

Socialist Call

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

Vol. III—No. 133.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1937

PRICE FIVE CENTS

Register
and Enroll
Socialist

MOB ATTACKS ATTORNEY OF SOUTHERN FARMERS

Europe Revolves Around Rome-Berlin Axis

Protest Must Be Sent

C. A. Stanfield, Hot Springs Arkansas Attorney for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, was attacked at the St. Francis County Court House Friday when he appeared to defend three union members held on charges of "Interfering With Labor."

Stanfield was struck several times by members of the mob led by Dr. W. H. Winters, planter and County Health Officer. Evelyn Smith, Office Secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and Barbara Howes, visiting Eastern student, were ordered out of the court room by Dr. Winters where they were waiting for the hearing to begin. The Attorney and the two young ladies were then forced to leave the town by the planters mob.

Henrietta McGhee, Will and Alberta Vaughn were arrested Tuesday following refusal of a group of cotton pickers to accept jobs at 75 cents per hundred lbs. for picking cotton on the Belsha Plantation. A Union Wage Scale Committee recently set a wage of \$1.00 per hundred for picking. The defendants are being held on the customary charge of "Interfering With Labor."

Numerous arrests on this charge have been used through out the past three years to intimidate members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and to prevent them from exercising their rights. In no case has a final conviction been secured. Due to the fact that such cases have always been dismissed on appeal, Union Attorneys have been unable to test the constitutionality of the law in the higher courts.

Demand Immediate Action

According to C. A. Stanfield, who was permitted to talk to the prisoners prior to the attack on the courthouse steps, a number of prominent plantation lawyers have engaged to work on this case and have so carefully framed it that they are sure to railroad the workers to prison unless immediate action is taken to save them. Following the action of the mob in driving the Union Attorney from town, the Court appointed a local plantation retainers as counsel for the defense. Stanfield proposes to apply for a writ of Habeas Corpus on the grounds that these workers have been denied due process of the law. He will also attack the Constitutionality of the law.

According to reports from the son of one of the woman prisoners, shortly after the lawyer was driven from the Court House his mother, Henrietta McGhee, and Will Vaughn who were then in the Court Room were approached and struck in the face by Dr. Winters. Henrietta McGhee was struck twice, one blow cutting her lip. No action was taken to restrain Winters. The prisoners were then returned to the jail where both women were put into one large cell (the run-around)



What does the visit of Mussolini to Nazi Germany mean? At the upper left we see Il Duce in conversation with German Field Marshal Werner Von Blomberg in June of this year. The Rome-Berlin axis was being forged. At top center we find the field marshal inspecting Italian sailors. The next link in the chain is portrayed in the top right picture—General William Hermann Goering is feted in Rome.

Around this Berlin-Rome axis Europe has been revolving. At times it appeared the Britain might detach one of the fascist powers

from the other. Recent events—especially the Nyon conference which excluded Hitler and Mussolini—were the signal for the reconsolidation of the Rome-Berlin bloc.

What price will England now pay to keep its own peace with the fascist? The German-British plan for a Four Power Pact would keep the peace in Western Europe and untie the hands of the fascist powers for a drive against—Stalin (lower center) whose armies are well trained (lower left and right).

Transport Workers Convene

By McAlister Coleman

One of the nation's newest unions, a militant and a miracle union, if you like, is holding its first convention in New York this week. This is the Transportation Workers Union, CIO affiliate, which within a half year of struggle has enrolled 50,000

members, most of them in the Metropolitan Area.

The convention opened with a cheering, wildly enthusiastic mass meeting at Madison Square Garden on Monday night. Bus drivers, subway guards and motor-men, El conductors and power house men howled their approval of the thunderous remarks of John L. Lewis as he lashed out at the AF of L. They cheered their President, the deep-lunged Michael J. Quill as he told how 'but a few years back the organizers of the TWU were meeting under bridges in Central Park, in saloons and on roof-tops on the West Side to escape the surveillance of company spies.

They clamorously promised support for the strike of the newspapermen on the Brooklyn Eagle when Heywood Brown, President of the Newspaper Guild, asked

them to boycott the Eagle for the duration of the strike. On the whole, a true victory celebration for men who but a short while ago had been working long hours at low wages, under constant fear of company dicks and "yellow-dog contracts."

The union Secretary Austin Hogan reported that with the exception of the BMT and the Independent subways, most everything on wheels that can be unionized in New York is under union contract. And in many cases it is a closed shop agreement.

To old-timers in the labor movement, the Madison Square Garden meeting was an eye-opener inasmuch as it drew to the Garden a great cross-section of New York workers who hitherto have been hostile or indifferent to unionization. Now they are as enthusiastic as young radicals at their first union meeting. They sang "Solidarity Forever," they marched in a surging parade down Eighth Avenue to the hall, they cheered every reference to industrial democracy and rank and file control.

Political Ambition
When the spot-lights turned on Lewis and he finally managed to wave down the tremendous ovation, the CIO leader spoke of the

civil liberty in St. Francis County. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in Convention here last week voted affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization through the recently established International Union, The United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America. The attack in Forrest City is seen as further evidence of the opposition to organization of workers here in the South.

charge that he is politically ambitious.

"I have an ambition to see Thomas Kennedy become Governor of Pennsylvania," he said. "I have an ambition to see the CIO ticket win in Detroit. I have an ambition to see the American Labor Party in New York become the major political party. I have an ambition to see Mayor LaGuardia re-elected. And what's more, I am reasonably certain that these ambitions are going to come true."

Kennedy, who's Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers and Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, and Allen Haywood, New York Regional Director of the CIO were others who addressed the meeting. The regular sessions of the convention of the TWU are being held at the union headquarters, 153 West Sixty-fourth Street, New York.

In Next Week's CALL

Arthur G. McDowell, national labor secretary of the S. P., will report on the AF of L convention at Denver. He is attending the convention as the representative of the SOCIALIST CALL.

THE SPLIT IN AMERICAN LABOR IS WIDENED AT AFL CONCLAVE

By Frank N. Trager

Once again delegates are present at a convention of the American Federation of Labor. At Denver in the early days of October the forces of Frey, Wharton and Hutcheson, using the pitiable Baptist lay-preacher as their mouthpiece and front, will convert the "cleavage" between craft and industrial unionists into an open split. "Suspensions" of the CIO unions will become formal exclusions.

Charters will be granted to, or provisions will be made for creating, "unions" in the jurisdictions now firmly occupied by the CIO. Convention voices crying for unity between the AF of L and CIO will be few, small and completely ignored—if not warned against their pendency.

And so, after two years of skirmishing without a formal declaration of war—war will now be declared openly, stridently and aggressively. Of course, it will be labelled a defensive war—a war for the (AF of L) democracy; a war for the (AF of L) American as against the (CIO) Communist system; a war to protect the (AF of L) honest men against the pirates of the labor movement.

The declaration of war was and is inevitable. It is a tragic war—as always inditing its makers—fraught with dire consequences for years to come. It is a war moreover in which we as Socialists and trade unionists not only cannot but do not want to be neutral.

We have and shall continue to take sides—sides with those who accept and carry out the only conceivable policy that will ultimately safeguard the full economic and political interests of workers. That policy we made clear in the pronouncements and program of the party: To organize the unorganized; to build industrial unions in the mass production and other industries; to insure within these unions a program of militant struggle against all agents of capitalism; to hasten the development of workers democracy by carrying the principles of workers democracy into the life of these unions at all times.

Since November 1935

At the Atlantic City (1935) convention the executive council of the AF of L reported a total of 193 national and international unions which together with the federal local unions claimed a dues-paying membership of 3,045,347. The same report by its significant omissions clearly indicated that it would continue to sabotage—to say nothing of effectuating—the 1934 compromise resolution on industrial organization.

Lewis had been "reduced" in San Francisco (1934) but he now felt it was time to defend his honor—and defend it he did! Together with 36 per cent of the delegates and their membership behind him he led the fight for industrial unionism. Defeated in the convention, he immediately announced the formation (Nov. 10, 1935) of the Committee for Industrial Organization supported by miners, textile and needle trades workers.

The subsequent story has been front page news since then. Today almost four million workers are in the CIO. That story has been marked by one deep-reaching change of CIO policy: partly in response to the dramatic and vivifying upsurge of workers everywhere, partly in response to the attack of the AF of L crystallized in the May (Cincinnati) 1937 decisions, the CIO decided not only to organize the unorganized in the mass industries, but to organize any section of our economic life that was susceptible to organization.

This change in policy occurring in the spring of 1937 accentuated a conflict, the main shots in which

had been fired by the reactionary leadership of the AF of L executive council. Those "shots" include open strike-breaking, chartering company unions during strikes and a campaign of red-baiting similar in intensity to that summarized in Green's report to the 1933 convention. This same reactionary leadership in the executive council was given "aid" and objective comfort by spotty management of the CIO campaign particularly in "Little Steel," West Coast maritime and cannery workers.

At this time, as a result of orders adopted at the Cincinnati Conference, the process of kicking out the CIO unions from State Federations and Central bodies has been vigorously accelerated. In almost every important industrial state either the State Federation or the Central bodies have formally excluded the CIO unions.

