and Socialist International, had pointed out that by permitting such shipments the American government is giving aid to the fascists who are attempting to set up a dictatorship.

Roosevelt has kept silent about the situation, though in other cases of revolt the American government has embargoed shipments to the rebels. As Norman Thomas stated last week:

"The United States government had before now an embargo on supplies to rebels against duly elected governments in Latin-American countries. It is not a principle of universal and binding

PREMIER



Largo Caballero, famous Spanish Socialist, took over the reins of the Spanish government last week and assumed personal charge of military operations against the fascist rebels.

validity nor is it automatically to be applied. In this case it is a principle that should be applied. It is not out of line with a true understanding of neutrality. It is in line with a zeal for both peace and justice."

Allen, in a communication to the secretary of state, had warned that "the people of the United States will know whom to hold responsible."

Workers' Regime Directs Attack Against Rebels

MADRID.—Determined to carry on relentless warfare against the fascist rebels in Spain, Socialists and other labor groups took over the Spanish government last week and immediately prepared for a direct offensive against the fascist troops.

Largo Caballero, 67-year-old Socialist trade union leader, is now premier and has assumed personal direction of all military operations. Indalecio Prieto,

chairman of the Socialist Party, holds the portfolio of air and navy. Alvarez del Vayo, brilliant Socialist journalist and Caballero's close supporter, is the new foreign minister. Others in the new cabinet, include Socialists, communists, Catalan nationalists and Left-Republicans.

The Socialist leaders have all actively engaged in the military struggle. When Del Vayo was notified of his appointment, he was still dressed in the khaki overalls of a workers' militiaman, with a revolver stuck in his belt.

The new Socialist administration induced a new element of confidence in the volunteer labor troops.

Trust Caballero

"They know now that they are being directed intelligently," Major Carlos Contreras, militia staff officer declared. "They trust Largo Caballero." Contreras criticized the Left-Republican government which preceded Caballero for its "haphazard and weak-kneed command."

Heartened by the new regime, the workers' forces won a major victory when they administered a crushing defeat to the cream of the Franco troops at Talavera de la Reina, removing any hope of the rebels for a march on Madrid. With Talavera in the hands of the government, the road has been opened for direct communication between Madrid and Toledo in the south and Madrid and Merida in the west.

Immediately on taking office, del Vayo warned other nations that the new government would insist on its rights as a nation. His statement was interpreted as being primarily addressed to Italy and Germany.

Nazis Aid Rebels

Interference from the German Nazis is an open secret. Letters discovered in the home of a Nazi in Barcelona have given incontrovertible proof that Berlin is interfering.

One of the letters signed by a "M. Beck" says:

"As in the past we will do all necessary to transport to the interior all packages that are sent to us on the coast." It concludes with a "Hell Hitler."

The technique for getting contraband Nazi literature into Spain is outlined in another of the documents:

"It is possible to pass propaganda material through the customs without difficulty, but these packages must not be too large and they must be able to be opened easily on one side so that the customs agent can observe that it is a question of printed matter, and not dutiable objects. In the case where the package is too well wrapped, it will naturally be necessary to open it entirely, which will not be convenient as the customs agents will then see that it is not a question of advertising material for Hapag (Hamburg-American line—Editor)—as I have always said but of Party material."

Workers' Alliance May Strike As New Deal Rejects Demands

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Even while President Roosevelt was smiling into the microphone and uttering sweet words about America's duty to the unemployed, his subordinates rejected demands by the Workers' Alliance of America for the payment of living wages on WPA projects.

"Two and a half-million workers will refuse to starve while working," was the immediate reply of David Lasser, president of the Workers' Alliance. Lasser declared that the "holiday" of 10,000 WPA workers in Minneapolis would be followed by outbreaks everywhere.

Lasser attacked the New Deal administration for its "hypocritical attitude in admitting that wages are too low, yet not using its power to increase them." He declared that widespread strikes on WPA projects are "what the

A Man Was Lynched in Georgia last week. Why Didn't Roosevelt Support the Anti-Lynching Bill? VOTE SOCIALIST

administration must expect from its refusal to pay decent wages."

Reject Demands

Aubrey Williams, deputy WPA administrator, arbitrarily rejected Alliance demands for the establishment of a \$40 monthly WPA minimum wage with 20 per cent increases of wages not over the minimum and the employment of 1,000,000 additional workers. He agreed, however, to recognize the Alliance as the official bargaining agency.

Observers contrasted the New Deal administration's refusal to pay living wages with official reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Bureau declared that the cost of living in August

was at a higher level than any year since 1930.

Drop 1,381

Meanwhile another section of the New Deal administration arbitrarily fired 1,381 youths from National Youth Administration projects in order to create a cheap labor market for large employers of farm labor.

"In 16 states with large farming areas, the youth directors have anticipated the demand for farm labor by arbitrarily dropping from NYA rolls a total of 1,381 youths," the official announcement reads.

Within the past several months, there has been much talk in Washington that the Democratic campaign strategy will be to reply to Republican charges with the assertion that recovery is here. In order to make this argument plausible, relief costs will have to be cut.

RALLIES SPANISH LABOR



Margarita Nelken, Spanish Socialist deputy, exhorts the workers' militia with a fighting speech in Toledo. Thousands cheered as she pledged firm measures by the new Socialist government for the suppression of the civil war and for the establishment of workers' liberties.

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

Editor: Aaron Levenstein Business Manager: Hal Siegel

Vol. II  Saturday, September 12, 1936 No. 78

THE BRIDGES ARE NOT BURNED

Technically, the unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization now stand suspended and enjoy none of the rights of members of the American Federation of Labor.

It is a tragic moment for workers when the bonds of solidarity are broken and disunity is added to the other obstacles against which they must struggle.

Even at this late date it is still possible to cry a halt. Though the craftist executive council has lifted its hand, the blow can yet be staved off. There are conventions of state federations and international unions that are scheduled to meet between now and the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Sufficient pressure brought to bear upon the executive council may still bring about the reversal of a decision which inevitably must result in split.

Meanwhile it is encouraging to observe that the Committee for Industrial Organization is continuing with its constructive work of enrolling the unorganized mass production workers into unions. There are progressive winds blowing over the labor scene. Workers are being stirred to attempt new assaults on the strongholds of exploitation, and the Committee for Industrial Organization is the expression of this new aggressiveness of labor.

Unionization of steel, oil, rubber and auto is the next step forward for labor. The unions affiliated with the CIO understand this. They are aware that it is an inescapable rule of warfare that those who will not move forward are eventually put to flight. The CIO is definitely on its way to building a strong movement of labor in this country.

A split at this time can only serve to hamper—even if it does not block—the rapidity with which organization of the unorganized can be effected. The component sections of the AFL owe it to themselves to do all in their power to prevent the fulfillment of the executive council's grim purpose.

TWO STORIES—TWO MORALS

As the election campaign gets under steam and the libel laws are temporarily suspended so that the spectators at the great American circus may hear politicians abuse each other, it becomes increasingly clear that the main attack of the discredited Republican "outs" against the discredited Democratic "ins" is the heinous charge that Roosevelt is out to abolish capitalism.

(If only he were!)

Dear, dear, cries the New York Post, enthusiastic supporter of the New Deal. Such calumny, such lies!

And so the Post writes a first-rate editorial to prove that the overthrow of capitalism is about the last thing the President would do. And here's how the Post proves it:

Under the Roosevelt administration, more than \$6,000,000,000 (six billion dollars) has been lent to banks, insurance companies and railroads through the RFC to rehabilitate them for their private owners.

Under the Roosevelt administration, profits of some 2,000 corporations rose from 151 million in 1932 to 2,541 millions in 1935.

The moral is clear: Roosevelt is a friend of the capitalists, and the capitalists ought to vote for Roosevelt.

* * *

But there's another side to the story—the one that the Post was telling about a year ago, on April 2, 1935, to be exact. Here's what the Post said then:

"Congress should reject the bill to extend the life of NRA and AAA for two years more. Two years have been enough."

Still, the Post is whooping it up for FDR now.

On April 2, 1935, the Post wrote:

"Who fathered NRA and AAA?"

"The big-business drive for elimination of the anti-trust laws so that prices could be fixed and production controlled."

And what were the results? the Post asked.

"After two years production is 90 percent of the 1926 average, the wages of labor are 40 percent BELOW 1926, while the wages of capital—dividends and interest—are 50 percent ABOVE 1926."

But what about collective bargaining?

Wrote the Post:

"The concessions to labor on collective bargaining have turned out to be rather empty—with section 7-A interpreted by Johnson, Richberg and the President as an open-shop clause."

This story also has a moral: Roosevelt is an enemy of labor, and labor ought to vote against Roosevelt.

* * *

Facing such a record in the past few years, the workers ought to vote for their own candidate, an enemy of capitalism and a friend of labor. Such a candidate is Norman Thomas.

LABOR CHOOSES ITS CANDIDATE



The Farmers Want Nelson

To The Editor:

"I am for the farmer." So says the politician.

I understand, Mr. Politician, that you are out for the farmer's vote, but beyond that, what do you mean by saying that you are for the farmer? If elected, you usually are for him to the extent that, listening to privileged classes, you soak him.

I too am for the farmer, and I am going to tell you how much I am for him. I am running for no office, and do not want his vote.

In order to eliminate middlemen and gamblers who stand between farmers and city consumers, I am for cooperative and publicly owned warehouses, markets, and transportation systems. By public ownership of banking and insurance I would protect him from foreclosure and mortgage.

I am for the farmer in that I am constantly working to see realized a real Farmer-Labor Party.

I am for the farmer so sincerely that I am going to vote for one for Vice President of the United States in November next. That is George A. Nelson, of Wisconsin. He still operates his farm. With the aid of his sons and without hired labor he milks his cows morning and evening, and works his farm.

Is a dirt-farmer of this type

Socialism Electrifies

To The Editor:

I think The CALL of August 29 one of the best issues. I liked the cover page especially—with one exception.

I happen to be a farm woman and I regretted to see in "When You Vote For Norman Thomas, You Vote For Life As It Should Be" a picture of a farmer behind an old walking-plow. Why, that picture should have been in Alf Landon's section. The Socialist section should have had a farmer pressing an electric button to guide an electric plow, or at least have him using a modern tractor.

PEARL SWAN POWELL.

bank president or president of a railroad so far as I know. He has never sought to exploit the people.

But he has worked in farm and trade-union organizations, such as the Society of Equity, the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, and the Farmers' Holiday Association.

I am glad that the Socialist party has had the courage to nominate a man of that type for Vice President, and he is going to have my vote.

JOHN C. CRANBERRY.
Georgetown, Texas.

Coughlin's Smoke Screen

To The Editor:

I believe that Father Coughlin and his sixteen point program should be exposed from every angle at which they are vulnerable, because the stronger his and similar movements become, the less healthy will it be for labor and its real friends in America.

His continuous tirade against the bankers, both Wall Street and international, is, of course, nothing more than a smoke screen to hide from labor his real purpose.

