

**Norman Thomas**

Will Speak on  
**Columbia  
Network**

SUNDAY, 10:30 P.M. E.S.T.

# Socialist Call

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PRICE FIVE CENTS

# PROGRESSIVE BLOC ORDERED TO QUIT BY AFL COUNCIL

STORY ON PAGE 3



CALL Photo.

**EVICTED SHARECROPPERS** in Arkansas are shown here cooking their meagre fare. More than 100 families were forcibly evicted because of their sympathy with the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Although President Roosevelt turned a cold shoulder to their pitiful plea for aid, liberal Congressmen are planning a House investigation into the terrorism instigated by the Southern Bourbons. **STORY ON PAGE THREE.**



Photos, Courtesy Indianapolis Times.



**HOOSIER HITLERISM IN ACTION.** Here are Indiana National Guardsmen as they patrolled strike areas in New Albany and Jeffersonville. Left is the military, with bayonets agleam, forcing back the pickets that congregated near the Jeffersonville building. Right shows women strikers dressed in men's clothes having an argument with one of the company guards. **STORY ON PAGE THREE.**

# Indict Police Chief In Tampa Murder

TAMPA, Fla.—As the echoes of Norman Thomas' vigorous indictment of Florida civilization still reverberated in the corridors of the city hall here, this quiet city of 100,000 which recently landed on the front pages of every newspaper of America as the gap in civilization was twice shocked this week.

Tampa citizenry awoke one morning to discover that R. G. Tittsworth, its respected chief of police, who had sworn a solemn oath "to uphold law and order," was indicted by a special grand jury for complicity in the brutal murder of Joseph Shoemaker, unemployed organizer.

But no sooner were Tampa housewives busily discussing this development in hushed tones than the headlines of local newspapers screamed the story of the "guilty conscience" suicide of Robert P. Fariss, a leading member of the Ku Klux Klan.

### Thomas Commended

Thomas' speech here last week, editorially commended by leading Tampa papers as "a verbal flogging more lacerating than lashes, more scorching than tar," was believed to have caused further



CALL Photo by Merrill. EUGENE J. POULNOT

### THREATEN LOCKOUT

PORTLAND, Ore.—Automobile dealers and garage men threatened a lockout here in an effort to break the strike of 200 workers in nine auto truck assembly and service plants.

Approximately 100 auto mechanics are on strike for union recognition, higher wages and shorter hours. An equal number of union sheet metal workers and auto painters walked out in the struck plants in sympathy.

### VICTIM



CALL Photo by Merrill. Dr. Sam J. Rogers, Florida Socialist, who was taken for a ride by Tampa cops and Klansmen along with Joseph Shoemaker. Rogers and E. J. Poulnot (shown in column 2) are now touring the nation telling the story of Tampa terror.

## LABOR IN ACTION

Meeting in secret session, conservatives in control of the International Seamen's Union convention forced through a motion lifting the charter of the left-wing Pacific union. The latter group, which has led a revolt against the policies laid down by the administration of capitulating to ship-owners' threats, is led by militants like Harry Bridges of San Francisco. The convention decision is expected to have wide repercussions among the rank-and-file on the Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf ports. It was doubted, however, that an open split would result.

The Tom Mooney habeas corpus hearings before a court-appointed referee in San Francisco reconvened January 20 and were immediately adjourned again until February 3 when Mooney's two eastern attorneys will be back in California.

With the settlement of differences between the International Longshoremen's Association, and the French Line at Lake Charles, the Louisiana Longshoremen's Association, virtual company union which stepped in during the waterfront strike, now finds itself out in the cold.

When bosses of the Duluth, Minn., plant of the Western Paint & Varnish Co. locked out workers who sought collective bargaining, the Central Cooperative Wholesale of Superior told the management it "would regret any labor trouble at the Duluth plant."

Thereupon the company immediately capitulated to its workers' demands.

Peter Marinoff, former president of the Northwest Brewery in Tacoma, and four strike guards were convicted here of manslaughter for the slaying of William Usatalo, union picket, during a strike last May. Marinoff beer is still on the "unfair list" of labor unions of this section.

with only one dissenting vote. The state committee of Virginia likewise announced its support for the decision of the national party organization in dealing with the un-socialist activities of the former New York officials.

Where other state committees have not had an opportunity to meet, locals and branches are adopting motions and resolutions of support for the national executive committee. Such locals include Sioux City, Iowa; Denver, Colorado; and Terre Haute, Indiana, scene of a determined struggle by Socialists against martial law.

### Organize Jewish Bureau

In New York City, Jewish Socialists meanwhile undertook a vigorous organization campaign, setting up a Central Bureau of Jewish Socialist Branches at 21 East 17th Street. An executive committee, consisting of comrades Matlin, Kantorovitch, Sobotko, Fisher, Kovent, Parsins, Minowitz and Kaplan, was elected, with Kaplan as full-time secretary.

Meanwhile, petitions are being circulated in New York City to designate party committee-men for the primaries. The official enrollment lists are available and enrolled Socialist voters are being visited for the required signatures.

The New York state committee reports that the registrations required by the national executive committee are coming through the mails in a constant stream. Many who had not indicated where they stood before are now coming with the new committee lists who have not registered as yet are reminded that the closing registration as February 15.

## Guard Shoots Scottsboro Boy

BIRMINGHAM — After being shuttled back and forth from state court to Supreme Court for five years, the Scottsboro boys felt the hand of death draw closer this week, when one of them was seriously shot shortly after the fourth trial of Haywood Patterson had ended in a conviction and a seventy-five-year sentence.

Driving the victims of Alabama's lynch justice to Birmingham for "safe-keeping," one of the guards shot Ozie Powell in the head and later alleged that he did so because Powell had stabbed him and attempted to escape.

Earlier in the week, Haywood Patterson had faced a jury for the fourth time, again before Judge W. W. Callahan whose original decisions on matters of law in the case had led the Supreme Court of the United States to set aside the conviction and death-verdict that Callahan's rulings had produced. Throughout this trial Callahan was attacked by defense attorneys Watts and Leibowitz for improper conduct on the bench, and for excluding evidence of the defendant's innocence.

Tried in the same impassioned and prejudiced atmosphere as be-

reting out those responsible for the crime. The American Federation of Labor's executive council, meeting in Miami, has announced that in view of the steps taken thus far to prosecute the guilty, the A F of L would hold its next convention in Tampa as originally planned. President William Green had threatened to take the convention away from this city if vigorous action was withheld by local officials.

### Publish Pamphlet

Though a number of the criminals, most of them connected with the police or the Ku Klux Klan, have been indicted, there is fear in some circles that they will nevertheless be acquitted. The public, however, is being kept informed of the facts by the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, with offices at 112 East 19th Street, in New York City. The committee has just published a sixteen-page pamphlet called "Ozie Powell and the Tar and Terror" giving facts on the murder.

At present time, two of the follow-victims, Eugene and Dr. S. D. Rogers, are touring the north, raising money for the Scottsboro boys. They are being held in the county jail.

## Wisconsin Socialists Pledge NEC Support

NEW YORK—As New York Socialists continued to pour in registrations cards for the new state committee, Party locals and state committees, led by the Wisconsin organization, put themselves on record as loyal to the Socialist Party of the United States.

The state board of Wisconsin, one of the strongest Socialist areas in the country, adopted a motion, according to Al Benson, state secretary and former Sheriff of Milwaukee, to the effect that it supports the action

taken by the national executive committee of the Party in suspending the charter of the New York organization and setting up a temporary state committee.

### Wisconsin Loyal

Thus the great weight of the powerful Wisconsin movement is thrown to the support of those who are loyal to the national organization of the Socialist Party and the ideals which it represents, and against those who would split the Socialist Party and prevent its growth as the weapon for working-class emancipation.

Michigan Socialists promptly followed suit at their state convention by "supporting the action taken by the NEC . . . to safeguard and guarantee party democracy to all members," and denounced those who have "refused and still refuse to abide by the decisions of the NEC."

The Florida state executive committee took similar action

fore, Patterson again heard a verdict of guilty after listening to the prosecutor tell the jury that they shouldn't quibble over the evidence.

The lynch spirit that resulted in the guilty verdict and the subsequent shooting of Powell is being fought by the Scottsboro Defense Committee which has announced that it will not rest until the Scottsboro boys are freed. Patterson's case will be appealed all the way up to the Supreme Court again, if necessary. The great fear is that the shooting of Powell is but a beginning in a series of direct lynch attempts, undisguised by forms of law, on the lives of the defendants.

## WILL THEY GO FREE?



World News Picture.

Will they go free? is the question being asked by organized labor as the Scottsboro boys are again brought to trial. The Southern Bourbons are their answer when they sentenced Haywood Patterson to 75 years in jail and shot Ozie Powell. Above are the boys being led into the Decatur courthouse.

### Suicide, Or—?

TAMPA, Fla.—Did Robert P. Fariss commit suicide? Or was he murdered because he knew too much?

Tampa wondered and whispered after learning that the suicide verdict was pronounced by Leo Walter, local justice of the peace and a leading Klansman. Mrs. Fariss is protesting that her husband did not kill himself.

Murder as the cause of Fariss' death became more probable when it was disclosed that Fariss had signed the application for the Post Office box which received the Klan mail. He was thus in a position "to know too much," if his fellow-mobsters sought to place that interpretation on his activities.

vigor upon the part of the prosecuting agencies to bring before the bar of justice the murderers of Shoemaker. His harrowing revelations of the part the discredited Ku Klux Klan played in Florida state and city politics brought the glare of publicity upon the secret schemes of local politicians and Klansmen.

Tittsworth, who resigned his post of police chief after the murder to "conduct a personal investigation" was charged by the grand jury with being an accessory after the fact.

### Commits Suicide

The charge that the attack on the leaders of Tampa's unemployed was inspired and directed by local business interests operating through the Ku Klux Klan was further established with the suicide of Fariss, a friend of the indicted chief of police. Fariss was the secretary-treasurer of the Exchange Supply Company of Tampa and was known to have been a leading spirit in the Klan reign of terror against Socialists, trade unionists, organizers of the Workers Alliance of America and local liberals.

When Fariss' body was discovered, a subpoena summoning him for questioning in the case was found on his person. He had shut himself in his garage, turned on the motor and died as a result of carbon monoxide poisoning. The suicide came three hours after the grand jury returned an indictment against his friend, chief of police Tittsworth.

The report on the Tampa case is being widely distributed by the Socialist Party.



# Dressmakers Elect Strike Committees

NEW YORK—Determined not to relax its vigilance, officials of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union ordered strike preparations continued under full steam while they pressed negotiations with representatives of five employers' organizations.

Last Thursday more than 500 union leaders met at the Delano Hotel to elect strike committees and oil up the general strike machinery. David Dubinsky, International president, was chosen chairman of the general strike committee; Julius Hochman, manager of the Dressmakers' Joint Board, was chosen first vice-chairman; Luigi Antonini, manager of Local 89, second vice-chairman, and Phillip Kapp, secretary-treasurer of the Joint Board was chosen secretary.

Committee chairmen are: Pickets, Max Cohen of Local 60; halls, Charles Zimmerman of Local 22, relief, B. Every of Local 10; organization, Antonini; unemployment, Nathan Margolies of Local 22; settlement, S. Perlmutter of Local 10; finance, Dubinsky; law, Fred Umhey; out-of-town, Harry Wander; outlying districts, John Di Nola of Williamsburg; speakers, Mark Starr; and office and information, Murray Gross of Local 22.

Dubinsky returned from Miami, where the AFL held its executive council sessions, to be present at the strike organization meeting. He declared that the Union will exert all efforts to avert a general strike, but, should the employers fail to realize that the Union of 1936 is powerful enough to resist their antics, a general strike will force them to submit to all demands.

Hochman in a lengthy address analyzed the demands of the Union. He pointed out that the many conferences with the associations were so much waste of time; that, although the jobbers and manufacturers individually admit that the demands of the Union are just and reasonable, the dissension existing within their ranks makes it wholly impossible to reach any positive conclusions. They seem to be dilly-dallying and begging for time. In conclusion, Hochman announced, "that the General Strike may become the only effective weapon that will bestir the employers. It will become our historic function to stabilize the industry and to destroy all evils, which are responsible for many miseries in the trade."

# Jobless Plan Bill Campaign

NEW YORK—A postcard campaign to members of Congress to secure support for unemployed relief is to be launched by the Workers' Alliance of America, national unemployed organization, according to a decision of its national executive board in session in New York City last week-end.

The cards, which are expected to total millions, will ask support for the Frazier-Lundeen unemployment insurance bill and for the Marcantonio bill to continue the WPA and direct federal relief. The Alliance, which will hold its national convention at Washington early in April, will demand an open hearing with members of the House and Senate on the unemployed and relief situation. More than 35 states will be represented at the convention, David Lasser, national chairman, declared.

Among other problems to be considered by the board was a campaign to support the Workers' Rights amendment to the Constitution.

# A MODERN CRUSADE



Federated Picture. These young girls put on medieval clothes and posed for a picture on the Boston Common before they began their crusade for decent wages and a shorter work-week. They are members of the powerful International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

# Seek Congress Probe In Southern Eviction

WASHINGTON—Despite President Roosevelt's refusal to extend Federal aid to Southern sharecroppers who were mercilessly evicted from their homes recently, it was revealed here this week that a Congressional investigation into the situation is being considered by liberal Congressmen.

