

Organize Henry Ford's Open Shop!

Successful Drive Will Put Labor on Offensive

(Continued from Page 1)

signed no agreement with the union. Ford stands today as the facturer of automobiles who has successfully obstructed the formation of reaction, industrial autocracy and the open shop. His anti-union utterances have attracted nationwide and worldwide attention. Almost naturally, the organization of the Ford plants stands as the necessary next step in labor's program of action.



HENRY FORD

Cracking the Ford fortress and bringing the overlord of River Rouge to terms would have far greater significance than the mere numerical enlargement of the United Automobile Workers Union or of the C.I.O. Just recall what the signing of a union agreement with General Motors meant for the labor movement: how that accomplished more in one day than all the speeches and routine activity of a whole army of organizers in the previous year. With one great dramatic feat that displayed the latent power and the inexhaustible strength of organized labor with one bold stroke the prejudices of a century were uprooted; the influence of the employers was broken, the regime of blind obedience cracked beyond repair. That strike, unexpected and unprepared for by the C.I.O. national command, was responsible for all of the subsequent growth and achievements.

How could it be otherwise? The American working class is too inexperienced and too untrained to move forward except by the boldest and most spectacular victories. Unmatched in courage and fighting qualities, it must unintermittently register new successes to compensate for its lack of political training and its own political party.

THE GREAT JOB AT FORD'S

Organize the Ford workers, sign a good union contract with the company!—and the G.M. victory will pale by comparison. The G.M. strike occurred when the mass production industries were still largely unorganized and the mass movement for labor political action almost non-existent. That strike electrified the workers sufficiently to call forth millions of them out of indifference and timidity to economic and political life. A successful Ford drive, would grip America's organized millions and hurl them in a new attack against the citadels of capitalism in a more profound manner than ever before. The threatened reaction on the part of the manufacturers would be abruptly stopped and the labor movement, more resolute and self-confident, would launch an offensive all along the line.

At the Milwaukee convention of the United Automobile Workers of America, held August, 1937, the officers vied with each other in eloquent speeches pointing to the necessity of organizing the Ford workers, and every one of the orators pledged his undying support towards its accomplishment. A one dollar assessment was unanimously approved by the convention to finance the drive. Immediately after the convention, Richard Frankenstein, union Vice-President, was appointed Director of the Ford Drive and amidst much publicity the national campaign was launched. Today, a year later, the campaign has completely bogged down; the Ford workers are still unorganized.

WORKERS WANT UNION

The Ford workers know the necessity of being organized. They want a union in their plant. They want to abolish the pitiless blacklist and the shame of the system of espionage. On every side they are surrounded by automobile workers who work in union shops, who enjoy the protection of union contracts, who are represented by union stewards and committees. The automobile workers union, young, vibrant and full of optimism, is in addition a major factor in the life of the city of Detroit. But the Ford workers are held down by long years of submission to a ruthless despotic power.

They know that for years Ford has successfully crushed all that would not bend to his will. They know that practically all the officials of the City of Dearborn are controlled body and soul by the Ford Motor Co. They know of the deadly spy system in operation at his plant and the hundreds of Ford workers who have summarily been fired out of their jobs for union activity and they know that all the hearings and tomfoolery of the National Labor Relations Board have not yet returned these men to work. The Ford workers have submitted too long to spontaneously rise up and challenge the autocracy of Ford. What they need to arouse them out of their apathy was a

Incompetence Stymied Previous UAW Efforts

ing routine of collecting names, visiting individuals, a drive without prospect and without hope.

In general, the imagination and the aggressiveness necessary to mobilize thousands of automobile workers was lacking. The union officials were incapable of mobilizing the ranks which they did possess, and sending them into a decisive battle, but rather it wore out the strength of its own staff by a series of small, fruitless encounters, doomed, in advance, to failure. The broad ranks of the union membership consequently were never really involved in the drive and the field staff, rather than directing large scale activities of a mass campaign, themselves puttered around in a dozen routine duties.