One needs only to read between sobs as he talks so glibly and emotionally about social justice and driving the money changers from the temple to know that it is those very same money changers and dispensers of social injustice who are supplying him with the bituminous fuel for his smoke.

You will discover by checking back that so long as silver was on the upgrade he continued to support Roosevelt, but when it began its descent he deserted the Roosevelt party. He has denied that he has any personal interest in silver. Possibly that is true. Probably it is some very dear friends of his, instead, who are personally interested.

C. R. O'HARA
Kansas City, Mo.

MAIL THIS TODAY!

CLARENCE SENIOR,
Socialist Party, U. S. A.,
549 Randolph St., 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 _____

A CAMPAIGN CARAVAN

By Sidney Hertzberg

THE papers said last Sunday that the President would make "an important announcement on re-employment," during his fireside chat. The radio announcer, purring from the White House, said so too. It sounded quite portentous. Here it was the eve of Labor Day. For seven years American workers had been struggling with mass unemployment and its myriad scourges. Within the labor movement there is division. In the basic industries, the class struggle becomes relentless. In a dozen spots throughout the world, war threatens. It is a staggering picture. Behind it all is the dull rumble of a collapsing economic system—collapsing primarily because it cannot give its people work.

Comes now the President of the United States, the great humanitarian—the shining figure before whom Socialists are supposed to hide their flaming torches. His tantalizing tenor voice begins:

"I have been on a journey of husbandry. (Husbanding votes?) . . . Every Governor with whom I have talked is in full accord with this program . . . We are going to have a farm policy that will serve the national welfare . . .

"Tomorrow is Labor Day . . . Last spring I expressed the hope that employers would realize their deep responsibility to take men off the relief rolls and give them jobs in private enterprise . . . Tonight I am announcing the allocation of two and a half million dollars more to enable the Employment Service to make an even more intensive search than it has yet been equipped to make, to find opportunities in private employment for workers registered with it."

What He Offered

This is the important announcement: On Labor Day of 1936, it is recorded that Roosevelt offered 12,000,000 jobless bigger and better employment agencies.

To be sure, Roosevelt has not let the unemployed starve—at least not all of them. He has spent billions of dollars for the unemployed. He has given abundantly of his sympathy. In this same speech, he supplied balm for the aching consciences of his left wing apologists with the announcement:

"Labor Day symbolizes our determination to achieve an economic freedom for the average man which will give his political freedom reality."

How is this to be accomplished? The \$2,500,000 for employment agencies is really an accurate answer. Roosevelt's conception of economic freedom is to continue relief programs "until all workers have decent jobs in private employment at decent wages."

"Business men, with their businesses, small and large, had to be saved," he said in the same chat. We must return to what we had; but this time the bosses must be "decent" and we will thus achieve economic freedom. "We insist that labor is entitled to as much respect as property."

But, as a prerequisite to all this, we must forget class dissension. "Labor Day in this country has never been a class holiday . . . Anyone who calls it a class holiday challenges the whole concept of American democracy."

Here we have an articulation of a completely unrealistic and futile economic philosophy. It is the futility of well-meaning men. La Guardia means well; but as Mayor of New York he can't understand why the taxi drivers don't want to accept his settlement. Lehman means well; but as Governor of New York he can't appreciate the plight of the dairy farmers and answers their milk strike with State troopers. Roosevelt means well; but as President he can't see why auto workers aren't satisfied with an auto labor board.

Facts vs. Words

"We refuse to regard those who work with hand or brain (familiar phrase) as different from or inferior to those who live from their property," Roosevelt declares. And the steel kings, the auto magnates, the rubber barons, and the cotton planters reply with one voice, "So what?"

The man who sits by a microphone and tells the workers that Labor Day cannot be a class holiday is not a friend of labor. He is perpetuating America's most vicious illusion. He is telling workers that their salvation lies not in their own organized, class-conscious strength, but in dependence on good men who will do something for them. For all his chatting about "economic freedom," he is leading labor astray. And some who should know better are following.



Zero Hour:

Ammunition Is Necessary To Keep Firing

The summer months are fading into memories. A new season is breaking. People are getting back to work; the summer siesta is over. The political campaign is getting into full swing, and the columns of The CALL are pounding away at the enemy fortifications.

Just as our comrades in Spain are firing away at reaction from behind the barricades, we here in America are using The CALL as the heavy artillery to blast the strongholds of capitalist ignorance and exploitation. But we've got to have ammunition to feed our guns; the shells are the donations contributed to The CALL the bullets are the subscriptions that are gathered in.

Up to you! It's up to you folks. So far, we are in danger, as the figures will prove. Our striking editorial workers have failed to win their demands. After weeks of struggle, they have not succeeded in getting that water cooler.

Though admitting their temporary defeat, the workers, however, have made it plain that they will continue their battle for better conditions.

"We are already reforming our ranks for the struggles to come," said one of their spokesmen.

"The workers are confident that next summer will see us enjoying a water cooler after all. Our fellow-workers throughout the country are awakening. They are learning the truth about capitalism and its agents, Landon and Roosevelt. They want the facts, and they know that they're getting them from The CALL. We are certain that they will rally to our cause, and make it possible for us to get that water cooler so that we can face next year's heat with equanimity."

Need Donations The Business Manager joined with the workers in expressing confidence that the future would show an improvement in conditions.

"There is great interest in The CALL," he said. "The circulation is mounting by leaps and bounds. Even during the summer months, we have made and broken rec-

ARE YOU LISTED?

It's pretty bad this week—only 176 subscriptions and \$87 in donations. We can't do the job we want to do unless you do yours.

Here are some of those on the job:

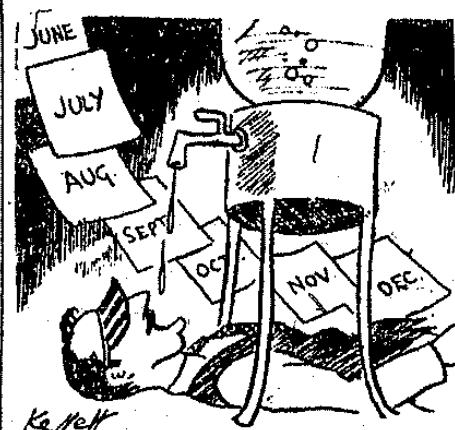
SUBSCRIPTIONS

- B. Siegel, Pittsburgh, Pa. 8
- S. F., California 4
- Pearl Minowitz, Bronx, N. Y. 4
- Harry Perlis, Detroit, Mich. 4
- Coleman Cheney, Saratoga, N. Y. 3
- W. A. Gilbert, Mena, Ark. 3
- T. O. Tomlinson, Guyon, Oklahoma .. 3
- R. V. John, Brookville, Pa. 2
- R. S., Washington, D. C. 1
- Paula Fried, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1

DONATIONS

- Margaret Lamont, N. Y. C. \$50.00
- B. F. Wyle, Woodstock, N. Y. 25.00
- Eileen O'G. Lane, Newton, Mass. ... 5.00
- H. M. Douty, Chapel Hill, N. C. ... 1.00
- Chas. Abrecht, Houston, Texas ... 1.00

Previously received \$700.29
\$1,787.29



ords. Of course, we can't look to our circulation to wipe out our deficit—that can be done only through donations and contributions to The CALL'S treasury. Our budget is planned on that basis, since we do not carry capitalist advertising."

The CALL expects its friends to do their stuff. The heat-wave is over, and now you can begin to get hot on the trail of donations. Get after your friends.

Looking Backward

FOUR YEARS AGO

CHICAGO, Sept. 3, 1932—(From the files of America For All)—Socialist national campaign headquarters here report that the largest crowds in Party history are listening to Norman Thomas as he continues his whirlwind tour of the nation.

NEW YORK, Sept. 5, 1932—(From the files of America For All)—Oswald Garrison Villard, famous New York magazine editor, announced his support of Norman Thomas for President with the statement:

"The only way in the coming election in which a man will NOT throw away his vote is by casting his ballot for Norman Thomas."

TWENTY YEARS AGO

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., Sept. 10, 1916—(From the files of The New York Call)—Thousands cheered Allan Benson, Socialist candidate for President, as he assailed President Wilson's statement that the workingman had been given a "veritable emancipation" under his administration. Benson attacked both Wilson and Hughes as tools of big business.

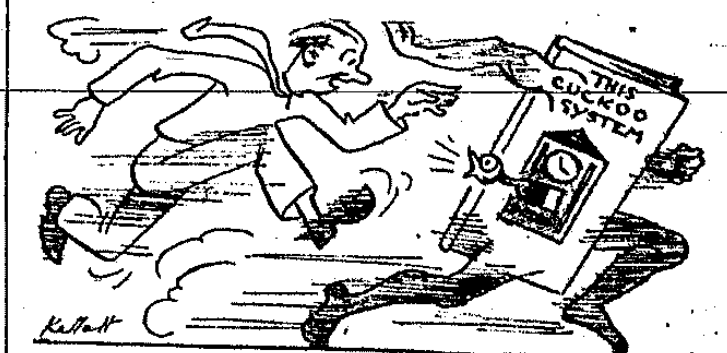
WASHINGTON, Sept. 6, 1916—(From the files of The New York Call)—America continues its head-on rush towards war even while President Wilson is campaigning for re-election on the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War." The Senate passed a 200 million dollar preparedness bill without a dissenting vote as both Republican and Democratic chiefs applied the whip.

BIG SHOTS IN BRIEF

By McAlister Coleman

PARDON us for pointing non-politically, but you go get Dos Passos' "The Big Money." The story is moving enough in every sense of the word but what we liked best were the biographies that Dos Passos heaves in by way of good measure and to show you what sort of big shots are loaded into our national cannon. There's Taylor, the stop-watch man, who married science to production and got fired for his pains by weeping Charley Schwab, and there's Thorstein Veblen, the hard-bitten, soft-spoken satirist, and Isadora Duncan, born in a San Francisco boarding house and strangled in the snapped folds of her own scarf, and there are the Wright brothers and Sam Insull and plenty of others that come alive under the curious magic of the Dos Passos style.

It's hard enough in a long book, as I can testify, to get even part of a man down. That Dos Passos can give us so many wholes in so short flashes is enough to make an amateur biographer hang his astonished mouth open. What needs to be done right away is to gather up these biographies and those in "The Forty-second Parallel" and "1919" and make a book out of them. That would be a fast-



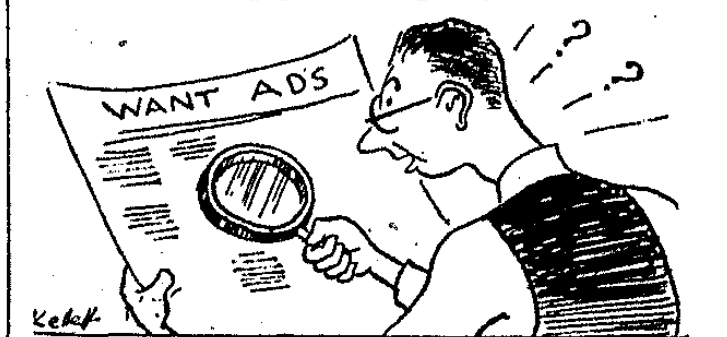
running history of our cuckoo world that would be worth running fast for.

