

Norman Thomas

on
Preparing for War

SEE PAGE 12

Socialist Call

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

Vol. I.—No. 48

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

TROOPS MUTINY

2,000 ITALIANS DESERT IL DUCE, FLEE TO AUSTRIA

STORY ON PAGE 2



A DOSE OF COLD STEEL is the message that Capt. Edward Johnson, right, Howitzer Company commander of the Illinois National Guard, and Major John Wansbrough left, bring to strikers when employers so wish. These "law-and-order" boys are talking over the general strike in Pekin, but they're not members of the strike committee!

For more than 24 hours, commercial life in the city of Pekin, Ill., was at a standstill as merchants closed up shop and a committee of the Central Labor Union established workers' rule because of a tear-gas attack on striking distillery workers.



"NO GENTLE RAIN FROM HEAVEN," thought millions of New Yorkers as air-planes zoomed over the great canyons in a sham battle which army big-shots said 'the enemy won'. These bombers descended on the metropolis from Concord, N. H., in a military rehearsal. The reason 'the enemy always wins' in these mock fights is to frighten you and your neighbor into thinking we ought to spend more money on the war budget. That's why Congress this week sat thumbing the largest army budget ever drafted in peacetime. Once more we pass the hat for the munitions makers!



And on your left, ladies and gentlemen, Herr Hitler trots out his blood-letters. Uncle Sam and the Fuehrer keep step on the road to war, and workers throughout the world prepare for the funeral march. Only a strong political and economic movement will be able to save them from blasting each other to bits at the command of their overlords.

Blackshirts Mutiny, Flee Il Duce Rule

By PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

MILAN, Italy—(FP)—Two thousand Italian soldiers stationed in the frontier garrisons near the Brenner Pass have deserted the colors and crossed into Austria.

Late in January, the Jugo-Slav government was organizing an internment camp at Puzla in Bosnia province for the 2,500 Italian deserters who had come over from the Venetian-Julian districts. Another camp in Bosnia was being put in shape at Bistriza for the 127 Italian officers who had accompanied their men. The London Times correspondent at Munich reports that approximately 1,000 Italian soldiers had taken refuge in Bavaria by New Year's day and that the rate of desertions from Italy's border garrisons was increasing from 200 to 300 per week.

Italian consuls and diplomatic representatives all over the world have been instructed to issue categorical denials to these reports wherever they appear.

Driven Into Battle

Yet there were 26 minor revolts and group-refusals to leave for the war in Africa in the course of December and January. On Dec. 13 and 14, peasants in the High-Adigo province, which is the former Austrian Tyrol, were making coffins for soldiers, executed in the mutiny at Bolzano. Wounded and sick men, who have returned from Eritrea, told me that Italy's native Askari troops are so little dependable that they have to be driven to battle by machine gun detachments of the blackshirt legions. Whenever these Askaris showed the slightest hesitation to fight or made ready to cross over to join their Abyssinian kinsmen, the blackshirts behind them cracked loose with a rain of death.

This explains in part the high casualties suffered by the Askaris while few deaths are reported among the blackshirts. Suez Canal statistics show that 39,000 men have been sent back to Italy and to the hospital-cities on the Isle of Rhodes. This means that 39,000 are permanently incapacitated and that at least another 40,000 are in the hospitals of Eritrea and Somaliland.

Fires Ciano

The first act of Badoglio, new Italian commander-in-chief, upon assuming the supreme command was the dismissal of Count Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law, who combined the position of director of the press bureau with that of bombing squad leader. Badoglio resented the fact that Ciano gave himself and the sons of Mussolini exclusive credit for air raids and "interpreted as colossal victories bomb-dropping expeditions which were without the slightest risk." Mussolini's sons, deprived of their publicity man, have decided to follow Ciano home.

This Count Ciano is the man who gave out victory communiqués every evening to the foreign newspaper correspondent, who in turn filled our big papers at home with the marvelous doings of the Italian army. The liberal newspaper Oeuvre in Paris withdrew its correspondent from the front last November when Ciano offered to furnish "personal experiences" which the correspondent could peddle as his own.

Oeuvre refused, but several so-called big-shots among the editors, certain Americans included, accepted eagerly enough. They wrote of what they never saw and about things that never happened. The next day a public was once more deceived as a gang of boobs.

\$75,000 Libel Verdict Hits Hearst Paper

LOS ANGELES (FP)—William Randolph Hearst, squire of San Simeon, is sitting not so pretty. While the city's press remained discreetly silent, Judge William J. Palmer of Los Angeles' superior court nalled a \$75,000 libel award on the millionaire publisher for statements made about Frank E. Bonner, one-time executive secretary of the Federal Power Commission.

Similar suits will be initiated in every other city where Hearst publishes a paper, it is believed.

Bonner charged in his suit that Hearst and The Los Angeles Examiner published a story on Feb. 22, 1930, indicating that members of the Federal Power Commission were not performing "faithfully and conscientiously the duties delegated to them" by law.

On March 30 and April 22 of the same year, Bonner charged, he and his confreres were held up to ridicule in stories and cartoons, and insinuations concerning their honesty and efficiency were made.

SPEAKS IN DETROIT

DETROIT—Anna Louise Strong, editor of the Moscow Daily News, will discuss "Dictatorship and Democracy in the Soviet Union," Sunday evening, February 16, at the Deutsches Haus here, Mack and Maxwell avenues. The lecture will be held under the auspices of the People's Forum.

DESERT IL DUCE



Here are some of the troops in the Northern Alps, 2,000 of whom deserted the Italian colors and fled into Austria. While some of their fellow-soldiers in Africa were suffering from extreme heat, these blackshirts revolted at the intense cold and Mussolini rule.

Membership in N. Y. Support Party NEC

NEW YORK — With the membership registrations before them, the State Committee of the New York Socialist Party, meeting in this city Saturday and Sunday, reported that a majority of the party membership had indicated its loyalty to the national organization.

Under the decision of the national executive committee, the party membership was to be registered prior to February 7 as a preliminary to the conduct of elections and the restoration of the state charter which is now suspended.

With figures on New York City finally tabulated, it became known that 1,632 Socialists had signed registration cards. Before the figures were tabulated, Louis Waldman, Old Guard leader, announced to the capitalist press that 781 had registered. The actual figure of 1,632 just released does not include a large number of registrations that have come in since February 7.

In up-state New York, the locals have indicated their support of the National Executive Committee almost unanimously.

Majority Support

Since the New Leader of December 28 claimed that the total

A motion by James D. Graham for reconsideration of the NEC decision on the New York situation sent out for a mail vote of NEC members received only two votes, that of Graham and Oneal. Both had voted against the original action in the Philadelphia meeting. Hoopes and Hoan abstained from voting, and seven votes were cast against the motion.

party membership in New York City was 2,782—a figure that was hardly considered accurate—it is apparent that with 1,632 registered members, a majority has taken its stand with the national executive committee.

In addition to the registrations, the State Committee had before it the applications of 224 persons seeking membership in the revitalized party.

It was reported that a vigorous campaign was being conducted throughout the state to insure the appearance of the party's candidate.

(Continued on Page Five)

LABOR IN ACTION

Peter Marinoff, anti-union boss, was sentenced to 20 years for his connection with the murder of a picket during a strike at his brewery plant in Tacoma, Wash.

Akron rubber workers won the third "sit-down" strike in 10 days and completely stopped production at the B. F. Goodrich Co. The union backed the strike to the limit and sent cards, checker boards, food, candy and tobacco in to the 500 men who refused to leave the factory.

A nationwide strike in the match industry appears imminent as the United Match Workers National Council, meeting in Barberton, Ohio, ordered a strike vote taken in all match factories to aid striking workers in Minnesota plants.

The trial of Bill Howard, one of the 10 street car strikers being framed in Omaha on 8-month-old charges of dynamiting, conspiracy and criminal syndicalism, is scheduled to begin February 7. Four of the ten are Socialists.

Discharge of a worker for union activities by the Brooklyn Union Gas Company caused the Brotherhood of Utility Employees to call a sudden strike last week in the company's Greenpoint coke oven plant, one of the largest coke producers in the country. More than 200 workers struck.

Representatives of the furniture workers' section of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, representing 8,500 workers, met in Tacoma, Wash., last week to lay plans for national organization of the industry.

Despite the attempted revocation of the charter of the Seamen's Union of the Pacific by the parent International Seamen's Union because of the Pacific alliance with other unions, the San Francisco Central Labor Union refused to expel delegates from the seamen and voted to support them in their fight against the reactionary international leadership.

In an attempt to stop an appeal to the Supreme Court, Joe Morris, tiff strike leader in Potosi, Mo., was freed after he had served 30 days for "contempt of court."

John C. Taylor, Toledo Socialist elected to the Board of Education on a "labor" ticket, has taken the lead in the fight to reinstate Clyde E. Kiker in the public school system there. Kiker, who is secretary of the Ohio State Federation of Teachers, was fired last year for "inefficiency" after it was revealed that he had supported the Auto-Lite strikers.

A 5 per cent wage increase, elimination of sectional wage differentials and a preferential closed shop are among the gains won by the recent strike of glass workers in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Oklahoma and Arkansas.

WATCH THE WRAPPER

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

48 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

WILL THESE MUTINY, TOO?



Mussolini worried that these fresh troops he reviewed were thinking about as, harried by recent Italian losses in Ethiopia, he sent nearly 12,000 more fighting men to the East African front. Despite the Fascist censorship, news of the losses and of wholesale desertions from Italian ranks has reached the soldiers through the grapevine method.

SP Assures City Power Referendum

MILWAUKEE—Through clever action on the part of the veteran Socialist councilman August W. Strehlow, a proposal to allow Milwaukee to acquire municipal light and plant facilities was insured a place on the April 7 ballot here.

The proposal, drafted by Socialist City Attorney Max Raskin, seemed doomed to defeat when the council deadlocked on the issue, 13-13. The 11 Socialist aldermen were supported by two independent "non-partisans," but the other 13 "non-partisans" were steadfast in their determination not to allow the proposal to be voted upon at the referendum.

When Socialists finally threatened to seek a petition referendum to place the proposal on the ballot, the "non-partisans" quickly switched their vote to vote for the proposal. Their tactic was obviously to let the matter lie, then suddenly move reconsideration and so delay the ballot until the fall.

Alderman Strehlow spiked this move when he quickly moved for reconsideration of the resolution. His motion was defeated, thus assuring the finality of the referendum inasmuch as reconsideration can be voted upon only once.

"Non-partisan" alderman had previously tried to attach an amendment rider which would set the purchase price in the resolution. Socialists charged that the amendment was a deliberate attempt to wreck the referendum since the inclusion of a purchase price would invalidate the proceedings. The amendment was defeated.

Before the motion was carried, eight successive roll calls found the council deadlocked. With the council about to adjourn, Alderman Charles C. Schad, Socialist, called for another vote on the resolution. Alderman Paul Gauer, Socialist president of the council, ruled the motion in order despite protests from the "non-partisans."

Begin California Workers' Alliance

LOS ANGELES—The groundwork for a state organization of the Workers Alliance was laid at a state conference of Workers Alliance affiliates held at Stockton, January 25-26.

Delegates from five organizations holding Workers Alliance charters participated. These organizations are located in the following cities and towns: Stockton, Los Angeles, Oakland, Berkeley, and Escalon.

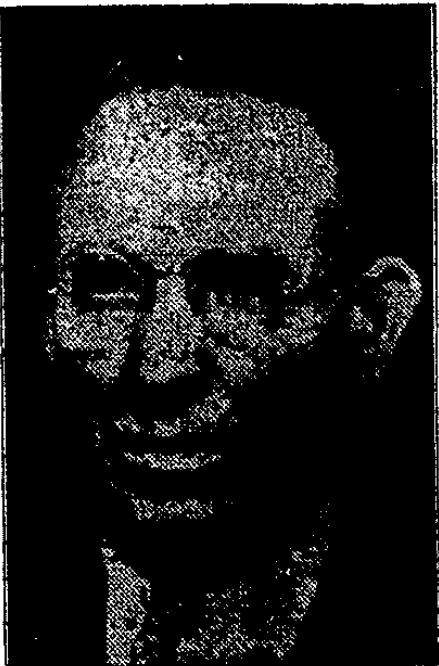
Pekin, Ill., Ruled by Labor When 31 Unions Strike Town

PEKIN, ILL.—For more than 24 hours, this small mid-western town experienced the thrill of labor rule, carried out by the general strike of 31 AFL unions.

The tie-up called as a result of the strike at the American Distilling Co., was ended after intervention by representatives of the American Federation of Labor, who exacted a promise from the company that it would remain closed pending negotiations with the 700 workers who had been out for two weeks.

All business was throttled during the general strike, and workers set up their own machinery whereby the needs of the people could be met. Milk deliveries to hospitals were continued, but citizens depended for their breakfast cereal on visits to the strike-controlled dairy. Coal was delivered only where there was genuine need and drug stores were per-

NOMINATED



P. J. Phelps, veteran Socialist and unionist, has been endorsed by the Socialist Party of St. Paul, Minn., for the city council there.

10 Lynchers To Be Tried

TAMPA, Fla.—Ten men, most of them members of the police force, will go on trial in the next few weeks for the flogging-murder of Joseph Shoemaker.

They are Chief of Police R. G. Tittsworth; Police Sergeant C. A. "Smitty" Brown; Special Officer C. W. Carlisle, a former employee of the city tax collector's office; Patrolmen Sam E. Crosby, John E. Bridges, F. W. Switzer; Special Officer Robert Chappell, former employee of the city water department; A. F. Gillian Orlando grove caretaker; Ed Spivey, Orlando typewriter repairman; and James Dean, Orlando electrician.

