

Socialist Call

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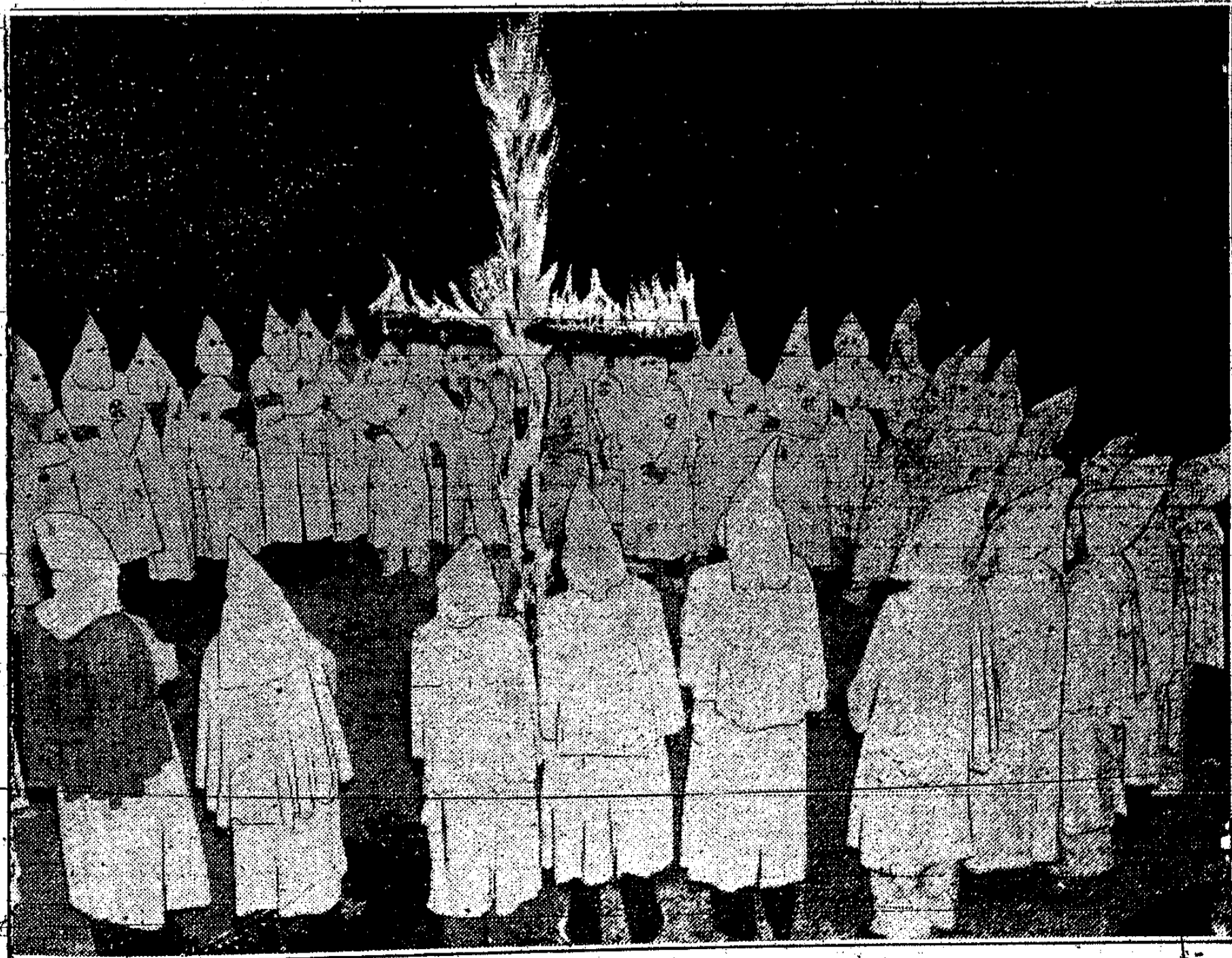
TAR AND FEATHER TWO SOCIALIST WORKERS IN DALLAS, TEXAS

DALLAS, Tex.—Herbert Harris, Socialist organizer, was kidnaped from a Labor Rally at Trinity Park here Monday, tarred and feathered and then dumped in front of the Dallas News Building in downtown Dallas. A companion, George Lambert, was badly beaten.

After a twenty-four hour "investigation" by the local police, it was announced that there were no clues and that the case was "being dismissed." Immediate protest was made by the Socialist Party and the Workers' Defense Committee in New York.

George Edwards Sr. of this city has been retained by the Party and the Workers' Defense League

The Klan Raises Its Hood Again



Hooded cohorts of the Klan, in full regalia. The Klan has been associated with every terrorist attempt to stem the tide of organization of the working class in the South since the Reconstruction Days of the Civil War. Under the slogan of "White Supremacy" efforts at economic equality are met with threats, violence, kidnaping and that favorite expression of Southern viciousness, tar-and-feathering.

to proceed against the police authorities of the city.

Harris was kidnaped eight hours after George Baer, vice-president of the United Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers of America, CIO affiliate, had been abducted from a downtown street, taken to the country and severely beaten. Baer was saved from almost certain death by a passing motorist.

The Workers Defense League sent the following wire to the Chief of Police:

**CHIEF OF POLICE
DALLAS, TEXAS**

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE CONDEMNS UNLAWFUL SEIZURE AND CRUEL BEATING OF HERBERT HARRIS, GEORGE LAMBERT, AND GEORGE BAER STOP WE DEMAND FULL INVESTIGATION AND VIGOROUS PROSECUTION OF GUILTY PARTIES STOP WE FURTHER DEMAND THAT YOU AS POLICE CHIEF GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS OF WORKERS FOR THE FUTURE

**DAVID L. CLENDENIN
WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE
112 EAST 19 STREET
NEW YORK CITY**

Harris has been an organizer of the Socialist party for years. He has been working under the Texas State Executive Committee. He travels with equipment for outdoor projection of motion pictures. On Monday he was setting up the equipment in the park to show the picture, "Millions of Us," when a group of men ran up, overturned his auto and seized him and Lambert.

The attack against Harris and Baer cannot be understood without the background of labor organizing that is going on here and organized reaction that is being stirred up against the CIO Oil and Textile drives. The Ford Motor Company in Dallas very possibly knows something about the affair also.

Will Labor Have Its Own Party as Politics Realigns in America

By Gus Tyler

New lines are being drawn in American politics. The last few weeks have made them fairly distinct, although time is needed to ink in the new lines with bold demarcation.

The new conservative coalition in Congress is in the saddle at Washington. Roosevelt may still smile with the hope that he can cover up his defeat over the Supreme Court Bill, with the hope that he is still master in the Capital. His smiles avail him nought, for he is not master of the nation any more.

A new coalition of conservative Democrats and virtually every Republican, coalesced and crystallized around the Supreme Court fight, now operating as a bloc on numerous other questions, has risen to challenge and, at least for the moment, to upset Roosevelt's control of national politics.

The battle over the Supreme Court will probably go down in history, as The New York Times insists, on a level with the Civil War. It was not only a great issue; not only a challenge to one of the cornerstones of American conservatism; it was also a political watershed from which shall flow new social currents.

If the Civil War created the "solid South" for the Democratic Party then it may be that the Supreme Court fight broke the "solid South." From the time of Roosevelt's defeat at the hands of the conservatives — in his own party and out of it — the "gentlemen of the South" have gladly cooperated with the conservative Republicans to emasculate and murder one progressive measure after another.

The Wage and Hour Bill received a sound drubbing. True, a bill was passed. But what a bill!

The Housing Bill is a joke. Its opponents went through it with a fine-comb of amendments so as to leave absolutely nothing worthwhile in the law.

We are now witnessing the concrete results of the victory of the Democratic Party's "right wing" at the Jefferson Island Conference. There it was that the conservatives forced Roosevelt to retreat — on the CIO, on the Court, FDR's opponents did not rest content with the retreat; they turned the retreat into a rout.

Old Party Splits

The "New Deal" is no longer the line of the Democratic Party of America — as at present constituted.

The Democratic Party, however, is no hard and brittle organization. This party, more perhaps than any other national political organization, is just a loose conglomeration of local political machines. This gives it great resiliency, gives it a chance to shift its mass base — without losing office or votes.

As the struggle between conservatives and progressives within Congress mounts, the struggle between the two currents within the Democratic Party will grow. The "left wing" democrats will attempt to pursue a course that can keep the popular vote; the "right wing" will turn to the "respectable" elements.

