

**Norman
Thomas**

DISCUSSES
*A Campaign
Trip*

ON PAGE 9

OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Socialist Call

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PRICE FIVE CENTS



THIS IS YOUR
TICKET TO A BETTER
WORLD!
USE IT!

BALLOT
EXTREMIST

LEVINE

Factories Nationalized By Spanish Socialists

MADRID—The work of economic reconstruction is going on parallel with the military activities against Fascism. Under the direction of the Socialist premier, Largo Caballero, the workers are taking possession of the industries that they have built in Spain.

At the same time as the masses are at grips with the rebels, the government is laying the foundations for a new world in which the workers, after they have suppressed the reactionary forces, will be able to enjoy security and peace.

The process of socialization started immediately after the fascist coup on July 19.

First of the large concerns to be taken over was the Ford Motor Iberica, the Spanish Ford Company. Small and medium-sized undertakings, however, were left untouched, except where the owners were in flight, in which case they were immediately expropriated.

The following is a partial list of industries that have been taken over and are being run under workers' control on a collectivist basis:

The Railway Companies, the Omnibuses and Street Cars, the Underground, the Oil Companies, the Automobile Industries, the Steamship Companies, the Hospitals, all the public services, including Electricity, Gas, Water, etc., all the large stores, the Building and Contracting Companies, the Munitions Plants, and all the theatres and movie houses.

Controlled by Workers

Each industry is controlled by a Committee of Workmen elected through their unions, whose job it is to develop and direct the enterprise along its particular lines and to produce most economically and efficiently the various products for which the industry exists.

Difficulty was encountered by the workers in the case of industries owned by foreign interests whose governments protested the action. The genuinely foreign industries have been returned to their owners by this time.

Jose Benito, executive secretary of the Committee for Government Intervention in Industry, explained:



The Fascist advance on Madrid has been successfully impeded by guerilla warfare on the part of Spanish peasants behind the rebel lines. Like the warriors above, the Spanish masses, even where the Fascists have conquered, continue to fight.

ed, however, that some 35,000 factories owned by foreign interests but incorporated under the easy Spanish laws of previous administrations were being regarded as Spanish and not foreign industries and would continue to remain in the hands of the Spanish people.

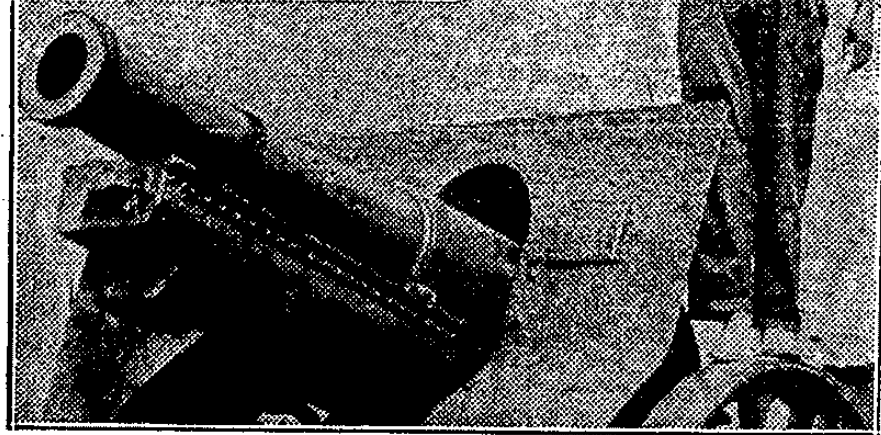
Hit Camouflage

Benito, discussing the claims made by American, German and British companies, declared that "strange to say, most of these claims and protests came from stockholders in Spanish societies. Various attempts to camouflage the character of certain industries failed.

"Either an industry was Spanish or foreign. If it was a Spanish society, it was Spanish and therefore received the same treatment as any industry owned and operated exclusively by Spaniards. Those industries that had maintained their identities as foreign industries and paid the price of such identification were returned as quickly as possible."

With a Socialist society within their reach, the militia men and women have turned with renewed vigor to the struggle against the fascists. The advent of the Caballero government has brought important victories to government forces.

Has Your Neighbor Read Norman Thomas' Speeches?



In a heroic stand typical of those wives and daughters of Spanish labor, this pretty senorita, clad in the overalls of the militia, spurs on her comrades in their great struggle for workers' democracy.

SENORITA

Many Attend 2-Day Parley

NEWBURGH, N. Y. — More than 200 Socialists from three states attended the annual CALL-Debs School Institute held at Camp Niavelt near here. They took part in a 2-day discussion on the Political and Economic Perspectives For America.

Only through an active and energetic fight for the Socialist candidates will a genuine national Farmer-Labor Party emerge with strength and power for the workers was the consensus reached at the discussion on Political Perspectives. Among those who spoke were Alfred Bingham, David P. Berenberg and James Casey. Casey, a former editor of The Daily Worker, communist paper, had announced his support of Norman Thomas for President after he resigned because of the communist future to attack Roosevelt.

Lewis Corey and Herta Zam discussed Economic Perspectives in a 4-hour session which lasted past midnight. Corey declared that both Roosevelt and Landon were following the policies of capitalism which must end in Fascism.

Thomas Challenges Opponents On Constitutional Amendment

ROYAL OAK, Mich.—From this suburb of Detroit, home of Father Coughlin, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, sounded the tocsin call last week for the army of progress in 1936. Throughout the nation, as millions listened to the radio, the slogan was sounded:

"Make Democracy Constitutional!"

In a stirring 15-minute speech, Thomas hit "the proclamation of large generalities about peace, democracy, the American tradition, and what have you, unsupported by the way to give them reality." Charging that all the other Presidential nominees "have been almost equally evasive on the constitutional issue," Thomas flung forth a challenge to each, to Roosevelt, Landon, Lemke and Browder, to stop straddling on this all-important issue and speak plainly to the American people. For the Socialist Party, Thomas proposed a 3-point program that would stop the dictatorship of the nine old men on the Supreme Court. These changes are:

1. To amend the Constitution to give Congress positive power to enact necessary legislation for our social and economic well-being.
2. To provide for popular election of the President and Vice-President to replace the electoral college system.
3. To provide for an easier method of amending the Constitution.

Thomas supplemented the program with a brilliant analysis of the American scene which asserted that "it is only as we organize, educate, vote for planned production for use, not for private profit, that we shall deliver ourselves and our children from the prison house of poverty and war. That is the Socialist message of 1936!"

'Not A God'

The Constitution, the Socialist candidate declared, "is, or should be, made for man, not man for the Constitution. It is a tool to use in man's collective struggle for the good society. It is not a god to be worshipped. Those who most zealously preach the religion of the Constitution believe it least. They want us to do the worshipping while they take up the collection."

"Today, the religion of the Constitution is the religion of those

who are either blind to reality or who welcome the fact that under the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court there is no power, federal or state, effectively to curb economic exploitation."

Praising the authors of the Constitution for producing "a document well adapted to their times," Thomas declared that "it would be a miracle if it should be adequate to times which demand a cooperative commonwealth as the condition of the good society, a society which will guarantee plenty, peace and freedom to all."

No Miracle

"There has been no miracle," he declared. "We must work out our own salvation and that will mean a government structure very different from our present contraption of checks and balances, primarily designed to protect property."

Under the Constitutional amendments proposed by the Socialists, Thomas declared, "We would at least be in a better position to act in orderly and democratic fashion." He characterized the reluctance of the other Presidential candidates to state their position on this issue as "contempt for democratic procedure" and "an insult to the electorate."

Constitution Important

Thomas appealed to the vast radio audience "to see to it that the challenge is not evaded or ignored." He emphasized that the great issue in this campaign is that of "Socialism vs. Capitalism." Nevertheless, he declared, "the kind of Constitution we have is tremendously important since it may mean the difference between orderly progress and disorderly confusion — even civil strife."

He warned his listeners, however, that "we shall be saved by no Constitution and certainly by no political Messiah." Declaring that "dynamic forces are mightier than static institutions," he asserted that for industrial justice and democracy, "we must look to our own unions, producers and consumers' cooperatives and our Party."

Lemke Fears Open Debate

CHICAGO — William Lemke, Coughlin-Smith-'Union' Party nominee for the Presidency, is afraid to meet Norman Thomas, the fighting Socialist candidate, in public debate.

In a reply which betrayed his fear of facing the American people, exposed in the full nakedness of his demagogic platform of contradictions and false promises, Lemke refused to accept a challenge offered him by Norman Thomas last week to debate the issues of the campaign.

Neither would he accept Thomas' offer to accept as his "proxy" his chief political sponsor, Father Charles E. Coughlin, the radio priest whose anti-labor political program has earned the hate of all liberty-loving Americans.

Lemke's refusal to face the public in debating the famous Socialist makes clear that he is unwilling to face the glare of publicity as he conducts his self-seeking campaign for the Presidency. The 'Union' Party of

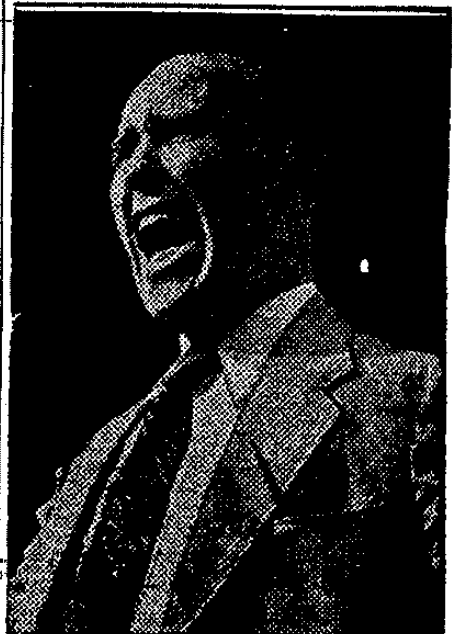
Meet In Ozarks; Plan For Socialism

SHANNON CO., Mo.—(LSP)—Once a year the Socialists of Shannon and surrounding counties conduct an "encampment." Some 500 of them assembled there this year and enthusiasm ran high as the various speakers pointed out the forward strides being made by the labor movement and Socialist party.

Gets Ovation

AKRON — Norman Thomas received a great rising ovation from delegates when he spoke here to the first convention of the United Rubber Workers of America. Thomas endorsed the industrial union program of the CIO.

AFRAID



William Lemke, loud-mouthed 'Union' Party candidate for President, turned down a challenge from Norman Thomas for a public debate.

which he is a nominee was born in a radio address; he has disdained the use of democratic methods in either his own nomination or in the writing of his platform.

In a press interview in New York, Thomas waded into the Lemke candidacy with fervor. The "Union" Party, he said, is as near to a Fascist movement as anything we have heard of in this country. He pointed to the campaign of "Big Bill" Thompson of Chicago, Republican politician and reactionary, whose running mate in Illinois is Newton Jenkins, anti-Semite and open Fascist."