The last three, from Orlando, are members of the Ku Klux Klan who joined in the wild night rides of the sheeted gentry. They

Hoosier Hitlerism:

McNutt Orders Troops Withdrawn in Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS—Bowing after six months of a nation-wide campaign against Hoosier Hitlerism, Governor Paul V. McNutt Monday ordered the withdrawal of all troops and the cessation of martial law in Sullivan and Vigo counties in the northern part of the state.

The governor's action came after the state federation of labor announced plans for a protest demonstration to be called next week. The month of January saw the anti-McNutt campaign intensified after troops were ordered

mitted to function only for medical prescriptions.

The general strike was aimed at the removal of Chief of Police Harry Donahue, whose men had hurled tear gas bombs at the distillery strikers' picket-lines.

Efforts to pin acts of violence on the strikers failed when it became known that Clarence Rupp, who had been running food for strike-breakers into the plant, was not shot by the workers as charged but had been attacked as a result of the price-cutting war in which his taxi company was engaged.

The success of the strikers had so terrified the employers of Pekin that several companies of National Guardsmen were held in readiness at near-by Peoria. They were not called into action.

Pekin labor is proud of the disciplined solidarity with which it conducted the business of the town.

High Court Saves Freedom of Press —15 Years Late!

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Supreme Court has come out for freedom of the press! Passing upon the late Huey Long's tax on the gross receipts of newspapers, the nine judges held that it is a violation of constitutional rights.

"A free press," said the gray-beards, "stands as one of the great interpreters between the government and the people. To allow it to be fettered is to fetter ourselves."

Legal historians smiled, remembering the failure of the court to intervene for the protection of radical newspapers during and after the world war. It is recalled that the old New York Call and the Masses, with countless other working-class journals, were barred from the mails by Uncle Sam.

The high court which now favors freedom of speech, it is pointed out here, seems to have forgotten the time when Eugene V. Debs stood "as one of the great interpreters between the government and the people," interpreting the will of the people. The same court unanimously denied freedom of speech to Debs by sustaining his conviction. The judges probably distinguished the two cases —to use their language—on the ground that no tax on gross receipts or profits was involved in the Debs decision.

served as special policemen during the notorious primary election in Tampa.

Crosby did not become a regular member of the police force until the day after he had participated in the brutal murder of Shoemaker and the assaults on Sam Rogers and Gene Poulnot. Tittsworth added him to the force right after he was acquitted in the criminal court on a vote fraud charge.

McNutt Orders Troops Withdrawn in Indiana

into two southern counties to break a shirt workers' strike. At a recent meeting of the Indianapolis Central Labor Union, Socialists led a revolt of the progressive bloc and forced through a strong resolution condemning the governor

Fight McNutt

Because of McNutt's freedom with the military, various central labor unions have urged the calling of a state-wide general strike. It was generally conceded by political observers that McNutt stood no chance of re-election so long as military dictatorship usurped civil rule in the two counties. When McNutt spoke at a meeting in Princeton, Ind., recently, the meeting place was picketed by members of the Workers' Alliance of America.

Military law existed in Sullivan County, scene of a coal miners' strike, from October 9, 1933. Troops were called in Vigo County during the general strike at Terre Haute on July 22, 1935.

Socialists Arrested

The situation first received national notoriety when Leo Vernon, national organizer for the Socialist Party, was arrested by the military while speaking in Terre Haute. When Powers Hapgood, a member of the Socialist national executive committee, and Aron Gilmartin of the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee arrived

Radio Labor Defies AFL High Council

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Close on the heels of the United Mine Workers' convention which lashed vigorously at AFL craft unionists came



William Green and John L. Lewis

the special convention this week of the National Radio and Allied Trades which rejected the decision of the AFL executive council striking a blow to their industrial union hopes.

After turbulent sessions in which resolutions were adopted favoring industrial unionism, the miners fought against wage increases for their officers, setting a record salary of \$25,000 for President John L. Lewis. Stormy

Make Final Plans For SP Convention

CLEVELAND — Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist party, was in Cleveland last week to make final arrangements for the national convention of the party which will be held May 23, through May 26.

Sessions will be held in the ball-room of the municipally owned Public Auditorium. Preceding the sessions, there will be two days for a series of conferences on organization work.

Local committees are already active carrying out the ambitious plans of the Cleveland organization. John Newton Thurber, secretary of the Socialist Party of Cuyahoga County, heads the local arrangements committee.

in Terre Haute to see Vernon, they were arrested also.

Thoroughly aroused by the arrest of the three Socialists and by the military orders which prohibited picketing and public mass meetings, Norman Thomas flew by plane to Terre Haute where he defied the national guard and addressed an open air mass meeting attended by thousands from the steps of the court house. Speaking with Thomas were many prominent labor leaders of Indiana. The three Socialists were released from jail.

Although the back of the military rule was broken by the courageous action of the Socialists, troops still remained in the two counties. When they arrested Hoot Rasmussen, prominent young Socialist and an organizer for the Workers' Alliance, Joseph M. Jacobs, Chicago labor attorney, threatened to "blow the case wide open again." Rasmussen was quickly released.

protests from the floor did not succeed in stopping the increases but were of sufficient effect to bring an announcement from Lewis the next day that he would not accept the raise.

For 30-Hour Week

The miners put themselves on record as favoring 30-hour week legislation, but permitted their members to work overtime in areas where there is a coal shortage.

The radio workers, who have support of the miners' organization, meeting here in the capital city, followed on the heels of the UMWA's defiance of the AFL executive council. Specially convened to consider the order of the high council that radio workers be placed under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the delegates adopted a resolution setting up a United Electrical and Radio Workers' Union of America, which will function along industrial lines. They will appeal the decision of the Executive council to the Tampa convention of the AFL, meanwhile staying out of the electrical union.

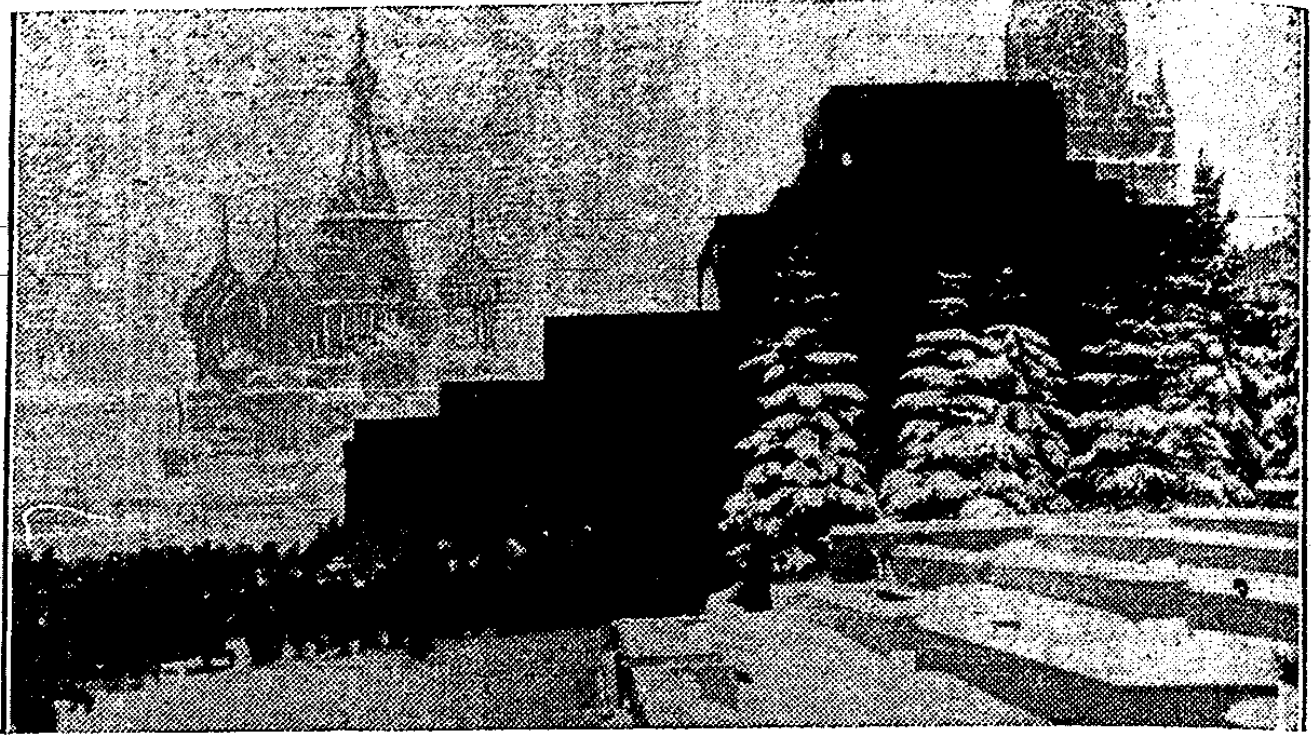
Two Oppose

With only two delegates in opposition, the convention declared that "the action of the executive council is wholly undemocratic since it disregards our unanimous vote and would completely deny us self government." The resolution stated that the action of the executive council "would destroy unity in the labor movement."

It pointed out that submerging themselves in the electrical workers union would be "entirely unsuited to our needs and would place us under the complete control of craft officers whose whole experience has been different and whose policies are contrary to those by which we have built our unions."

The fight now going on between the radio workers and the executive council is the beginning of the face-to-face struggle of the industrial and craft unionists.

HONOR LENIN ON ANNIVERSARY



More than 40,000 Russian workers trod snow-packed Red Square in Moscow to visit the glass tomb of Nicola Lenin on the twelfth anniversary of his death. Lenin's body, a slight figure in Khaki tunic without decorations and draped with a scarlet coverlet, is on view to the public.

World Socialism

AMNESTY IN THE SOVIET UNION

By HERBERT ZAM

WILL there be amnesty for political prisoners in the Soviet Union? The following unconfirmed report has been received from Moscow:

Asks Milder Policy

Stalin held an important conference with Jagoda, Commissar of Internal Affairs. They discussed the attitude toward the Right and Left oppositions. (It is not clear whether this refers to Party oppositions or to all political opponents.) Stalin is supposed to have insisted that the internal policies must become milder because of the new line of the Comintern, so as to make possible collaboration with left elements for a fight against fascism.

They also discussed the question of amnesty, which appears to have been definitely agreed upon. According to the provisional decision, all political prisoners and exiles who have five years or more to serve are to be amnestied.

How true this report is, whether it means the legalization of opposition parties in Russia, whether the amnesty will extend to prominent individuals like Trotsky and Zinoviev, it is not at present possible to say. We might note however, that just prior to the time when the above-mentioned conference took place, Kamenev, who, it may be remembered, had been sentenced to a long prison term in connection with the famous Kirov assassination case, has had his sentence increased by another ten years on the charge that he plotted (while in prison?) to have Stalin assassinated!

A report from Moscow declares that Zinoviev, former head of the Comintern, is hopelessly sick. On account of his illness, he has been transported from Siberia, where he was serving his term of exile, to the Caucasus, in the neighborhood of Tiflis. Zinoviev is said to be suffering from tuberculosis and his condition is described as hopeless. Both lungs are affected, and his transfer to the Caucasus has brought no improvement in his condition, in spite of the best medical attention. He is not expected to recover.

Norway Unions Join

As a result of the referendum vote conducted by the Norwegian trade unions, they are now part of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International). According to the report of the "Arbeiderbladet" 90 per cent of the membership voted in favor of joining Amsterdam. The decision is effective as of January 1.

This is the first time since the post-war split that the Norwegian trade unions have had any international affiliation, and marks a strong trend in all countries for the re-unification of the labor movement.

By a vote of 45 to 24, with 6 abstentions, the national committee of the Belgian Labor Party (Socialist) rejected a proposal for the setting up of a Peoples Front Movement. The Committee decided in favor of united front actions from time to time on specific issues.

Due to a typographical error in the column last week (the last sentence of a paragraph was inadvertently omitted) the meaning of the paragraph was altered somewhat. The next from the last paragraph should read as follows:

If real unity is to be achieved, it can only be on the basis of the total liquidation of the party system. If the revolutionary party is to be a party of the future, it must be a party of the present. The revolutionary party must be a party of the present, and must work for the liquidation of the party system by the means of party democracy. Eventually a revolutionary

party will crystallize, but it can do so only through education and not through statutory provisions."

Those who believe that fascism can be defeated through the building of a "democratic front" are finding recruits in the most unforeseen quarters. The latest additions to this front are none other than the royal houses of England and of Greece.

On the occasion of the restoration of the monarchy in Greece, the Communist Party appeared before King George and pledged allegiance. They, and their friends in other countries, explain that this was not done because the Communists are monarchists—God forbid!—but because they consider King George to be a bulwark against fascism and in defense of the "democratic institutions."

On the occasion of the death of the British King George and the ascent of Edward to the throne, the National Council of Labor, representing the trade unions, Labor Party and the Parliamentary Labor Group, sent a message to the "Queen Mother," which contained the following paragraph:

"The Council shares the nation's sorrow and desire to associate themselves with the national and world-wide tribute which has been paid to His Late Majesty. In a long reign of over 25 years the nation passed through profound political and social changes, and the tragedy of a great war. Throughout that period His Late Majesty maintained the highest traditions of constitutional kingship, combined with a noble character and a high sense of personal duty. His influence strengthened and deepened the foundations of democratic parliamentary institutions."

When the extreme right wing, as represented by the British Labor Party, and the so-called extreme left, as represented by the communists, can form a united front on the issue of benevolence toward monarchism, which in modern times has been one of the main bulwarks against the workers, it is time for the class-conscious workers to be more than suspicious of the policies represented by these organizations.

Krueger and Maverick To Speak in Chicago

CHICAGO — Representative Maury Maverick of Texas and Maynard Krueger, Socialist national executive committeeman, will be the chief speakers at a north-side mass meeting at the Peoples Church here, 941 Lawrence avenue Monday, February 17. The meeting was called in protest against the Kramer Sedition and Tydings-McCormack Disaffection Bills now pending in Congress.