In this fight, the old sort of Democratic primaries — struggles between individuals for jobs — will take on the character of struggles over programs. The democratic primaries will begin to look like principal conflicts. Not because the democratic word heals will suddenly become "politicalized," but because the times demand a political fight — a programmatic battle — for election stimulus.

A tactical error is the Democratic Primaries in New York City this year. The usual place for Flynn or Sullivan — the battle



Dr. Royal S. Copeland who is banking on anti-New Deal proclamations to win the Democratic nomination for Mayor of New York City.

between Copeland and Mahoney in the primary election is just a struggle for control of the New York Democratic machine. But you may rest assured that the campaign will have "issues." And the basic issue will be — for or against the New Deal, with Copeland against, and Mahoney, probably tacitly, for.

This same struggle finds its national expression in conferences and common programs drafted by joint meetings between Conservative Democrats and Republicans.

To a lesser degree, the Republican Party also sees dissension within its ranks. There are the "progressive" Republicans. In some cities they must cater to the petty-bourgeois merchant who wants "clean municipal government" — it is less expensive.

Labor — the Issue

Although it is possible to examine both the Democratic and Republican Parties in detail to find out what it may be, here or there, that seems to be tearing these parties asunder, it is really unnecessary to do so. Because there is one basic issue that is realigning American politics: the class issue.

The growing struggle between capital and labor has raised the level of class consciousness among American workers. And this has, in turn, raised the level of American political life.

The nonsensical issues of American "normalcy" (1920-1928) are unheard today. People are really moving — more or less consciously — along programmatic lines: for or against labor!

Under normal circumstances, we might predict with ease what the outcome of this alignment would be. We could follow the classical European formula: a Conservative Party, a Liberal Party and a Labor Party.

Such mechanical transfer of British formulae to America, however, is dangerous. Politics is not operative in a vacuum. The concrete conditions of the world place

Two Parties

And in America, the concrete factors militate very strongly — fortunately or otherwise — not in the direction of three great parties in the near future (let us say 1940), but in the direction of two great, revamped, parties.

This is the era during which conservative parties are frankly anti-labor. They are not necessarily Fascist or dictatorial in character. But they are outspokenly against unionism, against strikes, against the closed shop.

Labor, on the other hand, considers these as the only real questions before it. The American workers are not thinking in terms of Socialism or workers' power. They are thinking in terms of organization, agreements, closed shop, strikers' rights.

In present national political struggles, labor tends to be motivated less by its historical mission of overthrowing capitalism and more by its most immediate interests. In the concrete, this means that American labor will, in all likelihood, in the near future be motivated more by its "fear of reaction" than by its "love for gain."

A coalition between labor and the progressive republicans and democrats — as against the conservative forces — will be made easier by additional specific factors.

Labor's Line

The Democratic Party, should it wish to continue along the lines of liberalism, must not only be ready to slough off its right wing but must prepare a program whereby it can graft to it a labor left-wing. To preserve its power, the Democratic Party must work consciously to coalesce with labor.

The American labor movement — and in particular that section of it which is politically minded — is today controlled by men with a clearly reformist point of view. To them, a coalition with the capitalist liberals will not appear a mistake, but a wholly justifiable and wise action.

The Communist Party, which among radical workers might use its revolutionary traditions to oppose a coalition with the capitalist politicians, is working might and main to pervert revolutionary energies into reformist, popular-front channels. Consciously, the Communist Party operates systematically for the capitalist coalition.

American political parties are breaking up, regrouping, and re-crystallizing — on a mass basis. But instead of seeing a new alignment on a three mass party basis, we are observing a dangerous, realignment on the old two party basis — liberal versus conservative instead of just one Gold Dust twin against the other.

The oddity of American conditions, instead of pitting labor against capital, is making labor the pawn of capitalist politicians. Socialists have a task before them — but that for some other time.

Scientific Advances Under Capitalism Endanger Society

By Herman Stern

(This is the last of two installments on the report of the President's Committee on National Resources.)

The ruling class and its government agency are motivated entirely by a desire to maintain the system of capitalist economy which yields them fabulous profits. When it becomes necessary to send the American army into a war to protect the markets of capitalism our bourgeoisie will not hesitate to sacrifice the lives of scores of thousands of workers. Why should we expect that capitalism will interest itself with the welfare of the people today?

Sabotage of Inventions

They cannot afford to be socially minded because their system is based upon the exploitation of the masses by an insignificant minority. The attitude of capitalism to new inventions is not merely one of indifference but of systematic sabotage.

Science is regarded by the interests of capital to be a serious threat to its existence. All steps must therefore be taken to see that science is kept at a safe distance from being practised. The Committee was deeply conscious of this when it said, "Aside from jobs subtracted or added, new inventions affect all the great social institutions: family, church, local community, State and industry." This means that the encouragement of new inventions present a danger to the capitalist state and its institutions.

What to the overwhelming section of society is progress, is to the ruling class danger. We can only ask ourselves, what sort of a system is it that cannot tolerate progress in science and technology. This is one of the many contradictions of capitalism that cannot be decided in its favor.

In its study of television the committee was fundamentally concerned not with how this invention could be used to broaden the outlook of civilization but with how it represented a "propaganda peril." "When to the spoken word is added the living image, the effect is to magnify the potential dangers of a machine which can subtly instill ideals, strong beliefs, profound disgusts and affections. There is danger from propaganda entering the schools and perhaps much greater danger from propaganda entering the home."

"How great is the power in the control of mass communication, especially when helped by modern inventions, has been made clear recently in countries that have had social revolutions and which promptly, in a very short period, brought extraordinary changes in the expressed beliefs and actions of vast populations."

Problem of Television

"The most powerful means of communication, especially for rapid action in case of revolution, are the electric forms like radio and television which spread most skillfully presented ideas to every corner of the land with the speed of light and a minimum of propaganda labor. Television will have the power of mobilizing the best

of writers and scene designers, the most winning of actors, the most attractive of actresses."

"A fundamental question of national policy is therefor raised. What ideas, whose ideas, shall be mass-communicated? Who shall control television? To control the doors to peoples' minds; even of the child in the home, is to have considerable power to control their minds. Whatever body wields such power might conceivably be able in time to undermine all opposition to its power."

It is recognized by the Committee that "technology has provided the power to enrich the leisure hours, to promote family solidarity by bringing the theatre into the home, to develop national uniformity and unity at the cost of provincialism and to widen man's knowledge of the world in which he lives." But when with this power there is the fear that people will learn too quickly and thoroughly the real nature of capitalism it is unquestionable but that this power will be thrown to waste.

This is illustrated in another section of the report dealing with the general application of new machinery in the factories. Here we can clearly see who wishes to advance science and who hinders it.

"The rate of capital obsolescence is especially a major problem under monopolistic conditions which probably favor the adoption of technological inventions less than do conditions of keen competition." What does this mean in plain English? It means that capitalism today refuses to use machinery which will lighten the tasks of workers, produce articles of a higher quality and bring production to a new level.

This is capitalism's solution of the problem of new inventions. The millions of workers who would benefit by the introduction of new inventions would reply differently. But while industry and factories are owned by a few individuals we cannot solve this problem the workers' way.

Capitalism, sickly and disintegrating, the arch enemy of science and invention, has become a giant obstacle to the further progress of humanity. The whole lesson of the report is that in order for society to move forward, capitalists must be quickly discarded and society based on the collective ownership of the factories and workshops, a socialist society, must be created.

GRAND PICNIC

of the Brooklyn and Queens Agitational Committee Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund

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Wage-Hour, Housing Bill Watered Down

With The Party

THE emasculation of the Housing Bill by Congress, together with the watering-down of the Connery-Black Wages and Hours legislation, represents a giant step backward by the Democratic Administration in Washington.

Housing Bill Weak

Provisions attached to the Housing Bill make it virtually impossible to provide decent housing where it is most necessary. Slum areas, especially in large industrial centers, will benefit nothing from the new law.

Green Backs Wage Bill

The Wage and Hour Bill was modified slightly for the better by the House of Representatives, under pressure of the AF of L. These modifications, however, were given in exchange for the blessings of William Green, AFL head, for a bill which has eliminated from it every worthwhile provision regulating minimum wages and maximum hours.

Nationalized Competitions

The latest version of the bill still continues the differential between North and South. Instead of accomplishing what national labor legislation should—that is, a nationwide common minimum basis—the present bill would legalize the differential and make the southern states a constant competitive drag upon the northern producing centers.

Green Accepts Senate Slashes Of Labor Bill

MOST NEEDY LOSE DECENT HOUSING

WASHINGTON, (FP).—By a vote of 64 to 16 the Senate passed a bill originally designed to provide low cost housing for those living in huts and shanties and unable to afford decent places in which to live.