WATCH THE WRAPPER

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

**79 EXPIRED!
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Labor in Action

SEATTLE, Wash. — Hearst's Post-Intelligencer is still tied up as hearings are being conducted by the National Labor Relations Board. Efforts on the part of Hearst's counsel to introduce red-baiting issues have failed.

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The federal court here has denied a permanent injunction sought by Remington Rand against the National Labor Relations Board to restrain it from holding hearings in the Remington-Rand strike.

CORDEVA, Alaska.— Striking railway workers have isolated this town from freight traffic in a disagreement over wages and winter pay guarantees. Company officials have now consented to negotiate with the workers.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.— Preliminary victories were chalked up by the famous Local 544 in its strike against chain stores and wholesale grocers. Some of the larger concerns are still holding out.

MOORESTOWN, N. J. — Six members of the Workers' Alliance were arrested here and held in \$80,000 bail when they demonstrated for fifty cents an hour for a 121-hour month instead of forty-five cents an hour for 134 hours.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.— Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate for governor, speaking here, demanded the abolition of the use of injunctions in labor disputes. He referred particularly to the injunction issued against Remington-Rand strikers by Judge Robertson.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Forty policemen with machine-guns and tear-gas bombs dispersed a group of strikers here outside the California Cotton Mills where the workers have been striking for two months. One picket was arrested.

TOLEDO, Ohio.— Union gas workers who have just won a victory over the city's two companies are now organizing their fellow-workers in the business department. They are also demanding pay for the time lost when on strike.

SALINAS, Cal. — All lettuce sheds in the Salinas-Watsonville district are surrounded by picket lines, as 3,500 lettuce workers have walked out, with the lettuce harvest only a few days off. The Growers and Shippers Association refuses to negotiate.

NEW KENSINGTON Pa. — Protesting against wage-chiseling and low pay, 200 workers of the General Electric day shift have struck a hundred per cent under the leadership of the United Electrical & Radio Workers. The night shift is expected to follow.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal. — A repetition of the 1934 waterfront strike becomes more imminent as the Dollar liner President Hoover is held up by the refusal of the sailors to move the ship until Charles Brenner, spokesman for the sailors, is reinstated.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—A campaign for a full pardon for Murray Melvin, vice-president of the Allied Printing Helpers Union, has just been launched. He was paroled, after being convicted on a framed charge of assaulting a strikebreaker.

Noted Liberals Endorse Thomas For President

CHICAGO—Franz Boas, world-famous anthropologist, Van Wyck Brooks, author and critic, and Evelyn Preston, president of the League of Women Shoppers have all joined the Independent Committee For Thomas and Nelson, it was announced at committee headquarters in New York.

Socialist headquarters here announced that B. J. Widick, editor of the "United Rubber Worker" had joined the Labor League for Thomas and Nelson.

"The vital importance for the future of the American labor movement of posing the basic issue of Socialism vs. Capitalism most sharply in the elections cannot be overestimated," he declared. "This should be obvious to all class-conscious trade unionists. As a constant proponent of a class-struggle program toward the achievement of Socialism, I am very anxious to do whatever I can in behalf of the Thomas campaign."

Connecticut Labor Okeys CIO Drive

WASHINGTON — With ten of the twelve unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization under suspension by order of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, prominent union leaders connected with the CIO issued appeals this week for unity.

Simultaneously the Connecticut State Federation of Labor, first of the state bodies to meet following the suspension, endorsed the CIO's program for unionizing the mass production industries, demanding the revocation of the council's decision and the postponement of the entire matter to the Tampa convention.

Must Prevent Split

Emil Rieve, president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers and delegate to the 1936 International Labor Conference, held at Geneva recently, asserted that "it is the paramount duty of every responsible trade unionist today to work vigorously and honestly to prevent a permanent split in the ranks of labor—a split that will weaken the movement in the fight to defeat reaction in all its forms."

At the same time, he declared, "we must honestly face the hard fact that it would not be worth while to hold the movement together if, when it is able to claim a nominal unity, it would be unable to do the job for which it was created and for which it has a historic mission." He added that the work being done by the CIO in organizing the basic and mass production industries was essential or else "the trade union movement in the United States has no real future."

Continue Drive

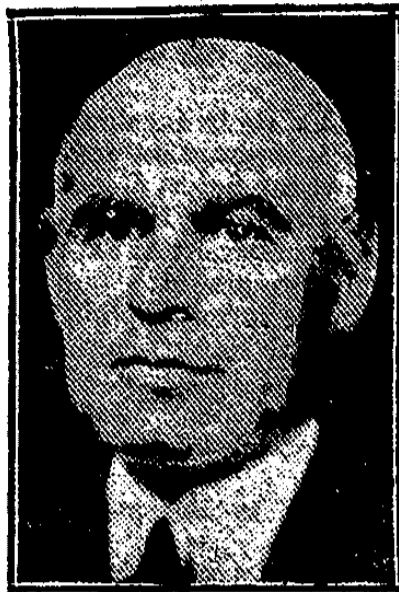
Meanwhile further progress in the steel organizing drive in Pittsburgh was reported, new inroads being made on the company unions. Representatives of the company union at the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, United States Steel subsidiary, themselves demanded a national poll of all Carnegie employees in order to have an opportunity for expressing support of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

The proposal came after the company union representatives had insisted that the corporation recognize their organization through the SWOC.

Milk Farmers Boo Lehman; Laidler Supports Strike

ALBANY, N. Y.—New Deal strike-breaking, kept under cover during the national presidential campaign, was forced into the open when Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York, Roosevelt enthusiast and the touted successor to the President, threatened to use the power of the state against any attempted milk "holiday" by dairy farmers seeking a living price for their produce. Dairy farmers gathered here at a hearing booed and jeered when a speaker incidentally praised Gov. Lehman and the Milk Control Board.

THERE'S A DIFFERENCE



New York dairy farmers know the difference between Socialist Harry W. Laidler (left) and Democratic Herbert Lehman (right), both candidates for governor. While Laidler pledged Socialist support of the impending milk "holiday," Lehman showed his colors in a blunt statement attacking the farmers.

Lehman bluntly issued a public statement in which he declared that if a "holiday" were called, the New Deal state administration would back up the milk trust in smashing the strike. He said: "A milk strike is a direct challenge to the power of the State. The State of New York functions according to orderly democratic processes of government. It cannot and will not be made to act by threats of strikes and disorders."

Meanwhile Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate for governor, pledged the support of his party to the farmers.

"It is time that we got at the roots of the milk problem," he said. "Governor Lehman must not be allowed to piddle around in this situation until a strike of desperation takes place and then use the State Police to put it down as he has in the past."

Reviewing Lehman's record on the milk problem, the Socialist candidate said: "In 1933, the Lehman corporation, of which the Governor was formerly an active member, owned 28,000 shares of National Dair common stock and other corporations in which the family was interested owned thousands of shares of Borden's. In seeking a solution to the milk problem, I hope Governor Lehman will not think in terms of the profits of these concerns but of the welfare of the dairy farmers and of the thousands of children whose parents cannot afford to pay present retail milk prices."

"The Socialist program on milk is specific and thoroughgoing. The Milk Control Board must be abolished. In its place must be set up a genuine cooperative marketing system operated and controlled by the working dairy farmers. Next, the Legislature must pass an act authorizing municipalities to set up milk distributing agencies."

Illinois Socialists Win Ballot Listing

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—The Socialist Party of Illinois is on the ballot in spite of increased legal obstacles set up by the New Deal 1935 Illinois legislature.

Petitions containing 27,000 signatures fulfilling the minimum requirement in each of 61 counties have been filed. The law, in a deliberate effort to block minority parties, required a total of 25,000 signatures of which at least 200 must come from fifty different counties. No signer may have participated in the primaries of either old party or signed any other petition.

Conn. Convention

HARTFORD, Conn.—Refusing to accept the decision of the McLevy machine, Connecticut Socialists withdrew from a secessionist convention and asserted their solidarity with Socialists throughout the nation in support of the candidacy of Norman Thomas and George Nelson.

Led by Devere Allen, member of the Socialist Party's national executive committee, they gathered in a special convention for the purpose of nominating a Socialist ticket and making plans for an aggressive campaign against capitalism in the Nutmeg State. Delegates from a majority of the party locals, including Darien, Wilton, North Haven, Hartford and New Haven, participated.

Allen predicted that the results of the deliberations of the convention would mean the "beginning of a real Socialist movement in Connecticut!"

Penna. Convention

READING, Pa.— Pennsylvania Socialists from 52 branches, officially represented by 110 delegates, met here in convention and prepared plans for the state campaign.

Joseph Coldwell, former cellmate of Eugene V. Debs and now Socialist candidate for the United States Senate in Rhode Island, delivered the keynote address in which he declared: "We cherish

the memory of Gene Debs as we pledge ourselves to carry on the organization he founded, the organization whose Socialist standard is being carried today by Norman Thomas and George Nelson."

The convention heard Roy Burt, national organizer, who brought greetings from the Socialist Party of the United States. With Philadelphia selected as the site of the new state office, the following state executive committee was elected: Jessie Holmes, chairman; Alice Hanson of Philadelphia; Councilman Charles Sands of Reading; Harry Gross of Northampton; B. Bowman of Bradford; Howard Stump of Bucks; Walter Hume of Lehigh; Hyman Seigel of Philadelphia; Samuel Oshry of Alleghany; and Henry Rath of Westmoreland.

PLOWED UNDER



American farmers, pondering their lot under the New Deal which first forbade them to grow crops and then, after the drought, gave them starvation relief. Tired of the New Deal, they will cast their ballots in 1936 for a farmer like themselves, George A. Nelson of Wisconsin, and his presidential running-mate, Norman Thomas.

THE SOCIALIST CALL

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

Editor: Aaron Levenstein

Business Manager: Hal Siegel

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HITLER MOVES TO WAR

The international highwayman, Adolf Hitler, this week blurted out his criminal intentions.

"If I had the Ural Mountains with their incalculable store of raw materials, Siberia with its mountain forests, or the Ukraine with its tremendous wheat fields, Germany . . . would be swimming in plenty."

The greatest monstrosity of the twentieth century then continued:

"I am not in the fortunate position of the Soviet Jews. Nevertheless Germany's problem must be solved.

"There is no such thing as saying it cannot be done. It can be done because it must be done."

Hitler's answer to the problem is war against—

THE SOVIET UNION!

Europe's madman may go on with his madness and actually set the world aflame with his firebrand. The Reichstag incendiary is seeking the pyromaniac's thrill again.

But Hitler will find that the workers throughout the world, already his sworn enemies, will rally to the defense of the Soviet Union.