To counteract this but at a much slower pace CIO local and state councils have been set up. The first state CIO convention takes place in Milwaukee Sept. 30-Oct. 3, but in many ways this particular event may be more of a liability than an asset in view of the stupidity and politically reprehensible leadership provided by some of the CIOers (i. e. the Costellos, Michelsons, etc.)

Perhaps the role of the AF of L during this period can be best summarized by examining one of its leading centers. For Labor Day, 1937, the Chicago Federation of Labor published its regular "Federation News" as a feature issue of 120 pages. Containing among other items scab advertising; re-publication in full of "Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America," put out by one of the semi-fascist outfits in America, a letter by Harry Ward, chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, it is on its own behalf silent in the face of Chicago police brutality in general and murder in the Steel Strike in particular. Briefly it mentions a report issued by a citizens committee which it may print sometime!

This summary would not be complete without some mention of various peace moves during the past two years. Most of the attempts at peace have been merely maneuvers by proponents of one camp or another. The old guard Socialists and right wing needle trade leaders tried it—rather prematurely. Through the beginning of this year the Communist Party played the "peace" game for the AF of L. Recently both spurious and bona fide attempts have been made by leaders in the AF of L and CIO but beyond question these failed and must necessarily fail. The immediate future will be a period of division.

Denver Meeting

The executive council goes to Denver able to report that it has almost completely recouped its membership losses since it suspended the original CIO unions. In all the AF of L will have, apart from the CIO, about 3,000,000 workers. The gains in this period come partly from general organization work, partly from chartering existing independent and in some instances, company union and partly from an "exodus" of the

CIO potentialities in some areas back to the AF of L.

However, among its three million there is a considerable section with strong CIO leanings (Brewery, Teachers, Bookbinders, Typographical, etc.) Undoubtedly a victory for the Wharton-Hutcheson-Frey line up at the convention will mean either a "small split" or transfer in affiliation in a given number of internationals.

The "moderates" at the Denver convention will be snowed under. It is not unlikely that the Beck-Gouldie line-up in the teamsters will displace Tebin and join forces with the building and metal trades group. A new executive will be elected in which the worst elements within the AF of L will be in control. Led by Wharton-Hutcheson-Beck-Frey this group will willingly promote the civil war which has already started on the West Coast.

AF of L moderates, such as Jack Shelly, president of the San Francisco labor council, have already been beaten by beef-squads taking direction from the reactionaries at the California State Federation of Labor convention. Beatings are but a prelude to a vicious, violent civil war.

International Affiliation

One curious by-product of the AF of L-CIO fight was the re-joining of the AF of L to the International Federation of Trade Unions, but this at best is a nominal membership carrying no weight either within the AF of L or for that matter in the CIO. The only other evidence of internationalism was the attempt made by Green to get the recently concluded Canadian Labor Congress to disavow any CIO tendencies and connections. Green failed.

Any future for the AF of L in its own right is unlikely. As it succeeded to the Old Knights of Labor, so too it will now slowly disintegrate. It probably can retain a limited number of skilled workers in unions the products of which will not be directly used in mass industries. For though some craftists have blusteringly threatened to boycott any CIO stuff, with even more damage can the CIO at any time ruin any craft union by merely withholding its products either at the point of production or transportation from those whom it would call "scabs."

It could within a brief period force the rank and file of the craft union into CIO unions. The AF of L may linger on for many years; it may in some sections for a limited time, actually grow—but it will be a forced and "unhealthy" growth arising (as in the case of the Progressive Miners of America) more out of animosity than out of essential, organic soundness. At any given time, the removal or alteration in the subject of animosity, will alter the direction of membership. In the interim, Socialists and all progressives who remain within the AF of L unions can do no more nor less than to fight for the unification of the labor movement on the program of industrial organization, militancy and democracy within the movement.

Rumors—strong ones—are about pointing toward an early national convention of the CIO. It is unlikely, however, that such a convention will take place prior to next spring. The October At-



Underneath the heavy layer of bureaucratic inaction that has been hiding the oppressive conditions in Great Britain is a thick ferment of rank and file revolt. Spontaneous strikes have been one indication of it. The defeat of the Bevin forces at the recent Labor Party Congress is another. The above scene showing British workers breaking up a fascist demonstration is another straw in the winds of British politics.

Auto Men Want Militant Answer To GM Offensive

DETROIT.—A general offensive by General Motors, Chrysler, and auto parts manufacturers against the United Automobile Workers of America is encountering a militant

response from rank and file workers who do not intend to submit to speed-up, evasion of seniority rights, lowering of wages, or the smashing of their union.

Realizing that the existence of the union through the 1933 season means the permanent establishment, the manufacturers are chiseling in every possible way on current agreements. Lines are speeded up, seniority provisions are ignored, and union grievance committees who come to complain against these abuses are either not met at all or are met with evasion.

Last week a rank and file committee, representative largely of GM and Chrysler, sought an interview with Homer Martin, president of the UAW, to protest, in the face of this offensive by the manufacturers; his dismissal of seventeen organizers, many of whom had been outstanding leaders in the union's dramatic campaign last season. The result was the unfortunate and bizarre situation of the committee being confronted by a gun in Martin's hand, of which the daily press made so much capital.

Martin's "purge" of organizers came as a climax to the Martin-Frankenstein administrations, hesitant and compromising policy in the face of the manufacturers' offensive.

One of the largest groups in the delegation to Martin was from GM's Ternstedt plants in Detroit, where a good deal of the GM offensive has been concentrated, in addition to the usual run of abuses, foremen and superin-

tendants openly intimidate shop stewards and generally defy action by the union. The management had refused to see Stanley Novak, organizer assigned to Ternstedt's.

Backed by the workers, Novak was following a militant policy to oppose these tactics. He favored the calling of a strike vote. The extent of the support of his policies is indicated by the outcome of the vote—almost unanimously in favor of a strike.

In this sort of situation—with the management refusing to see Novak and the workers demanding that he be their representative—Martin saw fit to select this organizer as one of the seventeen to be discharged.

Workers in GM plants are urging more action on the General Motors agreement, still in the process of revision. The Flint local has drafted a letter to the International recommending mass meetings in all GM centers as a show of strength and the calling of a delegate conference from GM locals to receive a report at the stage of negotiations.

Chrysler workers are demanding action to stop speed-up and seniority chiselling—particularly in the Plymouth plant.

By adopting on its own a staunch, uncompromising position, the Briggs local has forced the management to observe seniority provisions of their agreement and has made some progress toward eliminating speed-up.

Throughout the industry the rank and file is responding with this sort of militant opposition to the employers' offensive.

WATCH THE WRAPPER

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133 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

Atlantic City Conference of CIO presidents will probably chart a course pointing in the direction of a spring convention plus a tightening up of the CIO as an organization. Time must be allowed for the coming national conventions of such new organizations as the Shoe, Maritime, Textile, Packing, etc. workers. The danger exists, however, of overlong postponement. Regardless of the nearness of a national convention certain observations and problems veritably leap out of the past two years experience with CIO. (Continued Next Week.)

Thomas Withdraws as Mayoralty Candidate; LaGuardia Not Backed

The Socialist Party has decided to withdraw its candidate for Mayor, it was announced at the Socialist ratification meeting at Town Hall, in order to cooperate with the American Labor Party.

In the principal address at the meeting, Norman Thomas, national chairman of the Socialist Party, declared that Socialists are "convinced that the ALP

to establish itself as a labor party, strong in its strength and devoted to a program not summed up in some phrase about good government or good housekeeping. We are persuaded that the A.F.L., in any case, may play an increasingly important role in the cooperative task of building on a nationwide scale a genuine labor party."

Thomas added that the action of the Socialist Party "is not an endorsement of Mayor LaGuardia," but a concession to the wishes of the trade unionists who are organized in the American Labor Party. After attacking Benjamin T. Mahoney, the Democratic candidate for Mayor, he attacked Mayor LaGuardia's acceptance of the Republican nomination "for which he has paid the outrageous price of the endorsement of that petrotical fascist, that Red-baiter, that official who narrowly escaped removal from office for cause—Colonel Harvey of Queens."

Thomas indicated that the party "pledges itself and its candidates during the campaign and those whom it may elect to the Council or elsewhere to the positive program of Socialism."

Referring to the Constitutional and constitutional convention campaigns in particular, he said: "We intend to campaign and campaign to win. Proportional representation gives us a better opportunity than ever before to elect our candidate."

The full text of his speech follows:

Once more the Socialist Party opens its campaign for socialism fighting specifically on three closely related fronts.

Constitutional Convention

1. We seek to elect candidates to the Constitutional Convention. The importance of the Municipal campaign must not make us overlook the importance of a modern Constitution for this state, one which will in every way safeguard civil liberty while it promotes efficient government in the service of the mass of the people. We are especially concerned to simplify the legal machinery by which governmental agencies can serve us all through setting up public ownership and administration of public utilities and those economic services of vital concern to our common life.

In the interest of true democracy we shall demand reappointment to end the scandal of the present "rotten boroughs" both upstate and in the city. In the interest of efficient, responsible and economical government we shall favor a unicameral legislature such as has made a good beginning in Nebraska.