According to reports, Senator Lewis B. Schwellenbach of Washington was drafting a resolution which would provide for a thorough investigation, not only in the situation in Arkansas, but would also cover other acts of anti-labor terrorism which have occurred recently.

Meanwhile, Reinhold Niebuhr, treasurer for the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, issued an appeal for funds and garments and shoes to be sent the homeless sharecroppers. All funds or clothing should be sent to the committee at 112 East 19th street, New York City, or directly to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, 2527 Broad avenue, Memphis, Tenn.

Shootings and beatings, by vigilantes and riding bosses, of sharecroppers, demanding a decent standard of living are no concern of the federal government, federal officials told Norman Thomas. Thomas called on Rexford G. Tugwell, director of Resettlement, in an effort to get federal action to

# Levenstein Chosen Editor

NEW YORK—Aaron Levenstein was appointed editor of The CALL at the last meeting of the Board of Directors of the Call Publishing Association. Herman Wolf was appointed associate editor.

Levenstein, chairman of the Socialist Party of the Bronx County, is well known throughout the labor movement as author of "Make Freedom Constitutional," a pamphlet on the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment. Wolf was formerly editor of The Silk and Dye Worker.



SENATOR SCHWELLENBACH

stop the terror which has swept the Democratic South following the eviction of more than 100 sharecroppers in Arkansas.

The question is one of state's rights, Thomas was told, and interference by the federal government would be strongly resented.

Thomas confirmed reports that open warfare is expected unless landlords adopt a more humane attitude. Resistance by the sharecroppers, which he believes is imminent, of evictions and activities, will provoke bloodshed and violence in the area, he stated.

# MEET PHILADELPHIA

NEW YORK—The high point of the ILGWU basketball season will take place Saturday evening at the Textile High School gym, 18th Street and 8th Avenue, with the double-header between the Local 10 five, leaders of New York division, and Local 89; and Local 102 Cloak and Suit Drivers versus the undefeated Local 11 team of Philadelphia gutters.

# Progressives Hit By AFL Chieftains

MIAMI, Fla.—In a resolution that seriously threatens to split the ranks of the American Federation of Labor wide open, the executive council of the AFL has condemned the forces working for industrial unionism. At the same time, it has postponed action on a constitutional amendment that would have saved labor legislation from the clutches of the Supreme Court.

With duly David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union opposing the step, the executive council called for the dissolution of the Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America. The executive council stated

its view that the "activities of this committee constitute a challenge to the supremacy of the American Federation of Labor and will ultimately become dual in purpose and character to the American Federation of Labor."

A committee of three was elected to confer with the industrial union bloc, which includes eight of the strongest internationals in the federation.

The resolution, although viewed by some craft unionists in the council as too mild, said frankly:

"It is the opinion of the executive council that the Committee for Industrial Organization should be immediately dissolved, that it should cease to function as assembled reports, facts and information indicate, and that the officers of the several organizations which constitute the committee co-operate fully with the executive council in the application and execution of the organization policies adopted by an overwhelming majority of the duly accredited delegates who were in attendance at the convention of the federation held in Atlantic City from Oct. 7 to 19, 1935."

# Quick Reply

John L. Lewis, promptly replied: "The mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse."

Charles P. Howard, head of the Typographical Union and secretary of the Committee for Industrial Organization, struck back:

"The charge by the executive council that the Committee for Industrial Organization is engaged in an illegal or improper activity is entirely unjustified."

"The work of the committee is educational, to inspire organization of workers in unorganized industries. Not one national, international or local union has been organized or chartered by the committee in opposition to the AFL or any affiliated union. Unless some group were organized outside the federation, there could not possibly be a dual movement."

"The effort of the committee has been to increase the membership of organizations holding charters issued by the AFL."

Industrial union advocates gained new strength when the lumber workers, an important section of the craft-minded Carpenters' Union, endorsed the principle of industrial organization.

# Craft Charters

It is clear that a serious struggle is beginning within the federation between the progressive forces and the craft unionists. With no prospect of achieving real organization in the mass production industries other than on an industrial union basis, the executive council has now voted to reject the pleas of various unions for industrial charters preferring to continue craft policies.

The appeal of the National Radio and Allied Trades for an industrial charter was flatly refused when the craft-dominated executive council decided to give the Brotherhood of Electrical (Continued on Page Twelve)

# Militia Raid Dress Strike Headquarters

NEW ALBANY, Ind.—The brown-shirts are still tramping the streets of this town under orders from strike-breaking Governor McNutt. Under martial law the striking workers of M. Fine & Sons are being literally robbed of their property by the national guardsmen.

Some twenty strikers have been arrested, a dozen being held incommunicado. Violence has been let loose on 1400 workers. Homes are raided and meetings forbidden.

The first act of the tin-hats was to seize the relief headquarters of the striking unionists, cut down the relief tent located on private property, take possession of the union's building and seize the food stores that had been collected for the workers.

# Fight Scabs

Since November the strikers—most of them young girls—have held their ground in a valiant struggle against the stretch-out and a 45 per cent wage cut. Only 60 scabs have found their way into the factory under the protection of the 600 national guardsmen.

Governor McNutt has lent the power of the militia to the company in an effort to force the strikers back to work. Remembering the brutality of the factory superintendent, E. G. Truex—former prison guard and therefore prize foreman—the workers refuse to be whipped back.

# In 4 Counties

With four counties in Indiana, Sullivan, Vigo, Clark and Floyd, under martial law, New Albany workers have been compelled to cross the Ohio river into Louisville, Kentucky, to hold meetings. Louisville labor leaders, at a session presided over by Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party and Almagamated Clothing Workers organizer, have established a committee to help their fellow-workers across the border of civilization.

Meanwhile, labor forces throughout the state are gathering to answer McNutt's new challenge. The Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, which made martial law in Terre Haute a dead letter has sent Joseph M. Jacobs, its attorney, to address a meeting of the central labor union at its request. Throughout the state, union committees are being formed to make a headlong drive against the "Hoosier Hitler."

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## An Open Letter to President Green

Dear Brother Green:

Millions of American workers look to you as the head of the organized labor movement for leadership. They expect that you will give them guidance in their struggles.

The workers in the mass production industries have awaited a decision from the AFL that would open the doors to a new life for them. With industrial organization the only type of unionism that can serve them, they look to the day when they can become an effective part of the American labor movement.

You yourself have said many years ago:

"The organization of men by industry rather than by crafts brings about a more perfect organization, closer cooperation, and tends to develop the highest form of organization."

What they heard from your lips then has even greater truth today in the face of the vigorous anti-labor unity that exists among the owners of the mass production industries.

Those workers are entitled to industrial organization. The sessions of the executive council in Miami are a keen disappointment to them. The order to dissolve the Committee for Industrial Organization is hope-shattering for many.

The Executive Council has been a disappointment in still another respect. The Atlantic City convention of the AFL had referred to the council the task of formulating an amendment that would end judicial dictatorship over labor and social welfare legislation. Since the convention, the need for some such constitutional change as that embodied in the Hillquit Workers Rights Amendment has become even greater with the Supreme Court's repeated usurpations.

American labor today stands in need of two things: speedy organization of industrial unions in the mass production industries, which if left unorganized threaten the standards of existing unions, and the adoption of a Workers Rights Amendment which will destroy the nine-headed dictatorship.

A wise and vigorous leadership will set American labor on the road to freedom.

## Talking Through His Derby

When Al Smith spoke to the presence of a dozen children and a host of other Liberty League members and the crowd in front of the New Deal Convention in New York City, he said that he had a word to say to the people.

It Al is really supremely happy, it is because he is now making the American record of starvation, evictions, and strikes his acres and martial law.

Maybe Al is supremely happy because these things, Joseph P. and his playmates in power. But he won't be so supremely happy when he and his sparring partner, Franklin Roosevelt, are swept aside by that Socialism which they both fear.

## Hearst, Trotzky and the Communists

It is no news to readers of The CALL that William Randolph Hearst is a journalistic whore-monger who has not the slightest conception of honesty in publishing. His latest venture in the realm of larceny, stealing a series of articles by Leon Trotzky first published in the columns of the American Trotskyite weekly organ, deserves universal condemnation.

But it is quite as shocking to find The Daily Worker seizing upon this and interpreting it as evidence that Trotzky has sold out to Hearst. We are not concerned with the truth of the statements in these articles; but even the Daily Worker must recognize in Trotzky a man of high principle who has suffered personally for his loyalty to his revolutionary ideals.

The Daily Worker is a Communist organ. It is a tool of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

## THE NEXT STEP



### THE ALL WORK NO PLAY SPEEDOMETER

...THIS INGENIOUS, HIGHLY SENSITIVE CONTRAPTION REGISTERS THE SLIGHTEST PLAY-IMPULSE OF THE CHILD-WORKER. THUS THERE IS ASSURED THE MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF WORK FROM THE VICTIM, AS IT IS GENERALLY HELD THAT, SO LONG AS THERE IS RETAINED SUFFICIENT ENERGY TO RECORD A PLAY-IMPULSE, THE CHILD IS ABLE TO CONTINUE AT WORK!..

JERGER

Federated Cartoon by Jerger.

## Chalk Up Another for Milwaukee

To the Editor:

The CALL carried an item that Milwaukee, with a Socialist administration, finished 1935 with the lowest motor vehicle death rate of any city.

It may interest your readers to know that this is largely due to the inability of traffic violators to have tickets "fixed" through political influence.

I want to quote from the January issue of Readers Digest, which recently stirred the country with "And Sudden Death":

"There is a definite relation between the automobile death rate and enforcement of traffic laws. Milwaukee, as part of a successful safety program has set out to get rid of the 'fix'. There, the traffic violator takes his medicine with the rest. Trafficable tickets last year led to the conviction of 7,105 of 7,597 traffic violators. Milwaukee's program has reduced her motor death rate to 11 per 100,000 compared with 30, 10, and 57 per 100,000 in adjoining counties.

"If the entire nation had applied the law as effectively as Milwaukee has, 22,850 people who were killed by automobiles last year would be alive today.

"But when, in a typical city of 200,000, 40,000 tickets of traffic offenders are 'fixed,' it cannot be said that we have

The letters appearing in this column do not necessarily express the point of view of the CALL. Letters should not be more than 200 words long. All letters must be signed, although the name will be omitted if requested.

seriously come to grips with the problem."

Chalk up another for Socialist city government.

SOL PERLIN  
New York City.

### A Letter From Florida

I had one of the most interesting conversations I had in my life when I was talking to a man who was parking his car in the city.

The operators are being made worse because I tried to get some more relief for the unemployed. They now receive only \$2.00 a week to live on and pay rent, light bills and water bills. When the water company sent a man around to cut off the water because some of the unemployed had been unable to pay their bills, it was even shut off from the indoor toilets.

There is supposed to be a sanitary law in Florida but the state did nothing about it. I wrote to the State Board of Health and

they sent a man to see me—but he refused to do anything.

I have been told plainly here in Lakewater that if I continued to help the downtrodden, I would get no work; the man who is now giving me the little handout mentioned told me very clearly that I was doing myself no good by writing labor unions and others to get them to fight against the \$5.50 relief.

The great citrus syndicates have a powerful influence hereabouts and are in favor of the starvation relief policy to allow them to pay low wages. But if labor organized, it can beat the great citrus syndicates in Florida.

JONATHAN C. PIERCE, MAN.

### For Action on Anti-Socialists

How many of you noticed General Grant's assertion in a recent issue of the New Leader that "We are just beginning to fight." And now Waldman is putting it in practice.

If the Old Guard had long ago been more concerned to fight for Socialism, they would now doubtless have been saved the humiliation of fighting against Socialists. JONATHAN C. PIERCE, White Plains, N. Y.

CARPENTERS STRIKE NEW ORLEANS (FP) — Carpenters are on strike on the new \$350,000 structure of Swift & Co. The union claims the company is paying nonunion carpenters 60c an hour, while the union scale is 75c.

DULUTH, Minn. (FP) — The Laundry Workers & Dyers Union has been recognized by the Duluth Larn Supply Co., thus ending a two-month strike which began Aug. 26 last. The strikers called Duluth Citizens Action to check the company to the limit.

## Are You a Subscriber?

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_



# WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

WHEN President Roosevelt announced his budget for 1937, he did not include in it any provision for relief. When he framed it, he assumed that the AAA would continue, and that the processing tax would continue to bring in its billions for farm relief. He made no allowance in it for the soldiers' bonus, although he knew full well that the Congress would pass the bonus even over his veto.

It was scarcely a surprise, therefore, when Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau announced a few days after the President's budget message that the deficit for the coming year would exceed eleven billion dollars.

After all, relief cannot be ignored. Something still has to be done for the unemployed and for those on various forms of work relief. Something must still be done for the farmers if the revolutionary rumblings of 1932-1933 are not to be repeated and augmented. And the bonus must cost between two and a half billion and three billion dollars.