In the past few years, the world has been amazed by the utter recklessness with which Hitler has started the goose-step toward war. But there are confederates who have helped him, and they must bear their burden of responsibility for pouring oil on the flames.

Greatest among these is England, which by her silence abetted the violation of the armament provisions of the Versailles treaty and the Locarno Pact. England's policy in the post-war period has been inspired by only two motives—protecting the stranglehold over the colonial empire and holding the balance of power on the continent. The peace of the world be damned!

In the grave situation that faces the world with Soviet Russia the object of Nazi aggression, peace has but one friend, the international working-class. Treaties and pacts, alliances and agreements are merely grass under the feet of enraged bulls; they cannot stay the headlong rush of destruction.

Only an organized united workingclass, conscious that capitalism—no matter what its form, democratic or fascist—is the cause of war, can win the fight for peace. Only an organized workingclass can assure protection to the Soviet Union in its defense.

FASCIST 'CIVILIZATION'

William Randolph Hearst is doing his dirtiest. Day after day his yellow journals are filled with stories of "atrocities" supposed to have been committed by the workers of Spain against the innocent and helpless fascists. No lies are too horrible, no untruths too unbelievable. They find a prominent place on Hearst's front page.

But the literary leper of San Simeon, whom decent, intelligent persons (as Dr. Charles A. Beard has said) will not touch with a ten-foot pole, has plenty of company in making a gory falsehood out of the facts. The other capitalists newspapers of this country have followed his lead. It is estimated on reliable authority that more churches have been burned by American newspapers than have ever been built in France and Spain combined! The fact is that the Spanish masses who are waging the defense against the fascists are preponderantly Catholic themselves.

We haven't published "atrocities" stories ourselves. We don't like to publish them—experience has proven that too many of them have been thought up in London or Lisbon. Spanish reporters are notorious for their good imagination.

But we received a dispatch last week written by Pierre van Paassen, the Federated Press correspondent in Europe, which must be published. We know van Paassen as an unusually reliable reporter whose dispatches for many years have placed him in the top rank of European newspapermen. He writes from the Saragossa front in Spain:

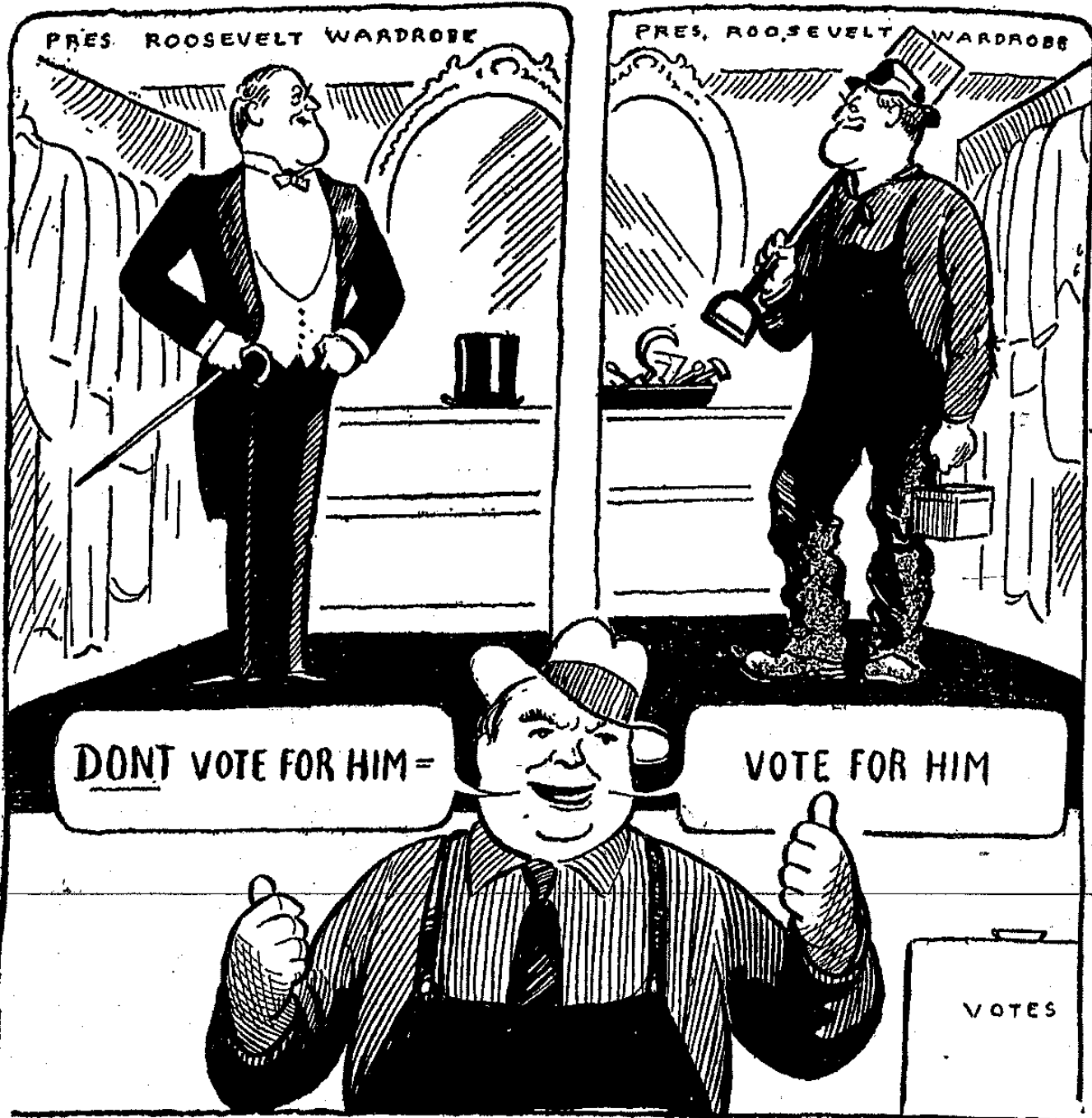
"Here on the northeastern front, fascist atrocities are horrible. To satisfy the blood-lust of the Moroccan troops (in Saragossa), a human corrida was held in the arena the Sunday before I write these lines. Fifty workers, men and women, were tied in a bunch, their bodies wrapped in red rags, and so left to face nine ferocious bulls, whose horns had been filed to razor sharpness for the occasion. For half an hour, the wild beasts were allowed to gore and toss—and then the martyrs were piled up, dead and wounded, and a huge pyre made of their bodies."

This, then, is Fascist civilization. This is Fascist freedom.

This is Fascism!

American labor, on guard! Today the race is between Socialism and Capitalism, foul parent of a fouler fascism. The future holds two alternatives—Socialist security or fascist fakery. Which do you choose?

IT'S THE SAME F. D. R.



PRO-ROOSEVELT LABOR HEADQUARTERS
LABOR'S NON PARTIZAN LEAGUE
AMERICAN LABOR PARTY & C.

Labor Leader: "Now then, ladies and gentlemen—the chance of a lifetime!"

Ten Commandments for Socialists

To The Editor:

Bearing in mind that the immediate future is fraught with the greatest of possibilities for good or evil, and firmly convinced that legions of our fellow citizens are more or less "tuned for the message," the writer would suggest that the following ten commandments be observed at least for the duration of the present campaign, if not longer:

1. Discuss, whenever and wherever possible the economic and political situation with those with whom you come in contact.
2. Always have some literature with you to hand to likely converts, politely asking them to pass it on if it looks good to them.
3. Always read your CALL in public, preferably like a book so that the first page is easily distinguishable.
4. Present your CALL to a likely convert a day or so before you receive the new number, displaying as often as possible the old number until then.
5. If you want to keep your CALL on file, buy another one to present to a likely convert.
6. Always wear the Socialist Party campaign button prominently.
7. Concentrate on striking

workers, making it clear that they must fight their bosses on the political as well as the industrial field.

8. When distributing literature, politely call the attention of readers of reactionary publications to the fact that there is another side to every story.

9. Apprise your foreign-speaking acquaintances of the existence of foreign language Socialist publications, like the Socialist Shtime in Yiddish and La Parola in Italian.

10. Try not to waste literature. Use your judgment in picking people to whom you hand leaflets. Make every piece count.

ABRAHAM BRONFMAN
New York City.

Mac Coleman's New Pamphlet

To The Editor:

I have just read McAlister Coleman's new pamphlet, "Symbols of 1936." I want to tell you that it's a corker and plenty peppy too. It ought to go over big everywhere.

Please tell old Uncle Mac to turn out more like 'em.
New York City. LEW KAY

Fighting Fascism

To The Editor:

The argument is sometimes advanced that we ought to vote for Roosevelt because if Landon is elected, we will have Fascism in the United States. This argument is based on the idea that we are nearer to Fascism now than we have ever been before.

While it is true that our country has moved closer to Fascism in the past few years, that seems to me to be an argument against Roosevelt than in his favor. If we have moved nearer to Fascism, we have done so under his administration. Shall we then send him back to the White House and give him four more years during which we shall continue to move toward Fascism.

As a matter of fact, Roosevelt has shown that he is not the man to stop reaction. That is clear from his own record. His own allies are the ones who are responsible for the violations of civil liberties, the Democratic governors in different states.

In the long run, Fascism comes out of capitalism. It does not make any difference who the individual capitalist is in office. When capitalism needs Fascism, it strikes its blow. Only the enemies of capitalism, who understand how it works, can stop it from establishing its dictatorship.

Therefore the workers must concentrate now on electing an enemy of capitalism or on building up a political organization that will be able eventually to elect him. The greater the danger from capitalism, the greater the importance of building the Socialist Party.

BENJAMIN GREENE
New York City

MAIL THIS TODAY!

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

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

THE TRUTH IN STEEL

By John Mann

Federated Press Financial Writer

IN FEW other industries does the dead hand of the past rest so heavily upon the present as in the steel industry.

The shortsighted greed of America's iron masters is today forcing both the workers and the public to pay a heavy toll for the bad management of the past. But the industry itself is beginning to realize that its sins pose problems which may bring it under severe government regulation, if not public ownership.

Stock 'Melons'

Partly because of its old habit of turning earnings into "melons" — stock dividends — and partly because of the enormous inertia of so vast an enterprise, the steel industry has piled up the vast capitalization of some \$5,000,000,000, most of which is now represented by obsolete equipment. The percentage of modern equipment of the leading companies was estimated recently at 25 per cent for U. S. Steel, 25 per cent for Bethlehem, 20 per cent for Republic, and 30 per cent for Jones & Laughlin. Thus it is figured that about three-fourths of the equipment of the largest companies is more or less obsolete.

But a large part of this outworn and inefficient equipment is still represented in the values of bonds and stocks upon which interest and dividends must be paid to satisfy owners. This is equivalent to paying returns on watered railway stock or on the vastly inflated values of utility holding companies. Someone has to pay for such legalized and concealed robbery.