Other activities in which Chicago Socialists are interested include:

An address by General Smedley D. Butler at Orchestra Hall, Monday, Feb. 24, under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy.

A banquet for Francis J. Gorman, under the auspices of the Labor Party, Saturday, February 29, at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Center. Gorman will also speak at a mass meeting Sunday evening.

Discussions on the Draft Program for the Socialist Party are being held by the 44th Ward Branch and the Upper North Branch.

Birth of Another Fiasco

By GEORGE STREATOR

The Socialist Party national executive committee voted to send "observers" to the National Negro Congress, scheduled to be held in Chicago, February 14-15. This action followed an attempt by Franz Daniel and the writer to reach an understanding with John P. Davis, the initiator of the Congress.

Last May, Davis was supported by the Communist Party in calling a Negro Congress in Washington, modeled on the lines of the Conference on Social Security which had been held by the Communist Party at an earlier date. The Negro Congress was arranged on familiar lines. Before the Seventh Congress for the Comintern, individual Socialists were invited, among them Norman Thomas and Howard Kester in an effort to give the impression that all parties and groups were participating, when, as a matter of fact, the control of the conference was absolutely in the hands of the Communist Party and Davis.

Get Old-Party Supporters

It was agreed by the Communist Party to exhume the patriotic memory of Frederick Douglass, Negro Republican abolitionist, and to call a national conference on his natal day, February 14. Davis straightway called around him in the accepted People's Front manner, all the leading Republican and Democratic wheelhorses like Kelly Miller and Joseph H. B. Evans of Washington; Charles

Houston, the Rev. Thomas Harten, Mrs. Ernest Alexander, and Elmer Carter of New York, and other well-known old party wheelhorses in all principal Northern cities, and worst of all, in Chicago, certain notorious anti-labor social service workers and lawyers whose activities are known and catalogued by every honest labor leader in the Middle West and East. The group that Davis amassed as a front for the Committee includes most of the Republican and Democratic political leaders in the Northern States, also ten or twelve bishops and college presidents whose reactionary social ideas have been the dismay of all class-conscious colored people. In best "People's Front" manner, the Communist Party has deliberately turned over the running of this Congress to stuffed shirts from the colored middle class, filling in where possible the names of many people who have never allowed their names to be used in "People's Front" affairs.

Would Strengthen Reaction

It is conceivable that the Negro masses, neglected by all the re-

form movements and deserted by the old party machines, starved under New Deal and Old Deal alike, brutally murdered by the police in the South and North as well, deprived of employment, discriminated against by the craft oligarchy, neglected by radicals in the pre-war period, would begin, nevertheless, to grow radical. The communists should in terms of in-

(Continued on Page Ten)

100% UNION (AFL) SHOP Rotocraft Co.

827 BROADWAY
Leaflets • Posters • Bulletins
Lowest Rates to Trade Unions and Organizations
Tel. GRamercy 3-9356

Official Opticians to Health, Fraternal and A. F. of L. Labor Organizations.

Cooperative Opticians

1 UNION SQUARE W.
(N.W. cor. 14th and Univ. Pl.)
Rm. 806 . . . GRamercy 7-3347
Open 9-8 Daily, 9-6 Sat.
Complete Ophthalmic Service for Less Than Clinical Rees. Union Shop

Plays - Dancing

3 PRIZE WINNING PLAYS 3
Music by ALLAN SMALL
Washington's Birthday Eve
Friday, Feb. 21
at PARK MANOR
(Eastern Parkway & Rogers Ave.)
Sub. 49c in advance. 69c at door.
Tickets Available at
Amer. League Against War & Fascism
Eastern Pkwy. Branch 1743 Union St.

ACTIVE PRESS

655 SIXTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

Phone: CHelsea 3-8634

Ask for STIEGLITZ

distinctive printing

DENOGRAPH CO.

Offers by New Offset Process

BULLETINS, LETTERHEADS,
PAMPHLETS, BOOKS, etc.

Call for a Representative

STRICTLY UNION SHOP

700 Broadway Room 202 ST. 9-0521

CALL INSTITUTE

21 EAST 17th STREET

Opening Monday, Feb. 24

Tues., 6:30—Trade Union Problems, Dr. Joel Seidman of Brookwood.

Wed., 7:00—Problems of Contemporary Socialist Thought and Strategy, Phil Heller.

Thurs., 7:00—Basic Principles of Scientific Socialism, David P. Berenberg.

Thurs., 8:30—International Socialist Movement, Herbert Zam.

Fri., 7:00—Elements of Socialism, Gas Tyler.

All Courses

FEE, \$1.50

25c Per Single Lecture

Course of 8 Lectures

Elements of Socialism

will be given free to all new party members. Scholarships will be given to all unemployed party members who are members of the Workers' Alliance.

A limited number of scholarships are available for members of the Y. P. S. I.

Registration Begins Monday,

February 10

at 21 EAST 17th STREET,

New York City

ALL SPORTS • LOTS OF FUN

CAMP NITGEDAIGET ON THE HUDSON . . . BEACON, N. Y.

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS - EXCELLENT FOOD - HIGH ALTITUDE

\$15.00 PER WEEK \$2.75 PER DAY

Cars leave daily 10:30 A. M. from 2700 Bronx Park East

On Friday: 10:30 A. M. and 7:00 P. M.

On Saturdays: 10:30 A. M. and 2:00 P. M.

Telephone Beacon 731

City Office ESTabrook 8-1400

SAMUEL J. WELSH, Optometrist

EYESIGHT SPECIALIST



GLASSES FITTED

Thorough Eye Examinations Assured
Glasses Furnished If Necessary at Clinic Fees

314 West 42nd Street

New York City

Tel. MEDallion 3-2726

COMING EVENTS



Thursday, February 13

Norman Thomas will speak on "The Socialist Plan for Economic Security" at the Community Church Center, 550 W. 110th St., at 8:15 o'clock.

Saturday, February 15

Housewarming at 3070 Brighton 3rd street. Auspices: Brighton Beach Branch. Valentine's Dance at Harlem Labor Center, 312 West 125th street. Auspices: Harlem Branch. Subscription 35c. Harlem Law Committee of Labor Research Front meets at Gluski's, 49 W. 16th street, at 1 p. m. to discuss the State Labor Disputes Bill.

Sunday, February 16

V. F. Calverton, editor of the Modern Monthly, on "The Revolutionary Attitude to Sanctions and War." At 47 East 21st street at 3 p. m. Admission 35c.

Monday, February 17

Herbert Zam will speak on "Sanctions and the Road to Peace" at 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn. Auspices: 6 AD Kings.

Tuesday, February 18

Party at Room 20, 600 West 125th street near Broadway. Auspices: Morningside Heights Branch. Admission free. Isaac Becker will speak on "The United Front—When?" at 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. Auspices: 23 AD Kings. Poetry recital at Bellamy League, 107 McDougal street. Games, refreshments. Subscription: 15c. 8:30 p. m.

Saturday, February 22

Americus Most will speak on "Trade Unions and the Need for Political Action," at 165th street and Jamaica avenue. Auspices: Jamaica Branch.

NOTICE

There will be a membership meeting of THE CALL Publishing Association at 21 East 17th Street, Saturday afternoon, February 15. Officers for the ensuing year will be elected.

Feature New Class At Call Institute

The second term of the Call Institute, Socialist educational centre of New York, opens on Monday, February 24. The classes will be held at 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

New features mark the second semester of the Institute's existence. A course in "Elements of Socialism," conducted by Gus Tyler, will be obligatory for all new members of the Socialist Party. The Call Institute will provide sufficient free scholarships for this class.

ABRAHAM NATHAN

New York Socialists are grieved by the news of the passing of Abraham Nathan, active and loyal member of the Bronx County Socialist Party.

CLASSIFIED DIRECTORY

AMPLIFIERS TO RENT

DANCE or symphonic music for your affairs. World's finest recorded music. High fidelity equipment. Also public address systems. \$5.00 per evening. WHITE, 141 W. 72nd St., SU5quehanna 7-0207.

PHARMACIST

J. RUTES, Pharmacist Chemist 44 Howard Ave. Brooklyn, N. Y.

SODA FOUNTAIN

DEBEST DRINKS—27 Union Sq. (next to the Ritz) Soda fountain—Orange & Pineapple drinks. Cigars, cigarettes, candy.

UPHOLSTERER

JOHN F. CARSTENS, 517 Coney Island Ave. Brooklyn. Upholstery slip covers. Furniture repaired, refinished. IN. 2-6345.

WANTED

BOOKS, source material, statistical abstracts, and any other printed matter that might be useful to the Labor Research Front.

Mail to: Labor Research Front 41 East 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

MUSIC LOVERS

100,000 of the finest records in the world on sale at 50c and 75c per record (value \$1.50 and \$2). The Symphonies, chamber music, Operas, etc. of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart, Wagner, etc. Mail orders. Catalogue.

THE GRAMOPHONE SHOP, Inc. 18 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK

Majority of Membership Support NEC

(Continued from Page Two)

dates on the ballot in the primary elections to be held April 2.

Under the decision of the national executive committee, elections are to be held on the basis of proportional representation for party offices. The state committee fixed the dates for the elections as follows:

Delegates to the New York city central committee are to be elected between February 15 and 29. Nominations for city executive committee are to be made at the first meeting of the Central Committee on March 4. The election of state convention delegates shall be held between February 15 and March 4. Nominations for national convention delegates will begin on February 22. The state convention will be held April 19.

Among the party members who have registered appear the names of many Socialist veterans, like Harry W. Laidler, now chairman of Local New York; S. John Block, prominent labor attorney, now representing the interests of the Socialist Party in the City Charter Revision Commission; Tracy Mygatt, writer and lecturer; Isidore Laderman, prominent trade unionist, and others.

Chairmen selected for the various committees are: Carl Fichandler, educational committee; David Lasser, unemployment committee; Murray Gross, labor committee; Samuel A. De Witt, finance committee; Winston Dancis, organization and propaganda committee; Benjamin H. Wolf, cooperative committee; and Leon Rosser Land, youth committee.

Support Strike

Before adjourning, the state committee sent a telegram to the Joint Board of the Dressmakers Union pledging the support of New York Socialists in the struggle with the manufacturers now pending.

As the state committee met, word came that throughout the country party locals and state bodies were adopting resolutions of support for the national executive committee's action in solving the New York situation. The Illinois State Committee unananimously endorsed the NEC decision. Local New Britain, Conn., sent word of its unanimous support, as did Local Wyandotte County, Kansas. From all parts of the country similar resolutions have been reported.

For the first time in years, organizers are now out in the field throughout New York state, helping the locals to build for Socialism. Locals, formerly left to their own resources, are now utilizing the services of state organizers

WINS



James J. Bambrick, president of the Building Service Employees' International Union, led his workers into quick victory after strike threats enforced by minor skirmishes. Gains were won in more than 1,200 major office buildings. The union is now threatening a new strike March 1 in Manhattan hotels and apartment buildings.

NUL Rejects Jobless Unity

NEW YORK — The National Unemployed League has refused to accept the invitation of the Workers Alliance of America to join in welding a united unemployed organization.

In reply to a curt note that "the national committee of the NUL by a majority vote has decided to reject the terms of unity proposed by the WAA for unity of the NUL and the WAA," the Workers Alliance states, "It is not too late for you to realize your mistake and join with us at once in building one united organization of the unemployed and WPA workers."

New York Unemployed Demonstrate Feb. 15

NEW YORK—New York unemployed will demonstrate on Saturday, February 15, together with WPA and Emergency Relief Bureau employees, for increased relief.

Under the auspices of the Workers' Alliance, the Association of Workers in Public Relief Agencies, City Projects Council, the Unemployed Council, the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists & Technicians, thousands will gather at Madison Square, at 11 a. m. to march for higher relief.

and report that all signs point to a record Socialist vote in the 1936 campaign. The state committee has decided to keep organizers permanently in the field.

TWENTY YEARS AGO TODAY

(From the New York Call)

February 15, 1916

Editorially, The CALL again insists that the great European Nations will not be able to pay the debts contracted for the War.

The call went out today to New York Teachers to form a union. The Teachers League announced it would attempt at a meeting March 10th to organize the teaching force of the New York City public schools into a labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

President Wilson today formally announced his candidacy for reelection, reiterated his stand for peace.

One lone man of a crew of 375 was saved when the French Cruiser Admiral Charner sunk off the Syrian Coast.

Help in the Fight Against Fascism by Supporting

BENEFIT DANCE

for the WOUNDED ETHIOPIAN SOLDIERS and SCOTTSBORO BOYS DEFENSE

SAT. EVE. ROCKLAND PALACE

Feb. 15 155th Street and 8th Avenue

Tickets 85c Loges \$2.00 Boxes \$3.50

For Reservations Phone MONument 2-4376

Aus. Medical Committee for Defense of Ethiopia. Supported by Scottsboro Defense Committee and numerous other organizations.

The \$200,000,000 Robbery:

Citizens' Committee Supports Socialists In Transit Battle

NEW YORK—The suit brought by New York Socialists to enjoin the 200 million dollar subway steal planned by the La Guardia administration has rallied the support of a citizens' committee, it was announced here this week. The transit unification scheme proposed by La Guardia's advisers, Samuel Seabury and A. A. Berle, would give to New York transit magnates more than 200 million dollars of the people's money over the value of the roads.

The complaint, drawn by Leonard Lazarus, Socialist and labor attorney, asks court action on the ground that the unification scheme was made "in collusion with the representatives and committees of said transit interests, in bad faith and in abuse of the discretion vested in them by law." The plan was the result of a secret decision by city officials.

Arguing in the New York Supreme Court before Judge Callahan for a temporary injunction, Lazarus pointed out that the effect of the La Guardia plan would be to raise the five-cent fare or compel the forfeiture of all the transit facilities to private mortgage holders, after having overpaid these private interests to the tune of 215 million dollars.