As passed, the Senate bill makes construction of such housing a virtual impossibility, according to experts who have been pushing for such legislation. Amendments to the bill, made from the floor of the Senate, provide for a limitation of \$1000 per room and \$4000 per dwelling unit as the highest cost, prohibit more than 20% of the \$700,000,000 to be spent for housing in any one state and require localities to bear five percent of the cost, and place the newly created public housing authority under the Department of the Interior.

upon the board power only to deal with chiselers and those employers who through company unions or through the use of fake collective bargaining agencies maintain sweatshop conditions of work and starvation wages.

“Through adoption of these amendments the differentials between north and south are preserved but the prevailing wage and hours standards will be improved in the south—the prevailing standards of the north are lifted higher through collective bargaining. It was on such a basis that the conflicting interests of the north and south were reconciled and the opposition of the south was thus removed through the bill as amended.

“Labor was not happy over the wage and hours provisions of the Senate bill. Capital opposed the more stringent provisions of the original bill. Through the formula adopted the conflict is reconciled to the advantage of unions and employers.” The Senate wage and hour provisions are 40 cents an hour and 40 hours a week. Through the formula adopted the wage and hour provisions are 40 cents an hour and 40 hours a week.



Representative John E. Rankin, of Mississippi, who has been enjoying a spurious reputation as a liberal because of support of the TVA is showing his true colors now as he unleashes an attack on the National Labor Relations Board.

states were considerably mollified by the milk and water bill reported out. They were prepared to fight bitterly against any provision enabling the labor standards board to set minimum wages of 70 cents an hour and maximum hours of 35 a week.

Green's statement on the House committee version said, “Through the adoption of these amendments (of the AF of L) the wages and hours bill is made a practical and constructive measure. It reduces government control over industry to a minimum and confers

Meetings on three major issues of tremendous interest to workers are being held all over the country during the month of August by locals of the Socialist party. Saeco-Vanzetti Memorial meetings are being held in commemoration of the death of Nicolas Saeco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, electrocuted for what the working class world believes to be their criticism of the capitalist system, although trumped-up charges of robbery and murder were made against them. These meetings are being linked with the protests against current brutal attempts to suppress the rights of workers to strike, to picket, to organize, to criticize the existing economic system.

Socialist members of the Unemployed Workers Alliance as well as other members of the Socialist party are active in cooperating with the Alliance in preparation for the National Job March to Washington August 23, and on passage of the Schwallenbach-Allen Joint Congressional Resolution to insure that relief will not be stopped to the unemployed until private jobs have been secured for them. Some states are making this month a concentration period for rallying workers against the war budget and for adequate relief and expansion of WPA. Other states are planning meetings for the marchers to Washington and on the Congressional Resolution.

Party units are giving active Spanish cooperation to the Young People's Socialist League in their drive for funds for the Norman Thomas Home for Spanish Children. The Labor Socialist International has proclaimed that an International Spanish Week be held on Spanish events by all its constituent organizations. Each local is determining for itself the time for this week and will combine meetings for raising aid for the Norman Thomas Home with protests on the suppression of workers rights during the Spanish civil war.

The N.E.C. has created the Socialist Call Press as a party-controlled agency in Chicago for the handling of party press and publication work. The first task of the new agency is to raise funds to move the “Socialist Call” out of New York City to the seat of national headquarters in Chicago. Arthur G. McDowell is manager of the Press. A drive is now on to raise the fund, starting off with a push for the \$1,000 moving and organization expense necessary to establish the “Call” on a firm credit basis with Chicago printers. To help make this move the “Call” is making a drive for ads for the September Labor Day issue to clean up obligations in New York and get it on a twelve page basis. Locals are asked to give full cooperation to this drive.

Locals, branches and state offices are directed to sell and distribute only that literature which can be purchased through or is approved by the national office.

housing measure can be repaired somewhat in the House and in the conference committee. Elimination in conference of the limitation provision and the 20% provision, however, might occasion delay in approval and legislators are anxious to get out of them.

Limit Most Needed

Under the 20% limitation, it was noted, the industrial areas in which the need for housing is greatest will receive a disproportionately small share of the housing funds. The requirement that localities contribute five percent of the cost is apt to cause considerable delay in the starting of projects, it is claimed, as most localities are already far overburdened with relief costs which the federal government has shoved on to them.

Limits Room Price
Most serious of the restrictions is the limitation of \$1000 per room. Even reactionary Sen. McCarran (D, Nev.) gagged at the restrictive measure and after it was passed moved to reconsider. The motion to reconsider was lost by a vote of 44 to 39 and the bill was passed with the limitation in it.

According to the American Federation of Housing Authorities and the American Federation of Labor it is virtually impossible to build housing units at the cost of \$1000 a room in some places. In some places rooms can be built for as little as \$700 but the average cost, according to projects of the Federal Housing Administration is \$1147 per room and prices since that time have risen.

Defeat Compromise

Liberal proponents of the housing measure put up a strong fight against the limitation provisions, sponsored by Sen. Byrd (D, Va.) and agreed to a limitation of \$1500 if the opponents of the bill consent to reconsideration of the limitation amendment. Sens. Wagner (D, N.Y.) and LaFollette (Prog., Wis.) were, however, defeated. Slight hope remained that the

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- Amendments
1. Restoration of the original child labor provisions banning from interstate commerce products of persons under 16, the Department of Labor having the power of exemptions.
 2. Inclusion of employees of retail establishments.
 3. Declaring a substandard labor condition to be the employment of women or minors between the hours of midnight and 6 a.m.
 4. Inclusion of a provision making goods, in whole or in part, as “unfair goods” barred from interstate commerce.
 5. Inclusion of a provision potentially barring goods from other countries made under labor conditions considered unfair here.
 6. Inclusion of a direction to the labor standards board requiring it to take into account “differences in the unit cost of manufacturing occasioned by varying natural resources, operating conditions and other factors into the cost of production,” in setting minimum wages for an industry.
 7. Discouragement of any employment between the hours of midnight and 6 a.m. in industries where continuous process is not technically necessary.

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WE PROTEST

Reports from Europe tell us that Andres Nin is "lynched." It is unwillingly that we hear the report. We hope that it is not true.

Although the political background for this tragedy has been in the making ever since May, the actual report leaves us dismayed. This kind of dismay must have come to the international revolutionary movement when Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were killed in Germany in the days of proletarian revolution after the World War.

Socialists throughout the world, and especially the American Socialist Party, raised voices in crying protest.

Not that all revolutionists agreed with the political line of "Rosa" and "Karl," just as those who protest the suppression of the POUM leaders today do not necessarily stand in agreement with their political line. We protest because the "kidnapping" of Liebknecht and Luxemburg and Nin is symbolic.

Their shooting marked the dramatic turning point in the proletarian revolution. When German Social-Democracy decided to restore the bourgeois parliament and bourgeois property as against the Soldaten and Arbeiter-ratten, they began to sweep every revolutionist out of the way. Rosa and Karl fell. When the Comintern decided to restore the old capitalist regime in Spain, its gangs turned against every revolutionist. Nin fell.

The German social democrats did it in the name of "democracy," and the Spanish Communists "lynch" in the name of "democracy."

The Germans said they had to do it because of foreign pressure—France and Britain. The Spaniards say the same.

We are proud to see our Comrade Largo Caballero speak out from Spain against the social policy and the military practices of this present Spanish government. We agree with him that the war against Franco must be won; it shall be won—but not while the present government is permitted to continue its splitting, demoralizing, capitalist practices against the working class revolutionists.

While we carry on with others in the war against Franco, we wish it to be clear that we protest, we cry out against, we condemn the murder.

ANTI-WAR IN REVERSE

One of the curios of American journalism is the Monday morning editorial of the New York Daily News. No matter how that editorial begins, the ending is always the same. In bold italic letters, at the bottom of each Monday column, stands the slogan: TWO SHIPS FOR ONE.

Can it be that the Daily News wants war? Heaven forbid! Matters stand quite differently.

The Daily News blatantly insists that it wants peace. It yields to no man and no paper in its constant protestations that it seeks peace.

Is it not true, the Daily News will point out this Monday, that China finds itself constantly attacked and at war because it is weak? Is it not self-evident, the Daily News argued a week ago, that the Soviet Union had to back down before Japan because Russia has no navy?

The Daily News, very successfully, uses the slogan of "peace" in order to prepare for war. This is always the most effective way of preparing for peace.