The Worker Pays

It is the workers, who pay through low wages, and the public, that uses the product of the steel mills, who pay through prices that are too high. Indeed, everyone had to pay during the depression, for it was to no small extent the inflexibility of prices for steel goods that caused the depression to come upon us as swiftly and overwhelmingly as it did.

The railways and the public utilities are no longer permitted to pay interest and dividends upon enormous over-capitalizations because of the great public interest involved. Although the public does not come directly in touch with the steel industry, its indirect interest is enormous, both because the price of steel enters into the price of virtually everything else and because the purchasing power of steel workers provides a great market.

Displaces Men

There is another angle that requires attention. At the same time modern technology was vastly widening the use of steel, it created the automatic 4-high rolling mill. In the new Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corp., about 125 men do the work formerly done by about 2,000. This development spells the doom of hundreds of minor steel companies throughout the nation that cannot afford to buy mills costing \$20,000,000. Before many years most of their workers will be looking for new jobs.

Higher wages and shorter hours may check this tendency, but the present organization of capitalism insures that the tendency will continue, even if retarded. As labor sinks in importance economically, because the machine pushes it out, workers may eventually consider it good public policy to own the steel mills through their government. Not until then will machinery be made to serve man, rather than man the machine.

Looking Backward

FOUR YEARS AGO

INDIANAPOLIS, Sept. 14, 1932—(From the files of America For All)—More than 10,000 men and women jammed the huge Cradle Tabernacle here in the largest Socialist rally ever held in this city. The meeting provided a great climax to a successful tour by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, through Ohio, Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas.

NEW YORK, Sept. 16, 1932—(From the files of America For All)—Overwhelming support for the Thomas campaign from independent liberals was seen here as The Committee for 1,000 for Thomas and Maurer was swelled to The Committee for 5,000 with plans under foot to make it eventually a Committee for 100,000. Elmer Davis, a leading magazine contributor, urged support of the Socialist ticket in an article in Harper's Magazine.

TWENTY YEARS AGO

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 19, 1916—(From the files of The New York Call)—Socialists broke a rigid censorship of the Associated Press which ignored news of the Socialist campaign after Allan L. Benson, Socialist candidate for President, denounced the A. P. for its bias. Benson, speaking here, exposed the dangerous menace in the conscription rider to the New Army Bill, sponsored by President Wilson.

Booster Arithmetic:

Two Plus Two Equals Four! Subs Will Win The War!

We want to talk facts and figures. Two plus two make four. Co-operation plus energy makes Socialism. And that's what you're after, isn't it?

Well, here's a formula for your proletarian arithmetic:

One new reader of The CALL is a part of the process of adding greater numbers to the Socialist forces. A constant reader is as good as enlisted in the ranks.

But multiplication of Socialist membership and Socialist sympathizers is the basic principle of our mathematics.

Some Figures

Now then, write these figures in your memories. 50. That represents the number of pennies necessary to get a half-year subscription to The CALL. Note the figure 100. That is the number of pennies that assures the delivery of The CALL for one year.

Just think of sending The CALL into somebody's home every week, carrying its cargo of knowledge and truth. Get enough people aboard the good ship Socialist CALL and start them on the journey to the workers' world.

And here is how you can do it. You can buy half-year subscription cards from The CALL for 40 cents; you sell them for 50 cents. In the case of yearly subs, you buy them for 75 cents and sell them for a dollar. You keep the difference and use the money to finance your campaign activities. Field organizers for party organizations can finance their way on this basis.

Send in your order at once for the cards, and enclose your cash in advance. That will make it unnecessary for you to keep sending the money as you sell the

ARE YOU LISTED?

Subscriptions for the week totaled 153. Here are some of the people who were on the job:

SUBSCRIPTIONS

S. F., Pennsylvania	20
Wm. Englebison, Robbinsdale, Minn.	6
D. Palmer, Peoria, Ill.	6
Henry Pinski, N. Y. C.	5
W. E. Armon, W. Va.	4
H. Fromowitz, Brooklyn, N. Y.	4
Reuben Jones, Norfolk, Va.	4
John Macko, Bridgeport, Conn.	3
E. Flatbush Branch, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2
Cleve Long, Reading, Pa.	2
N. K. Shaffer, Philadelphia, Pa.	2
Julius Sherman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2
Louis Rich, Bronx, N. Y.	2
Sam Portnoy, Bronx, N. Y.	1
Allan Scott, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1
Paul Cotton, Pa.	1

individual cards. On these cards, The CALL can only have cash transactions.

We have received a great many replies to the advertisement in last week's CALL which announced the premiums to be given away for those who turn in sufficient subs.

Of course, these subs must be the regular fifty-cent and one-dollar subs, not those obtained through the special reduced rate with the cards described above.

The CALL is always bringing new opportunities. You've heard of people killing two birds with one stone. Well, you can accomplish three purposes with one blow: Build the Party; Build The CALL; and Build a library for yourself.

And just one more note: Don't forget the donations. The money is needed!

Build Your Library With CALL SUBS

\$20 Group

- "Karl Marx" by Franz Mehring . . . \$3.00
- "History of the Russian Revolution" by Leon Trotsky (New Edition) . . . \$3.00
- "John Reed" by Granville Hicks . . . \$2.75
- "A Program For Modern America" by Harry W. Laidler (Autographed) . . . \$2.50
- "After the New Deal—What?" by Norman Thomas (Autographed) . . . \$2.00

\$10 Group

- "Karl Marx" by Otto Ruehle . . . \$1.75
- "Dynamite" by Louis Adamié . . . \$1.75
- "My Life" by Emma Goldman . . . \$1.50
- "Robbery Barina" by Matthew Josephson . . . \$1.49

HERE'S HOW!

Pick the books you want. Then rustle up subs (no renewals). Get 'em at 50 cents or \$1.00—they all count in your total.

If you want a book in the \$20 group, send us \$20 worth of subs and the book is yours! If you want one in the \$10 or \$15 group, send us the subs and name your choice!

Send your subs AS YOU GET THEM! We'll keep a record of what you send in. This means that your subscriber gets the CALL immediately.

\$15 Group

- "What Marx Really Meant" by G. D. H. Cole . . . \$2.00
- "Economic Interpretation of the American Constitution" by Charles A. Beard . . . \$2.00
- "Handbook of Marxism" by Emilie Burns \$2.00
- "Introduction to Dialectical Materialism" by August Thalheimer . . . \$2.00
- "Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens" . . . \$1.00

\$5 Group

- "Rebels and Renegades" by Max Nomad \$2.50
- "Property or Peace" by H. N. Brailford \$3.00
- "House of Morgan" by Lewis Corey . . . \$1.00
- "Why We Fought" by Hartley Grattan \$2.50
- "Letters of Sacco and Vanzetti" . . . \$1.75

This offer will run from Sept. 15th to Nov. 15th

Socialist Call, 21 East 17th Street, New York City
Enclosed Is a List of New Subscribers

YOUR NAME		ADDRESS	
50 Cents For 22 Weeks		\$1 For 1 Year	
NAME	NAME	NAME	NAME
ADDRESS	ADDRESS	ADDRESS	ADDRESS
NAME	NAME	NAME	NAME
ADDRESS	ADDRESS	ADDRESS	ADDRESS
NAME	NAME	NAME	NAME
ADDRESS	ADDRESS	ADDRESS	ADDRESS

THE POWER PALAVER

By McAlister Coleman

TAKE your hats off, boys and girls, and give a pip-pip and a hell for your correspondent and elderly columnist who has been all tangled up with Viscounts, Dukes and Herr Doktors for the past week at the Third World Power Conference at Washington. At this power pow-wow the idea was originally that delegates from the Seven Seas were to come together and chew the fat about electricity and gas. Everything was nicely arranged with Congress giving \$25,000 for the expenses.

And then along came the Edison Electric Institute (the fancy name for the second-story men who poison the minds of the consumers with blab about the altruism of the utilities) and crashed the gate of this "scientific" conference with a \$75,000 contribution, and after them came the electric appliance manufacturer with \$25,000 more, and thereafter Science went out the window and the whole smear went into a social whirl.

An Unwelcome Guest

I had never dreamed that it would be necessary in reporting a power conference to drag down to Washington an outfit that by comparison would make the lilies of "Esquire Magazine" look naked, but that was the way it was. Door-keepers and gate-tenders at the sessions of the conference looked at the black-rust-brown-cigarette-burned-1932 model suit in which your correspondent was clad and turned him out of champagne-punch parties, balls, receptions, and dinners in the waiting-room of the Pennsylvania Railroad station, with horror.

We did however, get quite chummy with the Viscount Falmouth. It seems that up to three o'clock in the afternoon, blown-in-the-bottle (and "blown" is right) Viscounts never wear neck-ties in hot weather. After that they emerge in striped gray trousers and trick-looking collars. However as I palled around with the Viscount only in the mornings, I was accepted up to three at any rate and I got quite an idea about the social outlook of the Viscount which is that of a man-eating shark. The Viscount came across handsomely for the Tory campaign fund and thinks that the German delegates to the Conference were just ducky.

Hitler's Representatives

The German delegates consisted of Dr. Dorpmueller, a large putzer, all dressed up in an Iron Cross and an old-fashioned Prince Albert who used to be a Social-Democrat, but who according to an interview with this correspondent found it more "Konvenient" to Hell Hitler. Among the other 125 delegates that Der Fuehrer sent over to tell us how well power was doing under the swastika, was the official press-agent for this swinish riff-raff, one Carl Recke, who looks as though they had just let him out of Sing Sing. These boys dominated the Conference. They were up and down all the lobbies, button-holing all hands with their broken-English propaganda and their fancy pamphlets. They saw to it that at the \$7.50 a plate depot dinner the Nazi flag was right bang in the middle of all the foreign emblems.

The Russians had a delegation, too, but nobody paid much attention to them. That is, not until they came through with their contribution to the Conference, a beautifully printed 480-page book about the power resources of the USSR that made the rest of the papers sent to the Conference look sick.

The Viscount and I went out to the Smithsonian Institute one stifling hot noon to see the Secretary of that venerable institution give a demonstration of his "sun-collector." The Secretary is a nice old goat named Dr. C. G. Abbot and he has rigged up a strange device, worked by mirrors, with which he claims he cooks eggs at his home at Mount Wilson. On the way out, the Viscount said that he couldn't see any use in the damned thing since there was no way to fix rates for it.

Later we all went out to a garden party at the British Embassy where the Viscount and a couple of Dukes and I talked about this and that. This party was after we had been to the electrified farm in Virginia, where they have screens that electrify flies, and gadgets that electrify hogs, so that these interesting farm animals take on a strange resemblance to executives of the privately-owned electric systems of the United States.