To return to politics, I'm getting to feel sorry for Landon. He makes me think of one hot night when, as a reporter for the old New York Sun, I was riding back with William Howard Taft from a flop meeting at which Taft had been speaking in Newark, New Jersey. Someone handed him a copy of the speech that his old-time buddy Theodore Roosevelt had made that same night, a speech in which Teddy took William Howard to pieces and kicked his fat parts around the platform. As Taft read what T. R. thought about him, his face fell all to pieces and tears began rolling down his red, puffy cheeks. Taft knew he was licked, and here was the man who had made him, chucking him down, and it was a hot night and the meeting had been terrible, and—Gosh darn it all, you couldn't help feeling sorry for him.

Who Wants to Bet?

Landon hasn't begun to cry yet. At any rate in public. But if he has tears to shed he'd better begin his preparations for shedding them. Because he is just as much through as Taft was then, and what's worse, Landon's hardly started. It must have been an awfully potent hypodermic that young Hamilton used to persuade Alf that he had a Chinaman's chance against Roosevelt the Second. Only those who believe the Literary Digest still think that the Governor is in the running. Ray Travis, Jr., stopped fighting Public Service in New Jersey long enough to present me with a basket of peaches today. If there are any takers, I'll stake that basket against a November pumpkin pie that Landon won't carry eight states. And at that I'm not taking an awful chance. It's more likely to be six unless they back him away from the microphone and chain him up somewhere in Topeka.

Speaking of politics, what's ever become of that fellow Lemke? A short time back we were told that we all had to go out and holler for Roosevelt or Lemke and the Dakota fascists would get us. Already his speeches are over in the real estate sections of the papers and pretty soon the only



mention of his name will be under Lost, Strayed or Stolen headlines.

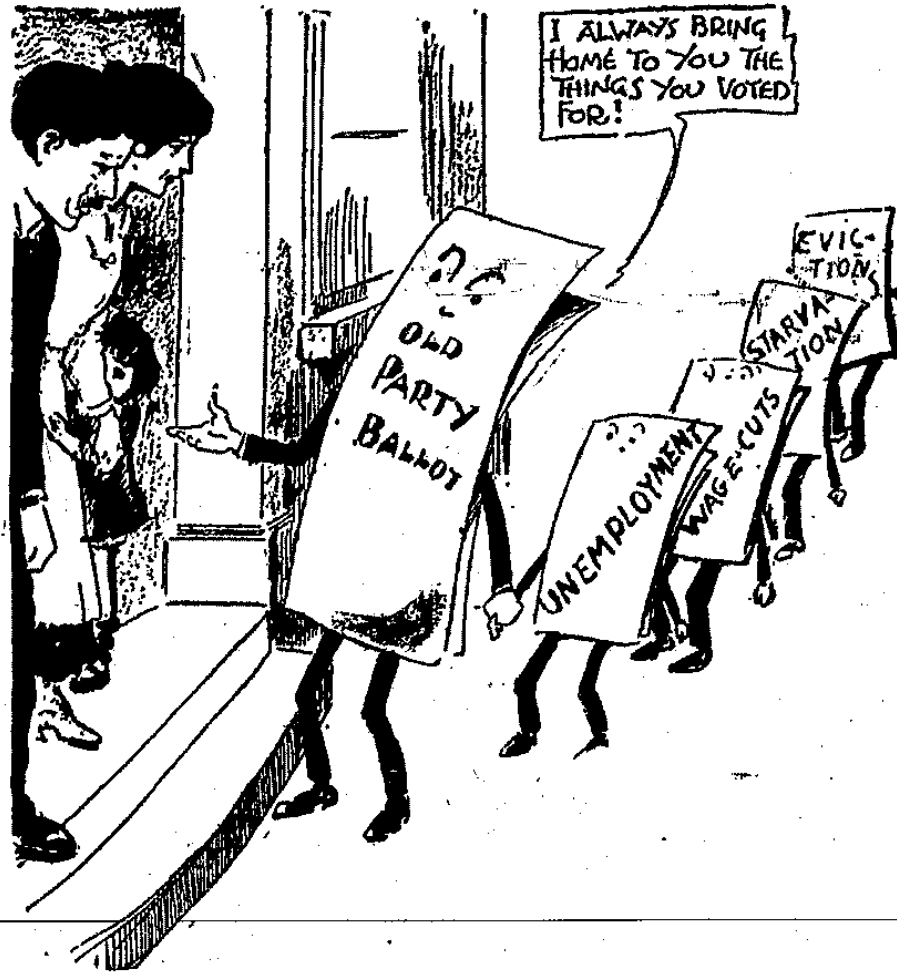
When you get this we will be in Washington at what promises to be one of the most significant get-togethers of the year. And I don't mean a political shindig. The World Power Conference is in session all this week. Private utility executives, Government "yard-stick" men, public ownership advocates from all the Seven Seas are meeting to discuss something which none of them can define with scientific accuracy, but without which the wheels of '36 couldn't move—electricity.

Norman Thomas' Speech On

What is our Socialist attitude to Labor's Non-Partisan League for Roosevelt (whose chairman is Major George L. Berry, president of the Printing Pressmen) and to its New York state expression, the recently organized American Labor Party?

Let us in the beginning make certain things plain. On the labor front we desire earnestly to see the unity of the American Federation of Labor preserved. But not at the price of sacrificing the magnificent campaign of the Committee for Industrial Organization for organizing the unorganized industrially. If to preserve that effort and the forward looking attitude which goes with it there must be a split, we are wholly on the side of the CIO. Whatever differences of opinion we may have with some of the leaders of that committee on political tactics, we are heart and soul for the CIO in its own field of organization. All that I see and hear in my travels convinces me that eventually it will win despite all the Hutchesons and Hearsts in America.

Another preliminary comment may be of some importance. I shall spend comparatively little time tonight in analyzing the Republican Party, its platform, or its record. The reason is plain. In the ranks of organized labor the country over, Landon in 1936 will get in all probability even fewer votes than Hoover in 1932. We Socialists find genuine satisfaction in the fact that before a labor audience there is no myth of a "re-



born" Republican Party which we have to explode. In the strictest sense of the word the Republican Party is reactionary. It wants the impossible: a return to the times of Coolidge or McKinley. No one dreams of building a labor party by supporting Landon.

York State has at present no plans and few hopes of becoming truly national. It will not dare to try so long as so many of those who a little while ago were talking farmer-labor party want to endorse Lemke.

In Iowa the labor party has done this. In Oregon its former leaders, including some former Socialist old guardsmen, have gone over to Lemke whom the non-partisan committee denounces as a Landon stooge. Any democratic attempt to form a farmer-labor party this year in a dozen states would have similar results. Lemke, especially since Governor Olson's death, will get a degree of support which will make it impossible for the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party to swing behind Roosevelt to the extent that the Labor Party in New York desires. And Lemke, his party, and the Messiahs behind him are, as I

think Sidney Hillman would agree, forerunners of fascism.

For this reason, if for no other, the labor party movement must hang to Roosevelt's coat-tails and depend upon him to protect it. Certainly that is what it is doing in New York State and what the non-partisan committee is doing in other states. They have no independent program. The condition of membership in the labor party in New York is support of Roosevelt, "the great humanitarian," and Lehman, "labor's friend." They'll all have to vote for that old Texas reactionary, Garner, for Vice-President, but they don't mention that. They must simply trust God to keep Garner out of the White House.

Hence in New York they may nominate a few of their own people for offices where such nominations won't hurt Roosevelt and Lehman too much or impair their control of Congress and the legislature. But they can't have a true independent ticket below the office of Governor. That might help the Republicans whose very name they use to frighten children. So Sidney Hillman is humbly grateful to be one of six labor men on an electoral ticket along with John E. Mack, the President's friend and neighbor, who got such a sweeping injunction against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. And David Dubinsky must vote along with former Ambassador Gerard, blatant eulogist of the Spanish fascists, whose defeat the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, to its glory, is actively trying to aid.

This is the party which has the active support of Lovestonites, official communists and some ex-Socialists (True the Communist Party has its own ticket; as a party it is not in the Labor Party, but many of its members are, and the Party itself, as communists admit, is supporting Roosevelt as against Landon.) Now all these groups, however they may differ, a few months ago would have agreed that a labor party of the type to which they now belong would be a counterfeit, a political football, a thing to be attacked, not supported, by Socialists. Why the extraordinary change?

Townsend less so than his clerical rivals. But how will we get the people to understand that fact if we call Landon a fascist? The fascist demagogue begins by a radical middle class appeal, not by talking like a Landon, Knox, the Liberty League—or even like Hearst who wants above all to protect his \$220,000,000 fortune.

All this one of Roosevelt's labor friends in another state admitted to me. He went farther and criticized Roosevelt's own record. But then he added: "Nevertheless we must re-elect Roosevelt, for Landon would encourage the forces which would give organized labor a crushing defeat." *The Nation* has something of the same idea. It thinks that Roosevelt might, as Paul Ward said, wait a week or two longer before calling out the troops in a great strike, but, *The Nation* editors say, "for the short run, two weeks—figuratively speaking—may be crucial."

Turnover

The first thing to be said about this is that it reflects a dangerous defeatism on the part of labor. Whoever is elected labor will get what labor is strong enough to take. Conceivably a Landon victory might put iron in labor's blood and rally workers to a real labor party. How much can they get when they are satisfied with so little?

Actually, in the unlikely event of a Landon victory, his lack of strong leadership may make him responsive to firm labor pressure. He will not dare to cut out relief. Temperamentally he wants no blood and iron. Bad from a labor angle as his gubernatorial record is, it is essentially no worse than his Democratic predecessor's, Harry Woodring, now the acting secretary of war, in Topeka and Washington. It is nothing like as bad as McNutt's of Indiana or as the Democratic governors of North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama and Arkansas. He has acknowledged labor's right to organize as unqualifiedly or as qualifiedly as Roosevelt in his famous automobile settlement under NRA. He has gone contrary to Hearst in opposing the teachers' oath and the sales tax. True, the good of this is impaired by his bad record in the matter of the support of public schools and compulsory military training in them. But it is a plain fact that in 1932 when Roosevelt was indebted to Hearst for support, even for help in getting his nomination, he did not openly state any disagreement with Hearst. And when one considers the sinister power of Hearst one must remember that the President's son, Elliott, has a good job under Hearst as Vice-President of a radio broadcasting company in Texas.