Assembly Candidates

2. Assembly candidates. It is to the legislature of New York that we must look, at least for formative legislation, for any economic program of value to the masses. The powers of the city are much limited. Hence the importance of a labor bloc in the Assembly. In principal we are committed to the endorsement of American Labor Party candidates for Assembly, whose position is not compromised by endorsement by the Republican or De-

mocratic party. The fact that the A.L.P. did not have to complete its ticket by the primary has made it somewhat difficult to carry out this principle. In any case there are many districts where only the socialist candidates can voice in clear cut fashion the demands of thoughtful workers. And only the Socialist platform has given them clear expression.

Municipal Campaign

3. Municipal campaign. It is an event of major importance when the greatest city in America selects a government which by what it does and leaves undone can do more for the health, education and general wellbeing of ourselves and our children than most of us can do for ourselves. There has been undoubted progress in New York.

It would be a calamity if the Democratic machine were to be returned. It is a bedtime story for fools or children that Mahoney's personal record or the lip service the party may give to the New Deal, or the defeat of Tammany by the other borough machines, makes the Democratic Party anything else than it has been; namely, the party of government by corruption and special favor.

It is a mistake to be overconfident about the defeat of a party which still enjoys so much public patronage and which has so much at stake in the election of District Attorneys who will continually give protection to racketeering and corruption. A Democratic victory would set back immediately the growth of a real labor party in favor of the worst type of a Democratic Popular Front of politicians in and out of the ranks of labor.

Good For Whom

It does not follow that opposition to the Democratic machine is enough. Or that "good housekeeping" or non-partisan "good government" is enough. The question is: good for what? and good for whom? slum owners or slum dwellers? profiteers or workers? The citizens of New York need not merely good housekeeping but a good house which does not crowd the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants into cellar and attic rooms.

It is his failure to recognize this more positively and state it more frankly which has compromised Mayor LaGuardia's administration. It has made him willing to accept a Republican endorsement which he says that he has not sought but for which he has paid the outrageous price of the endorsement of that potential fascist, that Red-baiter, that official who narrowly escaped removal from office for cause—Colonel Harvey of Queens.

Let me say now that one thing that the Socialist Party will do with might and main will be to fight for its candidate for Borough President of Queens, Leonard Lazarus. We do not agree with our friends of the American Labor Party who are quoted as saying that they are willing "to beat Harvey with anyone." We want to beat him with someone with convictions and standards.

It is the Mayor's failure to recognize that his good housekeeping idea is not enough which seems to us responsible for much of his failure to find any substitute for

the sales tax which he himself once so bitterly denounced.

The Socialist Party pledges itself and its candidates during the campaign and those whom it may elect to the Council or elsewhere to the positive program of socialism, to continued opposition not only to the Colonel Harveys of city government, but to those who do not see that real good government must be government avowedly in the interest of the exploited workers.

"It is one of the encouraging events of the year that the workers have made so much progress in New York, not only in their economic organizations but in political self consciousness and organization. Last year I felt and said that the American Labor Party to all intents and purposes was a mere tail to the Democratic kite. It is a tail to-day to nobody's kite. We Socialists believe that its policy of endorsing candidates also endorsed by the capitalist parties is a mistake. It is a policy where the ultimate dangers overbalance the apparent practical advantages.

"But we are convinced that the A.L.P. means to establish itself as a genuine labor party, strong in its own strength and devoted to a positive program not summed up in some phrase about good government or good housekeeping. We are persuaded that the A.L.P., or great sections in it, may play an enormously important role in the imperative task of building on a nationwide scale a genuine farmer-labor party.

"This sort of party we Socialists have long favored. We are determined to preserve our own identity and keep our own flag flying for the great purpose of achieving the Cooperative Commonwealth. But equally are we determined to keep in friendly relations with the forward movements of the workers and to cooperate with them so far as our principles permit.

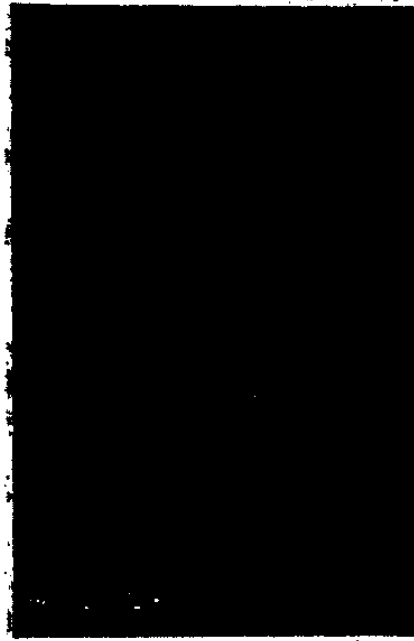
"For this reason we have endorsed Isidore Nagler, labor's own candidate for Borough President in the Bronx. For this reason we seek the maximum cooperation, as I have already said, in Assembly tickets. For this reason, because the A.L.P. feels the matter of such vital importance, we are withdrawing our candidate for Mayor.

No La Guardia Endorsement

This is not an endorsement of Mayor LaGuardia. That we cannot give to a man whose acceptance of a Republican endorsement has already meant his endorsement of Col. Harvey who is as obnoxious to the A.L.P. as to us. But we believe that we can make this concession to the A.L.P. for constructive ends. It is entirely consistent with a vigorous campaign for Socialism.

Last year I felt that it was an absolute necessity to make the campaign for the Presidency in order to keep the great issue of socialism vs. capitalism before the American public. There is not the same necessity that I myself run for Mayor in order to keep alive that issue. Nor could any Socialist elected Mayor take the same initiative in changing the system, which now holds the best of public officials in bondage, as could the President. Most im-

For Mayor



Herman J. Hahn, militant Buffalo Socialist, who is conducting a vigorous Socialist campaign as the party's nominee for Mayor of Buffalo.

Buffalo Socialists Name Hahn

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The Socialist Party of Buffalo has nominated its nationally known standard bearer, the Rev. Herman J. Hahn, pastor of Salem Evangelical Church here, as its candidate for Mayor of Buffalo.

The action of the party came after a proposal to withdraw Hahn in favor of the joint candidate of the American Labor Party and the Democratic party had been defeated.

Upon embarking on the campaign, the following statement was issued by the party as its declaration of policy in the 1937 campaign:

Consistent with its uncompromising working class tradition, the Buffalo Socialist Party enters the 1937 campaign with this policy:

"The Socialist Party is definitely for a 'Labor Party.'"

"It stands ready to withdraw its candidates from any contest and throw its wholehearted support to the Labor Party to the extent that it is a genuine 'labor' party, strictly independent of capitalist parties, parties of employers and exploiters of labor.

"Capital and labor have no common ground. No man in political office can serve both the exploiter and exploited. Labor must seek the election of candidates who are more than mere 'friends' of labor. They must be the carefully chosen representatives of labor alone, owing no allegiance, favors or political debts to capitalist parties or capitalist interests.

"The Socialist Party enthusiastically hails the American Labor

party of all, the A.L.P. represents in New York a hope for the future which no labor party presented in the nation in 1936.

But my withdrawal for Mayor will leave me, I hope, the freer to campaign for Socialist members of the Constitutional Convention, Socialist Assemblymen, Socialist Councilmen, and Socialist members of the Board of Estimate. None of the Republicans and Democrats whom the A.L.P. has endorsed for these posts have gone even as far as Mayor LaGuardia in supporting a labor party or in practical service to the workers.

We believe their endorsement by the A.L.P. an error in judgment. We intend to campaign and campaign to win. Proportional representation gives us a better opportunity than ever before to elect our candidates. They would form part of a labor bloc which could put an immensely valuable pressure on any administration toward the left. We shall give our

second and third choices, as the case may be, to A.L.P. candidates, and we understand that this will be reciprocated by the A.L.P., especially in Brooklyn and Manhattan.

One final word. This is primarily a municipal campaign, but no municipal election can of itself win a victory for plenty, peace and freedom. This is a socialist campaign in which we shall insist that Roosevelt liberalism has already proved its inadequacy in facing the critical problems of true liberty, true prosperity and lasting peace.

We rejoice in the mighty growth or organized labor, but the best unions, the best consumers cooperatives, the best party—these are not ends but means. They are the tools for building the city of brotherhood and peace. The conditions upon which alone this city can be built are matters of vital concern to Socialists and they will find expression in this as in every Socialist campaign.

"Labor can win without questionable allies in the enemy camp. 'All power to Labor.'"

The following candidates on the American Labor Party are being endorsed and supported by the Socialist Party of Erie County because they are strictly independent and have not participated in the old party primaries:

For Assembly: Angelo Corrado, 1st A.D.; Zetter Bone, 4th A.D.; Ernst H. Kline, 5th A. D.; August Hein, 7th A. D.; and Floyd E. Kinsey, 8th A.D. For Councilman at Large: John E. Euler and Elizabeth C. Roth.

For District Councilman: William E. Newbury and Gabriel Mouch. For Supervisors (by wards): Henry Woolley, 7th Ward; George E. Smith, 8th Ward; Gerald Angles, 9th Ward; Walter Demagostini, 10th Ward; George J. Wester, 11th Ward; Emanuel Bedy, 12th Ward; Berah Moses, 13th Ward; John C. Spawars, 14th Ward; Henry Holzer, 15th Ward; Lucene Pullington, 16th Ward; Edith Ehrenbaum, 17th Ward; George Brach, 18th Ward; Harold A. Carroll, 19th Ward; Mac Anderson, 21st Ward; Fred Osborne, 22nd Ward; Cassie Miles, 23rd Ward; Walter Kraine, 24th Ward; Ernst A. Franke, 25th Ward; and Charles Bufalino, 27th Ward.

