

**Norman
Thomas**

DISCUSSES
*The Union
Party*
ON PAGE 2

OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Socialist Call

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PRICE FIVE CENTS

MARTIAL LAW!

Republicans or Democrats:

MILITIA IN 33 STATES SMASH UNION STRIKES

PLYMOUTH COUNTY, Iowa, April, 1933.—Gov. Clyde Herring, Democrat, ordered the militia into three counties to break the farm strike.

MANCHESTER, N. H., May, 1933.—National Guard, sent here by Gov. John G. Winant, Republican, tear-gassed strikers of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company.

BARRE, Vt., May 6, 1933.—Gov. Stanley C. Wilson, Republican, ordered the National Guard to break the granite strike.

CHRISTIAN COUNTY, Ill., May, 1933.—National Guard patrolled the area here in the coal mine strike. They were ordered in by Gov. Henry Horner, New Deal Democrat.

FAYETTE COUNTY, Pa., July 29, 1933.—Gov. Gifford Pinchot, Republican, ordered the militia to break the coal miners' strike.

CARBON COUNTY, Utah, August, 1933.—Gov. Henry D. Blood, Democrat, ordered the National Guard into the coal strike area here.

UP-STATE, New York, August, 1933.—State troopers slugged milk farm strikers. They were sent here by Gov. Herbert H. Lehman, New Deal Democrat.

YAKIMA, Wash., August 24, 1933.—Troops called out by Gov. Clarence D. Martin, Democrat, assisted the sheriff in trying to break the orchard laborers' strike.

GALLUP, N. M., August 29, 1933.—Martial law was declared here in the coal mine strike area. The troops were sent in by Gov. Herbert Seligman, Democrat.

SALINE COUNTY, Ill., Oct. 5, 1933.—Troops ordered out by Gov. Henry Horner, New Deal Democrat, entered the coal mine strike area in Saline and Sangamon Counties.

SULLIVAN COUNTY, Oct. 9, 1933.—The strike of 2,000 coal miners was menaced by National Guard troops sent in by Gov. Paul V. McNutt, New Deal Democrat.

BATH, S. C., Oct. 27, 1933.—Troops ordered out by Gov. I. C. Blackwood, Democrat, patrolled the textile strike area in Bath, Langley and Clearwater.

AUSTIN, Minn., Nov. 11, 1933.—Gov. Floyd B. Olson ordered the National Guard into Austin during the Hormel Packing Co. strike.

MINERAL DISTRICTS, Ala., Feb. 25, 1934.—Gov. B. M. Miller, Democrat, ordered troops into the mine strike areas.

MINDENMINES, Mo., April 30, 1934.—Troops ordered out by Gov. Guy B. Park, Democrat, entered the strip miners' strike area here.

WICHITA, Kans., May 10, 1934.—Troops ordered out by Gov. Alf M. Landon, Republican, broke up a demonstration of 1,000 unemployed here.

MOBERLY, Mo., May 18, 1934.—Gov. Park, Democrat, again ordered out the National Guard in a labor dispute, this time in the shoe strike here.

TOLEDO, Ohio, May 23, 1934.—Two workers were killed by National Guardsmen ordered into the Electric Auto-Lite strike area here by Gov. George Wain, Democrat.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., May 23, 1934.—Gov. Floyd B. Olson ordered out the National Guard in the teamsters' strike here.

TAZEWELL COUNTY, Ill., May 30, 1934.—Gov. Henry Horner, New Deal Democrat, ordered out the troops in the alcohol workers' strike here.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Gov. James Rolph, Jr., Republican, ordered out the troops in the maritime strike in San Francisco, Sacramento and Oakland.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., July 17, 1934.—Gov. Floyd B. Olson again ordered out the National Guard in the teamsters' strike here.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.—The Na-

tional Guard was ordered out again by Gov. Rolph, Republican. They patrolled the streets during the historic general strike here.

PORTLAND, Ore., July 19, 1934.—Gov. Julius L. Meier ordered out the militia in an attempt to smash the longshoremen's strike on the docks.

KOHLER, Wis., July 23, 1934.—Gov. A. G. Schmiedeman, Democrat, ordered out the National Guard in the Kohler Co. strike here.

ATLANTIC SEABOARD, Sept. 1934.—Eight governors, all Democrats, ordered out the National Guard in the national textile strike in the states of Rhode Island, Maine, North and South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Connecticut and Massachusetts.

PHEONIX, Ariz., Sept. 6, 1934.—Gov. B. B. Moeur, Democrat, ordered out the National Guard to break a F.E.R.A. demonstration.

PORTER, Ala., Sept. 16, 1934.—Gov. B. M. Miller, Democrat, ordered the National Guard out on strike duty here.

ROME, Ga., Oct. 15, 1934.—Gov. Eugene Talmadge, Democrat, ordered out the National Guard in the glove foundry strike here.

HARLEN COUNTY, Ky., Dec. 8, 1934.—Gov. Raby Laffoon, Democrat, ordered the National Guard "to protect the lives of United Mine Workers members 'held prisoners.'"

ROSSVILLE, Ga., Jan. 5, 1935.—Gov. Eugene Talmadge, Democrat, ordered out the National Guard in the Richmond Hosiery Co. strike here.

MANCHESTER, Ga., March 4, 1935.—Gov. Eugene Talmadge, Democrat, ordered out the National Guard in the Callaway Mills strike at Manchester, Lagrange and Monroe.

SIoux FALLS, S. D., March 9, 1935.—Gov. Tom Berry, Democrat, ordered out the National Guard in the Morrell meat packers' strike here.

PICHER, Okla., May 27, 1935.—Gov. E. W. Marland, Democrat, ordered out the National Guard in the lead miners' strike.

EUREKA, Cal., June, 1935.—Gov. Frank F. Merriam, Republican, ordered out the National Guard in the lumber strike here.

CHEROKEE COUNTY, Kansas, June 7, 1935.—Gov. Alf M. Landon, Republican, called out the National Guard in the lead and zinc miners strike.

FREEMONT, Ill., June 14, 1935.—Gov. Henry Horner, New Deal Democrat, called out the National Guard in the Stovor Mfg. and Engine Co. strike here.

SOUTH OMAHA, Neb., June 15, 1935.—Gov. R. L. Cochran, Democrat, called out the troops in the street car men's strike here.

TACOMA, Wash., June 26, 1935.—Gov. Clarence D. Martin, Democrat, called out the National Guard in the lumber strike.

TERRE HAUTE, Ind., July 22, 1935.—Gov. Paul V. McNutt, New Deal Democrat, called out the National Guard to suppress the historic general strike here.

MARGARET, Ala., Oct. 28, 1935.—Gov. Bibb Graves, Democrat, called out the National Guard in the Alabama Fuel and Iron Co. strike.

MANNINGTON, Ky., Oct. 30, 1935.—Gov. Albert B. Chandler, New Deal Democrat, called out the National Guard after a fight between mine guards and unionists.

NEW ALBANY, Ind., Jan., 1936.—Gov. Paul V. McNutt, ardent New Dealer and called by labor the "Hoosier Hitler" for the activities of the militia in Terre Haute and in Sullivan County, called out the National Guard in Clark and Floyd counties in the shirt strikes.

OROFINA, Idaho, August, 1936.—Gov. C. Ben Ross, Democrat, called out the National Guard in the lumber strike here.

System Causes Amoskeag's Ills, Says Socialist

MANCHESTER, N. H.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, now touring New England, discussed the textile situation with special reference to the Amoskeag mills bankruptcy here.

"The Amoskeag illustrated a situation common enough at this stage of capitalism," he told a huge audience. "Its owners were largely absentee owners. Its fate was settled not here in Manchester, but in Boston where the banks which controlled the holding company are located."

Declaring that the failure of the Amoskeag was "perhaps the chief victim of the shift in the textile industry from New England to the South," Thomas continued:

"What makes the drift of the textile industry to the South so ominous is the fact that about the only real reason for it is the wage differential. In a scandalously ill-paid industry, Southern wages have averaged about two dollars and fifty-six cents a week less than in the North. For this there is no adequate reason except that "cheap and docile" labor of which Southern Chambers of Commerce boast. Even NRA recognized the wage differential and it was never able to give any just reason, except custom, for the differential. The average annual wage in manufacturing in 1933 was \$869, in cotton textiles it was only \$570.

Would Socialize

"What would Socialists do if they were in power, with such an industry? The answer is clear. An industry as sick as the textile industry would be one of the first to be socialized. Immediately minimum wage standards would be imposed on it, without a Southern differential.

"The great hope of healing the sick textile industries, however, lies beyond anything which the industry can do for itself or the government can do for it under capitalism. The revised Ellenbogen textile bill,—unsatisfactory as it was—was killed by the Democratic leaders in Congress. We cannot do anything adequate for the health of the textile industry until we can plan production for abundance for all instead of for the profits of absentee owners.

No Short-Cut

"Few things better illustrate the breakdown of the profit system than the textile industry. We can have abundance. There is no short-cut to abundance, no patent-medicine cure for industry as a whole or for the textile industry. The answer lies in intelligent planning for abundance on the basis of social ownership, and the forces to which we look are the forces which the workers themselves must set in motion by the organization of their own unions, their own consumers' co-operatives, and their own political party.

"The one fatal thing will be if the Amoskeag tragedy should make it easier for the bosses to

Greet Nelson In New York

NEW YORK—George A. Nelson, Socialist candidate for vice-president, was greeted here this



NELSON

week by an enthusiastic mass-meeting in the Hotel Delano, held under the auspices of the Independent Committee for Thomas and Nelson.

Pleading for united efforts on the part of farm and city workers, Nelson described the plight of the American farmers:

"They are victims of the capitalist skin-game," he told his audience. "The New Deal has not helped us at all, because we can't regulate what we don't own."

A collection taken to raise part of the city's quota in the \$100,000 national campaign fund drive, netted \$2,122. Large sums were donated by groups of workers in various trade unions.

— \$100,000 —

NEW YORK—Here is where you can hear George A. Nelson during the next week:

- August 20, Watertown, N. Y.
- August 22, Ithaca, N. Y. Guest speaker at the Tompkins County Fair. (Afternoon.)
- August 22, Sayre, Pa. (Evening.)
- August 24, Paterson, N. J.
- August 25, Newark, N. J., at the Labor Lyceum, 196 Belmont Avenue.
- August 26, Morristown, N. J.
- August 27, Washington, D. C.
- August 28-29, Maryland.

fool the workers into believing that the answer to their problem is to prolong their agony by accepting starvation wages. Rather the answer is to struggle with new energy for the abundance which modern machinery makes possible."



Norman Thomas:

SANTA CLAUS WITH THREE WIVES: LEMKE AND HIS THREE MESSIAHS

I AM FINISHING a New England trip in a country where Father Coughlin is very strong—and Dr. Townsend less strong—with a persistent conviction that Landon and the Republicans will not make any great gains in New England over 1932, and that in the country as a whole, Landon will do well if he gets proportionately as many votes as Hoover got in 1932. His only hope, as many Republicans are frankly saying, is that the "three messiahs" can deliver to Lemke enough of their following to defeat Roosevelt. This I doubt, because I do not believe that when it comes to voting, Coughlin or Townsend can deliver the millions of adherents they claim. I doubt if Gerald Smith has any adherents to deliver. Moreover, I think a much larger proportion of the Townsend, if not the Coughlin, strength is drawn from Republicans than some people think.

So far as the Union Party is concerned, I am more than ever doubtful of its permanence even if it should get a fairly sizeable vote this year. There is very clearly a coolness growing up between the three messiahs. With three of them on his hands Lemke is worse off than a man with three wives in the same house.

Nevertheless, the popularity of both Coughlin and Townsend is an alarming portent. Gerald Smith is probably less dangerous, though I think he is the worst demagogue of them all and the most truly Fascist. The reason he is less dangerous is because he has no definite following—unless perhaps he can steal away Townsend's supporters.

