

Scab Alibi: Unions Only "A Racket"

By HERMAN WOLF

Father Charles E. Coughlin, radio priest extraordinary, is staging a one night stand at Madison Square Garden.

What kind of an act will it be? What does Coughlin offer the working people of America?

Nothing, we believe, but an Americanized Fascism.

In these articles the CALL will show—

THAT Coughlin is only a mouth-piece for important financiers and industrialists; that he is friendly

MEET COUGHLIN'S PALS
in the second article of this series next week in the CALL

with Fascist-Hearst; and that among his closest advisers are two Wall street men, and a member of the Executive Committee of the New York State Chamber of Commerce.

THAT Coughlin "does not approve" of the American Federation of Labor; that he wants to establish government-company run unions; that he once falsely charged the printers' union with intimidation; and threatened to attack representatives of building trades unions as racketeers over the radio.

Your Enemy

THAT he is an enemy of organized labor because—

1. In 1930 the first wage reduction in Detroit in years was chiselled from workers building the Shrine of the Little Flower, and this was accomplished by the use of strikebreakers.

2. He hired Cooper-Little Company, notorious union haters, at the very time a general building-strike was being carried on against them.

3. He backed Roosevelt's plan to pay scab wages on public works and has consistently attacked union labor.

THAT Coughlin, who made money gambling in silver, shields Rockefeller while slamming other bankers;

THAT he advocates a larger military force, refuses to knock Hitler, is anti-Semitic, and against democracy.

These are the charges upon which Father Coughlin stands indicted.

Here is proof enough to convict him.

Not "Settled"

What does Coughlin think of organized labor? Not much, if we are to go by his words and actions. You will note in his letter to Irvin Jennings, shown on this page, he apologized for having "no settled anti-union policy." This is only too true! An anti-union policy? Most decidedly yes, but not a "settled" one. As we trace Coughlin's relations with labor during the last five years we see how he shifted—first this tactic, then that one—no settled policy, but always anti-union.

Coughlin's sentence in this letter about his non-union printer living up to the NRA "assiduously" can be dismissed without comment. Readers of this paper know that it takes a union to make a boss live up to anything.

If we had nothing else on the Reverend Father, his statement: "I do not approve of the methods employed by the American Federation of Labor," would be enough to prove him what he is—an enemy of labor. These brazen words need no further explanation and we are almost tempted to stop here. Let us continue, though, for Coughlin's tricks.

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Socialist Call

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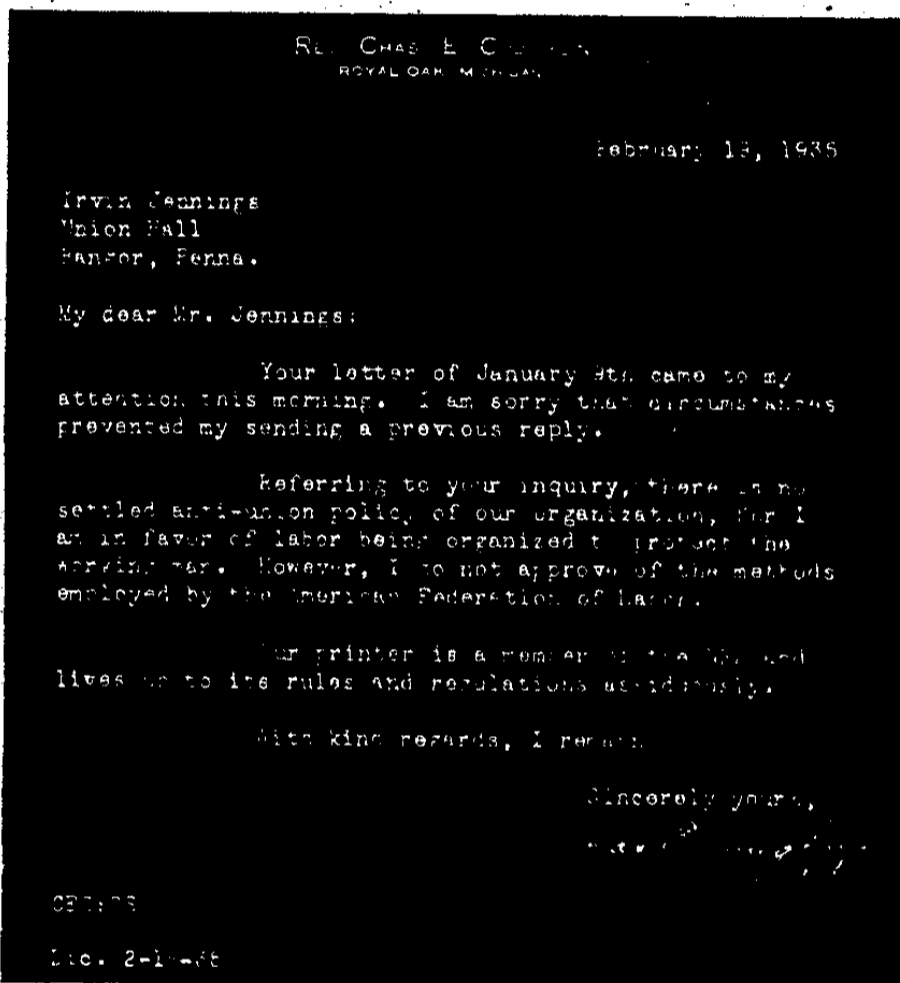
SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1935

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CAMDEN STRIKE HALTS BATTLESHIP BUILDING

Coughlin Coughs Up!



Irvin Jennings, to whom this letter was written, is a member of the Slate Workers' Union, and president of the Slate Belt Central Labor Union, with headquarters in Bangor, Pennsylvania. He wrote Father Coughlin asking why there was no union label on his printed matter, and whether his Radio League had a settled anti-union policy.

In giving the CALL permission to use this letter, Jennings wrote: "There has been a noticeable shift of opinion in this community, I think, away from Father Coughlin and his ideas in the last two months. This seems to be due to the fact that union organizers and representatives have been alive to the Fascist danger that the Reverend Father represents, and have continually pointed this danger out. The union press also has been very influential in the same direction."

"PROHIBIT!" RANT MICH. PAY-TRIOTS

By SAM ROMER

DETROIT.—The People of the State of Michigan are preparing "to promote respect for the Constitution, laws and institutions of this state and the United States!"

The "People of the State of Michigan" are the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Fraternal and Benevolent Order of Elks, the Michigan Manufacturers Association, and their puppets in the state legislature. They have introduced Senate Bill No. 292, the DuncKel-Baldwin Bill.

But the people of the state of Michigan have declared that S.292 shall not pass! The people (with a lower-case "p") include the Michigan Federation of Labor, the

Mechanics Educational Society of America, the Socialist, Communist, Workers and Proletarian parties, the Michigan Farmers' Union, the Detroit Area of the Methodist Church and hundreds of individual churches of practically every Jewish and Protestant denomination and the Michigan Youth Congress.

S.292 is Michigan's effort to keep in line with the reaction that is sweeping the nation against labor and political minorities. But Michigan has gone further in its effort "to promote respect"; S.292 would jail for 14 years anyone who "has in his possession any books, pamphlets, documents or papers wherein appear any words,

(Continued on Page Four)

3,600 Workers Picket Shipyard; Hit Phoney Poll

by Alice Hanson

CAMDEN, N. J.—Three thousand six hundred strikers marched before the three gates of the New York Shipbuilding Company Monday morning in a solid and unmistakable answer to the company's invitation to scab.

Organized in the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, the picket line was led by John Green and Phil Van Gelder, militant Socialist officers of the union. No worker even attempted to break ranks,

although the gates were opened as usual.

A combination check and ballot went out to the employees of the New York Ship in the Tuesday morning mail. The check was in payment of services rendered up until the hour of calling the strike.

The ballot, which appeared on the back of the check above the space for endorsement, read "Are you in favor of working on basis of NYS agreement, as enclosed herewith? Yes or No. Mark X in desired vote. Your identity will be held confidential in this vote."

X and Double X

The union issued the following statement through John Green and Tom Gallagher: "We believe that the firm is following out its usual practice, set forth in letters of insidious propaganda previously sent to its employees with the thought of coercing and intimidating the men.

"We have instructed the members of the union to vote 'yes' in order to counteract any intimidation against our men which the firm would no doubt use later on in discriminating and forming a blacklist.

"Again our men feel there is no better way to show contempt for the firm's actions than sending 100 per cent 'yes' ballots back to the company."

With the slogan "crosses don't" (Continued on Page Five)

Ask Union Pay On Relief Jobs

MILWAUKEE.—William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has appealed to all state federations of labor to cooperate with the organization of the unemployed in an effort to obtain the prevailing wage rate on public works projects, it was announced at the national headquarters of the Workers Alliance of America.

The action follows the unsuccessful effort of the A. F. of L. to have inserted into the works bill a prevailing wage clause. The bill as signed by President Roosevelt gives the President discretionary power on wage rates.

In his letter to the state federations of labor, Green says: "I suggest the fullest degree of cooperation be established between your state federation and representatives of the unemployed group called the Workers Alliance of America so that together you can put forth your efforts to establish and maintain the prevailing rate of wages in each community to guard against the lowering of wage standards and to promote the economic, social and industrial interests of all classes directly affected."

David Lasser, head of the Alliance, announced that he would confer with Green on details of a drive to organize all of the 3,500,000 unemployed who are to be given works jobs.

"A unity of effort between unemployed and employed is now possible to ensure that they will not be used against each other to lower the wage standards of labor," Lasser said.

Call the Official Organ of Illinois

The SOCIALIST CALL is now the official organ of the state of Illinois as well as of Ohio and West Virginia. The Illinois State Convention voted to make the CALL and the Wisconsin Leader the official Socialist papers in that territory.

Illinois Party Adopts a Broad Labor Party Plan

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL

DECATUR, Ill. — Meeting in their state convention, Illinois Socialists proceeded to lay the foundations of a political program around which all labor groups could rally for the formation of a genuine Farmer-Labor party. A program of activities in trade unions and unemployed organizations was carefully mapped out.

The SOCIALIST CALL and the Wisconsin Leader were adopted as official Socialist organs for Illinois.

The Convention unanimously demanded the expulsion of Harry Lang and expressed the belief that suspension was inadequate in view of the damage to the Party nationally and in Illinois, in particular, where the Hearst press is powerful.

A resolution on internal party matters declared that compliance with the constitution and the Declaration of Principles of the party is necessary both to unity and discipline, that the National Executive Committee has the power to see that these two basic documents are honored and that it must act decisively at the present time.

The convention was held in the strike-torn city of Decatur, where the local members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, in the cotton goods industry, have been waging a courageous 12-weeks' battle against hard-boiled dress manufacturers, who have invoked not only deputy sheriffs almost equal to the number of strikers at times, but have also employed the agents of the foul and notorious strike-breaker Berghoff.

Strikers, admitted on their union card, made up the bulk of the audience at the mass meeting addressed by Norman Thomas in the Decatur High School at the opening of the convention Friday evening.

"American Tyranny"

"We have strenuous work on hand to prevent the imminent triumph of tyranny in America," Thomas warned.

Paul Porter, national labor secretary of the Socialist Party, who spoke with Thomas at the mass meeting, urged the strikers to express their contempt for the usual injunction with which employers have sought to tie the hands of Decatur strikers, and was editorially warned in the Decatur press that only the spirit of hospitality prevented him from decorating a cell in Macon County jail.

On Saturday evening of the convention, a meeting on the public square, launched by local Socialists together with ranking visitors, including Maynard Krueger, ex-sheriff Benson of Milwaukee, and Paul Porter, was dissolved by the police on the grounds that it was growing too large.

The newly elected State Executive

Illinois Asks Retraction Of Forward

On behalf of the State Executive Committee of Illinois, Arthur G. McDowell has sent the following telegram to the Jewish Daily Forward:

"Amazed to read incredibly garbled story of Illinois state convention in Monday's New York Forward. Must insist that you mend damage done by this reckless enlarging upon badly twisted Associated Press yarn without attempt to verify unlikely story they carried with official Party sources here. Paul Porter did not even address the convention let alone utter such irresponsible sentiments as you ascribe to him and Senior. Corrected story should be prominent enough to serve purpose."

The telegram was occasioned by an inaccurate story of convention proceedings. The Labor Party resolution was not, as implied by the Forward, an abandonment of the traditional Socialist position, but began with the statement:

"No party other than the Socialist Party, composed of the most class-conscious and militant workers, can lead the American working-class to a victory of Socialism over capitalism. Under no circumstances, therefore, can the Socialist Party afford to cease building, and strengthening its own forces."

The resolution further points out that "the Socialist Party must be careful not to participate in the formation of such a (labor) party unless a substantial number of important trade unions indicate an intention to become the base of such a party."

The committee consists of Douglas Anderson, Illinois; John Fisher, Gillespie; Nate Egnor, Decatur; Harry Ashby, East St. Louis; Loren Norman, Marion; M. G. Jackson, Bradley; Maynard C. Krueger, Chicago; Morris Blumin, Chicago; Rudolph Olson, Chicago; Donald Lotrich, Chicago; and Arthur McDowell, Chicago.

M. E. Kirkpatrick, recently elected Socialist Mayor of Granite City, Illinois, presided over the convention.

'Little Flower' Asks for Prayer; Sick and Tired of Being Mayor

NEW YORK CITY.—Instead of promising that he would do something to reduce the high cost of living for the consumers of New York, Mayor LaGuardia (city father to you), told a committee of women that he was sick and tired of his job and called upon the committee "to pray with me that my program goes over."

The committee, representing the Women's Conference against the High Cost of Living, organized by the Socialist Party, told the Mayor they did not come to pray but get some action.

Before getting an audience with the Mayor, more than 300 women paraded in front of city

hall carrying signs that the cost of living to New York consumers be reduced.

The committee made the following demands on the Mayor:

1. Abolition of the sales tax and the introduction of sales tax on luxuries.
2. City ownership and operation of power plants, telephone service and other public utilities.
3. City marketing and distribution of milk, meat, coal, ice and other necessities.
4. Speeding up of public works, particularly slum clearance and housing.
5. Increase of medical services and lunches to children in the public schools.

"Give Us Our Daily Bread"



It was no prayer but a demand when hundreds of members of the Illinois Workers Alliance marched to the state capital to tell the big boys to hand out relief in a hurry. And they want no sales tax. Let the fat boys provide funds, they said.

John Mooney Travels East To Free Tom

By SAM KRAMER

NEW YORK CITY.—"Even the most reactionary interests in California admit that my brother Tom is innocent," declared John Mooney, 48-year-old younger brother of American labor's outstanding class-war prisoner. "They admit the perjured testimony which convicted him and Billings, but they recognize the danger to predatory business if they are released, and are bending every effort to prevent their vindication which would be a smashing victory for the labor movement."

The vigorous middle-aged man sat on the bed in his New York hotel room, rapidly becoming a shrine for local labor, and talked about the latest speaking tour he was about to begin in behalf of his brother. The official Mooney Moulders Defense Committee and other sympathetic organizations are underwriting the present trip.

"I wanted to go years ago, but Tom insisted that I provide for mother, and let her carry on the brunt of the battle. Tom called me his 'ace in the hole,' the one to carry on the final drive for his vindication."

Twice-Evicted

John Mooney went on with his story. Twice he and his mother were evicted from their homes, after the Mooney defense was begun. When his brother was arrested, John was fired from his job. Through the years, the San Francisco Moulders' and Carmen's Unions were most constant in their support of their brother-member with funds. The Mooneys' union cards were their red badge of courage.