For Delegates to Constitutional Convention: 45th Senatorial District, Herman E. Kohn, Alons W. Spit; and Charles Carlo. Forty-ninth Senatorial District, Thaddeus C. Mikos, Walter Jaworski and Lewis W. Sommers. 50th Senatorial District, Arthur Prestine, Norman Lippl and Martin B. Heisler.

Lackawana: Treasurer, Robert Flowers. Assessors: Olyn M. Wilson, Joseph Schmidt and Frank Smolarek. Councilman: John Kinsey, 3rd Ward and Andrew Manko, 4th Ward. Cheektowaga: August F. Burst, Supervisor; Charles Wakeford, Justice of the Peace; John Wierke and Arthur Frising, Councilman; Alexander Patrzykowski, Town Clerk; Schreter School Director; George Ertel, Highway Superintendent; and Edward H. Jergewski, Tax Collector.

THE SOCIALIST CALL

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

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

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Saturday, Oct. 9, 1937 No. 133

The French Popular Front

The People's Front Government of France is about as liberal a regime as workers may expect under capitalism. It is the European counter-part of the Roosevelt Administration, probably a bit more radical than our government.

The People's Front Government of France is sufficiently liberal to get the most active support of both the French Socialist and Communist Parties, neither of which is revolutionary in character. Both these parties have been building up faith in the power of the Popular Front to win real and lasting gains for the workers. The Popular Front has been pictured at the "friend" of the people in their fight against the Parisian Wall Street, the Two-Hundred-Families.

More than a year has gone by during which the French workers have been able to put the Popular Front to the test, as a means of rooting up Fascism and of liberating the working class.

What has been done by the liberal capitalist government of France?

Ninety per cent of the officers in the army are known pro-Fascists. The Popular Front promised to remove these Fascists. To date, no important Fascist officers have been or can be removed, because the timid liberals refuse to take the lead in organizing working class action such as can force the removal of the reactionary army officers should they challenge the government authority by armed might.

The living standards of the French masses have not been appreciably improved. Whatever gains were won by the masses in the great May strikes have been wiped out by a monetary inflation that has sent retail prices skyrocketing.

The constant outlawing of the Fascist societies has become a comedy. After each legal abolition of the Fascist leagues, they re-organize under new names. The real roots of the rising Fascist movement—the financial backing of the bankers, the friendly attitude of the army, and even police, officials, the despairing middle classes—are untouched. These roots are inherent in capitalism and can only be torn up by a revolutionary offensive of the workers.

The Popular Front Government has burdened the French masses very heavily with war taxes. It has built a giant war machine to defend French imperialism; it has passed a loyalty oath for teachers making it illegal to criticize the government's militarization program; it has passed its May legislation to place the unions under state control in the event of war.

The French popular Front claims that these costs are justified by its desire to defend democracy. Yet in the Spanish civil war, it pursued a policy of non-intervention which seriously injured the Loyalist Government.

This week, the Popular Front Government made it very, very clear that it was a capitalist class government.

Sit-down strikes will now be outlawed in France just as they are outlawed in every capitalist country.

The Forty-Hour Law is to be revised—at the expense of the workers. Just as in every capitalist nation, the burdens of financial crisis must be born by the exploited classes.

The capitalist press of the world is, of course, quite jubilant over the "moderate" and "reasonable" actions of the Popular Front Government. They should be happy. Their beloved capitalism is finding protection in the hands of a government which has so far been hoodwinking the workers into imagining that it is virtually "their" government.

The workers of the world must learn an important lesson from the French experience.

No faith can be put in liberals; for liberals like just plain open capitalist party politicians, line up with the boss class in the show down. They are doing it in France; they are doing it in America.

What the workers need is power in their own hands through their own revolutionary party.

AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

Stories and pictures of Japan's cold imperialistic attack upon China seem to establish new records in shameful brutality toward humanity. Mercy, justice, humanity, regard for human life—these words and

phrases apparently have no meaning for the militarists of Japan as they have no meaning for the militarists of Italy and Germany. Perhaps there is a ray of hope in the fact that the Japanese seem a bit sensitive to criticisms of their bombing of civilians in Chinese cities.

The notion that these air raids on cities, whether in Spain or China, achieve any military objectives is fantastic nonsense. Modern anti-air craft guns force the planes to fly too high for any accurate aim at military objectives. The raids are frightfulness pure and simple and have a military effectiveness only in proportion as frightfulness produces submission in the victims. I can testify from personal observation that the air raids have had no such effect in Spain. I should doubt whether the even more extensive and tragic raids in China have any military effect in securing Chinese submission comparable to the perpetual hate of the Japanese which they must kindle in Chinese hearts.

Protests against this Japanese brutality from governments and people are emphatically in order. There is a pressure that the masses independently of governments can apply if they organize it properly. It is a pressure of boycott of Japanese goods which may indeed bring some suffering to the relatively innocent in Japan, but is the one way of bringing home to the Japanese people the cost of the military despotism which they now endure and which they must end.

Did I say the one way? No, there is another. If American labor were sufficiently organized and sufficiently well informed it could put a pretty effective embargo upon the production of war materials for the Japanese to use in their organized murder in China.

THE BLACK CONTROVERSY

Judge Black's speech over the radio made his position worse, not better. In 1918, one of "his best friends" was a Jew so four years later he joined the Klan which persecuted them. The really disquieting thing is the attitude of such responsible men as George Norris and such papers as the Nation and New Republic in their effort to justify or condone the appointment of Hugo Black to the Supreme Court without any investigation of his Klan connections. They say what is true; namely, that Black has a good record of votes in the Senate, at least since Roosevelt took office; and that the motives of those who now cry horror upon him for his Klan connections are anything but pure.

They do not love civil liberties more, they love Roosevelt less. But Roosevelt ought to have counted on that. There are blunders worse than crimes and it was a blunder not to think that some Paul Block would look up Black's record, and the Klan record unless it can be disproved completely unfit Black to be a judge. Possibly he will lean over backward to show that he can be a good judge, possibly the Klan itself has now turned

against him, but who can trust him?

When the New Republic compares his membership in the Klan in Alabama to possible membership somewhere else in a Rotary Club it shows a shocking lack of realization as to what Klan membership meant and means. The Klan is a singularly crude and brutal form of American fascism. The Invisible Empire is above all other law. Klansmen are justified in denying all membership in the Klan to outsiders. The Klan could turn radical in economics and as long as it kept its racial hate and its disregard of individual rights it would be an organization to be fought to the limit. Black might have a fairly good record as Senator, but is utterly disqualified by temperament and Klan connections for a position on a Court which must pass on civil liberty and justice to Negroes.

He never repented his connection with the Klan openly in words, and his deeds, however good in some respects, never included condemnation of the Scottsboro trials in his own state. The appointment was bad and the attempt to whitewash it is worse, especially when that attempt is made by so-called liberals.

THE POLITICAL SCENE

There is a little too much cocksure prediction of what will happen in the political scene in and by 1940 and too little work to make what ought to happen come to pass. Many of the predictions blandly overlook the effect upon the political set-up of such possible events as war or new economic depression with the collapse of New Deal prosperity. That economic depression is inevitable. It is only a question of the date which is uncertain.

What may happen in the course of ordinary political development will fall under one or other of these general heads: A continuation of the Republican and Democratic Parties about as they are. A definite realignment of these old parties with Roosevelt or some Crown Prince, purging the Democratic Party of its most reactionary elements and making it what we Americans call "progressive."

Failing that, with or without Roosevelt, there might be the formation of a third capitalist party, a progressive party of a type which our Communist friends would probably regard as an American Popular Front. Far better than that would be the formation of a genuine party of workers with hand and brain, a farmer labor party. This is what we want and for this we should work.

A farmer-labor party will not happen easily but the effort to make it happen will have valuable results. And if the Socialist Party has to stand alone it can better draw the workers to it if it has cooperated in an honest effort to bring about the farmer-labor party which the more advanced section of the workers undoubtedly desire.

In a state like Wisconsin the fight will be to keep the LaFollette brothers from using the Progressive Farmer-Labor Federation as a tail to their Progressive Party kite. The Farmer-Labor Federation ought to become a farmer-

labor party. In Minnesota the fight will be to keep the Farmers Labor Party true to its name as against a mere progressive party or as against mere progressive party alliances in national affairs. In other states and cities the fight will be to guide the development of local parties.

This year good news seems to be coming concerning the campaign of the labor ticket in Detroit. In New York City the year has seen genuine progress of the A.L.P. in the direction that socialists ought to desire. It is still playing what we Socialists believe to be dangerous politics, trying to utilize now this old party and now that. It has endorsed for various positions Republicans and Democrats without even such claim as it as La Guardia had.