Socialists And Promises

People ask me, "Why don't you and the Socialists do what Coughlin or Townsend does?" Well, let's see what they do. Townsend is Santa Claus, promising almost immediate delivery of two hundred dollars a month to everybody over sixty years with indirect benefits to those under sixty. It is not necessary to organize and maintain organizations of workers to get it. It is not necessary to change a whole system. All that is necessary is to make Congress pass a law and then to collect elastic billions from a mysterious individual named Mr. Cash Transaction who lives somewhere around Wall Street and has no relation to the ultimate consumer. It isn't much wonder that hundreds of thousands of frustrated

men and women, who are right in thinking that their poverty is unnecessary, rush with a touching faith for so easy and glorious a cure.

Father Coughlin's cure is a little more complicated. His appeal is a little less to a direct individual benefit. He gets supporters because he combines all the power of the ideas connected with God, the Church, patriotism and the Constitution, with what sounds like a radical attack on the bankers. He flavors this mixture with a little anti-Semitism. He is in line with an American tradition of easy money as the sure cure for our ills. He doesn't have to explain just how Congress will use the power to coin money that it takes away from the Federal Reserve Bank in order to make us all prosperous without any inflation. Priests have always sought for and cultivated belief and not understanding from their followers. And this Coughlin does effectively.

Own Organization

Both he and Townsend own their organizations as absolutely as Mussolini or Hitler ever owned their parties. Coughlin is almost as good a showman as Hitler.

Now, ask yourselves, if Socialism were to copy these methods, would it still be Socialism? We ought indeed to make our appeal more effectively to men's hearts as well as to their minds. But that appeal cannot be Socialist and at the same time be an appeal to a faith in Santa Claus or a quack medicine. The alarming thing is so obviously that, whatever the original intentions of Coughlin and Townsend, their methods and psychology are preparing the way for Fascism.

How to Fight Fascism

In the long run, and not so very long a run either, it will take a lot stronger medicine than Roosevelt is now offering to hold the masses, not against Republican reaction, but as against an American Fascism. Maybe he can get away with it this year; maybe this year trade unionists, Waldmanites and even communists will be content to be a tail to the Democratic kite. But how long? Why does anybody think it possible to enlighten and inspire the workers for the desperate struggle that lies ahead with such vague platitudes as were contained in Roosevelt's letter to the non-partisan labor committee,

whose leaders had to like it? You remember, the high point of the letter was the President's declaration of faith in "progress through law." And the Roosevelt rooters didn't even get up and inquire, which direction was progress, what sort of law would get it, and how the law would get by the Supreme Court? They didn't even ask the President whether he meant to do anything about New Deal governors like McNutt of Indiana and the assorted Democrats of the flogging states.

A Fair Trial For Trotsky

If Zinovieff and others in Russia with the aid of Trotsky in exile plotted to overthrow the Stalin Government by individual terrorism, with the aid or connivance of German Fascists, they deserve the severest possible punishment and the scorn of the workers. But everything we know of the character and beliefs of these men makes the story highly improbable. The Stalin Government must be made to understand that intelligent public opinion will not accept its charges as proof. Neither will it accept the results of the ordinary political trial, as conducted in Russia. A government which, following the assassination of Kiroff, summarily put to death more than a hundred persons without trial, has to win its way back to the confidence of men who believe that civil liberty is more than a plaything of one group or faction in a grim struggle. Those of us who rejoiced at Russia's apparent progress toward civil liberty in her new constitution will be exceedingly anxious that the whole cause of liberty and humanity, the whole hope of a working class solidarity, shall not be set back by fanatical persecution of the Trotskyites. Trotsky is right in asking a special commission to take his own testimony.

WATCH THE WRAPPER

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

75 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

HOME, SWEET HOME--UNDER ROOSEVELT



This casket, carrying the names of Mr. and Mrs. Lauo of Sunnyside, N. Y., dramatized their protest continued evictions by the Equitable Life Assurance Co. A vote for the Socialist ticket is a vote against evictions.

MAIL THIS TODAY!

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

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Labor in Action

WASHINGTON.—While American labor waited for the September deadline which will mean automatic suspension of more than one-third of the membership of the American Federation of Labor, CIO work in organizing was spurred by a \$100,000 to the steel war chest by Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

—THOMAS—
CHATTANOOGA, Tenn.—A month strike conducted by the Local Hod Carriers' Union with the aid of the Central Trades and Labor Council ended in union victory when the original contractor for the Pound building was withdrawn and another, fair to union labor, replaced him.

—NELSON—
PHILADELPHIA.—Delegates to the American Federation of Teachers national convention and attacks on restrictions of liberties. The convention will be later in the week on CIO platform.

—\$100,000—
SEATTLE, Wash.—When the American Newspaper Guild struck the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Hearst daily, in protest against the firing of two newspapermen for union activities, they succeeded in closing the entire plant. Workers in the mechanical departments refused to walk through the picket lines.

—THOMAS—
NEW YORK.—Widespread success including many signed contracts marked the first week of strike of 10,000 knitgoods workers in New York. Seven picketers were arrested after a street fight with strikebreakers in midtown New York.

—\$100,000—
BOISE, Idaho.—Senator William E. Borah, Landon support was placed on the spot by the American Civil Liberties Union when the union asked for intervention to protect civil rights in Clearwater County in his state, where "Cowboy" Ben Ross, New Deal governor, declared martial law against a strike of 2,500 workers affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World.

—THOMAS—
WASHINGTON.—A widespread campaign against strike-breaking agencies was begun by the La Follette senate committee investigating violations of civil liberties. Officers and books of Pinkerton, Burns and Railway Audit Inspection were subpoenaed.

—NELSON—
NEW YORK.—More than 10,000 luggage workers walked out on strike asking for a wage increase and reduced hours under the leadership of Murray Baron, manager of the Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Makers Union. Baron is the Socialist candidate for President of the Board of Merchants in New York City.

—\$100,000—
CANANDAIGUA, N. Y.—Unflinching support of strikers at the Miller Corset Company here is promised by Elias Reisberg, international vice-president of the I.W.O.U. Reisberg declared that attempts by police to break the strike would be met with opposition by the international union.

—THOMAS—
SYRACUSE, N. Y.—Two strikers at the Remington-Rand factory in Syracuse were badly wounded when a special deputy fired into a group of picketers.

—NELSON—
BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—Accompanied by a corps of six veteran I.W.O.U. organizers, Powers Hapgood, prominent Socialist union labor leader, will soon invade Bridgeport to organize workers of the General Electric Co. into the General Electrical & Radio Workers of America.

Pennsylvania Files Slate Of Electors

HARRISBURG, Pa. — Spiking rumors that Pennsylvania Socialists would bolt to Roosevelt, a complete list of presidential electors pledged to Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson was filed here this week by Pennsylvania Party officials.

The list was composed of representatives of all sections of the state Party, including Edward A. Yoe, chairman of Berks County (Reading), Alice Hanson of Philadelphia, Jesse H. Holmes of Swarthmore and Charles Sandwick of Bethlehem.

Support for the Thomas-Nelson candidacy was urged even by members of the right-wing faction despite the split which took place at the state convention. The split was forced by the right-wingers when through a paper majority they passed a resolution "disaffiliating" themselves from the Socialist Party of the United States. Loyal Socialists immediately proceeded with plans for a vigorous campaign.

The right-wing majority (of 55-31) was achieved after 27 loyal delegates were unseated through steamroller tactics and four Old Guard delegates were seated despite illegal elections. Actually, the loyal section of the Party had a clear majority at the convention.

Immediately after the resolution to "disaffiliate" was passed, 62 loyal delegates (including those unseated), all duly elected by the Party branches, met and decided to call a state convention Sept. 12 and 13 at Reading. Of the 27 unseated delegates, 19 were from Berks County. Jesse Holmes, Socialist candidate for governor in 1934, was elected temporary chairman, and Alice Hanson of Philadelphia was chosen temporary secretary.

The convention was marked by a high-powered political steamroller which disregarded all ordinary principles of democracy in building a right-wing "paper majority." Despite the fact that all delegates from Berks County were instructed by the membership to vote against disaffiliation, a minority took advantage of a ruling by the state executive committee and disobeyed the instructions. Maynard Krueger, a member of the Socialist national executive committee, was refused the floor.

In a letter to the Party membership, the loyal conference declared that the Reading convention would "give all Party members and all Party branches regardless of factional differences an opportunity to participate" in the election of a new state committee, in plans for a real Socialist campaign, and in the setting up of a state organization which will build a Socialist movement in Pennsylvania. Loyalty to the Socialist Party of America is the only qualification for participation in carrying out these decisions—including the conduct of a vigorous campaign.

—THOMAS AND NELSON—
VOTE FOR UNION
CAMDEN, N. J.—Workers at the RCA-Victor plant here voted 3,163 to 147 in favor of the bona-fide union in a poll conducted by the National Labor Relations Board. "The company union boycotted the poll.

—\$100,000—
TAKE STRIKE VOTE
NEW YORK.—The 12,000 members of District 9 of the Painters' Union are taking a strike vote after the bosses failed to agree on a new contract.

—RAISE \$100,000 FUND—
Has Your Neighbor Read Norman Thomas' Speeches?



Kantorovitch Dies—Long Ill

LIBERTY, N. Y.—Haim Kantorovitch, famous American Marxist and Socialist theoretician, died in the Workmen's Circle Sanitarium here Tuesday morning after several years of illness. He was 46 years old.

One of the outstanding intellectual leaders of the Socialist Party, Kantorovitch in recent years played the leading part in the development of the party's political outlook.

Until his death, he was actively engaged, despite his illness, in writing for the Party. The current issue of the American Socialist Monthly carries a detailed critique from his pen of Trotsky's latest work.

Founded ASM
He was at one time a member of the national executive committee of the Jewish Socialist Verband and the editor of its official organ, Wecker. Co-founder of the American Socialist Quarterly, now the Monthly, and one of its editors, he was a frequent contributor to Socialist periodicals including The CALL. Among his published works in English are a study in "Neo-Communism," "Toward Socialist Reorientation" and "A Program for Revolutionary Socialism." He was the founder of the American Marxist Society.

Born in Russia, where he was a member of the celebrated Bund, he came to the United States in 1914. A raincoat maker by trade, he soon became prominent as an educator in the Workmen's Circle schools and directed its children's camp.

The body of the dead Socialist leader will be brought to New York City where it will lie in state Wednesday and Thursday in the auditorium of the Young Circle League, 15 Union Square. The funeral will take place Friday, August 21, at 11 a. m. from the Young Circle League auditorium.

The Socialist Party of New York is arranging a memorial meeting.

International Labor Rallies Aid To Spain

PARIS—With all nations attempting to hide their deep concern in Spanish events under a cloak of neutrality, it becomes increasingly evident that all have a real interest in the outcome. The fascist nations are known to be providing aid



HANDS ACROSS THE SEA. Here is a section of the huge demonstration in Union Square, New York City, called by the Socialist Party and other labor groups, to express solidarity with Spanish labor.

to the Spanish rebels in the form of planes and munitions, while workers throughout the world are rallying their own forces to the defense of their comrades.

German and Italian planes are being used to bombard government forces in spite of protestations of non-intervention from the home governments.

While the French government has attempted to negotiate agreements with other European nations looking to the establishment of a hands-off policy, French workers have been insisting that their popular front gov-

WRA Is Endorsed By Mine Workers

DENVER, Colo. (LSP)—At the recent convention of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers held in Denver, the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment to the constitution (S.J. 249) was endorsed.

The endorsement read: "We believe that in order for the workers of this nation to have the life of abundance which the machine age makes possible, it will be necessary for the Government to operate and own all natural resources and public utility enterprises." This amendment, which would grant the power of Congress to pass labor and social legislation as well as to acquire and operate industries, is one of the planks in the platform of the Socialist Party.