If Roosevelt had the courage to handle the problems presented by this enormous deficit as a Socialist, or even as an intelligent and foresighted social reformer would handle them, he would have no misgivings about the astronomical numbers involved. It is more than clear, however, that Roosevelt has no intention of so handling them. He will not resort to the heavily increased income and inheritance taxes that are essential to the raising of these huge sums. He will not resort to the capital levy, although it is common knowledge that relief, the bonus and the farm dole are really insurance payments for the security of the capitalist system.

No. Such obvious and direct methods of dealing with the problem may have occurred to the President and to his advisors. But if they have crossed their minds, they have been stifled, plucked out, crushed, buried! Roosevelt fears the revolt on the right more than he fears that on the left. He knows that the right (i.e., Wall Street) is intelligent, unified, organized, wealthy and powerful. And the left is disunited, confused, poor and weak.

He will therefore try to meet the deficit by thinking up more taxes that the capitalists can pass on to the masses. And when it becomes clear that the picayune taxes of this type still available will not do the job, he will resort to inflation.

Inflation is on the cards. He has already given the country one dose of it. He was pleased with the result. It will be the easiest way out for him, as it has been the easy way out for all politicians with no sense of responsibility toward the future.

The capitalist "right" is much disturbed by the deficit. It has no fear (since it knows the President) that he will resort to drastic direct taxes on its secret stores of wealth. It does not fear inflation, since in an inflationary adventure no individual can foretell who will profit by it, and who will succumb.

Greater than its fear of inflation is its growing determination to put an end to all forms of relief. 1935 was a good year for business. 1936 promises to be even better. Dividends are once more rising. The stock market is booming. Once more the lambs are rushing in for the slaughter. To the capitalist, this is once more the best of all possible worlds. Or, it would be if it were not for high taxes and government deficits.

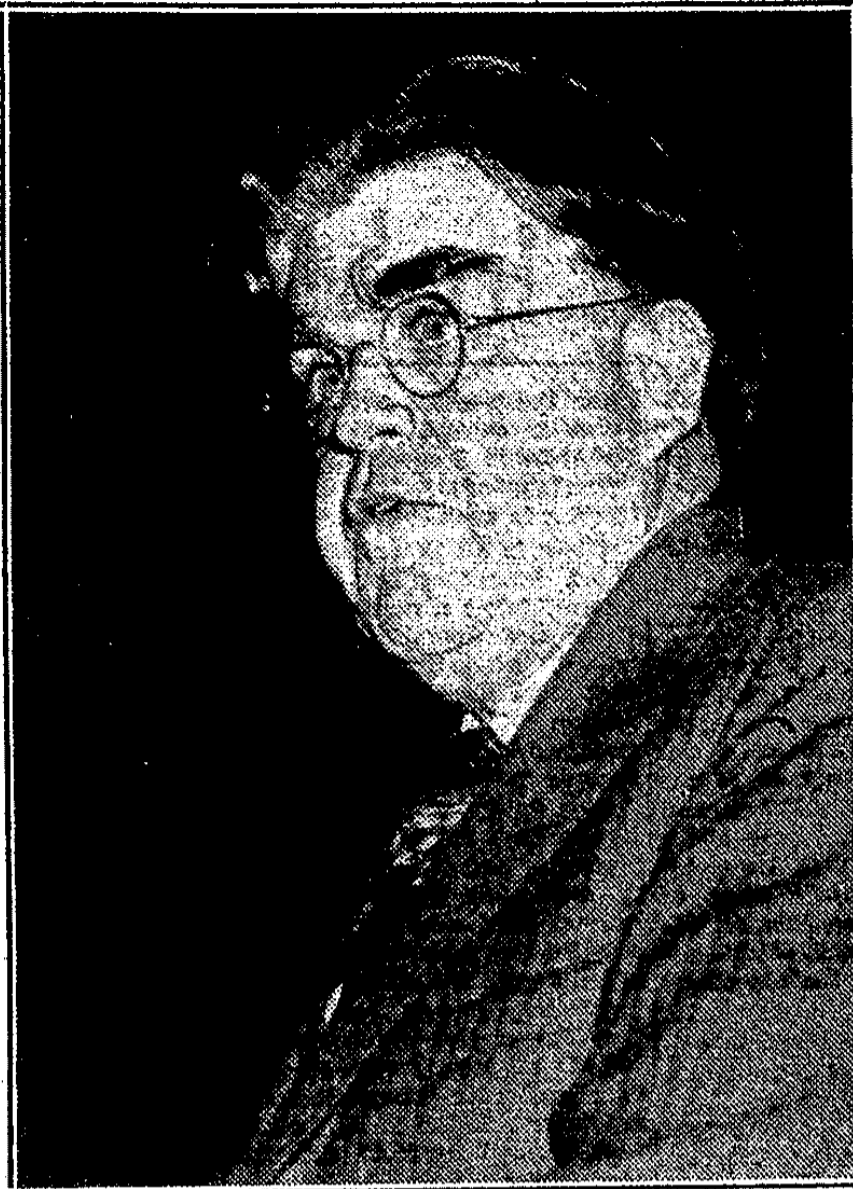
Its cure is to stop spending. And that, in any language, means Fascism.

To stop spending now with ten or eleven millions still out of jobs and with the farmers still insolvent, means either revolution or the suspension of democratic rights. It means, if the capitalists wish to retain their power, the establishment of the black dictatorship.

Strong leadership by the President NOW might forestall this development. If the administration were NOW to proceed with greatly increased income and inheritance taxes, possibly even with the capital levy, to load the burden of relief on capital; if the deed were adequately explained and dramatized; if the President now clearly and definitely lined himself up with the farmers and the workers, the fascist terror might yet be averted.

The chances for that are slim. Franklin D. Roosevelt of Hyde Park prefers inflation.

# DEFIES EDICT



An interesting picture of John L. Lewis, chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, who defied an order issued by the AFL council to dissolve his committee.

## Sinclair Quits:

# Leaderless EPIC Disintegrates

By GLEN TRIMBLE

Organizer, Socialist Party of Los Angeles

The California state convention of the End Poverty League (EPIC) closed with an hour of riotous disorder which blocked a resolution giving unqualified support to Roosevelt and forced adjournment. This endorsement, stricken out of the platform in an afternoon session, was re-introduced (at 1 A. M.) after many delegates had left for home.

The convention was held in Los Angeles, Jan. 18, 19, and the wee hours of January 20. About 800 delegates represented Sinclair Epic Clubs throughout the state.

The objective of the convention was the naming of a slate of Epic candidates for the Democratic primaries and the instruction of these candidates. The major issue of debate was the relation of Epic to Roosevelt. Underlying this in the minds of most delegates was the alternative of a genuine Farmer-Labor political federation OUTSIDE the Democratic Party.

### Forces Demoralized

The outstanding fact of the convention was the nearly complete demoralization of the Epic forces. This demoralization resulted from three major causes. First, Upton Sinclair has again decided to retire from the political scene. He refused to select the Epic primary slate, act as an emissary to Roosevelt for it, or allow his name to be used as a candidate. He turned the Epic News, a weekly paper, back to the End Poverty League and withdrew his name, its best selling point, from the masthead. In spite of "Draft Sinclair" resolutions, and almost hourly delegations to his Pasadena home, he refused even to appear at the convention.

Second reason for demoralization was an act which had to be credit either to the political stupidity or to treachery on the part of Epic Leader Number 2, State Senator Gilbert Olson. Olson, chairman of the Democratic State Committee had the power to call, or not to call, his committee together. Olson called the com-

mittee two days before the End Poverty League convention. Epics fighting for primary candidates pledged to Roosevelt and Production for Use clashed with old-line McAdoo Democrats fighting for unqualified Roosevelt candidates. The handful of McAdoo men held proxies for a majority of the State Committee so that Olson "compromised" by agreeing to all the McAdoo demands. Thus the Epic politicians had arranged their own licking and had surrendered before many of the convention delegates had reached Los Angeles.

### Cling to President

Perhaps explaining these two blows to Epic morale, and certainly more fundamental than they, was the cleavage between those Epics who put "production for use" and state Epic organization above the re-election of Roosevelt, and those who were willing to shelve or even to discard Epic organization rather than endanger Roosevelt's chances in November.

In the latter camp were most of the officer holders led by Olson's secretary (Olson himself wisely stayed away for most of the sessions). Their effort at a free ride to jobs on the Roosevelt bandwagon was given a theoretical front by some ex-Socialist party members, led by Stitt Wilson, who argued passionately that the alternatives were "Roosevelt or Fascism!"

Nevertheless, the majority of the delegates, although badly organized and worse confused, were bitterly opposed to what they instinctively felt would mean the death knell for independent Epic organization in the Democratic Party. Their real accomplishment was a guarantee of another pre-primary convention after Roosevelt chooses a Democratic slate authorized to use his name in the California primary. Roosevelt will choose either a mixed Epic-McAdoo list or a straight McAdoo one. Unless Epic runs a full slate of Epic candidates in the primary, it is deemed as an independent, progressive force in California politics.

# A SOCIALIST EVOLUTION

By McAlister Coleman

I HAVE been working (A Voice: "What?") yes honest-to-goodness working on reminiscences which some publisher may be just crazy enough to print. And it certainly gives you a feeling of vast age to go over old letters and files of clippings of some twenty-five years back.

The old West Side of New York, charmingly described in Clarence Day's books about his boyhood, was my youth's background too. There we grew up in what in reality was a separate community, a sort of small town in a great city. Like Day, I used to go down town on the Elevated with my father and come into another world. Father's office was at 100 Broadway in what was one of the first skyscrapers. And there was a tremendous thrill in riding all the way up to the tenth floor. He had a good view of the Hudson from his windows and there was one red letter day for me when Dewey's fleet got back from shooting up the Spanish hulks in Manila Bay and I could give my somewhat awed elders the names of all the ships from the white-sided Olympia down the line.

I was certainly a most warlike youngster. I had a room plastered with pictures of war scenes taken from "Colliers" and "Leslie's Weekly." To obtain an eyeful of these scenes of gore and sudden death in which the American troops were always gloriously defeating the cowardly Spaniards, cost one penny, the admission funds going to buy further pictures.

### Entering Journalism

It was at the time of the Spanish war too, that I was editing "Coleman's Magazine" which was just bristling with American flags and battleships and heavy artillery.

This was my first journalistic venture and it was a man-sized job as I had no press and each month had to write out four issues in long-hand as well as make four reproductions of the illustrations. My cousin, Walter S. Ufford of Washington, D. C. was my out-of-town subscriber, the Rev. Dr. Charles Parkhurst, arch foe of Tammany, my political and spiritual adviser, Father and Mother, my Law and Society Editors. My own editorials whooped it up for Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican Party and a rigorous expansion policy. (We didn't call it "Imperialism" in those days.)

Naturally anyone would think that with all this jingoism around, Father a good Republican campaign manager for Old Guard Republican Congressmen and head of the local Republican club, an impressionistic small boy would grow up to be a dyed-in-the-wool One Hundred percenter. And so, as a matter of fact, I did. I worked on "The Sun" which was Tory from front page to back, did publicity for the American Tel. and Tel. and then in 1916, something happened to me, while I was in the slave pen of a big advertising agency.

I think it was as much a revolt against the inside workings of Big Business as any wild radical rash that made me join the Socialist Party. H. G. Wells's earlier books had a lot to do with it too, and of course, George Bernard Shaw.

### The Story's Moral

And here I come to the moral towards which these ramblings are jogging. If you have young people around, don't give them too much of any one set of doctrines. This goes for radicals as well as conservatives. If I hadn't been taught that there was something queer about being a Democrat, (no other party was ever mentioned around our house,) I might have accepted the dictum that the G. O. P. was the best of all possible parties and that not belonging to it was a little like not believing in God. When I began to get my eyes open and saw how like two peas the old parties were and saw how they played the game, Socialism was my meat.

A year later I was covering Morris Hillquit's meetings for "The Call," all dressed up in a derby hat and a cane left over from my days of capitalist journalism. I had a dinky, little mustache and gave the general appearance of Charlie Chaplin, as was frequently commented on by the derisive youth of the East Side. But I was learning that despite my New York background, I knew nothing about the real city of the workers, and that was a lesson that I had to dig out for myself. It was not handed down to me as Holy Writ as so many of our radical tenets are handed down to our children.

Of course we must give them leftward steering directions. The point is not to rub it in too hard. And just because there's nothing dumb about our boys and girls, genuine radical gold dug out with their own hands will have a longer currency than just "book-larnin'".

### Postscript

I find that I have made a bull. I refer to Clarence Day's "Life With My Father" and imply that Day was brought up on the West Side as I was. As a matter of fact, he lived on Madison Avenue and he and his father walked over to Sixth to take the Elevated downtown. A trifling matter, but I don't want to be caught with my pants down by some sharpshooting reader.

## Join The Socialist Party

For information fill out the blank and send it to the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Name .....

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**"We realize that our opponent is the great employer, the giant corporation. We have no wish to waste energy in conflict of our opinion with our trade union brothers. But if we must first clear the road of stubborn oppositionist-tactics within our movement so that we may fight the giant corporations effectively, then we shall have to do it and we shall have to make the best of the situation."**—From a letter to William Green by Harvey C. Fremming international president of the Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers.

# The Committee for Industrial Organization

Because of recent developments within the American Federation of Labor, *The CALL* feels it particularly timely to publish herewith an article on the aims of the Committee for Industrial Organization by John Brophy director of the CIO. The article was written as the introduction to a pamphlet, "Industrial Unions Mean Unity," published by the CIO.