But the great majority of the Party believe that they have done this in an honest effort to go forward to the day when their party can stand on its own feet. In most Assembly districts the A.L.P. has its own nominees without Republican or Democratic endorsement. It has its own platform which goes far beyond good government of good housekeeping and which it intends to enforce upon its candidates and elected officials.

Unquestionably the A.L.P. has the support of progressive labor through the affiliation of unions with hundreds of thousands of members. It claims some 70,000 or 80,000 individual members at large and 17,000 or 18,000 active members in district organizations. It is idle to think that toward such a party in a city campaign we Socialists can occupy a position merely of criticism.

If we want to avoid isolation, if we want to have influence in shaping the future, we must cooperate as far as possible. It is in this spirit that we have undertaken this Municipal campaign with our own ticket, our own platform, our own expectation of electing Councilmen. We have agreed with the A.L.P. on certain candidates not endorsed by the Republicans or Democrats. We will give support for second and third choice votes after our own candidates, under Proportional Representation to the A.L.P. candidates for Councilmen. We expect similar action from A.L.P. members for our candidates. We have withdrawn our candidate for Mayor not because we can give Mayor LaGuardia the approval implied in Socialist endorsement. His endorsement by Republicans bars that, and for that endorsement he has paid a price clearly illustrated by his endorsement of the potential fascist, Col. Harvey, in Queens. Against Harvey the A.L.P. has protested.

What we are saying is that in a year when to run our own candidate is not necessary for a vigorous Socialist campaign, we will not assume the responsibility for opposing by an active campaign for our own candidate the A.L.P.'s choice for Mayor, a man whose election they regard as so vital under present circumstances to the workers and to the progress of a labor party. It is from this position of cooperating as far as possible that we can best make our influence felt for a more militant independent party of the workers.

This decision has been reached after democratic discussion under a referendum vote in which it won some two thirds of the Socialist voters in New York City and with the approval of the State Committee and the majority of the N. E. C. It is a decision which permits, even encourages, a vigorous Socialist campaign.

ASK WORKERS SANCTIONS AGAINST JAPS INVASION

By Herbert Zam

Japan's efforts to swallow up China have led to the second war between the two countries in five years. In the intervening period, Japan has been chewing away at China like a bull dog at the throat of a sheep dog. Japan will never rest until it has made the most substantial position of China its direct colony, or until imperialism in China and Japan is completely crushed.

For the Japanese ruling class, expansion into China is the only avenue, not only of growth, but even of existence. For Japanese capitalism, like capitalism in all other countries, cannot remain static. It either expands, or it decays.

There was a time when Japan looked with envious eyes upon the territory of the Soviet Union, and before that, of Czarist Russia. It even made occasional incursions into Siberia as a sort of testing of the situation. But the great bear, white and red, was and remains too formidable to tackle single-handed. China, on the other hand, is weak, disorganized, beset with corruption, a prey to rival imperialisms. The Japanese militarists see in China a fruit ripe for the plucking.

Imperialism in China

China represents the last great territory on earth in which the conflict of mighty imperialisms is still proceeding as a draw. England, the United States and France, in addition to Japan, have enormous interests, in the form of investments, trade, factories and mines, and territory, in China.

France's interests are confined to the southern part. Those of the United States are almost exclusively along the Yangtse River. England's are more extensive, but also center about the Yangtse, running further south and north.

These countries never had great interests in Northern China, and in the last few years have abandoned even those. Northern China, before the war, was the scene of a struggle among Japan, Russia and Germany.

The decline of Russia began with the Russo-Japanese war, and ended with the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan. Germany's possessions and holdings were seized by Japan in 1914, as soon as the war broke out, and Japan further strengthened itself by the famous 15 demands forced upon China in 1915, when the other imperialist powers were preoccupied with the European war.

The attempt to curb Japan (The Washington Conference) was only partially successful. Japan became and continues to be the leader of imperialism on the Far East, to the great regret of Britain and the United States, who built it up in their maneuvers against Russia and Germany and against each other.

Japanese Imperialism

The peculiarities of Japanese imperialism compel it to enter into more and more extreme adventures. Without the necessary raw materials for heavy industry, with a narrow internal market, a constantly more unfavorable trade balance, feudal social relations upon which has been superimposed a militant imperialism resulting in extremely unstable class relations—all these constitute the volatile background for periodic explosions of imperialist aggressions.

Having appeared upon the scene as an imperialist power when the colonial world, including China, was already divided up among the great imperialist powers, Japan pressed for the "open door" policy. England saw in Japan a valuable help against Germany as well as Russia, which it had good reason to fear along the entire British frontier in Asia. The Anglo-Japanese alliance thus became the axis of British policy before the war and

Japan's ladder to the top of the imperialist heap.

The United States, altho a pioneer in the penetration of China, was seriously interrupted by its own Civil War. When it finally looked about in China, it found itself with the door slammed in its face. It also supported the "open door" because it wanted to get in. American policy in China was consistently pro-Japanese until 1921. By the time Japan threw all discretion to the winds and openly seized Manchuria in 1931, Britain and the United States realized that they had built up a Frankenstein monster which was ready to turn and rend them.

But they were still hopeful that Japan would be satisfied with Manchuria and would not move south. But Manchuria requires extensive capital and long years of patient labor before it will produce the sort of results Japanese imperialism requires. Therefore Japan is moving south, into the rich and already developed populous centers of China, the stamping grounds of British and American imperialism. A war is on the horizon, a war in which the old enemies in Asia, England and the United States, will be allies, while the former allies will be enemies. Imperialist interests know no treaties and bow to no prejudices. They are guided only by necessity.

The Democratic States

Again the "democratic" nations are booming about the protection of the weak nations. England and the United States are both indignant at Japan for its "aggression" in China. It is merely the story of Ethiopia repeating itself. England and the United States are not concerned with China, they are not concerned with the rights of oppressed people. They are not interested in the maintenance of the mythical "independence" of China. They are growling because their own spheres of influence are being invaded, their own imperialist interests threatened.

Any apparent concern for China is really concern for themselves. Should Britain and the United States or either of these countries alone go to war with Japan it will not be to "save" China for the Chinese, but to save China for the British or American bankers and imperialists.

And if that can be done another way, thru a deal, thru the dismemberment of China, that will be done. The Chinese people will not be asked about their fate. Their fate will be decided for them along the lines of the Indian masses, the Ethiopians and the Manchurians.

Anti-Imperialism

Except for two brief periods when Sun Yat Sen was its leader, the anti-imperialist struggle in China had never been either unified, well-directed or very successful. The studied policy of the imperialists of buying out actual or potential anti-imperialist leaders, of setting up puppet provincial and central governments, and even separate states, of financing "bandit" armies in the territories of their imperialist rivals, have done their work.

But the close alliance of the top and second layer of Chinese capitalists with foreign imperialism has been even more devastating. Except for the period (1924-26)



VALOROUS—Hundreds of Chinese women and girls have taken up arms in defense of their country and are fighting beside their menfolk in General Chiang Kai-shek's army. Here is one of the "Women of Valor," who appears hardly 18.

when the anti-imperialist movement was sweeping everything before it as such a rate that the Chinese big capitalists had to pay lip service to the "revolution," they have consistently and studiously betrayed their own country and its national aspirations, and made common cause with the foreign enemy, well knowing that a real anti-imperialist struggle would unleash the power of the workers and peasants and thus threaten the security of Chinese capitalism as well as foreign imperialism.

The outstanding representative of this treacherous bourgeoisie has been Chiang Kai Chek, the leader of the military clique, and allied to the bankers thru the Soong family. It was Chiang who crushed the anti-imperialist movement in 1926-27, when the peasantry began to demand land; it was Chiang who smashed and disbanded the Kuominchun (peoples' army) under General Feng Yu Hsiang because it was carrying on a real fight against Chang Tso Lin, ruler of Manchuria and Northern China, at that time the henchman of Japan; it was Chiang who smashed the labor unions and all other political organizations in China and destroyed the beginnings of non-capitalist democracy; it was Chiang who refused to defend Shanghai in 1931, and later disbanded the 19th Route Army and exiled its leaders for their heroic defense in Chapei; it was Chiang who for 10 years has bled the

country white to carry on his "anti-Communist" campaigns in the regions where the peasants have taken over and distributed the land; it was Chiang who, in the years 1926-35, was in an alliance with Anglo-Japanese imperialism against the Soviet Union; it was Chiang who, up to a few months ago, operating thru the Shanghai bankers, was the agent of American capital in China.

Chiang's Policy

Chiang's policy has varied with his alliances. If at times he appeared as a fighter against imperialism, it was not because he was an opponent of imperialism, but because he was at the time in alliance with one imperialist power against another. Chiang may fight Japan today, but only because of his relations with British and American imperialism.

Under these circumstances, to expect Chiang to lead a real struggle against imperialism is not only utopian, but is bound to be disastrous. For imperialism cannot be defeated by uniting with one against another. China can be liberated from the imperialist scourge only thru a united struggle against all imperialism. And the struggle against imperialism goes on on two fronts—directly against the imperialists, and also against their agents inside the national camp. Chiang is today the outstanding representative of imperialism in the ranks of the Chinese people. The anti-imperialist struggle must therefore be conducted against Chiang, and not under his domination.