All in all, World Power Conferences hereafter should be covered by society editors, not unfrocked devils who have to eke out a precarious existence by working for the consumers. That is, if they are going to be subsidized by the Edison Electric Institute and similar organizations of rate-racketeers.

The pay-off on the whole proposition, which should have been one of the most significant get-togethers of our times, was in the three hundred papers presented to the Conference but not read because of garden-parties etc. If anyone has the time or patience to dig the gist out of them, he will find that all across the world, power and collectivism are becoming synonymous and that the only answer to the constant supply of cheap and abundant power lies in the collective ownership of the production and distribution of electrical resources.

FIGHTING FOR SOCIALISM

In Florida, Socialists Are Waging A War For The Disfranchised Millions

IN the state of Florida with its contrasts of wealthy winter resorts for millionaires and extreme poverty for workers and farmers, the Socialists are conducting a great fight not only for themselves but for the disfranchised millions of Americans.

For in the United States, where according to the story books all men are equal and democracy rules, thousands and millions of workers and farmers are denied the right to vote for those who would rule them. Sometimes because of race, sometimes because of poverty—and sometimes because the politicians who lick the boots of monopoly capitalism refuse to allow the Socialist Party name to appear on the ballot.

The situation in Florida is typical of the latter. The law provides that a political party can be formed only if it polls 30 percent of the total votes cast in one of the two preceding elections—and it makes no provisions for a new party getting on the ballot.



POULNOT

Such is the democracy of Boss Farley and Roosevelt! Should the workers and farmers of Florida decide to form a party of their own, divorced from the discredited two old parties of capitalism, there is no provision by which this might be accomplished.

Nominate Full Slate

But the Socialists have faced the challenge four-square. Meeting in state convention in Tampa, they nominated a full slate to oppose the Democrats and Republicans. Leading the slate is Charles E. Jensen of Tampa for Governor, Charles W. Keyes and W. L. Foster for United States Senator, and Eugene F. Poulnot, Lee Hankins, F. S. Porter, Will C. Shumaker and B. T. Tiller for Congress.

Do some of these names seem familiar? Two of them are known throughout the world wherever men and women love liberty and life. For it was Jensen and Poulnot who made world-famous the Shoemaker case.

It was on a night in November, 1935, that a few unemployed of Tampa met together to lay plans for the formation of a branch of the Workers' Alliance of America, national organization of the jobless. They were all peace-loving people, Americans who had decided that they could no longer sit by and do nothing.

But even while they met in a private home, there came an imperious knock on the door. They opened. Outside were Tampa police. Although they had no warrant, although they had no evidence, they pushed their way in and arrested these men. They took them to the police station "for investigation," they said.

But there was no investigation. They had been forced to leave home to go to the police station while cops and politicians, who had sworn to uphold their law, donned masks and prepared the lash. For the Ku Klux Klan was riding in Florida!

Kidnapped and Murdered

As the men left the police station, they were seized and kidnapped. They were driven out to a lonely road and the horrible beating began. The criminals were bitter against Joseph Shoemaker, a Socialist who had been preaching the gospel of workers' freedom. They bared Shoemaker's body and then lashed him so the open flesh, they poured burning tar. Satisfied, with gushes of blood—and in the new wounds, over the their nefarious deed done, they left—with their victims lying outstretched on the ground. Shoemaker died.

Throughout the nation, the alarm sounded. In New York, Norman Thomas took the lead in the formation of the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa. Progressives and liberals joined with Socialist and labor forces in demanding that the murderers of Joseph Shoemaker be brought to justice.

It is men like these that are leading the Socialist ticket for peace, freedom and plenty. And it is men like these that the Florida politicians have refused a place on the ballot.

My Vote—Thomas For President

By WILLIAM PICKENS
Field Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

I shall vote for the program advocated by Norman Thomas. Any critical mind has seen all along in this campaign that the set of principles advocated by Norman Thomas, George A. Nelson and the political party which they head, are far in advance of those which Roosevelt or Landon and their associates, even dare to be suspected. Not only that, but the man Thomas has shown a courage and consistency vastly superior to that of any of the old party leaders. He shows an exhilarating joy in battling for a political philosophy and the truths of human society which he feels sure will and must triumph if the mass of men is to move forward.

Some raise the "practical" question: "Why throw away your vote?" Well, thanks to Democratic control and the Republican machine, the masses of American Negroes have comparatively few votes to throw away. But they will certainly throw away what votes they have by dropping them into the hands of political leaders who have not even the courage to endorse unequivocally the proposal of a law to keep Negroes from being burned alive by out-law mobs, without a trial, and often without formal accusation.

Thomas' Superiority

Some will say: "Well, Thomas and his followers can afford to be specific, can afford to endorse plain declarations in behalf of racial and human equality, because they do not expect to be elected, and know they will not be charged with the responsibility for carrying out such measures."—That charge of insincerity is an assumption which can be tested in only one way: by giving Thomas and his associates the power to carry out their professed principles and aims. As contrasted with Norman Thomas and

FIGHTER



William Pickens, noted fighter for Negro rights, who endorsed Norman Thomas for President.

his party, we can set the historic and universally known insincerity of both the major parties.

Logic, cunning, and self-respect would all urge the black voter openly and vociferously to support Norman Thomas and his program. It is ridiculous for us to look at the reputations and the records of Norman Thomas and of his major party opponents without seeing the moral superiority of Thomas. Those who have listened and read have no less doubt of his intellectual superiority, or at least of his superior honesty.

The masses of Negro voters have nothing to hope for or expect from either of the other parties. Those masses ought to feel free and untrammelled to support the right idea, with nothing in the world to lose for so doing. Of course the "machine men" must run with their machines, and gamble on winning or losing with the machine. But the plain voter can at least achieve the joy of voting in accordance with conscience and intelligence. To such, the privilege of voting for a man like Thomas is its own reward.

The Next Emancipation

By FRANK R. CROSSWAITH



Frank R. Crosswaith, the famous Negro orator and labor leader.

The outcome of the current Presidential campaign should be of deep and transcending concern to the tolling millions of America. To the Negro masses especially, the election should be of overshadowing interest; for not since the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and the consequent Civil War from which the Negro emerged as a free man so-called, have economic issues and social view-points played so important a part in a presidential election as in the current one.

About six years ago, the prosperity bubble which Coolidge had skillfully kept floating above the heads of the people and which Hoover later tried also to juggle burst with a deafening sound and disastrous effects upon the nation.

Poverty Knows No Color Line

Millions, who had been made to believe that the road from the log cabin to the White House was still open for them and that the tradition of every person having a chance to rise out of the depths of poverty to the heights of wealth and privilege was indeed a reality, suddenly became aware of the cruelty and uncertainty that haunt workingmen and women under the capitalist system. Unemployment with its consequent poverty and baneful social consequences overtook the people. The wheels of industry suddenly

refused to turn in the face of the needs of the people.

Those who by their labor of hand and brain had made America the richest country in the world found themselves propertyless, hungry and without work. Capitalism had finally demonstrated its inability to function in behalf of the most useful elements in society—the working class. The long, winding lines of unemployed hungry workers that stretched from coast to coast contained men and women of

every race, creed and color. Poverty knows no color line.

What Socialism Would Bring To Us

Chafing under the lash of the depression, the people drove out of office Herbert Hoover, the Republican, and elected Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democrat. Since then, the workless millions have been aided only to an extent sufficient to keep them from rising in rebellious wrath against the system which exploited them and substituting for it one pivoted upon the enlightened principle that all things commonly needed should be commonly owned. Under such a system, commodities would be produced to satisfy the needs of mankind instead of the lust of profits for the idle private owners of industry. This is Socialism.

But Socialism would not only guarantee to every worker a job and the full social value of his labor. It would also insure, to each individual under its leisure, cultural and educational opportunities, protection from lynching and other forms of social tyranny. In other words, Socialism would measure a man's right to the life, happiness, freedom and safety of his fellows.

Under Socialism, there would be no need for man to exploit his brother for personal gain, because having access to land and machinery necessary to produce the things essential to a full and complete happy life, man can exploit the machine instead. The human race would thus be released to enjoy the full fruits of the marvellous inventions and discoveries which our great knowledge of the world has at least made possible.

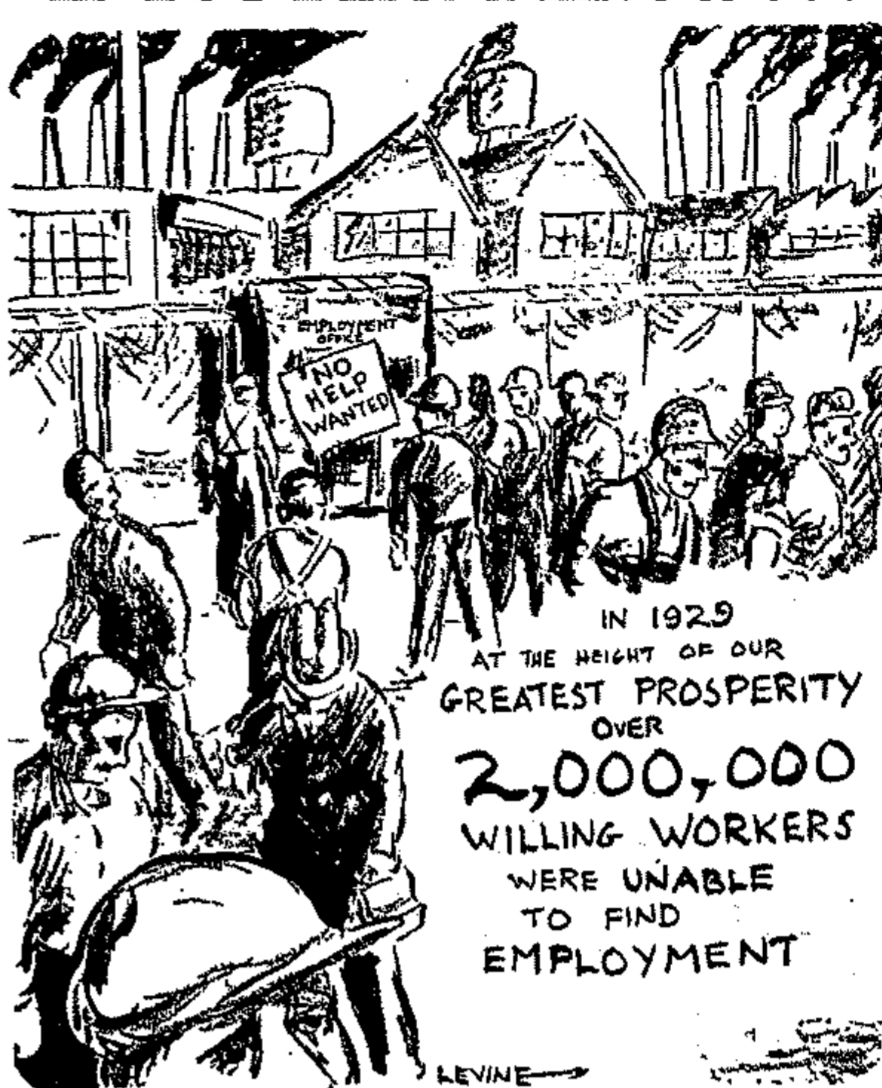
The Price Negroes Pay

Negroes should be interested in promoting such a program because in times of industrial activities, it is WE who are made to work harder and longer for less pay. WE pay higher rent for cheaper homes. WE are segregated and lynched. WE are disfranchised. WE are the doormat upon which the rest of the world wipes its collective feet.