The article by President Green to which Brophy refers is reproduced below.

By JOHN BROPHY

The purpose of the Committee for Industrial Organization is to bring the unorganized into the American Federation of Labor. It aims to do this by carrying on education within the Federation for industrial unionism, in order to win over a majority, and by giving advice and help to groups of newly-organized workers in the mass production industries.

Some of the craft union leaders, who themselves have far from a notable record of growth, have taken wild alarm at the formation of this Committee. They are using the old trick of shouting "splitters" and "dualism" instead of squarely facing the issue:

How can the unorganized be brought into the American Federation of Labor?

Even President Green of the AFL has permitted himself to be drawn into this misleading attack. His letter to the heads of the international unions who make up the CIO is remarkable because it completely ignores the main problem of increasing labor's strength.

Green's stand is all the more remarkable because many of the workers in auto, rubber and other industries learned their lesson in industrial unionism from him when he was active in the United Mine Workers. It is puzzling to them, and no doubt embarrassing to Green, when he now shakes his head at the very words they used to hear from his lips.

## The Real Issue

It is vital that the members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor see what

the real issue is. . . If any one doubts the seriousness of the problem facing these new unions in the mass production industries, let him read the proceedings of the last day of the 1935 AFL convention. Every delegate who spoke for the new unions in these industries told the same story of the demand of the workers for industrial unionism, and of difficulties resulting from the objections of the craft unions.

This same story is repeated daily in the hundreds of letters that pour into the office of the Committee for Industrial Organization. We have received official resolutions on the matter from many steel locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in five different states, from a large part of the membership of the United Auto Workers, an AFL affiliate, and from many locals in rubber, gas and coke, cement, aluminum, electrical manufacturing, radio, and other industries in all parts of the country.

## Want Unions Unions

Many central labor bodies have likewise endorsed our stand. The workers in the mass production industries want unionism—but they do not want to be divided up into dozens of crafts. The convention of the AFL instructed the executive council to proceed with organizing campaigns in steel, autos and other industries. Past experience shows that these industries cannot be organized successfully on a craft union basis.

But we believe that it can be done on the basis of industrial unionism, the kind of organiza-

tion the workers want. The executive council will have the wholehearted cooperation of the Committee for Industrial Organization in such endeavors.

Green in his letter raises a point about democracy but in doing so himself takes a stand that is entirely undemocratic. There are, indeed, adequate precedents, if that were necessary, for the formation of the CIO within the framework of the AFL. The Conference for Progressive Political Action finally won over the executive council to its candidate and platform, and it was not branded as dual even though it included unions and other organizations outside the American Federation of Labor, which our Committee does not. The Railway Labor Executives Association is today not subjected to this smoke-screen of "dualism" even though it includes unions not in the AFL that have jurisdictional conflicts with affiliated unions.

We raise these examples not because we are critical of such organizations but, on the contrary, because we believe we have an equal right to existence and to fair play, and that we are of equal value to the whole labor movement.

## To Help AFL

Now that the cries of dualism are being hurled, it may be well to examine this oft-used term of opprobrium. Dualism involves attempting to break up and replace an existing organization, and is accompanied by efforts to take away members. There is no resemblance between this and what the Committee for Industrial Organization is doing.

Our aim is to strengthen, not to break up, the American Federation of Labor. We are seeking to bring in outside groups, not to take away members. Nor do we wish to harm the legitimate aims of a single craft union. Our

The following eight leaders of American labor make up the Committee for Industrial Organization:

Thomas H. Brown, president of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Harvey C. Fremming, president of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.

Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Charles P. Howard, president of the International Typographical Union.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America.

Thomas F. McMahon, president of the United Textile Workers of America.

M. Zaritsky, president of the cap and millinery department of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

The offices of the Committee are located at Room 45, 1001 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

objection is to paper jurisdictional claims among hitherto unorganized workers, with the resulting confusion and division.

Under certain conditions, workers naturally turn to organization. If existing labor organizations do not meet their needs, they turn to some new form. When craft unions claim jurisdiction over certain types of workers but do not admit them to full and equal membership, they should not be surprised if the workers form an independent union of their own. The history of the labor movement shows this is the inevitable outcome. Nor should they be surprised when conflicting craft claims, or craft claims that mean

division of the workers into dozens of groups, similarly lead to organizations outside the AFL. In such cases, the craft unions involved are responsible for the resulting dualism, whether it takes the form of company unions or independent organizations.

## Eager To Enter

Past experience shows that where an established union is really willing to take care of the needs of an independent union group, such groups are ready and eager to come into the AFL organizations. The United Textile Workers, for example, by intelligent action, was able to absorb the hitherto independent unions in hosiery and silk.

The Committee for Industrial Organization is seeking to remove the roots of dualism in the movement by urging the organization of the unorganized. It is attempting to bring about the end of dualism, whether in company unions or independent organizations, by furthering a policy within the American Federation of Labor that will enable the workers to enter on the only basis millions of them will accept—industrial unionism.

No one who wants to see these unorganized millions brought into the AFL has any reason to be alarmed at the activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization. The official organs of certain craft unions have seen fit to misrepresent the purpose of the CIO by making it seem that we are working for industrial unionism in those industries where the crafts are established. It is to be hoped that the members of these organizations will read our statements for themselves to learn the truth. We want the cooperation of all workers in building a powerful and united labor movement.

# Industrial Unionism—As William Green Once Saw It

Reprinted from the "American Labor Year Book" for 1917-1918

An industrial form of organization is the organization of all men employed in an industry into one compact union. Craft unionism means the organization of men employed in their respective crafts, resulting in numerous organizations within a particular industry.

## Closer Cooperation

The organization of men by industry rather than by crafts brings about a more perfect organization, closer cooperation, and tends to develop the highest form of organization. The causes of jurisdictional dispute are considerably decreased and in many industries can be eliminated altogether. The constant friction resulting among craft organizations in their contention for jurisdiction causes the labor movement more trouble and greater inconvenience than any other problem with which it has to deal.

When men are organized by industry they can concentrate their economic power more advantageously than when organized into craft unions. The results of such concentration of economic strength are the promotion of their common welfare and the advancement of their common interests.

The United Mine Workers of America is an industrial organization. All men employed in and around the coal mines, regardless of their skill or calling, be-

long to the United Mine Workers of America. In negotiating a wage scale between the coal operators and coal miners, a schedule of wages is arranged governing all classes of labor, skilled and unskilled, employed in and around the coal mines. By this process the interest of the unskilled worker is given as much attention as that of the skilled worker.

It is indeed, in the fullest sense, a policy of all for each and each for all. A settlement of the wage scale is not finally reached until the schedules applying to all classes of labor employed in and around the mines are agreed to.

## Protect the Unskilled

The advantage of such a form of organization is so obvious that one can scarcely conceive of any opposition thereto. A form of organization that protects the interests of the unskilled worker is the form of organization most desirable. Much complaint has been directed against craft organizations because little regard has been given to the problems of the unskilled workers.

It is becoming more and more evident that it unskilled workers are forced to work long hours and for low wages, the interests and welfare of the skilled worker are constantly menaced thereby.

In the development of industry and organization the tendency is toward concentration and perfection. This applies to the organization of labor as well as to the organization of industry and capital. Hence the reason why organized labor is gradually passing from craft organization to the more effective industrial forms of organization.

## The Advantages

It may be well-nigh impossible to eliminate the craft form of organization in certain lines of industry. However, it is quite possible to establish industrial forms of organization in the railroad industry, the printing industry and in other industries where groups or organizations are formed into councils and federated bodies.

Summing up the situation, some of the advantages resulting from an industrial form of organization are:

- The reduction of opportunities or causes for jurisdictional disputes;
- The concentration of economic strength;
- The blending into harmonious cooperation of all men employed in industry; and
- The advancement and protection of the interests of the unskilled laborer in the same proportion as that of the skilled worker.



Alice Writes

A LETTER

We have received a letter from Alice in Wonderland. She writes: "Your reference to me last week when you said that I didn't like that sudden growth of mine was correct. But if it were like that of the Call, I wouldn't mind."

"My objection was that my growth made me thin and almost useless. The growth of the CALL makes it healthier and increasingly useful. A regular 16-page CALL is just what we all want right now because it will make us all healthier and more useful."

"Even the Mad Hatter feels that way about it. You know he's not a party member, but he agrees with me that any Socialist branch that's worth its salt will take your offer."

"Just imagine: all they've got to do is take a bundle order of 100 copies at 2 cents a copy. If they bring in 4 yearly subs a week at \$1.50 each, they get a free bundle order of 100 copies. And on any kind of sub, they get one-third of the money credited to their bundle order of 100."

"I might tell you that the Queen is very much excited. She wonders just what will happen when that 16 pager comes out with more New York news, about trade unions, party activities, metropolitan propaganda."

"If each New York branch orders its additional 100 copies, I can see Mayor LaGuardia jumping right through the looking-glass in which he rehearses his public speeches. Just get those CALLS coming through, and Fiorella will get so thin, he'll be able to slip out of City Hall through the keyhole."

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Membership Drive Pushed By Socialists

Continuing the drive for new party recruits, Socialists in the metropolitan area announced a series of public meetings for this week, featuring Norman Thomas and Frank R. Crosswaith as the main speakers.

The problems of war and fascism, discussed by Socialist spokesmen, continue to hold the

ENROLLED SOCIALISTS Primary petitions are being circulated now to put the Socialist Party on the ballot in New York. Be sure that you sign the petitions that are circulated by the official Socialist Party, U. S. A.—only those petitions that are presented by canvassers with credentials signed by Lewi Tenks, Harry W. Laidler and Jack Altman, officers of the Party.

interest of large crowds. The past week, in spite of extraordinarily cold weather, saw large numbers in attendance.

Branches and speakers report that the enthusiasm of the audiences for the Socialist program was never more vital than now and point to the great number of applications for party membership signed at the meetings as evidence of the great attractive power of the Socialist Party at this time.

The meetings to be addressed this week by Thomas, Crosswaith and other Socialist speakers are listed in this issue under the column headed "Coming Events."

Hearst Advertising Revenue Shrinks

CHICAGO (FP) — Though American newspapers averaged a gain of almost 5 per cent in advertising in 1935 over 1934, William Randolph Hearst's two Chicago dailies, the Herald-Examiner and the American, made bad ad records. Each lost around 6 per cent. The Hearst dailies were the only Chicago papers to print less advertising in December than in December a year ago.

Hearst's New York dailies, the American and the Journal, also lost during the year, and were the only dailies in that city to slip during December.

Harvey Kelly, chief strikebreaker for the American Newspaper Publishers Assn., will move over onto the Hearst payroll July 1 as labor counsel. He supplants Merrill Lord who has failed to beat down the printing trades unions in various negotiations. Lord is regarded as a bully by union negotiators while Kelly is acknowledged to be a much smoother article.

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THE DANCE OF THE YEAR 23rd ANNUAL REBEL DANCE SATURDAY, MARCH 7 HOTEL DELANO 43rd St. and 6th Ave., N. Y. C. Subscription 49c Greater N. Y. Federation Young People's Socialist League of America FEATURING: REBEL ARTS TROUPE and LEVY and NATHAN!

REGISTRATION CARD Socialist Party, U. S. A. New York State In accordance with the ruling of the National Executive Committee, I hereby signify my intention of abiding by the decision of the NEC, thereby retaining membership in the Socialist Party, U. S. A. Date Name (last) (first) Address (boro or city) Local Branch Date of Joining Party Last Day for Registration Feb. 7, 1936

'Breathing Spell' For Jobless Is Church Demand

NEW YORK (FP)—"A breathing spell for the unemployed" is the suggestion of the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, in a statement which deplors constantly-shifting relief policies and insecurity for the jobless.

"From reports of unemployment conditions by the church and social workers throughout the country, we are convinced that the great masses of unemployed desire first of all regular jobs at decent wages and hours," the statement says. "Until private business or the government shall make such employment available, the unemployed are entitled to humane treatment, adequate relief and freedom from constantly shifting relief policies. We desire to emphasize with all the force at our command, the destructive effect on the human spirit of the fear and uncertainty to which the unemployed are subjected and which are particularly prevalent among them at the present time."

NEW YORK (FP)—Net earnings of \$5.04 a share of common stock in 1935 were accumulated by E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co., leading American munitions makers, preliminary calculations by the company reveal. Profits amounted to only \$3.66 a share of common in the previous year.