MARCHING FOR LIBERTY



Here are some of the Leftist militiamen in Madrid, marching forth with upraised fists. They have proven themselves ready to lay down their lives, if necessary, to keep the brutal Fascist rebels from victory.

ernment give aid to the loyalist armies. Sessions of the Chamber of Deputies have been adjourned in turmoil because of the heated debates.

Meanwhile action by the workers themselves is proceeding. Volunteers for the Spanish workers' militia are slipping across the French border. Frenchmen are spending their two-week vacations in the anti-fascist ranks and then returning to their jobs.

Funds are being raised. The Socialist members of the Chamber of Deputies voted in their party caucus to contribute at least 50 francs each to their Spanish comrades.

The trade union movement throughout the world is raising large sums to be shipped to Spain.

In a very real sense, the Spanish struggle has become a fight between the international fascist forces and the international working-class. Hitler and Mussolini are actively abetting the fascists; world labor is actively backing up the Spanish masses. Spain is now the focal point of the war between labor and reaction.

—THOMAS—
NEW YORK.—American workers are responding to appeals from the trade union committee to raise funds for the Spanish workers, headed by David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Funds are being collected by the New York Socialist Party, at 21 East 17th Street, to be forwarded to the Committee. A "tag-day" for the collection of money has been arranged by the Socialists.

The Workmen's Circle has contributed \$25,000. The Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Makers' Union, this week sent \$227.50 to the Dubinsky committee.

CHICAGO—Cook County Socialists participated in a huge demonstration with other labor organizations in behalf of the Spanish workers. The sum of \$1,100 was raised and forwarded to David Dubinsky as head of the trade union committee.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has pledged its support to the Spanish workers.

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

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In the untimely passing of our beloved Haim Kantorovitch, the international Socialist movement suffers a loss that cannot be measured. Outstanding theoretician that he was, Haim Kantorovitch had about him an aura of love of humankind that has marked all great men through the ages. We mourn in deep sorrow—and are comforted only by the knowledge that his life and works remain to inspire countless others to win the victory of Socialism.

COUGHLIN HAS A MODEL

Father Coughlin had a convention this week. From different parts of the country came the delegates, but they might just as well have stayed home and listened to Coughlin on the air; they couldn't do any back-talking, even if they wanted to.

The radio priest is the exact opposite of everything that is democratic. He writes the program, nominates the candidate, makes the motions, seconds and adopts them. "That's my job to tell you!" he answers his questioners.

What Father Coughlin stands for has been explained by his friend and close associate, Bishop Schrembs, now visiting in Rome. According to news despatches, he stated in a press interview:

"Father Coughlin wants some protection for the laboring classes and their families. Fascism has now given it to Italian workmen."

What a splendid model! Mussolini, hated by workingmen throughout the world for the cruelty with which he destroyed liberty and the rights of labor, is the example that Coughlin is following.

"If American capitalists were not so short-sighted," the Bishop continued, "they also would advance in order to save the country from communism."

The reverend politician and his candidate Lenke, in spite of all their talk about the monopolists and their friendship for the little men, are in reality the enemies of the masses of the people. In their native way, they are following the down-hill trail to tyranny. They are the nearest approach to fascism that America has yet seen.

Like the fascist demagogues of Europe, they promise all things to all men. Given power, they cannot keep their promises to both sides in the economic struggle. It just can't be done. You're either for the workers and the propertyless masses, or you're on the side of the private owners of industry.

The Socialist Party and its candidates, Thomas and Nelson, are clearly on record. They're for the workers. They want to build a workers' world, where profit will give way to justice, where the workers who do the work will get what they create.

To vote for Thomas and Nelson is to strike a blow for a better world.

— THOMAS AND NELSON —
DEAR FRIEND:

There are probably thousands of readers of this editorial that never saw the CALL before.—That doesn't mean, of course, that they'll never see it again. If the paper's as good as we think it is, they're going to make sure they don't miss any issues, come rain or shine.

We'd like to address a few words to those thousands—because our regular readers know the story. It's a simple enough story.

The reason you people are reading the CALL is that America, which is the richest country in the world, is in the midst of a circus. It comes to town every four years. Some people call it a political campaign.

Behind the gaudy posters telling of the sideshows and of Fat Emma, the Bearded Lady, lies the real truth that so many voters never see. It is an honest-to-goodness fight with no holds barred between two of the most important elements in society—labor and capital.

Capital fights hard, if not clean. And it's got plenty of punch—provided with contributions from the American Liberty League to the Republican Party and the United States Steel Corporation to the Democratic Party.

Labor's got to fight just as hard. And because it doesn't use cement in its gloves (in the form of money contributions from the top few) it's got to make up for it in a lot of short right-hand punches to the chin in the form of ten and five-dollar bills.

In other words, friends and listeners, we're talking about the 1936 political campaign and the money it takes to make it effective. It's going to take \$100,000 to get the Socialist message around the country. And we know you don't doubt this—Al Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt and their money-bag pals aren't going to kick in with the dough.—Not that we'd take it!

It's up to you. And we're putting it straight without any frills. Are you ready to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with your fellow-workers throughout the nation and contribute to the Socialist Campaign Fund Drive?

If you want to write out a check, it's welcome so long as it doesn't bounce. Just make it payable to Clarence Senior, Socialist Campaign, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill. And thank you very much.

'SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY'



"New Deal A Dangerous Deal"

To the Editor:

The "New Deal" is now on trial before the country. On election day, the people of this country can give their verdict.

Like the "Old Deal," the New Deal will be condemned by all intelligent people.

As Morris Hillquit wrote:

"The New Deal is a dangerous deal as far as the working people are concerned." And the great Socialist explained why:

"It is not possible to reconstruct the industries of the country on a basis of planned production, elimination of ruinous competition, fair treatment of labor and assumption of public duty and responsibility, while these industries remain in individual ownership and are carried on for private profits.

"It is not possible to remove the poisonous fangs of capitalism without hurting the body of the monster."

Morris Hillquit wrote that just a short time before he died. The experience we have gone through since his death has showed how true his words were. Now is the time for labor to realize that it should support the Socialist Party.

SAMEL HELLER.
New York City.
— RAISE \$100,000 FUND —

Politics

In WPA

To the Editor:

Politics lifted its head in no uncertain way in this region when teachers on WPA were asked by their supervisors to take a subscription to "We the People," a paper supporting the Democratic Party. The supervisors in turn were told by me higher up that they were to sell books of subscriptions. They were not asked their views in the matter. They were simply handed the books and told to comply. As one of them expressed it, "We had a gun stuck in our ribs and there was nothing else to do but submit."

When some teachers refused to take subscriptions they were told

by their supervisor that they had better think the matter over carefully. They did, and now they are up in arms over the whole affair. At the Teachers' Institute meetings where the teachers were approached heated discussions arose. Little else has been accomplished since at these meetings.

Reports indicate that this practice is being extended to other WPA jobs. Foremen will be expected to get campaign contributions in the guise of magazine subscriptions.

The head of WPA in Pennsylvania is Edward N. Jones. It will be remembered that he was the man who recently gave ammunition to the Republicans, at the Legislature by saying that too much was being spent for relief. With the needy on relief in Pennsylvania half-starved, and with Democratic foremen and supervisors holding a firm stick over WPA employes, it is expected that the Keystone State will be held in the Democratic column.

PAUL COTTON.
Easton, Pa.
— VOTE SOCIALIST —

The Interests Of Workers

To the Editor:

The Socialist Party, it is charged, is neglecting opportunities of building up mass support. But a conglomeration of groups with conflicting interests is not a mass. A mass is a cohesive body, the cohesive power being a common interest. A mass offers resistance to blows of opponents, whereas a mere conglomeration is sundered by any wind of chance. One is a rock, the other a sand pile.

The Socialist Party is the only anti-capitalist party in the field building a genuine mass support, by educating workers to their common interest. For the sake of temporary enlargement, it has not sacrificed the only cohesive force that will hold labor together—the interests of labor as a class.

FRANK D. SLOCUM.
New York City.

That Office-Water Cooler

To the Editor:

In the last two issues you ran an article appealing for some badly needed funds and you made reference to the fact that an office water cooler is needed. This is a slander against McAllister Coleman.

If you will refer to the issue of May 18, 1935, you will find that Mac devoted an entire column to the "office water cooler." I deeply resent this practice of having an office water cooler disappear. Of course the creditors could have taken the machine. If this is so, I would suggest that we all get behind the CALL's drive for funds.

HAROLD MANDELL.
New York City.
— THOMAS AND NELSON —

A Word Of Praise

To the Editor:

I wish to speak a word of praise for The CALL, as it is the finest paper edited in behalf of the labor element of America, and also for its value in contemporary history.

WAYNE D. CHANEY.
Thurman, Iowa.
— RAISE \$100,000 FUND —

Gets One Copy; Will Subscribe

To the Editor:

I received a free copy of the CALL. Thanks. I shall subscribe as soon as possible.

J. B. BRAYMAN.
Lynchburg, Va.
— THOMAS AND NELSON —

A Source Of Inspiration

To the Editor:

I am enclosing \$5.00 to help maintain the CALL—a splendid source of information and inspiration. It is a strong force in our struggle to gain the realization of our dream, "Socialism in Our Time."

ETHEL HAASE
Brooklyn, N. Y.

WORDS ARE CHEAP

By Pete Hawks

IT DON'T cost nothing to make pretty speeches. And I guess President Roosevelt is about as free with pretty speeches as most any politician. But he sprung a real, sure-fire surprise the other day at a speech at Chautauqua when he came right out in meeting and said:

"I hate war."

And, mister, let me tell you that a speech like that sounds good to me. Because I don't want any more war than does my neighbor or the German or Japanese workmen. And when the President stands right up there and tells the whole wide world that he's dead-set against war if it can't be helped, well—give him credit.

Even if he does sound a lot like Woodrow Wilson! Woodrow Wilson in 1916 (he was running for President then) went around the country telling everybody how he hated war! And everybody cheered the slogan "He Kept Us Out Of War" and



they went and elected him again. But—if you don't believe me, read the history books—it was just a month after he got inaugurated for the second time that he went before Congress and pulled Mr. Morgan's chestnuts out of the European fire. He may have hated war—but he loved Wall Street a lot more.

You see, it isn't words that count so much—they're cheap. It's what you do that really goes down into the history books. And despite all the pretty things that President Roosevelt can say about how much he just hates war (by the way, did you ever hear any politician tell you that he loves war?), what he says doesn't square up against what he does. Not by a long shot!

The Record

I know folks' memory is pretty short but how many of you remember the Munitions Investigation? Everybody was hot and bothered about it and Senator Gerald P. Nye (who's good-looking even if he is a senator) went around the country telling how he was going to nationalize the munitions industry and "take the profit out of war!" Remember? Well, whatever became of it?

And then the Democrats in 1932 went around the country telling everybody how Hoover was spending so much money on war preparations and just see what they would save once they got in. Well, they got in and the bill the American people are paying for "preparedness" is just a cool billion dollars, an all-time record in peace time.

And then Roosevelt put the CCC camps under Army supervision and when some liberals protested, he said "Sh-sh-sh" and nothing like that would happen. Until Assistant Secretary of War Woodring, who talks too much for his own good, let the cat out of the bag in a magazine article and said that the CCC idea was just testing the Army's plans for the next year!

The President makes real swell speeches. Take the one at Philadelphia when he spoke about "economic royalists." He didn't have to travel very far to find them if he was really interested—some of them were sitting right on the platform. Men like Senator Joe Robinson of Arkansas who's okayed share-cropper slavery in his own state, and like Gov. Paul V. McNutt of Indiana who sent the National Guard against organized labor.

A pretty speech, my friends, don't mean much more than a pretty face—take off all the rouge and powder and some of the other paint and you get down to the plain facts.

Well, the folks at Chautauqua heard the President and—because 1936 is election year—they're

ECONOMIC ROYALISTS



going to hear "What's-His-Name" from Kansas who the Republicans nominated, and then they're going to hear Norman Thomas. And, believe me, the only one of the three that ain't going to speak with his fingers crossed will be Norman Thomas.