It is not freedom alone that Tom Mooney seeks. That may come soon. The California assembly has passed a bill memorializing the governor to commute his sentence to time already served. But Tom Mooney seeks vindication, and his petition for a writ of habeas corpus is before the State Supreme Court. If that is denied, the next step is the United States Supreme Court, the goal sought for many years. On this, Tom Mooney observed:

"The way it looks now, the big interests are on the spot. If this case reaches the U. S. Supreme Court, the latter would castigate the state courts for a palpable miscarriage of justice."

The spirit of this class-war prisoner is a magnificent reflection of the vitality of the labor movement here. From the days of the Red Special, when the Mooney brothers covered the country with

Workmen's Circle Convention Ends

NEW YORK CITY.—The Workmen's Circle convention here closed after heated debate on a series of resolutions. Particular acrimony was displayed on matters closely connected with the controversy now going on in Socialist ranks.

During the convention, the 900 delegates listened to speeches by Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Charles Solomon, Joseph Schlossberg, David Dubinsky, B. C. Vladeck and others.

The convention encountered its first serious difference of opinion in the matter of electing the president of the Workmen's Circle. Nathan Chanin, who was elected, was attacked by Delegate Lazarus Becker on the ground that his election would make the Workmen's Circle a weapon in the factional fight going on in Socialist ranks. Demanding a secret ballot, he appealed to the convention to maintain neutrality in the fight. In an open vote, Chanin as the only candidate was elected by 651 to 219 after frankly stating that he was carrying on the fight for what he conceived to be "democratic Socialism."

Cahan Resolution

The first resolution to invite opposition was one which expressed regret at the incident in Madison Square Garden when Abe Cahan, editor of the Forward, was booed in delivering an opening address to the convention. The reading of the resolution was interrupted by the delegates and Cahan's name was again booed. Delegate Sobotko took the floor to oppose the resolution, arguing that it should never have been introduced in view of the emotions aroused by the recent anti-Soviet articles of a Forward writer in the Hearst papers. His speech was cheered by the convention.

On a hand vote, it was reported that the resolution had carried by a vote of 453 to 399. There being some dispute as to the accuracy of the count, a roll call was taken resulting in the passage of the resolution by a vote announced as

Gene Debs in behalf of the Socialist and labor movement, and when John Mooney went as a delegate to the Copenhagen convention of the Second International, their determination has not been shaken.

John Mooney is still a registered Socialist, never forgetting his working class solidarity, even when class collaboration with capitalism might have meant freedom for his brother.

"The Socialist Party has always been in the forefront in collecting funds and in fighting for the freedom and vindication of my brother," he said.

430 to 299, with 200 delegates abstaining or reported absent.

A resolution greeting a long list of labor newspapers aroused opposition because of the omission of the American Socialist Quarterly, official theoretical organ of the Socialist Party of the United States, and the SOCIALIST CALL, official organ of the Socialist Party of Ohio, Illinois and West Virginia. Amendments to include the two journals were not entertained by Chairman Chanin.

Appropriations

Opposition was again aroused when the Resolutions Committee reported various appropriations to labor institutions. The New Leader was given \$2,500, of which, it was understood, \$750 is to go to the national office of the Socialist Party and \$250 to the state office of New York. At the last convention \$1,000 was granted to the national office. Motions to include the American Socialist Quarterly and the SOCIALIST CALL in the list were not entertained by the chair. The Young People's Socialist League was given \$300.

A resolution on fascism which ended with the hope that fascism would be replaced in the European countries by "a democratic order" was amended by Delegate Becker to read "a Socialist order." The resolutions committee thereupon changed the resolution to read "democratic and Socialist order."

Under the rules of the Workmen's Circle, all resolutions are now to be submitted to a general referendum. The convention of labor's greatest fraternal organization adjourned after sessions that lasted a whole week.

Local 22 Lectures

A series of popular lectures on a variety of interesting subjects have been arraigned by the educational department of Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Room 316 at 232 West 40th Street. The lectures will begin promptly at 6 P. M.

Francis Henson will speak on "Demagogues and Panaceas of 1935" on Monday, May 20; Bertram D. Wolfe, director of the New Workers School, will speak on "The Jewish Question" on Monday, May 27.

Dillon Ends Strike; Sways Toledo Poll To Company Offer

By JOHN C. TAYLOR

TOLEDO, Ohio.—The Toledo Strike of Chevrolet Workers is over. The 2200 workers returned to their jobs with sullen resentment Wednesday morning on the basis of a set of proposals issued by William S. Knudsen, executive vice-president of General Motors.

The vote to return was 732 in favor and 385 against, although 2200 were entitled to vote.

The vote climaxed a boisterous mass meeting during which Francis J. Dillon, A. F. of L. organizer for the automobile industry threatened to read the local Federal Union out of the A. F. of L.

Dillon left the meeting in the midst of a chorus of boos, but a few minutes later was persuaded to return and made a statement in which he advised the strikers to accept the company proposals. The vote then followed.

Spirit Broken

Disappointed at the result, the workers left the meeting, swearing and fuming. The last to leave was the bedraggled, disheartened strike committee. For three days they had carried on a struggle of wits and endurance against odds so great and so powerful that sooner or later they were bound to break. Standing alone, they fought desperately to salvage something out of the struggle.

Probably no strikers ever had such gigantic pressure brought to bear on them, by friend and enemy alike, in order to break their spirit and crush their resistance. To them must be given whatever honor and glory can be gotten out of the struggle, for hanging on like grim death to the bitter end.

All day Saturday and until three o'clock Sunday morning the strike committee had fought for some concessions from William S. Knudsen, that they could take back to their fellow-workers and recommend acceptance. But Knudsen remained adamant. He conceded nothing. He grew irritated and threatened. He scolded and patronized. He finally yielded only in one point and agreed to an increase of four cents an hour as against the five cents asked by the strikers.

Turned Down

Further than this he could not be budged. A signed agreement with the union was refused. Genuine collective bargaining, with the majority bargaining for the entire plant was absolutely refused. Seniority rights, except those based on the auto code, to which the strikers object, were turned down. And so on as the weary hours dragged on into Sunday morning.

BULLETIN

By SAM ROMER

(By Telegraph to the CALL)

DETROIT, Mich.—The first strike in the history of the Packard Motor Car Company appears imminent only two days after the settlement of the General Motors strike in Toledo. If the strike is called, it will stop production of the small Packard models, which are competing in the low range field.

Four hundred trimmers on the Model 120 line walked out Thursday morning as a protest brought about by the discrimination against James Connors because of his membership in the Mechanic's Educational Society of America.

The company then locked out the entire fifteen hundred workers in the plant. The MESA retaliated by calling a mass meeting Thursday evening to determine a plan of offense against the company.

James A. Wilson, personal representative of William Green at the conference, advised the committee to accept Mr. Knudsen's proposals.

Wilson was supported in his arguments by Thomas J. Williams, federal conciliator and Edward F. McGrady, first assistant secretary of labor, who took turns pleading with the strike committee, then scolding it, in an effort to bend its will.

Isolated

For nineteen hours the strike committee found itself isolated and fighting a hopeless battle. The labor officials in the conference seemed to make no determined effort to force out of Mr. Knudsen any important concessions.

The end of the long conference.

came when Mr. Knudsen said he had certain proposals he was willing to submit to the strikers. These proposals had been drawn up during the conference. He announced that they were the final offer of General Motors Corporation to the Union and unless they were accepted the company was prepared to fight to the bitter end.

Oppose Pact

When the proposals were read they were vigorously opposed by the committee as conceding nothing to the strikers except the wage increase of four cents an hour. All the others in the conference felt differently. Dillon, Wilson, McGrady and Williams, all urged that they be recommended to the strikers as a basis for returning to work. The committee refused to approve, but agreed to submit the proposals to the strikers for a vote.

The following day the newspapers published front page editorials urging the strikers to accept. The radio carried statements that the workers had won a great victory. Dillon issued a statement urging the acceptance of the proposals. Statements from prominent business men and ministers, who had never seen the proposals, were printed, urging the strikers to return to their jobs.

Reforming Ranks

Today the union is silently reforming its ranks. The men are resentful at the hesitant, undetermined stand of the A. F. of L., but those who tore up their cards during the excitement of Monday night have returned to the union.

A new determination based on the bitter experience of the strike is evident. The union was beaten but not crushed and is already looking ahead to the coming inevitable struggle of labor with the lords of the automobile industry.

ALL OUT FOR NEW YORK ANTI-WAR MARCH SAT.

1933—8,000 marched.

1934—10,000 marched.

1935—25,000 to 50,000 are expected to march Saturday, May 18, in New York's NO MORE WAR PARADE.

Labor, Socialist, student, church, and peace groups are sponsoring the parade, which assembles at 1:30 to march up Fifth avenue to Twenty-sixth street, over to Madison avenue, and then down to form a huge demonstration in Union Square.

The parade has been endorsed by officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the joint board of the International Garment Workers, as well as by the Teachers' Union, Locals 51a and 51b of the Building Service Workers, and the Workers' Unemployed Union.

A large section of the parade will be made up of men and women from the Socialist Party, Young Peoples' Socialist League, Red Falcons, Rebel Arts, Jewish Socialist Verband, Young Poale Zion, and Young Circle League.

Members of these groups will assemble on Fifteenth street, between Fifth avenue and Broadway.

Strikes Impend In Needle Trade As Bosses Stall

NEW YORK CITY.—The workers in the Cloak Joint Board of New York are girding themselves for a battle with the bosses. It is expected that a strike will break out in the industry within a very few months.

Preparations for the coming struggle are already under way. It is reported that the Cloak Joint Board has on hand at the present time a campaign chest of \$350,000.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union has taken steps to meet the onslaught of the employers who threaten to prevent renewal of the collective agreement if the union persists in its demands. The bosses are opposed to the provisions, insisted upon by the workers, that contractor-limitation and jobber responsibility clauses be included in any agreement that is signed.

Threat Met

When the manufacturers announced that such provisions could not be renewed, General Manager Nagler of the Cloak Joint Board immediately took steps to meet the threat. He has ordered all shop chairmen to see to it that no Fall goods are manufactured now by employers who would like to avoid the consequences of the expected strike.

Nagler has pointed out that the jobbers who express a willingness to deal with the union on matters affecting hours and wages but not on the question of contractor-limitation and jobber-responsibility are guilty of insincerity, to put it mildly.

It is generally known that the only way to enforce any agreements on hours and pay is through placing responsibility for such conditions directly on the jobbers and in limiting the number of contractors that any jobber may use. The union is prepared to strike in order to assure such terms in the new contract.

Mass Meeting

At the same time the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is arranging a mass-meeting to be held in Madison Square Garden, Thursday afternoon, May 28rd, at 3 o'clock. Having utilized, by means of its organized forces in the great strike two summers ago, the provisions of the National Recovery Act to assure itself of the right to collective bargaining, the ILGWU is now waging a fight to protect its gains.

The rally will be called to express the determination of the workers to fight "against brazen and continued attempts by the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Manufacturers' Association and allied industrial interests to dominate and dictate to Congress and to sabotage all labor and progressive legislation." The meeting will also demand the adoption of "a greater and stronger NRA, the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill and the 30-hour work-week."

They Scared the Auto Bosses



Chevrolet workers turned down with a roar the first proposal of the General Motor Corp. executives that they accept small concessions and return to work. Later, with a smaller number casting ballots, they decided to give in. But they gave the bosses a scare.

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Application for entry as second class matter pending.

World Socialism

Will There Be Unity In France?

By HERBERT ZAM

UNITY NO LONGER ABSTRACT QUESTION

The problem of the re-unification of the revolutionary movement is assuming concrete forms as a result of the decision of the French Socialist Party in favor of a united revolutionary party and the measures it has initiated to carry out this decision.

Two meetings have already taken place to discuss this matter, the first on April 11 and the second on April 18. Both meetings took place in the office of the National Council of the Socialist Party.

The first meeting was attended only by representatives of the Socialist Party and the Party of Proletarian Unity, but at the second meeting there were also present representatives from the Communist Party and from several small groups attached to neither party. At this meeting a Unification Committee was set up, consisting of two representatives from each organization. Each delegation is to submit a draft outlining its ideas on the subject of unity, so that a beginning in the work can be made.

SOCIALIST PARTY'S PROPOSALS

A wide difference exists between the attitude of the Socialist Party and that of the Communist Party on this question. The Socialist Party has laid down the following two points as the basis for a united party and for a unity program:

1. "The organization of the working class as a class party for the conquest of power—which does not mean participation in the government, as to this no confusion is possible today—with a view to transforming capitalist society on Socialist or Communist lines."

2. The action of the party to be laid down by the party itself at its meetings."

Point number two is aimed at preventing a situation where the party would simply be a puppet in the hands of another party, as the Communist Parties are today, having no independent existence so far as the determination of policies or leadership is concerned. The first point leaves the specific formulation of the program of the united party either to the Unity Congress or other future action by the party itself, if agreement on the basic kernel of the program is secured in advance.

C.P. FOR 'UNITY' FROM BELOW

To counter these two points, the Communist Party proposes that joint membership meetings of the organizations of the two parties be organized to discuss the questions of unity. This is another form of the well-known "from below" tactic. The Communist Party refuses to come to an agreement, refuses to commit itself, but wishes joint membership meetings at which to agitate the membership of the Socialist Party. This is obviously not a unity maneuver, but a factional maneuver. The Communist Party has so much faith in the workers, that it is unwilling to leave the decision on all unity questions to the joint membership of the two parties. Or perhaps the fact that the Socialist Party has several times as many members as the Communist Party has something to do with its reluctance to agree to unity.

Another obstacle is very likely to be the demand of the Communist Party that the program of the Communist International be accepted as the program of the united party. This demand has been made in England in the negotiations between the Communist Party and the Independent Labor Party and rejected by the latter.

SECTS FOR DIVISION

An interesting sidelight on the unity negotiations is provided by the role of some of the revolutionary sects. The Trotskyites in France joined the Socialist Party some time ago. At the time of joining they gave a purely factional reason—there might be unity between the two big parties and they didn't want to be left out in the cold. Now that they are in the Socialist Party their sectarian natures once again come to the surface—now they are against unity. The Brandlerites have a similar position. August Thalheimer, the theoretician of the International Communist Opposition, characterizes the demand of the French Party for unity "as senseless manoeuvres" of the "reformists." These sects howled for unity when the two big parties were tearing at each other's throats. But when an approach to unity is actually being made they hasten to put obstacles in the way. To a sect, the sect always comes first.

WHAT NEXT?

With both the Austrian and French Parties on record in favor of organic unity, this is no longer an academic question. Other Parties and groups (particularly the Independent Labor Party of England and the Socialist Party of Sweden, both having no international affiliations) have adopted a similar attitude. This is a matter which has been brought to the front by the new international situation. Important changes have taken place in the Socialist International as a result of the defeat in Germany and the struggles in Austria and Spain. In the Communist camp also important changes have taken place. While the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries have declined, the special position of the Soviet Union prevents it from being the center of a real international movement. The formation of a single, united International would undoubtedly be a tremendous step forward. It would be futile to deny that at present there are tremendous obstacles in the way of such unity. Nevertheless, it is an issue which is bound to confront every important organization sooner or later.

GERMAN RIGHT WING DISRUPTS PARTY

We have just learned that the Prague Central Committee of the German Social Democratic Party has informed the Socialist International that in the future it will have no relations with the two Left comrades, Bechel and Aufhausen, who have till now been members of the Central Committee; that all financial support to the "New Beginning" group is being discontinued; and that the head of the contact work in Carlsbad is removed.

With this action the extreme right wing in the German Social Democracy has destroyed the outward and formal unity which existed in the party up to now. The Left group is well known in the United States among intelligent Socialists. Its program, "Socialism's New Beginning," was published by the League for Industrial Democracy with an introduction by Norman Thomas.