It was William Randolph Hearst, America's imperialist No. 1, who first conceived of the idea—three years ago—of running horror pictures of war in his columns. He gave the full back page to it. He told us how horrible war was. He told us that we must never have war again.

And what was the point of these pictures? Hearst concluded that the only way to prevent war was to have a bigger and better army and navy. Thus, under the banner of "peace," Hearst prepared for war.

On August 7, there took place a so-called "anti-war" parade in New York City. We do not, in the slightest degree, challenge the sincerity of organizations participating in that parade. Yet we are compelled to remind the participants in that parade that it was not an anti-war but a pro-war demonstration.

The tenor and purpose of that parade made it, willy-nilly, a mobilization for war.

The line of that parade—expressed in banners, slogans, constituency—was to urge the US Government to punish wicked foreign powers. The essential notion of the demonstration was that war in the modern era is made by the bad capitalist powers and that peace shall be preserved by the threats of the good, peace-loving capitalist powers.

In practice, this policy leads us to urge the US Government, which is as imperialist and aggressive as any capitalist power in the world, to undertake diplomatic, economic, and eventually military action against other capitalist powers.

This policy obscures the main point of the struggle against war in the present era: namely, that war is the product of the capitalist system, and not this or that separate power.

The struggle against capitalist war must be a struggle against all capitalist powers, including the US Government.

AT THE FRONT



By NORMAN THOMAS

In spite of rain in the morning, Wisconsin Socialists held the best picnic in recent years. In connection with it, a meeting of the State Board took steps to push re-registration, interrupted by the sad loss of its secretary, Carl Minkley. It unanimously elected Harry Miller of Kenosha, young and outstanding leader in Workers' Education, as State Secretary, and it could not have made a better choice. It appointed a sub-committee to urge him to leave his present important work to take this post.

It planned a state-wide conference of Socialists to deal with various problems, including the role of the Party in the Farmer Labor Progressive Federation. The LaFollette brothers not only do not belong to the Federation, but they and their personal following seem to be fighting the effort of the Federation to build a real Farmer Labor party. There was enthusiastic agreement that never was Socialism or a vigorous Socialist Party more needed in Wisconsin and America than now and that the right tactics could be found to make it more effective among farmers and workers than ever before.

AFL-CIO

Ever since my return to America I have been increasingly worried by the AFL-CIO fight. It antagonizes the public including many workers; it gives ammunition to labor's enemies; it invites what may be a very dangerous attempt to regulate unions; it may even prepare the way for fascist or semi-fascist victory in this country. The worst situation is in Cleveland where the AFL has played the role of company union. It has even gone so far as to try to break clothing and textile strikes using, it is alleged, gangsters in the process.

Not for one minute do rank and file workers in either camp approve these extremes of jurisdictional conflict. Probably most of them want to see one aggressive, well organized federation of labor bodies, industrial in its general plan of organization, with special provision for certain craft unions and certain craft problems. But how to get it? There's the rub.

Here in Kenosha, Wisconsin, where I am writing, probably the most completely organized industrial town in America, they have found at least part of an answer. CIO and AFL workers do not fight one another or organize rival unions in the same field. They work together in union label, educational, sports and cultural groups and councils. The contrast with Cleveland is the contrast between day and night.

CIVIL LIBERTY

The Kenosha Council recently forbade the use of a public meeting place in a city park to a Nazi meeting and picnic. It had as one reason the fact that the permit was sought for a "German" day—a time honored institution in these parts—when it was really a Nazi day. Labor and the churches supported the ban and so did some citizens of German extraction.

Now I sympathize to the bottom of my heart with this opposition to these friends of Hitler, and rejoice in their unpopularity. But to deny a place to a peaceful public meeting is not the way to vindicate democracy or civil liberty over fascism. It is setting up a precedent which labor in many towns may have bitter cause to regret. In the end, recruited over an area of

many miles, about 300 or 400 Nazis, met in a private hall. The meeting was peacefully picketed. An unfriendly but orderly crowd watched the show and gave the Nazis anything but encouragement. That evidence of popular feeling was better than a ban on the meeting.

ROOSEVELT ECONOMY

One economy only has been made by the Roosevelt Administration. That is at the expense of the unemployed. 427,000 WPA workers have been laid off (who knows how many of them have jobs in private industry?) and 300,000 more are to go by October 15.

To remedy this the Workers Alliance is backing the Allen-Schwellenbach resolution in Congress which would prevent the discharge of any WPA worker who can not secure re-employment in private industry at prevailing wage rates for his trade or occupation. The resolution does not appropriate more money for relief but would logically compel such appropriation to follow. I hate to see Government play the role of ambulance to the profit system which the workers should change. But certainly this resolution is better than nothing and should be supported actively in Congress and by pressure on Congress unless and until Congress shows readiness to pass something better.

JOBLESS UNITY

And speaking of the Workers Alliance! Here and there groups which don't like this, that or the other thing it has done, talk separation. That's as bad as dual unionism. No mistake yet made by the Alliance can justify it. If members of it want to change some of its resolutions, or redress local mistakes (I've heard of some) let them do it from within.

NIN

The lynching of Andres Nin in Madrid is a black mark against loyalist Spain. The terrorists who took him from jail could not have been irresponsible bandits. It is all too probable that this new murder was part of the Communist program for "liquidating" their critics in Spain—all of whom whatever the truth, they call "Trotskyist." For the honor of the Government we support against Franco we urge punishment of this lynching and fair trial for those held in prison.

INCOMES

A recent government survey shows that a worker's family of four must have \$1,415 a year to cover maintenance in Washington; \$1,375 in New York City, and \$1,261 on an average in 59 communities. The Senate has just passed a minimum-wage, maximum-hour bill, which would permit a Board to set a maximum wage for a 40-hour week amounting to \$852 a year if the worker was employed every week. That is to say, the Board cannot set a minimum wage equal to maintenance costs for a family of four. The House form of the bill will give the Board a larger range in which to act. Both House and

Senate have made so many exceptions to the law, however, in behalf of interests dear to various Senators and Representatives that its application will be far from universal. Nevertheless it will help a little in the fight against sweatshops hours and wages. Probably it is better to deal with these through a Board than through a minimum wage written into law.

There is, however, a real danger of a sort quite different from that imagined by the Southern Senators in giving to any Board under capitalist states too extensive powers over hours and wages. In the campaign against unionism the middle class will allege that the Board can take care of the interests of the workers. The Board, if it happens to be appointed by a reactionary President, will do a mighty bad job. Even a well intentioned Board will find it hard to do a good job under capitalism. The most serious danger is that the workers, or some of them, will get a false hope in capitalism. It is impossible to deal with the evils of the profit system by empowering a Board to fix minimum wages and maximum hours subject to a great many conditions while private owners still maintain power over the price and profit end of the business.

Not much is to be hoped from the wages and hours bill. The housing law, which Senate passed, will at best be a small beginning on a great problem, scarcely enough to enable the United States to catch up with what has been done in housing in Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries and Holland. The new farm-tenant law at best will help about one-ninth as many tenants to get farms each year as there are farmers driven into tenantry annually by the operation of the present economic system. Besides, a subsidized peasantry is not the solution of the problem of the plantation and the chain farm.

William Green's amendments improved the Senate bill on hours and wages. So far the amendments to the Housing Bill have made it worse—even more inadequate than before. The masses aren't getting much for that landslide they gave the Democratic Party.

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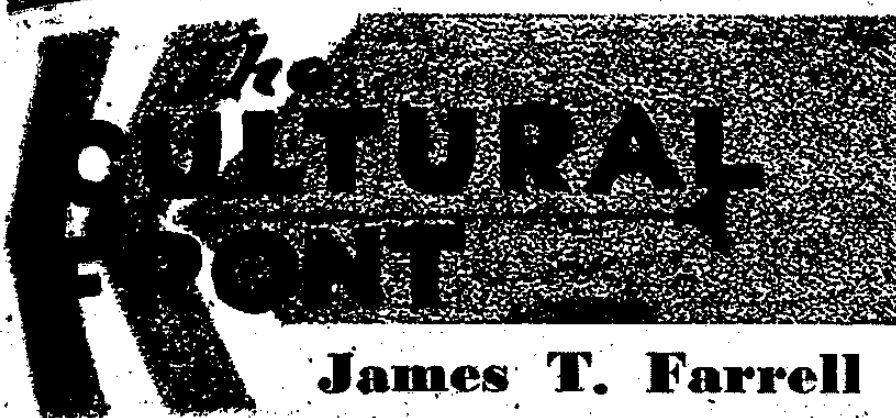
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James T. Farrell

John Steinbeck

John Steinbeck's *Tortilla Flat* (Covici Friede, New York, \$2.50) is permeated with snobbery. The author seems to remain over his characters, unsubtly warning the reader that they are amusing and amiable rogues and semi-civilized vagabonds. The narrative is marred by rather precious writing, and almost every humorous touch in it is demarcated with an unmistakable signpost to announce that humor is intended. Withal, this novel is, I believe, to be preferred to Steinbeck's *In Dubious Battle* (Covici Friede \$2.50).