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New York Labor Notes: Progressive Measures Win In Men's Hatters Convention Progressives measures were carried by overwhelming majorities at the national convention of the men's hat department of the United Cap, Hat and Millinery Workers' Union in session in New York City. The convention voted to elect its officers by referendum ballot hereafter—one of the chief progressive proposals. With the rehearsal of more than 2,500 Manhattan elevator operators and building employes over, the city is looking forward to similar strikes beginning February 1 which may bring out more than 130,000 workers. Union officials declared the strike a certainty unless union demands were met. Other strikes pending, in addition to the general strike of the dressmakers: 12,000 fur workers, 10,000 errand boys in the ladies' garment industry and possibly taxidrivers and seamen. A Socialist League of culinary workers in New York City is being formed. All Socialist food-

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CALL INSTITUTE presents Benjamin GITLOW vs. Alfred BINGHAM Editor "Common Sense" DEBATING WHICH ROAD FOR AMERICAN LABOR— LABOR PARTY or THIRD PARTY FRIDAY, FEB. 7 8:30 P. M. Admission 25c STUYVESANT CASINO 9th ST. and SECOND AVE. TICKETS ON SALE — SOCIALIST CALL

Make Your Reservations celebration dinner AMERICAN SOCIALIST MONTHLY WEDNESDAY February 12th 7 p. m. Tickets \$1.00, including tip Speakers ANGELICA BALABANOFF first secretary, Communist International; former editor with Mussolini of Italian paper "Avanti!"; secretary Zimmerwald Conference; co-worker with Plekhanov and Lenin; brilliant writer and speaker, who will speak in English. NORMAN THOMAS DEVERE ALLEN HAIM KANTOROVITCH DAVID P. BERENBERG Tickets Now on Sale at AMERICAN SOCIALIST MONTHLY 21 E. 17th St., N. Y.

The DEBATE You Have Been Waiting For! "Which Way for American Youth in the Struggle Against War?" Young Peoples' Socialist League Young Communist League GUS TYLER GIL GREEN Friday, Feb. 14, 8:30 P. M. St. Nicholas Palace 66th STREET and COLUMBUS AVENUE TICKETS:—25c — 50c — 75c Can be secured at Y. P. S. L.: 21 East 17th St., or All Workers' Bookshops Auspices: Greater New York Federation Young People's Socialist League 21 East 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

# World Socialism

## COMMUNISTS AND WAR

By HERBERT ZAM

In this space last week we published a report to the effect that Largo Caballero had resigned from the Socialist Party of Spain. Since then we have received trustworthy information on this situation. Caballero did not resign from the Party, but only as chairman of the Party. He remains a member of the Party and of the national committee.

The resignation was caused by a dispute over the rights of the parliamentary fraction. The national committee, it seems, wished to adopt regulations which would place the policies of the parliamentary fraction under the jurisdiction of the national committee. Caballero insisted that while he was in sympathy with the objective of the national committee the present statutes of the Party gave the parliamentary fraction a considerable degree of autonomy, and only the convention of the Party could change that relationship. As chairman of the Party, it was his duty to enforce the statutes, and he could not remain chairman if these statutes were violated by decisions of the national committee itself.

After Caballero's resignation, the national committee offered to recall the decision if he would agree to continue as chairman, but Caballero refused to accept this proposal. He insisted that the comrades had known that the raising of this question in that form would lead to his resignation as chairman, and that his decision was irrevocable.

As to the political significance of this event nothing can be added to what was said last week. Whether it indicates that the Caballero group controls the parliamentary fraction, with the right wing in control of the national committee remains to be seen. Undoubtedly, in the near future further information on the entire Party situation in Spain will be available.

How far can the communists go with their present policy on war and still class themselves as being anti-war? This question has been asked by many comrades since the "new line" of the Comintern on war, adopted at the Seventh World Congress.

That this is a legitimate question and not merely a fractional attack has been demonstrated by the position of the spokesman of the Communist Party of America, Earl Browder, in his debates with Norman Thomas. Last week we quoted from Browder's statement at the New York debate. We now have before us a Federated Press report of the debate in Chicago, held Jan. 13. The report was written by Carl Haessler, a communist sympathizer. It reads:

"Will the United States, so long as it continues capitalistic, ever fight a good war or will all its future wars be imperialistic like the last two?"

"The attitude of Norman Thomas, spokesman for the Socialist Party, and of Earl Browder, speaking for the Communist Party . . . differed more on this one point than on any of the others . . ."

"Thomas held that capitalistic American governments will make none but imperialist wars, either to grab still more or to defend what they have already grabbed. Workers must strive to turn imperialist American wars into civil war for the overthrow of capitalism, he said, citing the words of Lenin.

"Browder held that if the United States is in military alliance with the Soviet Union against fascist foes, then American workers should support the U. S. war administration as a Soviet ally because that will

help to defend the one and only country where capitalism has been overthrown and socialism established."

It seems that as the debate moves West, Browder becomes more and more open in his warmongering policies. This statement is substantially the same as the statement made by Mike Gold in his column in the Daily Worker some time ago. At that time, Gold was considered a little too open and he "apologized." But even in the "apology" the policy was still defended. All Gold could find wrong with his position was that it was speculation and "speculation is not scientific." But as to the policy itself, which whether scientific or unscientific, cannot possibly be accepted by class conscious workers, there was no retreat.

Almost as outlandish as the policy itself is the effort of the communists to defend and justify it. Nowhere do we find a willingness on the part of the communist theoreticians to come out into the open and defend their policies frankly. Instead, they hide in the woods and snipe at their opponents. And their weightiest weapon is "slander against the Soviet Union." In the very article in which Gold admits his error, he still denounces those who corrected him as "slandrers." Imagine the gall of these people! Gold and his friends try to put forward pure and simple chauvinism as "Marxism" and "Leninism." That's kosher. But when someone else warns the workers against this kind of "Marxism," that's slander of the Soviet Union! Do such "defenders" help the Soviet Union?

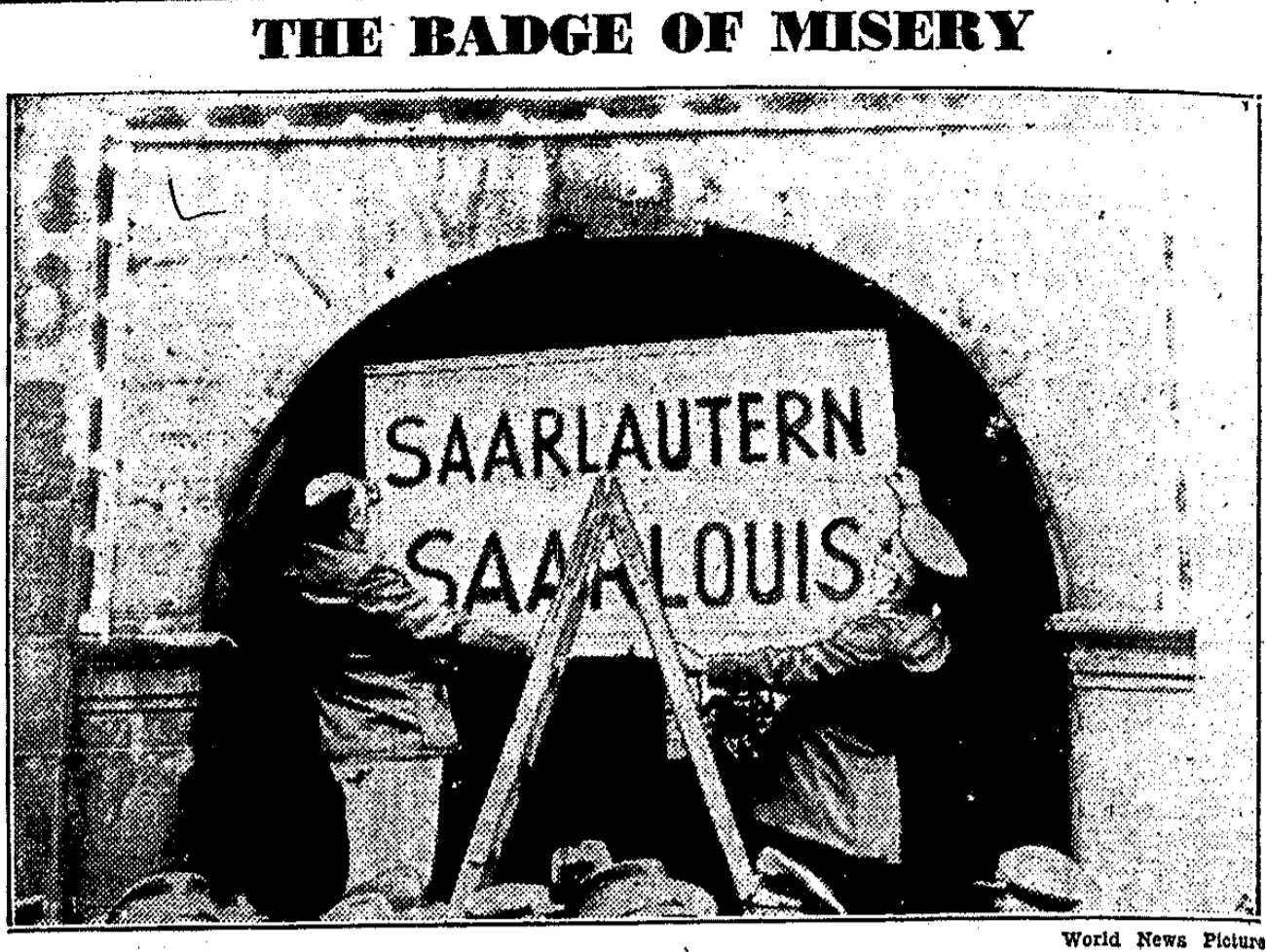
Since the beginning of the Thomas-Browder debates, the communist press has conducted quite a campaign in support of its present line on war. Obviously the membership is not swallowing it quite so blindly as was anticipated. And the theoreticians of the Communist Party think that by shouting Soviet Union often enough, the membership and the workers will eventually accept this line. Thus, every one of their polemics against the criticism of their war-line either declares openly or implicitly that these opponents are enemies of the Soviet Union or opposed to the need of the Soviet Union to maintain diplomatic relations with the capitalist world. The first charge need not even be discussed.

The second charge is also absurd. Everyone realized that the Soviet Union, existing in the midst of capitalist states, must live diplomatically with them, and the fact that the capitalist governments, after many years, were finally compelled to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, is a great victory for the Soviet Union. But from this it does not follow, as the communists insist that the diplomatic line of the Soviet Union has to become the policy of the international working class. The Soviet Union itself gave us the best demonstration of this when in 1918, compelled to sign the infamous Brest-Litovsk treaty, it called upon the world proletariat to do everything in its power to smash that treaty, and Lenin denounced those friends as traitors who voted to accept the Brest-Litovsk treaty on the ground that since the Soviet Union signed it, it should be accepted.

### The 1918 Example

years, were finally compelled to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, is a great victory for the Soviet Union. But from this it does not follow, as the communists insist that the diplomatic line of the Soviet Union has to become the policy of the international working class. The Soviet Union itself gave us the best demonstration of this when in 1918, compelled to sign the infamous Brest-Litovsk treaty, it called upon the world proletariat to do everything in its power to smash that treaty, and Lenin denounced those friends as traitors who voted to accept the Brest-Litovsk treaty on the ground that since the Soviet Union signed it, it should be accepted.

### The New Line



German workers called this "the badge of misery" as Nazis erected a sign announcing the name of Saarlouis, leading city of the Saar region, has been changed to Saarlautern. During the first year of Nazi rule, wages have fallen in the Saar while prices have skyrocketed.

Nor does it follow that certain errors cannot be made by the Soviet Union in its diplomatic policies. Many people maintain that the Soviet Union was in error in selling various war supplies to Italy and at the same time advocate sanctions against Italy by capitalist governments. Nor is the argument convincing that the Soviet Union was willing to apply oil and other sanctions only if the other (capitalist) countries did so. Since when does the Soviet Union have to follow the actions of capitalist governments and refuse to take action which would distinguish its policies from those of capitalist governments? It is the contention of the Socialists that a course based on reliance upon the power of the international proletariat will provide the Soviet Union with real defense in an emergency, while a course based upon reliance on capitalist governments provides fictitious defense. This is the challenge which the communists have completely failed to meet.

### WIN INCREASE

TORONTO, Canada (FP)—Sixty per cent of dress manufacturers holding agreements with the Toronto Dressmakers Union have renewed their agreements with pay increases.

### LECTURES

**SINCLAIR LEWIS'**  
**'It Can't Happen Here'**  
MR. ALGERNON BLACK  
Sun., Feb. 2, at 11 A. M.  
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Aus.: Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society

### NORMAN THOMAS

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Charlotte Russell  
Gerald Coleman

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**"WANTED: A NEW  
DEAL FOR YOUTH"**

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Town Hall, 123 West 43rd St.  
On Sunday morning, February 2nd,  
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Auspices Young People's Group

### ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Lecturing on  
**BIRO-BIDJAN  
AS I SAW IT**  
THURSDAY, FEB. 6, 8 P. M.  
WEBSTER HALL, 119 E. 11th St.  
Adm. 25c      Auspices: I.C.O.R.

### ANTI-WAR RALLY

JAMES WATERMAN WISE  
and other speakers  
WEDNESDAY, JAN. 30th, 8:30 P. M.  
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DEWITT CLINTON ANNEX  
Creston Avenue and 18th Street  
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## THE BADGE OF MISERY

### Tiff Head Appeals To Federal Courts

ST. LOUIS (FP)—An appeal in the contempt of court case of Joe Morris, leader of Missouri's victorious tiff miners' strike last summer, will be carried to federal courts by the St. Louis Civil Liberties Union.

The state supreme court refused

to reverse a conviction involving a \$50 fine against Morris, levied for his statement at a strike meeting last summer that Judge E. M. Dearing of Potosi should be impeached for issuing a sweeping injunction against unions. Morris was fined \$50 by a local judge.