Satisfied With Little

When I think of these things, I'm not one hundred per cent sure about those two weeks that satisfy *The Nation*, and I am sure that labor being satisfied with so little makes that little uncertain. Major Berry's committee—and speaking of troops, don't forget that title, "Major," of which this American Legionnaire is so fond—has two yardsticks; one, a good one, for measuring Landon and the Republicans; another, a very charitable one, for measuring Roosevelt and the Democrats. And if labor accepts this double standard it will be weakened in judging and fighting against the drift to war and fascism.

But I can understand the reasons why the Berry committeemen who don't yet believe in the necessity of Socialism want Roosevelt rather than Landon. I cannot understand why they don't demand a higher price from Roosevelt for their support. They meet in Washington. Roosevelt writes

What Is A Labor Party?

Now let us look at the present political situation in the light of our hope for the rise in America of a genuine farmer-labor party. That hope is not based on any pathetic belief that the chief end of Socialist striving is a labor party, any labor party, just so it is called a labor party. On the contrary, every party must be judged by its usefulness as our weapon in fighting against war and fascism, and for the freedom, peace and plenty which only Socialism can bring. The one absorbing purpose of Socialists is the achievement of a federation of cooperative commonwealths. And that, as history has corroborated Socialist theory in proclaiming, is not the automatic and inevitable end of certain reforms possible within capitalism.

We believe that a genuine labor party, which to be successful in America must be a farmer-labor party, is the most likely political instrument for Socialist progress. But, the thing on which our hearts are set is not a labor party, any labor party, but Socialist progress toward the cooperative commonwealth. We judge every labor party by its fitness to hasten the achievement of our goal.

To be an instrument which Socialists can accept in loyalty to their principles there are certain conditions which a labor, or rather a farmer-labor party, should meet:

1. It should be more than a reform party. This can be guaranteed in large part by the nature of its composition; it must have its principal support from

the ranks of farmers and workers. It must break away from the old capitalist parties as completely as the organized steel workers must break away from the Iron and Steel Institute and the company unions it fosters. It should at least acknowledge as a beginning the need of a new society based on the principle of production for use.

2. It should from the outset have mass support. It is ridiculous to believe that if the Socialists, together with communists and a few other radical groups in America, had united this year in a so-called labor party, that in itself would constitute a worth-while party. The communist proposal for a labor party to be created by such a united front, if we had accepted it, would merely have aroused a natural irritation in organized labor's ranks and would have led us to water down our essential Socialist program, somewhat as Earl Browder, the apologetic candidate for president, in certain speeches has watered down the communist program to an opportunistic stew compounded of reforms dear to the hearts of various groups, but—some of them—of dubious merit or impossible of achievement under capitalism.

3. The farmer-labor party, to be acceptable to Socialists, must have room in it for the Socialist Party as an organized group, serving in democratic fashion as a vanguard within the new party. The success of the party will depend upon the rapidity with which it can be won to an aggressive international Socialism.

Must Be Nation-Wide

4. The party must be nation-wide in organization or at least in its intention and effort so to become national. As I have already said, it must include farmers if it is to hope for much success. Under the logic of American conditions, local or state labor parties are inevitably compromised at national elections by open or secret bargains with one of the old capitalist parties. Even in the states they are sorely handicapped

because the powerful forces and the great economic issues are all nation-wide.

5. Finally, a farmer-labor party must be democratic in structure, not the creature of powerful labor bureaucrats.

It is obvious that there is no national farmer-labor party in this election. The non-partisan committee is not such a party. It is equally obvious that this so-called American Labor Party in New

How To Stop Fascism

Two reasons are commonly given. First, it is alleged, this is a crisis. At all costs a Republican victory must be prevented. Roosevelt stands for democracy against fascism, or at any rate against black reaction. Second, it is alleged, Roosevelt is but an incident. The fundamental fact is the emergence at least of a real labor party movement which will show itself under its true colors after 1936. Well, let us see.

The whole world, the United States included, is in a crisis. But the crisis is not exactly of the same intensity or nature in every country; the constructive forces are not of the same nature or strength, and there cannot be one uniform tactical rule.

If in the United States we had strong fascist nations at our boundaries, a militant, definitely fascist party within, and as definite and numerous anti-fascist forces as exist in France, I should support both a united front and the People's Front—this although I am somewhat critical of the opportunism of the People's Front and of the communist line in France. (Here, however, let me pause to call attention to the immense difference between Leon Blum's program and achievements in a few short months and Roosevelt's in three years. The comparison is wholly to Blum's advantage.)

But we do not have these conditions in America. There are forces making for fascism in America.

Taking into account the situation in the South, they are about equally divided between the Republicans and the Democrats with whom Earl Browder and Major Berry seek a weird sort of people's front. A new crisis of war or economic collapse will bring an American fascism unless we have first organized the positive forces of the cooperative commonwealth. We will not get far on a mere anti-fascist program. And we will play into the hands of the enemy if we befuddle the popular mind by calling everything we don't like fascism.

The communist insistence that Landon is a fascist leader—an insistence copied by certain labor leaders—is as dangerous as it is inaccurate. I have already said that Landon, or the interests behind him which are stronger than Landon, are in the strict sense of the word reactionary. They want to go back to an older capitalism. They want Coolidge, not Hitler. Today they do not think they have to accept the collectivism and the regimentation of a Hitler or a Mussolini.

They may secretly aid Lemke to beat Roosevelt but they laugh at or hate his program. Lemke may be to some extent a "Hearst puppet" or a "Landon stooge," but that does not explain his movement, or his backers, the Messianic demagogues, Coughlin, Smith and Townsend. They are true fascist forerunners. Dr.

Labor's Non-Partisan League

them a letter, the gist of which is that they are good liberals and, like him, believe in "progress through law." Nothing about what law or how to get it from the courts! The cry goes up, "Hurrah for Roosevelt, the great humanitarian."

His committee has the effrontery to put up Joe Robinson of Arkansas to answer Landon on the radio. By their silence, if not openly, Berry and Hillman and even Browder applaud the choice. What shame to labor!

Frank Weems

There is, or there was, a Negro farmer near Earle, Arkansas, named Frank Weems. He was a local strike leader for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in the struggle to get for field workers more than 75 cents a day. He led a peaceful demonstration and meeting. A planters' mob broke it up and beat Weems until he fell dead or unconscious to the ground. Then they took him away. His friends have not seen him since that day. When Rev. Claude Williams and Willie Sue Blagden went to arrange for the funeral they were whipped by some of Major Berry's Democratic comrades. The Democratic sheriff of the county, the Democratic governor, the Democratic Senator Robinson—Roosevelt's friend and Senate floor leader—all delegates to the Democratic Convention at Philadelphia, denied that Weems was dead and said that he would be produced. That was almost three months ago. They have not produced Weems. Will the Berry committee stop cheering the "great humanitarian" long enough to ask: "Where is Frank Weems?"

Murder

For Weems, like John Brown, has become a symbol; a symbol of the struggle of the most exploited of all workers, the plantation serfs, black and white, to be free. Robinson is the symbol and representative of the system which keeps them in serfdom, deprived of an effective ballot, subject to peonage, exploitation, organized theft, terrorism, murder. President Roosevelt knows this. But in Little Rock, Arkansas, he eulogized Robinson, and his secretary refused an appointment to a union committee when the presidential party was in the state.

In general, whatever may have been the President's original good intentions, his administration has widened the gap between planters and share-croppers and worsened the latter's plight. It has kept some of its promises to them of help. Roosevelt has pale pink pills to cure the hurt of the workers in Pennsylvania and New York but none in Arkansas. You worry to keep Robinson & Co. on his side.

Nor is Arkansas unique. Consider the decline in civil liberty

under Roosevelt—the epidemic of loyalty oaths, the ride of the vigilantes in California, military law in Indiana, flogging and murder in Florida. "Not his fault," you may say? Well, maybe. But what has he done against it? When did he as President of his country and leader of his party speak out? Did he ever put an anti-lynching bill on his must list? Did he protest when Democratic governors in 1934 made a new record in the use of military force against the textile strikers? Would he see me when I tried to tell him the story of North Carolina during the textile strike? The answer is No.

But he is the great humanitarian whom Socialists and radical workers must support or be dubbed the allies of fascism! While American labor shuts its eyes to the record which I have listed, American labor will never be free.

Or turn to the subject of war and peace. On peace depend our

lives and all our hopes. But who has been President while America has expanded her military and naval expenditures until, despite our favorable position, they are the highest in the world? Who was President while naval maneuvers were held nearer the coast of Japan than the United States for the first time in history! Who had enormous power yet did not use it to take the profit out of war and preparation for war; to proclaim a policy of genuine neutrality, or to declare what America is defending—her shores, her trade, or that vague thing, "her honor"? Whose ambassadors have steadily backed the forces of reaction in Cuba against the workers? Who has not even answered my appeal to keep American exports away from ports where they aid the fascist rebels who endanger the peace of the world? Franklin Delano Roosevelt, exponent of "democracy against fascism"!

The Roosevelt Record

But anyway, the non-partisan committee may say, he has helped most of the workers, including the unemployed, and he has made it easier to organize them. Yes, as compared with Hoover, yet how little has been done.

Help for the unemployed. More than ten million still in the sorrowful ranks of men, workless and unwanted. Not the 3½ million Roosevelt promised to put to work at relief jobs, but some 2 million. And those at wages as low as \$19 a month in certain regions. Relief shot through with politics. An insecurity, not a security, law which puts the burden of unemployment insurance on the workers as consumers and gives the bosses a premium on increasing technological unemployment. No program of new housing to aid employment and end slums, not even a presidential must behind the inadequate Wagner bill.

Prosperity for the workers? Listen to Col. Leonard Ayres' estimate: Business recovery 12% below normal; employment 25% and industrial payrolls 31% below nor-

mal. Or to this: Corporation profits this year 50 to 75% above 1935; production for the first quarter of the year only 15% about '35.

Aid in organizing bona fide unions? Some. But how much? Even while NRA was alive, surely you remember that the bosses not the workers got the best of it in the automobile, steel and rubber codes and settlements. The bosses dominated the code authorities. The Administration itself broke the Colt Arms strike at Hartford by insisting that, codes or no codes, strike or no strike, it must have its guns and by giving continually new orders for them to the bosses.

You say: "The President would have done better except for the Supreme Court." Maybe. But observe that he has not yet had the courage to outline a real program for dealing with the courts or the Constitution. Rumor persists that he may fill the first Supreme Court vacancy with Joe Robinson. Then God save the Republic! Major Berry can't!

Roosevelt 'Recovery'

"But anyway we have recovery." How much and for how long? Two such different authorities as John T. Flynn and Roger Babson see fresh collapse in less than four years. "Recovery" has brought low wages, lagging employment, a staggering burden of debt to the bankers, which the producers must bear. To the consumers it has brought rising prices, sales taxes but no pure food and drug act.

This, my friends, is the record that Berry, Hillman and their publicity agents, and the communist candidate, with varying intensity applaud. Even they do not

find in the Democratic Platform any reason to look for its marked change for the better. Roosevelt's next four years with a Democratic Congress will be less, not more radical — as Americans use the word—than his first term. But this is what they offer as your defense against fascism.