Because Norman Thomas doesn't only talk—he goes right out and practices what he preaches. But I guess you'll have to read the rest of the paper to find that out.

Frank Words

Frankly, we like to be funny in this column. That the humor in it is appreciated by our readers is gratifying. But the purpose of this column isn't primarily that of humor—this space is supposed to raise money in the CALL drive for funds.

We hate to admit it, but as a money-raiser we haven't been a howling success. And we don't need the business office to tell us. We can judge for ourselves from the size of our pay-checks if and when we get them.

It's hard to be funny on an empty stomach. All these wise cracks about creditors and "payless pay-days" and rent falling due weren't just written to make you laugh.

It's time to stop laughing, at least for a while. We do prefer to be funny in this column. But the time has come when we've got to say, Let's get serious.

In spite of the fact that The CALL is going over swell, with every issue being sold out, we have financial troubles. That's inevitable with a labor paper. As a matter of fact, because we don't get much advertising—and why should the capitalists give us advertising?—and because our bundle rates are reduced in order to allow for a mass distribution, The CALL loses more money on its increased circulation. You folks have to make it up—with contributions and donations. We're through being funny in this column unless you people get busy and begin rolling up those subscriptions and donations.

We're in the midst of the most historic political campaign in recent history. Hundreds of thousands are listening to Norman Thomas tell the truth about capitalism and the real promise of Socialism. The CALL is the only paper that does justice to the Socialist campaign. But darn it, to do the job thoroughly, we need money.

Below are listed some of those who are giving of their spare time and hard-to-spare cash to build The CALL and the Socialist Party. No man who calls himself a class conscious worker, who hopes to see Socialism In Our Time, can rest unless his name is listed there too.

Get going. Send in cheering news—today. And maybe next week will find us in a better humor, giving further reports of our great strike for a water cooler.

Do your job! Send in your contributions and gather in handfuls of subs for The CALL.

ARE YOU LISTED?

The contest is over. Mary Dickson of Northampton, Mass., led all the rest, coming in from behind to win with 28 subs. Here they are—the winners who get bound volumes of The CALL: Mary Dickson, Northampton, Mass.; S. P., San Francisco Local; Ben Horowitz, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Eugene Haag, Reading, Pa.

DONATIONS		SUB GETTERS	
Much better than last week, the donations this week totalled \$97. Much better—but still a lot to go. Next week, we expect to see your name among the following:		The total number of subscriptions this week was 342. Our subscribers accounted for the following:	
A. S. Coolidge, Mass. \$70.00		A. B. Lewis, Boston, Mass. 16	
M. Schwind, Oakland, Calif. 15.00		R. D. Snyder, Portland, Ore. 11	
Milton Weinstein, Brooklyn, N. Y. 3.00		S. P. of Illinois 10	
N. B. Washington, D. C. 3.00		Mrs. Sid Tippins, Gillespie, Ill. 7	
L. Koffman, Philadelphia, Pa. 2.25		Lawrence Van Camp, Royal Oak, Mich. 4	
Village Branch, N. Y. 1.25		Ed Marks, Freeport, L. I., N. Y. 3	
Joe Schaefer, Jackson Hgts., N.Y. 1.00		S. P. of Kentucky 3	
Geo. Steele, Philadelphia, Pa. 1.00		S. P. of San Francisco 2	
S. McAllister, Philadelphia, Pa.50		John Piercey, Lawrence, Kansas 2	
		Martin Bernstein, Newark, N. J. 2	
		Pearl Swan Powell, Clovis, N. M. 1	
		B. Kramer, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1	
		Hyman Rifkin, N. Y. C. 1	
		Rose Spaeth, Allentown, Pa. 1	
Previously received \$1,546.33			
Total \$1,643.33			

Looking Backward

FOUR YEARS AGO
 CHICAGO, August 15, 1932, (From the files of America For All).—Socialists oppose the "Repeal Prohibition" campaign of the Republicans and Democrats with the slogan "Repeal Unemployment!", campaign headquarters announced here today.
 — RAISE \$100,000 FUND —
 CHICAGO, August 20, 1932, (From the files of America For All).—Twenty-eight new Socialist branches were organized in a single week during the campaign, bringing the year's total to 286.
 — VOTE SOCIALIST —
TWENTY YEARS AGO
 WASHINGTON, D. C., August 21, 1916, (From the files of The New York Call).—Julian Pierce, noted Socialist and CALL Washington correspondent, was arrested here for attacking President Wilson's order which sent the National Guard into Mexico. Observers viewed Pierce's arrest as the beginning of a general suppression of free speech to stop attacks on militarism.

PROPHETS IN STRAW

By McAlister Coleman

DONALD OGDEN STEWART, humorist, is interpreting the Spanish revolution in the New Masses; Max Eastman, for long years interpreter of revolutions, is publishing a book on humor. Anarchists in Spain are proud of their organizational ability and the discipline of their members. Communists in Russia are celebrating their new "democratization" by "purging" minority leaders. Communists in America are welding a firm United Front by calling Norman Thomas a "stooge for Landon." A "labor party" is formed in this country for the purpose of electing Franklin Delano Roosevelt and incidentally, Joe Robinson of Arkansas and as hard-boiled a collection of illiterate Southern riding bosses as ever flogged a union organizer. (Note to "Fellow Travellers": A Vote for Roosevelt is a Vote for Robinson.)

A Harvard man has discovered that the prime carrier of the obnoxious wood-tick is the chalcid fly. He is introducing a parasite to kill the chalcid fly. But the parasite is more obnoxious than the wood-tick. Which is what always happens when you vote on the "lesser-of-two-evils" theory.

Straw Votes For Straw Men

Courageously shouldering the journalistic burden put on us by the flinty-hearted editors of The CALL, we have to report on the state of the old line political campaign during the week.

All of us Landon stooges were a bit downcast by the ominous news from the official straw vote Yogis to the effect that while our man Alf was a bit ahead in the electoral college vote, a shift of a couple of thousand votes in some key states would constitute a Roosevelt landslide. There's real scientific prophecy for you. All indications point to a Republican victory, unless, of course, there is a Democratic grand slam. They pay money for such crystal-gazing.

By the way, did any of you boys and girls ever get a straw vote ballot? Man and problem child, we've been in street directories, telephone books, yes, even the Social Register (save the mark) for some two score years and never yet have we so much as seen a straw vote ballot, much less voted one. Who are the obscure recipients of these things? They must be latter-day cave-dwellers or members of the ex-Old Guard. At any rate, some sort of hermits whose existence, outside the mailing lists of the professional prophets, is highly questionable.

Neither Yes Nor No

We snapped out of our gloom over Alf's straw vote long enough to read with vast approval the Governor's splendid answer to a questionnaire sent him by a teachers' group, asking whether or not he believed that a sound system of public education was essential to true democracy. The Governor pondered this sticker. Then he sent back the question unanswered, saying that he made it his policy never to give a categorical answer to questions as hard as that one.

That's the boy, Alf! Don't let them catch you answering another question as you answered Norman Thomas's question on your labor stand. Never be specific about anything. If you are asked, for instance, about your stand on rape, arson, infanticide, don't get categorical. Remember Coolidge, in whose image Johnny Hamilton is moulding you, and sit tight. You have nothing to lose but your brains—and few of them. So save your thinking for the wording of the telegram you are going to send on election night congratulating Roosevelt on his re-election.

A Socialist Candidate

This corner is delighted over the nomination by the New York Socialists of Murray Baron for President of the Board of Aldermen. What a relief to be able to work for a young Socialist labor leader who isn't going to shift his position with every change of labor scenery but who can be counted on to stick to the principles for which he has battled so courageously. Baron is a credit to the whole younger generation of Socialists who are everywhere giving life and go to the only political party in America that offers a solution to labor's problems. Baron is of the good Socialist breed that in France and embattled Spain today is fighting the black hordes of capitalism.

All the luck, Murray! You and Harry Laidler and the other New York comrades are going to make the 1936 campaign memorable in party annals. When Popper returns from his sea-girt island, he'll be speaking for you.

1927-1936:

The Shame Of America

"If it had not been for these things, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scornful men. I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now, we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by an accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph!"

Spoken by Bartolomeo Vanzetti when he received his final death sentence on April 5, 1927.

On August 23, 1927, two men met their death in the electric chair in the death house at Charlestown, Mass. They had maintained their innocence to the very end.

Their trial and subsequent conviction raised a storm of protest which surged into the mighty cry of oppressed labor. For theirs was no ordinary execution; during the seven long years of trial, the serpent's head of class war had revealed itself as the major issue.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Shoe worker and fish-peddler. Radicals. What chance did they have against a capitalist world, a world in which the opposing forces held the reins of power?

Perhaps if the charge had been merely one of murder, they would have been acquitted. The world knows now, as it knew then, the facts which screamed the innocence of the two. But as symbols of a relentless class struggle, they stood no chance at all.

What was the crime of which these two men were accused?

On November 18, 1925, Celestino Madeiros confessed to the hold-up of a shoe factory in South Braintree, Mass., during which a guard was shot to death. But this confession was not enough to free the innocents from the toils of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—because the Commonwealth wasn't interested in the facts. It was only interested in the legal lynching of Sacco and Vanzetti.

When a picked jury disregarded the testimony of 99 witnesses who offered alibis for the accused on the day of the hold-up, a deluge of protest rained down on the decision. Socialists and the forces of organized labor throughout the world rallied to the defense.

"Let them appeal," said Judge Webster Thayer who during the trial had spoken of the "anarchistic bastards." "Let them appeal; and see how far they will get."

Thousands of demonstrations were held, protesting the innocence, demanding the release of the two. But police charged these meetings, clubbed the participants. For the Commonwealth of Massachusetts wasn't interested in innocence or guilt.

On August 23, 1927, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were murdered.

—THOMAS AND NELSON—

Vote Straight Socialist For a Better World.

Cowboys, Bookkeepers and Shoes

The good old days are gone. The world has moved a long way since the times when people made their living working in their own homes and with their own tools.

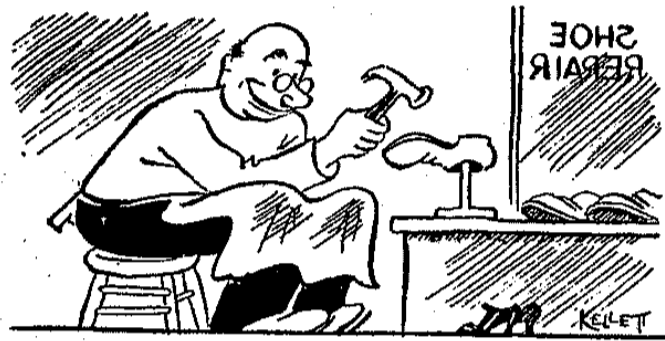
In the years before capitalism was born, workers stayed home with the family all day. They had their little work-rooms and as dignified artisans happily hammered out whatever goods they used to make. The cobbler cut and pounded his leather and whistled all the livelong day for joy.

When he got through with his work, he looked at the pair of shoes he had made and said proudly, "It's mine. From beginning to end, this is my work."

That's the way it used to be. Today, no workingman makes a finished product all by himself. Actually, all that a workman does nowadays is to add one more step to a long list of steps.

Making Shoes

Take the modern shoemaker for example. He couldn't make a pair of shoes all by himself. Be-



fore he ever gets started on his work, hundreds of other workers must have done their share. A cowboy in the west had to herd cattle; a railroad man had to transport the cattle to Chicago; a slaughter-house worker had to kill the beasts for the hides; leather workers had to—but it would take us too long to trace all the steps and list all the workers necessary to make one single pair of shoes.

As a matter of fact, in our time, goods are not created by individuals; they are produced by society. Bookkeepers, engineers, cowboys—all are necessary. They are all parts of society and do their share in the work of society.