In times of depression, we are are made to suffer even more cruelty. We are first to be discharged and the last to receive relief. The economic and political inequality and the social crucifixion to which we are exposed cry out to high heaven. In all walks of life we are made to carry our cross and wear our crown of thorns because we are Negroes and because we belong to the working class.

The Federal government is content to look upon our daily crucifixion—without feeling responsibility for softening our lot in American life. For 300 years in slavery, we labored and laid the basis of America's wealth. Our sweat, our blood and our bonds have

IF YOU DIDN'T KNOW...



enriched the nation's soil and fertilized its battlefields. We have made generous and enduring contributions to America's culture. Our music and our songs are among the nation's most cherished heritage.

The time has come for us to take stock of ourselves and thus soften our hard fate. There is no better time to begin than now.

The Voice

Of Norman Thomas

For more than 70 years, Republicans and Democrats have ruled the nation—but like "Old Man River," the oppression of the Negro "keeps rolling along." Hoover had nothing to say about this oppression and Roosevelt dares not say anything about it for fear of offending the South where the Democratic Party has its strength.

As against the silence of both Republicans and Democrats, we have the clear, resolute, indomitable and tireless voice of Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, speaking out for justice for the Negro and for all

who work. On this page is quoted the tribute to Norman Thomas from the current issue of the "Black Worker," official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

But it is not only the fine personal qualities of Norman Thomas that should win for him the support of every enlightened Negro. The platform of the Socialist Party upon which Norman Thomas stands as a candidate is far more important to us. Each plank in that platform reflects every genuine and wholesome aspiration of every workingman and every Negro.

With the victory of the Socialist Party, the economic slavery of our time will be abolished and true freedom for the Negro and for all workers will become a reality.

My kinsmen: Whoever you are and wherever the Republicans and Democrats permit you to vote—whether in the North, South, East or West, Vote a Straight Socialist Ticket and thus hasten the dawn of there is no justice.

A CAMPAIGN CARAVAN

Getting The Votes By Getting Religion Is The New Campaign Technique Of The Candidates

By SIDNEY HERTZBERG

EBBETS' FIELD in Brooklyn is the home of a baseball team called the Dodgers, so named because for years it has been dodging the pennant. It was singularly appropriate, then, that Father Coughlin, one of the most artful dodgers in politics, should have delivered an address there last week. He spoke a few hours after the Dodgers had split a double header with the Cardinals, which kept things in the family. It is awful to contemplate what the Father would have said if the Dodgers had played the Cincinnati Reds and the Reds won.

From his pulpit on second base, the good Father called on the Almighty to bring him home; and if God strikes out, it'll be too bad for Lenke. For this campaign, you understand, is "between the basic principles of Christianity and the old doctrines of paganism which seem to be rising up to defy God, rather than a contest between candidates."

Roosevelt, The Shepherd

It's always a comfort to have God on your side, especially as your personal campaign manager. But it will probably be a little hard for the country to accept Roosevelt and Landon as a couple of pagans. As a matter of fact, in his Charlotte speech last week, Roosevelt practically assured the people that he was the shepherd of the twenty-third Psalm who was leading us to green pastures and still waters. To be sure, it was a suave job. It should be read with musical accompaniment—preferably "The Afternoon of a Faun." Never once did he say outright: "I did it." He didn't have to. Nor is there any reason to believe that he quoted the scripture with the conscious purpose of identifying himself with it. He is not a denigrator.

Yet, to a man who can express himself so felicitously, other thoughts should have suggested themselves. The President spoke near the cotton country where sharecroppers who are made to lie down in green pastures are usually about to be whipped. "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want." What brutal irony in these words for the millions of disinherited.

At the risk of being sacrilegious, let us consider some of the mundane features of the President's idyll. "You will agree," he said, "that, from the material aspect, this nation's consuming power has been rapidly restored."

And Who Are The Sheep?

We will not agree and neither will the American Federation of Labor nor the President's own Departments of Agriculture and Labor. For the past few months, these two government departments have been making a scientific analysis of the food budgets of the "average American family." The day after the President spoke, the AFL through its monthly survey of business, revealed some of the conclusions:

"In New Orleans, the labor department found that 31 percent of the families studied, and 43 percent in Birmingham, did not spend enough for food to buy even the adequate diet at minimum cost... It is safe to estimate that over one-third of employed workers' families in New Orleans and about half in Birmingham are undernourished."

In eight North Atlantic cities, the Department of Agriculture reports that only 26 per cent of the average workers' families examined "met the requirements for an adequate diet and allowed a generous margin of safety"; 44 per cent had adequate food but no margin of safety; while 30 per cent "did not have enough food to meet even the minimum requirement."

And, Now, The Butchers!

But business is improving! "The National City Bank reports income of 285 firms as 62.6 per cent above last year in the first half of 1936, and prospects are good for continued increase in profits."

"What hope do these good business prospects hold for those who have never had enough to eat?" the AFL asks. "The answer is on the whole, very little."

No amount of psalm-singing can drown out these facts. For the millions of the people who still are hungry, the President's poetry is only blank verse.

New Pamphlet Tells Labor Solution Of Negro Question

"True Freedom For Negro and White Labor" by Frank R. Crosswaith and Alfred Baker Lewis. Introduction by Norman Thomas. Published by the Negro Labor News Service, 312 W. 125th St., New York City. 60 pages. Illustrated. 10 cents.

"At the bottom the Negro question is a labor question, and is part of the whole problem of justice for the underdog, for those who labor and labor hard and long, yet get only a small part of what they produce in return."

This is the common conclusion reached by the two authors of "True Freedom," a white man and a Negro. Crosswaith is one of the outstanding Negro labor leaders in this country and is well-known for his brilliant oratory. He is at present an organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and is chairman of the Negro Labor Committee. Lewis has been an active participant in the struggle for equal rights for Negroes and is state secretary of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts.

Packed in 60 pages is a brief history of slavery, statistics showing the rapid progress Negroes have made in the professions in spite of restrictions, an analysis of prejudice, the lynching record of the United States, a discussion of the various proposals advanced for "solving" the Negro problem, the record of the Republican and Democratic parties on discrimination and anti-lynching legislation, the advances made by unions in letting down

Don't Save This Call — Pass It On!

WILL YOU VOTE FOR THIS?



When you vote Republican or Democratic, you vote for more scenes like this—a ghastly picture of a lynching in the South. When you vote Socialist, you vote to stop lynching.

THE LIFE OF NORMAN THOMAS



A GREAT STAFF OF WRITERS AND ARTISTS PUBLISHED THE NEW YORK LEADER (formerly the Call). UNFORTUNATELY, BECAUSE OF LACK OF ADS, IT CLOSED DOWN.

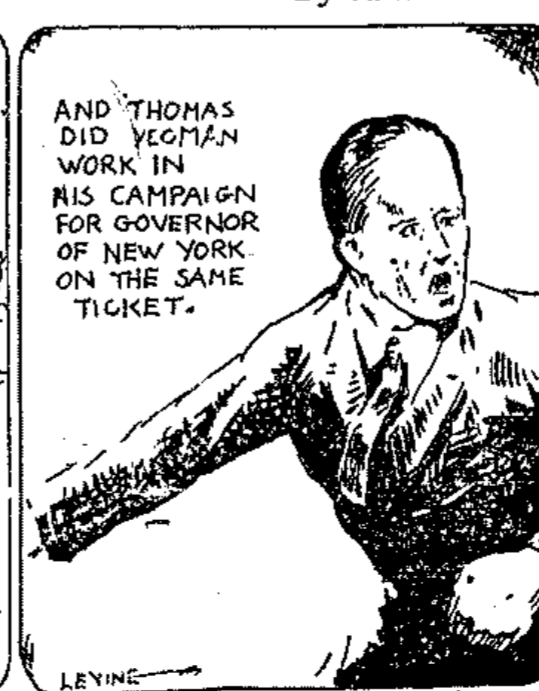
The LaFollette Campaign



OUT OF THE WRECKAGE CAME NORMAN THOMAS' FAMOUS COLUMN "AT THE FRONT."



WITH THE HOPE OF EMERGING WITH A GENUINE LABOR PARTY THE SOCIALIST PARTY ENDORSED THE LAFOLLETTE CANDIDACY AND PLATFORM.



AND THOMAS DID VEGAN WORK IN HIS CAMPAIGN FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK ON THE SAME TICKET.

How Shall Negro Labor Vote?

By NOAH C. A. WALTER, JR.

BLOOD and hunger is the lot of the American Negro. Like his white fellow-worker, he is the victim of unemployment and of violence in the struggle to keep himself alive. But in the case of the Negro, the suffering is even greater.

The cruelty that America has shown to its Negro workers who have contributed their brawn and brain to its enrichment has continued for years under Democratic presidents and Republican presidents alike.

Particularly in the last few years, the Negro has felt the burden of added economic misfortune. In the years when the American worker was supposed to be enjoying "prosperity," the Negro's wages were less than those of his white brother. Professional and executive positions were closed to him not merely because of his inability to pay the expenses involved in the necessary education but also because of the deliberate discrimination practised against him.

Depression's Tide

The doors of opportunity in America are shut against workers. They are doubly barred against Negroes.

When the depression came, the tide of unemployment struck hardest against the Negro. A conference on the economic status of the Negro, held in Washington in May 1933, reported "a larger amount of unemployment among the colored than among the whites and has forced them to appear in disproportionate numbers among the seekers of relief."

The Handbook of Labor Statistics for 1936, published by the United States government, admits frankly that "unemployment has been more widespread among the Negroes, and they have formed a larger proportion of those needing relief than they do of the general population."

But what have the politicians done about this? Have they demanded fair treatment for the Negro worker? Republicans and Democrats—they have kept silent.

Unconcerned as they are with the welfare of the people in general, they are even less concerned about the conditions under which the Negro masses live. To politicians, government is just another business, just another method of making profit for themselves. Why, then, should they attempt to serve the Negro masses when it is more profitable to rob them?