The latter seems to me to be nothing more than a revolutionary Rover Boy story; it is lacking in any real grasp of the social problems which it treats; it reveals a level of insight into character which sinks down toward that to be found in the Frank Merriwell books. In addition, the author superimposes a crude and rather irrelevant mysticism over his story. He conceives mobs as collective organisms comparable to strange animals that are impelled into action by the sight of blood. Much ado is made of this notion. For instance, toward the conclusion, when the strike is beaten, two of the organizers, Jim and Mac, are discussing whether or not they should strive to make the strikers fight a losing battle, and the subjects of mobs and blood come into their conversation. Jim, a seasoned Communist Party agitator and strike leader, says to Mac, his pupil: "Mac, if blood's all we need, I could pull off this bandage and start the hole (a wound of his) bleeding." It was curious that some of "the local boys" on the literary left praised this book, and failed to put their microscopes on it to discover its "deviations." They even allowed the author to get away with describing an educated Party member as an adventurist whose policy was that of producing trouble at any cost because trouble would water the movement with fresh blood which would then win new members.

Mice and Men

Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men* (Covici Friede \$2.00) has been treated as a current literary sensation. One of the few dissenting voices has been that of Phillip Rahv. His review of this novel appeared in *New Masses*, and was, in my opinion, the most intelligent discussion of the book that has been printed. Others have described *Of Mice and Men* as an authentic description of the American proletariat. Heywood Brown claims that it solves the question of art and propaganda by cleverly uniting both. In the light of such contentions, it is interesting to examine the book.

The two principal characters are migratory workers, George and Lennie. Lennie is an imbecile with the strength of about several horses. He loves to pet things, mice, rabbits, girls, and he pets them all so energetically that he usually manages to pet them to death. George, his pal, seeks to protect Lennie. His dream, imparted to Lennie, is to save money, buy a place of their own where they can live their own lives, and have their own food and their freedom. He plans to allow Lennie to take care of the rabbits, which they will own, and since they are larger than mice, perhaps Lennie will not crack their skulls with caresses. Everytime they find work, and start saving to get their stake, Lennie starts petting again. This is dangerous when he pets ladies. He is satisfied, it seems, with mice, but he always kills them and hides them on his person, sometimes being detected by George because of the consequent odor. George constantly argues with Lennie, seeking to check him, but it is apparent that these persuasions are too complicated for Lennie to grasp.

After they have just escaped from a lynching mob, they get work at a ranch where they are not known. The boss' son, Curley, is an ugly, pugnacious little fellow and from the moment he meets Lennie, it is apparent that there will be trouble. His wife is a poor thing, always flirting, constantly arousing her husband's jealousy. Soon enough, there is trouble between Curley and Lennie, and the latter breaks the former's arm, almost twisting it off. In addition, George seeks to keep Curley's wife and Lennie apart, in order to avoid trouble in that quarter.

George speaks frequently of his dream; he plans to save their wages, and Candy, a broken down workman in charge of the bunk house, plans to join them and contribute his life's savings to the venture. But before they have sufficient funds to buy a place, Lennie happens to pet Curley's wife to death. He runs off, and a lynching mob looks for him. George finds him, and in order to protect the poor creature from the mob, he shoots him in the back of the head. Thus collapses the dream. They cannot get that place of their own, and Lennie will not be able to take care of the rabbits that would have been on it.

Presumably, this novel is a tragedy of loneliness and aspiration. George is ostensibly so lonely that he has to stick by Lennie. The aspiration is for that little place, that nook in the world which permits freedom, and prevents Lennie from the opportunity to pet girls into the grave. There is some good dialogue in the narrative, and the author creates a sense of locations and places. The characters, however, are all reduced to a sub-human level, and this reduction appears to be a simplification in order to fit the needs of the plot.

The novel conveys no sense of any tragic understanding of human experience, unless one accepts the proposition that an animal tropism is the basis and the material of human tragedy. If the characters were not almost sub-human, and if most of them were not morons, then, the intended tragic presentation of the relationship between Lennie and George would be set in a different focus. If Curley was not created as an objectionable character, and if his wife was not made into something of a "tramp," then the reader's sympathy could not be concentrated on George and Lennie.

In other words, the book is a kind of mechanical literary contrivance calculated to awaken specious sympathy. The two protagonists are: (a) an imbecile who is a menace to the entire state of California; (b) his pal and protector who is criminally guilty of protecting this menace by keeping

him out of an institution where he would be rendered harmless. The other characters are all developed around them in such a manner as to focus this relationship and provide it with the background of a tragic setting.

It is a facile literary exercise at best, not a tragic presentation of

human experience. My own feeling, upon concluding it, was one of resentment. I felt that the author was trying to put something over on his readers, that he was seeking to elicit sympathy under the pretenses of bathos. *Of Mice and Men* impresses me as being a mechanical tear jerker, no more, no less.

CIO PUBLICITY

By McAlister Coleman

It seem that Tom Girdler took his vacation in a town on Cape Cod not far from where we are beach-combing. Girdler was pretty near within spitting distance, as a matter of fact. Sorry I didn't know about it or I would have availed myself of the opportunity. Because this ex-dick who knows as much about steel as I do about astrophysics has become my Hate of 1937. I know he's yours as well. When I get a good look at that bespectacled, sour puss of Girdler's and read the smug statements that he gives out about how he has the C.I.O. licked and how independent steel has been made safe from unionism by virtue of the murder and sudden death of Girdler's dissident workers, I come as near going out and kicking Xerxes, my Persian kitten as I ever do come to kicking cats.

John Brophy was right as rain when he said that Girdler's blah about the C.I.O. folding up was "whistling in the dark." Of course it serves to fool quite a lot of "summer patriots" who are now wringing their pallid hands and yelling, as do the former Old-Guard of our party, that the C.I.O. should slow up its pace and cut itself a slice of that "innocuous desuetude" which has for so long been the favorite diet of A.F. of L. bureaucrats and Social Democratic functionaries.

Anyone who can read must realize that the truth is that the C.I.O. has reached the non-spectacular phase of organization work. No front page stuff this. Just the day-to-day grind of signing them up, telling them what it is all about, teaching the elements of unionism to a mighty army of new recruits who have hitherto known nothing of collective action. Nothing here to keep a reporter's typewriter clicking. There is no picture in a young C.I.O. organizer's routine job, of conferences, strategy meetings, paper-work and the like. With no sound-trucks or cameras around, this is the spade-work that will undermine the staunchest defences of the Girdlers and the Graces.

Mish-Mash

As far as the papers go, it was inevitable from the way they handled the C.I.O. story from the start that we should now be fed the sort of hot weather mish-mash that fills the labor columns of the capitalist press. Taking heart from the stunning success of the Memorial Day Massacre and taking advantage of the mid-summer dearth of sensational news from the strike fronts, the anti-labor gangs are pretty successfully smothering C.I.O. publicity. Maybe, it's sticking out my neck from the se-

curity of a remote island to state a hind-sight opinion of the general strategy of C.I.O. publicity. Just the same, in the chance that there's still plenty of time to take a new tack, I rise to urge that the emphasis be shifted from the personality, prides and prejudices of John L. Lewis. The public by this time knows all about Mr. Lewis, what he has for breakfast, what he reads by the Alexandria fire-side, his general opinions on Shakespeare and musical glasses.

What the public does not yet understand is the fundamental philosophy underlying C.I.O. that has succeeded in winning the loyalty of as diverse and competent a group of lieutenants as any labor leader has ever gathered. What is needed now is interpretation, not personality stuff. The immediate dissemination of such material as the articles of Lillian Symes which have been appearing in the CALL would be a job for a long-viewed publicity staff.

Have you seen "T.L.G.W.U. Illustrated," the magnificently stream-lined pictorial history of the garment workers' union that was distributed at the International's convention this Spring? If so, you have an idea of what we mean. A similar dramatization of the two years of C.I.O. would go a long way in the right hands to offset the poison propaganda that is making such headway.