This group is practically the only Socialist group conducting illegal work in Germany and has the support of a majority of the Socialist workers in Germany. The Prague Central Committee is isolated from the German workers and Socialists, and is active only among the emigrants.

The present action of the Prague Central Committee is an effort to utilize its financial power and international contacts as a factional weapon against the Left in the party.

Workers Parties Gain in France By United Votes

The united lists of the workers' parties scored impressive victories in the municipal elections which took place May 8 and 13 in France. Practically all labor political organizations in France, including the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Party of Proletarian Unity and smaller groups reached an agreement as to common candidates in the run-off elections where no verdict was reached in the first election.

The Socialists secured control of 168 cities and towns, the largest number under Socialist control in many years. The Communists captured 90 cities and towns, also a far larger number than heretofore. The left vote was particularly impressive in the large industrial cities, Paris and the suburbs, Lyons and Marseilles.

While in the total increase in vote the Socialist and Communist Parties ran about even, the Communists made a very heavy gain in their representation as a result of the united front. Heretofore they refused to enter into any election agreements with other parties, and therefore seldom could elect any representatives unless they secured an absolute majority on the first ballot. This time, however, in accordance with the agreement between the Communist and Socialist Parties that the candidate receiving the largest vote in the first election should be supported by both parties in the run-off election, many Communists were elected because the Socialist Party threw its strength to them.

Soviet Industry Gains as Fascist Business Is Falling

The Moscow correspondent for the N. Y. Times in the May 11 issue reported a 29 per cent rise in manufactured products in 1934, showing more efficient employment of capital goods.

Even more striking was the increase in industry as compared with 1924, before the five-year plans. In that year total industrial production was only 4½ billion roubles, while in 1934 the total of heavy industry alone was over 55 billion roubles—twelve times as great. Improvement was especially great in electric power, metal working, chemical, military and aviation industries.

Transportation Gains

At the same time gains in transportation, the weakest link of the Soviet industrial structure, were reported.

Repeated attempts at improvement had always failed before the recent appointment of Kaganovitch as Transportation Commissar. In three months he has already brought about fulfillment of the carloading schedule reaching 76,000 cars in one day. A 25 per cent decrease in accidents was also announced.

Germany Crumbles

Meanwhile, the Fascists in Germany are forced to resort to desperate measures to save their crumbling structure.

The export subsidy plan is to be extended to all German industries. Under the plan, the capitalists dump their goods at any price they can get, and receive the difference between value and sales price by way of subsidy.

Exports have shrunk so rapidly because of the labor boycott that the Fascists almost have to give their products away. This also means that they have no trade balance for the imports required by their forced labor program. The need for raw material imports has not been met by the "Esrat" or substitute industry program. Fascist industry can't be "saved" by artificial devices any more than a dead man can be revived by a pulmotor.

Union Weeders Are Turning to Socialism, Says Union Leader

By HY FISH

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—The onion strike in the Scito Marsh in Hardin County, near Kenton, Ohio, will be continued this Summer and a Socialist Party ticket will capture offices this Fall in the village of McGuffey, heart of the strike, Okey Odell, strike leader, said at a meeting here sponsored by the 25th Ward Branch.

Odell told the story of the outbreak of the strike called last June by over 800 onion weeders, and of subsequent jailings, bombings and beatings until the season closed. He assailed Hardin County officials, particularly "the high sheriff" and Mayor Godfrey J. Otts, who first backed the strike and later opposed it.

"The Mayor's house was bombed, and they asked me if I did it," Odell said. "I didn't do it and I said I was sorry for the bombing even though that man wasn't fit to be Mayor. He's a rich man married to the sister of one of the growers. He wouldn't let us hold meetings in the park because I was a Socialist."

"In McGuffey if you're a Socialist you've got to stand for a lot, but we are getting more members and we are going to elect a Mayor who is a Socialist. The marshal would be Socialist now if we had any place to meet in."

"I helped to start the strike because men and women worked for 4½ cents an hour sometimes down there in that hot muck. Little children did too and that ain't right. I once saw a grower step on the hands of little children because the children were lagging behind their parents."

"Some visitors have said that the onion-weeders live in barns down my way. It isn't true. You couldn't call them barns, they aren't even sheds. Very few of these sheds have floors—most of them have only dirt. Hardly any have doors or windows."

"A little while ago I wasn't a Socialist. I had never read a book on Socialism and didn't know what it was—but I am now."

"People ask us a lot of funny things like 'Socialists don't believe in no hereafter?' and I said I didn't know. I didn't guess it made much difference because Socialists are more interested in getting something for the workers right here on the earth."

Odell said he had no home at present because he had been evicted, but was traveling around raising funds to build a headquarters for the strikers and the Socialists in McGuffey. Unions in Toledo have already contributed enough to buy the land and he is hoping to raise enough for the building. Funds for this purpose can be sent to Adam Allen, treasurer, Agricultural Workers Union, No. 19724, McGuffey, Ohio.

In about six weeks, he said, he was going to McGuffey and have a meeting in the park in spite of the Mayor's edict and "maybe see what their jails are like now."

Felix and Settar Freed In Street Meeting Arrest

PHILADELPHIA.—David Felix and Charles Settar, well known Philadelphia Socialists, were arrested here when they attempted to hold a street meeting with loudspeakers at the corner of Germantown and Lehigh Avenues.

The police ordered Felix to stop speaking and took him into custody when he refused. Settar immediately followed him and was dragged off the platform by the police.

Defended by M. Herbert Syme, prominent labor lawyer, the two Socialists were acquitted. The magistrate reprimanded the police and ruled that the amplifiers may be used at political meetings.

Merchants Federation have promised to aid the strikers by not selling Pioneer Brand Ice Cream until the demands of the strikers are met by company officials.

'Prohibit!' Rant Mich. Patriots In Legislature

(Continued from Page One)

signs, or symbols, suggesting the overthrow, by force, violence or other unlawful means, of the government."

Does one read the Declaration of Independence and recite the clause "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it?"

Felon! cry the People of the State of Michigan. Fourteen years! Or do a group of housewives meet to agitate for lower prices for milk or bread for their hungry children and accuse government agencies of being in collusion with the profiteers?

Felons! cry the People of the State of Michigan. Fourteen years! Or do working men and women strike for a decent wage and, in the act of striking, set up headquarters and distribute leaflets?

Felons! cry the People of the State of Michigan. Fourteen years! Here is a summary of the act:

(a) prohibits the advocacy of overthrow of government;

(b) prohibits the publishing, issuing, giving away, selling or distributing any printed or written material which advocates the overthrow of government;

(c) prohibits membership in any society which has as one of its objects the advocacy of the overthrow of government;

(d) prohibits attending any meeting or assembly at which the overthrow of government is advocated;

(e) prohibits owning or occupying any room which is used as a meeting place of persons who advocate the overthrow of government;

(f) prohibits advocating in any public or private school any scheme which contemplates the overthrow of government; and

(g) prohibits possessing any books, etc., etc., wherein appear any words, signs or symbols suggesting the overthrow of government.

The bill was originally intended to be rushed through the state legislature without any hearings whatsoever. As labor and liberal organizations in the state heard of this and rushed their protests to the state capitol at Lansing, a public hearing was ordered and then promptly cancelled and the bill rushed through the lower house.

By this time, resentment against the bill was so strong that the Senate had no choice but to order a public hearing. At the hearing, a packed gallery of workers and farmers from every point in the lower peninsula of the state heard the bill denounced as one which while ostensibly aimed at "communism" (horrid word!) was actually written by the Michigan Manufacturers Association to be used against labor unions.

No Pioneer Ice Cream In Retail Stores' Cones

NEW YORK CITY.—More than 700 workers of the Pioneer Brand Ice Cream Company went out on strike, thereby paralyzing production in three local plants in Greater New York.

The strikers are members of the Ice Cream Workers Union, affiliated with the A F of L.

More than 4,000 stores affiliated with the Cigar and Stationery

ANTI-WAR STRIKE URGED BY BUTLER

By PAUL PORTER

CHICAGO, Ill.—“I would like to see a general strike of the workers against war. In fact, I wish the American Federation of Labor would right now call a one-day protest strike against the naval maneuvers in the Pacific and against the criminal efforts of Hearst, big businessmen and jingos to involve us in a war with Japan.”

Who is speaking?

None other than Major-General Smedley D. Butler, retired commander of the U. S. Marines, only person ever to receive twice the Congressional Medal of Honor for bravery under fire, and a veteran of more front line fighting than any living U. S. military officer. He was twice wounded.

“I spent thirty-five years with the biggest bill collecting agency in the world, the U. S. Marines, before I began to wake up,” he said.

No More Fighting

“I served in every rank, from private to general, and half that time was spent in fighting on foreign soil for the benefit of American bankers. But now I have sworn that I'll never fight again in a war outside our borders, nor let my three sons fight, even if I have to shoot the conscription officer that comes to take us.”

Author of a recently published book, “War Is a Racket,” the General vigorously assailed “bankers, munitions makers, publishers of the Hearst stripe, and strutting peacocks in uniform who drag the working people to slaughter for their own wealth and glory.”

General Butler's approval of a general strike against war was voiced in answer to a question by Ernest Erber, leader of the Chicago Young People's Socialist League.

“But let's don't wait until a general strike is necessary,” he urged. “Fight war now, get out on the streets and parade. Don't let the war crowd have the show to themselves.”

He praised the student strike against war on April 12, and warmly congratulated Al Hamilton, national chairman of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, who led the strike in the Chicago district. Only militant action by youth, the workers and the churches could stop the approaching war, he declared.

The basic cause of war, in the

view of “Old Gimlet Eye of the leathernecks,” is the expansion of capital from highly industrialized countries to less developed regions.

“I was in the crowd that seized the Isthmus of Panama. We could have bought it but the Colombian legislators wanted personal shake-downs of \$3,500 each before they'd sell their country's land. That's a bigger bribe than is paid legislators in Pennsylvania so Theodore Roosevelt said ‘We'll just take it.’ I was one of those sent down to do the grabbing.”

The Fascist Offer

General Butler related the story that he had told the Dickstein Congressional investigating committee about how he had been asked to lead a Fascist army in America, and how he had rejected the offer. He charged that the Dickstein Committee had gotten cold feet and had refused to trace the Wall Street connections of the Fascist group.

“I hate fascism as much as I hate war,” he said.

He feared that Father Coughlin represented dangerous Fascist tendencies, though his program could not as yet be accurately described as Fascist.

Concerning Huey Long: “I agree that the national wealth must be redistributed. But Long, I think, is too much the opportunist. His program is very vague and doesn't go nearly far enough.”

The General accused Roosevelt of being anti-labor.

“I made sixty speeches for Roosevelt in 1932, but I'm sorry I did. In Andy Mellon's aluminum town, New Kensington, Pa., I made four talks for Roosevelt. Today I'm ashamed to face those workers.”

“I don't mind saying that I am frankly and wholly on the side of labor. A lot of public officials have the idea that in a strike a pane of glass is worth more than a worker's life.”

Last week General Butler, with Francis J. Gorman, first vice-president of the United Textile Workers, testified for the Connery bill to ban the National Guard in labor disputes.

The General is not a Socialist, at least not yet, he says. “I have believed that capitalism could be controlled to give the workers a fair break. But I confess my faith in capitalism is steadily growing weaker.”

AT THE FRONT

by

Norman Thomas



COUGHLIN SPIEL NOT EVEN GOOD PANACEA FOR HEARERS; INFLATION UNDER CAPITALISM ENDS IN HARM TO WORKERS; ONE DICTATOR DEAD—OLD STYLE

TWENTY-SIX thousand people, according to one report, paid a quarter each to see and hear Father Coughlin at Cleveland. And what did they get? An exhortation to defeat anyone who opposed the Patman Bonus Bill and to demand that Roosevelt sign the bill. A longer exhortation to oppose the Eccles Banking Bill in favor of a federally owned reserve system or central bank!

This isn't even good patent medicine for the poor folks that listened to it. Supposing the priest is right about the Patman Bill and the Eccles Bill—I am coming to that later—at best neither one of these measures, or both of them together, will make much difference to the multitudes who blindly grope for plenty, peace and freedom. They will not affect unemployment or human exploitation in any basic sense.

For a capitalist government to own a central reserve bank may or may not reduce the power of Wall Street, but it will make precious little difference to the workers in the hour when capitalism, and not merely the banking system, is failing.

Father Coughlin's more recent radio attack on sharing the wealth probably indicates that he does not want to go along in one movement with Huey Long; it certainly indicates, in the form in which he made it, his support of capitalism and his acceptance of the delusion that without changing capitalism we can be well off if only we will distribute better what capitalism produces, to which the priest adds the further delusion that all we have to do is to tinker with the money system in order to get this better distribution.

Unless Father Coughlin has more to offer the country than this, his day of power and glory will not be long.

His Tactics Can't Succeed

Father Coughlin's large meetings, first at Detroit and then at Cleveland, by what he did and did not do, show that he is going to adopt the technique of the Anti-Saloon League for his National Union for Social Justice rather than proceed at once to form a political party.

Now this concentration on particular measures and the direction of a mass of organized voters to support or defeat politicians solely on the basis of their attitude towards these measures, may get certain immediate results, but this high-priest of our social salvation ought to remember two things:

(1) In the end the Anti-Saloon League lost, and it lost partly, at least, because it could cudgel unwilling legislators to vote for its measures, but could not generate and maintain those popular and official attitudes which would enforce them.

(2) The Anti-Saloon League wanted only one thing. Father Coughlin is obliged to want several things. His power and glory will depend on controlling courts, presidents, and governors, as well as legislatures; on administering as well as enacting legislation. To do that requires more than the technique of the Anti-Saloon League and more than a policy of having a National Union for Social Justice enrich the Western Union by wiring to Congress. Sooner or later Father Coughlin will have to make or capture a political party and give it a more philosophic appeal or pass out of the picture. His tactics may be good for today but not for tomorrow.

The Bonus Matter

So far as the bonus is concerned, there are a great many people who have a better claim on immediate aid from the government than veterans who have jobs—many of them government jobs which they got because of preferential treatment under civil service.

If the bonus is to be paid to all veterans indiscriminately regardless of need, it is probable that to pay it by printing money rather than floating bonds would not of itself be harmful. Interest-bearing bonds are terribly expensive and they have by now been issued in such quantity that they represent not real investment, as capitalism views investment, but a manufacture of bank credit. To issue two billion dollars more to pay veterans would be a further incitement to credit inflation.

There is, however, a real danger that the psychological effect of the Patman plan will be to en-

courage an indefinite printing of money, with nothing behind it but the printing press, and that way lies disaster. It is not dangerously inflationary to issue new money rather than interest bearing bonds when that new money is secured by the value of the new wealth and new work created. It would have been far less inflationary to pay for housing and public works by printing money than to begin by paying an old debt that way. Indeed, to issue money, secured by the value of the new wealth created under a public works and housing program, would have been much more reasonable than the silver buying which created so much trouble in China and Mexico and did no one in America any good except silver mine owners.

The notion that any monetary change under capitalism of itself will save us, or for that matter complete the ruin of capitalism, is mistaken. Nevertheless a big inflation would in the end do vast harm to the workers.

Philippine Independence

That revolt in the Philippine Islands may have been small and easily crushed. It ought to be a warning to decent Americans. We have by no means settled the Philippine question by giving the Islands ultimate independence on terms that come close to meaning economic ruin. It is not the fault of the Filipinos that the hope of our imperialists of making money out of the Islands didn't turn out very well.

It is a shameful and ungenerous thing to grant the Islands independence simply in order to get rid of the competition of their products within the American tariff boundaries into which we drew the Islands willy-nilly. It is moreover a dangerous thing to have a ten-year probation period in which the responsibility of America is great and its power vague.

The Filipinos should be granted immediate independence on decent economic terms. This is the only way of insuring international safety as well as justice.