A writ of habeas corpus and petitions for rehearing of the case were both refused by the state's highest judicial body.

### NORMAN THOMAS speaks ON TACTICS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA

Brownsville Labor Lyceum

229 Sackman St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Friday Eve., Feb. 7

at 8:15 P. M.

ADMISSION

25c

in advance

35c

at Door

Tickets on sale: Brownsville Labor Lyceum, S. P. 23rd A. D.; Jewish National Workers Alliance, 404-4th Ave.; Embassy Stationery, 98 Osborn St.; Ambassador Barber Shop, 787 Saratoga Ave.; August Stationery Store, 935 Blake Ave.; Poale Zion Center, 1700 Pitkin Ave.; Auto's Drug Store, 444 Howard Ave.; Lopatin Jewelry Store, 375 Stone Ave.; Goldstein's Bookshop, 363 Sutter Ave. AUS.: The Jewish National Workers Alliance of America, Branch 53

### Are the Bankers Preparing a War?

A SYMPOSIUM

SENATOR GERALD P. NYE

Chairman Senate Munitions Committee

Cong. J. J. McSWAIN      JOSEPH FREEMAN

Chairman House Military Affairs Committee

New Masses

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Co-author "Merchants of Death"

Auspices, New Masses Forum

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MECCA TEMPLE, 133 W. 55th St. Feb. 9, Sunday, 8:30 P.M.

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# Party Activity

**THREE OBSERVERS**, Frank Crosswath, George Streater and Norman Thomas, will attend the National Negro Congress in Chicago representing the Socialist Party. According to a decision of the national executive committee, no state or local organization of the Party should send delegates; further action will be based on the report of the observers.

**ONE-DAY'S PAY** fund drive being conducted by the National Office is under way and scores have contributed.

## Illinois

**JOHN M. COLLINS**, Chicago, prominent Socialist and trade unionist, died Sunday, January 26. Joined Socialist Labor Party in 1884, helped organize Socialist Party with Debs, Berger and Hillquit. Joined International Association of Machinists in 1900, served as president of his lodge and national organizer. Served on Socialist national executive committee in 1906 and 1933. Socialist candidate for governor of Illinois, mayor of Chicago, Congressman.

**CHICAGO** labor and Socialist leaders will attend a banquet honoring Mordecai Shulman on the anniversary of his 25 years of Socialist activity on Sunday, February 9, at 6 p. m., at 3317 West Roosevelt.

**CHICAGO DEBATE** between Norman Thomas and Earl Browder netted \$183 apiece to Scottsboro Defense Fund and the Tampa Civil Rights Committee.

Francis J. Gorman, vice president of the United Textile Workers of America, will speak at a labor rally at Ashland Auditorium on March 1, under the auspices of the Cook County Labor Party.

**STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** will meet in Bloomington February 1 to map plans for the state political campaign. It will hear reports from Organizers Joe Brinocari and Edward L. Adams of new contacts and members in Neponset, Bureau County, Herrin, West Frankfort and Vandalia.

## Michigan

**SOCIALIST CALL** and Wisconsin Leader were made official organs of the Socialist Party of Michigan at the state convention held recently.

## Pennsylvania

**PHILADELPHIA** has a meeting for the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania at the Arch Street Meeting House, 4th and Arch Streets, Friday evening, January 31.

## BOOKS, by Bruno Fischer

### 'Masque With Clowns'— Capitalism in Decay

MASQUE WITH CLOWNS, by John Wheelwright. Poems for a Dime No. 4. 86 Leverett St., Boston, Mass.

The fourth number of "Poems for a Dime" (3 for 2 bits, 6 for 50 cents, 12 for a buck), edited and published by John Wheelwright, consists of a long satire by the editor himself.

It is a satire which shifts from burlesques of capitalism to stretches of serious writing on misery under capitalism; from barbed thrusts at the demagogues with which America is plagued to penetrating, at times rather nasty, jibes at Stalinites and radical splinter groups.

Abruptly, in the last two pages, the poem rises to a lyric prophecy to the triumph of the Three Arrows (Socialism). In this section he makes dramatic use of the three-arrow symbol, which in appearance strong and straight and uncomplicated, is a far better symbol than any other of the Socialist movement.

It is not irrelevant to offer up a hope here that the Socialist Party will officially adopt the three-arrow symbol and discard the complex hands-across-the-sea and the clumsy arm-and-touch. In

its way, the concluding lines of Wheelwright's poem demonstrate the effectiveness of the three-arrow symbol.

### The New Deal— Its Lessons

STRIKES UNDER THE NEW DEAL, by Maurice Goldbloom, John Herling, Joel Seidman, Elizabeth Yard. League for Industrial Democracy. 72 pages. 25 cents.

While "the chief objective of the NIRA was to enable the private profit-producing machinery to function," as Joseph Schlossberg points out in the introduction

a counter-offensive from industry, and the strike wave of 1933-35 was the result.

"Strikes Under the New Deal" shows how the highly-touted Section 7A soon turned out to be a fraud and a delusion. Industry set up machinery to combat the reawakened militancy of the working class, not the least of these methods being the creation of standing armies of thugs and the formation of company unions; and when all else failed, industry was able to call on the very government, which had written Section 7A, to help smash strikes.

Those unions which were well organized and had the ability to fight could wrest concessions from the bosses and the government. The powerful International Ladies Garment Workers Union got a 35-hour week, the Amalgamated is that it also helped to create a favorable psychology for the organization of workers. Along with the attempt at organization came to this excellent booklet, the fact

minimum wages which soon became maximum wages.

Clothing Workers a 36-hour week. The codes of the basic industries, where union organization was pathetically weak, not only did not aid workers but set absurdly low wages. "If there is one lesson that labor should long ago have learned," the four authors of the booklet conclude, "it is that in its own organized strength and militant action lie the best guarantees of fair treatment and progress."

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

To My Contemporaries, collection of poems, by Edwin Rolfe; Dynamo Publishers, 156 West 44th St., NYC \$1.00.

#### Russia, Youth

AND THE PRESENT-DAY WORLD By FRANKWOOD WILLIAMS Was \$2.50 . . . Now \$1.25

Workers Book Shop 50 EAST 13th STREET, N. Y. C. Peoples Book Shop 146 SECOND AVENUE, N. Y. C.

## MASQUE with CLOWNS

By John Wheelwright

At first burlesque and then grotesque this Satire of demogogy and defeatism—Technocracy, Hearst, Long, Coughlin, Townsend, Roosevelt, Demireps and Radical Socialists rises to prophecy of victory over Fascism for the Cooperative Commonwealth.

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1. Anyone (except employees of the New Masses or their families) is eligible to enter this title contest.
2. The contest opens January 23. Titles must be received at the New Masses Contest Department, Box 76, Madison Sq. Sta., New York, N. Y., on or before April 1, 1936. Awards will be made as soon after the end of the contest as the titles can be considered by the judges.
3. You need not use the attached coupon, although it is most convenient, but in order to be eligible for the title contest, your subscription for 10 weeks for the New Masses with \$1. the subscription price, must accompany the titles you submit.
4. In case of a tie of two or more, then the judges will ask for a competitive 25 word descriptive essay on the three cartoons. Their decision on the essays will be final.
5. All contest entries will be acknowledged as received.
6. The title winners, by acceptance of the prizes, unconditionally transfer to the New Masses all rights to the winning titles.
7. The judges will be Michael Gold, editor of the New Masses, Robert Forsythe, noted artist, and Gertrude Rea, famous artist.

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Program Discussion

# SOCIALISTS AND SANCTIONS

It (the Socialist Party) does not believe that war can be stopped by devices of capitalist governments whether they take the form of the League of Nations, security pacts or sanctions. It opposes the view that we should support our government in a war against fascism, because it has no illusions that capitalist governments desire to, or can destroy fascism. It urges the workers to rely primarily on their own organized strength and that of their sympathetic allies among the farmers and middle classes to prevent war. . . .

—Draft Program, Page 22.

By ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

HERE are two things to hold clearly in mind about sanctions.

In the first place, sanctions mean war. This has been stated by Sir Walter Citrine, the head of the British Trade Union Congress, in his speech to the Congress at their last meeting in Great Britain. It has been asserted or threatened by Mussolini, so that there is agreement on both sides of the present conflict that sanctions mean war if they are genuinely and vigorously applied. That the British Government believes that sanctions mean war, is shown by its action in sending its fleet to the Mediterranean.

That sanctions mean war is further proven by the plain facts of the case. If sanctions are to be made effective, it almost certainly will require a blockade; and blockade is unquestionably in fact as well as in international law, an act of war. The reason effective sanctions require a blockade is that without such a blockade, the non-sanctionist countries including Japan, can tranship war materials and war implements to Italy without restraint, and certainly enough to enable Italy to continue prosecuting the war.

The second thing to remember about sanctions is that they mean reliance on, and support of, the League of Nations as at present constituted. Socialist advocacy of sanctions, means specifically that we must teach the labor movement in this country and elsewhere to rely on and support the League of Nations. For Socialists to do that would be a denial of our principles. The League of Nations is not reliable as a genuine instrument of international justice. It is not honest today in its opposition to Mussolini. It is dominated by countries that do not actually want to see Italy restrained or Mussolini overthrown.

## The League Of Nations

The evidence to prove these assertions is as follows:

In the first place, the League of Nations is dominated by countries which have very recently done just what they are denouncing Mussolini for doing. France has done in Syria under mandate powers given her by the League of Nations just what Italy is trying to do in Ethiopia. England has done in Egypt the same thing, and is using the power of her armed forces to keep down by force the resentment aroused by the Egyptians toward her imperialistic attitude.

The League of Nations has condoned the doing by Japan in China of exactly what Mussolini is doing in Ethiopia only worse, because the imperialistic interests of the countries dominating the League were not involved or threatened by Japan's act of robbery to the same extent that they are threatened by Italy's attempted seizure of Ethiopia.

France, England and Italy have an old agreement for the partition of Ethiopia in accordance with accepted imperialistic practice. This agreement has never been repudiated. On the contrary, France and England tried to carry out that agreement in the famous Hoare-Laval scheme for handing the country to Italy on July 21, 1940.

## Discuss Draft In Louisville CALL Institute

A Tri-State CALL Institute will be held in Louisville, Kentucky on the week end of February 22-23. This conference will be similar to the ones held in Boundbrook, N. J. and Chicago last year.

Roy Burt, Ben Fischer, Ernest Erber and others will speak on important theoretical subjects facing the Party today. The Draft Program being discussed in Party circles will be the subject for the main discussion.

Arrangements are in charge of Arthur Kling, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Kentucky, 1917 Maplewood Place, Louisville. All requests for information should be sent to him.

## Sanctions Mean War

The countries dominating the League of Nations do not want to see Mussolini overthrown. France wants him as an ally against Hitler's moves in Austria. Even England hopes that Mussolini will not be driven into an alliance with Hitler, and therefore is not anxious to put the screws too tightly on his imperialistic adventures.

The countries dominating the League of Nations could bring Italy on her knees over night if they really meant business. They could do it through a blockade against the shipment of oil. While this might mean war, the League would be victorious. Yet they do not intend to do that. They could bring Italy to her knees by closing the Suez Canal. France and England control the Suez Canal. But they prefer to make tremendous profits in allowing Italy to ship men and munitions one way and corpses the other way, instead of closing the Suez Canal and stopping the war. Even Russia prefers to make her blood money, for she sells oil to Mussolini with one hand and the communists hold up the other hand with holy horror at Mussolini's actions in Ethiopia.

This is the organization and the countries dominating it that we would be supporting in supporting sanctions, and that we would be asking the labor movement in America to support and trust. As a practical matter we would not get to first base with such a policy. As a matter of Socialist principles, we would not deserve to make progress with such policies.

The sanctions policy means war. We are asked to take a crack at Mussolini by war if necessary. We are asked to do this in the name of another holy war for democracy. But surely for a Socialist with a grain of sense, one holy war for democracy ought to be enough.

## To Really Stop War

What then are we going to do to stop war if we do not support sanctions? Those of us who are opposed to sanctions can advocate two alternative policies:

First, we propose to have labor act on its own right and its own

power put the squeeze on Mussolini. Let us not teach the workers the false doctrine that the League of Nations should be relied on as an instrument of peace and good will. Bleeding China can testify today just what the League of Nations is worth in that respect. Let us raise the cry according to Socialist principles: "Labor itself can stop war, if it means business and is filled with Socialist courage, idealism and purpose!"

Organized labor can effectively embargo goods to Mussolini by refusing to transport, load, or ship munitions, oil, cotton, or other supplies for making the instruments of war. It is to the credit of workers that even without leadership from the top ranks of organized labor, the workers are beginning sporadically to do just that in different parts of the world already. We read in the papers occasionally of ship crews that refuse to carry and longshoremen that refuse to load oil and scrap iron for Mussolini.

Unfortunately the organized labor movement is not led by Socialists and its members are afraid that if they refuse to transport, load or ship munitions, others from the ranks of the unemployed will do so. But that is just where we Socialists come in, to agitate and organize, and give to the labor movement the Socialist courage, idealism and purpose which could and would stop wars in general, and this war in particular if our policy was adopted.