I do not write this record primarily as a personal indictment of the President. Why and how should he have done better if labor is so easily satisfied? Not the old deal, nor the new, but the capitalist game is at fault. This more than ever Socialists must insist.

Whatever the differences be-

tween Roosevelt and Landon they are not enough to prevent the drift to war and fascism. We lose precious months in fighting over the lesser of two evils. There was a difference between Wilson and Hughes in 1916. It did not keep us out of war. There was a difference between Hindenburg and Hitler in Germany. Labor's support of the former and labor's achievements of economic reforms, far more thoroughgoing than Major Berry of Tennessee and his comrades demand, did not save Germany from the Nazis. And yet

they ask Socialists and other radicals to stultify themselves by supporting Roosevelt! Such support would be suicide to our Party and almost mortal injury to our cause.

Let the communists with their peculiar chameleon philosophy, organization and tactics play with this sort of thing. I do not think it will help them. It will not help the working class. We cannot and will not play with it. We will keep faith with the struggle of the working class toward its destined end.

A Fleeting Incident?

"But," some voices may persist, "even if labor is wrong, better go with it to influence it. Roosevelt is a fleeting incident; the basic fact is that at last labor is forming a party." This second and sophisticated argument for supporting Roosevelt, Garner and Lehman this year is more plausible than true.

I have travelled widely. In most of the country the fact is support of Roosevelt; a labor party is secondary and arouses little enthusiasm. In many states, as I have said, the people who thought that they wanted a farmer-labor party want it to endorse Lemke, or one of his Messianic backers. In America no one will ever build a nationwide labor party simply because there is enthusiasm for a labor party, or for a trade union leadership which may deem it ex-

pedient because of political commitments to Roosevelt to start a labor party. Enthusiasm depends upon the kind of a party, its ideals, its program and leadership.

Outside New York, and to a great extent in New York, Major Berry and his Company have no higher order of enthusiasm to offer than Roosevelt himself offers. They have adopted no rousing program of their own. Their very basis is "support Roosevelt, keep Landon out." They make a virtue of being "practical." Well, to be "practical" in this bad sense is likely to mean for the next few years playing with Roosevelt, Lehman in New York, and Earle in Pennsylvania. The Major Berry sort of labor leaders will probably be "practical" like that until the crash of war or fresh economic collapse is upon us all.

Fight For Socialism

Here in New York the Labor Party may live in some fashion because of local considerations, the municipal election in 1937, the probable fight to re-elect Senator Wagner in 1938. It is possible that as it lives it will learn and become a genuine labor party. No one hopes that more than I. And no one more than I wants to hasten that result.

The way to do it is to keep pounding away on Socialism. The future of a labor party of the right sort in New York, to say nothing of the nation, depends far more upon our educational work, our organizational work, the Socialist vote in 1936, than on the number of voters who would rather vote for Roosevelt and Garner under a labor, than a Jim Farley or Tammany Hall Democratic, label. *The course Roosevelt himself will take in his next term depends far more upon what we make him fear than upon the blank check that Labor's Non-Partisan League would give him.*

But that is not our great argument. Rather our case is this: Each day makes it clearer that Socialism is the world's one hope. There is no time to lose. The way to get Socialism is to proclaim the Socialist message, not to de-

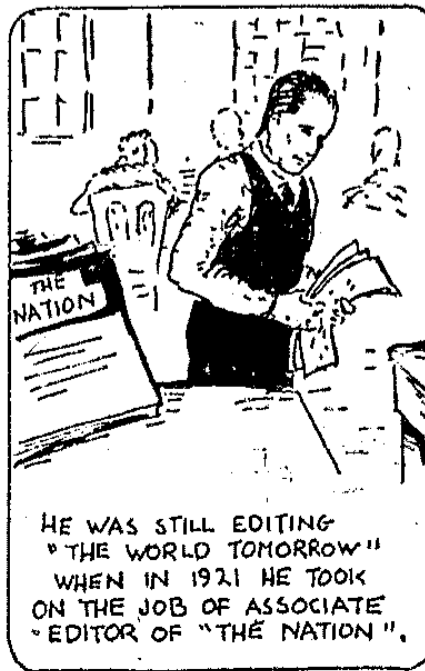
clare a moratorium on it during an election campaign when men and women are thinking on political issues. If we are silent now, or hide our real opinions, we shall lose and deserve to lose our own respect and the respect of others. If we shadow-box now, we shall never deserve to win. Everything that has made Socialists, every argument that now bids workers in farm, city, school, factory or profession to be Socialist, compels us to work this year for the Socialist Party and the straight Socialist ticket.

I want to go out, I know I shall go out in this all important campaign, with the knowledge that the Socialist Party and its friends in New York are fighting for Socialism as never before. That way, and that way only, lies not only our best service to a real farmer-labor party, but our eventual hope of victory over war and fascism and the triumph of the federated cooperative commonwealths of mankind. The Party of the Socialist prophets and heroes throughout the world, the Party in America of Landon and Berger, Hillquit and Debs, the Party of loyal Jimmy Higginses who have made it, that Party is on the march. Fall in line!

THE LIFE OF NORMAN THOMAS

The League for Industrial Democracy

By RALPH LEVINE



"If these problems cannot be effectively solved by legislation within the Constitution, we shall seek such clarifying amendment as will assure to the legislatures of the several states and to the Congress of the United States, each within its proper jurisdiction, the power to enact those laws which the state and Federal legislatures, within their respective spheres, shall find necessary, in order adequately to regulate commerce, protect public health and safety and safeguard economic security."
—Democratic Platform.

"We propose to amend the Constitution to fit our needs through the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment, ending the usurped power of the Supreme Court to declare social legislation unconstitutional and reaffirming the right of Congress to acquire and operate the industries."
—Socialist Platform.

"Believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of right among our citizens, we oppose all legislation tending to impair them. . . The acceptance of the nomination tendered by this convention carries with it, as a matter of private honor and public faith, an undertaking, by each candidate to be true to the principles and program herein set forth."
—Republican Platform.

Politicians And The Supreme Court

By TOM WALKER

Every politician knows the words — "a government of the people, for the people and by the people." But how many want such a government?

There is a simple test. Ask a politician whether he thinks America ought to be ruled by the Supreme Court or by the duly elected Congressmen, Senators and President. And then see what he does about it.

When a doctor wants to find out the condition of a patient's "innards," he looks at his tongue. If you want to find out what a politician really thinks about democracy, ask him what he thinks about the passage of the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution. You'll find his tongue is pretty thickly coated when it comes to a question like that, and all he can do is stammer and stutter.

The Supreme Court judges have been having a swell time these past few years hunting down labor laws. It's always open season for that and they've made a pretty good hunting record for themselves. They had quite a lot of fun some years ago when they helped start the Civil War with their Dred Scott decision, which said that Congress couldn't stop slavery. Abraham Lincoln got mad about it, and said what he thought of these judges:

"Our judges are as honest as other men and not more. They have, with others, the same passions for party, for power, and the privilege of their corps. . . Their power is the more dangerous as they are in office for life, and not responsible, as the other functionaries are, to the elective control."

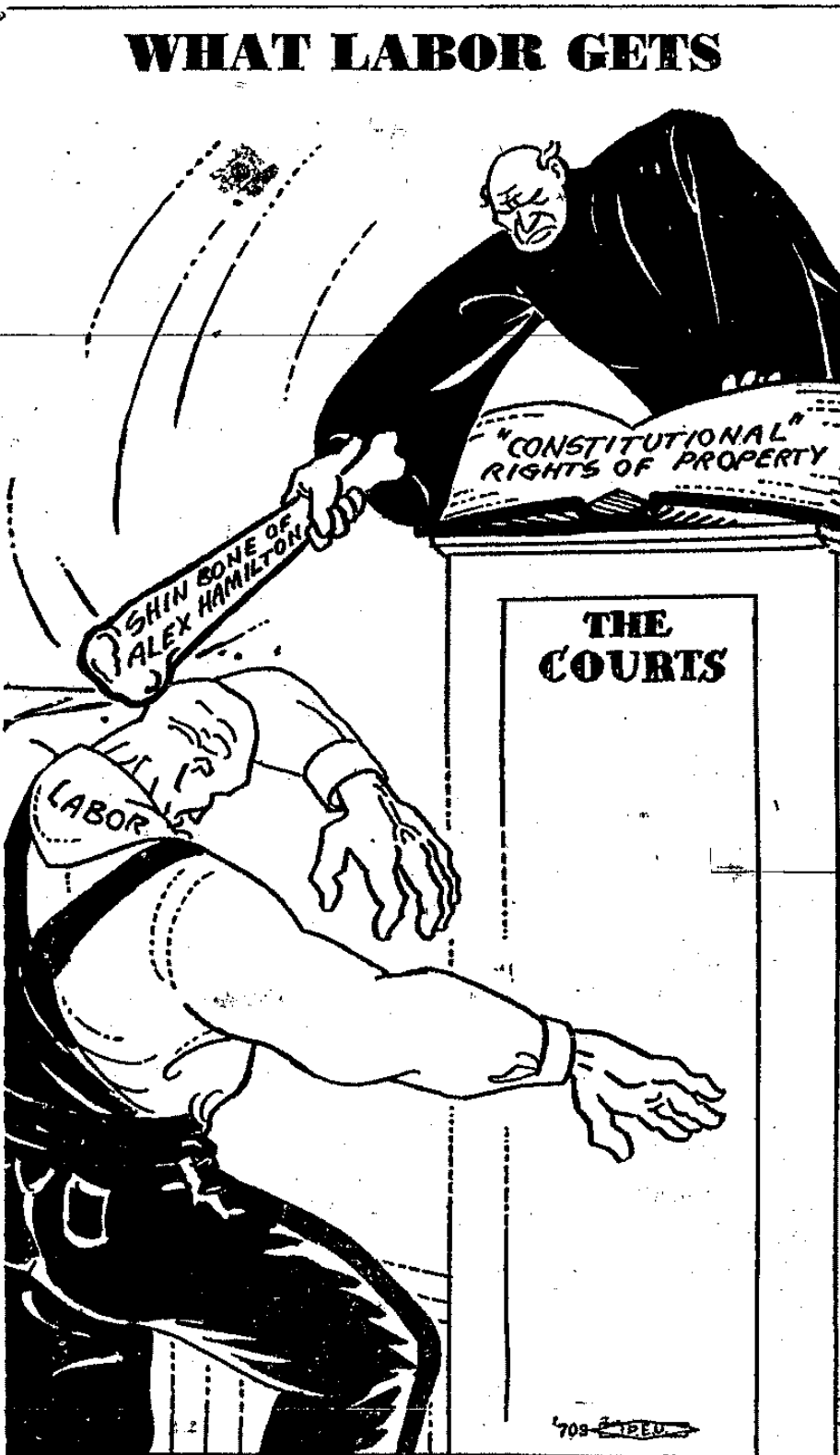
Some of their more recent trophies show just what those "passions for party, for power, and the privilege of their corps" — Lincoln meant their class — are.