Publicity

Publicity is not merely a weapon hastily devised in terms of crisis. It is a day in and day out technique paralleling and stimulating the technique of organization. As our Socialist experience has taught us, causes to which all the forces of capitalism are most hostile may yet win a hearing if the spokesmen of these causes know their business. We need not go far afield for example.

The work of the League for Industrial Democracy in winning audiences normally indifferent or antagonistic to the League's fundamental philosophy might be well worth the study of the C.I.O. publicity men. As the League's slim budgets bear witness, no vast sums of money and no large personnel are needed. What is needed is an understanding of the technical requirements of the job, the imagination to devise new techniques for new situations and above all, the willingness to stick everlastingly to the difficult business of overcoming the mass prejudices of an indigenously middle-class nation. It can be done; it has been done. The sooner the C.I.O. starts doing it, the less girdling there will be about John L. Lewis slipping, and all that fantastic hoopla.

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Y. P. S. L. Protests Disruption of Spanish Working Class Unity; Hails Appointment of Commission

By Al Hamilton

Socialist Youth International, Prague Czechoslovakia, Erich Ollenhauer, Secretary. Dear Comrade Ollenhauer:

Under instructions from the National Organization Committee of the Young People's Socialist League of America, I am writing concerning the recent repressions of certain working class groups by the Negrin government.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States on June 18, 1937 wired the Spanish government as follows:

"National Executive Committee of Socialist Party of United States of America meeting in New York reaffirms support of your struggle against fascism but we urge restoration and preservation of civil liberties for all working class elements even for those with whom there are strong differences of opinion—stop—Request free speech for La Batalla and fraternal consideration of Andreas Nin and other working class leaders—stop—If Nin is brought to trial we favor having present an international commission of workers—stop—Only in freedom now for all working class elements can the struggle be won for freedom from capitalism and fascist tyranny.

ROY E. BUH, National Executive Secretary for the National Executive Committee.

Again on July 1st, the National Executive Committee of our Party sent the following cable to the office of the Labor and Socialist International, Largo Caballero, the Socialist Party of Spain, and Juan Negrin:

"Urgently request Labor and Socialist International in joint conference with Comintern insist that all working class organizations protect civil liberties of other workers loyally fighting against fascism and cease organized repression against C.N.T., F.A.I., P.O.U.M. and left Socialists."

NORMAN THOMAS, National Chairman, National Executive Committee.

With both of these telegrams stating the position of the Socialist Party of the United States, the Young People's Socialist League of America is in complete agreement. Within the ranks of the Socialist Youth International we must raise our voices as Young Socialists and urge that action be taken by the S.Y.I. and by the sections of the S.Y.I. against the disruption of the unity of the working class struggle in Spain.

The Young People's Socialist League of America, hails the action of the Socialist International in appointing a commission to go to Spain as we hail the joint conference between the representatives of the Communist International and the Labor and Socialist International to work out joint plans for aid to Spain. We consider that united action of the working class internationals is especially important at this moment when the farce of capitalist non-intervention is reaching a tragic anti-climax and when the working class is learning that no aid for the anti-fascist struggle can be expected from the capitalist governments, individually or through Geneva.

In the United States, the Young Socialists in conjunction with the Socialist Party have given unstinting material aid to

the anti-fascist struggle of the Spanish working class. We have helped to raise money so that trained military and technical men could be sent to the International Brigades. Some of our comrades even now have died in the front lines of the Spanish struggle. The Socialist Party has cooperated in the united efforts of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy which has raised thousands of dollars for aid to Spain.

The Young People's Socialist League attempted to get the American Youth Congress to undertake the task of rallying young workers and students for support of the Spanish working class. When this failed due to the fear by the Young Communists that some groups in the Congress would be alienated, we approached the National Committee of the Young Communist League with a proposal that a United Front Committee be organized for the purpose. This United Front offer was rejected by the Young Communist League, but nevertheless a committee of individuals was organized which includes Young Communists and Young Socialists. This Committee is known as the United Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. We have participated in the July 19th demonstrations against fascist intervention by picketing the Italian and German Consulates.

From this brief description of our efforts to raise material aid and to rally youth for support of the struggles of the Spanish working class, it is evident that Young Socialists in America are concerned about the development of united action.

While continuing to give our support to a real united struggle against fascism, we are forced to speak out against those who, within the ranks of the anti-fascists are disrupting unity and injuring the cause of the working class. The responsibility for inciting and supporting this disruption of working class forces must rest with the Communist International and the Young Communist International through the various national sections. We are especially concerned that the United Socialist Youth of Spain has given aid and comfort and in fact participated in the vicious campaign for the extermination of all opponents of Stalinist policy thereby weakening the struggle for the Socialist revolution and the military victory against Franco.

Many Comrades will remember the report of Largo Caballero's remarks in ADELANTE, May 11th, 1937:

"If the Caballero government were to apply the measures of suppression to which the Spanish section of the Communist International is trying to incite it, then it would come close to a government of Gil Robles or Lerroux; it would destroy the unity of the working class and expose us to the danger of losing the war and shipwrecking the revolution. . . . A government composed in its majority of people drawn from the labor movement cannot make use of the methods that are reserved for reactionary and anti-fascist governments."

It is thus evident that the Communist Party of Spain must bear the burden of responsibility for pushing Largo Caballero out of the government because of his refusal to carry forward the campaign of repression of all non-Stalinists which the Communist International and the Soviet

Union demanded as the price for support. With Caballero eliminated from the government the Communist Party and the right wing Socialists whose policies are the same as those of the Communists have proceeded to repress workers' organizations, jail working class leaders and in general to use methods that Caballero's paper ADELANTE characterized as reactionary.

Whatever criticisms the Young Socialists of America or other section of the Socialist Youth International may have of the P.O.U.M. and the Anarchists, it is true that these elements have carried on the struggle against fascism in a loyal manner. A continuation of arrests, disappearances and killing of working class leaders and the destruction of working class organizations who differ with the line of the Communist International can only mean disunity in the efforts of the working class outside of Spain to rally in international working class solidarity with the workers of Spain. A continuation of denial of workers' rights can only mean the beginning of the reestablishment of capitalist democracy in Spain. Because our fate is bound up with the fate of the working class in Spain, we protest these arrests and denial of workers rights and urge the following action:

1. That the Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth International immediately enter a protest with the Spanish government, the Spanish Communist Party, the Young Communist International against the repression and denial of workers' rights now being practiced in Spain.
2. That the office of the Socialist Youth International ask for a report from the United Socialist Youth of Spain on their attitude on these repressions. As a newly admitted section of the S.Y.I., it should stand for those principles of workers' democracy in which revolutionary Socialists believe.
3. That the Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth International urge that a working class commission be allowed to examine the facts concerning the repressions.
4. That all sections of the Socialist Youth International be urged to carry out the above.
5. That this communication be

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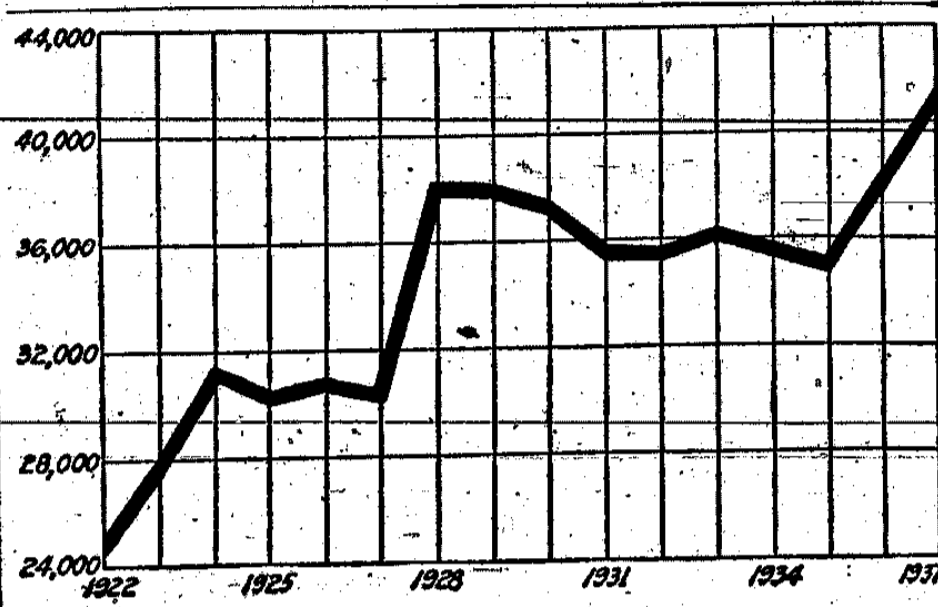
sent to all sections of the Socialist Youth Internationals.