## Endorsed By Socialists

This policy of a labor embargo on Mussolini is the policy called for by our national executive committee. Organized labor itself should act and if it won't it is our duty as Socialists to try to persuade it to do so.

Not merely is this policy sound Socialism. It is the policy that has actually been adopted by the organized labor movement in the entire world towards Hitler in Germany. Labor did not call for an official boycott by the governments against Hitler. Too many of the governments have elements that would like to follow Hitlerism. Instead organized labor the world over, under the pressure and leadership of Socialists, declared for and enforced its own boycott on German goods by building up among its members and all whom it could influence, a refusal to buy anything made in Germany. This boycott is slowly but inevitably putting an intolerable pressure on Germany's internal economic life. It cuts off her exports and thus cuts off her ability to import from abroad. The success of this policy in making Hitler's internal economic position daily more precarious is testified to by the reports from the Labor Chest for the Liberation of Workers of Europe, set up by the American Federation of Labor under the influence of socialistic unions. Labor action to enforce

## The United Front And The Program

By HENRY BLACK. Mena, Arkansas

To the Editor:

The letter on the United Front by Samuel White in the Jan. 18 issue of the CALL represents a point of view with which many of us must disagree very sharply and emphatically. The section on the United Front in the draft program should certainly be changed, but it should be changed in such a way as to emphasize and strengthen the demand for united action. As it stands the section is far too weak.

Unity of action between various groups within the labor movement is absolutely imperative, is,

without exception the most crucial question confronting the American working class. And unity of action with the communists. The attitude, implied in the draft program and also in Comrade White's letter, that the communists are an unimportant insignificant sect that Socialists can ignore is extremely naive and unrealistic. The section on the United Front, far from being weakened, should be rewritten and strengthened to emphasize much more the importance of unity, particularly of unity among the more advanced and radical sections of the working class.

an embargo on Mussolini is the same sort of thing under somewhat different circumstances as labor action to enforce a boycott on Hitler. It is sound Socialism, which support of the League of Nations with its treacherous record is not.

## Neutrality Legislation

Secondly, for the United States, those of us Socialists who are opposed to sanctions can and should press for putting teeth into our neutrality legislation. We should seek neutrality legislation which will include war materials as well as finished war implements, and which will immediately upon the outbreak of war, outlaw the shipment of war materials including oil, cotton and steel to either belligerent, as well as war implements, which is all that is covered by the existing neutrality legislation, and of course outlaw all loans or credits to belligerents. This is a peace policy which would keep us out of war if adopted. Despite the opposition of Roosevelt, who wants merely to include finished implements of war and not war materials, this policy has some chance of being adopted because it is advocated by Senator Nye and the members of this Munition Investigating Committee.

We got into the last war, and may get into the next one, because when one of two warring nations or sets of nations control the seas, we sell goods of all sorts especially war munitions and supplies to only one side. This builds up a tremendous vested interest of exporters, shipping magnates and bankers who are behind them, and the newspapers who are controlled by them or their banker allies, to get us into the war on the side to which we have been selling munitions. For unless that side is victorious, the loans floated to finance the war purchases are likely to become practically worthless.

The neutrality legislation as suggested above and advocated by

those of us who are opposed to sanctions as an alternative proposal will prevent just that. If such neutrality legislation had been in effect during the last war, it would have prevented the tremendous financial stake in the success of the allies which was held by J. P. Morgan and our munition manufacturers from arising; and it was the power of their pressure to get us into the war in order to validate their loans which aroused public opinion and finally pushed us in.

Furthermore, in actual practice, this type of neutrality legislation would serve to bring effective pressure on Italy today. We sell very little to Ethiopia anyway. It would cut off our selling things to Italy.

## The Danger Of Japan

Also, such neutrality legislation would serve this country well in the war that is most threatening under the present international horizon, namely, a war with Japan. If we could possibly persuade the United States to follow the League of Nations and apply sanctions against Italy, it would make comparatively little difference to us. The burden of enforcing such sanctions by blockade or other military pressure would fall but little on us. But if Japan attacks Russia or Russia's ally in China, namely, the Outer Mongolian Soviet Republic, Russia as a League member will expect us to put League sanctions on Japan. The job of blockading Japan in order to enforce such sanctions would fall on us very largely as we are the only country with a Navy in the Pacific comparable to that of Japan. We will be in war, another holy war for democracy--or for Stalin,--as you prefer.

But if the neutrality legislation that I have suggested were adopted by this country, and especially if such legislation was backed up by a labor embargo against Japan in a war between Japan and Russia, we could put very effective economic pressure on Japan yet without involving us into serious diplomatic difficulties with Japan. For the terms of the proposed neutrality legislation would apply in fact to the shipments to Russia of war materials and implements of war as well as to Japan, and Japan could not object to the unofficial action of groups of American citizens in embargoing shipments of war materials to her--any more than Hitler can hold the United States responsible for the boycott against German goods adopted and enforced by organized labor in the United States today.

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# Variety at the Artef

## Evening Devoted To Mirth

VARIETY EVENING, presented by the Artef Players Collective at their own theatre, Monday evening, January 27.

In a program as varied in quality as in composition, the Artef Players Collective presented the first of a series of "variety evenings" in their West 48th Street playhouse Monday evening. The entire program was well received by a goodly crowd.

Outstanding among the performers was Amelia Babad, monologist. She was particularly effective in a stirring anti-war monologue, while her second effort—the story of the bonus march—seemed in keeping with the headlines of today. On the other hand, the two one-act plays presented were dull, pointless and overlong. Due no doubt to faulty direction, neither of the plays was acted with anything approaching the usual Artef technique; rather, it seemed that all the efforts of the actors were concentrated toward "stealing the scene" by stupid stage business which served only to confuse and confound.

A "Shtetl Tanz" by the Artef Dance Ensemble and a group of folk songs by Chaim Brisman, Golde Russler and Beatrice Lauer completed the program. Credit for much of the high spots of the evening must be accorded to H. Gendel, master of ceremonies, whose sparkling witticisms and humorous improvisations kept the audience in continuous laughter.

Artef, in regularly presenting "Klein-knust" can well perform a service to the Yiddish theatre-goer; an evening like Monday's allows this poor victim of commercialization to enter into some of the delightful informality that marks the private performances of the acting troupe.—SR.

## Mumford Chairman Of Artists' Parley

NEW YORK—Lewis Mumford, well-known critic, will serve as chairman of the opening session of the first American Artists' Congress at Town Hall here February 14, it was announced last week. Among the speakers will be Rockwell Kent, painter, and Paul Man-ship, sculptor.

## Going To The Theatre?

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## Pacifist

Nofrontier News Service reports that Benito Mussolini was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by the University of Pecs (Hungary) faculty.

## Orchids to Coleman From a Fellow-Critic

(Praise of criticism by a critic is so rare that The CALL takes particular pleasure in reprinting the following article. It first appeared in "From Out Front" by Eugene Burr, a column in The Billboard, theatrical weekly.—Editor.)

According to the trite old saw, when a man bites a dog, that's news. Similarly, one supposes, when the scenery chews an actor or when the critics admit that a play by O'Neill isn't so hot or when a left-wing dramatist writes a drama instead of a stump speech, that's news too. But when a left-wing critic insists that a play must be dramatic in order to be a play at all, when he insists that

propaganda is not the fetish, god and ultimate goal of all play-writing—and particularly when he insists all of that in a discussion of a left-wing dramatic darling—then that is news, indeed.

Of course, McAlister Coleman of The SOCIALIST CALL, is not, strictly speaking, a left-wing critic. In all true left-wing critics the adjective takes precedence over the noun, but in Mr. Coleman's case it is the other way around. Nevertheless, he samples the drama for a left-wing sheet—and, amazingly enough, he insists that a propaganda play must be a play rather than propaganda. It's news all right.

He insists, just as this column has long insisted, upon two things. In the first place, a play must be a play; in the second place, the cause for which it speaks is infinitely aided if it can interest as well as instruct its audiences.

Mr. Coleman panned that silly little kindergarten lesson which the Theater Union called "Mother," and was immediately attacked by David Paul, one of his CALL colleagues. Mr. Coleman thereupon devoted a recent column to rebuttal—and that column is eminently worth quoting. It would be worth quoting simply as an interesting, logical, intelligent and valuable statement of opinion. It is doubly worth quoting since it appears in The CALL. There is really hope—at last—for the left-wing drama if its own critics begin to see its present shortcomings.

## CALL BOARD

CHAPAYEV and POIL DE CAROTTE (Red Head) are returning as a double feature program at the Acme . . . ITTO had its American Premiere at the Cinema de Pares Tuesday . . . CALL IT A DAY opened Tuesday (Theatre Guild's) at the Morosco Theatre . . . Tickets are being sold to the last week in February for the Civic Reps' LET FREEDOM RING . . . CEILING ZERO holds over at the Strand.

## Butler to Teach At Commonwealth

MENA, Ark. — Russell Butler, president of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and chairman of the Arkansas state executive committee of the Socialist Party, this week inaugurated a course in problems of the sharecropper at Commonwealth College, a labor school here.

Butler, a militant fighter for the rights of the sharecropper and one of the leading forces in the struggles of the STFU, brings to Commonwealth a fund of knowledge amassed during twenty years' service in the labor movement.

The curriculum of his course includes a thorough outline of farm conditions, a clear conception of the various farm organizations, the tactics and legal aspects of farm organizations and the class division of farming.

"By training native organizers for Southern labor," Butler said, "Commonwealth is doing an invaluable task."

DON'T FORGET, SOCIALIST CALL FIRST ANNUAL DINNER ON MARCH 22.

Commencing SATURDAY, JAN. 25th  
**"Builders of Socialism"**  
Film Report of the International Workers' Delegation to U.S.S.R.  
CAMEO 42nd St. E. of Bway. 25c to 1 p.m. weekdays

"A movie natural!"—World-Tele.  
**"CEILING ZERO"**  
with CAGNEY & O'BRIEN  
June Travis - Stuart Erwin - Barton MacLane - Henry Wadsworth  
**STRAND • 25c**  
2nd Week — Bway & 47th — to 1 p.m.

BUY LATER! YOU WILL GET IT CHEAPER AT THE ANNUAL DEFENSE BAZAAR  
New York District International Labor Defense  
MANHATTAN LYCEUM 66 East 4th St.  
SIX BIG DAYS FEB. 11th to 16th



## COMING EVENTS

Thursday, January 30  
Theatre party, "Paradise Lost," sponsored by East Flatbush branch, Longacre Theatre.

Norman Thomas and others on "Can We Have an American Hitler?" at Burnside Manor, Burnside Avenue, corner Harrison, Bronx, at 8 p. m.

Norman Thomas, Frank Crosswaith and others on "American—Socialist or Fascist?" at Grand Plaza, East 163rd Street, near Prospect, Bronx at 8 p. m.

Friday, January 31  
Dr. Leon Rosser Land on "Religion and Socialism" at Mid-Bronx Labor Center, 1401 Jerome Avenue at 8:30 p. m.

Saturday, February 1  
Annual Dance of Problems Co-operative Association, Inc., 186 Lenox.

Norman Thomas, Frank Crosswaith, Herbert Zam, David Lasser on "Can America Keep out of War?" at Textile High School, 351 West 18th Street at 8 p. m.  
Social and dance of Circle 10 Sr. Man., at 600 W. 125th Street, Admission 15c.

Sunday, February 2  
Norman Thomas on "The New Deal for You" at Community Church, Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street at 10:45 a. m.  
Discussion on "Socialist Program for Public Utilities" at Village Branch, 107 McDougal Street, at 8:30 p. m.

Monday, February 3  
Herbert Zam on "Sanctions—Road to Peace?" at 167 Tompkins Avenue at 8:30 p. m.  
Winston Daniels on "Labor Party—How and When?" at 167 Tompkins Avenue at 8:30 p. m.  
Discussion on Labor Party at Washington Heights Branch, 423 W. 156th Street at 8:30 p. m.

Wednesday, February 5  
Norman Thomas, Frank Crosswaith and others on "America's Problems" at Debs Hall, 28 East 1st Street, Mt. Vernon, at 8 p. m.

Norman Thomas, Frank Crosswaith and others on "America's Problems" at Daniel Webster School, Webster Avenue, New Rochelle, at 8 p. m.

Thursday, February 6  
Norman Thomas speaks at Local 22, I.O.G.W.P., Forum, at 8 p. m.

Norman Thomas, Frank Crosswaith and Corinne Thal on "Building a Socialist America" at Woodside Labor Temple, Roosevelt Avenue and 58th Street, at 8:15 p. m.

Friday, February 7  
Norman Thomas on "Tactics in the Struggle against Fascism in America" at Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, at 8 p. m. Auspices: Jewish National Workers Alliance. Admission, 25c in advance; 35c at the door.  
Norman Thomas, Frank Crosswaith and others on "What Socialism Means to You" at 42 Smith Street, Brooklyn, at 8 p. m.

Saturday, February 8  
Spaghetti and Wine Orgy at East Bronx Labor Centre, 892 Prospect Avenue. Spaghetti and wine free. Dancing, entertainment. Admission 50c. Auspices: 4 AD BX.

Friday, February 14  
Theatre party, benefit Brownsville Labor Lyceum, at Yiddish Folk Theatre, 3rd Avenue and 12th Street.