The fact is that under President Roosevelt's relief program, which has given little enough to the whites, the Negro has experienced a policy of discrimination. Labor Research Front, summarizing a bulletin published by the FERA, entitled "The Rural Negro on Relief, February, 1935," declares:

"They (the Negro workers) receive less on home relief and get fewer work relief jobs and at lower wages."

In the eastern cotton area, for example, the Negroes form less than six per cent of the relief population than they do of the general population—in spite of the fact that a greater proportion of the Negroes are in need of relief because they are the first to be fired from their jobs.

Discrimination On Relief

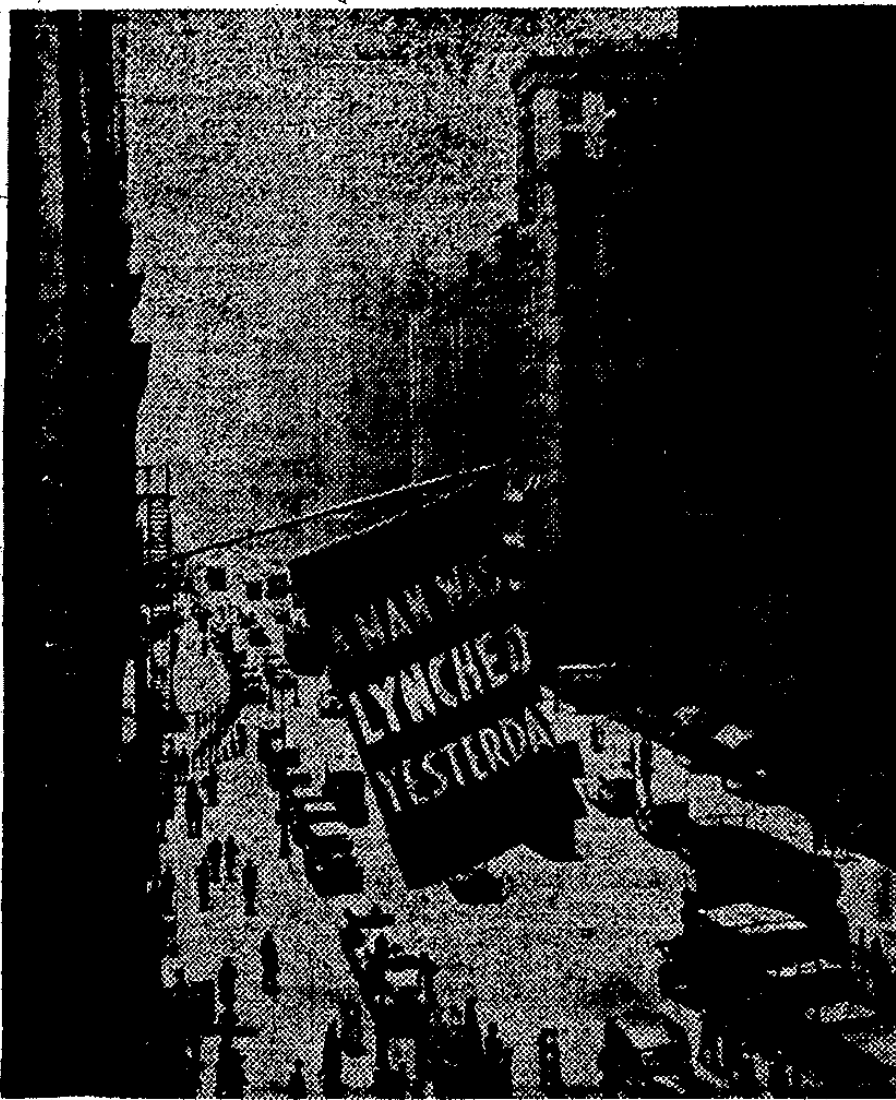
"In both the eastern and western cotton areas Negroes received smaller benefits and were less likely to get work relief," says Labor Research Front's study. "Negroes had 33 per cent of the work relief jobs, though they formed 54 per cent of the population. White families in country, village and town received from one to six dollars more per month than Negro families."

In industrial centres like New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh and elsewhere, the proportions are estimated to be even more shocking.

Differences in relief scales are being maintained by the Roosevelt administration. The starvation of Negro unem-

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not existed first. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much higher consideration."—Abraham Lincoln

THE FLAG OF SHAME



This flag of shame waved over New York's Fifth Avenue last week. It was hung out of the offices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to mark the ninth lynching of the year—this one in Georgia on September 6.

ployed is being carried through by Democratic and Republican state and city officials. And neither Roosevelt nor Landon pays any attention to the situation.

At the same time, Negroes continue to be the victims of violence and terror. The story of the sharecroppers, a large proportion of whom are Negroes, is well known. The murder of Frank Weems, Negro member of the militant and heroic Southern Tenant Farmers Union, is known to the whole nation because of the courage of Socialists who have dared to come to the aid of the sharecroppers. Of all the presidential candidates, only Norman Thomas, the Socialist, has demanded that action be taken to punish the guilty and to prevent a repetition of the crime. But Roosevelt has deliberately refused to meet the challenge which Thomas has put to him, preferring to cover with presidential silence the crimes committed by his Democratic friends and assistants, like Senator Robinson, in Arkansas.

So far as anyone can judge from Roosevelt's public statements, nothing is wrong in such southern states as Arkansas. Roosevelt has even praised that state as "the wonder state."

Roosevelt And Lynching

In almost every state of the South which is so solid for Roosevelt, Negroes are constantly menaced by lynchings and by the sort of experience that Frank Weems met. The Congress of the United States, controlled by the Democratic Party, a Congress which passed every bill that Roosevelt called "must," refused to pass the federal anti-lynching law. Why didn't Roosevelt put such a bill on his "must" list? Because here again Roosevelt is more interested in his Democratic southern friends than he is in

the welfare of human beings and the reputation for decency of our country. And besides that, Negroes in the south have no votes.

The Republican Party has also shelved the Negro in order to gain support in the Lily White South.

Governor Alf Landon is callous to the problem of protecting Negro rights. In his own state he has refrained from taking steps to accord equal rights to Negroes. Neither of the old party politicians has made an effort to end the system of Jim-Crowism that is to be found in large sections of the country, or to protect the legal rights of Negroes like the Scottsboro boys in Democratic Alabama or of Angelo Herndon in Democratic Georgia who is being railroaded to jail not because of his radical or political opinions but because of his color.

In Kansas, Negro youth is segregated in Jim Crow schools and the denial of social and economic rights of the Negro is as vicious as in the South.

On the other hand, the Socialist Party has openly challenged this terrible oppression. It has summoned the white workers to the defense of their Negro brothers, pointing out that the oppression of the Negro is part of the same system in which some try to live off the labor of others. It has shown that employers prefer to keep the wages of Negroes down because they can use that as a whip to drive down the wages of white workers. A cheap labor market can be used to cheapen all labor.

The Socialist Fight

Socialist workers have always co-operated with Negroes in their efforts to build up organizations to protect their economic and political interests. On the trade union field, in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in the Negro Labor Committee, in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, in all such organizations, Socialists are actively engaged in assisting the work of building up a powerful solidarity. In the American Federation of Labor, Socialists have always been outspoken in favoring full rights for Negro workers.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the organization which for years has been one of the leading forces in the struggle for Negro emancipation, has always had the co-operation of the Socialists.

While the old parties have disregarded the demands for protective legislation made by the NAACP, the Socialist Party is actively agitating, as its platform makes clear, for "the enforcement of constitutional guarantees of economic, political, and social equality for the Negro and all other oppressed minorities; and the enactment and enforcement of a federal anti-lynching law."

Above all the Socialist Party is teaching the importance of solidarity of workers of all races, colors and creeds in the fight for the establishment of a better world. The destiny of all workers is linked together. Security can come to the Negro only when security has been won by the whole working class.

To win a world of plenty and abundance for all, we must have Socialism, a system of social ownership of the means by which we create the things needed by all men, regardless of their color. That is what a victory of the workers will bring.

In this campaign, the Socialist Party represents the hopes of Negro and white workers. The old parties represent the misery and suffering we have known for years. A vote for the old parties is a vote for jim-crowism; it is a vote for masked night-riders; it is a vote for the lyncher's rope and the flaming fire-brand.

A vote for Norman Thomas is a vote for worker's solidarity and for the human world that it can bring.

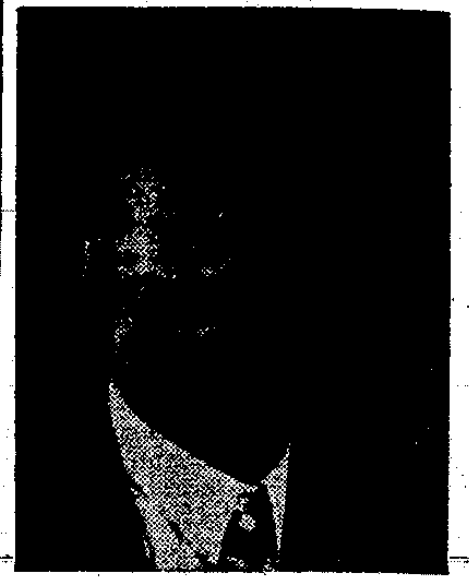
NEGRO WORKERS! JOIN YOUR PARTY, THE SOCIALIST PARTY! VOTE SOCIALIST!

Nelson Asks Unity Of Farmers, Labor

NEW ORLEANS—Speaking as simply as the life he lives, George A. Nelson, Wisconsin dirt-farmer chosen by the Socialists as their candidate for Vice-President, appealed to the farmers and workers of the nation to unite in order to bring about a world of abundance.

"We farmers were asked to ship six million little pigs to fertilizer plants—not to slaughter houses," he said, in an attack on

CHAIRMAN



A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who was chairman of a meeting at Harlem, attended by representatives of 10 states, at which plans were laid for a nation-wide drive to enroll Negroes into the Socialist Party.

the New Deal farm program. "We then had the further privilege of buying back fertilizer so we could raise more and better corn to feed our hogs, so the hogs could be sent to the fertilizer plant to start the circle all over again!"

"But there's a certain advantage to the plan," he commented. "Mother can use all those fertilizer bags to sew patches on our overalls."

Nelson lauded the Socialists' farm program as "practical and intelligent."

"They propose to cut out the exploiting middle men," he declared, "by encouraging cooperatives and giving government assistance in transportation and other fields so as to reduce selling costs."



Norman Thomas Says:

CAMPAIGN TRAVELS REVEAL NEW HOPES

WESTMORELAND County comrades and comrades Oshry, Somlo, and others in Allegheny County gave me in some ways the best two days I have ever had in Western Pennsylvania. I was particularly delighted by the labor contacts. I met the local leaders of most of the unions now active in organization work. I spoke to two organizing meetings outside the Westinghouse gates; first, to three thousand factory workers and then to one thousand office workers. In New Kensington I addressed the General Electric workers who are out on a one hundred per cent strike for union recognition and better working conditions. We laid tentative plans for getting into one or more of the closed, or nearly closed, steel towns later in the campaign.