That is why it is nonsense to talk about "rugged individualism" in the twentieth century. In the old days, things could be done by individuals; nowadays, every individual has to depend on hundreds of thousands of others to help him in his job. Life is more complicated now.

In the old times, when the individual made his own product, he owned it himself. Now, however, when no individual makes his own product but only adds his little share to it, who owns it when it's finished? Not the individual, it is clear! The shoemaker never takes possession of the finished shoes in the factory. Someone else takes it—the owner of the factory.

But after all, the creators should be the owners. And since no one individual is the creator but all of society, the owner should be society.

That is what Socialists say. Goods are produced socially not individually. But because individuals own the factories and the tools which

the workers need, these individuals are able to take ownership of the goods. Socialists say that we must have social ownership of the means of production if we are to have society and its members rewarded for the work they do.

Under the system of private ownership of these things, it is impossible for the worker to have any security. He must depend on the owner for his job, for his wages, for his working conditions. The private owner, on the other hand, is absolutely free to do as he wishes—to fire the worker, to cut his wages or to make working conditions unbearable.

But if the workers—on the railroads, in the fields, on the range, in the factory, in the mines—had the ownership and control of the industries, security and plenty could be won. As a matter of fact, everybody can see this idea from his own experience.

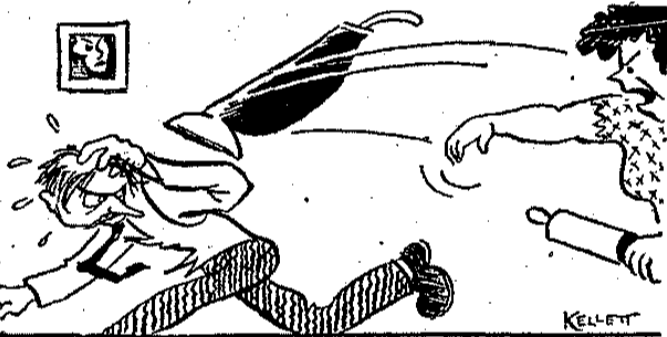
Using the Machine

Just imagine this sort of situation. Around Christmas time, you buy your wife a vacuum cleaner as a gift—a good, practical present. She uses it, and you begin to notice that she has to work less time than before. Now she can go to the movies in the afternoon or listen to the radio.

That makes you think. When your boss brought in machines and your hours of work were cut down, what did he do? He cut your wages. After all, business is business.

So you come home to your wife, and say: "Now listen here. You're only working two-thirds of the time you worked before. From now on, you're going to get only two meals a day instead of three."

What do you think would happen if you tried that? Why, she'd take that machine and give it back to you—right over the ears. And you'd



deserve it. You see, your wife is a Socialist. She understands that the machine is not to be used to make profit for an individual. It should be used to give more leisure and comfort.

That machine is not owned by you. It's owned by the family; it's used to improve the conditions of all who contribute to the common good.

That's the way it should be in the nation. The machines should not be used to give profit to a small group while others have their wages cut, are made unemployed and are compelled to starve. The machines must be socially owned.

That is why the platform of the Socialist Party demands "the social ownership and democratic control of the banks, mines, railroads, the power industry, and all key industries."

[This is one of series of articles on various phases of the Socialist program.]

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

Here is the story of Sweden told in summary fashion by the Secretary of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. (Sweden, Land of Economic Democracy by E. R. Bowen, The Cooperative League.) It tells of the phenomenal growth and trust-busting proclivities of the Swedish cooperative movement. It will serve as an introduction to the possibilities of a planned economy which preserves a real sense of democracy.

Unlike most Cooperative League writers, Bowen does not avoid discussion of the relationship between the cooperative movement and the labor and political movements. Nor does he assert that Sweden's astonishing recovery is due solely to the activity of the co-ops. Official cooperative literature has been barren, heretofore, of such statements as: "The strength and solidarity of the labor movement is largely responsible for the relatively high standard of living which all Swedish labor enjoys."

Allied With Labor

The exigencies of being in a responsible position probably accounts for Bowen's failure to completely integrate the political movement with the cooperative and labor movement. He states: "The cooperatives are independent of political affiliation. While the membership of the cooperatives is much the same as that of the labor unions and the Social-Democratic party, there is no relationship between the organizations." Mr. Bowen is blinded by form. If there is no formal relationship, the fact that the membership of all three units is identical speaks eloquently of an interrelationship and interdependence of more substance than mere form.

A correspondent writes:

"We have formed a small grocery cooperative in our neighborhood and I have been helping recruit new members. In my canvassing I have encountered a question which I cannot seem to answer readily and satisfactorily. What can I say to people who want to know what will happen to the independent grocer they now patronize if they desert him to patronize the cooperative?"

"To a class-conscious person this question raises no difficulties. He recognizes that the displacement of the middle class is inevitable under capitalism. If cooperatives do not force the small store keeper out of business, the chain stores will do so.

Doomed By Capitalism

It should also be recognized that in any great social change there is bound to be a number of regrettable casualties. It is far more important that we build organizations to better the condition of workers generally than to be concerned with the welfare of individuals, especially those who are part of the system we seek to replace.

To the person who is not class-conscious it is more difficult to make the point clear. Such a person will be impressed by arguments which show that the corner grocer will eventually find his way into the management or employment of a cooperative grocery. There he will find better conditions, and greater security than he formerly enjoyed.

Many people will readily admit that they should not patronize a shop on strike even though it would hurt the jobs of non-union workers. Constant pro-union education has impressed them with the greater significance of trade unions over the cause of the non-union workers. We should try to build an equal appreciation for the cooperative movement so that its significance is more extensively recognized.

The Workers' Defense League

FOREMOST among the organizations fighting the battle for civil rights in America is the Workers' Defense League, a defense organization endorsed by the Socialist Party. Although as yet young in years, the organization already bears the scars of battle with the economic tyrants of America—and has yet to admit defeat.

Always on the alert, its representatives are present wherever the class struggle breaks out in open warfare—and then the Workers' Defense League goes into action. Its lawyers, who know well the tricks of capitalist "justice" in motion machin-

ery to free arrested strikers; from the national office, organizers travel throughout the country bearing the story of the strike, raising money for its needs.

No worker is too lowly—no capitalist is too strong; the Workers' Defense League will defend a just cause.

An example of its work is seen in the Sam Bennett case in Chicago. Bennett, a poor Negro sharecropper from the terror-stricken fields of Arkansas, fled to Chicago when the planters threatened his life. The Southern bourbons, thirsting for gore, demanded that he be extradited. Under ordinary circumstances Sam

Bennett would now be an unknown victim of Southern barbarism.

But the Workers' Defense League was notified by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. It went into action. Sam Bennett's picture was flashed over all the country. In Chicago, mass meetings were called to protest the extradition. WDL lawyers appeared for Bennett before Governor Horner. The plans of the planters were temporarily foiled.

The national offices of the WDL have been established at 112 East 19th Street in New York City. Aron S. Gilmartin is secretary.

LANDON

LABOR GETS IT IN THE NECK!

McNUTT



Republican or Democrat, Tweedledee or Tweedledum, the soldiers are always called out to break the strike no matter who's governor. Above are two scenes of Demo-publican government: Left are National Guardsmen in

Kansas, called out by Gov. Alf M. Landon to break the lead and zinc miners' strike; right are National Guardsmen in Indiana, called out by New Dealer Gov. Paul V. McNutt to break the shirtmakers' strike.

Civil Liberties In America

President Roosevelt and Governor Landon both promise to protect civil liberties. Both have records of past performance by which you can judge their promises for the future.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty! Be careful.

While Roosevelt was President of the United States, more cases of civil liberty violations have been reported than ever before. More working people were denied the right to speak freely, to assemble freely, to carry on strikes, than ever before. The record in the nation is dead against Roosevelt, and in Kansas, against Landon.

Incomplete records show that while Roosevelt was President, there have been 38 cases of Democratic governors in the states, calling out the troops against strikers, and eight Republican governors doing the same. Candidate Alf M. Landon was one of the eight Republicans. If there had been more Republican governors, their number would have been higher.

"Widespread Violation"

In its 1933 report, the American Civil Liberties Union maintained that "at no time has there been such widespread violation of workers' rights by injunctions, troops, private police, deputy sheriffs, labor spies and vigilantes."

All of Roosevelt's machinery, which messed around in labor situations, turned out to be a joke. "The National Labor Board," says the Civil Liberties Union, "and its regional boards have lacked the will or the power to overcome the defiance of employers . . . only where labor has been well organized and has struck with determination, have its rights been respected."

In 1935, the Union announced that the same conditions existed. During the year, "scores of workers were killed and wounded on picket lines, hundreds arrested, hundreds more attacked by gunmen or vigilantes, who made their appearance openly for the first time in years, and scores imprisoned."

In California during the general strike of July, 1934, some 500 strikers were reported injured and 3 killed in one day. The strike was followed by a reign of terror against workers' organizations. And through it all, Roosevelt's right-hand man, General

GEORGIA

When the hosiery workers in Rossville, Ga., went on strike in 1935, Gov. Eugene Talmadge, Dem., sent out the National Guard. The tin-bats not only posed for pictures like the one below but set up Hitler-like concentration stockades to imprison strikers.



Hugh Johnson, was at the scene spurring on the vigilantes.

Throughout the country, pest-holes of tyranny have become notorious.

There is a way to tell the bloody story that makes it seem less dark. At the same time, it shows the record of Democrats, Republicans and Socialists. Wherever attempts have been made by the officials of both old parties to crush civil liberties, Socialists have rallied to defend the cause of freedom.

CALIFORNIA—Realizing that workers could place no hope in government authorities elected under the banner of capitalist parties, Socialists have been active in trade union organization. When the leaders of the Agricul-

tural and Cannery Workers Union were indicted, the Socialist Party rallied to the defense of the union men. One of those sent to jail was Norman Mini, now well-known as a Socialist.

At the present time, the citrus pickers are being defended by Clarence Rust, prominent California Socialist and trade union lawyer.

FLORIDA—Socialists engaged in organizing the unemployed to win better relief standards were taken out by a mob, led by police officials, and brutally flogged. One of the victims, Joseph Shoemaker, died as a result.

Prompt steps taken by Socialists under the leadership of Norman Thomas through the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, forced the prosecution of those guilty. Governor Sholtz, New Deal Democrat, dodged the responsibilities of his office, but the Socialists finally succeeded in winning several convictions against the criminals, who were Ku Klux Klan members.

ARKANSAS In the southwest, the share-croppers of Arkansas, white and colored, who organized the Southern Tenant

Farmers' Union with the help of a group of Socialists enlisted by Norman Thomas, were bitterly attacked during the years 1934-5-6 by government and employer groups. Agents of the various alphabetical authorities set up by Roosevelt co-operated with the wealthy planters in violating the rights of the share-croppers. In spite of voluminous appeals to the president, no action was taken by the federal authorities.

Within recent months, two Socialists, a young woman by the name of Willie Sue Blagden, and Claude Williams, now Socialist candidate for United States Senator in Arkansas, were beaten by a mob of planters because they had attempted to investigate the murder of a Negro member of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Appeals to Roosevelt again met

"If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments to the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."—Thomas Jefferson.

with silence from the White House.

INDIANA—New Dealer Paul V. McNutt, middle west Roosevelt leader, called out the troops in every major strike in the state and maintained martial law for months in strike areas. Powers Haggood, member of the Socialist Party national executive committee, Leo Vernon and others sent in by the Socialist Party to help the strikers were placed under military arrest. Martial law in Terre Haute was finally broken when Norman Thomas defied the military and held a meeting on the court-house steps. Roosevelt never rebuked his playmate McNutt.

NEW YORK—Socialists in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers rallied with their fellow-workers on picket-lines to organize the Rosenthal-Etlinger shop in Poughkeepsie. They found themselves the victims of an injunction obtained by John E. Mack, the man who made the nomination speech for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 and again in 1936.