Another Dictator Gone

Pisudski is dead; another Dictator gone. On the whole the Polish boss was more in the old fashioned line of dictator than one of the makers of Fascism. He was an outstanding illustration of the way in which excessive nationalism and militarism can sometimes corrupt Socialism. His Socialism did not even make a good fight against this corruption.

The Declaration

News comes that Belgian Socialists are finding our American Socialist Declaration of Principles helpful in working out their position. I find that, put to the actual test of questions in forums, the essential commonsense Socialism of the Declaration stands out. It may be improved here and there in wording, but fundamentally it states the right position; we intend to use to the utmost every possible means of orderly and aggressive organization open to us.

We seek the ways of peace, but we shall not lie down before war or Fascism, and it is our duty to make this clear while we struggle to develop the organizations which will give power to prevail against the oncoming of new Dark Ages.

An Encouraging Trip

Things I have seen and heard on this trip that are encouraging:

The magnificent struggle of the cotton garment strikers, mostly women, in Decatur, Ill.

The excellent spirit of Illinois Socialists on the eve of their State Convention.

The success of the first Socialist Carnival and Fair at St. Louis.

The great outpouring of farmers and workers in support of the Kefler (Socialist) Bill in Madison, Wis.—a bill opposed at the hearing by the Chamber of Commerce and the Communists. It caught the Progressives off their guard. In the end they had to rally to it.

By the way, what is the matter with the Wisconsin Progressive Party is illustrated by the fact that 17 of their legislators voted for an American Legion Bill to put the Communist Party off the ballot.

Shipyard Workers' Tie-up Halts Construction of Battleships

(Continued from Page One)

build battle ships,” the men are endorsing their unique checks and reporting regularly for monster picket lines of 3,000 or more.

As the strike got underway, John Green had in his pocket statements from the local relief director and from the mayor of Camden, retracting the threat of last week that no strikers would be given relief, and pledging the support of the city in maintaining a peaceful strike, free from police interference.

Having grown in the past year from a one-plant organization to a national union with ten locals on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, the industrial union is now fighting for its existence against the combined forces of the big shipyard owners.

Showdown in Camden

The American Shipbuilders Council picked Camden as the strategic point for a drive to wipe the union, from the industry. When the union agreement expired May 11, the New York Ship tried to bluff the union officials into accepting a contract that would have dismembered the organization and set up a company union in its place.

To further their schemes they tried to use the Industrial Relations Committee set up under the code as an arbitration board, knowing full well that they would have the support not only of the industry members of the committee, but also of the labor members who are all A F of L craft union officials, bitterly opposed to the industrial union which has been successful in organizing the shipyards where they have miserably failed.

But the Negotiating Committee for the Camden workers, led by Tom Gallagher, didn't fall for their shell game, and called on the rank and file to show fight. Two labor members of the Industrial Relations Committee who came to Camden on Monday to look things over left that evening again for Washington, when the union refused to accept them as their representatives in arbitration proceedings.

At a great mass meeting in the Convention Hall of Camden, on Sunday, the shipyard workers unanimously pledged their support of the leadership and mapped out plans for the strike.

John Green, who led last year's strike, was greeted with thunder-

ous applause when he called upon the men to duplicate their feat of 1934 when they closed the yard up tight for seven weeks and emerged victorious. Philip Van Gelder, executive secretary of the national organization, threatened a general strike of the entire industry if New York Ship does not come to terms in short order.

The Department of Labor sent in a conciliator in a vain attempt to prevent the strike, which holds

up production on \$38,000,000 worth of naval vessels.

A relief committee has been set up to facilitate putting union members on relief at once. Union officials whose salaries stop for the duration of the strike are also applying.

The union is asking for a closed shop, 15 per cent increase in wages to cover the rise in the cost of living, and maintenance of the 36-hour week.

The company countered with what amounts to a company union proposal, no increase in wages, but an increase in hours to 40 per week so as to “provide a weekly increase in income.” The company which made millions out of the United States Government during and since the war, “cannot afford to pay an extra penny in wages.” The workers think they've heard that before, and are out to force an increase.

Editorials

It's Up to the Membership

AFTER sensational reports in the capitalist press regarding an impending split in the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council grudgingly voted to grant international charters for the workers in the automobile and rubber industries. This move, welcome though it is, is rather belated.

The Executive Council is far behind the membership in its desire to readjust the structure and methods of the A. F. of L. so as to make possible the organization of the millions of workers in basic industries who are ready to be taken into its ranks. The Executive Council has been hesitant and dilatory in its organization work; it has mishandled situation after situation—steel, the Akron rubber situation and the Toledo Chevrolet strike are only forceful examples. Its organizers in the field have been dictatorial, abusive and un-cooperative.

All these things have created tremendous dissatisfaction among the workers, both in and outside the A. F. of L. and have supplied ammunition to the split-mongers.

Everyone interested in the welfare of the American labor movement must declare unhesitatingly against splitting the American Federation of Labor. All split talk must be scotched; it is a help to the employers. Only the employers and the bureaucrats can profit from a split.

Instead of such talk the progressive forces must organize to bring pressure to compel the Executive Council to carry out the will of the membership. That this might require a change in the personnel of the Council must not stand in the way—it is all the more reason for organizing and working.

Russia and the Socialist Call

THE SOCIALIST CALL has made its position on the Soviet Union perfectly clear in its handling of the notorious Lang incident. Comrades have asked whether our objection to the Lang articles was based exclusively on the ground that they were published in the Hearst press. We objected to that. But we also objected to the content of the articles.

We do not hold to the notion that criticism of the Soviet Union is taboo. The working class in Russia is no more exempt from the commission of errors than the revolutionary workers in other countries. Nor do we consider the leadership in the Soviet Union infallible. We reserve the right to criticism in the case of the Soviet Union just as we do in the case of other sections of the International Labor movement, of which we consider the Soviet Union to be an important part. The critic himself may be mistaken—that can be settled only in the course of comradely interchange of views—and criticism.

In short, when the SOCIALIST CALL criticizes the Soviet Union, it is as a friend, seeking to call attention to avoidable errors or shortcomings and to necessary improvements. Our objective is to help the work of establishing a Socialist society which can really serve as a beacon to the workers elsewhere, so that the entire Socialist movement will be strengthened.

The Lang articles, on the other hand, bore the imprint of an enemy of the Soviet Union, aimed at weakening, if not destroying, a country which is striving to build a Socialist society. Hearst gobbled them up because their contents lent themselves so readily to Hearst's anti-Socialist propaganda and anti-labor campaign. The SOCIALIST CALL has nothing in common with such articles.

Supreme Court Shows Class Bias

BY a vote of five to four the Supreme Court has declared the railway pensions law invalid. One more prop of the "New Deal" collapses.

The majority trots out once more the fourteenth amendment to the constitution. The railway pensions act was "violative of due process of law." Judge Roberts who wrote the decision attacked "a law" that gave pensions to those "who have been discharged for dishonesty and for gross negligence and those who have been automatically retired."

This decision is in line with the class bias that animates the Supreme Court. The gold clause decision, which some hailed as "liberal" was dictated by expediency and the fear of immediate economic collapse. The Scottsboro decision was dictated by the desire to avoid the reproach of another Sacco-Vanzetti affair. In this case the court had a clear road ahead—and it acted just as it wished.

"In the Spring a Young Man's Fancy"

The editor was considerably dismayed to find that both Mac Coleman and Sam De Witt had set to writing their wills this week. We hardly think the season such as to make our ink-slingers morbid, and we trust we shall have some explanation of the peculiar coincidence which has turned the thoughts of our two columnists to the inevitable. Alas, the path of glory leads but to a last will and testament.

DON'T OPPOSE WAR BY YOURSELF



JOIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The Uneda Strike Settlement

To the Editor:

May I point out several mis-statements of fact in the article on the settlement of the National Biscuit Company strike which appeared in your issue of May 11. I have been closely connected with the strike since January, am still working with the union, and my statements are based on knowledge of facts, not on hearsay. I sat on the platform at the meeting when the vote was taken on the agreement which terminated the strike. I was permitted to read the contract after Mr. Hines read it to the strikers, and I found that he had read the entire agreement as it was written.

Both Mr. Hines and Mr. Galvin admitted frankly that there were things in the contract which they, as labor men, did not like. There was no attempt to gloss over the weaknesses in the contract or to pull the wool over anybody's eyes. Mr. Galvin distinctly said that if he had been offered such a contract in the first few weeks of the strike he would have torn it up. However, this was the 17th week, and it was wiser to accept this agreement, which offered a basis for preserving the union, than to continue the strike, which was not likely to result in a better settlement.

You also stated that there were 1000 workers present who did not vote. There were a total of about 2000 strikers present at this meeting, and a few hundred did not vote. The 1667 strikers who voted to accept the settlement constituted a majority not only of those present but of the total number on strike.

Contrary to the statement that no strikebreakers had been fired, all 800 were fired two days after the strike was called off, and only a handful of 8 or 10, who had been brought in from other plants, remained at work in the agencies.

No yellow-dog contract has been signed by any member of the union who returned to work. A circular declaring the NBC an open shop and warning employees against union activity in the shop, with threat of dismissal, was distributed to all re-hired workers. In fact, most of the members who have gone back remain in the union despite all intimidation efforts of the company, and nearly 300 came into the union office to pay their dues after their first week's work, which, in view of the fact

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

that they had been unemployed for 18 weeks and in dire need of money, indicates their loyalty to the union.

In your report of the May 8 meeting, which I attended, you state that 400 strikers had been re-employed whereas nearly 700 were already back. You make no mention of the fact that a full and free discussion on the subject of contract violations was held by the membership, that a complete report of conferences held by union officers with the management of the company was given by Mr. Galvin, who also stated that thus far nothing has been gained through these conferences. A motion to declare a re-strike was overwhelmingly rejected by the membership, pending another conference with the management.

I am not making these corrections in order to defend the National Biscuit Company, against whom the union is now lodging discrimination charges before the Regional Labor Board. I make these corrections not only because I believe you are interested in giving a true account, but because I feel that such mis-statements tend to weaken the union by implying serious criticism of the leadership, criticism which is untenable when the true facts are known. No one who has a true knowledge of what has gone on in this strike can fail to realize that it is largely due to the integrity and the fighting spirit of William Galvin, the president, that anything at all has been achieved.

I feel in this critical time, when both officers and union are patiently and bull-doggedly fighting to preserve their organization and enforce the contract, that any one who circulates false accounts is helping the NBC rather than the union. I know that this is the last thing you want to do and I therefore trust that in the future you will exercise more care in checking information.

ELEANOR MISHNUN,
Organizer N. Y. Women's Trade Union League.
New York.

WHAT PRICE SUSPENSION?

To the Editor:

The Central Committee of Local New York has voted to suspend Harry Lang from party activity for a year.

This is entirely inadequate punishment for the disgrace that Lang has brought upon the party, not locally, but nationally. It is a measure of the degree to which the Central Committee is now undemocratically controlled by those forces which also control the Jewish Daily Forward.

In this connection it is interesting to speculate on what suspension means to Harry Lang. He has never been active as a party speaker or in the work of the branches or of party committees. His sole activity as a Socialist has been confined to his services to the Forward and possibly to the Workmen's Circle.

Does suspension from the party imply suspension from the Forward? If it does, what measures will the party take to enforce its decision? If it does not, what does Lang's suspension mean? Is it then an empty gesture designed as a sop to those elements that were calling for his expulsion?

These are not academic questions. The booing of Abraham Cahan when he appeared at the Workmen's Circle Convention indicates that vast masses of workers who formerly followed Cahan and the Forward have been alienated by this latest performance of the Forward and its personnel.
New York. A COMRADE.

Call Association To Meet May 25

The Socialist Call Association will meet Saturday afternoon, May 25, at 3 p. m. to take up the business left unfinished at the end of the last meeting held two weeks ago.

The unfinished business includes the election of members, who do not reside within the metropolitan area, to the Board of Directors, consideration of those provisions of the constitution which were not reached at the last meeting because of lack of time, and the report of the applications for membership referred to the membership committee.

Turn to The Left

By S. A. De WITT

The Last Will and Testament of ye Columnist

(after the fashion and rhythmic manner of one
Francois Villon

1.

By these presents, may all men know:
I, Sam De Witt, of Gotham Town,
Quite sane of mind, or nearly so,
Desire to set my last will down.
And since I share in some renown,
Beyond my traffic in merchandise,
With some as poet, and some as clown,
There may be chatter at my demise. . . .

2.

Enough by two full score and two
Of lusty years as mine have been,
Where many lads and lasses, too,
Have found good moments to gossip in;
And since I know how much of sin
I dared to hide or take to bed:
Here is a trough to wallow in,
That there be silence when I am dead.

3.

Enough has been said and cudded on. . . .
My wit, my witlessness, my skill,
The things I did and left undone,
The space I filled and could not fill. . . .
There is no use for the grunting mill,
When the grain is ground and sacks are sewed.
The run is done, the stones lie still,
Like beasts asleep beside their load.

4.

Much I will say no man has known,
And though it be that none may know,
Let me rot easily under my stone,
And give no taint to rain and snow;
I wish to crumble for friend and foe
Into a dust so sure and dry
That none will need to poke and show
Where I have hidden the slightest lie. . . .

5.

Item . . . I leave to the Ghetto streets
Wherein my youth was spent and lost,
The dregs in my cup of soured defeats,
The beastly strains that have so drossed
A poet's gold. Who can sum the cost
In strangled music and broken dream
When a tremulous child is rudely tossed
Into the muck of a gutter stream?

6.

Item . . . I leave to the public school,
My sprightliest rhythm and brightest rhyme.
Though much it gave to me was drool,
And often made me a mumbling mime,
Yet every root that I took in time
And space and circumstance, repairs
To the summit where we could climb
By four hard flights of slated stairs.
(To Be Continued)

More to Come

This will and testament business may be continued ad boredom. The first six verses are samples. And whether you like them or no, you're being let in for a poetical adventure that will make Pepys and Villon sound like starved confessionals.

This promise you have: none of this material will ever see the black of Hearst's ink.

Art Young and his loyal aide-de-camp, Joe La Cava, asked me the other day what I intended to paragraph this week. I told them that this time it would be good to enlarge on dictators, dictatorships, Huey and Coughlin.

Your columnist sat before his typewriter for an hour and couldn't get riled up enough to say anything worth while repeating about a clever clown and a thick-headed cleric.

And then, there has been this dictatorship of the bourgeoisie ever since Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown. . . .

It's an idea therefore to let this poem fill in when indignation yawns and words refuse to snarl.

Installments on this Testament, however, will appear infrequently enough to please you all.

"HEP! HEP!"

By DAVID P. BERENBERG

The radical movements of America have been almost uniformly unfortunate in their associations with the stars of the literary heaven. The group of literateurs who blessed the Socialist movement with their presence in the days when to be a Socialist was an act of daring, the group that included William Bullit, Ernest Poole, William English Walling, Max Eastman, Floyd Dell, Jack London, et al, were at best an uncertain quantity.

The war showed most of them up. Upton Sinclair, with his health vagaries, his utopian colonialism, his penchant for publicity, did us no good. The later adherence of Heywood Brown proved less disastrous partly because it was so short-lived.

Today it is the Communists who are plagued with literary lights. Today it is the daring, the spectacular thing for a rising writer (shall we say, for one who must at all costs capture the public attention?) to don the Marxist cloak and to "go Communist." Today, in consequence, it is they who must pay the penalty when one of the literary gentlemen whom they have taken to their bosom goes loco and does the queer, irresponsible things for which literary men are notorious.

Dreiser Gone Daffy

It is Theodore Dreiser who calls for these reflections. After a long career of "liberalism," "socialism," and finally of "communism," Dreiser has gone anti-Semitic.