Anti-Imperialist War

The fact that Chiang is an agent of imperialism does not, however, make of China an imperialist nation, any more than India becomes imperialist because the native princes are on the British pay roll. China is still a colonial, or rather semi-colonial country. Any war between China and an imperialist power is not a war between two imperialisms, such as one between England and Japan would be, but between an imperialist and an oppressed nation.

Therefore in such a war, there can be no question of neutrality for the world's workers. Considering the anti-imperialist struggle of the colonial countries as part of the struggle for world socialism, the Socialists and workers must throw all their support to China. A victory of China over Japan would weaken Japanese imperialism and facilitate the struggle of the Japanese workers against their own ruling class. The Japanese workers, as well as the workers in all other countries must in this war, be anti-Japan and pro-China, as they were anti-Italy and pro-Ethiopia, without in any way approving of the internal organization in China.

"Neutrality"

American imperialism has put on the smiling mask of Roosevelt "neutrality" in the war between Japan and China. Socialists have more than once pointed out that neutrality under capitalism is a fraud and a fake. It can be nothing else, because capitalism's international connections prevent real isolation or "neutrality." Capitalist neutrality is therefore a form of intervention. In the last analysis, perfect neutrality means help to the strong against the weak. When the United States puts an embargo upon the shipment of arms to China as well as Japan, it is giving objective, if not subjective, assistance to Japan, for Japan has other resources, while China has not.

The specific form of the American embargo makes this situation even worse. For the embargo applies only to American ships.

Foreign ships may transport arms and munitions. So Japan, which has a merchant marine, can thus evade the embargo, while China, without any sort of fleet, is helpless.

Thus, Roosevelt's neutrality is pro-Japanese, in spite of the fundamental divergence of interests between Japanese and American imperialism in China. As against the anti-imperialist movement in China, American imperialism will unite with the imperialism of any other country, as was done in 1924-27.

The objective of British and American imperialism in China is thus: To prevent the development of any anti-imperialist movement which may become general; to keep Japan confined to Northern China. An agreement with Japan along the lines of the infamous Hoare-Laval pact, which is in the offing, can best be achieved with a prostrate, rather than a fighting China. The complete dismemberment of China, replacing direct for indirect rule, is probably on the agenda of the imperialist nations.

Workers' Action

Under these circumstances one cannot demand "equal" treatment for China and Japan. The labor movement must exert itself on behalf of China and against Japan. Any trailing in the wake of the government policy is objective help to American imperialism. In this light, the action of "advanced" seamen, members of the National Maritime Union, in refusing to man a ship with planes for China, is certainly a misguided action.

The idea of using workers' sanctions in the present situation is splendid. But workers' sanctions must be applied against Japan. To apply them against China means to help Japan. This is the meaning of the action of the West Coast seamen. Was it done with the knowledge of the national leadership of the union? And if not, why has not the leadership publicly repudiated the action of these seamen and prohibited that policy for the future?

The basic means for help to the Chinese anti-imperialist struggle can only be—must be— independent workers' help thru boycott of Japanese goods, embargo on the shipment of material to Japan, raising of money for arms to China, etc. Efforts must be made to prevent the American government giving any sort of assistance to Japan. No illusions must be created that the Chinese struggle for freedom can in any way be helped by the American government, acting for American imperialism.

Therefore no demands on the American government for help to China are in order. On the other hand, if by accident or design the American government undertakes some action which helps China, it would be the height of foolishness to reject it. In the last analysis, such help can play only a small role, unless it comes from a deal between the Chinese and American governments in the interests of American imperialism. Such a deal must, however, be vigorously rejected by the workers.

The role of the Communists in China deserves particular attention. After many years of struggle against Chiang, they have finally entered his camp, having given up the Soviet Districts and the Red Army, which has been incorporated into Chiang's troops. They have given up the goal of a workers and peasants republic and have adopted Chiang's program of a "democratic" capitalist republic.

SOCIALIST YOUTH

By Al Hamilton
National Secretary, YPSL

It is my hope that this column can begin to again appear as a regular feature now that the hectic days of the national convention of the Y.P.S.L. are past and the League has begun to settle down to the task of carrying out the decisions of the national convention.

Immediately after the national convention, the newly elected NEC met to consider the work for the coming period. The first and most important task facing the League is that support of the new Young Socialist magazine, authorized by the National Convention. Instead of continuing as a monthly newspaper under the name Challenge of Youth, the new organ of the League will have a magazine format. The new magazine is to be entitled "ARISE". It will sell for five cents and the sub-price will be ten issues for fifty cents. The publication date of the first issue is Oct. 6.

Finances

In the financing of the League a special assessment immediately of 25 cents was authorized for every member of the League. Members carrying \$15.00 a week or over are expected to pay 50 cents. This special assessment will apply only for old members. For the period between now and January a membership drive was authorized by the convention. During the drive the initiation fee will be dropped to ten cents with the N.E.C. given power to determine the fee after the drive is completed.

In conjunction with the membership drive will go reorganization of sections of the League necessitated by the end of the Trotskyites. This will be accomplished by a registration of the League membership.

Trotsky Youth

At this point it is necessary to clear up certain confusion that exists in our relationship to the Trotskyite youth. In their attempt to utilize the prestige and influence of the League to break away members from the League, the Trotskyites are continuing to use the name Young People's Socialist League, and according to their announcements are going to attempt to keep the name of the old Socialist Youth paper, the Challenge of Youth. Any material, leaflets, articles, etc. issued under the name of Hal Draper, "National Secretary of the Y.P.S.L." H. Erber, "National Chairman" or Nathan Gould "National Organizer" are issued by the Trotskyite Youth Organiza-

tion and have no connection with the Young People's Socialist League, recognized by the Socialist Party, U.S.A. Young Socialists must make clear to the public that those who have split from the YPSL and who now try to masquerade as the Young People's Socialist League are in reality—The Trotskyite Youth of America.

Thomas Home

In the period immediately following the convention, work on the Norman Thomas Home fund has really gotten under way. Hampered as it had been by the factional struggle before the convention things now look bright. In the last week the Cleveland League sent into the national office \$48.00 with \$18.00 more coming from Newark, and \$50.00 from Minneapolis. Every section of the League is urged to immediately get behind the campaign-plan tag days, house to house visitations, circularization of contact lists of the Party and the League in the various localities.

Roosevelt Imperialism

Some weeks ago, I commented on the open letter to President Roosevelt demanding freedom for Pedro Albizu Campos and other leaders of Puerto Rican Nationalism. I recently received a letter from Walter Rivera Diaz, Presidente, Juventud Socialista de Puerto Rico (Socialist Youth of Puerto Rico.) In reference to the struggle for the freedom of Campos and others, he says:

"We are glad that you understand our position is different-

from that of the Nationalist Youth movement. From the standpoint of principles it could not be otherwise. We support however, the liberation of all the political prisoners of the world as long as this support is not considered or interpreted as adhering to their principles."

In this connection the American Student Union should be praised for the action of the administrative committee in supporting the plea of Puerto Rican students for freedom of those imprisoned by Roosevelt. This action, however, is not realistic unless the A.S.U. follows up with a campaign through the colleges exposing the imperialist role played by Roosevelt of recent date in South America. The imprisonment of the Puerto Rican nationalists is only a manifestation of the basic nature of Roosevelt's administration.

Party Notes

NATIONAL OFFICE

Local Lansing, Michigan, has become the first local in the country to subscribe to the National Sustaining Fund.

WISCONSIN

Local Racine announces that it has taken new and spacious headquarters at 330 Main Street, and that all out of town visitors, Socialists, CIO and AFL members are welcome.

NEW JERSEY

The Vladimir Medem Branch, Passaic, express their deep sorrow at the death of the husband of one of the most active comrades, comrade Dora Cohen.

BRANCH DIRECTORY

RATES: 2 Issues, 25c. 5 cents per additional issue.
Minimum: 1 Month.
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MANHATTAN

VILLAGE BRANCH meets every Thurs. night at 107 MacDougal St. Ellen Loeb, Sec'y, 303 West 4th St. Open discussion last Thursday every month.

GERMAN BRANCH Meets second Tuesday of each month during summer. Yorkville Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. G. Hoffman, Organizer.

Chelsea, Br. Meets every Wed. at 312 West 24th St., Victoria Hakin, Sec'y.

BRONX

8TH A.D. Meets every Wed. 7 West 26. Roberta Sugarman, Sec'y.

DETROIT

BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday, 8P. M., 1110 West Warren.

Thomas to Speak At Workers Defense Meet

The Workers Defense League is holding a mass meeting on Monday, Oct. 11, with Norman Thomas the principal speaker. Thomas will talk on "Fascism in the South," giving a first hand account based on his recent tour of sore spots. The meeting is scheduled for 8 p.m. in the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th St.

Also on the program is Nancy Cox, who, with the Workers Defense League, just won a victory against the Edgewater gag ordinance restricting leaflet distribution. Aron Gilmartin will report briefly on other current cases and W.D.L. activity.

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Where Is Labor Moving In American Politics?

By MacAlister Coleman

What interests us now is the future of the C.I.O. both economically and politically. We applaud the statement of Lewis to the effect that labor must function politically, although we may pause to wonder why it took so long for the discovery of so obvious a truth. We hope that the next discovery will be that labor can only succeed politically as it acts independently.