The factional fight which flared up again during the summer of this year put the finishing touches to what remained of the Ford Drive. Several weeks ago, the Ford men were chartered as a separate local union of the U.A.W.

The local's Executive Board, composed for the most part of fired Ford workers, inexperienced and new to unionism, is struggling as valiantly as it can with the Herculean task dumped into its lap.

PUT FORD ON CIO AGENDA

The C.I.O. is scheduled to hold its first convention on November 15th. Of paramount importance stands of course the question of fusing with the A.F. of L. to form one united labor movement in America. The U.A.W. delegation should, however, insist that the organization of the 150,000 workers employed in the plants of the Ford Motor Co. be placed on the agenda. The U.A.W. itself has not the financial resources at the present time, nor the experienced organizers, to properly launch a new major drive for the Ford workers. If Ford is to be organized now, the other C.I.O. unions will have to put in some real money for the job.

Proposals are in order to elect a representative committee from the key unions to furnish moral and financial aid to the great drive. It is most important to impress the Ford workers that a new gigantic effort is being made by the whole labor movement, in order to overcome the feeling of helplessness and scepticism which has seized the Ford workers. A solemn pronouncement by the C.I.O. convention that it pledges such help will go a long way towards bringing back new hope to the Ford men.

A PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

Then it is up to the U.A.W. to get into action. Assigned to the drive should be a crack regiment of field workers, who are inspired with the determination to see the Ford plants organized. At the head of the drive should be placed a person with experience and authority, a person, whose presence will constitute a partial guarantee that the Ford drive will this time proceed in an energetic and serious manner.

The presidents of all local unions in the Detroit area should be constituted as a special action and advisory committee, who will make the Ford drive a special order of business in their local unions and will involve every active union member in the great union campaign.

Especially important is the setting up of a special Negro committee of prominent Negro educators and leaders, who will aid the union in winning the good will and faith of the Negro workers in the drive and its purposes. Once the colored workers are set in motion at the great River Rouge plant, they will constitute one of the steel girders of the Ford union as well as the battering ram towards organizing the rest of the Ford workers.

The whole drive must be given shape and continuity by the establishment and the regular issuance of a weekly Ford Drive Bulletin, REGULARLY recording the plans, the aims and the achievements of the campaign. The Bulletin can become the most effective organizer of Ford workers and the means of infusing the new membership with zeal and enthusiasm. The Bulletin can be the agency of convincing all the Ford workers, all the automobile workers, and the whole labor movement that the Ford drive will continue this time full steam ahead until it has accomplished its objective; that the unions mean business this time.

HIGH POINT MISSED

The high point of the drive, such as it was, was reached when the U.A.W. representatives were mercilessly beaten by Ford service men at the gates of the River Rouge plant, in open sight of newspaper photographers and reporters. That day thousands of Detroit automobile workers were aroused to a white fury at this brutality; the Ford drive had become national news and the Ford workers, stirring uneasily, were watching with bated breath the next union move. If 25,000 workers were mobilized the next day to march on Dearborn, it is an almost foregone conclusion that a real dent would have been made among the Ford workers and the Ford drive would have been definitely on its way.

But the golden opportunity was missed. Nothing of any importance was done for several days. The psychological moment was allowed to pass by. At the end of the week, a demonstration was finally organized, poorly prepared and poorly led. Then the Ford drive again reverted to the grind-

JOHNSON FREED IN BILL BROWN MURDER TRIAL

Union Enemies Slander 544 as Organizer Is Absolved

(Reprinted from Northwest Organizer)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 3.—Arnold Johnson was found not guilty of the murder of the late Bill Brown (former President of General Drivers Local 544).

The jury reported Tuesday morning, after more than seventeen hours of deliberation and five ballots ranging from 8-4 for acquittal to the final unanimous verdict.

Consensus of jury opinion, explaining the verdict afterward, was that the state had not presented sufficient evidence to warrant a conviction. Jurors indicated they were particularly impressed with the defense plea that Johnson was in a mental fog from the morning of May 25th—the day of the murder—until three days afterward.