ADD COPS  
NEW ORLEANS (FP)—Five hundred extra officers have been added to the New Orleans police force in order to protect citizens and visitors from violence and robbery, which are increasing as a result of wholesale cutting of the relief rolls. There are rumors that several conventions scheduled for the city during 1936 have been cancelled owing to fear of violence.

"Contains the Most Brilliant Topical Dialogue Ever Spoken on an American Stage."—R. Garland, World-Telegram  
SAM H. HARRIS presents  
**JANE COWL**  
in a new comedy  
**"FIRST LADY"**  
By KATHARINE DAYTON and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN  
MUSIC BOX THEATRE 45th St. West of Broadway  
Eves. 8:30, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

3rd BIG MONTH!! Hurry to see Theatre Union's Moving and Exciting Play  
**LET FREEDOM RING**  
Easily the Most Significant Play of the Season  
"NO SUCH CHEERS AND BRAVOS SINCE THE SEASON BEGAN."  
—Lockridge, N. Y. Sun.  
CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE  
114th St. & 6th Ave. Eves. 8:40 Best Seats 30c to \$1.00, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 30c to \$1.  
On Reduced Rates for Theatre Parties Call Sylvia Regan, Ck. 3-0804

## where to dine

**B & S** NAT—Formerly of the Rand School Cafeteria serves the finest selection of food at his own place, 15 East 17th Street, 3 doors from the Call.

**GIUSTI'S** SPAGHETTI INN—4 and 5 course Luncheon, 40c and 60c. Six course Chicken Dinner, 60c. Special luncheon, 35c. Served all day. Spaghetti, Dessert, Coffee, 35c. A la carte all day. Wines and Beer served. 49 W. 16th. WA. 9-9177.

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94 FIFTH AVENUE  
(bet. 14th and 15th Sts.)

SUNDAY MARCH 22, 7:00 P. M.  
Remember FIRST ANNIVERSARY DINNER  
**SOCIALIST CALL**  
PER PLATE, 1.50 MAKE RESERVATIONS NOW 21 E. 17th ST. GR 5-8779  
Central Plaza, 111 Second Ave., New York City

# AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

**A**LFRRED E. SMITH went to Washington to speak before the Liberty League. That is a league of the rich which has nothing to do with liberty. There he foregathered with such friends of freedom, peace and plenty—for themselves—as Raskob and—according to the papers—no less than twelve DuPonts. To these DuPonts, Smith is indebted for carrying the heavy burden of the building sometimes frivolously called the Empty State Building. They are no twelve apostles—unless it be of war and the profits of war. Speaking as one of the comfortable and successful to the comfortable and successful Smith upheld the Constitution, God, and the American flag. His peroration was almost worthy of his old enemy, William Randolph Hearst. Forgetting that he himself had been called a Socialist for favoring certain reforms under capitalism, he spent much time calling Roosevelt a Socialist.

Now insofar as Al Smith developed a fight within the Democratic Party, we Socialists can afford to be impartial. Our motto may well be: "Sic him Tigre, sic him Towser." Of course it's true that Roosevelt didn't carry out the Democratic platform. The Democrats didn't give him a plat-

## Norman Thomas On the Radio

Norman Thomas will reply to Al Smith's recent speech before the reactionary American Liberty League in a half-hour radio address to be broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting Company network Sunday evening, February 2, at 10:30 p. m. E. S. T.

form worth carrying out in the critical emergency of 1933. And it will be observed that Smith gives not one constructive idea for taking care of the very real problems of the unemployed and the farmers today, not unless he expects the almighty Constitution to reach down hands of blessings through its priests, the Justices of the Supreme Court.

## WHAT THEY REALLY STOLE

It is also true that when Mr. Roosevelt acted in an emergency he had to imitate some Socialist immediate demands because they were the only possible immediate demands that made sense. He had to go in for outright Federal relief. He had to make some approach to social security a Federal issue. He had to talk about rehousing America. It is to be observed that it was mostly talk.

It is also to be observed that when Mr. Roosevelt's brain trusters stole our Socialist clothing while we were in swimming, according to Al Smith, they didn't steal much—scarcely more than an old cast off necktie, and they wore that with capitalist ill grace. A dozen times in this column I have pointed out, for instance, what a travesty upon social security, especially upon unemployment insurance, is the President's so-called Security law. A dozen times I have pointed out how completely anti-Socialist was the President's handling of the banking situation, the railroad situation, and the like. Even in terms of immediate demands the moral of the New Deal Administration is that if you want children brought up properly you better let their parents bring them up and not turn them over to some rich and careless uncle.

**The Basis of Socialism**  
This, however, it not the main point. The main point is that Roosevelt never thought of taking the central idea of Socialism. That idea is planned production for use, a planned economy for abundance resting upon social ownership, and a deliberate intention to give to the workers collectively the products of their toil. This is Socialism. And if some of us—especially some of our extreme right wing—have occasionally played it down so that the public thinks that our immediate demands are Socialism, let's take the lesson to heart. We have no function at all unless we insist that whatever Roosevelt has done or left undone in the field of immediate demands his chief failure has been his attempt to subsidize scarcity under NRA and AAA and call it prosperity. He has not planned for abundance because capitalism can't plan for abundance. Here he and Smith and the rest are on exactly the same plane. No matter which of them is in office the same basic things will be true. We shall not have abundance. We shall not have freedom.

Nevertheless it is a tragedy, not untouched by streaks of farce and comedy, that a man who once had some traces of friendship for the workers should go completely over to the support of special privilege. In that support he tries

to enlist God, the Constitution, and the Holy Bible and he plays upon all the unreasoning fears that propaganda has implanted in the minds of the masses. This determination of Al Smith is a symbol of the deterioration of bourgeois liberalism in a time when the capitalist system is breaking up. True enough, as the New York Post has it, the brown derby has gone high hat!

But there's more to it than that. We cry for peace. We cry for freedom and justice. We cry for bread. And Al Smith, like his old enemy, Herbert Hoover, offers us the Constitution.

## NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION

The critics of neutrality legislation are finding their voice. Some of them speak, or pretend to speak, from the extreme left. Their arguments can be boiled down to two:

1. There is no plan of neutrality which will completely eliminate all chance of friction with powers engaged in war. No intelligent advocate of neutrality ever said there was. Certainly no Socialist ever said neutrality was the sole and sufficient road to peace. All we say is that neutrality greatly minimizes the risk of entering war because it removes the possibility of war profits and lessens the extent and the intensity of war strains.

2. The second objection to neutrality is that it is unfair to the "innocent" nation; that it will encourage the aggressor and aggression, etc. This argument clearly overlooks the fact that there is nothing very noble about making money by selling arms to any belligerent for purposes of war. Remember that trade in arms or the means of war is not a missionary enterprise and is for profit. A more important answer is that experience shows that in capitalist wars there are no innocent nations. If in the future there is an exceptional case then we can depart from our policy of neutrality by exceptional act. It ought to be as solemn as a declaration of war because to depart from neutrality may well lead to war.

**"A War for Democracy"**  
In the meantime, it is fantastic nonsense to think that the United States can be manipulated by a handful of liberals or revolutionists to fight a democratic war for a democratic victory against Fascism. The minute the United States goes to war, Fascism will win in the United States. That advocate of Fascism Lawrence Dennis, sees that clearly enough. No capitalist nationalist war will mean the deliverance of the world from Fascism. And no minority can manipulate the government of a capitalist state in the hour when it is most conscious of its function as the defender of the national status quo, so that its armies will act like red armies. Only the armies of the defeated nations will assume this role. Do the people who want the United States to go to war under some circumstances want the United States to be defeated in that war?

What I am saying is illustrated and strengthened by the virtual breakdown of the League machinery of sanctions against Italy. The communist support of these League sanctions is based mostly on hope that in some future emergency similar sanctions may be successfully directed against Germany. As a matter of fact, today if League sanctions had been carried far enough, there is logic in the theory that a desperate Italy might engage Britain and France in war, in which case Germany would not attack France but might easily make some sort of

## HIGH-HAT



World News Picture.

Al Smith discarded his brown derby for a top hat and full dress when he addressed the American Liberty League. Expressing the opposition of extreme capitalist reaction toward the Roosevelt "liberal" program, the man who rose from the sidewalks of New York to become one of the big shots of high finance, threw a bombshell in Democratic ranks.

alliance with Poland against Soviet Russia. That, of course, is speculative.

My only point in raising such speculation is that to have no principle but pragmatism in one's attitude toward capitalist war is a dangerous business. There is no pragmatic certainty just how the clash of capitalist-nationalist states for war purposes will work out. Our job is the hard job of uniting the workers of the world against war and Fascism.

Meanwhile we can rejoice that the weather, the topography, Ethiopian guerilla war and Italian war weariness are likely to be potent causes of Mussolini's ultimate downfall. That will be better for Italy and the world than to have an apparent martyr to England or France. The bourgeois governments of both those countries may want Mussolini chastened but they do not want him overthrown and will protect him in the end.

## SANCTIONS AND WAR

Soviet Russia, according to the New York Times, still continues the direct sale of oil and other war supplies to Mussolini. Communists in America praised the Norwegian sailors who struck against carrying scrap iron to Mussolini, but there have been and can be no workers' sanctions in Russia against Russia's war trade. Only some communist Greek sailors struck for a time against this business. Moreover, Russia put up no great fight at Geneva for the extension of effective League sanctions. The Soviet's Foreign Office was too concerned with its diplomatic case against Uruguay. That's the answer facts are writing to the communist defense of Russia's war trade with Mussolini. To say that if these ques-

tions had been properly handled from the beginning, Italy would have gone to war with Russia is pure nonsense. Russia being "practical," Russia playing the game of a league of capitalist nations, is enough to make Lenin turn in his magnificent tomb. The next step may be a united front with Roosevelt on preparations for war with Japan on the ground that such war would help Russia and therefore be a good capitalist war.

And, by the way, wouldn't the *Forward* and a lot of Socialist Old Guardsmen substantially agree with this new communist position on war? They also believe in good capitalist wars against Fascism.

## THE AFL EXECUTIVE

The best that can be said about the handling of industrial unionism in general and the case of the automobile workers in particular by the executive council of the AFL is that it might have been worse, but the situation is bad enough. There is no hope for organizing the unorganized, especially in heavy industries, except industrial unionism. For the life of me I can see no way in which automobile workers can be organized, turning over the auto machinists, diemakers and all workers in shops where auto parts are made to the Machinists' Union.

## THE MOORESVILLE TEXTILE STRIKE

One of the many significant strikes in America is the long drawn out struggle of the textile workers in Mooresville N. C. The mills have had the usual help from the state police. They have resorted to evictions. The workers have been compelled to build miserable shanty towns of their own. The comparative lack of attention paid to this grave struggle of the workers in Mooresville is another illustration of the need of central organization for relief and publicity for strikes.

The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 112 E. 19th St., New York City will forward special donations to Mooresville as well as, of course, to Arkansas.

## FRANK RICHARDSON

It is with deep regret that I learn of the death of Frank Richardson of Kingston, New York. Comrade Richardson as a young man played a modest but valuable part in the building of the young Labor Party in England. In this country he was loyal to his Socialist ideals. I remember him with pleasure as the effective and impressive presiding officer at a Socialist meeting in Kingston which I addressed in 1934. He was a loyal Socialist and, in the best sense of a much abused phrase, a grand old gentleman of a type that the labor movement often produces, to the honor of itself and of mankind.

## WIN STRIKE

**SAN FRANCISCO (FP)**—Forty teamsters and steam shovel operators working for F. C. Amoroso & Sons on a grade separation job financed by federal funds won a 2-day strike for higher wages. They claimed that Amoroso was paying 20% below the scale, and it was shown that this was because the state department of public works had authorized a lower scale. The contractors have arranged to pay the prevailing wage under protest and the department agreed to let them recover the difference.

## Progressives Hit by AFL Chieftains

(Continued from Page Three)

Workers jurisdiction over the 25,000 radio workers. President James E. Carey of the radiomen had earlier expressed his fears that such a refusal would result in the federal locals of the radiomen withdrawing from the AFL. The radio workers are soon to reconvene their convention for the purpose of considering the situation.

A similar appeal for the auto-workers was also rejected, the council deciding that members of federal auto locals would have to disaffiliate and join the International Machinists Union. The AFL has made a distinction between workers who are employed by independent auto-parts companies and those who are employed by the automobile manufacturers. The automobile industry has always been viewed by industrial unionists as one of the most fertile fields for industrial organization.

The decision of the executive council, it is expected, will put a quick end to recent efforts that have been made by auto workers to bring about unity of all the groups now existing in the industry.

## No Amendment

Labor forces were startled when the executive council decided this week to defer action on a constitutional amendment that would prevent Supreme Court nullification of social welfare legislation. The Atlantic City convention of the federation, which had before it the Hillquit Workers Rights Amendment, now pending in Congress as H.J.R. 440, has instructed the council to prepare an amendment to "safeguard the social and economic interests of the people."

Expressing fears that such an amendment might be used against labor, the executive council instructed President Green to study the matter and report to the March meeting. Meanwhile, the AFL is taking no steps to protect such legislation as the Social Security bill, the Wagner Labor Relations bill and the National Labor Relations Act, which it has already passed.