Samuel Seabury, representing the city transit commission, replied that the suit was just "socialist propaganda."

Long Corruption Sore

Lazarus traced the history of New York's subways, showing that it has long been a source of corruption. Originally built with the funds of the city, they have been turned over to private hands under the administration's plan, buy them back at an exorbitant price.

The Socialists are not opposed to the principle of transit unification but on the contrary favor it.

ENROLLED SOCIALISTS!

Enrolled Socialist voters who are approached for their signatures on primary petitions should examine the credentials of the canvasser. Norman Thomas's name is being fraudulently used by individuals who are seeking to oppose the official party designees.

Sign petitions only where credentials bear the letter-head, "Socialist Party, U. S. A.," and are signed by Lewi Tonks, Harry W. Laidler and Jack Altman, officers of the Party. Norman Thomas's name is properly used only in connection with such petitions.

They make it plain, however, that they are opposed to the plans of La Guardia, Seabury and Berle, because they involve a raid on the city treasury and establish only a nominal city ownership and control.

ORGANIZATIONS

Get estimates on your printing jobs from CHELSEA PRESS UNION PRINTERS 8 WEST 19th STREET CHelsea 3-6964-6965

THE HARLEM LABOR CENTER

312 WEST 125th STREET Light, airy Union Office, class and meeting rooms. AUDITORIUM, seating over 500 THE NEGRO LABOR COMMITTEE Call—University 4-8295 Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman

Yorkville Printery

Rhineland 4-9761 206 EAST 85th ST. UNION PRINTERS SPECIAL RATES to ORGANIZATIONS PRINTING OF EVERY DESCRIPTION

SCOTTSBORO Defense BALL in HARLEM at the SAVOY BALLROOM

140th St. and Lenox Ave. FEBRUARY 21st—10 P. M. to 4 A. M.

TRUCKING CONTEST BATTLE OF "SWING" MUSIC The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners 140 FIFTH AVENUE—Room 634

Endorsed by the Scottsboro Defense Committee 75c in Advance \$1.00 at Door

BAZAAR NOW OPEN

In All New York No Event Like This! SIX DAY ANNUAL

BAZAAR

N. Y. Dist. International Labor Defense BARGAINS! ... MUSICI ... DANCING CHORUSES! ... NOVELTIES!

Support the Bazaar Which Supports the I. L. D.!

Manhattan Lyceum

66 East 4th St.

FEB.

11th to 16th

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. F. 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.

THE SOCIALIST CALL


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

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

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the States of ARKANSAS, ILLINOIS, KANSAS, MICHIGAN, MISSOURI, NEW YORK, OHIO and WEST VIRGINIA. Endorsed by the Socialist Party of the States of CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, INDIANA and MASSACHUSETTS, VIRGINIA, and by the YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

EDITORIAL BOARD: Murray Baron, David P. Berenberg, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Robert Delson, David Felix, Ben Gitlow, Saul Parker, Abraham Perlstain, Glen Trimble, August Tyler, Herman Wolf, Herbert Zan.

Business Manager: Hal Siegel Editor: Aaron Levenstein

Vol. I  Saturday, February 15, 1936 No. 48

The Stars and Stripes and the Swastika

With a "Heil!" for Hitler, the Olympic sports have begun in Germany. Because of the participation of American athletes, the American flag flies in the polluted air of the fascist Reich, side by side with the bloody banner of Nazism.



As expected the Olympics have become a feast for Hitler's propagandists.

While the athletes of all nations gather in the international sport tournaments, Nazi nationalism swells with joy. From all corners of the globe, men and women have come to observe the events.

But there is a native sport which Hitler will not let them see: the game of the lash, the bloody dagger and the smoking pistol, played in the Nazi torture chambers.

He will not show his guests - the concentration camps crowded with workers, intellectuals, men of all religious faiths who hold in common a belief in human liberty.

He will not show them his people whom he has tried to make servile by burning their Reichstag, censoring their press, denying free speech and free assemblage.

While Hitler is showing the muscles of strong-limbed youths, he will hide from view the dead bodies of heroes, murdered because of their will to freedom. He will bury from sight the wasted bodies of the German working-class.

There are other things that Hitler's guests will not be shown. They may not see the bubbling discontent that ultimately must burst out to the surface. They may not see the forbidden leaflets and newspapers that circulate in underground Germany—the real Germany, the world where life still goes on, where the seeds of revolution are growing under the soil.

Hitler's American guests now see the Star-Spangled Banner mated with the Nazi flag of piracy. On their return, they should be made to understand that Americans must blush at such a desecration.

Englishmen are Frank

Our English cousins are also carrying on an investigation into munitions. It is clear as day that the sink of the munitions manufacturers is international.

The English investigators are having a fairly easy time of it. Their witnesses unblushingly tell the truth.

For example there is Sir Herbert Lawrence, former Chief of Staff of the British Expeditionary Force in the last war, now head of the great Vickers arms companies.

On the witness stand he says:

"I think that the question of the sanctity of human life, which is one that appeals to every human being, has sometimes been exaggerated to the disadvantage of certain other facts of public life."

How delightfully refreshing, all this! It's almost as if you were sitting in the cage with the gentlemen, smoking your shilling cigars and drinking cocktails that have been mixed of blood and powder bones.

THE SNATCH RACKET



In Defense of German Social-Democracy

To the Editor:

Why do Haim Kantorovich and other critics of the German Social-Democracy ignore the obvious fact that under the Treaty of Versailles no German government could have socialized the Reich? Would not the Allied armies have prevented it as they tried to prevent it in Russia? They failed in Russia partly because Russia was a former Allied power and the soldiers of the Allies in some cases refused to fight those of a friendly nation, and chiefly because Russia was a great country three times the size of the United States and was practically without transportation facilities.

On the other hand, Germany was the enemy, she was a small nation slightly larger than the state of California and was well equipped with railways, highways, and canals so that the occupation of the whole country by capitalist-defending Allied troops would have been a matter of hours only had the Social-Democrats or anyone else tried to follow the Bolshevik example.

The erring Sozis, Commies, and trade unionists of Germany may have hastened Hitler's rise to power by a few days or weeks but the men solely responsible for Hitler's present position were the "three old fools of Versailles." It seems that some Marxists in their anxiety to disagree with Kautsky

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.

and other Social-Democrats are willing to blind themselves to the most glaring events of history in order to protect pet theories.
PAUL MINTON.
Lodi, Calif.

Two Letters From Indiana

To the Editor:

When I read my first copy of The CALL, I found a new avenue of thought that created an inspiration to go out and build a real movement where a dissatisfied one existed before. I want to commend The CALL in taking the initiative in cleaning house in New York. We in Indiana have felt the repressive propaganda of Jim Oneal during our strife in ridding the Indiana Party of "individualism" as practiced by the Henryites. I had begun to lose hope of ever building a strong movement of the Party in Indiana until The CALL was placed in my hands. With the aid of The CALL, we reorganized our local here in Sullivan, and instilled a

new understanding as to building for power in the future.

More power to you in building for the future of workers and farmers everywhere!

HERBERT S. KIMMELL.
Sullivan, Ind.

(The following letter was written in reply to a renewal notice from the circulation department which declared: "Just try to imagine the future without The CALL paying its weekly visit to your home."—Ed.)

To the Editor:

This would indeed have been a terrible thing to happen to me now. But a year and a half ago, I would have been like a billion others—unable to grasp the meaning of all this confusion. Just like others, I would have said, "The poor you have with you always," or some other parrot phrase; but thanks to The CALL, I say:

"What we want and need, we can get and we will. It is ours for the effort!"

MAYME HARTMAN.
Evansville, Ind.

Likes Martin's Criticism of Draft

To the Editor:

I wish to express my views on the criticism of the Draft for a Socialist Program, as appeared in the Feb. 8 issue of The CALL—it was the most practical criticism I've read yet. And I hope the suggestions made by Comrade David Martin will be accepted as of vital importance. Even his reference to the phrase "THEIR government in a war" calls for attention "a government NOT 'their own' in a war" would be much better than to leave the inference that a government that goes to war (for profiteers) can be a popular, much less a workers' government."

J. LUTHER KIBBLE.
Williamsburg, Va.

Are You a Subscriber?

CALL Press, Inc.
21 East 17th Street
New York, N. Y.

I wish to subscribe to the SOCIALIST CALL for one year at \$1.50 or 6 months at \$1.00

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

A LITTLE more than thirty years ago the garment industry in New York was the black sheep among industries. Its thousands of workers, most of them recent importations from the pogrom-ridden ghettos of Russia and Poland, were the easy prey of their masters. The employers did not hesitate to take advantage of the religious scruples of their slaves. They knew that these refugees from the knout had no recourse against the subtler forms of brutality possible in the crowded East Side streets. So they starved them, sweated them, watched them die of tuberculosis acquired in airless and sunless work-rooms. They wove their bodies into ladies' dresses—and grew rich in so doing.

How different is the picture today. In what industry are workers so well-organized, so aware of their rights, so alert in defending them? In what industry in America has so much been accomplished for its workers and in so short a space of time? The most sweated workers of thirty-years ago today have one of the most effective methods of sanitary control known in any country. The wretched five-dollar-a-week slaves of three decades ago have a living wage today. The once powerless refugees from foreign tyranny are today the most aggressive and the ablest fighters for their own rights and the rights of others. What has wrought the change?

The Socialist Influence

There is only one answer that history can give to this question. It was the Socialists of New York's East Side, the much scorned, much despised café philosophers who vitalized and energized the struggling garment workers. It was they, often working side by side with the ghetto refugee in the shops, who told them tales of the "American standard of living." It was they who first whispered the strange word "organize," and who finally shouted it from the housetops. It was the Socialists who entered into the forming of the early, tentative unions; who were with them in their first fumbling strikes; who buoyed up their courage in the face of failure.

These Socialists were not restrained from their activities by any Hamlet-like doubts of their "rights" to do this work. Marx had said, "Workers of the world, unite!" They looked upon this as their imperative. It was a command to those who understood the importance of unions to go out and teach the idea to those who had not yet grasped it. These Socialists were not restrained by the fear of treading on the toes of earlier "organizers," already entrenched in their industry behind their henchmen. There were such "labor leaders," even thirty years ago, and the Socialists who led in the organization of the garment workers met them, fought them and routed them.

Of course, there were those who shook their heads over the "noisiness," the "hastiness" of the Socialist "trouble-makers." There were plenty who wished that the Socialists would give up the "extraneous" task of organizing labor and go back to tea and chess and all-night arguments. The rank-and-file of the garment workers did not agree with these. Fired by the zeal of the Socialists, by the vision of a new day within reach, urged on their leaders and won what they were after.

The Long Struggle

This did not happen at once. It took years. There were retreats—as well as advances. Yet never at its worst in the depression did the old evil days of the sweat-shop come back. The garment workers had built well.

Now they are fighting once more. In new forms, it is the old enemy they are fighting: greed, ignorance, lack of social vision among the employers. They may win what they demand without a strike. They may be compelled to strike—since there are some elements among the bosses who would like to see the power of the union broken. It will not be broken. Whether by a strike or without it, the union will go on to new and greater achievements.

"We know how rich is your past; we know the gallant and determined and courageous stand you have always taken, whether with respect to the black men or to any other kind of working men. You have written in the record of American labor a page so grand, a page so cadent and so fragrant, that not the wrinkles of time nor the music of years will ever be able to dull the lustre of that record."—From Frank Crosswaith's speech to the convention of the ILGWU.

A FIGHTING UNION



A picture of the huge army of labor in action was seen recently in New York when more than 70,000 dressmakers quit work and filled more than 30 halls, including huge Madison Square Garden, to give their leaders complete strike authority. Above is a picture of some of the crowd, with General Manager Julius Hochman (right, foreground) and President David Dubinsky discussing the situation. In the inserts are, left to right, Manager Antonini of Local 89, Manager Perlmutter of Local 10, Manager Cohen of Local 60 and Manager Zimmerman of Local 22.

War Council Meets:

The Dress Army Mobilizes

By SAMUEL ROMER

To the 25,000 and more dressmakers gathered in the Madison Square Garden last Friday, neither the setting nor the occasion were particularly novel. They, in common with their fellow workers in the industry, knew the Garden—one of the largest indoor arenas in the world—well. It is the only spot in New York City which will house at least a portion of the union membership. And certainly, to these veterans of industry, a general strike in the industry was nothing new; some of them could remember the early part of the century when they struck to abolish the practice of sunrise-to-sunset working day, and even the rawest recruit had been baptized in the fire of the general strike of 1933.

But as 105,000 of them left their shops Friday afternoon to make their way to the Garden and to other halls in the vicinity to listen to last-minute strike orders from their leaders, all of them knew that this was no ordinary strike. Before, when they struck, it was for simple gains: higher wages, a shorter working day, union recognition. But this time, they were striking for nothing so simple; they were striking for stabilization and regulation of the industry—for contractors' limitation, price settlement on jobbers' premises, the unit system of price settlement.

Big Words—But

Big words, these beyond the understanding of most of these dressmakers who had been rused into the shops before finishing grammar school. They may not know these words themselves—but they were confident as they filed in their meeting halls that a strike victory—if they could get the bosses to agree to these demands—would mean for them a greater measure of their product—some guarantee of an industrial truce.

A Negro dressmaker posed the answer in her own language as she filed into the Garden. "You see," she told a friend, "all these big words mean that from now on, we're gonna make the bosses cut out chiselin'."

These words may be big words to the dressmakers, but at the offices of the Dressmakers' Joint Board in the heart of the garment section they mean that hereafter the union is going to regulate the industry for the workers' benefit.

Under the leadership of five bosses' associations the industry has been run on a chaotic basis. But the union has set as its task the bringing of order into the industry.