OHIO—Socialists, led by Okey Odell, organizer of the Agricultural Workers Union, faced terror and beatings in helping a strike of the onion workers in Hardin County. Odell was kidnaped and assaulted by vigilantes from deputies' barracks, where he was being held for questioning. Though identified, the assailants were never indicted.

These are but glimpses of some of the struggles through which defenders of civil liberties have gone. They do not contain the story of Angelo Herndon, the continued martyrdom of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, the frame-up of the Scottsboro boys in the Democratic state of Alabama, the activities of the Black Legion, etc. There is not space enough to recount all that must be told.

But the record is available. There are the candidates: Roosevelt the smiling whose lips are sealed in the face of tyranny; Landon the silent, whose lips commanded the National Guard to "forward march"; and Norman Thomas the Socialist, who defended civil liberties on every occasion, who was twice arrested himself in recent struggles—in Illinois and in New York City—who is always at home on the picket-lines of labor.

— VOTE SOCIALIST —

Does Your Neighbor Read The Call?

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

"This country with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right of overthrowing it." — Abraham Lincoln.

Nation Rallies To Aid \$100,000 Fund Drive

CHICAGO.—From every section of the country, reports of activities to raise local quotas in the \$100,000 campaign fund drive are coming in.

"Friends of the Socialist Party are receiving appeals to give financial aid in the great fight the party is conducting," said Marjorie Kipp, director of the national drive. "This war that we are waging requires ammunition just as surely as the Spanish workers now at grips with fascism. Our weapons are literature, radio broadcasts, mass meetings, posters, handbills. We must have more if we are to win. And our friends can help us get it by providing the funds that are necessary."

"National campaign headquarters at 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill., is the address to which contributions should be sent."

[See Editorial: Dear Friend, on Page 4.]

Western Conference

The Socialist summer school at Red-Feather Lakes, Colorado, that will precede the Western Conference will be held from September 5 to 11. However, applications must be in by September 3. Write to Paul S. McCormick, 1026 17th Street, Denver, Colorado.

The idea of forming a Western Federation has been well received. Formal approval has already been given by the Washington state executive committee, the California state executive committee and the Utah state convention.

N. Y. Notes:

Call Meeting Of Membership

A membership meeting will be held Friday, August 21, at 8:30 p. m. at the Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, to discuss the American Labor Party and the Non-Partisan Labor League, with Jack Altman and Murray Baron leading the discussion. There will also be a detailed report on the Pennsylvania State Convention. Every member of Local New York should be present.

SPAIN—Local New York is launching a tag day to raise funds to help the Spanish workers in their struggle against fascism. The tag day will start on Saturday, August 22. Every party member must help the working class of Spain to triumph.

ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION—Local New York is participating in the anti-war demonstration on Saturday, August 22. The party members will gather at 72nd Street and 1st Avenue at 11 a. m.

SACCO AND VANZETTI MEMORIAL — Powers Hapgood and Mary Donovan will speak at Union Square Friday, August 21 at 4:30 p. m. at the Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial meeting.

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Books

'From Hegel to Marx'

By BRUNO FISCHER

Karl Marx was not born a Marxist. This phrase has become a stereotype, but it bears constant repeating. Only recently I read in a fairly mature publication a supercilious sneer at Marx because he had borrowed so much from other philosophers. Marxism was second-hand stuff, and the implication was that it couldn't be very important because it hadn't sprung full-blown from Marx's brain.

Marx, of course, wasn't a seer or a mystic who heard the voice of God one night, and, lo and behold, woke up with a copy of "Capital" at his side written in letters of gold. Marx was a philosopher and an economist, and as such he used all his predecessors and contemporaries could give him. Slowly and painstakingly Marx hammered out his doctrines.

What he did was to take philosophy out of its vacuum and apply it to social conditions and needs. What he did was to take the static, sentimental Socialism of his time and turn it into a dynamic force for social revolution.

The account of how Karl Marx became a Marxist is brilliantly

were hosts to 5,000 people at their annual picnic. Speakers included Harold Ruttenberg of the CIO, Henry Rath, Socialist councilman Earl Englehart, of Jeannette, Sam Slyman and Harry K. Churns.

Rhode Island

Joseph Coldwell, candidate for U. S. Senate, is touring the open air circuit of the Confederation of Socialist Locals of Western Massachusetts.

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California

An aggressive Socialist campaign is under way. Clarence Rust is congressional candidate in the sixth district and George W. Graydon in the seventh. Graydon's is a write-in campaign, his name having been withdrawn from the ballot because of pressure from the WPA on which he is employed. Rust is a prominent labor lawyer and has represented striking agricultural workers.

Connecticut

The Socialist campaign drive in this state starts on Sunday, August 30, at the Thompson Gladiola Farm in Plainville. Devere Allen and Max Delson, members of the national executive committee, are scheduled to speak. The affair is being run on a state-wide basis. The state convention will be held at the Labor Lyceum Hall, 2003 Main Street, Hartford, on Saturday and Sunday, September 12-13.

Minnesota

The state convention voted to assess every employed member one day's pay for the campaign fund. The state committee was authorized to levy another such assessment if deemed advisable.

New York

The Syracuse Regional Picnic for locals Geneva, Auburn, Syracuse, Watertown, Oneida, Rome, and Utica takes place on Sunday, August 23. Frank Trager, state secretary, begins his up-state tour in Ithaca on August 22 and Syracuse the following day.

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Marx's relationship with the Young-Hegelians, or his bitter clashes with Bruno Bauer's "do nothing" philosophy and Arnold Ruge's conception of "pure" political democracy, or his polemics against the sentimental socialism of Moses Hess, or his biting invectives against the vague humanitarianism of Ludwig Feuerbach.

"From Hegel to Marx" ranks among the most important books on Marxism published in recent years. A scholarly and carefully documented work, it is a necessary addition to Marxian literature not only because it deals with a phase of Marx's life which has not been given the attention it deserves—that is, how he became a Marxist—but also because it contains material which up to now has not been available in English.

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The current issue of *Consumers Union Reports* tells you, for example, what brand of hosiery outwore fourteen other brands (including the brands named above) in an actual wear-test. It tells you whether it is cheaper in the long run to buy 50 cents stockings or dollar stockings. It tells you which of the laundry soaps named above to buy for best results and lowest cost. It rates many brands of breads, telling you which are "Best Buys" and which are "Not Acceptable" and why. It gives you money-saving information on other products, too.

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"ORGANIZED LABOR . . . SHOULD GET UP ON ITS HIND LEGS AND CHEER for the first consumers organization that shows a clear comprehension that workers are consumers and most consumers are workers." —From an article on Consumers Union in the June issue of The Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators.

HERE are some of those active in the labor and consumer movement who are officers, directors or sponsors of Consumers Union: A. F. Randolph, Julius Hochman, Francis Gorman, John Brophy, Frank Palmer, Rose Schneiderman, Sam Baron, Arthur Kallet, co-author of 100,000,000 Guinea Pigs, Vito Marcantonio.

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Debs School Plans Classes In Labor Theory, Strategy

When the Debs School opens this fall in New York City, workers all over the United States will at last have an institution to which they can turn for fundamental education about their problems. Its courses will bring light on the subject of exploitation, imperialism, colonialism, war, fascism, industrial unionism, and international politics.

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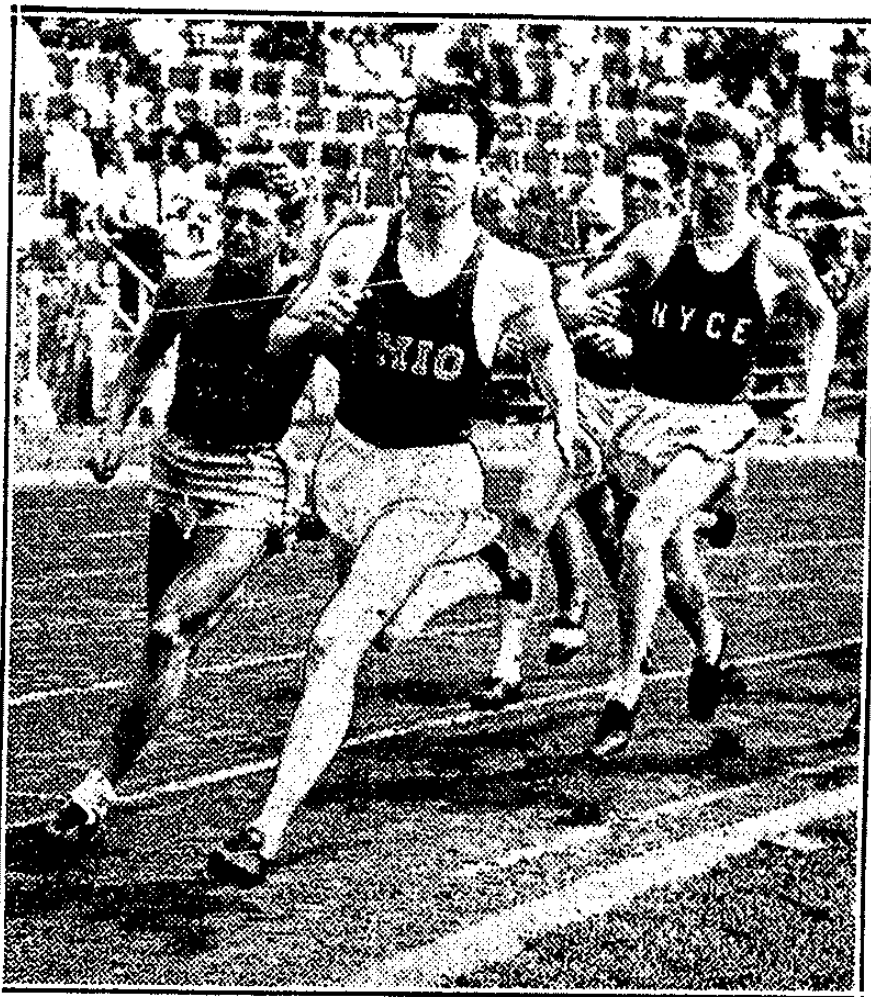
The why of action must be filled with the how! A course in the strategy and tactics of the working class and revolutionary movement is rounded out with many separate studies. The history and problems of trade unionism in America; the history of the working class internationalists; the history of American Socialism; the Russian Revolution. This aspect of the subject will take us into the most practical and detailed work: classes in organization, in public speaking, in leadership, in acquiring the routine habits of working class action.

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But those who would see a working class that is secure, that is free, that is virile with the spirit of revolt and awake with the power of knowledge, will want the Debs School.

Further information about the Debs School can be obtained by writing to the Debs School, 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

IN LABOR MEET



While Hitler was turning the Berlin Olympiad into a political demonstration for Fascism, organized labor in America countered by organizing the World Labor festival which attracted the cream of America's amateur athletes. Here is action in the first heat of the 880-yard run at the labor meet, showing George O'Brien of Ohio State University leading.

Wages are like a jackass on its rump. Once it goes down, it takes a long time to get up.

Garment Workers Pageant Scheduled For Kansas City

WANSAS CITY, Mo., (FP)—Surging Forward, labor pageant that was so successfully produced at St. Louis by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, will be shown in Kansas City's new municipal auditorium theater Aug. 29.

The union is bringing to this city the entire cast of more than 200 garment workers, hiring a special train for that purpose.

Kansas City Central Labor Council and local unions are actively backing the presentation, which is expected to be an inspiration to organizational activities. Delegations of unionists from nearby cities are expected to come here for the pageant.

—THOMAS AND NELSON—

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Step-Child Of The New Deal:

The Roosevelt Housing Program

IN the richest country in the world, more than 14,000,000 families—half of the families in the country—are living in homes that fail to meet minimum standards of decent housing. Throughout the country, whether in "Hell's Kitchen" in New York City or the "Arks" of Memphis and New Orleans, whether in the "Monkey's Nest" of Youngstown or the "Band-Box houses of Philadelphia," families huddle together in ramshackle tenements, ready to flee the scourge of flaming destruction at a moment's notice.