The endorsements of candidates who accept nominations from either the capitalist parties is anything but an indication of labor's maturity. We have in mind, of course, the endorsement of La Guardia in New York, on the heels of which La Guardia in turn welcomes Harvey, the Hitler of Queens to his political bed.

And we also note the endorsement of Lester Clee, Republican candidate for governor of New Jersey by the C.I.O. political group over the river. We have run across Clee's trail many times during the course of our recent New Jersey exile. He is a four-flushing Elmer Gantry type of sky-pilot politico, an agitational exhibitionist of the worst order who will climb on any band wagon that promises to advance the cause of Clee.

He sold us out here facedly when we were waging a desperate fight for the small consumers against the power trust. He will sell out labor any old time, if thereby he can scramble a few rungs up the political ladder.

There is a somewhat similar situation in the district in New York where I am running for Congress in a by-election. As I wrote here last summer, the most noted of my opponents is Bruce Barton, the bally-hoo boy, head of an advertising agency which is one of the chief parasites in that parasitic industry. Barton, nominated by the Republicans as a "perfect" candidate, has been smiled on by La Guardia despite the fact that Barton's firm put out the phoney advertising on behalf of the electric utilities at the time of the debate on the holding company bill.

This time the American Labor Party had brains enough not to endorse such a rabid reactionary, ex-press agent for the late Coolidge, in the "Brain Trust" of the late Alf Landon. They put up a man of their own. But whom did they select? Anyone who ever raised a finger on behalf of labor? No sir. They nominated a man whose chief claim to fame is that he is a relative of the banking family of Schiff. No doubt the gentleman will contribute handsomely to the Labor Party's campaign fund. But what the hell?

It will naturally be my job to oppose him as strenuously as I will oppose Barton or the Tammany candidate. When labor stoops to nominate stuffed shirts because of their shirt stuffing, the Socialist duty is to stand four-square against such boot licking.

All this sounds as though I were nourishing a man-sized grouch. Wrong. I feel that in this year in certain campaigns such as that in Detroit, for example and even in New York with enormous reservations, labor is going forward politically as well as economically. But I never fell for the old wheeze that labor, like a child must learn to crawl before it walks.

Labor has been in politics in this country since the beginning of the capitalist system. They are no naive infants who are directing its destinies. Let them have a little more faith in the common-sense and integrity of their own rank and file and depend less on the temuous favors of old-line politicians.

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Laidler and Block Endorsed By ALP and Independents

By Jack Altman
City Campaign Manager

Local New York Executive Secretary

With registration week under way, New York Socialists have started a whirl-wind campaign for a record Socialist enrollment. A quarter of a million cards, stressing the importance of electing Socialist councilmen, are being widely distributed in connection with the appeal for Socialist registration.

The Socialist councilmanic fight struck emphatically the attention of New Yorkers this week when a fleet of four loud-speaker trucks took to the streets this week and speakers emphasized the election of three Socialists to the new city council. Widespread enthusiasm has greeted the public appearance of the candidates.

Endorsements

News of the candidacies of Dr. Harry W. Laidler, in Kings, and S. John Block, in Manhattan, brought endorsements from the American Labor Party and the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee organized by Judge Seabury. Independent committees, including a Laidler and Block Trade Union Committee, have begun to function in a drive to put the Socialist candidates in the city council.

Prominent trade unionist are actively supporting the candidates. Large mass meetings, including several held in famous Times Square with Norman Thomas as a principal speaker, have drawn record throngs around the beautiful new sound truck acquired by the party this week. Equipped with all modern sound devices, including a movie projector for talking pictures, the unit has already brought the Socialist campaign to the attention of thousands. Socialists are contributing funds to keep the truck in the permanent possession of the party.

In the Bronx, with Aaron Levenstein as the councilmanic candidate, loud speakers are also sweeping through the county with the Socialist municipal message. The introduction of proportional representation has stirred the voters with new zeal in the knowledge that this year will see Socialist representation in the council.

Campaign Dinner

The Bronx will formally open its heavy campaign barrage with a dinner, organized by the Fifth Assembly District, at which Norman Thomas and the local candidates will speak. The dinner will be held Saturday, October 9th, at 1422 Wilkins Avenue, and a mass meeting from 5 o'clock until 11 will be held on the nearby corner of Wilkins and Intervale Avenues, with Norman Thomas and the candidates.

Campaign dinners will be held in Manhattan on October 21st and in Kings on October 29th. Large wind-up rallies will be held in each of the boroughs.

Each week until election day, the New York party will issue 150,000 copies of a special campaign supplement to its Socialist

STRATEGIST



CHINA AID — Marshal Vassily Galents-Blucher, commander-in-chief of the Russian Army in the Far East, reported directing Chinese military strategy against Japan. The report asserted he used the telephone from his Siberian headquarters.

Call, in separate editions for each of the counties. Five county committees have been organized and are already functioning in Manhattan, with Brendan Sexton as campaign manager; in Kings, Mary Hillier; in the Bronx, Abraham Sterf; in Queens, Emanuel Muravchic; and in Richmond, Zekor Antensen.

Fight Harvey

Queens Socialists are conducting a concentrated drive to elect Leonard Lazarus to the Borough Presidency as against Colonel George U. Harvey, notorious red-baiter, widely known as "Hitler Harvey," the King of Queens. Lazarus has gained great support because of his campaign for a Socialist program in dealing with the transit problem.

The Socialist program for New York is being hammered home by an eloquent staff of speakers. Under the slogan, "A Socialist Vote is a Labor Vote," they are describing to New York's population on street corners and in halls the sort of city they can have, and the voters are responding with enthusiasm. Socialist victories are near.

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Wall Street's "Neutrality"

By LENORE KELTER

The threat of war in the Far East has for 20 years touched the American people more closely than any of the European crises. And now that the struggle has begun, public opinion in this country is agreed that China is innocent and Japan guilty.

It is a strange neutrality which is welcomed by Japan, the aggressor, and deplored by China. The arms problems of China and Japan are radically different. China needs manufactured equipment—artillery, planes, ammunition, clothing medicines, autos, tanks—the thousand and one means of modern war that Spain is also pleading for.

Japan, on the other hand, possesses a well-equipped arms industry (which is indeed all that she does possess in the way of heavy industry), and her needs are confined to the raw materials—the metals and the fuels—required to make, run and repair the machinery of warfare. Our neutrality policy prevents China from buying not only guns and planes in the United States, but from buying medicines and shoes as well. It does not apply with any force to Japan's requirements.

Wall Street's Resources

Japan's needs for raw materials can be adequately and indefinitely supplied by sources which are not hampered by any neutrality legislation invoked in Washington. And the profits which Wall Street looks to make from this trade in death are not interfered with. The American mining and oil trusts from which Japan makes her chief purchases also own foreign properties in Latin America and Canada which are absolutely independent of Washington's jurisdiction, and which are free to go right on shipping all the copper and nickel and oil to Japan that Japan will buy and pay for.

And that is enough to kill millions of people and to jeopardize the peace of every country bordering on the Pacific. This is Washington's neutrality—this is the best the administration can do to speed peace.

The method by which Wall Street can pay lip service to peace and make money from war at the same time can be abundantly illustrated. The American non-ferrous metal industry, comprising those strategic arms raw materials—copper, lead and zinc—is dominated by two huge combines, Anaconda and Kennecott. Anaconda owns the great Chile copper mine, and Kennecott the nearly as large Braden mine, also in Chile. Each of these mines alone can keep Japanese munitions plants supplied with ores for years on end and still keep within the present "neutrality" policy.

Again, when Japan wants oil,

N.Y. Socialists Oppose Republican Nominees Endorsed By The ALP

The Socialist Party expressed great regret at the failure of the American Labor Party to nominate its own candidates for city-wide offices. In a statement issued through Jack

Altman, City Executive Secretary, the Socialists announced their support of the independent candidates of Labor, but refused to support Newbold Morris, Joseph D. McGoldrick, Thomas E. Dewey, Raymond V. Ingersoll and other Republican candidates endorsed by the American Labor Party.

"To the extent that the American Labor Party places Republican candidates on its ticket, it disappoints the hopes of hundreds of thousands that this year they might have the opportunity to support a complete labor ticket," read the statement. "Nevertheless, since the American Labor Party has designated many independent candidates, it does give evidence that a Labor Party is being founded—an effort that will receive the approval of workers throughout the city."

The Socialist Party is running its own candidates against the Republican candidates endorsed by the American Labor Party. The candidates are:

Murray Baron, President of the City Council; Frank R. Crosswaith, Comptroller; David Corey, Brooklyn Borough President; Jack Altman, District Attorney.

The full text of the statement follows:

"The Socialist Party learns with great regret that the American Labor Party has seen fit to endorse the Republican candidates for high office in the municipal elections. It has long been the conviction of Socialists and their thousands of supporters that labor

she can rely on the American-owned supply in Mexico. There the Standard Oil companies and Mellon's Gulf Oil and Texas Corp. are engaged in a bitter and almost violent war with a radically nationalistic government resembling the Chinese in more respects than one. Politically as well as economically, they have every incentive to continue with the lucrative Japanese oil business.

must build a party of its own, completely independent of the old-line parties, selecting candidates who are subject to no control but that of labor itself.