The War Council

Let us go to the dressmakers' office and listen in to a meeting of the war council—the general strike committee. Presiding is commander-in-chief David Dubinsky, international president of the union. He sits on the executive council of the American Federation of Labor by virtue of his leadership of the third largest American union and there conducts a lone, courageous fight for progressive industrial unionism. Next to him is the chief-of-staff, Julius Hochman, general manager of the joint board. Hochman, a veteran of the industry who has actively participated in every great struggle since the birth of the union, will command the army of 105,000 on all fronts. There is nothing in the trade that he does not know, he sits there surrounded by the war-maps filled with dots and pins—the arena of action.

Grouped around them are the regiment commanders—the leaders of the local unions. There is jovial Luigi Antonini, commander of 40,000 Italian dressmakers, whose relentless struggle against Italian fascism has won for him the love of all fighters for liberty. There is gaunt, hard-fighting Sasha Zimmerman, an acknowledged radical, who will direct the 30,000 dressmakers of 32 nationalities who are united under the banner of Local 22. There are the two commanders of the highly skilled branches of the industry, Max Cohen of Local 60 (pressers) and Samuel Perlmutter of Local 10 (cutters).

It is to this war-council that Chief-of-staff Hochman is speaking. He has already told them of the chiseling of the jobbers, of how they tried to break union contracts, of the 681 shop strikes the union called to enforce the agreement they won in 1933.

The Union's Task

It was the historic mission of the Union to lift the dress industry out of its sweatshop status. We accomplished this in 1933. It is the historic mission of the Union to lift the dress industry out of its present chaos and confusion.

A NEW JOB IN JERSEY

By McAlister Coleman

AS I sit brooding over my toasted blubber, in my heavily mortgaged New Jersey igloo, there come to me from time to time, alarms and rumors from the outside world.

One of these is to the effect that I am about to be nominated for Congress in the Ninth New Jersey District, which as you know, takes in Bergen and part of Hudson Counties. What wave of madness swept the originators of this idea, I know not. It may be that they were good and sick of hearing about my juridical exploits as Justice of the Peace and decided to send me to Washington where my activities would not be rubbed in their noses every time they took up The Bergen Evening Record.

Just in case that some of you may not be regular readers of The Bergen Evening Record, I should inform you that it's a pretty dull week in Bergen County when my name does not appear in that palladium of the peoples' freedom.

Cutting Ribbons

Right now I am prominent in its columns as the most active member of the Highways Beautification Committee. I have become a sort of official highway opener. I stand in pictures in The Bergen Record next to the potentate in the high hat who is cutting the ribbon that opens a new stretch on Route 2.

As the Boy Scout blows his bugle and the Mayor of Ho-Ho-Kus snips furiously away, I step forward with my left hand thrust above the top button of my coat, my right pointing to heaven and address the huzzaling throngs.

I have always been a sucker for joining. My folks were before me. It runs in the family. My father belonged to all sorts and varieties of organizations from Good Government Club to the Union League Club. My mother was a member of the D. A. R., the McAuley Mission to France, Stony Wold Sanitarium, God knows what else. Someone once said that if there were an Association for the Glorification of the Grand Central Station, one Coleman would be secretary, another chairman of the press committee.

No doubt the official spindle of the D. A. R. looked down from its frame on the wall of my mother's bed-room at my birth. I know that it was one of the holy symbols of my youth. When mother wasn't raising funds to convert the bewildered peasantry of France to the delights of Calvinism, she was attending meetings of the D. A. R.'s. And today, I carry on the tradition. I am on Mrs. Dilling's black list.

Sneaking Up on Jersey

But about the Beautification Committee. If you have ever travelled through the northern sections of New Jersey you may have noticed that while we may not be rich in scenic charm, we are not lacking in road-stands, honky-tonks, clam outlets, Ye Olde Ginne Milles and Dew Drop Inns. On Sundays, it is the wont of wandering New Yorkers to drive across George Washington Bridge, leaving in their wake banana skins, shoe boxes, sardine cans, Sunday Mirrors and frankfurter containers. On the whole a drive along a Bergen County highway is as exhilarating as a trip through the town dump.

There are so many things in Jersey to get sore about that it had never occurred to me to get mad about this. But to my surprise, I found that it was a grand "in" to a part and a darned influential part of the populace who had hitherto looked on me as a masked emissary from the Kremlin. Now when I open a highway I start with hot dog stands and end with economic determinism and the class struggle. And boys, they eat it.

I have come to the conclusion that the indirect approach is the shortest to the confidence of the people of New Jersey. I was running for Mayor and the Assembly when I was elected Justice of the Peace. Now, if I really want to make Congress I think I will shoot for nomination for State Senator and Councilman. Jersey men, like lots of folks in lots of other States, like to be sneaked up on.

Join The Socialist Party

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

Name
Address
City State

From One Doughboy to Another

An Ex-Serviceman Writes A Letter to J. P. Morgan

WE KNEW IN 1917



SENATOR NYE

J. P. MORGAN

Why did America after the World War? Socialist Congressman Victor L. Berger was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment when he gave this answer: "About \$3,000,000,000 of notes and other obligations which the Allied powers owe to Morgan, Schwab, & Co.—to the munition makers and exporters of all kinds of war material in America—might not have been worth much more than 30 cents if the Allies would have lost the war."

I consider the abuse which the President has borne because he was wise enough and brave enough to wait until he was sure that he could take a step which would not have to be withdrawn because Congress would not give him a decided majority."

At the same time, Wilson was talking about how he kept us out of war, but Lansing explains in that letter how the president was only waiting until he could be sure of a majority, until the paid propagandists had done the work of distorting the mind of America so that it would want war.

He writes frankly "that if the same resolution (declaring war on Germany) had been presented in February, the House would have shown three times as great opposition, and if it had been voted on last Summer (1916) its passage would have been so close as to show a divided country. Indeed, it might have failed entirely." That was why, Lansing says, Wilson's policy was "to wait the time when there could be no question but that a substantial majority favored war."

I guess it was good politics for Wilson to have talked peace while he prepared for war, to have promised neutrality while you with your loans and he with his acts of state kept dragging us nearer to the edge, and then finally pushed us over.

A SOLDIER ONCE MORE

I have been doing a lot of thinking about these things, Mr. Morgan. I lost my leg in the last war, but fortunately I didn't lose my head. To be sure, I hadn't been using my head much before then, but now I'm beginning to use it for all its worth. Now I understand how it was that the profits which some people can make out of war make life unprofitable for men like me. Now I know how you use other people's wars to make profit for yourself; then, to keep those profits, you make their wars ours. And I get the idea, too, why profit-seekers in all countries look on blood-soaked fields as the most fertile for their aims.

Well, Mr. Morgan, I'm a soldier again—this time in an army that's fighting for peace and against war, the Socialist army that is going to stop this chase after profits. We're going to take profit out of industry, make the factories serve life and not the cause of death. We're going to put an end to war-making financiers and profit-hungry business men.

You can have my leg, Mr. Morgan, but the rest of me belongs to the cause of peace, which can come only through a socialized world that will not need wars to preserve profits, a world in which governments will exist to serve the working-people instead of being the foreign offices of money-men like yourself. We Socialists want a world that will be free from the control of Greed.

I suppose I will never collect the debt you owe me, Mr. Morgan, but I am doing what I can to keep other people from suffering the same loss as I did. I am urging other people to keep their heads when you give the signal for the next war; in that way, they will be able to keep their legs as well.

DEAR Mr. Morgan:

You are probably not in the habit of receiving dunning letters since you are able to pay your debts on time. But there is a debt which you owe me that has not been paid for almost twenty years.

You owe me a leg—my left leg which was cut off just below the knee in a hospital in France. I didn't realize before the war just how valuable a leg could be until a piece of shrapnel made me lose it.

I don't really know how you can pay me back for it. If I had been one of your workers and due to your negligence or that of some other worker employed by you I had been injured, I suppose I could have sued you and gotten a few thousand dollars for a lost leg that would never have equalled its real value.

WHY I CAN'T SUE

But because I was in your employ as a soldier, fighting for the millions of dollars you had involved in the late war, it seems that there is no law recognized by your judges which makes you responsible for my loss. You wouldn't even need your crack lawyer, John W. Davis, to defend you if I were to sue for damages as a result of your negligence in getting me into your war; I suppose any judge, Republican or Democratic, would throw the case right out of court.

It's too bad I didn't understand these things when I took the job as one of your buck privates. The advertisements that you got out, the high pressure talk you gave us—about making the world safe for democracy and stuff—your recruiting agents and draft-boards who shanghaied us into your employ—well, they got me easy.

But after it was over, I wanted to know what the shooting was all about. It's only recently that I've begun to understand. I've been reading some of the things you told the Senators in Washington these past few weeks about your connection with the war. I wish you had told us those things back in 1917; maybe I'd still be walking around the way God meant that men should, on legs of flesh and bone instead of a leg and a hunk of wood.

It does make a difference, you see, when a fellow realizes that the bombs burst in air, not because of poor little Belgium and submarine torpedoes, but because you and your partners had invested in commodities of flesh and blood, that you had bought \$3,000,000,000 worth of goods for the Allies, floated loans for the war-gods and made heaps out of commissions.

IN SIMPLE WORDS

It's all pretty hard to understand. In the first place, the amounts of money involved are so big that I don't suppose any of us trench-rats can understand what they really mean. I can be-

gin to get the idea when I reduce it to my own level. You were selling to the Allies; you were borrowing money for them; your whole future as a financier depended on their victory. If they lost, you lost. You bet on the allied horse and it had to win. So you got me and the U. S. army to help you out.

That's all Senator Nye's statement meant when he said with his three-for-a-dollar senatorial words: "I am more convinced than I have ever been at any stage heretofore that it was the commercial activity as a whole, in which the bankers had a hand, which did finally break down our neutrality."

I was pretty young at the time it all started, but I remember the days when we were all told by President Wilson to be neutral. I thought it was a good idea. While you were having your little chats with Senator Nye and were having "a very good time," the papers were printing some of the old phrases of 1915 and 1916, like Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan's statement: "In the judgment of this government, loans by American bankers to any foreign nation at war are inconsistent with the true spirit of neutrality." I wish I had known back in 1917 that you were opposed to that policy and that because of your millions you had the power to change it.

The senators dug up one of your cablegrams that said you were "distressed and mortified beyond

measure" by Wilson's way of doing business with other countries. I can understand why. And I guess you can understand that I am pretty much "distressed and mortified beyond measure" by your way of doing business. You can bet your last nickel, from which you're a long way off, that I feel even worse than that about having lost my leg.

TWO POINTS OF VIEW

I noticed, Mr. Morgan, that when you left Washington, the newspapers congratulated you on the fine showing you made there. I don't wonder that you felt so at home in the nation's capital considering how many friends you have there. But it seems to me that the New York Herald-Tribune went a little too far when its editor wrote: "It is nearly everywhere agreed that the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. has seldom appeared to better advantage than in the white light of publicity trained upon it by Senator Nye and his colleagues." Of course, they've got to be nice to their advertisers and their bankers, but really they don't have to be so nice.

After all, it was pretty clear that we got closer and closer to the war as you invested more and more money, as you floated more and more loans, as the possibilities of commissions for you got bigger and bigger. Then Secretary of State Lansing began to write his letters to President Wilson, expressing his great worries about what would happen "if the European countries cannot find means to pay for the excess of goods sold to them" through your agencies—"over those purchased from them."

NATIONAL INTERESTS

Now maybe the Herald-Tribune can't see your pudgy hands in back of this. Maybe they can't understand why you and Lansing didn't like Secretary Bryan's "true

spirit of neutrality" which was opposed to loans to the Allies. Maybe they don't realize why Lansing finally wrote to Wilson: "Can we afford to let a declaration as to our conception of 'the true spirit of neutrality' made in the first days of war stand in the way of our national interests which seem to be seriously threatened?"

Some people have peculiar ideas about what "our national interests" are. They think "our national interests" are the financial fortunes of the House of Morgan. But I've got the idea that American legs and arms and flesh and blood, their preservation and protection, make up the important interests of our nation.

I am not blaming you alone, Mr. Morgan. If I had the right to sue for that leg of mine that is buried in France, there would be others in addition to you—other business men and munitions makers, who fashioned the whole web of war that was spun around a people's life with threads of falsehood. I will never forget how Woodrow Wilson "kept us out of war," lying to us at the very time when he had already decided to go in.

One thing the Senators brought out pretty clearly. They made it plain how the United States was being dragged into the war by the President at the time he was getting me and millions of others to vote for him because he kept us, with both legs, out of the war. But you remember the letter Lansing wrote to a friend right after the declaration of war that was read to the Senators, telling how Wilson wanted to plunge us into the fight but was afraid it wouldn't go through.

"I confess to a measure of indignation," wrote Lansing, "when

"The American people did not want and do not want this war. They have not been consulted about the war and have had no part in declaring war. They have been plunged into this war by the trickery and treachery of the ruling class of the country through its representatives in the national administration and national congress, its democratic agitators, its subsidized press and other instruments of public expression."
—From the **Louis Declaration of the Socialist Party**, passed April 7, 1917.

"Is there any man here, or any woman—let me say any child—who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? This war was a commercial and industrial war; it was not a political war."—Woodrow Wilson in a speech on September 5, 1919.

Profits Up But Jobless Remain

By JOEL SEIDMAN
Prepared for Labor Research Front

During 1935, business made gains at the expense of labor. In that year, the American Federation of Labor has shown, production increased 14 per cent, making up half the loss in volume of production suffered between 1929 and 1932.

This 14 per cent increase in production, however, enabled business to increase its profits 40 per cent over 1934. In the case of workers, on the contrary, their real income remained about the same.