Take for example the Federal Employers' Liability decision. The judges decided that they were going to save the bosses a bit of money that should have gone to pay damages to workers. In the name of the Constitution of the United States, they kicked the law down-stairs and broke its neck.

Yellow Dog Contracts

Then there was the case of the Yellow Dog Contract law. A law had been passed that said to bosses: "You can't force your workers to sign a contract agreeing that they won't join a union." The Supreme Court took that law, tore it into tiny pieces, and threw the pieces in the face of the working class.

After that they got their hands on the child labor law. They crumpled that law up into a ball, and told the children to play with it in the factory-yard during their lunch hours. In 1919,



the judges grabbed another child labor law, spilled ink all over it and told the child-workers they could use it to cut paper dolls after working hours.

Came the New Deal with drums and bugles — a Roman holiday for the Supreme Court. Just like the Caesars tossed Christians to the lions, Roosevelt began to throw laws to the judges, who shook their whiskers, growled, "Constitution!" — and before you could say, "Nullification," swallowed them down. First on the menu, was the Railroad Retirement Act which was going to give railroad workers a pension. "Nothing doing," said the Supreme Court. "Pension for workers? Only judges and railroad magnates are entitled to that."

The Blue Eagle

But this gave the judges something of an appetite. And then their eyes fell on the Blue Eagle. You remember that bird which took manufacturers' and employers' associations under its warm wing and kept labor under its beak? What a tasty dish it

made for the Supreme Court table.

Then the judges went picnicking in the country and got into a fight with the farmers by raiding the apple orchard. They kicked the Triple-A in the stomach and doubled it up with pain. Don't say you've forgotten Triple-A? That was the way Roosevelt and Congress tried to get out of the depression-hole, by digging deeper and deeper with the idea that eventually they'd hit China and get some fresh air; meanwhile, the less air we had, the better the air would taste when we got it.

(That was the way that Roosevelt was trying to help the farmers. He told them not to grow wheat and not to raise pigs. That would help everybody. What, you don't see it? Why, of course, the less there is to eat, the higher the prices for food. See, by growing less, the farmer gets more. But how about those who want to eat? Aha, that's the great idea, they don't. And that's how

they save expenses; they don't pay grocers' bills. It was a great scheme.)

Well, after the Supreme Court got through chopping down that cherry tree with their constitutional axe, they stood right up and told the American people that nine men could judge better than a whole nation.

You see, we're much better off in America than people are in, for instance, Germany. There they have only one man who tells the people where to get off when it comes to making laws. In the U.S.A. we're nine times as good — we have nine of them.

Now certainly some of these laws weren't any good. But if we believe in Democracy we believe that the people or their representatives have the right to decide what's going to be law. It's like the little boy who was crying, and the sweet old lady came up and said to him, "Now, now, little boy, don't cry that way." Listen here," he answered, "you cry your way and I'll cry mine."

We're not going to let the Supreme Court tell us how to cry by a five-to-four vote. After all, sometimes labor does get good laws passed, and that's when the Supreme Court makes merriest. Take the Minimum Wage Law that New York workers forced through their legislature so that women and children who worked in laundries should get some dollar-bills instead of pennies. It just took one puff for the Supreme Court to blow that to blazes.

Honest, this isn't a nice story we've been telling here. But it's the truth. You see this game of kick-in-the-teeth and punch-in-the-face is called "due process of law." That's the way the judges protect the sacred rights of property. And what do the politicians say about it?

"Well," they say, "we must meet the situation frankly. Our answer is, Maybe; Perhaps! And we'll see about it!"

* * *

Landon told the Republican convention that maybe it will become necessary to amend the Constitution. The Democrats say in their platform that maybe it will become necessary to amend the Constitution. That's like a man standing in a pouring rain and saying, "If it rains tomorrow, maybe I'll buy an umbrella, and then maybe I'll ask somebody whether I ought to open it."

Norman Thomas and the Socialists, though, say plain out-and-out: The Constitution has been changed before. We've got to change it again. We've got to cut the claws off the Supreme Court so that they can't rip labor laws to pieces and

make children work long hours and keep wages down and break up unions. We've got to protect unemployment insurance laws and the right of the people to take over and own the industries for the benefit of everybody and not just for a few.

Compare that with the Republicans and Democrats. Norman Thomas was right when he told the Townsend convention:

"I know what the Republicans say: 'If after vague further trial, we can't do anything, then maybe we will favor an amendment, giving the states the right to do something.' The states aren't big enough to grapple with poverty in America. And the Democratic platform says that if after further trial it becomes necessary, there will be — what? A 'clarifying amendment.' Why, the Court has been kicking that New Deal around for two years; it has declared eight of ten laws unconstitutional. And the Democrats say now, if you keep this up, if you go on doing this thing, we will have to clarify it somehow as to where you can kick us."

And then there's Lemke who is making believe that he is running for President. He's against touching the Constitution at all — he and his friend Father Coughlin. Why, if anybody ought to know that we need a constitutional amendment, it ought to be Lemke. His own farm-mortgage law was chloroformed by the Court, and when he wrote another the judges just opened the cork again and killed the little brother of the Frazier-Lemke bill.

Anyhow, the workers know that they've got to have that Constitution amended. Some of the biggest trade unions have gone on record in favor of the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution. The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union urged its endorsement at the convention of the American Federation of Labor. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union is on record in its favor. Sections of the United Mine Workers have approved in. In all, a total of some 3,000,000 workers have endorsed it.

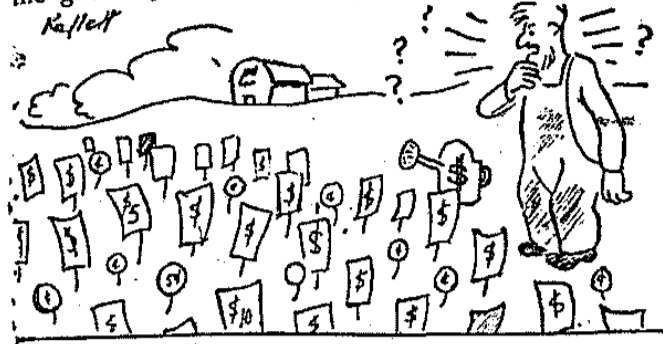
But the Roosevelts, the Landons and the Lemkes, still sputter "ifs" and "buts." Only the Socialists don't hesitate. They're fighting for it — and for more, for a world that will be the property of the workingmen, a Socialist world.

'He Who Has, Takes!'

How Money Is Made . . . And Stolen

"It takes money to make money." That's what people say as they stand in the breadlines or sit in their stockbrokers' offices. But is it true? Have you ever seen money make money? It should be an interesting sight.

Just picture it. Two dollar-bills are put together, planted in the ground, watered every day, and before long—look, there's a



twenty-five cent piece! And now you have a whole family—Mother Bill, Father Bill and little Two-Bits Junior.

Of course you've never seen that happen. Money doesn't grow like plants. Yet, there are certain plants that produce money for their owners—the big industrial plants and factories, the plants to which workingmen hurry in the morning when the whistle blows.

The Bible says, "To him that hath shall be given." Another way of saying it would be, "He who has, takes." And he who hasn't got, never gets. The man who owns the factory gets the wealth; the man who works in the factory gets—hungry.

The Empire State Building

Some time when you get the chance, take a look at the great Empire State Building in New York City, the highest building in America. It is supposed to be owned by Alfred E. Smith and other big businessmen. People very often speak of it as the building that Al Smith put up. Actually, of course, Al Smith never touched a brick or a trowel, except when he attended the laying of the cornerstone. But now, he collects the rents and puts them in his bank account.

Well, you say, doesn't that show that money makes money? Al started his real estate business on New York's Fifth Avenue with money, and that money is bringing back more money to him in the form of rents.

Wait a minute! Was it Al Smith's money that brought in the rents? Not on your life! Al could have taken a load of gold to Fifth Avenue and 34th Street where that building now pokes its nose into the sky. He could have dumped it on the ground and left it there, but it never would have blossomed into rent money. Al gets his rent because there were men who worked. It was the labor of iron workers and bricklayers and stonemasons that makes it possible for that rent money to roll in the first of every month. If anything made that money, it was labor.

"But," some people answer, "after all, isn't Smith entitled to it? Didn't he take a risk with his money? See, it's capital that takes the risks."

Who Took the Risk?

Let's think that over for a minute. There was a lot of risk involved in putting up that skyscraper. But did Al Smith take it? Oh, no! He sat in his office all day, while workingmen, high over the city streets, climbed from girder to girder, with nothing but a few steel beams and narrow wooden scaffolding between them and the pavement hundreds of feet below. Nobody has ever been permitted to find out how many workers died in order that the Empire State Building might go up. Who ran the risks—Smith sitting on a chair in his office or the riveter with his legs wrapped around a steel girder?

Yet Smith gets the profits and the workers are either unemployed or risking their lives on other buildings from which real estate sharks will get the profits.

The story of how money makes money is really the story of how workingmen make money for other men by creating wealth which they permit the others to take over.

"Is that so?" some people answer. "Well, doesn't the worker get wages?"

Robbery or Privilege?

And the answer is: Yes, he gets wages, but these wages are only a small part of the value which he has created. He makes,



shoes, clothes, houses—but he doesn't get these things for himself. The boss gives him a tip for his kindness and calls it wages. And because the tip is so far below the value of what he has made, the worker can't buy these things back from the boss who stands with his chest proudly swelling and announces that these things belong to him and not to the worker.

The reason the employer can do that is that he claims ownership of the factories and the land. He thinks he is doing the worker a favor by letting him work. He therefore makes the worker pay for the privilege by "surrendering" the good things he has made, receiving only a small part of these good things. But that's no privilege; that's robbery.

To stop this sort of thing, the workers will have to take over the factories and the land with the idea of using them, not to give profit to a few real estate sharks and industrialists but to take care of the needs of the people. In other words, they will have to socialize the means of creating wealth, instead of leaving them in individual hands.

FIGHTER



John Fisher, fighting miner and Socialist candidate for Governor in Illinois.

The States Campaign

In the heart of the industrial Middle West where union workers know from first hand experience of Roosevelt's anti-labor deeds as contrasted with his sweet-sounding words, Socialists are carrying on a campaign that has excited the countryside.

In another column the story of Ohio is told. There, despite reactionary election laws, Social-

For Thomas

WASHINGTON. — Benjamin C. Marsh, executive director of the People's Lobby, will vote for Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate, in November. He declared the next four years will see a serious economic collapse because of Roosevelt policies.

ists are hard at work for a historic write-in and sticker campaign to roll up a record vote for Thomas and Nelson.

Entered Pits At 12

In Illinois, it is John Fisher, a miner from the pits, who is carrying high the torch of Socialism. This 40-year-old campaigner, who entered the mines in his birthplace of Ayrshire, Scotland, when a child of 12 and has worked in the pits since, is traveling from city to city telling the story of misery and injustice under capitalism and holding out the hope of peace and plenty under a new social order built by workers with hand and brain.