"To the extent that the American Labor Party places Republican candidates on its ticket it disappoints the hopes of thousands that this year they might have the opportunity to support a complete labor ticket. Nevertheless, since the American Labor Party has designated many independent candidates, it does give evidence that a labor party is being founded—an effort that will receive the approval of workers throughout the city."

Seeks Cooperation

"The Socialist Party, desiring to cooperate with the American Labor Party and contribute to the building of a genuine independent party of the workers of hand and brain, will lend all its efforts to bring about the election of the independent candidates of labor. Isadore Nagler, A.L.P. candidate for Borough President of the Bronx, and other local candidates who have no ties with the old parties, have already been placed on our ticket. The workers of this city will have the opportunity to elect these candidates by voting for them on the Socialist row, thus indicating their willingness to cooperate with the A.L.P. in its campaign, and demonstrating also their desire for Socialism and for a completely independent party of the working class."

"While keenly disappointed by the failure of the American Labor Party to nominate a full slate of its own for municipal office, the Socialist Party pledges its cooperation in the campaign to elect the labor candidates. We believe that the best interests of labor will be served by a thorough Socialist campaign in which our strength will be added to that of the trade unionists in order that workers' representatives may be placed in office."

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S.T.F.U. Votes Merger With C.I.O. Farm Union

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, in a special Convention held here from September 24th to 26th, voted affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization. Dropping its role as an independent organization of sharecroppers, tenants, and other farm laborers, the delegates voted enthusiastically to affiliate with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Pack-

ing, and Allied Workers of America, recently chartered by the CIO. This was done the first day of the Convention. A further important matter was the adoption of a wage-scale for the picking of this year's bumper cotton crop. \$1.00 per hundred pounds was settled on as a fair and sound price for picking.

Friday morning the delegates heard Col. Lawrence Westbrook, Chairman of the board of Directors of Dyess Colony, and special Investigator for the U.S. Senate Sub Committee, explain a plan for expanding the production of cotton so as to regain the world market and replace farm labor on the land. Col. Westbrook pointed out that the South was a debtor section in a creditor Nation and, due to restrictions on cotton-producing, America had lost a large part of its former export trade with foreign nations and had at the same time materially reduced the number of people employed.

Westbrook advocated an acreage based on world consumption, and subsidies based both on land and on the number of people employed. He pointed out that the wages of farm laborers, whether sharecroppers or tenants, invariably approximate one tenth the price of cotton. Thus, with cotton selling at 10 cents per pound, wages are 10 cents per

hour. If cotton were to be sold at a lower price, thus better to compete in the world market, wages would be proportionately less. The great increase in employment, Col. Westbrook demonstrated, would, however, substantially compensate for the slightly lower wage.

Autonomy Limited

On the arrival of delegates from the UCAPAWA locals in Alabama, Oklahoma, and the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, Saturday morning, plans were set up for the organization of the whole District. A Constitution was adopted for District IV, in which the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union remains a self-governing organization affiliated with the District Union. Although the STFU will for a time retain its identity and organization, all locals will be newly chartered and all membership cards newly issued by the larger CIO Union.

The highlights of the Convention came with the election of officers, for which nominations were made from the floor. A number of outstanding union leaders were nominated for the Presidency of the District Union. The contest for office simmered down to a choice between J. R. Butler and W. L. Blackstone; in the final count J. R. Butler won by a substantial majority, and on a motion from Blackstone this

was made unanimous.

E. B. McKinney was elected Vice-President, defeating O. H. Whitfield of Missouri. The election of a Secretary-Treasurer brought about more thought and discussion among the delegates. When nominations were called for, H. L. Mitchell, present Executive-Secretary of the STFU, was nominated informally by a number of delegates.

Raises Race Issue

Claude Williams, Director of Commonwealth College, in a carefully prepared oration, appealed for the election of Leon Turner, a young Negro leader from Jefferson County, Arkansas. Williams declared that the election of a Negro would divide the Executive offices equally between the races. Several other nominations were made, following by withdrawals in favor of either Turner or Mitchell.

Howard Kester, STFU leader, appeal to the delegates not to let race feeling affect the selection of the man most experienced and best fitted for office. The final vote gave Mitchell a majority. Besides this, an Executive Board was elected, giving representation to all states in the District.

The Convention then heard Aubrey Williams, WPA Youth Administrator from Washington D. C., a native of the Black Belt

of Alabama, deliver an address in which he congratulated the delegates on the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and on their ability to stick together in spite of terror used by their opponents to prevent them from organizing.

Mr. Williams' address was received with enthusiasm as the delegates heard their plight described by one who knows it at first hand. Mr. Williams stated in his address that he saw in the organization of the STFU and the UCAPAWA an effort to safeguard the interests of a large segment of the breadwinners of the South and the Nation. "A segment which" he said, "if not reinforced by organization and governmental assistance, is, in some respects, the most insecure of any in the nation's economic fabric."

Among the resolutions adopted by the Convention was one condemning an attack made upon the STFU by one George Morris, Washington correspondent for the reactionary Commercial Appeal in Memphis. Morris in a despatch from Washington had stated that a demonstration was planned by the Union for the appearance of Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace, scheduled to speak here one week later. The resolution stated that the Convention welcomed Secretary Wallace to Memphis, and believed that he would profit by an experience of observing conditions among farmers, tenants, sharecroppers and farm-laborers of the mid-South.

The Convention went on record urging Congress to pass farm legislation which would permit the expansion of production of cotton in the south. The resolution printed out the effects on farm labor of previous crop-reduction and destruction schemes, which had driven hundreds of thousands of farm workers off the land. Another resolution demanded repeal of the poll tax law, which effectively disfranchises a majority of the voting population of the Southern states.

Flogger Trial To Begin

By Frank McCallister

Just as the CALL goes to press five former Tampa policemen and three Orlando Klansmen are scheduled to go on trial for the flogging murder of Joseph Shoemaker, former Socialist.

The murder trial was catapulted into national prominence by the recent furor over the appointment of ex-Klansmen Hugo L. Black to the

United States Supreme Court. Likewise, a disclosure that the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee is likely to investigate this case and others of the Klan terrorists in Florida foreshadowed nationwide publicity for the duration of the trial.

Just before the trial opens, Captain Geo. J. Garcia, Grand Dragon of the Florid Realm of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, stated at Jacksonville that the Klan had nothing to do with the case. Norman Thomas, chairman of the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, issued a statement challenging Garcia to answer certain questions concerning the Klan's part in this murder and other acts of violence in Florida.

The trial is to be covered by special reporters from several metropolitan dailies and is expected to last about two weeks.

PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS

GOOD NEWS

From over the country comes Good News to the CALL Office on the whole hearted work which is being performed by comrades.

Our comrades in California have been hit especially hard during the party crisis, for there the Trotskyites centered their activity.

CALL readers should know that our loyal comrades in California have responded the best of any state in the country to the recent appeal which we made for financial support. In Illinois and elsewhere party branches are responding.

Now, as the work of rebuilding the party progresses, they are leading off the work of building support for the CALL, well knowing that the party press is the heart of the revolutionary party. Party branches and locals over the country must follow their example and rally their forces behind the CALL immediately.

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Rush to The Socialist Call
21 East 17th Street New York City

Dear Comrades:

At the last meeting of the Stockton Local of the Socialist Party, at which fifteen loyal members were present, a program of action was agreed upon, the major part of which will be centered around the party press with emphasis on the SOCIALIST CALL.

The Stockton's Local is determined to put the SOCIALIST CALL on the map in Stockton within the next two or three months and I have been instructed by the Local to pledge you a minimum of two hundred new subscribers.

At the meeting last Tuesday evening a Press Committee was elected to organize a "CALL Campaign." Also a new Executive Committee was elected consisting of the following members: Joseph A. Plecarpo, Chairman, J. W. Thornton, Secty., S. C. Zondervan, Treas., and Comrades Mildred Carson and Al Clark.

We were able to secure ten new subscriptions at the meeting, which we are mailing to you.

Comradely yours,
J. W. THORNTON, Secty.

Downers Grove, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

I enclose \$5.00 from the Downers Grove branch of the Socialist Party, for which send me five annual shub cards, paid in advance, and a bundle order, \$4.00 for ten copies weekly in advance for a month. This is in response to the letter from the National Office of Sept. 23.

Fraternally yours,
KATE M. WARD, Secretary

Rush to The Socialist Call
21 East 17th Street New York City

NEXT WEEK!

Two weeks ago an appeal and an explanation was given to our readers in this space.

Last week we were forced to omit an issue, the first that the CALL has missed in two and a half years.

This week we appear on scheduled time, through the fine response of a number of comrades to a personal appeal which was sent out in the emergency by Norman Thomas.

Even better is the record of Stockton, whose letter a week ago appears here. Since then the Stockton comrades have sent in \$56 for CALL subscriptions. This is a mark of health and vitality which must be the cornerstone for carrying the CALL forward.

Party branches must rally to the basic principle that the CALL is the collective organizer of the party. The party cannot exist without the CALL. The party will maintain its revolutionary integrity as it gives support to the CALL.

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