What is true of New York City is true of Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit—is true of any city which balances against the palatial homes of the wealthy the pitiful slums of the workers. Let us look at New York's record:

In the richest city in the richest country of the world, nearly 2,000,000 men and women—one out of every fourth person—live in rotton tenements on the east and west sides of Manhattan, in the Brownsville, Greenpoint and Williamsburg sections of Brooklyn, in the East Bronx and in Long Island City. No section of the metropolis is free from the blight. They call these factory-like structures "old-law" tenements—because the law has forbidden housing of such low standards for more than 30 years. These are dwellings without open spaces, without light and air, without bath-tubs and toilets in the home.

According to housing authorities, one-third of our American homes should be immediately demolished as unsafe to dwell in. Proper, low-cost housing for the American people has become a major political issue.

* * *

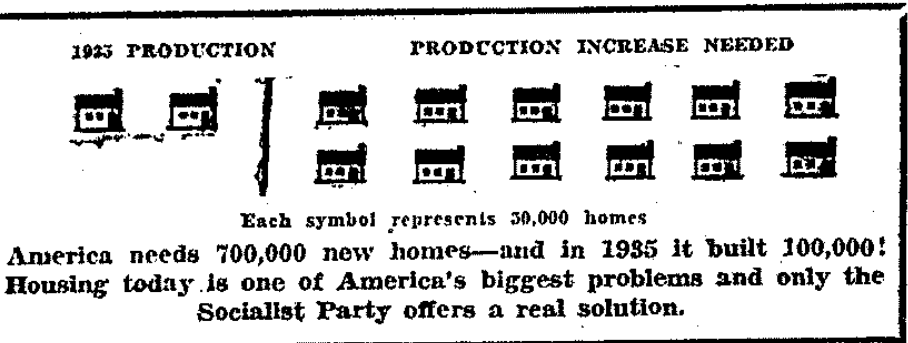
What is the Roosevelt record? The Democratic platform says proudly:

"We maintain that our people are entitled to decent, adequate housing at a price which they can afford. In the last three years the Federal government, having saved more than two million homes from foreclosure, has taken the first steps in our history to provide decent housing for people of meagre incomes. We believe every encouragement should be given to the building of new homes by private enterprises; and that the government should steadily extend its housing program toward the goal of adequate housing for those forced through economic necessities to live in unhealthy and slum conditions."

These are fine words—but what are the facts? What has been the Roosevelt record of housing during the years of the New Deal?

Housing has been one of the New Deal's talking points from the very beginning. Submitting to pressure from liberals and social workers who knew of the horrible conditions existing in America's cities, the Administration from the start, talked about

"Capitalist 'preparedness' means the security of this nation's robbers—against the same class of robbers of other nations."
— Eugene V. Debs.



housing as if it were "the family pet." But the facts show that housing has actually been a neglected, mistreated step-child.

Here are the facts.

* * *

While camera bulbs flashed and news-reel photographers cranked away, President Roosevelt signed the National Industrial Recovery Act which provided for \$135,000,000 for slum clearance and low rent housing. For the first time it seemed as if the Federal government were really interested in contributing toward the solution of demolishing the slums.

The work began slowly. In the beginning, always ready to lean backward to safeguard "private initiative," the government concentrated on a policy of loans to private Limited Dividend Corporations. It was thought that private corporations, borrowing 85% of their capital from the housing fund, could build and operate their own projects. But out of more than 500 applications received, only seven were found to be anything but swindles and speculation. The much vaunted "private initiative" of capitalism was unable or unwilling to undertake the job.

It was then decided—in January, 1934,—that the Housing Division would do its own construction and operation of the projects. But working out the plans was hampered by delay after delay and work was begun 11 months later—in December.

But by this time the Roosevelt administration had transferred 110 of the 135 millions allotted to housing to other projects. The Housing Division had been double-crossed before it was under way—only 25 million dollars were left!

When this was discovered and a popular reaction against the Roosevelt government set in, the White House again changed its plan. When the Emergency Relief Appropriation was passed in 1935, the act provided that 450 million dollars were to be spent for housing. But again the adherents of better housing felt the lash of Roosevelt's two-dealing whip.

Slowly and steadily the President reduced the amount to be spent for housing. By the end of 1935, the final appropriation of funds for housing provided only 103 mil-

lion dollars—a reduction of more than 75%.

The actual figures show how important Roosevelt regarded the idea of housing. Out of more than 8 billion dollars appropriated for public works, only \$114,000,000 was appropriated for housing—Something like 1.5%. Housing may be a major political talking point to Roosevelt today—but for four years it was only a minor task to be ignored except at press conferences.

* * *

But don't get the idea that Roosevelt has done absolutely nothing. Working through the Federal Housing Authority headed by Jesse Jones, multi-millionaire Texas banker and head of several mortgage concerns, he has authorized the building of cheap homes at \$1,200 apiece. But let Paul Ward, ace Washington correspondent, tell the

story as he told it in The Nation:

"They are pleasantly painted cheese-boxes, and though the government-insured mortgages on them are to run for twenty years, the houses themselves are good for only about five. Put a hundred of them together this year and by 1941 you'll have a slum. Or as the head of the FHA said, 'Will they last twenty years? Hell no. You could turn the hose on any of them and wash them into the creek.' . . . These monuments to the New Deal are being built with cheap, non-union labor, working in many cases for \$2 to \$3 a day."

Ward wrote the above in telling the story of another double-cross—how White House politics killed the Wagner-Ellenbogen low-cost-housing bill.

The President, he says, "obviously has no enthusiasm for a bona fide housing program. He is impressed with the fact that such a program cannot be achieved without a lavish outlay of federal funds and without severe damage to the private real-estate-mortgage structure of the country. He seeks only something that bears the 'low-cost housing' title to which he

may point in campaign speeches."

* * *

Such is the story of the Roosevelt record on housing—a sorry tale of a politician who is more interested in defending the interests of the mortgage-holders and bankers than in providing for the welfare of America. Against this proposal of double-dealing politics, the Socialist platform says in a straight-forward manner:

"We propose an immediate appropriation by Congress of funds to insure the immediate launching of a public housing program for the complete elimination of the nation's slums . . .

"On the basis of the present capacity to produce, a socialized society will make it possible to provide a fine, modern home for every family in the city or on the farm."

To see what this means, let us turn back the pages and look at the city of Vienna before the Fascists there massacred the Socialists. Under a Socialist city administration, great and beautiful apartment houses were built to serve the workers rather than to make money for the realtor. More than 250,000 people were housed in modern buildings built around great central courtyards covering an area three and four times as large as the area upon which the building itself stands. Shrubs, grass and flowers were grown in the open spaces. Benches were scattered about where the workers rested after a hard day's work. Play space with appropriate equipment was provided for the children. The rooms were flooded with sunlight and fresh air.

But despite these high standards, the rentals were phenomenally low. A three and four room apartment could be obtained for only \$3 and \$4 a month—about 10% of the average worker's wage.

But this can be accomplished only when the Federal government is interested primarily in labor's welfare rather than in the well-being of the profit system. And only the Socialist Party, led by Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson, offers such a program to the American people.

Vote Straight Socialist For a Better World.

CAPITALIST HOUSING



Here is an example of capitalist housing—this is all that remained of a four-story tenement in Buffalo, N. Y., in which five persons were killed, after a fire. There are thousands of fire-traps like this throughout the United States. Housing represents one of the major failures of the Roosevelt administration.

Why We Are Voting Socialist

LOUIS HACKER SIDNEY HOOK FRED A. KIRCHWEY JAMES RORTY MAX EASTMAN
Columbia University New York University Editor, The Nation Author Author

WE, and you, are as deeply enmeshed as the factory worker or the farmhand in the mechanics of the world crisis, and our stake—economic and material as well as cultural and moral—is as immediate and as compelling. The political campaign of 1936 presents us with the challenge and opportunity to determine with which of the different contending groups we shall align ourselves.

Mass unemployment is no longer a feature of temporary depression but a permanent characteristic of the remaining days of the profit system. As hunger grips the unemployed, insecurity haunts those who still have jobs. Hitler's burning of the books was no accidental symbol but a profound expression of the direction in which capitalism threatens to hurl all humanity. Every day's newspaper brings us new evidence of the nearness of a new world war.

Unemployment, want, insecurity, fascism, war—these are the hallmarks of the declining capitalist order.

Republicans Reactionary

The Republican Party is openly reactionary. Its program is evasive on labor, relief and social insurance in order not to interfere unduly with vote-catching; but its cries for a balanced budget, return to the gold standard, lower taxation (for the rich), demonstrate its unabashed loyalty to the perpetuation of the capitalist system at no matter what consequences for the laboring population.

It regards the expense of the New Deal as an unnecessary item in overhead costs which properly belongs to profits, and therefore repudiates even the pretense of social experimentation. The role of Hearst and the Liberty League in building up Landon was scarcely needed to show

Five of the most distinguished leaders in American thought joined last week in a call to American writers, artists and professional people, urging them to support Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson, Socialist standard-bearers in the 1936 campaign. Thousands of intellectuals throughout the nation have joined with them in their indictment of capitalist politics; thousands more will rally with them in the fight for a Socialist society.

The Writers' and Artists' Committee for the Support of Thomas and Nelson is a section of the Thomas and Nelson Independent Committee. All communications should be addressed to Mary W. Hillyer, secretary of the committee, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

that a vote for the Republicans is a vote for open reaction.

The Democratic Party prefers to sugar-coat its reaction, and to save capitalism to the accompaniment of fine promises and high-sounding generalities. The New Deal has become a kind of political insurance against radical social change.

Roosevelt Aids Banks

The support Roosevelt has received from the most reactionary of the Southern bourgeois as well as many bankers and industrialists, his carrying through of the largest military and naval budget in peace-time history of this country, his concrete aid on all occasions to the banks and big corporations as contrasted with his verbal aid to labor—all prove that Roosevelt's New Deal is just another shuffle of cards in the capitalist deck. The hand and voice of Roosevelt have not once been raised against the wide-spread violations of civil liberties in Tampa, Terre Haute, Sacramento and Arkansas, against the ruthless suppression of a hundred strikes, against the bitter persecution of aliens under his administration.

The Communist Party today invents a fundamental distinction between the Republican and Demo-

cratic parties and spreads the fatal illusion that the choice is not between Socialism and capitalism but between fascism and capitalist democracy. Yet the lesson which Hitler burned into the bodies of his victims was that the declining capitalist order and its capitalist democracy paved the way for fascism. Refusing to learn this lesson, the Communist Party hangs on to every hare-brained demagogue in its attempt to find something in 1936 to call a "Farmer-Labor Party," and plays with every reformist panacea from the League of Nations societies to the Townsend clubs.

But its call to the side of "democratic" capitalist countries in a war against fascist "aggressors," by its advice to enlist on the side of the government of any capitalist country that may be allied with the Soviet Union, by its policy of supporting coalition governments that prepare for war just as surely as 'pure capitalist' governments — by all these anti-Socialist policies, the Communist Party is prepared to betray the masses in the coming war.

The Sole Alternative

The Socialist Party, in its historic Cleveland Conven-

tion and its work since then, has stated unambiguously that the sole alternative to continued reaction and to fascism is a workers' and farmers' government;

That the distinction between the various sections of the ruling class is altogether subordinate to the fundamental identity of social interests which bind them together;

That all wars of capitalist nations today are reactionary and imperialist wars.

Only the Socialist Party in its fight for Socialism takes the lead for unemployment and social insurance, the thirty-hour week, full equality for the Negro and other racial minorities, relief of farmers and farm laborers, the right of labor to organize into its own unions, the protection and extension of all civil and democratic rights of the masses of the people.

That is why we have pledged our active support in the coming campaign to Norman Thomas and George Nelson. We call upon our colleagues—writers, artists, educators and professional workers generally—to support Thomas and Nelson in this political struggle.