Unionists who had been called as witnesses in the trial stood ready to testify in any further investigation of Bill Brown's death.

Killers at Large

The killers of both the late Pat Corcoran (former President of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council) and Bill Brown are still at large, leaving the threat of assassination still hanging over the heads of active union leaders.

Frank Forestal, Chief of Police, said his department had investigated the Brown slaying thoroughly and had "gone as far as it could go. . . Unless there is some new development—and none appears in sight at this time—the case appears to be closed as far as the police are concerned."

Rumors were current that enemies of the Minneapolis labor movement, frustrated in their attempts to use Arnold Johnson's trial to smear organized labor, were seeking ways and means to launch a new attack on the unions.

The direction taken by the defense attorneys, Morgan and Hughes, who seized the occasion to launch a vicious attack on drivers' union leaders, piling up insinuations that the union leadership had not told the truth, is a warning indication of what may come. The particularly hostile onslaught on the union leadership by Morgan in his closing statement to the jury, an attack which could have no direct bearing on Arnold Johnson's case, could only be designed to undermine trust in union leadership.

Friends of organized labor are warned to be on guard against further developments in this direction.

READERS COMMEMORATE BULLETIN ANNIVERSARY

NEW YORK—Readers and friends of the Russian Bulletin of the Opposition gathered here on Oct. 29 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Bulletin's existence and to do honor to the memory of Leon Sedoff, who edited it from the time of its inception to his untimely death. Dr. Antoinette Konikow was the main speaker of the evening. Rae Spiegel also spoke about the life of Leon Trotsky.

While the campaign must be national in scope, obviously all organizational work must be centered and concentrated on the River Rouge plant, the heart of the Ford empire.

THE JOB MUST BE DONE

As everybody knows, the best-laid plans are worthless unless properly executed. It is impossible on paper, to lay out a blueprint for an organizational campaign, especially one so difficult and on such a gigantic scale as the Ford Drive.

What is important, however, beyond this or that detail, is to overcome the handicap of the unsuccessful first drive and the discouragement and moods of pessimism engendered thereby.

What is important is that the Ford workers be impressed that this is not just another petty ineffectual stab but a bona fide large scale campaign, behind which all organized labor has pledged its unstinting support. If a drive of this character is launched, and properly carried through, it has every chance of success. The Ford workers can be organized.

With the final smashing of one of the last of America's open shop fortresses, new vistas will open up for the C.I.O., as for the labor movement as a whole. A successful Ford Drive will unquestionably usher in a new era for all organized labor in America.

Organization of South Is Major C.I.O. Problem

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the problem of the present C.I.O. convention.

Special significance attaches itself to any trade union campaigns in this area. Immediately, union organization poses the question of the rights of the Negroes. It brings into bold relief the problem of the sharecroppers.

The United Mine Workers not only organized all Negro miners, but prominent officials of that union in Alabama are Negroes. This was a blow to the Jim Crowism, to racial prejudice and the setting of Negro against white workers. The main hope of the Negro masses rests in the organization of the workers into unions in which equal social, political and economic rights are fundamental in the program.

That is why the southern manufacturers fear the C.I.O. That is why the terrible repressive measures against unionism have been taken.

The Southern Tenant Farmers union has a glorious history of struggle to alleviate the plight of the sharecroppers. Its campaigns deserve much greater support from the C.I.O.

Organize the South! That should be one of the major slogans of the C.I.O. convention.

Unions Condemn WPA Labor Camps

ROCHESTER, N. Y. — C.I.O. and A.F. of L. have united in protest against the policy of W.P.A. officials of this locality of forcing single unemployed men and veterans to accept jobs in out-of-town W.P.A. labor camps at the wage of \$30 a month rather than permit them to work on local W.P.A. projects at double the wages.

A resolution proposed by the Street and Sewer Laborers' Union, A.F. of L., called for the doing away with all W.P.A. labor camps; the right of all persons on W.P.A. to jobs on local projects, and the expansion of all W.P.A. projects to give work to all single men, whether veterans or not.