The proof lies in two letters to Hutchins Hapgood, which Hapgood publishes in the "Nation" for April 17. In these letters the novelist commits himself to statements like these:

"If you listen to Jews discuss Jews you will find they are money-minded, very pagan, very sharp in practice, and—"

"In America Jewish temples are multiplying as rapidly as Catholic churches—"

"It is admitted now that there are at least 2,400,000 (Jews) in New York City. In other cities, they bear the same ratio to the population." (Italics mine.)

"The Jews lack, if I read the Pennsylvania Bar Association correctly, the fine integrity which at least is endorsed, and, to a degree, followed by the lawyers of other nationalities."

"He (the Jew) has been in America all of two hundred years, and he has not faded into a pure American by any means, and he will not."

"For this reason I maintain that it is the hour in which laissez-faire liberalism might be willing to step aside at least to the extent of suggesting, to an even advising the Jew to undertake a land of his own."

Nazi Influence

There is more, but this is enough. From Communism, Dreiser learned to condemn "laissez-faire liberalism." He has already been affected by Nazi influences. Now he sees nothing illogical in applying this contempt for "liberalism" to an advocacy of the expulsion of the Jews from America, for this, and nothing else, is what is implied in the "suggestion" that the Jew "undertake a land of his own."

What moved him to these views we do not know. There may have been a deep blue streak of anti-Semitism in him long before Hitler made Jew-hating fashionable. If so, it will appear in his works. He may, on the other hand, have read the Nazi hand-writing on the wall. In any case, the plight of the Communists, who have made much of him, is pitiable; and pathetic will be their effort to disown him.

It is worth noting here that in Germany the battle between the Communist Party and the Nazis was well-won. There were many who found it possible to vote, now for one, now for the other; to fight in the Storm Troops today and in the ranks of Red Front tomorrow;

even to pay dues in the one organization and then in the other. The two organizations had one thing in common—a hatred for "liberalism" and for "democracy."

Communist Blunder

Of course, Communists will argue that their hostility to "liberalism" meant opposition to the bourgeois state and to bourgeois hypocrisy. They will hasten to state that they favor rights for "oppressed" nationalities, that they are not "anti-Semitic" and that the record of Soviet Russia in this respect bears them out.

Granted. All these things do not absolve them from responsibility. Opposition to all "liberalism," to all "democracy," may as well lead to Fascism as to a Soviet State. Communists cannot guarantee that all who absorb their political leadings will remain true to their social and economic creed. Reactionaries as well as revolutionaries can play at that game. The case of Dreiser is a case in point.

The Communist movement the world over, would today be in a far better position had it made clear, by words and actions, that "dictatorship of the proletariat" meant an extension of democracy among the workers rather than its curtailment.

There were so many grounds on which the capitalist system could be attacked that to attack, not the distortion of democracy in the capitalist state, but "liberalism" and "democracy" themselves, was atrociously bad strategy. The fruit of that strategy is Hitler. One of its minor blossoms is Dreiser.

5,000 Observe Hero's Funeral

By MARJORIE KIPP

STOCKTON, Cal. — May Day was observed here in a grim manner with a mass funeral for Ray G. Morency, striking warehouse worker, who was slain by the son of the head of a notorious anti-union trucking firm.

Five thousand people were in the funeral procession which moved silently through the center of the city and thousands more lined the streets to catch a glimpse of the coffin.

In addition to the union groups, a strong representation from the Stockton Local of the Socialist Party marched at the invitation from the Central Labor Council.

For two weeks the Weighers, Warehousemen and Cereal Workers Union, a branch of the International Longshoremen's Association, had been conducting a strike for recognition of the union, preferential hiring, and higher wages. The Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers' Association, for twenty years successful in suppressing labor organization, replied with terror and intimidation, which culminated in the murder of the vice-president of the union.

Organized labor has taken on new life here and has resolved to make Stockton as strong a union town as it was before the war.

Queensland Labor Wins Nearly 3-1 Majority

Labor has won another smashing victory in the recent Queensland, Australia, elections.

The previous parliamentary majority for Labor had been: Labor, 33; Country Nationalists (coalition of conservative parties), 29.

Now it stands: Labor, 45; Country Nationalists, 17.

Written In Red

By McALISTER COLEMAN

PRESIDENT HARRIMAN of the United States Chamber of Commerce has found out what's wrong with all of us.

It seems that we are suffering from a bad attack of "headlong idealism." This ailment had its onset with the coming of the New Deal, and unless it is soon checked, bids fair to do us all in.

However, Mr. Harriman is hopeful. He thinks that when men of good horse-sense with their feet on the ground, such as infest his Chamber, get going again, we'll drop this idealistic nonsense and go back to the good old days of plain or garden hi-jacking with no frills about it.

As I don't get to playing around much with the boys in the Chamber of Commerce, I don't know where Mr. Harriman has been, except of course, in the rotogravures, these past few years. I recall that he's had a lot of conferences with A F of L leaders. But I don't imagine that he bumped into enough "headlong idealism" really to upset him at those conferences. Perhaps he's been out with Headlong Idealist Jim Farley or H. I. Donald Richberg or some of our dreamy admirals who are poking fun at Japan in the shape of an armada of airships and a couple of gross of battle cruisers.

Anyway I'll bet it comes to most of you as news that what General Johnson delicately calls "the ants in our pants" are in reality caused by super-idealism. It is my simple duty to pass on to you the great thoughts of the Great Thinkers who guide our destinies and this done, I proceed to other matters with a clear conscience.

Doings at Columbia

Up at Columbia University, Clarence Lovejoy (ain't that a lovely name, girls?), Secretary of the Alumni Association, has been throwing Page One fits over the "spread of radicalism" on the campus. Owing to this spread it turns out that a number of rich riff-raff among the alumni have got so steamed up that they aren't going to leave the university anything in their wills.

In the Name of God, Amen

As a staunch alumnus always eager to pull my Alma Mater out of any financial holes into which she may sink, I have sent the following letter to Clarence:

My Dear Mr. Lovejoy:

No more cheering news has come out of Columbia for many a day than your statement that anxiety over the spread of radicalism has led to the defection of several of our alumni who have rescinded bequests made in their wills to Columbia.

I had no idea that things were going so well at my Alma Mater. In grateful recognition of the new spirit of enlightenment on the Heights and in order to compensate in my humble fashion for any losses the University may suffer from the said defections, I have instructed my attorneys, Hanrahan, Hanrahan, O'Shaughnessy, Shea and Slavinsky to change my last will and testament to the following effect:

"Being of more or less sound mind and body, I hereby give and bequeath, his pendens, habeas corpus, post hoc propter hoc (you boys fill in the proper legal Latin), the following:

"Item: One potty chair, slightly worn, the former property of my youngest daughter. This chair is to be known as The Coleman Chair for Research Into Radical Activities to Be Conducted Under the Auspices of the Columbia Alumni News.

"Item: One remnant of the shell of an ex-egg which was thrown at me by a non-radical undergraduate while I was speaking on behalf of free speech at Columbia.

"Item: A copy of Milton's Arcopagitica. (Note to rescinding alumni: this book, written by a subversive blind radical, is in English, though you may not have suspected it.)

"Item: Excerpts from the inaugural addresses of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. (Note: these were two American Presidents.)"

It is with due humiliation that I realize that from a financial standpoint, the above requests will in no way atone for the losses incurred by the regrettable defection of my fellow alumnus, the broker from Great Neck, L. I., whose action you attribute to the activities of members of the N S L and the L I D. But after all, Clarence, it's the spirit back of the gift that counts, isn't it?

Trusting that other alumni, cheered as I am by the appearance of independent thinking on the part of a portion of Columbia's undergraduate body, will follow my example, I remain,

Cheerfully yours,

McALISTER COLEMAN,

Columbia '09.

Now that I think of it, I really should have saved the gold medal I received some years ago from King's Crown as a posthumous award for "distinguished non-athletic services" (two citations) while an undergraduate. Unfortunately I sold it to an old gold man who tells me that it is now hopelessly melted up to form an important part of our coinage reserve which alone stands between us and the horrors of inflation. So Clarence will just have to stagger along with the corporeal hereditaments above mentioned.

Gorky

One of the world's great novelists, Maxim Gorky, spends much time aiding young writers. He is shown speaking during a recent conference.



Education Under Capitalism

By MARK STARR

Before discussing changing relations of government in education, a few words on the purpose and perspectives of education will be in place. The main purpose of all governments is to use education as a stabilizing force to perpetuate their own power.

Woolly-minded folk who gush about education as if it were above the battle of economic and political struggles will be shocked by such a statement but they must face the facts. The modern textbook writer is the equivalent of the oldtime court minstrel who earned his bread by chanting songs about the daring deeds of his noble patron.

But now it is the system and not a single individual which is glorified. War was the only profession that the feudal baron taught his followers, but now, in order to keep the modern capitalist system running, boys and girls must be taught reading, writing and arithmetic in order to become sales clerks, factory hands and coal diggers. In addition to this elementary knowledge which a modern worker must have to give change correctly, read directions on packages, type letters, etc., he is also instructed in the philosophy that this is the best of all possible worlds; and that our own tribal gang is the best and most civilized of all.

Modern Robots

Thus the modern system secures its robots who, after six years of depression, are only just now beginning to wake out of their puzzlement and now only to fall for the illusions of Roosevelt, Huey Long and Coughlin. The lower orders, as Cobbett foretold, have been successfully indoctrinated with the principles of submission to authority; they have been educated to bear the yoke. After all, it is much cheaper to fill docile brains with perverted education than it is to fire bullets at rebellious wage-slaves.

Thus the Mellons, the Morgans and the Duponts are able to give your life for their country, always finding willing victims.

The truth of these assertions is not gainsaid when we note that many capitalists shortsightedly oppose the advances of public education. The old country squires feared that booklearning would make the worker no longer "content in that station of life into which it had pleased God to call him." Away back in 1670 Governor Berkeley of Virginia was able to thank God there were no free schools nor printing.

"I hope," said he, "we shall not have them these hundred years for learning has brought disobedience and heresy into the world and printing has divulged them, together with libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"

For Child Labor

The modern capitalists, fearing the loss of child labor, fought the early American unions when they wished, to shut the factory gates and open the school door for young America. Certainly the modern labor movement would not be possible unless trade unionists were literate. But when, for example, one considers the power given to such a public enemy as William Randolph Hearst over the masses who have been taught to read but not to think, the drawbacks of literacy are obvious. Our few labor papers are like a man with a sore throat trying to shout down a loudspeaker.

Because a tiny fraction of teachers in the schools and colleges are now rebelling against their assignments as robot-trainers, Mr. Hearst sees red and shouts violently against every at-

Bosses Use Education As Propaganda To Keep the Population in Submission

tempt to tell the truth about social problems. He sends his snoopers around to eavesdrop at classroom doors. He pays them to secure interviews with college professors under false pretences to get statements which are deliberately distorted to incriminate anyone using the right of free thought.

Hearst Influence

Now, thanks to Hearst and other nationwide evil influences, there is a tendency in almost every state to enforce oaths of loyalty to things as they are. Local governments, which generally foot the bills for education, are making conscious attempts to prostitute the school into upholding the despotism of the industrial and money lords and to suppress every criticism of existing institutions.

Patriotic fundamentalism is as dangerous to humanity as it is cockeyed in its approach to every phase of economic evolution. The growing tendency to intimidate teachers and to regiment our youth is a disturbing change in education.

In addition to this attempt to undermine truth and mental integrity and to tamper with the quality of education, there is a serious reduction in the quantity of education facilities available. Before the depression the United States was on the way to end illiteracy. By 1930 the proportion of the population over ten years of age, who could not write in

Mark Starr, who was extension director at Brookwood Labor College, is recognized as one of America's foremost educationalists.

This article is part of a radio address delivered over station WEVD.

some language, had been reduced to 4.3 per cent.

But even during the so-called "prosperity" period, 1922 to 1929, from 1 to 2 million children—perhaps a larger number—were forced to leave school and work for a mere pittance in the industries of the country. Poorly paid

and untrained teachers too often were handicapped by hungry pupils. Some millions of children in so-called prosperous U. S. A. went to school suffering from malnutrition. The good school can not exist in the bad society.

Depression Toll

The depression has taken a heavy toll on education. In the face of a 24 per cent increase in high school enrollment in the past few years, the number of teachers and school administrators has actually decreased. At least 2 million children are now deprived of the education required by law.

According to Dr. Harry W. Laidler in his recently issued pamphlet, "America in the Depression," school expenditures decreased in 1932-33 by about \$400,000,000, and, in the following year by another \$170,000,000 to make the total a half-billion below the pre-depression year of 1928-29.

This reduction occurred despite the fact that enrollments increased by 675,000. Expenditures per child enrolled decreased during these five years from \$90 to \$66. Many schools were shut down completely.

In the early part of 1933, it was reported that 2,269 schools in 11 states had been closed, involving nearly 150,000 children. By March 30, schooling had been suspended in 50 out of 67 counties in Ala-

MARXISM FOR TODAY

Revolutions Are Not "Made"

By HAIM KANTOROVITCH

VIII

For the task of creating proletarian Socialism, Marx and Engels were both well prepared. They had gone through the Hegelian school, where they had learned to abhor all eternal and ultimate truths upon which Utopian Socialism rested. From Hegel they learned that "truth . . . was no longer . . . a collection of ready dogmatic statements which, once discovered, must only be thoroughly learned. Truth lay now in the process of knowledge itself."

The Hegelian dialectic, which Marx and Engels made their own, precluded all possibility of Utopianism. "From this point of view the history of mankind no longer appeared as a wild whirl of senseless deeds of violence; all equally condemnable at the judgment seat of mature philosophical reason and which are best forgotten as quickly as possible, but as the process of evolution of man himself."

History Decided

But not, only from Hegel did the founders of modern socialism learn to distrust all such fine words as eternal reason, true justice, ultimate truths. History itself disproved them. A study of history revealed to Marx and Engels the fact that behind all these high sounding words were hidden the material, economic interests of some class in society. The ideological forerunners of the French revolution believed that they fought for abstract principles of truth, reason, equality, etc. But what were the actual results of their struggle to enthrone reason?

"We know today," Engels says "that this kingdom of reason was nothing more than the idealized kingdom of the bourgeoisie; that the eternal right found its realization in bourgeois justice; that this equality reduced itself to bourgeois equality before the law; that bourgeois property was proclaimed as one of the essential rights of man; and that the government of reason, the Contract Social of Rousseau came into be-

ing and only could come as a democratic bourgeois republic. The great thinkers of the eighteenth century could, no more than their predecessors, go beyond the limits imposed upon them by their epoch."

More Than Criticism

The criticism of capitalism is doubtless a necessary thing and there is no lack of it in Utopian Socialist literature.

But this is not enough. Drawing pictures of the future society may be good propaganda, but propaganda is only of value where it arises out of and can appeal to some real interest of some social class. The drawing of blue prints for revolutions may be a fine pastime for those who have nothing else to do, but these are not the things that make or unmake social orders.

"Great historical movements," says Marx, "have been always determined by mass-interests, and only in so far as they represented these interests could the idea prevail in these movements. Otherwise the ideas might indeed stir up enthusiasm but they could not achieve any results."

To put socialism on a realistic basis it was necessary, not to invent new ideas but to find out whether there were objective forces in society leading to socialism, making it necessary and possible, and whether there were in society people in whose interest it is to fight it. In one of his earliest works, Marx, discussing the possibilities of a German revolution, declared that the revolution is possible, only "in the formation of a class in chains which finds itself in bourgeois society but is not of it."

This was not yet the Marxian theory of the class struggle, but it showed the direction in which Marx's thought was moving.

Who Make Revolutions?