FOR UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE IN SPAIN. FOR ALL MATERIAL AID TO THE SPANISH GOV-

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With Socialist Greetings, AL HAMILTON, National Secretary.

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The Tragic Death of Nin Is A Result of The Policy Of Spanish Communists

By Sam Baron and Liston M. Oak

Andres Nin, POUM leader, has been murdered by the Spanish GPU.

A New York Times correspondent reports that Nin did not escape from prison in Madrid, but was kidnapped from it and shot.

"Nearly a month ago a band of armed men kidnapped Nin from a Madrid prison. Although every effort has been made to hush up the affair, it is now a

matter of common knowledge that he was found dead on the outskirts of Madrid, a victim of assassins."

Although the TIMES also reports the release last week of 27 members of the POUM, there remain in jail several hundreds—over a thousand, according to the estimate of the Anarchists, many of whose members share the prison cells with the POUM Communists.

What fate awaits these political prisoners, whose only crime is opposition to Stalinism and People's Front reformism and advocacy of a program of revolutionary Socialism? Will they be shot as mercifully as was Nin?

Nin's name has been added to the long list of Spanish revolutionists for whose death the Stalinists are responsible—Buena Ventura Durruti, Camillo Berneri, Bob Smilie, Alfredo Martinez, and many more.

There must be no more additions to this list! American revolutionists, radicals and liberals, all who value democracy and liberty, must join with millions of Europeans who are today protesting vigorously against such terrorism, against destruction of democracy by those who claim to be its champions—the Stalinists.

CRUDE FRAUD

One of the crudest frauds in history was attempted by the Stalinists to cover up Nin's execution. The Daily Worker printed a story given out in Spain by the Agence Espagnole, a Stalinist propaganda bureau, to the effect that Nin escaped from a Madrid sanitarium "where he was sent for his health" (1) and was trying to get into territory controlled by Franco "to bargain for his safety" by offering to organize an attack upon Barcelona!

Did they apply the infamous "ley de fuga," by releasing him and then shooting him while he was "trying to escape?" Or was the story cooked up after his body was discovered in order to deceive their credulous readers? In any event, the story is an obvious fake. Nin would have been shot, as Maurin, another POUM leader, was shot in July, 1936, by the fascists, if they could have caught him.

FISCHER ADMITS

Nin was murdered and hundreds of POUM Communists, Anarchists and left Socialists jailed, because the Spanish Communist Party is determined to crush opposition from the left. Confirmation of this fact has been given credibly by Louis Fischer, apologist for Stalinism, in his Nation article in the issue of Aug. 7.

Fischer writes: "The Anarchists are being eliminated as an active factor. The Caballero Socialists may be outlawed within three months. There would remain the bourgeois Republicans, the Communists and the Negrin-Franco Socialists. The C.P. is conducting a whirlwind cam-

paigned for the fusion of the Communist and Socialists. If successful, this would mean an enlarged organization under Communist domination even if it joined the Second International. But a C P monopoly or any party would threaten the democracy which exists in Spain and which can and should be maintained."

Even Fischer "views with alarm" the drive of the CP to establish its dictatorship in Spain.

Fischer also informs us that "Actually, bourgeois generals, and politicians and many peasants who approve the CP policy of

protecting the small property owners, have joined its ranks." This confirms H. N. Brailsford's contention that the Spanish CP is preponderantly petty bourgeois in composition and no longer revolutionary. It is the instrument of the Spanish capitalist class, of Anglo-French imperialism, and serves the national interests of the Soviet bureaucracy and Soviet foreign policy. Hence it must kill off revolutionists and crush revolutionary organizations.

Fischer makes other illuminating and revealing statements. He says that all classes in loyalist Spain are becoming united (i.e. the Stalinists have discovered a new way of abolishing the class struggle and the capitalist state! IMO—SB.). He reports that Andalusians, Asturians, Castilians, and Catalans have become Spaniards. The bourgeois revolution is being completed, he reports, feudalism is being liquidated. A new nationalism is emerging—but it isn't bourgeois nationalism! He insists that the program upon which the C.P. the left Republicans and the Prieto Socialists are agreed is anti-capitalist. Anti-capitalist but not proletarian nor revolutionary: mirabile dictu!

TRADE UNIONS

Fischer admits the left Caballero Socialists have control of the UGT, and that they are forging trade union unity with the CNT, which the CP opposes. The government is also opposed to control of industry and agriculture by the trade unions of workers committees, he reports, and the government is using its financial power to displace the workers in control of collectivized factories and farms. That ought to make Lenin turn over in his mausoleum on the Red Square!

"The Anarchist movement is being weakened not only by direct political and police repression, but also by economic measures which broaden the scope of government economy and eliminate the syndicates from industry."

Fischer writes, in plain words, the Stalinists are substituting state capitalism for socialism—or libertarian communism, as the Anarchists prefer to call it. Is it any wonder that the left Republicans and right Socialists support the Stalinists in such a program?

Fischer evidently approves of the suppression of the POUM,

the CNT-FAT, and the left Socialists and UGT, and the murder of their leaders. But he is worried about the consequent destruction of democracy! Isn't it evident that the Stalinists are hell-bent for power and the establishment of a military dictatorship under their auspices? Fischer cannot separate one part of their program which he approves from the whole program, some features of which bother him as they bother all liberals, in Spain and everywhere.

Fischer's articles, muddle-headed as they are, confirm the facts we have cited in our series of articles in the Call. We have made the following major contentions:

1. The Spanish section of the Communist International, with the powerful backing of the Soviet Government, has maneuvered itself into a dominant position in the Valencia Government; the Stalinists seek to impose their dictatorship upon Spain.

2. The Spanish CP thru control of the Republican Guard and thru unofficial agencies in various provinces has built up a Cheka (GPU) which has imitated the methods of the Russian Cheka.

3. The Stalinists have forced through the Government a series of reactionary measures, the purpose of which is to destroy workers' control of loyalist Spain, its army, its police forces, its industry and agriculture; and they seek to confine the government's program to the ending of feudalism and the establishment of a democratic capitalist republic, robbing the workers and peasants of revolutionary conquests already made even during the civil war.

4. The Stalinists have launched a campaign ruthlessly to crush all opposition from the left first the POUM, then the CNT-FAT, and finally the left wing of the Socialist Party and of the UGT; all workers organizations advocating a revolutionary Socialist program for the defeat of fascism have been thrown out of the People's Front, climaxed by the ousting of Caballero.

5. All this has been done in response to the demands of Anglo-French imperialism, and at the behest of the Soviet Government which seeks a military alliance with the democratic capitalist powers against the fascist powers in the coming war.

6. And finally, we contend that all who support the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against fascism should also protest against the suppression of workers' democracy by the Spanish Communists.

WHOSE CR P?

ABERDEEN, S. D. — Whose crop? Ours or yours? This is the question midwest farmers are asking. It has been a long time since crop prospects were good. The farmers have suffered for the crop. Bankers, insurance companies and mortgage-holders won't get it not if financing organized farmers can help.



Labor Unites To Secure Freedom For Tom Mooney

Organized labor and all progressive forces rallied by the thousands on the twenty-first anniversary of the Mooney-Billings frame-up to demand immediate freedom for these world-famous labor prisoners.

In San Francisco on July 25th, 11,000 enthusiastic and loyal supporters of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings packed the Civic Auditorium to protest the continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings after the perjured, framed case against them has been

exploded for years. Prior to the meeting, organized labor staged a great parade which extended from the Embarcadero to the Auditorium, and thousands of workers marched, carrying banners and posters on which were inscriptions demanding freedom and justice for Mooney and Billings.

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Lest We Forget—10 Yrs. Since Sacco—Vanzetti

By Joseph M. Coldwell

ON August 22, 1927, a shoemaker and a poor fish peddler were electrocuted in Charlestown, Massachusetts. Never before had there been such a protest as was made that day in the United States against the execution of two men, of humble origin, and of foreign birth. Men and women of high and low degree, native born, and foreign born, came to Boston from many parts of the country with one purpose. That purpose was to impress on the State officials that they were permitting a grave wrong to be done, in the name of Justice.

The case attracted national and international interest. Requests came to the Governor of Massachusetts from the entire civilized world demanding a stay of execution and a new trial. Committees were organized in many places to raise funds to pay for the legal defense of these two men. Those of us who knew the men did not believe them guilty of the crime as charged. I was the chairman of the Defense Committee in Rhode Island where I lived and had known one of the victims personally for years.