This resolution was endorsed by the Central Trades and Labor Council of the A.F. of L., the C.I.O. Industrial Union Council, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. This comprises all organized labor in Rochester.

STACHTMAN TO REVIEW STOLBERG BOOK NEXT WEEK

The next issue of the Socialist Appeal will contain a review of Ben Stolberg's book, "The Story of the C. I. O." by Max Shachtman.

READ The New International

The Program of Transitional Demands adopted by the Fourth International and published in full in the Socialist Appeal of Oct. 22 has aroused widespread interest. Readers realized that here was something fresh and vigorous, a concrete program of action capable of setting masses into motion.

To deal with the significance and concrete application of the program on the American scene, the Marxist School has arranged a series of special lectures under the general title "The Bridge to Revolutionary Action."

Comrades James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, and James Burnham will be the lecturers and will cover the fields of national politics, the trade unions, and the menace of war and the struggle against it.

It is still possible to register for this and other courses in the Fall Term which began on Nov. 9. The courses are as follows:

I. The American Trade Unions 6 sessions \$1.00 B. J. Widick Mondays, 7-8:30 P. M. classes begin Nov. 14th

II. After the Munich Conference 6 sessions \$1.00 Jack Weber Mondays, 8:45-10:15 P. M. classes begin Nov. 14th

III. Living Marxism—First Principles 6 sessions \$1.00 J. G. Wright Tuesdays, 7-8:30 P. M. classes begin Nov. 15th

IV. The Bridge to Revolutionary Action James P. Cannon James Burnham Max Shachtman Tuesdays, 8:45-10:15 P. M. 6 sessions \$1.00 Classes begin Nov. 15th

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V. Labor Journalism—James Casey Wednesdays, 7-8:30 P. M. 6 sessions \$1.00

VI. Three American Revolutions 4 sessions \$1.50 George Novack Wednesdays, 8:45-10:15 P. M.

VII. Capitalist Economy in Crisis David Cowles Fridays, 7-8:30 P. M. 6 sessions \$1.00 Registrations can be made either at the school office or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 E. 12th St., N. Y. C.

DAVEY BREAKS OHIO TOBACCO PLANT STRIKE

Threatens Workers With National Guard Terror

MIDDLETOWN, Ohio. — The strike of 1000 tobacco workers at the P. Lorillard Co. plant was smashed here last week when democratic Governor Davey of Ohio announced that he was sending the state militia to this city to open the struck plant by force.

When the announcement was made that the troops were ready to open the plant and bathe the strikers in their own blood, the workers, all members of the Pioneer Tobacco Workers Union, C.I.O., voted to return to work.

During the strike the plant was kept shut tight, in spite of the boss-sponsored "back to work movement," which fized out in face of the unity displayed by the strikers.

The workers were unprepared for the bosses' attack. In voting to return to work, every union member was conscious of the fact that he was returning to work at the point of a gun. The union had no defense guard of their own to protect the picketline. Every speaker at the final strike meeting told how he was 100 percent for the continuation of the strike, but that he was appalled at the thought of bloodshed.

The state proved to be the ace strikebreaker for the company. The workers have learned that they must create their own defense organs against the government's terror.

NEW YORK WORKERS VOTE ANTI-WAR STANDBY

The Minneapolis anti-war resolution was passed by the membership of three branches of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund this week at the regular monthly meetings of the branches. Branch 394, Jamaica, Branch 298, Long Island City and Branch 314 of Flushing voted unanimously to support a militant struggle against imperialist war, following the lead taken by Branch 296 of Detroit at a previous meeting.

The delegates of these branches to the Brooklyn and Queens Agitation Committee which represents over twenty branches in the society are prepared to carry their resolution into the higher body and struggle for its acceptance there.

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APPEAL ARMY

Several weeks ago we promised our readers to print comments we had received on the now famous 12-page issue of the Socialist Appeal.

Here are a few selected at random from many others: "With just pride we look upon the party's ability to put out a 12-page Appeal!" — Baltimore Branch.