Average weekly wages, it is true, rose about six per cent, but living costs rose by practically the same figure. American workers, moreover, found their weekly hours increased, on the average, by one and one-quarter in 1935. This means that they had to work longer in return for the same real earnings.

Production Jumps

Industrial production, according to the Federal Reserve Board, rose in December to the highest point since the spring of 1930, even surpassing the 1923-25 average.

In those years, however, the number of unemployed was about 2,000,000. In December, 1935, by way of contrast, it was well over 11,000,000.

American business has now recovered half the loss in production suffered since 1929, but only 29 per cent of the depression unemployed have regained jobs. Technological advance and speed-up, combined with actual lengthening of hours, are creating a huge army of permanently unemployed.

Jobless Remain

1935 brought little improvement to the millions of jobless. During five months of the year unemployment was actually greater than during the corresponding months of 1934.

It is illuminating to compare the rapid gains in production with the slow progress or even losses in employment and pay rolls. In December, 1935, the Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production rose to 103 per cent of the 1923-25 level, as compared with 98 per cent in November.

In that same month of December, however, our manufacturing industries employed only 85 per cent as many workers as 10 years before. The index was even lower than in November, despite the sharp rise in production.

Pay rolls were lower still, in November being 75 per cent of the 1923-25 level, and in December being 77 per cent of that level.

These figures show that, though in December we produced slightly more than a decade ago, we employed only 85 per cent as many workers, and paid them only about three-fourths as much. Here, in a single sentence, is a picture of the depression, and an explanation of the slowness of recovery.

\$22 Average Wage

Average weekly wages in manufacturing industries continue at about \$22 per week. Even if a full year is worked, which is rare in most manufacturing industries, yearly wages would average only about \$1144. This is less than two-thirds of the sum required to support an average-sized family at the minimum level of health and decency.

Meanwhile, prices, especially of foods, continue to mount. Prices of meats have risen, on the average, 30 per cent in the last year, and retail prices of all foods have jumped an average of 10 per cent. Talk of inflation is constantly heard. If this occurs, the cost of living will soar even more rapidly, and the living standards of workers will sink.

Profits Mount

When we turn to profits, we see where the gains of business

Program Discussion:

'Good—But Should Be Better'

By Albert Goldman,
Chicago, Illinois

THAT a great victory and a catastrophic defeat should result in the same theoretical questioning is a contradiction only from the point of view of formal logic but not of Marxist understanding. The victory of the Russian proletariat in 1917 led the virile and revolutionary elements of the Socialist movement to see more clearly the significance and necessity of distinguishing revolutionary from reformist theory and to reject the reformist ideology which ties the proletariat to the capitalist system. The victory of the Nazis brought to the fore, in a different way and on a different level, the same theoretical questions as the victory of the Russian workers. In 1917 revolutionary Socialism proved that it could be victorious; in 1933 reformist Socialism proved how easily it could be defeated. And it is much clearer now than it was in 1933 that Stalinism is a species of reformist Socialism.

In so far as the draft program of the leftwing of the Socialist party deals with the fundamental questions distinguishing revolutionary from reformist Socialism there can be criticism on formulation but not on essential theory. I refer to the problems of the present status of capitalist society, the character of the capitalist state, the road to power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Revolutionary Socialists can well accept that portion of the program. Scholastics and sectarians have the privilege of designating it as "centrist" or "opportunist."

Doubts on two points may arise in the minds of revolutionary Socialists. There is no mention of armed insurrection and of dictatorship of the proletariat.

No one in his right mind would suggest that the program was written by persons who believed in the probability of the working class achieving power through parliamentary means. "History does not record an example of a privileged class peacefully surrendering its privileges at the request of the majority of the unprivileged." Again: "The change from capitalism is a revolutionary act." What more should one have? Perhaps like Olgin, in his "Why Communism?" describe the exact process of the arrest of the President of the United States? Of course that was part of the "third period" nonsense and not even communists would permit such things at present. The phrase "armed insurrection" might thrill the inexperienced but it would be a very costly blunder to insert it. As far as possible we want to be a legal party and useless and dangerous indeed is the idea that we must use the very phrase which the capitalist authorities would pounce upon to smash our organization.

Not that we can console ourselves with the thought that leaving such a phrase out makes us safe. In the last analysis it is what we are and what we do that will determine the attitude of the

improvement has gone. The rate of profit, which in 1935 was 49 per cent higher than in 1934, is continuing to mount.

January, 1936, was the best January for stockholders since 1931. Dividend payments aggregating \$267,000,000 were voted, an increase of \$57,000,000, or 27 per cent, over January of last year.

Stock values likewise continued their steady upward climb. During the single month of January, 1936, the market value of the stocks listed in the New York Stock Exchange advanced \$2,219,000,000 in value, to the huge total of \$50,165,000,000.

NEXT WEEK!

Reginald A. Reynolds, directing secretary of the No More War Movement of England, writes on "Revolutionary Policy and the Colonial Question" as part of the draft program discussions.

capitalist state towards us. But why furnish our enemy with a pretext?

With reference to the expression "dictatorship of the proletariat" the situation is obviously quite different. Here it is not a question any longer of being guarded in one's language as against the capitalist authorities. It is primarily a question of satisfying those comrades who are afraid of the word "dictatorship" lest it antagonize the American workers who are opposed to all dictatorships: Had the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat been left out because of that reason the program would not be a revolutionary one. But the idea was not omitted; the terms "Workers and Farmers Government" and "workers' democracy" were used instead, and so defined that the content of those terms is the same as that of "dictatorship of the proletariat."

As against the expression "workers' democracy" or "workers' and farmers' government" the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" is far more scientific and exact. If it were a question of simply using either one of the terms without any further explanation the use of "workers' democracy" or "workers' and farmers' government" would be incorrect. For the simple reason that they do not mean the same as dictatorship of the proletariat. But when so defined and explained that they are given the same content as "dictatorship of the proletariat" it is correct to use those terms. Personally I prefer to use the expression "dictatorship of the proletariat" because it is more exact and less subject to opportunist misinterpretation. But it would be senseless to quarrel on the use of a particular expression if the explanation in the program clearly indicates that the idea involved is the same.

At the present time the use of the term dictatorship of the proletariat would require as much explanation as the use of Workers' and Farmers' Government. In the light of what is going on in the Soviet Union it is essential to underscore the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat means the greatest possible democracy for the workers and farmers. Not to do so would give a perverted idea of what the dictatorship of the proletariat would actually be. For obviously there is no democracy for the workers in the Soviet Union. If explanation is necessary no matter what term is used then it is not incorrect to use workers' democracy and explain it so that it is in every way

identical with dictatorship of the proletariat.

And here one must mention one of the weaknesses of the program—the failure to criticize openly the destruction of the democratic rights of the workers in the Soviet Union. The program correctly considers the Soviet Union as the only workers' state in the world and very properly states that it is the duty of the working class to defend the Soviet Union against any imperialist attack. This imposes the duty upon us to tell the American workers that we are not striving to bring into existence a Workers' and Farmers' Government where the workers have no democracy, as in the Soviet Union, but where the workers will have a thousand times greater freedom than they experience at present. The miserable idea of the Stalinists and liberals that to criticize the Stalin regime is to weaken the Soviet Union has no place in the thinking of revolutionary Marxists. Above all, the truth cannot harm the workers' revolutionary movement.

An analysis of the program shows that whatever weaknesses there are have to do with the burning immediate problems of the day and not with the fundamental principled questions. It is of course wrong to make a sharp distinction between fundamental principles, like questions of the nature of the state and the road to power, and immediate problems such as the problems of war and trade unionism. And yet for practical purposes such a distinction must be made. It does not at all follow that a correct estimate of the nature of the state unflinchingly leads to a correct attitude on such an important question as war. Witness the completely erroneous attitude of the communists on war in spite of their clinging to the term dictatorship of the proletariat. It is therefore essential to judge the program not only by what it says about the question of the road to power but also on what it has to say about the burning problems of the day.

The section dealing with war is away too short. Lack of space cannot possibly serve as an excuse. For the question of the attitude of a revolutionary party on war is of such tremendous importance that such an excuse dare not be given. Had the program contained the resolution on war which was introduced both at the Bound Brook and the Chicago conference there could be no criticism of the program on that score. As it is the section dealing with war is inadequate. Hostility to pacifism is not directly expressed; it is only to be inferred. And in the So-

cialist Party where pacifism plays an important role, it is essential to speak out against it plainly. The necessity of working for the defeat of one's own government is substituted by a vague formulation of "taking advantage of the mass opposition to war to work for Socialism." There is no clear expression even to the effect that only the proletarian revolution can abolish all wars. It is one of the weakest sections in the program and should be considerably improved in the final draft.

Another section that will require rewriting is the one dealing with Internationalism. Two large Internationals are in existence; both played a wretched role in recent years. That requires explanation. If I am not mistaken, the Communist International is not even mentioned. The policy of omission because toes will be stepped on is not the policy of revolutionary Marxists. If no agreement can be arrived at, it is far better to say so and continue discussion than to insert a few pious phrases. What is wrong with the Labor and Socialist International and with the Communist International? The party members, the workers are entitled to know. What the solution is and the possible roads to that solution are also questions which cannot be ignored by a serious revolutionary party.

It is obvious that separate resolutions are necessary to deal with the questions of war, internationalism, trade unions and Labor party. The section dealing with trade unionism can be improved; the one dealing with the Labor party is absolutely sound.

The draft program is a definite indication that the Militants are no longer mere activists. They are taking their responsibilities seriously. And the more serious a left wing is the more attention will it pay to theoretical problems. The draft program is good but it should be made better.

CALL Conference On Party Program

In view of the forthcoming national convention, the Socialist CALL is arranging a conference to be held in New York to stimulate further pre-convention discussion, such as has been going on in these columns. Socialist Party members will have the opportunity to get together to discuss matters of party program and organization that will be on the agenda of the convention.

The CALL invites party branches throughout the country to send representatives who will bring back reports on the discussion to the members, thus helping to bring clarity in the movement on various problems.

The conference will be held in New York on the week-end of Washington's birthday (February 22). Notify the CALL if you are attending or if your branch has designated a representative.

HONOR RHODES

READING, Pa.—Precedent was broken by the Federated Trades Council here when it voted unanimous endorsement of George M. Rhodes, prominent Socialist and council president, for election as assemblyman. This marks the first time that the council has so acted before a regular party nomination. Although Rhodes declined to accept or refuse the nomination, it is expected that the Socialist Party will name him its candidate for that office at the Party caucus here February 16.

INAUGURATE SERIES

NEW YORK — The Modern Monthly announced this week the inauguration of a series of "Sunday Afternoons at 3" consisting of an informal lecture followed by dancing and refreshments to be presented every Sunday afternoon at 47 E. 21st street. V. F. Calverton, noted author and lecturer and editor of the Modern Monthly, will speak on: "What is the Revolutionary's Attitude to Sanctions and War?"

A New Fiasco

(Continued from Page Four)

ten" have enlisted millions of Negroes instead of a paltry few hundred bureaucrats. The Socialists, hampered by a moth-eaten Old Guard leadership, had lost influence among Negro masses. It is tragic that in the face of the tremendous need on the part of the obviously disorganized Negro masses that the Communist Party should at this juncture launch a program which will increase the influence of a bloodsucking bourgeois leadership.

Here is the root of the objections now being raised by the intelligent Negro radicals. The result of this Congress will be to strengthen the political hold of the Kelly Millers, Charles Houstons, Joe Evans, Irving Mollisons, and assorted bishops of the churches. The blundering line of the Communist Party, regardless of the honest revolutionary intent, is strengthening the conservative Negro leadership.

No Real Labor Support

The ignorance of the Negro situation is general. The muddled notion of "self-determination," of a Negro nation, make it impossible to build a realistic program of Negro work. It is criminal that the National Negro Congress has secured no support from an organization like the International Longshoremen's Association. The ILA has ten thousand Negro members in Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. The communist leaders of the Congress have secured no support other than a perfunctory endorsement from the United Mine Workers, a union which has thousands of Negro members. The same is true for the ILGWU. The communist leaders of the National Negro

Congress aware of the lack of a labor base, attempted to remedy this defect by sending out at the last minute 500 invitations which the unions ignored.

There is, of course, a strong sentiment among the Home Relief employes for sending delegates to Chicago. The growth of middle class sentiment for the Congress recalls the whole fiasco in the building up of the League Against War and Fascism. Every minister and lawyer seemed to be the object of the bootlicking liberal-chasers, but even in the Negro Congress set-up, labor unions are scorned. Phillip Randolph was sought for his personal endorsement, but not his union. Even here the inept bureaucrats in the CP have declared that Randolph will lose his nomination in "the coming labor party" if he fails to support the Congress!

The Socialist Position

The persons who represented the Socialist Party in these negotiations, Gross, Altman, Cross-waith, Streater and Walters, believed that the Congress could profitably consider postponement until reorganization permitted a genuine labor front for the Congress, backed by a genuine united front of the working class political parties. We must prevent the repetition of the disaster of the League Against War and Fascism. Furthermore, while it must be admitted that the Communist Party is well in the vanguard in programs for Negroes, it does not follow that an incorrect approach will solve in any measure the Negro problem of mass poverty, oppression, and discrimination. Only a continued war against segregation will make the slightest impression.

The fact is, the communists on the steering committee of the National Negro Congress are only one step removed from accepting Father Divine into sponsorship of the Congress. Comrade Ben Davis, Harvard and Amherst graduate, reveals to us that Father Divine had the right line but got off on the wrong foot! Any radical party that can not distinguish between philanthropy and the need of giving strength to intelligent Negro labor leaders and radicals is clamping the shackles tighter. The Communist Party is involved in the bad thinking that all Negroes, including those who have been able to increase their personal wealth at the expense of the Negro masses, and those who owe their strong positions to the philanthropic boards and conservative political forces, are "leaders" of an "oppressed nation." It is just as likely that an American "Jewish nation" could be created under the leadership of Warburg, Frankfurter, Morgenthau, Jewish movie

BOOKS, by Bruno Fischer

A British Socialist Who 'Never Said Die'

NEVER SAY DIE: An Autobiography, by John Paton. Longmans, Green & Co. 336 pages. \$2.50.