Revolutions are not made by people who become enthusiastic over ideas. On the contrary only those people become enthusiastic about revolutionary ideas who are compelled by their material interests to make revolutions. Revolu-

tions, social changes, are not accidents and can not be made at will. Social evolution follows its own laws. Of course man makes his own history, but he makes it under given social and economic conditions, with "tools" offered to him by the whole former development of society, within the limits of social possibilities.

Marx, of course, never denied the power of ideas in society as some critics contend, but Marx knew that ideas do not fall ready-made from heaven, that ideas and ideals are themselves deeply rooted in the material conditions of life, that they appear and disappear with the appearance and disappearance of material conditions and material interests which they reflect. "The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreasonable, and right wrong, is only proof that changes in the modes of production and exchange have silently taken place with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping."

Social Thinking

The material interests which are behind human behavior, as well as human thinking, are rooted in the modes of production and exchange.

"In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production."

It is in the development and change in the modes of production that the key to the history of ideas can be found. The Utopian Socialists did not understand this. They were themselves no "happy incidents" but results of the development of changes in the social mode of production. They reflected the economic situation of their time. That the Socialist ideas and theories were so primitive and crude was simply due to the crude state of development of the capitalism of their time.

Progressives Seek New Probe Into Local 306

NEW YORK.—A Federal probe into the affairs of Motion Picture Operators' Union, Local 306, may result from Washington lobbying activities of the progressive group within the union.

The Progressives claim the temporary administration of the Local by the parent International Union is a flop on four counts: Refusal to hold a membership meeting for four months; refusal to permit the members to elect officers; alleged misuse of Unemployment Fund money; refusal to oust Fred Castle and Bert Popkin as business agents. Both had been involved in the discredited Kaplan and Sherman regimes.

The union, meanwhile, has been ordered to produce financial records and books in a court action brought by union member Harry Kravitz. Kravitz also claims that he has lost his full-time job because he refuses to drop the suit.

bama, affecting 81 per cent of all children in the rural white schools of that state.

No New Schools

The construction of school buildings had been virtually suspended. Salaries of teachers had been reduced in from 80 to 90 per cent of city school systems and in virtually all rural schools. The depression had seriously reduced the length of term in all types of schools. In thousands of districts schools were open for less than 120 days a year. Fully half the educational institutions of the nation had eliminated one or more of their activities from the curriculum.

Apparently we do not know how to give good gifts to our children—they ask for bread and we give them a bayonet. In January, 1935, Roosevelt demanded 871 million dollars for national defense. While children need more and better education to help them build a new social order, we are cutting down education facilities and trying to gag every teacher critical of the wisdom of our bosses.

New Thinking

The world cries out for new unframed thinking and the Hearst morons would put educators in blinders. International cooperation and understanding among the workers of the world are urgent necessities, yet the school is being perverted to dangerous nationalist propaganda, and false ideas, of nationalist superiority and self-sufficiency are being inculcated into helpless child minds to make them pawns as their fathers were in the imperialist game.

We must demand less money for the destruction of life and more money to help construct it in a full and happy pattern. More teachers and less soldiers. More schools and less poison gas factories. Yet with the improvement in quantity and the increasing federal support, we must avoid a deadening uniformity, a nationwide inculcation of lies and hate which inflicts the outlook of the Stone Age upon those who have to live in the Power Age.

How can this be done? Well, we can encourage organization among the teachers themselves and assist them to become members of the American Federation of Teachers. In many countries the teachers have campaigned against tainted textbooks, and the A. F. of T. has a splendid progressive record here. We can organize as parents to influence the school.

We can get control over the school boards. Workers by hand and brain through their industrial and political organizations, must rescue education from its present subservience to capitalism and use it to build a new social order.

Letter Exposes Father Coughlin As Enemy of Organized Labor

(Continued from Page One)

and strategies make an entertaining story.

In this letter to Jennings we find Coughlin damning the A F of L only a few months ago—February, 1935, to be exact. This was no new attitude on his part. Five years before, in 1930, he removed from the job Bryant & Detwiler Company, contractors building his church, who were employing union men in the masonry trades and non-union men on other of the construction work.

Who took their place? Let Mr. D. Collins, national representative of the Bricklayers' Union, tell you:

"This firm was supplanted by the Cooper-Little Company, who upon this operation actually achieved the first wage reductions in the metropolitan area of the City of Detroit, and this was accomplished with the coordination and full support of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, and further was accomplished by the employment of strikebreakers, who were imported into Detroit from Canada."

Coughlin—employer of strike-breakers!

There is one story he cannot gloss over with his smooth velvet-like voice.

Open-Shop

You may want to know who the Cooper-Little Company is. Mr. James Little, a member of Coughlin's parish, personally supervised the building of Coughlin's church.

Mr. Edgar B. Cooper, senior member of the firm, has been an outstanding enemy of organized labor since 1922, at which time, connected with the firm of Cooper-Wiedemann, he took the lead in an unsuccessful attempt to reduce wages. When this failed he tried to establish the open-shop throughout the building trades. Unable to get the open-shop rule adopted in all crafts, Cooper tried to get general contractors to employ certain non-union crafts along with union men in the prosecution of their work.

This, of course, would cause dissension among the unionists, many of whom would refuse to work with scabs. For more than a decade Cooper was the leading influence in Detroit for this open-shop point of view.

In 1932 Coughlin was building a bigger and roomier church. Again the contract went to Cooper-Little, against whom the building trades were carrying on a strike because of their anti-union policy in erecting a theatre in Detroit.

"In the face of this strike," writes Mr. Collins of the Bricklayers' Union to Frank X. Martel, president of the Detroit Federation of Labor, "Father Coughlin has unquestionably utilized the construction work upon his edifice to directly attack the trade union movement."

On July 22, 1933, a report was made to the Detroit Building Trades Council by E. Thal, secretary of the Council; Business Manager Ross of the Plasterers' Union; and Sam Tobin, International Representative of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

None Worse!

This committee said they had interviewed Coughlin, who disclaimed responsibility for letting his church contracting job, this being handled by his anti-union Parish Committee, but stated that he was in authority as to wages, hours, and conditions on the job. The unionists' report states:

"Your committee told Father Coughlin that if he combed the continent he could not find any contractors who were more notorious non-union operators than the general contractor on the job, the Cooper-Little Company."

Less than a week later, on July 27, Coughlin, in replying to a letter from William Green, president of the A F of L, who had written about this situation, defended his open-shop friends in these words:

"I am not in accord with unjust criticism launched against Mr. James Little of the firm of Cooper-Little. Being a member of our parish he is supervising the building for me along with his partner Mr. Cooper. I have no contract with Cooper-Little or with anyone else."

Coughlin—defender of open-shoppers!

You will note that Coughlin first defends his pals, and then, in the last sentence leaves himself a loophole against attack. He, himself, has "no contract with Cooper-Little or with anyone else." But what about his Parish Committee?

All his contractors were non-union operators, including the notorious Mahon Structural Steel Co., handling the steel job, as well as the firms in charge of the heating, plumbing, carpenter, and sheet metal work.

That, no doubt, is what prompted Mr. M. J. McDonough, representing the Building Trades Department at the 1933 A F of L Convention in Washington to observe, "Personally, from what has transpired in the past, I doubt the ability of anybody to have Father Coughlin erect his church under union conditions."

Not only has Coughlin been a scab boss, but he has also unfairly charged the printers with trying to intimidate him, and has threatened to call other union representatives racketeers in public.

On December 17, 1932, Mr. P. J. O'Donnell, Secretary-Treasurer of the Allied Printing Trades Council of Detroit and a Vice-President of the Printing Pressmen's International Union, wrote Coughlin, explaining that he had received no reply to a previous letter, and that he would appreciate Coughlin's patronizing union printers, something the Reverend Father had failed to do the year before when printing his sermons in book form.

Intimidation

O'Donnell told Coughlin, "There are more union printers unemployed in the City of Detroit than ever in history and it is because of this fact that I am appealing to you to do something if it is possible."

Was it possible? It was not! The sermons called for a fair wage and the brotherhood of man, but they were set in type by men earning scab wages.

On February 4, 1933, more than three months after O'Donnell's first letter, Coughlin replied through his secretary, Amy Collins. She wrote:

"Will you kindly bear in mind that Detroit is a non-union city. The majority of printers and printing establishments, as you perfectly know, do not belong to a union. . . . I am sorry that the union tries to intimidate us."

O'Donnell immediately replied, both to Miss Collins and Father Coughlin, asking them to point out where in either of his two previous letters he had tried intimidation.

A Habit?

Whether Father Coughlin makes a habit of having his secretary sign letters which he might wish to backwash on later, we do not know. If so, it is but another example of the cunning of a man who changes his mind at will, depending on how the wind blows. If Coughlin assumes responsibility for this letter, and I believe he does, then he is shown in a new light—boasting that Detroit is a non-union town, and implying that any attempt to change this condition is intimidation!

Now about these racketeering charges, which in all probability, could better have been made not by Father Coughlin, but against him, considering how he has taken dimes and dollars from working people in his radio audience and used it to sweat labor.

When Mr. Collins of the Bricklayers' Union, and others, complained to Coughlin about his use of strikebreakers, the Reverend Father promised to correct the condition. However, this did not happen.

A Racket

"It immediately followed," says Mr. Collins, "that Father Coughlin's reactions were to the effect that he indicated to a Mr. Edward Leavenworth, well known in the national marble trade, that any efforts on the part of the bricklayers or organized labor to correct the employment conditions of the Cooper-Little Co. would be met by radio pronouncements which would designate anyone having to do with it as being in the operation of a racket."

Not only does Coughlin protect his scab buddies, who were paying from 25 to 40 per cent below the union scale, but he threatens

Books

BUSINESS IS WAR

"Privileged Character" by M. E. Werner. Robert McBride. \$3.75.

Mr. Werner is one of the most effective of the muck-rakers. His present volume is, for him who has the patience to read it, an invaluable source of information about corruption in high places, both in government and business.

It retells, in detail, the sordid story of Teapot Dome, of the depredations of the Ohio gang while it had power, of Harry Daugherty's crookedness, of Warren Harding's provincial folly. It reviews the tales of Colonel Forbes and the Veterans Bureau, of the criminal destruction wrought by the Sheffing Board, and of the speculative madness of 1922-1929 in Wall Street.

It is an old story that Mr. Werner tells, and tells well. But as I read, I could not avoid the feeling that he was whiffing a dead dog. The book does bring together for ready reference facts that the historian and the social scientist, to say nothing of the revolutionist, can use.

What Action

It is, however, meant to be more than that. It is expected to stir the pulse, to awaken indignation, possibly to lead to action. What action is not made clear. Mr. Werner performs a service to the historian when he notes again and again that popular reaction to these scandals when they were first revealed was nil. Why should he expect a greater response, now that they are old and cold?

The truth is that the "corruption" at which we are to become indignant is often divided by a hair-line from what is looked upon as legitimate business practice. More than one Teapot Dome has been stolen, and no one the wiser. Apologists for things as they are love to proclaim that most business is honestly conducted. The truth of that depends on your definition of honesty. Where is the business that does not take advantage of its competitors? Of its customers? Of its workers? Where is the business that does not steal models, patents, trade secrets, trade-routes; that does not "muscle in," in gangster fashion, on the territory of its competitors? Business is war, and war is corruption!

That is why Mr. Werner's book, for all its good points, leads me to smile and to wonder how so good a writer can still be so naive?

DAVID P. BERENBERG.

SYMPOSIUM ON MARX

MARXISM by J. Middleton Murry, John MacMurray, N. A. Holdaway and G. D. H. Cole. John Wiley and Sons, N. Y. \$2.00. 240 pp.

"Marxism" consists of a series of essays by four people who have only one thing in common—their claim to being Marxists. Between them they succeed rather thoroughly in interpreting, misinterpreting, applying and misapplying Marxism.

The worst sinner is J. Middle-

ton Murry who robs Marxism of all value by divesting it of its class content. His "Marxism" is a blend of technocracy and Christian socialism. He wants a true Marxian party in England which will make its appeal not to class consciousness but to "social consciousness" and which will consequently attract to its standard the "best elements of all classes."

G. D. H. Cole also wanders far afield in his efforts to develop further his theory of the continued growth of the middle class (in spite of what has happened since 1929) and the need for attracting it to the proletarian movement. We can agree as to the latter without creating any economic phantasies to substantiate it.

Cole rather ably refutes the notions of traditional Social-Democracy (as contrasted to Revolutionary Marxism) of growing into Socialism by inaction and gradualism. But he leaves us hanging in the air by the indecisive manner of handling the alternatives to parliamentarism.

Apart from these two points, Cole's exposition of Marxism, while brief, is clear and ably done. Coming at the end of the book, it constitutes a beautiful refutation of Murry's drivel in the first part.

John MacMurray deals with the philosophical aspects of Marxism ably if somewhat abstractly. His critique of pragmatism is especially worth reading.

Holdaway's presentation of the economic aspects of Marxism, while acceptable, is superficial, if not mediocre.

H. Z.

LOST PIECES

PUZZLED AMERICA, by Sherwood Anderson. Charles Scribner's Sons. Price \$2.50.

All his life Sherwood Anderson has been rooting. I mean it literally. Whether listening to the glib talk of advertising men in a Midwest agency, or the hearty chuckling of Gertrude Stein in Paris, or the nervous speech of the crowd at Alfred Stieglitz's "291," or the drawing of loom fixers in a Southern textile town, Anderson has been rooting. Digging down to find out where the sap comes from that gives all these people life and substance.

That's why he's a good reporter. No more than Stieglitz is he content with surface shots. He digs deep and he sweats and when he gets to put the story down, you have something to read, something to roll about in your mind. You have root stuff.

There aren't many reporters like Anderson. There's Lincoln Steffens out on the coast, there's Carl Sandburg, there's Oscar Ameringer. What an odd assortment. Sure, but they pop up in my mind as men who can do the thing that Anderson does in this book.

Of course there are others. The point is that all of these can go abroad in America and mix with crowds and keep the "common touch" and tell you what's doing.

Now Anderson has been amongst us taking notes for pieces in Raymond Moley's "Today." He has put these and other shrewd observations into this new book of his. Among coal-diggers and sharecroppers, dirt farmers of the Northwest, tobacco growers, the workers on the dams of TVA, "the tough babies in the woods" of the CCC, he finds tragedy, comedy, and most of all a great bewilderment.

To Anderson, America stands puzzled before the economic forces which she herself has unleashed. There is no conspiracy. "The New Masses" and "The Daily Worker" to the contrary, notwithstanding. We made a picture of a nation with private profit the central figure. Now it has turned into a puzzle with a lot of the pieces apparently lost forever.

McALISTER COLEMAN.

The workers must know the truth*

The workers and farmers must know the truth about Coughlin. It is the duty of all Socialists to see that every worker throughout the land knows the plain facts about the Radio Priest. It is your duty to expose this potential dictator in every shop and factory.

The workers must know that Coughlin definitely opposes the A. F. of L. and all unions which are not under the control of the bosses. The workers must know that Coughlin is the enemy of all Labor and Radical movements that advocate the establishment of a Workers' World, that oppose the profit system.

You must inform the workers and keep them informed! They must know that Coughlin is the mouthpiece and cat-paw of the

big industrialists. They must realize that Coughlin is friendly with Red-baiting Fascist Hearst.

Continue to read these startling stories about Coughlin in next week's CALL. This series of revealing articles will expose Coughlin's connection with Wall Street, Rockefeller and Hearst. It will show how he made a fortune speculating in silver. To say nothing of his anti-peace war cries!

*Read the Truth About Coughlin in the

SOCIALIST CALL

Around the Country with Socialism

NATIONAL OFFICE

CHICAGO.—The two Southern organization conferences of the Socialist Party are being enthusiastically backed, according to reports reaching national party headquarters. William Plampin, state secretary of Texas, pledged a carload of Texans for the New Orleans conference, May 18-19. Mississippi and Alabama will also be represented.