War Hysteria

When these two men were arrested the aftermath of the war hysteria was at its height. The "red scare" was being worked overtime. The U. S. Department of Justice was engaged in a "holy war" to rid the country of all persons who were not 100 per cent Americans. Of course, any person who did not believe in the present economic system, or who criticized the conduct of the war or the war profiteers, was "persona non grata" and should either be deported or locked up.

Two men, Nicola Sacco and Bartolemeo Vanzetti, were members of a working class group, and had been more or less active in what they called "protesting against the capitalist system". A comrade of theirs had met his death under suspicious circumstances while a prisoner of the Department of Justice in New York City.

The suspicious circumstances of this man's death in New York City aroused many residents of Italian birth, and meetings were being called to demand that the Italian Ambassador start an investigation to find who was responsible for his death.

About this time there were a series of payroll robberies in Massachusetts near where Sacco and Vanzetti lived. In one of these robberies a paymaster was killed and the robbers escaped with the payroll. Local and state police at once started the manhunt for the murderers.

While Sacco and Vanzetti were engaged in arranging for a protest meeting about the suspicious death of one of their comrades in New York, they were arrested and held on suspicion. When taken to the police station and searched, circulars advertising the proposed meeting were found on their person. The agents of the Department of Justice were immediately notified, and from that time on they took a lively interest in the case.

Afraid, Afraid

The two Italians were questioned, and did not tell the exact truth because they were afraid they were being held for deportation. They were alone, they were foreigners, they were radicals, and they had the local police, the state police, and the Department of Justice Agents to contend with. Finally, after a few days, they were charged, to their great surprise, with the murder of the paymaster. The consciousness of guilt, or in

other words, just plain fear, that they showed when arrested was used as a most incriminating piece of evidence against them.

They were almost friendless. No person of foreign birth would go near them for fear of being arrested and deported, for this was during the time of the "red scare" when hardly any one who was not a citizen was safe. Finally a New York group came to their assistance and arranged legal service for them. The legal defense was carried on for several years. Vitally important new evidence pointing clearly to their innocence was uncovered, but, in spite of this, all efforts to get a new trial were unavailing. Every legal device was tried, but the shoemaker and the fish peddler had no rights that the courts felt themselves bound to respect.

"Death Watch"

On the night of August 22, 1927, the execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolemeo Vanzetti took place. A group of friends, who called themselves the "death watch", went to Charlestown where the prison is located. They could not approach within several blocks of the place, as the police had roped off all approaches. The streets were crowded with people. Finally, before the time set for the execution, mounted police cleared the streets, arresting several of the "death watch", and drove the rest away.

I was fortunate enough not to be arrested that night at Charlestown, for the police were vicious in their treatment of the people gathered there. With a friend I went to Boston, and on Washington Street we stood in front of a newspaper office and listened to the account of the executions as they were announced and placed on the bulletin boards. I can visualize that scene now: the crowd started to go away quietly, some one tried to start a cheer, but there was no response. Those people realized that the law had acted harshly and perhaps wrongly. I knew it had acted wrongly. Slowly, my friend and I walked to the rooms of the Defense Committee. Other friends were there also. We had worked for years trying to get justice for two foreigners on our shores. Our task was ended. We had failed.

Ten years have passed since that terrible night when the shoemaker and the poor fish peddler were electrocuted, but to many of us the recollection of that night is still vivid in

our memory. On Saturday, August 21, and Sunday, August 22, there will be memorial meetings to recall to the American people the crime of 1927, lest they forget. These meetings will not resolve themselves into simply lodges of sorrow, but will in addition be protest meetings. We will protest also against the crime of the State of California in keeping Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings in prison for the past twenty-

one years on trumped-up charges, — charges that have been refuted time and time again.

We will use our Sacco and Vanzetti Memorial Meetings to raise our voices in protest against the wilful and deliberate murder of the striking pickets by the police of Chicago at the plant of the Republic Steel Co. The affair that was such an exhibition of brutality that the Paramount Film Co. does not dare to show the news reel pictures taken at that time. And we will protest the so-called "trials" of the Scottsboro boys, where bigotry and

ignorance are in the saddle instead of Justice.

Lest We Forget

WHEREVER YOU ARE, WHATEVER ORGANIZATION YOU BELONG TO, BRING UP THIS MATTER, HAVE COMMITTEES APPOINTED, CONTACT OTHER GROUPS AND ARRANGE PUBLIC MEETINGS TO COMMEMORATE THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EXECUTION OF SACCO AND VANZETTI. THE DATES ARE SATURDAY, AUGUST 21 AND SUNDAY, AUGUST 22. LEST WE FORGET!

Capitalist Courts in Maine Assail Strikers in Lewiston-Auburn Area

By Howard Penley

(This is the second of two installments on the heroic struggle of the Maine shoe workers.)

State officials who expected the AF of L unions in Maine to help them fight the CIO were set back on their heels when the Maine State Federation of Labor protested the use of troops in the Lewiston-Auburn area.

The CIO made it known that it considered the action of the court unconstitutional in banning all strike activity and planned a meeting for Sunday, April 25th.

Judge Harry Manser then openly threatened the strikers by saying that meetings they might hold might decide important issues. He told them that if they held the meeting Sunday that he might be forced to close their commissary and prevent the CIO giving relief to their members.

Mary Donovan
The Sunday meeting was held and Mary Donovan Hapgood, wife of Powers Hapgood, roused the strikers to militancy as she spoke to the overflowing Lewiston City Hall audience. She declared if the courts denied the strikers would mean "bloody revolt" if food. Declaring strikers had the right to eat, she urged them to challenge the "boys with the bayonets" if they attempt to close the food shops. She shouted, "the first blood spilled will be the blood of Mary Hapgood. If they try to stop us from eating our own food, our blood will be on their heads."

Judge Manser, finally realizing the seriousness of the situation, went into a trance and suddenly discovered that if the court closed the commissary the city would have to take care of the strikers. He then promptly placed the responsibility of feeding the strikers upon the CIO whose foreign agitators started the mess. The com-

missary could be kept open, but seven strike leaders were cited for contempt of court.

Public sentiment was now growing steadily in favor of the strikers and just before the judge had declared the commissary O.K., the Socialist Party sent a shipment of tons of potatoes to the strikers braving arrest for strike activity. Seeing help pouring in both from within and without the State the bosses went into a huddle and decided that the strike had reached the "fake bomb" stage.

The Fake Bomb
The next day manufacturers charged the CIO with attempting to bomb the factories. A bomb (which didn't explode) was found near a factory. The watchman who "found" the bomb testified as follows:

"There was a dull thud and I saw the bomb near a corner of the factory. I ran to it and the fuse covering was scattered around, but the dynamite hadn't exploded." Mr. Albert Dostle, the watchman who "found" the bomb was noticeably embarrassed when asked why a watchman should take his life in hands and run over to pick up a bomb, which might have exploded blowing him all over the factory grounds, and besides dynamite fuses aren't in the habit of fizzling out like ten for a penny firecracker fuses.

The fake bomb plan fell far short of its intended mark in swaying the public against the CIO.

Powers Hapgood was finally forced to go to the hospital suffering from overwork and the strikers felt their loss. Representative Connary of Massachusetts asked Gov. Barrows to remove the troops and suggested the manufacturers agree to use the Wagner Act.

Court action on the contempt charges were delayed again as the prosecution struggled to find a case, and Governor Barrows came through with a suggestion. "Calm thinking" was needed he stated. Yes, "calm thinking" will settle the strike.

Then came the beginning of the end for the reactionary bosses. They began to "break ranks". At a meeting of the Manufacturers association, Joe Goodman and other manufacturers who insisted they wanted to make shoes got into an argument with Tom O'Byrne, Manufacturers' Assn. leader who called them "traitors" and other fancy names.

Joe Goodman who evidently believed in direct action, placed his closed fist over Tom O'Byrne's eye leaving a distinctly black shadow beneath. The meeting broke up as officials of three factories walked out on the meeting and Tom O'Byrne went into a hibernation until his eye became a blond again.

Seven hundred workers returned in three factories under agreement to abide by the results of NLRB consent elections, and Mayor Estes of Auburn jumped on the CIO bandwagon as he addressed a strike meeting and stated, "troops were called out over my name and without my knowledge."

Sensing that they were slipping dangerously the manufacturers sent the courts into action and seven of the CIO leaders including Powers Hapgood were sentenced to six months in jail for contempt of court. With them was the CIO attorney, Sidney Grant who was sent to jail merely because he gave advice to his clients.

(Concluded next week)