An ocean and a score and more of years separate the locale and time of this autobiography from us, yet John Paton's story is in many ways the story of many who are active in the revolutionary movement here. The struggle and heartbreak and sacrifice and despair and hope in building a revolutionary movement in Scotland we can understand from intimate knowledge in America. Add to this wit and charm and an easy writing style, and "Never Say Die" becomes an extremely engaging book.

John Paton was born in the slums of Aberdeen. Before he was in his teens he began a succession of jobs, starting as printer's devil, working as clerk, baker, barber, eventually becoming owner of a beauty parlor.

Joins the ILP

When quite young he joined the independent Labor Party, shortly before the British labor movement was to break away from its support of the Liberal Party and form its own party. To the ILP John Paton gave all his non-working time and energy. His devotion to Socialism and his inability to refrain from propagandizing while working cost him many a job and later caused him to lose his beauty parlor.

Shortly before the war there was a struggle within the ILP between the younger and more militant elements and the "old gang." (We started no innovation here!) Paton writes: "New blood was wanted obviously, but how could we hope to get it when the 'big four'—Keir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden and

and shirt-maker capitalists, bolstered up and assisted by Al Jolson, a Jewish ball player, a Jewish prize fighter, and the Jewish side of Fiorello LaGuardia!

The National Negro Congress, being conceived in this confusion, seeks to add a few trade unions to Negro bankers, insurance company presidents, college presidents, lawyers, and Tammany and Republican political leaders. Socialists are asked to supply working class elements to bolster up an array of petty bourgeois leaders. The Socialists object to this type of "organization." Let the CP bury the carcass in Chicago. With proper cooperation, intelligent and honorable united action can produce intelligent organization for the oppressed Negro masses.

Bruce Glasier, had created something like a perpetual rulership! The leftwingers accused MacDonald of working too closely with the Liberal Party. The fight was carried to the convention and the "old gang" won. Years later Paton came to know MacDonald personally, and, falling under the spell of his personality, changed his opinion of him. But history was to vindicate the leftwingers, at least where two of the "big four" were concerned.

Fought War

It is an odd thing that most of the doctrinaire Marxists supported the war, in Britain as elsewhere, while "the despised ILP, the 'umbrella' party, with its curiously mixed membership of Christians and Atheists, Socialists, Anarchists and Humanitarians . . . stood fast for its internationalism."

The tragic thing is that today, just as in 1914, many who take the name Marxist still rationalize their way through to supporting "good" wars. Although in America, on the whole, the party stood steadfast against the last war, the premier "Marxist" of 7 East 15th street could rationalize his way through to actively supporting certain Liberty Loans, while Debs, never a clear Marxist, languished in jail. Don't blame Marxism; blame those who pervert it.

"Began New Life"

John Paton's experiences during the war were similar to those of Socialists in America. Meetings were broken up, but not nearly as ruthlessly as here. Organized labor backed the war to the hilt. But those who were loyal to Socialism went on, as they always go on; and although this book ends immediately after the war, when the strength of the Labor Party was at a low ebb, resurging power was to come in a few years. John Paton, freed from his beauty parlor by creditors, "began a new life into which I could throw myself heart and soul: an

Hartford Lectures Sponsored by ASM

HARTFORD, Conn.—Hartford Socialists announce the beginning of the first annual lecture series of the American Socialist Monthly, to be held Friday evenings at 8:15 p. m. in the Socialist Hall, Hotel Oxford.

The schedule is as follows:

February 14—Edwin C. Johnson on "The Threat of Fascism."
February 21—Murray Baron on "The Future of American Labor."
February 28—August Tyler on "The 'New Line' of the Communists."
March 6—Herbert Zam on "The International Situation."
March 13—David F. Berenberg on "A Program for Socialism."

Single lectures are 30 cents and a series ticket is \$1.00. Tickets are on sale at McCoy's Music Store here.

organizer for the ILP, I became a professional agitator."

Here the story ends for the time being, with the promise of another book to come of his experiences during the turbulent post-war British labor movement as one of the leaders of the ILP. I am looking forward to that book.

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

The "New Party" FACTBOOK

The Forgotten Man's Handbook

By THOMAS R. AMLIE
Member of Congress

"In my opinion it is the most effective book on economics that has been written in a generation."

—A New Deal Economist.

"... a perfect arsenal of ammunition for one who is seeking facts and figures . . . I know of no other book in which so many pertinent data are assembled in convenient form which exposes the cruelty and futility of the existing order, and support the demand for a system of production for use."

—Henry Pratt Fairchild.

130 Pages 34 Illustrations

50 Cents Per Copy

Order from

THOMAS R. AMLIE
Elkhorn, Wis.

LECTURES

The Community Church Center

550 West 110th St. (Near B'way)

THURS., Feb. 13, at 8:15

NORMAN THOMAS

Distinguished Socialist Leader

SPEAKS ON

The Socialist Plan for Economic Security

Second in a series of 6 lectures on "Proposed Roads to Economic Security"

Course Ticket \$1.00 Single Adm. 25c

PHILADELPHIA

DAVID FELIX
FRANK HELLMAN
THOMAS DEFAZIO

Symposium on War

SUN. NIGHT, FEB. 16, 8 P. M.

Auspices:

PHILADELPHIA PEOPLE'S FORUM

Grand Fraternity Hall, 1028 Arch St. SUBSCRIPTION 25c

NEXT STEPS IN THE UNITED FRONT FOR PEACE

Hear **Dr. HARRY F. WARD**

National Chairman, American League Against War and Fascism

Report On His Coast to Coast Tour

OTHER SPEAKERS

Hon. JUSTINE WISE TULIN
Judge,
Domestic Relations Court
Rev. CLAYTON POWELL, Jr.
Abyssinian Baptist Church
JOHN LAPHAM
Electrical Workers Union,
No. 8, A. F. of L.
ASHLEY P. TOTTEN
Brotherhood Sleeping Car
Porters, A. F. of L.
MANNING JOHNSON
Prominent Negro Leader
MIXED CHORUS

Wed. Eve., Feb. 19
8:15 P. M.

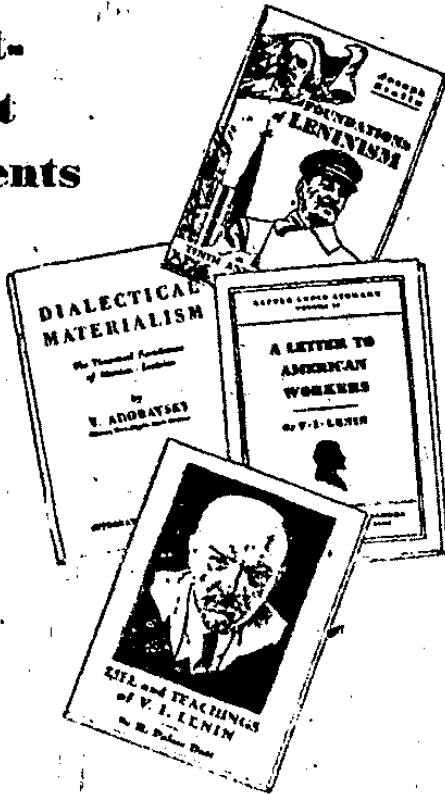
COOPER UNION AUDITORIUM

Tickets for sale at all branches of the American League Against War and Fascism, 25c
Admission 50c
AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM
100 E. Madison St.
Chicago, Ill.

4 Marxist-Leninist Documents

for only **98c**

1. LENIN'S Letter to the American Workers—a guide to revolutionary tactics.
2. LENIN by R. P. Dutt. A political biography.
3. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM, by Adoratsky. A popular exposition of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.
4. FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM—Joseph Stalin. A popular outline of the theoretical



Workers and Peoples Book Shops

140 2nd Ave., 112 W. 144th St., 115 W. 135th St.
309 Suttles Ave., 1337 Wilkins Ave., 1001 Prospect Ave.
50 E. 17th St., 4571 185th St.

ASK FOR THE

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

At All Newsstands

DID YOU KNOW—?

- that Lincoln corresponded regularly with Karl Marx?
- that Lincoln called upon the workers to unite not only nationally but internationally?
- that Lincoln used the library of New Harmony, Ind., a cooperative colony established by Robert Owen?

READ—

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN—A REAL AMERICAN"

By MAYOR DANIEL W. HOAN

Single copy 5c (by mail 10c) 12 for 50c 25 for \$1 100 for \$3.50

WHEN

NORMAN THOMAS SPEAKS—millions listen

There are tens of thousands who want copies of the address he made over a nation-wide hook-up in answer to Al Smith and the American Liberty League.

It is now printed as an attractive pamphlet which sells for 2c to everyone can buy it.

Order in Quantities to Sell and Distribute

5 for 10c In Quantities, 1c Each

Send Your Orders for Both Pamphlets to
SOCIALIST PARTY, U. S. A., 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

Theatre Union Sunday Night

Rebel Arts Players Featured

Rebel Arts, one of the oldest and best-established of the workers' theatre groups, will take an important part in the Theatre Union Sunday Night Benefit, to be held Sunday evening, February 16, at the Civic Repertory Theatre, with members of its acting company giving "Picket Line," a gay satire on the picket line situation as Noel Coward, Shakespeare, Chekov, and other notables might see it.

In thus extending friendly help to another theatre organization, Rebel Arts is in the company of some of the best-known people of the theatre world. For example, Anthony Brown, director of "Tobacco Road," is directing "Running Dogs," the new play by John Wexley which will be presented for the first time anywhere on this evening. Harold Johnsrud, now in "Winterset," Helen Cross, noted teacher of dramatic speech, John O'Shaughnessy, of the cast of "Let Freedom Ring," Peter Xantho, who has been stage-manager of most of the Theatre Union's plays, Jane Alden, well-known musical comedy singer, who has just returned from a tour of song-concerts with Sigmund Spaeth, are some of those who are joining with the Theatre Union Studio in putting on this unusual program.

The proceeds of the evening will go toward the Theatre Union's drive for \$15,000 to insure its next three productions, one of which will be its final production of the current season, due to open during the last week in March.

'Love on the Dole' To Open Here Soon

After a two-year run in England, "Love on the Dole," the English tragedy dramatized by Ronald Gow and Walter Greenwood from Greenwood's novel of the same name, will open its American engagement in New York Feb. 24 at the Shubert Theatre.

The drama is set in a working-class home in a North England manufacturing town and deals with the tragedy of the English unemployed. Most of the northern factory towns of Manchester and Lancashire have been stricken by the crisis. Thousands of English workmen live on the fifteen shillings a week that is the sum granted them by the government dole.

Going To The Theatre?

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

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

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

THREE WOMEN



Yanina Jeimo, Z. Federova and I. Zarubina who will play the title roles in the new Soviet motion picture, "Three Women," now at the Cameo.

CALL BOARD

The Artef Players announce the third production for the season—HIRSCH LECKERT by a KUSHNIROV (Soviet dramatist), a story of a Jewish working class hero. Scheduled for the first week in March . . . The Teachers Union is using the Adelphi Theatre Feb. 16 to present HYMN TO THE RISING SUN and UNTIL SUCH GLORY . . . SAINT JOAN (Katharine Cornell & Co.) will have its premiere Feb. 12 . . . THREE

WOMEN has arrived at the Cameo . . . Feb. 19 at the 58th St. Theatre, SEARCHING FOR THE SUN, depression odyssey thru the jungles and hovervilles . . . The Group Theatre on March 23—THE CASE OF CLYDE GRIFFITH—Erwin Piscator's adaptation of the American Tragedy . . . 25 one-act plays by Maltz, Langston Hughes, Paul Peters, Philip Stevenson and Blankfort have been released by New Theatre League . . . The Ruth Page Ballets are due at the Adelphi Theatre March 1 . . . THE LIVING NEWSPAPER (Federal Theatre) couldn't tell all about the Italo-Ethiopian war but will be permitted to run TRIPLE-A PLOWED UNDER.

"Contains the most brilliant topical dialogue ever spoken on an American Stage."—R. Garland, World-Telegram

SAM H. HARRIS presents

JANE COWL "FIRST LADY"

By KATHARINE DAYTON and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN
MUSIC BOX THEATRE 46th ST. WEST OF BROADWAY
Eves. 8:30, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

Prominent Negro Artists Entertaining in a Unique, Exotic Revue

AUSPICER: WORKERS' TRAINING SCHOOLS



TO THE SCINTILLATING MELODIES OF

Vincent Lopez

AND HIS FAMOUS ORCHESTRA

SAINT NICHOLAS PALACE • 69 WEST 66TH STREET
February 22, 1936* R.P.U.P.

ADMISSION 75 CENTS IN ADVANCE • 50 CENTS AT THE DOOR
Tickets on Sale at Workers Bookshop
50 East 13th Street

in hollywood

By JOHN R. CHAPLIN
Federated Press

HOLLYWOOD (FP) — Each of the major studios has appointed a labor contact man to keep details of the closed-shop agreement straight, and production running along harmoniously . . . Big executive huddles are presently going on anent the union situation, but no word has yet leaked out as to what the studio heads hope to do . . . Labor-consciousness is at an all-time high in Hollywood. While courts are supposed to be cooperating with labor by preventing anti-strike or anti-picket-

ing injunctions until after the general get-together of all the unions on Feb. 13, the union heads have also postponed all meetings until after that date, and the rank-and-file in many movie locals is getting restive . . .

" . . . far more exciting and heart-warming than the run of films."
—Herald-Tribune

PAUL MUNI in 'The STORY of LOUIS PASTEUR'

The thrilling life story of the man who braved a thousand deaths that countless millions might live!