"The World Congress Issue went like hot cakes. We sold 95 over the week-end and would like to get 25 more. . . —Boston Branch.

"I think the last issue of the Appeal was the best yet. It was an inspiration. Thrust its columns I can see the revolutionary message marching forward with leaps and bounds. More power to all of you." —R. Marie Hansen, Billings, Montana.

"That special 12-page edition is causing quite a stir in Lynn radical circles. The allotment to the newsstands was completely sold out for the first time." —Lee Calvin, Lynn, Mass.

"We are all sold out of the International edition and would like to have more immediately. . . —East Oakland (Calif.) branch.

"I want to tell you what an excellent job the World Congress issue is, not only from the standpoint of its contents, but from the not unimportant standpoint of make-up, etc. You are doing a swell job!" —John Murphy, literature agent of Los Angeles, California.

And finally, a letter from a friend in a CCC camp reading,

"A little contribution with lots of revolutionary greetings. . . . We appreciate receiving such universally favorable comments. They are completely in line with the growing expansion and increased influence of the Appeal. Within the past month alone, our total circulation has increased by 1,000 per week!"

The following is a list of new subscriptions received last week: A decrease, due, we imagine, to the series of holidays. We are sure this falling-off won't last long:

NEW YORK CITY	9
Minneapolis	5
Chicago	3
Illinois	2
New Jersey	2
California	2
Ohio	1
Wyoming	1
New York State	1
Montana	1
Massachusetts	1
Washington, D. C.	1
Total	29

Among new bundle-order and lit-agents we want to welcome the following two comrades: (1) V. S. Pickels of Kansas City, Mo., who is starting off with an order of 15 copies per week; and (2) a comrade in Montreal, Quebec.

Also Elsie Meyers of Oakland, California, who has added five more to her weekly order. Elsie is one of the star agents of California, in the same class as John Murphy, Karoline Kerry and former lit-agent, Eloise Booth.

Reminder No. 1: To All Literature Agents: Have you paid your monthly account to the Appeal?

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- Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave., S. W.; at Sixth Ave., S. E.; at Sixth Ave., S. W.; at Seventh Ave., S. W.; opposite Sterns; 103 W. 44th St.; 23rd St. & 4th Ave., S. W. & N. W.; Essex and Delancy Sts.; Bookstore at Grand and Attorney Sts.; Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and Second Ave.; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave.; Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nicholas Ave.; 110th St. and Columbus Ave.
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Store 20, 3037 16th St.
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3513 Woodward Ave., Room 5.

Rousing Meetings On Gould Tour

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 30.—Nathan Gould, National Organizer of the Young People's Socialist League and a delegate to the founding congress of the Fourth International, was the speaker at a highly enthusiastic meeting of over 125 workers at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters here. Comrade Gould reported to the meeting on the war crisis in Europe and the launching of the Fourth International.

Great interest was shown when Comrade Gould described the desperate efforts of the G.P.U. to prevent the historic conference from convening—efforts which did not stop short of the murder of the administrative secretary of the International, Rudolph Klement.

Many questions were asked by the workers in attendance and a large and generous collection was taken. Oscar Kohler, District Or-

ganizer of the Y.P.S.L. was chairman of the meeting.

CHICAGO.—Nathan Gould, National Organizer of the Young People's Socialist League, spoke at a rousing mass meeting here on Thursday, October 27.

A crowd of over 200, mostly young workers and high school students, heard Comrade Gould speak on "If War Comes Tomorrow."

Comrade Gould related to the enthusiastic audience the parit that hit the working class of Europe during the days of the Munich Conference and described the foundation congress of the Fourth International and of its youth section.

The preparations for the meeting were carried out by the Chicago District of the Y.P.S.L. under great difficulties. Three youth comrades were arrested on the West Side for pasting up leaflets announcing the meeting. Two other Y.P.S.L. members were picked up by the police for distributing the leaflets in front of a West Side high school.

James T. Farrell • Max Shachtman • Sidney Hook
James Burnham • Max Eastman • and others

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