It was the World War that made a Socialist of Fisher. He was among the first of the American troops to land in France and he served for the duration of the war and with the army of occupation in Germany. When he returned to America, he was a soldier who realized that he had been fighting a war which held nothing for his class except wounds and death; he immediately enrolled in another war, again for its duration—the war of his fellow-workers against capitalist greed and for Socialist victory.

In Michigan, too, it is a miner who is heading the state ticket, John Monarch, a man who is widely known to thousands of workers in the Middle West as a courageous, fearless Socialist organizer who has defied steel corporation thugs and red-baiting hoodlums in his campaign for labor solidarity.

Typical of Monarch's experiences as a Socialist organizer is the story of his speech in Martins Ferry, Ohio, during the petition drive. There he was followed, spied upon, searched and threatened by city police, coal-and-iron police and steel trust thugs from the time he arrived until he left.

Reaction In Ohio:

Map Sticker Fight In Ohio When Laws Kill Ballot Right

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Fighting against one of the most reactionary state election laws in the Union, Ohio Socialists lost a heroic battle to place the national and state Socialist nominees on the ballot. As the deadline ap-

proached, with the required quota of more than 300,000 petitions to place the Party and 22,600 signatures to place the nominees on the ballot unfilled, the state executive committee of the Party met in emergency session here and mapped plans for a vigorous write-in campaign for national and state tickets.

Failure of expected petitions to arrive in Columbus, coupled with the fact that a final 2-day drive in Columbus by a corps of Socialist workers fell short of completing the total, account for the failure to qualify. The Ohio campaign will include tours by Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson, national standard-bearers, and Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee, chairman of the Socialist campaign committee.

Filo County Slates

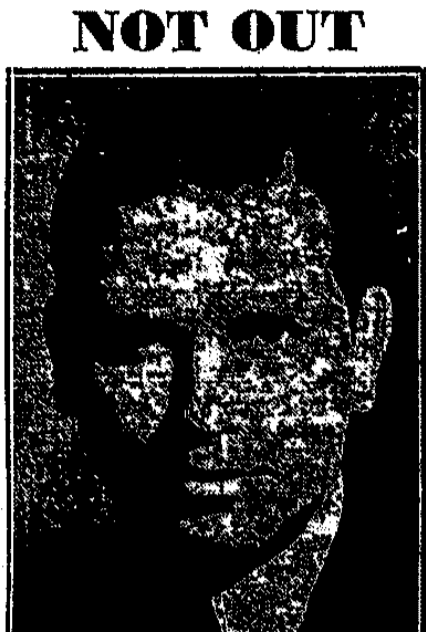
Despite the failure to qualify on a state-wide basis, Socialists filed tickets in Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Lucas County (Toledo) and Green County (Yellow Springs). Socialists are cooperating with Farmer-Labor Parties in a number of other counties.

"The reactionary election laws of Ohio have scored the first knockdown in the fight," commented Ralph M. Holland, Socialist state secretary, "but we're on our feet and ready for the next round."

"Stickers, which bear the names of the Socialist candidates and which can be pasted on the ballot, are already being printed. They will be sent to every petition signer who will flood the state with them. We are making sure that a sticker is put in the hands of every one of Ohio's half million voters."

The state candidates of the Socialists include John C. Taylor, Labor member of the Toledo Board of Education, for Governor, Robert D. Dullea of Cleveland for Lieutenant-Governor and Max M. Wohl of Cleveland for Secretary of State.

LABOR DAY GREETINGS
Labor Day Greetings
MIDWOOD BRANCH
Brooklyn, N. Y.



Ohio Socialists will conduct a vigorous campaign for the national and state ticket despite reactionary laws which have kept them off the ballot. They plan a sticker and write-in drive. Above is Robert Dullea, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, who will tour the state.

Florida Socialists Fight Election Law

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. — (LSP)—Now that the secretary of state has refused to place the names of the Socialist candidates on the ballot, a writ of mandamus will be secured on the grounds that the Florida election law is unconstitutional, according to Walter Roush, state chairman.

Clarence Senior, Socialist campaign manager, wired from Chicago that the national campaign committee is raising funds to finance a fight to the U. S. Supreme Court.

LABOR DAY GREETINGS
For Working Class Solidarity
23rd A. D. BRANCH,
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September 4, 1936

Socialist Call,
21 E. 17th St.,
New York City.
Brothers:

We want to express our appreciation through your paper to the members of the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Socialist Party, for the splendid support they have given us in helping to smash a five year old "injunction" in the Dubrow Cafeteria on Eastern Parkway, and the fine support they are continuously giving us in the Garfield strike on Kings Highway. We hope that they will continue this fine work in behalf of the labor movement.

Fraternally yours,
LEO GERSTENHEIM, Rec. Sec'y
RICHARD FELTON, Sec'y

Spirit Of '76'

'Minute Men' Speak Before Union Rallies In Thomas Campaign

CHICAGO—(LSP)—"Minute Men" are appearing before labor and progressive organizations throughout the country delivering 4-minute speeches urging people to "invest" in the Cooperative Commonwealth by buying a Cooperative Commonwealth bond as a contribution to the Socialist campaign fund, according to Marjorie Kipp, fund drive director.

"The jingoists and professional patriots used this method during the last war of destruction when they sold liberty bonds. Why shouldn't we use this method in our war for construction?" Miss Kipp said.

The bonds can also be purchased directly from Socialist campaign headquarters, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago.

Western Conference

Socialists from many Western States will be represented at Red-feather Lakes, west of Fort Collins, on September 12 to 13. The conference will follow a Socialist summer school beginning on September 5. Clarence Senior, national secretary of the party will be on the teaching staff of the school.

Connecticut

The state convention will be held at the Workmen's Circle Center, 2003 Main Street, Hartford, on September 12-13.

Hamden Socialists will hold a picnic at Peck Farm, Westwoods Road, on Sunday, September 20.

Indiana

A new party branch has been formed in Whiting, and a charter has been applied for. Officers have been elected.

Kansas

The Goodland local is going places. Since April 1, it has almost doubled its membership. There has been a steady increase of membership throughout the state.

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Thomas Leads DARIEN, Conn. (LSP)—In a poll observers pronounced as indicative of a record Socialist vote in this state, Norman Thomas took a commanding lead in the straw vote being conducted by the Darien "Review." Early returns show Thomas with 20 votes, Landon with 17 and Roosevelt, 10. Lemke received one vote and Browder and Colvin received none.

September Shtime

The September issue of the Jewish Socialist organ, the Socialist Shtime, is ready for distribution. It features an article by the late Haim Kantorovitch, on which he was engaged at the time of his death, dealing with the subject of party problems.

Roosevelt, Hillman and the Labor Party are discussed by Gus Tyler. Other articles include "A Letter from a Jewish Worker" by K. Lazaroff.

Orders for the Shtime should be sent to the office of the publication, 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

ASK CROP SECURITY

DES MOINES, La., (FP)—Declaring that farmers should not be forced into pauperism by the drouth, the National Farm Holiday Association has called upon President Roosevelt for an immediate crop insurance plan.

By Norman Thomas

Why I Am a Socialist 5c 16 Pages

War As a Socialist Sees It . 5c

Appendix with Excerpts from St. Louis Declaration and Debts Speeches. 32 Pages

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SMILES. When Roosevelt met Landon, both smiled—with good reason. For they're having a swell time with the fake fight that Republicans and Democrats put up every four years. No matter who wins, the people lose.

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Laughter In Russia

A Tradition Carried On By Katayev

When the WPA Federal Theatre Experimental Unit presents Valentine Katayev's three-act comedy, "The Path of Flowers" at the Experimental Theatre on East 63rd Street later this month, New York audiences will be amazed to learn that Russians actually laugh.

Myths, although they may be far removed from truth, find it difficult to die. And one of the oldest and the hardest to kill is that "Russia never laughs." For doesn't Dostoyevski prove the myth in "Notes from the Underground" and "Poor People"? And doesn't Gorky do so? His very name is the Russian for "bitter"! To the average person, the word Russia brings to mind a picture of a bleak country with its people starving, suffering, existing aimlessly as though to give birth to children who in turn would suffer, starve and live in filth and banality.

No doubt, during certain periods in its history, Russia did not laugh. But even the briefest perusal of Russian literature clearly shows that the people of this vast land laugh as very few peoples do.

Gogol's Farce

Gogol, the father of Russian literature, believed in laughter. He once wrote his friend Pushkin:

"Please be so kind as to write for me a draft for a comedy. Anything, so long as it is funny—and I promise to make it devilishly hilarious."

Gogol made good his promise. The result was the famous "Government-Inspector," as popular today in Moscow as it was a hundred years ago, to which audiences everywhere rock with side-splitting laughter.

Pushkin, one of the greatest poets in world literature, was a master caricaturist of the human race; Ostrovsky and a host of lesser luminaries were all master humorists.

But with the advent of the 1870's, when the great Czarist empire was suddenly thrown into turmoil and chaos by the industrial revolution, Russian litera-

IN 'DER KAMPF'



Lotte Loebinger and P. Paschkoff in "Der Kampf," the new Cameo picture which was acted and directed by German exiles in Soviet Russia.

ture, reflecting as it did the sentiments of the oppressed masses, could not but be written in a minor key. The Dostoyevskis, the Chekhovs, the Andreyevs, Gorky and the others aimed a steady barrage at misery and at the decadence of the intelligentsia.

During the Revolution

Then came the active revolutionary phase of 1917. Certainly, during this critical period there was not time for laughter or gaiety. There was too much to do, too many battles, too many wounded and dying, too many homeless and hungry.

But as the Soviet regime reached stability and evolved out of its first experimental stage, assurance, joviality and satire appeared with greater frequency. As early as 1925 there developed a school of satirists and writers of light, breezy anecdotes. And today there are Ilf, Petrov and Valentine Katayev, author of "The Path of Flowers."

In this play, Katayev, whose "Squaring the Circle" was widely acclaimed last year on Broadway, aims his sharp, satiric jabs at a pseudo-communist intellectual, Zavyalov, a radio-lecturer who flaunts about with the greatest freedom his misquotations of Marx. The comedy is hilarious and at intervals reaches the lightness and gaiety of a Viennese farce.

Valentine Katayev carries on the tradition of Russian laughter.

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Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

New York is up in arms against the strangle hold with which the milk distributors have been choking the life out of the dairy farmer while at the same time exacting large but well concealed profits by charging atrociously

high prices to city consumers. Reports of the large, well attended meetings of dairy farmers upstate, at which the outstanding feature was the grim determination of the farmers to break the grip of this octopus, reflect the tragic conditions under which dairy farmers have had to struggle for existence. Visitors in the New York milk shed tell of the dilapidated, though neat, farm houses that dot the countryside, eloquently testifying to both the industry of these farmers, and their seemingly hopeless fight for a living income.