STRAND

Midnite Shows — B'way & 47th

NEW THEATRE NIGHT

COMPOSERS COLLECTIVE

SUN., FEB. 23, 8:30 P. M.
NEW SCHOOL, 66 W. 12th St.
Tickets 35c to \$1.10

1ST of the THEATRE UNION'S SUNDAY NIGHTS

John Wexley's New Play "RUNNING DOGS"

REBEL ART PLAYERS in "Picket Line"
LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT
Songs and Mass Chant by PAUL PETERS,
GEORGE SKLAR and JERRY MOROSS
ANNA SOKOLOV and Group in
"Strange American Funeral" in
Miss Sokolow also appears in Solo numbers

FEB. 16 at 8:40
CIVIC REPERTORY

THEATRE
14th ST and 6th AVE.
WALKINS 0-7450
Tickets at box office, also
Workers Bookshop, and
Drama Book Shop.
50c, 75c, \$1, \$1.50
NO TAX

LAST WEEK! "Let Freedom Ring" Eves. 8:30, 30c to \$1.50
Mats. Wed., Sat. 30c to \$1

SOVIET'S FIRST ALL-STAR FILM



Boris Babochkin (of 'Chapayev')



Boris Chirkov (of 'Maxim')



Boris Postavsky (of 'Peasants')

The Great Heroes of "CHAPAYEV," "YOUTH OF MAXIM" and "PEASANTS" are together for the first time in this magnificent film canvas dedicated to the Heroism of SOVIET Women in the Civil War. Original Musical Score by
Dmitri SHOSTAKOVICH

Continuous from 9 A. M. to midnight

CAMEO 42ND STREET 25c to 1 P.M. Boris Postavsky
Eves. 8:30, 30c to \$1.50
Mats. Wed., Sat. 30c to \$1

where to dine

SHAFERS'

DRUG STORE AND LUNCHEONETTE
Tasty Food at Moderate Prices. Breakfast and Luncheon Specials.
41 UNION SQUARE (Cor. 17th St.)

B & S

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

SHAP-SHRA

LUNCHEON, INC. In Rebel Arts Bldg, 44 East 21st Street. Good Food, Moderate Prices. Beer on Draught.

GIUSTI'S

SPAGHETTI INN—4 and 5 course Luncheon, 40c and 50c. Six course Chicken Dinner, 60c. Special luncheon, 35c. Served all day. Spaghetti, Dessert, Coffee, 35c. In carte all day. Wines and Beer served. 49 W. 16th. WA. 9-9777.

RITZ DINER

27 UNION SQ. (cor. 16th St.) We deliver phone orders. Tel. STuyvesant 9-8616. OPEN DAY AND NIGHT. Private Dining Room for Ladies and Gentlemen.

5th AVENUE CAFETERIA

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

OFFERS SOMETHING NEW!—All the coffee you can drink—5c (bet. 3 and 5 P. M.). Any hot dish on the steam table—25c (after 5 P. M.). Visit our famous bar, featuring your favorite drinks at the most reasonable prices in the city—BEER 5c.

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 SINGLE day's newspaper shows what is happening to preparations not for peace but for war. The best the Navy conference without Japan could do was to fix for five years a cruiser limit of 8,000 tons instead of 10,000. Also the guns are to be smaller than our admirals wanted. That may be a little gain but not enough to make you throw up your hat and cheer, on a cold day.

The same page sets forth the fact that "a peace time record is set in Army bill." It seems the Department of War is to spend more than half a billion dollars in the next fiscal year if the Appropriation bill prevails. Of this

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

I wish I could show more enthusiasm over the announcement recently of the formation of Consumer Distribution Corporation, the million dollar gift of Edward A. Filene to the Cooperative Movement. The prospectus of the corporation seems attractive enough, and any of us who have experienced the struggles of building a cooperative without any capital to speak of, ought to cheer the Boston millionaire department store head's efforts to remove one of the big headaches of pioneer cooperators. But the only cheer I can muster up is a very weak one, stifled with grave misgivings and with my fingers crossed, so to speak. I hope it will work out for the best but I fear its effect upon the growing movement which suffers no little whit from muddled leadership.

Filene is sold on the Cooperative Movement, and somewhere he got the idea that the movement ought to be given a substantial shove, instead of being allowed to grow in its slow but solid way. In the traditional American high-pressure business manner, he organized his Consumer Distribution Corporation to promote the formation of a chain of cooperative department stores, and to handle the centralized buying, conduct research and provide expert assistance in management, public relations and other functions of these cooperative department stores. In this way he and his associates hope to give the impetus to the Cooperative Movement that will enable it to compete with capitalist enterprises.

Give Assurances

Assurances have been made that the individual cooperative department stores will be run on strict Rochdale principles, on a non-profit basis and consumer owned. Local consumers will be given the opportunity of purchasing shares, and within ten years it is hoped that the local stores will take over the parent corporation. Indeed to the credit of the cooperative leaders with whom Filene worked out the plan, it must be said that almost every precaution was taken to assure cooperators throughout the country that the plan will eventually evolve a chain of real consumers cooperative department stores.

Then, perhaps some reader will ask, why the misgivings? I have

Indiana

After two years, Governor McNutt has finally ended his bastard type of military law in Indiana. Thus we win a battle. We shall not have won the campaign until we make it forever impossible for a Governor to impose and continue this type of military law.

sum, strictly military activities account for \$374,981,521. If this military expenditure, to say nothing of more than half a billion for the navy is meant to insure our trade with China and Japan it comes high. In 1933 our total trade with Japan and China was only about 3 million dollars more than what we are spending on the army alone!

Of course the army expenditures are for other purposes, as, for instance, keeping labor in its place. This was admitted candidly to me by my opponent in a radio debate, a certain General Sherrill, who spoke officially for the New York Chamber of Commerce.

THE STRUGGLE FOR NEUTRALITY

Meanwhile the enthusiasm for neutrality legislation in Congress has lagged. The wise men have found difficulties in the way. Neutrality isn't the perfect protection against war—of course it's not—therefore let's have no real neutrality legislation and let things drift with perhaps a little more power to the President to put an embargo on certain exports.

Once more let me point out that the opposition to neutrality arises primarily from a yearning for profits in war supplies which, of course, includes excess sales of things like oil, coal and iron. Some people who still retain a faith that the capitalist-nationalist League of Nations will preserve peace by collective sanctions curiously add their support to those who want the profits of war in the struggle against a real program of neutrality. That struggle must be kept up, not because it is the sole and sufficient road to peace, but because of itself it helps us to keep out of war and to understand the real causes of war.

misgivings because Filene's plan is a crutch, and a crutch is of use to a cripple and not to a young movement just learning to walk. Cooperatives should not be built from the top down. They should be built from the ground up, with their foundations on solid rock, not suspended from the sky. Co-operators must be self-reliant, and must build their own movement if they are really to be a part of it. Ready-made cooperatives may not exactly fit. The working class has learnt the tremendous force of solidarity by organizing itself. That is why they reject company unions, which are ready-made, too.

Filene In Control

The point is that those who start an organization have the greatest weight in formulating its policies. Despite the fact that such eminent cooperative leaders as Howard A. Cowden, Murray D. Lincoln and James P. Warpass, the latter sometimes referred to as the Father of Consumers Co-

THE BORAH CAMPAIGN

Senator Borah, it appears, will enter the Republican primaries as an avowed Presidential candidate in Ohio and possibly some other states. He may have less good luck than he thinks if the Negroes who are numerously enrolled in the Republican primaries in those states remember his steadfast opposition to Federal anti-lynching legislation. From a purely Socialist standpoint if Borah should be nominated by the Republicans—a wholly unlikely event—it would be a gain, not because Borah would make a good President, but because somehow or other he has an undeserved reputation for liberalism. With him as the Republican candidate against Roosevelt there would be less fear of another Hoover and therefore more willingness of a great many farmers and workers to vote their real hope by supporting our platform and ticket. I suppose, therefore, we ought to cheer for Borah in the Republican primary.

But from the standpoint of educating the people it's a pity to let them be fooled by Borah's fake progressivism. His name is not connected with any really fundamental struggle in the field of

On the Air

In response to many requests for longer notice of the time when I am to broadcast, may I explain that often I do not know when I shall have a chance to broadcast until shortly before the broadcast. Hence I cannot give long notice. I am now, however, able to announce that I am broadcasting in a series of discussions of public issues, over the Columbia network, Friday, February 28th at 10:45 P. M. Eastern Standard Time. The broadcast will be in the form of an interview in which the questions will be asked by Mr. Boake Carter. Tell your friends who may be interested.

economics or politics. He is a champion of a rather extreme form of 'states' rights. He believes that at this late stage of the game capitalism can and will smash monopoly. He is an inflationist. It is that fact which primarily accounts for the conservative Republican and big business opposition to Borah. It does not follow that because big business does not want inflation with or without Borah, the rest of us ought to

Real inflation would not help wage workers! Ask the European workers who lived through it!

LAGUARDIA AND TRANSIT

These Republican Progressives can't manage to make a progressive record and keep the company of the Republican Party. Look at Mayor LaGuardia with his sales tax, his attendance at the Fascist mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, and now his proposed subway unification plan. Granting that LaGuardia, like any Mayor, inherits a nasty subway situation and that he must deal with a lot of capitalized steals of the past in reorganizing the subways, it is still true, as our Socialist investigators have brought out, that under his plan the people of New York will pay some 200 million dollars more than they ought for what they are getting, and that in the process of so doing they will inevitably jeopardize the 5 cent fare—all professions to the contrary notwithstanding.

This struggle for a decent plan for municipally owned subways in New York is important to the whole nation. If a unified municipal subway system can be so loaded up with a capital burden that it will fail or require a higher fare, the illogical cry will go up that municipal operation as such is a failure. Hence that socialism will fail! Clearly it is to our interest as Socialists to fight for the best possible arrangement that can be made even while we recognize that the ideal arrangements can never be made under the capitalist system. At least New York City can make better arrangements than Messrs. Berle and Seabury have offered in behalf of Mayor LaGuardia.

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

ers. Newsmen of Democratic papers missed a rare opportunity to measure presidential timber.

The program presented by the unemployed included: A six-hour day and five-day week of work at trade union wages for all unemployed and needy farmers; relief equal to WPA wage to unemployed; no evictions or foreclosures; no discrimination against Negroes and guarantee of the right to organize and have representation on all relief boards; free medical service to the unemployed and passage of an adequate social insurance act.

The State of Kansas, one of the richest in oil production, has made no appropriations for unemployed relief during the whole depression. The problem has been thrown back on the counties while the Federal government has carried the main load. AAA payments to wheat farmers and hog raisers have found their way into the State tax coffers and thus Landon has "balanced the budget"—at the expense of hungry unemployed workers and small farmers.

Before disbanding the unemployed committee decided to stage a mass demonstration in Topeka as soon as the weather permits if relief is not forthcoming at once.

Landon Refuses Relief For Kansas Jobless

By CARL BRANNIN

KANSAS CITY, Kans.—Governor Alf Landon, much touted "budget balancer" and prospective Republican candidate for the Presidency on a platform of business recovery and full-time employment, told a delegation of Kansas unemployed at Topeka last week that he believed human rights should be prior to property rights but—if starving citizens in desperation began to raid food stores in order to live, he would call out the state militia.

In the meantime, while 25,000 or more Kansans are cut off relief and don't know where their next meal is coming from, he told the delegation to go back home and make their county commissioners submit relief bond issues. The State had done and was doing all

it could, the Kansas Coolidge said, and he would not call the Legislature in special session to meet the emergency. He admitted it would take several months to get new commissioners.

Oppose Relief

On the same day that the Republican recovery champion was passing out this sage advice, the Democratic county commissioners of Wyandotte county, which has the most serious relief problem in the State, were putting themselves on record as opposing any more relief bonds, beyond the \$60,000 still unvoted under the tax limit law. If this is voted it will last about a month. In this county alone there are 2,000 employables on a miserable dole but anxious to get WPA jobs, which do not exist for them, and 4,000 unemployed persons in need, who are denied relief of any kind.

The delegation, made up of 20 representatives of unemployed organizations under the banner of the Kansas United Action Committee, had braved the worst sub-zero blizzard of the year to present their demands to Landon. Several committees started but were driven back by the cold—one woman member hitch-hiked the 80 miles from here to Topeka on the day before. They found the Governor about to sit down to an ample dinner at the executive mansion.

Dodges Questions

The meal was delayed, which was no new experience for the jobless, while the oily capitalist politician clumsily dodged the pointed questions of the protest-

operation in America, despite their wide knowledge of consumers cooperative principles, the fact remains that the sole stockholder of Consumer Distribution Corporation is Edward A. Filene, and that already Filene has issued a statement denying that his plan would be a blow to retail trade.

"This Movement," he said, "is not intended to hurt anybody. Business in every line will be helped, and none more than the business of retailing. We believe that we can not only increase the sales of cooperatives, but increase the sale of all properly run stores and industry will be benefited by the expenditures of money that is saved... Increasing the buying power of the masses is the sole objective."

"Sugar Coating"

What a perversion of the aim and function of the cooperative movement that statement is! Of course, if you do not consider displaying private profit business with consumer-owned non-profit business as hurting private profit business, the statement is true. I don't think such sugar coating will make even near-sighted capitalists swallow the bitter pill of consumer cooperation. As for the working class, consumer co-ops are a dead end, and that's why consumers cooperative movement is a dead end.

TWO REASONS WHY

The American Liberty League, suggests the New York Post, should have its name changed to the American Collaboration League, for two reasons:

1. Manufactured by dePost.
2. You can see right through it.

PROPAGANDA

"The Supreme Court has got the doctrine of popular sovereignty down as thin as homeopathic soup that was made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death."—Abraham Lincoln on the Dred Scott decision.