E. A. Ruddock, North Carolina secretary, writes that the entire state executive committee will attend the Mountain Region conference. Howard Kester, outstanding Southerner who has been on the staff of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union for several months, and Zilla Hawes, Southern regional labor secretary for the Socialist Party, have been added to the discussion leaders of the Knoxville meeting, May 25-26.

The S.E.C. of Tennessee will meet in Knoxville the same weekend to take part in the conference, Joe Kelly Stockton, secretary, announced.

LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS.—William Plampin, Texas state secretary, has pledged a carload of Texans for the Southern States Conference at New Orleans, May 18th-19th. Mississippi and Alabama will also be represented.

NEW YORK

BRONX.—A memorial meeting for Patrick J. Murphy, former member of the Socialist-Labor Party and one of the founders of the Socialist Party of the United States, who died a year ago, was held by Bronx Socialists this week. Speakers included Aaron Levenstein, chairman of the Bronx County Socialist Party, Irving Knobloch, George Steinhart, August Claessens, Samuel Freed, James Oneal and Esther Friedman.

FLUSHING.—In response to Norman Thomas's appeal, the Flushing Branch voted \$100 to the United Socialist Drive. They sent \$25 to the National Office at once, and pledged \$10 a month to cover the balance.

KINGS.—Individual subscriptions and a party were the means by which Mrs. S. Rutes, chairman; S. Schwartz, and H. Rivkin of Branch-18 A.D. 2 raised the branch's full quota for the United Socialist Drive.

KINGS.—During May business meetings of the Sixth A.D. Socialist Party of Kings County will be held on Monday. In June both business meetings and forums will be on Monday.

OHIO

AKRON.—Norman Thomas will address three meetings and deliver a radio address while in Akron. The main meeting will be held at Perkins School Auditorium at 2 p.m. Sunday, May 19th. Following this a red card meeting will be held at party headquarters. At 7:30 he will address a reception in his honor at the Y.W.C.A. The radio broadcast will be over WJW, 7:00-7:15 p.m. on the Labor Situation.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA.—Howard Kester, organizer for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, will speak on "The Arkansas Sharecropper, another evidence of Southern Fascism," at a meeting sponsored by the Socialist Party, Consumers' League, the Friends Forum, NAACP, Cleaners and Dyers Union and the Y.W.C.A. on Sunday evening, May 19th, at the Whittier Auditorium, Fifteenth and Race streets.

The New Kensington Branch expects to go over the top in the United Socialist Drive by holding a huge mass meeting Wednesday, May 22, at the Moose Temple, 1045 Fifth avenue, at which Norman Thomas will speak. At night a dinner will be held for Norman Thomas at the Venice Restaurant.

Calendar

Saturday, May 18

The Italian Branch of Ridgewood will hold a social evening in the Ideal Ballroom, 151 Knickerbocker avenue, Brooklyn. The anti-Fascist play, "Madre," by V. Vacirca and "La Via del Maraisio" will be performed following the dancing.

Sunday, May 19

District Council 1, which includes Branches in Brownsville, East New York and East Flatbush, will hold a movie and dance in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. "The Red Head" and a Charlie Chaplin comedy will be shown. Admission is 25c.

Sam DeWitt will be auctioneer at the package party and supper given by the 12th A. D. Manhattan at 7 p.m., at 71 Irving Place. Freda Strauss, 216 East 18th street, has reservations at 45c.

Rev. Leon Rosser Land will speak on "The Revolt of the Clergy" at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1591 Boston Road at 8:00.

Wednesday, May 22

The Rebel Arts Puppeteers will present "Murder in Uniform," a 45 minute puppet show at the Sixth A. D. of Kings, Socialist Party Headquarters, 167 Tompkins Ave., Brooklyn.

Thursday, May 23

Symposium by the Rebel Arts Writers Group on "Can There Be a Mass Theatre?" at 41 East 21st street. Speakers: Albert Maltz, author of "Peace on Earth" and "Black Pit"; Richard Rohman, author of "Power of the Press." Samuel H. Friedman, chairman. Admission, 15 cents.

Friday, May 24

Jacob Bernstein will address the Concourse Branch of the American League Against War and Fascism, 1993 Jerome Ave., Bronx, on "Democracy and Dictatorship," at 8:30. Floor discussion will follow.

Saturday, May 25

Socialist Party members of local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union will give a dance at 8:30 p.m. in the headquarters of the SOCIALIST CALL, 21 East 17th street. Proceeds will go to the CALL.

The first of a series of Brighton Beach Militant Saturday night House Entertainments—proceeds of which are to go to the SOCIALIST CALL—will be held at the home of Conrad Schwartzberg, 2852 West 17th street, Coney Island. A program and refreshments are offered for 35 cents.

Sunday, May 26

The Ridgewood Branch is holding a

'Call' Information Research Bureau To Serve Labor

The SOCIALIST CALL research and information bureau was officially set up this week.

The bureau proposes to fill the pressing need of the labor movement for up-to-the-minute information on vital matters affecting the workers.

It will cover current and long-run developments under the following main headings: Progress of the Labor Movement; Economic and Business Developments; Agriculture; Political Developments; War and Militarism; Labor Legislation; Relief; Education; Science and Socialism; Civil Liberties; Fascism; The Cooperative Movement; Consumers.

Findings will be published in the CALL, and will also be made available to official party committees and organizations, labor unions and auxiliaries of the labor movement, and for the use in pamphlets, leaflets and documents. The bureau will also undertake special projects at the request of labor organizations.

The committee invites the active cooperation not only of Socialists but of sympathizers throughout the nation who are willing to lend assistance.

Communications should be addressed to Harold Mandel, secretary, at the CALL office, 21 East 17th street, New York.

Those who were present at the organization meeting were: Edwin C. Johnson, secretary of the Committee on Militarism in Education; Wallace Campbell, assistant secretary of the Cooperative League of America; Mary Dublin, of the staff of Sarah Lawrence College; Elizabeth DuGlass Marshall, research worker; Julia Aaronson; Sidney Jarcho; William F. Brown; Leland G. Dewey; John Braum; Hilda Siff; Leonard Lazarus, attorney; Robert Delson, of the CALL Editorial Board.

An Executive Committee was elected, consisting of Mary Dublin, Leonard Lazarus and Robert Delson.

ASQ Summer Issue To Appear in June

The Summer issue of the American Socialist Quarterly will appear in June. The Quarterly, official organ of the Socialist Party, is devoted to discussions of theory. It has made a number of important contributions to Socialist thought in the four years of its activities, and has introduced a number of new names in radical literature.

The forthcoming issues will contain discussions of democracy, the problems of the farmers, an article by a prominent French Socialist, and reviews of significant books.

Inquiries may be addressed to Anna Bercowitz, 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

picnic at 11 a. m., at Forest Park Picnic Grounds, near Woodlawn and Myrtle avenues. The 50 cents admission includes a picnic lunch, games, contests, singing and refreshments. If the weather be inclement, the picnic will be held the following Sunday.

Tuesday, May 28

Mary Allison will lead the Current Events meeting of the Morningside Heights Branch at Workers' Hall, 600 West 125th street, at 8:30.

Wednesday, May 29

A debate, "Share Our Wealth vs. Socialism," by Eugene Daniels against Joseph Glass will be held at the headquarters of the Socialist Party of A. D. 6, Kings, at 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn.

Friday, May 31

The Morningside Heights Branch are holding a Red Smoker at 8:30 at Workers' Hall, 600 West 125th street.

Saturday, June 1

The Williamsburg District Council is having a social at the CALL Auditorium, 21 East 17th street, at 8:30. Tickets may be obtained from H. Mandell at the CALL office for 35c.

GITLOW AT SECOND CALL FORUM SATURDAY

The second meeting of the CALL FORUM will be held Friday, May 24, 8:00 p. m., at 21 East 17th street, on the subject, "A Socialist Position on a Labor Party."

The main speaker will be Ben Gitlow, former Socialist Assemblyman in New York, who served three years in prison for his anti-war activities. After having been Communist candidate for Vice-President, he recently rejoined the Socialist Party of which he is now an active member.

Murray Baron, member of the National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party and manager of the Portfolio, Suitcase and Bag Makers Union, will be chairman of the meeting which is open only to Party and YPSL members. Admission is ten cents.

Civil Liberties Court Fight Won

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.—After two months of struggle, civil liberties have been assured to Mount Vernon workers as a result of the battle put up by Harry Kavesh, of the Socialist Lawyers Association. Leaflets may now be freely distributed and strikers may picket without fear of arrest.

Mount Vernon, middle-class suburb of New York City, has a long record of reaction. Back in 1920, its mayor announced that no Socialists would be allowed to hold street meetings. As a result, Norman Thomas was arrested and convicted there after being taken into custody by a policeman who is now head of the police department.

Recent difficulties began with the arrest of several members of the Young People's Socialist League for distributing anti-war leaflets. It was contended that they had not obtained a license costing \$50 nor posted a bond in the penal sum of \$250, as required by a local ordinance.

Invading Mount Vernon, Socialist lawyer Harry Kavesh established the principle that the ordinance applied only to commercial matter, and the Young Socialists were acquitted.

Kavesh returned to Mount Vernon at the request of the James Butler strikers when police began a practice of arresting all pickets on the ground that a city ordinance prohibited the carrying of sandwich signs. Here again the Socialist Lawyers Association was successful. The "decision of the court, according to the local paper, "virtually stamps the present city ordinance as impotent for prosecuting workers in a political or labor cause."

800 Federation Workers Ask for Union Rights

NEW YORK CITY.—Some 800 workers, organized in the Association of Federation Workers, are now engaged in a battle with the Jewish charity organization, the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies for the right to collective bargaining and for the rescission of wage cuts ranging from ten to twenty per cent.

At the meeting of the workers, a motion introduced by Sam Tolmach, prominent member of the Young People's Socialist League, to picket Lebanon Hospital and the home of Solomon Lowenstein, head of the philanthropic society, was unanimously carried. The fight for justice at the hands of the charity institution, the workers say, will be carried on vigorously.

What Is Revolutionary Socialism?

Send for These Booklets NOW!

Toward Socialist Reorientation—Haim Kantorovitch, 5c; The Struggle for Revolutionary Socialism—Heinrich Ehrlich, 5c; Toward a Militant Program, 15c; All three for 25c, plus 3c postage.

Address: **BRENDON SEXTON**, 21 East 17th St., New York, N. Y.

Writers' Group To Reorganize

Extensive plans were laid this week to reorganize the Rebel Arts Writers' Group in such a way as to make it the important force among writers that it should be. A series of lectures, classes and symposiums were arranged, at which prominent writers, critics and newspapermen will speak.

The first symposium will take place Thursday evening, May 23, at 41 East Twenty-first street, New York City, on "Can There Be a Mass Theatre?" Speakers will be Albert Maltz, author of "Peace on Earth" and "Black Pit"; Richard Rohman, author of "The Power of the Press," and Bertram Bloch, head of the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer story department.

Watch the CALL for announcements of classes and lectures.

For information about the Writers' Group write to Sophie Dorabush, 44 East Twenty-first street.

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Curtain Call

EMPEROR JONES TURNS RED

By Bill Shulman

"Drums of the Bayou," by Rex Ingram and Elizabeth Anderson, presented May 12, at the Civic Repertory Theatre.

"Drums of the Bayou" attempts to show that the black man is hampered in his struggle for economic and social emancipation by paid religious quacks preying upon the superstition and ignorance of the Negro worker. Though the issues that are raised in the play are vital and pertinent to the masses, it remains a poor social drama because of its weak plot structure and development.

Rex Ingram, lustily playing the part of the young Negro struggling for the right to a decent wage and social equality, stalks through the Louisiana woods to the beat of voodoo tom-toms in the same manner as O'Neill's Emperor Jones. But instead of being punctured with silver bullets, Rex is made the hero of the day as he shoves the Great Gaddoo off the pulpit and shouts, "Workers, yo' is all mesmerized." Immediately, the congregation drop their chant and take up the new cry, "Beat the bosses, down, down, down, down," as the curtain falls.

"Drums of the Bayou" remains innocuous because it depends for the most part, not on the mass action of its participants but on the individual exploits and personality of one actor, Rex Ingram, the play's author. The spirit of rebellion should arise from within an exploited group and should not be shown as the product of an outside roving agitator. Why one should look to Marxism as the only way out, is not shown in a clear enough manner. One could substitute a plea for Fascism very easily, without changing the contents of the play.

Since this is the first attempt at a Professional Negro Labor Theatre, the group, in spite of its faulty presentation, is to be encouraged and supported in its endeavor to present Negro Labor problems. I am sure that with well written scripts this group could go far in the Proletarian Drama movement.

Race Hatreds

"Races," a play by Ferdinand Bruckner, presented by the Forum Theatre at the Heckscher Foundation.

Ferdinand Bruckner, feeling the brunt of Fascist oppression, registers his protest against Anti-Semitism and Hitler Terrorism in his tragedy, "Races." But in his plea for racial tolerance, there is no understanding or analysis of the causes of Fascism.

The story of a German youth torn between his love for a Jewess and his duty as a Nazi Storm Trooper seeks to explain that the rising tide of intolerance and ignorance is inevitable and that it is hopeless to resist. With this fatalistic attitude in mind, Bruckner weakly suggests turning to Palestine and Zionism as a way out in a typical Escapist manner. No matter how zealously this group of amateur actors may perform in artistically conceived settings, this play will never be more than a shallow indictment of Hitlerism, because it fails to understand that the Kultur of Fascism is bred in the cess pool of decaying capitalism.

A Monster Film

"The Bride of Frankenstein" at the Roxy Theatre.

Universal Pictures Incorporated have seen fit, judging by box office receipts, to resurrect "Frankenstein" from the burning mill, give him a rib of a cadaver for a wife and consume miles of film footage in depicting horror after horror until these monsters are again destroyed in a crumbling laboratory.

But I am afraid we haven't seen

the last of Boris Karloff as "Frankenstein." I'm sure those ingenious Hollywood scenario writers will find a way to continue stultifying the masses. I wouldn't be at all surprised to find "Frankenstein" and his wife alive again in another sequel, giving birth to quintuplets.

Each offspring will be a new monster suitable for a separate film or a Brisbane column ad lib infinitum until the revolution sweeps all this drivel away.

Call Board

The Theatre Guild will present its final production of the season "Parade," a satirical review, at the Guild Theatre Monday night, May 20, at 8:15 o'clock. It is the first revue ever presented by the Guild, although that organization gave a guiding hand to a series of three "Garrick Galities." Paul Peters and George Sklar, authors of "Stevedore," are among a number of prominent playwrights and actors who have contributed sketches to "Parade."

National Theatre Week, under the auspices of NEW THEATRE LEAGUE, will be held May 25th to June 1st inclusive. The program will be introduced by John Howard Lawson and will include two new plays: "The Young Go First," presented by Theatre of Action, and "The Tide Rises," presented by the Group Theatre.

"The Youth of Maxim" is in its fifth successful week at the Cameo Theatre. The Paramount Theatre has extended its schedule and will open at 9:30 a. m. daily and Sunday, to run until 3 a. m. daily and until 5 a. m. Saturday nights in order to accommodate the crowds seeing Mae West's "Goin' to Town."

The Rebel Arts Dramatic Group is in the process of re-organization. These labor drama thespians plan to extend the scope of their activities and are making arrangements for playwriting contests, advanced classes in acting and for a comprehensive study of Social Drama. Meanwhile their repertory company is available to any labor and Socialist groups desiring bona fide labor dramatic productions.