We ask you to join with us in forming a Writers' and Artists' Committee for the Support of Thomas and Nelson. With your aid we shall seek to rally the thousands of intellectual workers who belong with us in the fight for a Socialist society.

THE LIFE OF NORMAN THOMAS

Social Work

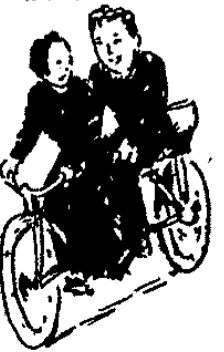
By RALPH LEVINE



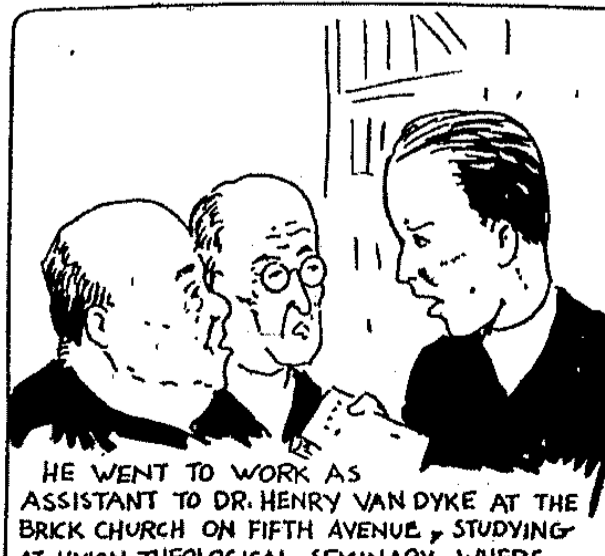
THOMAS WENT FROM COLLEGE INTO SETTLEMENT WORK IN NEW YORK, WHERE HE SOON BEGAN TO HAVE GRAVE DOUBTS ABOUT THE SOCIAL WISDOM OF SPENDING ENERGY FOR RELIEF INSTEAD OF PREVENTION



IN 1908 HE MARRIED VIOLET STEWART AND THEY PEDALED OFF ON THEIR HONEYMOON ON A TANDEM BICYCLE.



LEVINE



HE WENT TO WORK AS ASSISTANT TO DR. HENRY VAN DYKE AT THE BRICK CHURCH ON FIFTH AVENUE, STUDYING AT UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, WHERE HE WAS AN OUTSTANDING STUDENT BUT EQUALLY OUTSTANDING AS A REBEL AGAINST ORTHODOXY IN ECONOMICS AND RELIGION.



HE WAS GRADUATED WITH DISTINCTION, WHEREUPON HE PLUNGED INTO CHURCH WORK IN THE SLUM DISTRICT OF HARLEM.

Norman Thomas

DISCUSSES
The Union Party
ON PAGE 2

OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

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THOMAS CHARGES SHAM IN FDR PEONAGE PROBE

Challenges Futrell To Produce Weems

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—Will the Roosevelt administration — and the Democratic politicians who support it — give the American people the honest facts about conditions among the sharecroppers in the Southwest?

This was the fighting challenge hurled at President Roosevelt, Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas and Gov. J. Marion Futrell of that state in a speech here by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President.

Charges Sham

Thomas, who was mobbed by planters and their thugs when he went into the sharecropper area last year, charged that the Federal investigation of "peonage" directed by Attorney-General Homer S. Cummings as well as the conference "on aid to sharecroppers" organized by Governor Futrell were not undertaken in good faith. Rather, he declared, "its principal purpose is to take from the Democratic Party, in the state and the nation, part of the shame of the exploitation and terrorism in the cotton country which consistently it has not only ignored but defended."

Declaring that he was ready "to substantiate in detail my allegations concerning the reign of terror in Arkansas," the tall, scholarly Socialist whose courage in defense of workers' rights has made him a hero among workers everywhere, issued a three-fold challenge.

Thomas said:

If Governor Futrell, Senator Robinson, or even the President want to refute this statement, let them at once do three things:

Produce Weems

1. Produce Frank Weems and guarantee his safety. Frank Weems is the colored farmer who at a peaceful demonstration of strikers, last May, at Earle, Arkansas, was beaten so badly that the workers thought he was dead. When Reverend Claude Williams and Miss Blagden went to arrange his funeral they also were flogged. Governor Futrell and Senator Robinson, accused the union of lying when it said that Weems was dead. The Sheriff of the County said that at the right time he would produce him. That was about two months ago. Up to the time I left New York, on this trip, Weems had not been produced and I do not think he has since been produced. He was either murdered or kidnaped when unconscious. He is either dead or kept away from home by actual force or intimidation. Let Governor Futrell or Senator Robinson say which!

2. Guarantee an absolute end

Chautauqua Hears Thomas On Aug. 20

CHAUTAUQUA, N. Y. (LSP)—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, will speak at the annual Chautauqua Institution at Lake Chautauqua, Aug. 20. President Roosevelt and Governor Landon are also scheduled to speak there sometime during the month.

Thomas will speak in Pittsfield and North Adams, Mass., Aug. 23; Brooklyn, N. Y., Aug. 24, where he will address the national convention of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks (Colored); and in Reading, Pa., Aug. 30, where his speech will be broadcast over station WEEU, 12:30 p. m. EDST.

of night riding, flogging, and murder in Eastern Arkansas and institute immediate action to punish those responsible for almost unnumbered crimes against the poor share-croppers and field workers. This, Governor Futrell assured me over

a year ago, with great satisfaction, he was powerless to do. Is the whole Democratic Party equally powerless now that it is bidding for support as the friend of labor?

Right to Organize

3. Give absolute assurance to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union of its right peacefully to organize and include its representatives in any conference which Governor Futrell may project, before he retires from the office which he has never used to serve the people.

Thomas also declared that the Futrell conference had as its primary purpose "support for the Bankhead Bill which proposes to spend a billion dollars of the taxpayers' money to settle tenants on land for which they are to pay through a long term period."

Representatives of almost every Southern group have been invited except the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, Thomas charged. Discussing the Bankhead bill, he declared:

"As it now stands, it is first of all a bill to bail out planters, banks and mortgage companies,

HITS PROBE



Norman Thomas, fighting Socialist candidate for the Presidency, who charged that the Federal probe into peonage as well as Gov. Futrell's "conference to aid sharecroppers" were not undertaken in good faith.

which will find in this bill a wonderful chance to unload second rate land at first rate prices. It gives no recognition to the fact that cotton farming, with modern machinery, cannot and will not be successfully conducted by small subsidized peasants on twenty or thirty acre tracts. That requires cooperative collectives. Furthermore the Bankhead Bill offers no protection to the Negro against discrimination and no assurance of what Mr. Roosevelt calls 'the abundant life' to the proprietor burdened with a sixty year mortgage."

Arizona Goes Over The Top; Is On Ballot

PHOENIX, Ariz., (LSP).—The Socialist Party is on the ballot in Arizona. It is on the ballot in spite of tremendous odds. It is on the ballot because of the hard work, enthusiasm, "stick-to-it-iveness" of a handful of Party members and sympathizers in the labor movement. There is now a party for workers to vote for, the hard-driven exploited workers in Arizona.

Door-to-Door

The Party is small in Arizona. Distances are great and the population scattered. When Steven Gaugh, organizer, loaned to Arizona by California, went to the state, there were only a few days in which to get the required number of signatures. The number of workers for petitions grew as they worked along, and they covered the state. Old Party members were found. In one town no sympathizers were known. The organizers started a door to door canvass for signatures until they found a "nest" of Socialists from Oklahoma who took charge of the work in that town.

The last day came. Three hundred more signatures were needed. Some workers were discouraged. Others said it couldn't be done. But the majority of them were out on the streets driving ahead. Unemployed workers were on every street corner in the Phoenix business district that Saturday afternoon.

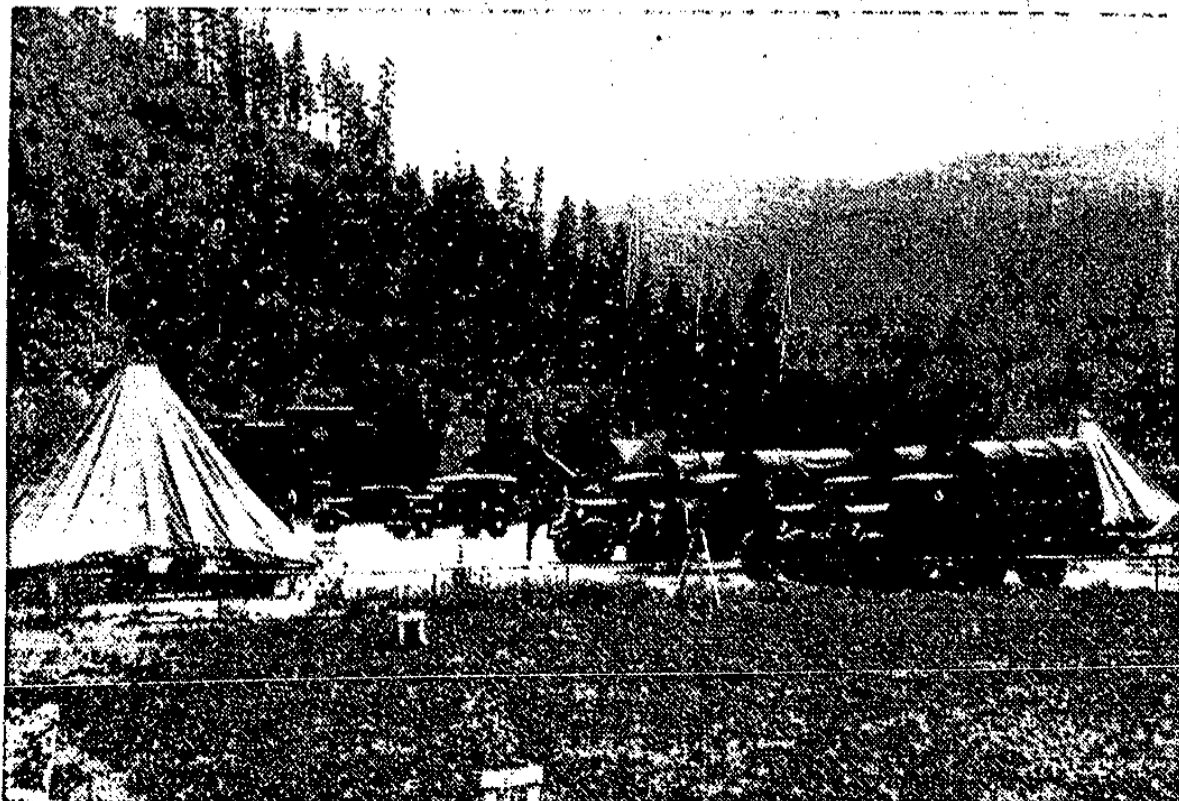
At 9 p. m. there were one hundred names in excess of the number required. Party officials went to their office to make out the master petition. City lights went out. The night was hot. They worked by candle light and sweated in the semi-darkness. They worked frantically to make the deadline. At 10:30 the petition was ready. The secretary of state was called. The petition was filed. The Socialist Party was on the ballot in Arizona.

Illinois On the Way

CHICAGO, Ill. — With September 1 as the deadline, Illinois Socialists began a drive for the 25,000 signatures from 50 counties that are required to put the party on the ballot, under the new election laws.

Macoupin County, with headquarters at Gillespie, led the van with more than three-quarters of its assigned quota already filled. DuPage, LaSalle and Lake Counties followed close on its heels with Perry, Randolph, Franklin, Henry, Madison and Jersey with their legal minimum of 200 assured and aiming to go further.

STRIKE-BREAKING A LA NEW DEAL



Here is strike-breaking headquarters in Idaho—the camp of militia sent by "Cowboy" Ben Ross, Roosevelt Democrat, to break the lumber workers' strike. See Page 7 for the story of civil liberties in America under the New Deal