The fact is that the dairy farmer cannot live at the price he now receives. Even more vicious is the blended classified price system by which the farmer is kept in the dark as to the actual price he is to receive for his milk, until he receives his check from the distributor. Needless to say, the sympathy of every Socialist and co-operator is with the farmer in his fight. More important than expressions of sympathy, however, is the need for organization to activate this sympathy and desire to assist.

Socialists at Work

I am happy to announce that such organizations already have been formed. Edna Mitchell Blue, Socialist candidate for Congress, has rallied much of the sentiment upstate into the Farmers-

Consumers Milk Committee. All readers of this column in that area should immediately communicate with Miss Blue at R. D. 7, Schenectady, N. Y. and urge the organizations of which they are members to affiliate.

Meanwhile in New York City, Socialists, cooperators, trade unionists, settlement houses, and other progressive civic and labor organizations have set up the Milk Consumers Protective Committee, whose temporary address is care of Consumers' Union, 22 East 17th Street, New York City.

Both organizations have a tremendous opportunity to crystallize the present unrest into a monument of a real gain both to the farmer and the consumer. I refer, of course, to cooperative organization, the only real protection possible under capitalism as far as milk is concerned. Each committee should start work immediately to create interest in the formation of a genuine farmers' cooperative to market milk and a consumers' cooperative to distribute milk.

As immediate objectives, however, the committees should urge

"General Dies at Dawn," the new Paramount thriller.

We don't know what Hollywood has done to Clifford Odets; certainly his technique in the movies raises him way and above his stage status as a propagandist. For he has learned the first lesson of good propaganda: Make your piece interesting, enjoyable, exciting. He has learned that if the moral is laid on too thick, it may bore and thus lose effect -- so propaganda in "The General Dies at Dawn" has been painted in with the delicate touch of a fine artist who through small daubs of red in the background will make red the dominant undertone of a painting.

There has been objection to the movie from some of Odets' admirers who feel that he has fallen from Marx's grace in that he forgot to condemn American and Japanese imperialism in his dialogue; they may as well find fault with the obvious fact that nowhere in the picture has he explained the contradictions inherent in capitalism or the principles of dialectical materialism.

But be that as it may, Odets' script plus fine directing by Lewis Milestone plus superb acting in the best manner of wise-cracking, fighting Gary Cooper and glamorous Madeleine Carroll makes "The General Dies at Dawn" a real Hollywood find.

Tell your friends to see it. But don't tell them it's a propaganda picture. The moral of the picture isn't something to be pointed out -- it's just there and you can't help it.

among other things a raise in the price to farmers without an increase to consumers, a public investigation of the fiscal operations of milk distributors and abolition of the blended classified price system. There should also be an investigation of the Dairy-men's Cooperative League and its notorious connection with the distributors, a connection which has done much to blacken the name "cooperative" amongst the farmers of New York State.

Throw a Party For the \$100,000 Campaign Fund.

where to dine

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LANDON

Kansas Teachers Hit Starvation Wages

In His State

By A. F. ELLER

TOPEKA, Kans. — Kansas educators are inclined to praise Governor Landon's stand against "teachers' oaths," but what they are more interested in just now is what the Republican presidential candidate proposes to do in his home state to provide more cash for schools.

Low pay for overworked teachers and overcrowded schools are the rule in this state. Despite his fancy phrases in support of free education and academic freedom, the governor has never initiated or advocated any measures to relieve the pressure on the school system or the school teacher's pocketbook.

\$62 Per Month

The average grade school teacher of this state gets the munificent salary of \$626.27 a year. That figures out to slightly over \$62 per month for the ten months the teacher is employed. These wages are only a little higher than Federal relief wages.

According to a report by State Superintendent of Schools W. T. Markham the average salary for the one-room rural school teacher is \$453.50 per year, or about \$45 per teaching month. He states there are more than 3400 teachers working for such miserable wages.

Kansas school districts have been hard hit. In this state last spring there were 444 districts not operating, but sending their children to other districts. There were 12 cities and 114 country districts out of funds. About 270 teachers faced the prospect that they would not receive all their salaries. Governor Landon never raised a finger to help the school system at that time or since then. The situation this fall will be about the same or worse.

Kansas furnishes no books to school children. Organized labor has campaigned for free books for many years, but Governor Landon has never raised a finger to help.

Kansas is at the bottom of all the states in giving state aid to local school districts. This sheds additional light on the ability of the state to balance its budget. It has balanced the budget at the expense of its school children and school teachers.

Kansas educators and parents are hoping that the governor will be a little less strong on fine phrases and a little stronger on providing state cash for the school systems.

Where Nelson Will Speak

George A. Nelson, dirt-farmer Socialist candidate for Vice-President continues his tour of the Southwest next week. His meeting at Earle, Ark., on Sept. 15 will take him into the heart of Bourbon terrorism against the sharecroppers. His schedule follows:

- Sept. 10—New Orleans, La., 2:00-2:15 p. m., radio address over Station WSNB.
- Sept. 11—Laurel, Miss.
- Sept. 12—Halls, Tenn. (Afternoon); Paris, Tenn. (Evening).
- Sept. 13—Allardt, Tenn. (Afternoon); Crossville, Tenn., (Evening).
- Sept. 14—Little Rock, Ark.
- Sept. 15—Earle, Ark.
- Sept. 16—Kentucky.
- Sept. 17—Kentucky.
- Sept. 19—Fargo, N. D.

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PRICE FIVE CENTS

CHALLENGED! WILL LEMKE DEBATE NORMAN THOMAS?

Socialist Will Accept Coughlin As Lemke 'Proxy'

NEW YORK—William Lemke, "Union" Party candidate for President, has been challenged to a public debate on the issues of the 1936 campaign by Norman Thomas, fighting Socialist nominee. Thomas specified that if Lemke wished, he was willing to accept Father Charles E. Coughlin as a substitute.

Thomas made his challenge in a telegram to Lemke in Chicago which was made public here. The simply-worded wire read:

"I am challenging you as candidate for the Presidency of the United States to debate with me on the issues of this campaign. Should you prefer to designate as your proxy in debate your chief political sponsor, Father Charles E. Coughlin, such a substitution will be satisfactory to me. I await your prompt reply.
NORMAN THOMAS"

To Make History

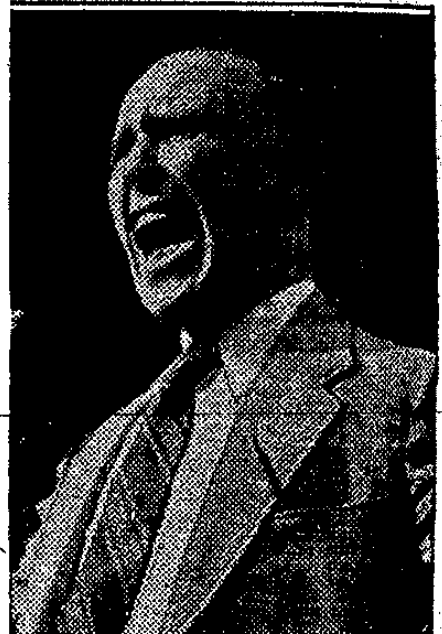
If Lemke has the courage to accept the challenge, the debate will make political history. It will mark one of the few times that candidates for the highest office in the nation have met in public to cross oratorical swords on the issues of the day. Thomas is known throughout the country as a militant fighter for workers' rights who is always ready to face his political opponents on any platform as he carries on his campaign for election.

His open challenge is typical of the Socialist's desire to bring four-square before the American people open and clear statements of the positions of the various political parties. It was this desire that led him to accept an invitation to speak before the Townsend convention in Cleveland — a speech in which, facing a hostile and booing audience, the Socialist candidate was finally cheered by thousands as he called upon the Townsends to join with the Socialist Party in a campaign to abolish capitalism and establish a new social order.

Thomas' supreme courage, whether in open debate with political opponents or facing the gunthugs of Southern planters in his daily campaign for workers' liberties, is known in every state of the Union. He has been heard by thousands in the campaign this year as he fights a constructive, positive campaign for Socialism.

Has Your Neighbor Read Norman Thomas' Speeches?

WILL HE ACCEPT?



Will William Lemke, demagogic 'Union' Party candidate for President (right) accept the challenge of Norman Thomas, Socialist, to meet in a public debate on campaign issues?

Aid To Unemployed Pledged By Thomas

IRVINGTON, N. J.—Speaking before 3,000 enthusiastic listeners in the Olympic Park near here, many of them workers on WPA projects, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, was loudly cheered as he announced his support of the Workers' Alliance of America and its program.

"The Workers' Alliance has done a magnificent job in fighting the cause of the unemployed everywhere, and particularly by its spectacular campaigns in Trenton and Harrisburg," Thomas declared. "They have won something; they must win more." Announcing his endorsement of the demands "the Alliance submitted to Roosevelt last week, Thomas declared:

"The Administration will not in good faith grant these demands."

6-Point Program

Thomas proposed a 6-point Socialist program for unemployment relief. It is:

1. Federal standards of relief.
2. Adequate work relief at regular wages.
3. Compulsory shortening of the work-week in private industry.
4. Passage of the Frazier-Landeen Social Insurance bill.
5. Government housing.
6. Recognition of the

Workers' Alliance as representing the unemployed.

"But," the Socialist declared, "our real hope for dealing with unemployment, as with other modern evils must lie in the Socialist program of production for use, rather than production for the private profit of an owning class.

"We Socialists fight both for what can be got out of capitalism and for a change in the system!"

Attacks Hague

In the same speech Thomas attacked Republican-Democratic cooperation in New Jersey for defeating the anti-labor-injunction bill in the state legislature last spring. It had been sponsored by progressive labor unions.

"The bill was defeated by the Republican machine and activities of Frank Hague, Democratic boss, who ordered the Democratic legislators to defeat this bill," he declared. "Hague, as Democratic National Committeeman, said, 'Never mind labor, kill that bill.'"

Addressing a textile workers' rally earlier in the week at Moo-

Attacks Jim-Crow

IRVINGTON, N. J.—When Norman Thomas was informed while speaking at the Olympic Public Amusement Park here that Negroes had been barred from the grounds, he declared:

"If I had known of this policy before, I would have refused to speak here. The Socialist Party in New Jersey as elsewhere is opposed to racial discrimination in any form. While we are glad to have had this opportunity to speak here, Jim-Crowism is too great a price to pay for it."

sup, Conn., Thomas attacked Democratic governors of the south who had called out troops to smash the 1934 textile strike. Against the argument advanced by some that Roosevelt must be re-elected or else labor will suffer, the Socialist candidate declared:

"Labor will suffer harm whoever is elected except as labor is organized in its unions and on the political field."

Only Socialism will solve the ills of the textile industry, Thomas told the crowd, adding:

"I am tired of the double pair of spectacles which some labor leaders are using to examine the Roosevelt and the Landon record. They look at the Roosevelt-Democratic record through rose-colored glasses. They look at the Landon-Republican record more clearly."