"Worker and Politics" Is Conference Subject

"Should the workers form a new political party, or should they concentrate on making their power felt inside the existing parties?" That is the question which will be treated at the special conference run by the Educational Department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union at 3 West 16th street, New York City, May 18, at 2 p. m.

John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, will explain the past experience of the Federation. Frey has been editor of the Molder's Journal since 1903 and was president of the Ohio Federation of Labor in 1924.

Abraham Lefkowitz and Representative Thomas R. Amlie, Farmer-Laborite from Wisconsin, will be the other speakers. Julius Hochman, Chairman of the Education Committee, ILGWU, will preside.

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In Mystery



Katherine Locke who can be seen in "If A Body" at the Biltmore Theatre.

Debs Film Offered Free To Aid Socialist Drive

"Eugene Debs—Labor's Martyr," a two reel movie, is now available for use in the 1935 United Socialist Drive. The film can be obtained from the Socialist Party National Headquarters, 549 Randolph street, Chicago, Ill.

Joseph M. Coldwell, prison mate of Debs, says of it: "To those of us who knew 'Genie' it was as though we were turning back the pages of time. To those of us who had the privilege of calling him comrade, these pictures are priceless."

The film is available either on standard size 35 mm. or 16 mm. safety film. It runs two reels and takes about twenty minutes to show. Locals wishing to use it in connection with the 1935 United Socialist Drive will be furnished with the film for express charges only, upon assurance that a competent operator will handle it.

'You and Machines' Published

The National Office of the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph street, Chicago, has published a pamphlet, "You and Machines," by William F. Ogburn, Ph.D. of the University of Chicago.

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Writers in Drive For Hotel Union

NEW YORK.—The Hotel and Club Employees' Alliance, Local No. 8, is waging a fight against the systematic wage slashes, intolerable long working hours and mistreatment of all workers employed in the hotel industry.

The union has won a partial victory recently from the management of the Hotel Franconia where the workers are practically 100 per cent organized. The workers are to receive weekly instead of monthly pay, recognition of the shop committee, and no discrimination for union membership or activity.

U. S. Cooperative Ships Oil Abroad

The first shipment of oil from a Consumers' Cooperative in the United States to a cooperative in another country was made in March when the Consumers Cooperative Association consigned 66 barrels of petroleum products compounded in its own plant in North Kansas City, Mo., to the Cooperative Wholesale Society of Estonia.

Negotiations are under way for shipment of oil to other European cooperatives and it is expected that this will mark the beginning of extensive international trade. In the face of tariff barriers, high shipping costs for the 4,000 miles of water transportation and the inefficiency of small quantity shipments the cooperatives are able to compete successfully with large private profit oil companies.

Export business by member organizations in the international association exceeded \$200,000,000 in 1933.

New Rochelle Socialists Fight Anti-Picket Law

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.—The militant opposition of Socialists in this city against a proposal to ban picketing here is expected to force Councilman W. Wylie Troy to withdraw it.

The proposal was denounced as a vicious infringement of worker's rights by Leonard Bright, secretary of the party local.

The storm of protest which was raised led Mayor Paul M. Crandall to disclaim the suggested ordinance, in a telephone message to Bright.

Going To The Theatre?

Why not consult the Call's special THEATRE BUREAU for expert advice on matters pertaining to the theatre. Choice seats obtained.

Our BUREAU also arranges parties for current attractions. This service is FREE to Call readers.

Get in Touch With **The Theatre Bureau** c/o SOCIALIST CALL 21 East 17th St. New York City or phone GRamercy 5-8779

Strike 18 Months. Get Closed Shop

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The first closed shop contract in this city with a shoe chain concern was obtained when the Wise Shoe Company signed with the salesmen in the Pitkin avenue store.

The 18 months' strike was featured by the extensive activity of the Socialist Party, the Young People's Socialist League and the Workers Unemployed Union. Mass picketing, street meetings and literature distribution built up sentiment for the strikers.

Several months ago the company procured an injunction against the three organizations aiding the strike, but strike activity continued undiminished until the company was forced to sign.

Thomas Leaflet on Long And Coughlin Off the Press

"An Open Letter to Huey Long and Father Coughlin," by Norman Thomas, has just been issued by the 11 A. D. Manhattan Branch of the Socialist Party.

This is an attractive four-page leaflet and can be bought at \$2 a thousand.

Send checks or money orders to Carl Fichandler, 310 West 106th street, New York City.

AMUSEMENTS

The Group Theatre presents "A WAKE AND SING" BY CLIFFORD ODETS

BELASCO Theat., 44 St. East of N. Y. Ave. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. BRyant 9-5100

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THEATRE UNION'S powerful and exciting hit!

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Civic Repertory Theatre 14th St. & 6th Ave. Evs. 8:45, 30c to \$1.50 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:45, 30c to \$1.00

HERMAN SHULMAN presents The Sensational Dramatic Hit THE Children's Hour By LILLIAN HELLMAN "The Season's Best Play" Percy Hammond, N. Y. Herald-Tribune "The Most Important Play in N. Y."—Literary Digest "Biggest Drama of the Year... and the Boldest" —Burns Mantle, N. Y. Daily News Nights: Bal. 8:30-\$1.10-\$1.65-\$2.20. Orch. \$2.20, \$3.30, Wed. and Sat. Mats. 5:30 to \$2.20. Now in its 7th Capacity Month at MAXINE ELLIOTT'S Theatre 39th St. East of Broadway

Group Theatre presents **Waiting for Lefty** AND **Till the Day I Die** by CLIFFORD ODETS LONGACRE Theat., W. 48 St. Evs. 8:30 Evs. \$1.65 to 40c. Mats. Wed. & Sat. \$1.10 to 40c For Theatre Party Benefits, Call Helen Thompson, PEnn. 6-7234, or write The Group Theatre, 248 West 44th Street.

where to dine

FIFTH AVE. BAR AND GRILL Special Blue Plate Luncheon, 40c. Five Course Dinner, 90c. Also a la carte. Choice Wines and Liquors. 77 FIFTH AVENUE, between 16th and 16th Streets.

GEFFNER'S DAIRY RESTAURANT Special broiled fish Luncheon—40c Broiled Fish Dinner—60c Baking Done on Premises. 143 SECOND AVENUE (corner 9th Street)

GIUSTI'S SPAGHETTI INN—4 and 5 course Luncheon, 40c and 60c Six course Chicken Dinner, 60c Special luncheon, 35c Served all day. Spaghetti, Dessert, Coffee, 25c. A la carte all day. Wines and Beer served. 40 W. 16th. WA. 9-9177.

NEW CHINA CAFETERIA 848 BROADWAY (bet. 13th & 14th Sts.) GOOD FOOD AT REASONABLE PRICES

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SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1935

Conference Fails As Dual Unions Divide Delegates

NEW YORK CITY.—Infuriated at the Communist-packed "united youth conference" which endorsed the "unions" formed by the Communist Party for the purpose of attacking the American Federation of Labor, student, trade union, fraternal, and political organizations are announcing their flat refusal to be a party to this splitting maneuver.

Among the organizations which will repudiate the May 30 "united" demonstration called by this conference, it was indicated, are virtually all the trade unions not under Communist control which were represented, the City College student council, the clubs of the Young Circle League, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Young People's Socialist League, and the Communist Youth Opposition.

The character of the conference was illustrated at the outset by a spontaneous burst of applause from the floor when the speaker of the Young Communist League, who was chosen to outline the plans for the parade, got up to speak, although there were supposedly only two Communist delegates present.

Delegate Protests
After the report of the credentials committee an official observer sent from Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, representing over 30,000 dressmakers, rose in disgust and asked whether the Communist Party group in his union was represented independently of the union as a whole. His answer came when the representative from the "opposition" union faction rose to speak but withdrew from the floor in confusion.

Following this, Howard Frisch of the City College Student Council demanded in the name of 6,000 City College students that the Communist splinter-unions withdraw from the parade. Delegates from the Young Circle League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy expressed similar sentiments.

The representative of the Young People's Socialist League rose to reveal the fact that on the New York Continuations Committee of the American Youth Congress, which had the final say as to the arrangements, the friends of dual unionism had refused to take any official action in support of their stand, and had forced the Socialist delegate to make a negative motion which was "defeated" by a vote of two against two, with three abstentions. At this the chairman stated he was "betraying" the committee, and said that they had refused to make a motion because they "did not want to be put on the spot."

The defeated motion read: "The motion passed at the New York Youth Congress (calling on youth 'to join trade unions') shall not be interpreted to mean the endorsement of all unions." The Young Communist League delegate had at first declared that he could not oppose the motion because to do so would be supporting company unions, but was so confused that he afterwards voted against it.

Suggested Reading

The Educational Committee of the New York Young People's Socialist League recommends for the book of the month Strachey's "Nature of the Capitalist Crisis," for the outline of the month, Tyler's "Outline of Socialist Economics," and for the discussion of the month, "Father Coughlin and His Doctrine."

Youth Flashes

To further intelligent and disciplined Socialist work in trade unions, the Industrial Committee of the Young People's Socialist League of New York is preparing to give classes in industrial technique. These classes will include discussions, lectures and practical work in trade union history and theory; the conduct of the organization end of a strike; the conduct of the office end of a strike; and how to organize for Socialism in trade unions.

Cardinals Boycotted

The St. Louis Cardinals have been boycotted by the central labor council of that city because Leo Durocher, their star shortstop, has actively tried to break the strike at the Forest City Dress Company, where his wife is scabbing. St. Louis Yipsels are planning to picket the Cardinals' next ball game.

Pamphlet on Student Strike

A forty-eight page pamphlet dealing in detail with the story and background of the student strike against war has just been published by the Student League for Industrial Democracy. The pamphlet was written by Joseph P. Lash, SLID national secretary, and sells for ten cents.

YCLA Boatride

An all-day excursion and boatride on Sunday, May 26, is being arranged by the Young Circle League of New York City. A special boat has been chartered to take the Circleites to Indian Point. Tickets are only eighty-five cents. Yipsels should order directly through their city office.

Dress Shipping Clerks' Union Organizes Most Exploited Group

By WILLIAM GOMBERG

(Secretary of the Ladies' Apparel Shipping Clerks' Union, Local 19,953, A F of L)
NEW YORK.—The most exploited group of workers in the ladies' apparel industry are the shipping clerks, packers, stock clerks, errand boys, and other non-manufacturing younger employees.

The shipping clerk begins work at 8 a. m., when he comes in to clean up. Toward noon he will be found charging and billing, a job which involves responsibility for all goods leaving or entering the shop. About 3 P. M. he will be loading a heavy hand truck full of dresses or coats and pushing it through the streets.

He may return to the shop just in time to receive a large shipment of goods at 6 P. M. Perhaps the boss will find a small errand that must be delivered somewhere in Long Island, and ask the young worker to take it on his way "home," although he may live in the Bronx.

To avoid violating the NRA code, the shipping clerk may be found enrolled not as a worker but as an "executive," but when pay day comes he has returned to the status of an unskilled worker.

Mass Meetings

The Ladies Apparel Shipping Clerks' Union is successfully or-

Students Learn Militancy



Section of the strike meeting outside the high school at Elgin, Illinois, where a majority of the student body walked out in protest against the firing of a teacher.

Labor Sports Groups Merge

NEW YORK.—Sectional and racial dividing lines in the workers' sports movement were wiped out last week-end at the first convention of the Workers' Sports League of America, representing a merger of the leading labor sports organizations of the country.

The convention rapidly adopted a constitution and elected an executive committee. Resolutions were passed affirming the affiliation of the new league to the Socialist Workers' Sports International, declaring its solidarity with organized labor, and rejecting "any attempt to bring about joint sports meets between labor and bourgeois sports organizations," as was proposed by the Communist sports groups.

Already it can be safely said that the activities of the Workers' Sports League will be characterized by harmony with all other sections of the labor and Socialist movement of America.

It was the opinion of all delegates that close cooperation with the Young People's Socialist League will open the way to reaching tens of thousands of young men and women as yet outside of labor sports.

America Rears Its Young

By MURRAY PLAYNER

Child labor, which deprives the young of their education, their normal means of pleasure, their opportunities for physical, mental and moral self-development; brings with it a host of attendant evils arising out of the fact that the most helpless employee-class, the child worker, is placed at the mercy of the most unscrupulous of employers, the boss who employs child labor.

Non-payment of wages, deductions from wages, overtime work, prostitution of girl employees, are but a few of these.

The following instances, from investigations by the National Child Labor Committee and from newspaper reports, reveal some examples of non-payment of wages in child labor sweatshops.

Typical Cases

A sixteen-year-old boy worked from 7 A. M. until 3 A. M. every day at the Caddy Shirt Company, Catasqua, Pa. His highest weekly pay was \$4.50. The firm moved its machinery away in the night, owing four weeks' wages. The amount due this boy was \$18.50.

A strike at the D and D Company in Northampton, Pa., started when the child workers were told "there was no payroll." Three girls swore out warrants declaring that three weeks' wages were owed to them. One girl of sixteen said she had \$7.25 due her for three weeks, another \$13.50, and the third, who was the fastest worker in the shop, \$15.50. (Philadelphia Record).

Extradition of Jacob Youdelman, former operator of a child labor sweatshop in Lehigh County, has been sought from Governor Lehman of New York. Youdelman will be prosecuted for moving his establishment during the night without paying his employees \$6,000 which he owes them in wages. (Philadelphia News).

The owner of a pocketbook factory in New York paid his workers in checks, which they cashed at the usual places—the butcher, the grocery, etc. By the time the checks arrived at the bank the owner had closed his account and fled, leaving his employees in debt to their neighborhood dealers. (New York World-Telegram).

DO YOU SUBSCRIBE TO THE CALL?

Jacobs Gag-Bill Fought

NEW YORK.—A bill to make radical activity in the schools a criminal offense punishable by a \$500 fine and six months imprisonment is the latest development in the present widespread reactionary attack on student rights.

The bill was to be proposed by Elias Jacobs, member of the New York Board of Aldermen, according to a small notice appearing that morning in the Times. Jacobs withdrew his bill "to present it later in a modified form" when he found himself confronted by several hundred students and prominent educators who appeared to protest the legislation.

This remarkable turnout at such short notice was the work of the Young People's Socialist League, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and the National Student League, which put out a special leaflet for the occasion.

Alderman Jacobs' home at 255 Haven avenue will be picketed all day Monday, May 20, by members of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the Young People's Socialist League. The picketing will culminate in a mass mobilization which will last from 7 p. m. to 10 p. m.

Jacobs' past record shows him to be one of the worst charlatans in city politics. Breaking with the Democratic Party when he was not nominated on that ticket, he was elected as a Fusionist and then rejoined Tammany Hall.

Peace Council Raided

The situation at Hunter College, at which six students have already been suspended in an attempt to gag all protest against the abolition of student self-government there, was aggravated when a meeting of the Peace Council, officially "dissolved" by the administration, was broken up by police led by Dean Egan.

Joseph Cadden, of the National Student Federation of student councils, to which Hunter is affiliated, was prevented from speaking and forced to leave, while detectives guarded the door until the dean had taken down the names of all present.

134,950 Students Struck Against War

134,950 students participated in the Student Strike against War on April 12, a completed survey has just revealed. The survey was conducted by the Student League for Industrial Democracy, which made an analysis of 125 college newspapers, reports from 200 schools, and press clippings from all over the country.

The figure includes 12,543 for the New England area; 42,200 for the Middle Atlantic region; 8,474 for Ohio; 9,945 for the South; 19,900 for the Middle West; 8,388 for the Rocky Mountain Region; and 15,500 on the West Coast. In addition to these 50,000 high school students joined the walkout, as did 18,000 students in Porto Rico.

Results of the survey are disclosed in detail in the May issue of the Student Outlook, which is a valuable document on the extent of radical and anti-war sentiment in every college in the country.