All this was in addition to good Party meetings in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, and the industrial panhandle of West Virginia. Whatever differences of opinion we may have on political tactics with some of the leaders of this vigorous CIO organizing campaign, it is clear that we are not isolating ourselves from active part in the labor movement.

Unionization Progresses

In the industrial valleys of Western Pennsylvania one feels a very different atmosphere than a year or a year and a half ago. There has been, at least temporarily, a very real improvement in production—although the workers complain that there has not been a corresponding improvement in employment and that the biggest increase of all has been in profits. Real progress has been made in organization work, especially in rubber, glass and aluminum factories.

Progress is also being made in the all-important steel organizing campaign. It is progress against a united front of the competing companies. There is a trick that they have not used in some towns to drive out organizers and to prevent meetings. They have even bought up halls and empty lots. Men have been beaten and arrested on trumped up charges. One high executive boasted in the hearing of an engineer whom I met that he thought it was a good plan to fire a few workers Saturday night so they would know who was boss.

The newspapers have carried the story of the refusal of the Carnegie Company to meet certain committeemen of their own company union who wanted to build a regular union. One of them, George Paterson, lost his job. The company has formally refused an increase in wages in any of its plants in Pennsylvania or Illinois. Nevertheless, I think that with all their power, the Iron and Steel Institute is fighting a losing battle against the rising tides of labor organization. The one supreme crime against the workers will be any action by the AFL craft unionists to encourage the bosses and discourage the campaign for labor organization which is making such noticeable headway in the feudal domains of Andy Mellon and the steel bosses.

Michigan Labor Party

The day I was in Michigan, what was to have been a big farmer-labor party convention, promoted mostly by communists, near communists, and some labor

men, resolved itself into three conventions, two of which, backed by most of the farmers, the Townsend Clubs, and the Coughlinites, are vehemently supporting Lemke. The original, more-or-less official farmer-labor group—without many farmers left in it—decided to support no presidential candidate officially, though unofficially it is backing Roosevelt.

It will be remembered that the Iowa so-called farmer-labor party endorsed Lemke and that the communists did not walk out of the convention. In Oregon Peter Zimmerman, and some of the Old Guard Socialists who left us, are supporting Lemke.

I do not think the farmers who are enthusiastic for Lemke are consciously fascist. But there is no question that Lemke himself and his Messianic backers are more and more taking the role of fascist forerunners. (Incidentally he has refused to debate with me!)

Labor Party Footballs

This rather melancholy history of the farmer-labor party movement in important states has clear lessons for Socialists. A movement which has so little conviction and solidarity of its own that it is so easily made a football by partisans of Roosevelt and of Lemke shows little or no promise of automatically developing into the kind of labor party we want after this election. A genuine farmer-labor party has to be built. It has to be built on some conviction of its own and not on a choice between Messiahs.

Never was it more necessary to maintain the Socialist Party, and to make that Party ever stronger. If a real farmer-labor party can be built, it will be on the basis of definite and militant Socialist education which requires Socialist organization. If the farmer-labor movement is sidetracked indefinitely into the Roosevelt or the Coughlin camps only the Socialist Party will be on the job to carry on. This is the last time in the world when a Socialist who really believes in Socialism can afford to give support to the Roosevelt who boasts how business has improved under his Administration, or the Lemke who sees nothing inconsistent in running on the Republican ticket for Congress and the Coughlin ticket for President!

Civil War In Spain

In spite of the bad news from Spain, reports seem to show that if foreign supplies can be kept away from the fascist rebels the forces of the workers' government will win. The fascists are clearly depending on their regular troops and their Moorish mercenaries to fight for them. Their nominal civilian supporters are lukewarm. Time is on the side of the brave but untrained militia of the government.

Probably this cruel fascist revolt would have been over ere this except for foreign aid. It is to be feared that some of the foreign aid may include petroleum products and trucks from the United States. The President has not answered my appeal to him to reverse the action of the State Department insisting on the right of the American exporters to land their products in ports held by rebels without interference by the government unless the government can establish a completely effective blockade. Ideally, what ought to have

The Lords Of The Land

Once a month there comes a heavy-handed knock on your door. It is the landlord or his agent, arriving with out-stretched hand to collect the monthly rent.

Who is this lord of the land, who does nothing but make his monthly visit? What is the power by which he comes to your door and without protest on your part walks off with the money you have sweated to earn?

He is surely not the creator of the land. The spot of ground on which you have your home was there before that man ever walked, in fact before any man ever walked the soil or swung from the tree-tops. Yet because of a piece of paper that he has, decorated with seals and filled with long, legal terms, he insists that he is the owner of the timeless, ageless land.

When you go to work, you spend part of your time toiling for that man, for out of the little you get in return for the things you create, you must give him a share. That is your rent.

The Rent You Pay

But the lords of the land do not depend on the humble dollar bills that they tear from your pay envelope each month. For the ground that you occupy is only a small portion of the soil they claim by reason of their pretty seals and yellowed papers. They make their monthly visits to your employer as well.

Factories, offices, shops and mills must be rooted in land as well as the cottages and tenements. The machines must live in homes, too, and the owners of the machines must see that the rent is provided.

But in the long run, it is not they who pay the rent. Just as surely as you pay the rent at the end of the month for the clods of earth over which you sleep, so too you pay for the ground over which you work and for the walls within which you toil. Out of the values that you create with your skill, your employer sets aside enough money to pay the lord of the land.

At the end of a week's work, think back over the total articles you have made. Feel the thin folds in your pay envelope and compare it with the value of the goods that you have created and what you have received as wages. What a difference! And that difference is taken away from you, a portion of it going to the landlord, the rest remaining as profit in the pocket of your boss.

The Boss's Rent, Too

In addition to paying your own rent, you pay your boss's rent. You are a might generous fellow.

Perhaps you didn't realize how good-natured

you are in doing this splendid act for the man whose worker you are. "So," you say to yourself, "now that I know, I'm going to stop this business of giving away my hard-earned cash. Charity begins at home."

But it isn't as easy as all that. Somehow we are all hypnotized into paying as regularly as clock-work. We are in the grip of fear—a very real fear that if we don't go on doing it, we'll be thrown out of our homes into the streets or out of the factory into unemployment. It's just as if a big club were lifted over our heads.

That club isn't imaginary. It's as real as hunger and as painful as a cold wind cutting into the skin of a homeless vagabond. It's the big stick of ownership, held in the fat fists of private individuals.

There is only one way of dodging the heavy blow that falls on our heads so frequently. And that is to take the club out of the hands of the wreckless, self-interested persons who are not the least bit concerned about the condition of other persons' heads.

The Socialist Program

If we owned the homes that we need individually, we would be safe from the haunting fear of the landlord. If the working farmer were the owner of his land, he would not live in dread of what the next day holds in store for him.

That is why the Socialist Party favors the ownership of family-sized farms on the basis, not of legal documents, but on the basis of use-and-occupancy.

In the case of huge farms that must be worked in common by large numbers of people, or in the case of factories and mines where a great number of people must unite their efforts, the Socialist Party urges co-operative ownership. Where there is common activity, there must be common ownership.

Individual ownership is the method by which one man can force another to surrender the benefits of his work. Social ownership is the method by which all can share in the benefits of the work that all are doing.

Through individual ownership, the invisible hand of the landlord reaches into the pile of wealth that we create and secretly carries off a portion of what we have labored to make. The factory-landlord robs our pay-envelopes before it comes into our hands; the home-landlord robs the pay-envelope after we have opened it.

The day of kings and lords should be over by now. We do not need the lords of land any more than we need the lords of castles.

[The above is one of a series of articles on various phases of the Socialist program.]

Regional Broadcasts Win New Adherents

CHICAGO, (LSP)—A new campaign technique is being used by the Socialist Party in this campaign. The Socialist candidates for president and vice president, Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson, are speaking several

times a week while on tour over regional broadcasts with special messages to the citizens of that area. The regional messages have caused a great increase in the number of letters addressed to the candidates after their broadcast. These are in addition to periodic nation-wide broadcasts.

Regional broadcasts have already been made from Wheeling, W. Va., covering West Virginia, southwestern Pennsylvania and southeastern Ohio; New Orleans, covering Louisiana; Hot Springs, Ark.; New York, New England, and from Dallas, Texas, relayed over stations in Fort Worth and Houston.

Thomas will speak over station KFXR Oklahoma City, at 12:30 p. m., Saturday, Sept. 19. Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p. m. he will speak over station KSD in St. Louis, and the next day over WCKY, in Cincinnati at 8:15 p. m. Sept. 27 Thomas will be heard in the territory around Denver, Colo., at 1:45 p. m. over station KOA. The Don Lee network covering California, Oregon, Washington and parts of Idaho and Montana will carry Thomas' speech over its 12 stations on Sunday, Oct. 4, at 11:00 p. m.

Three Socialists Die During Week

CHICAGO—The Socialist Party this week suffered the loss of three active members, John G. Willert, J. F. Higgins and W. C. Settle.

Willert was an active member of the Socialist Party in Cleveland where he was elected a city councilman but ousted for his opposition to war. Higgins was for many years state secretary of the West Virginia Socialist Party.

W. C. Settle, who died as a result of exposure to the sun on a Road Project, was active in the Kansas Workers' Alliance as well as in the Socialist Party.

Rotogravure

CHICAGO — (LSP) — The American edition of the popular pamphlet, "What Socialism Will Really Mean to You," has just come off the press and is being rushed to all parts of the country for immediate sales. There are 100,000 copies in this first edition, edited by Lawrence Benjamin, who edited the British version.

Burt Tours The Nation For Thomas

CHICAGO—(LSP) — Roy E. Burt, field organizer for the Emergency Peace Campaign, will start a six-week speaking tour on behalf of Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson on Sept. 15. He has been given a leave of absence by the E. P. C. for that period.

Burt has been an organizer for the Socialist party. For many years he was connected with the board of education of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was a member of the United Mine Workers' Union, the Retail Clerks' Union, and at present is a member of the American Federation of Teachers. In his extensive travels he has seen America as few people have.

Burt will also be available for forums. For dates write to the Socialist party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago.

California

A mass meeting held in San Francisco by the Party protested against the Copeland seamen's bill and its continuous discharge or "dog collar" books.

Connecticut

Devere Allen, member of the national executive committee, will be the principle speaker at the picnic arranged by Hamden Socialists at Peck's Farm, West Woods Road, Mt. Carmel, for September 20.

Maryland

Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, will be the chief speaker at a campaign dinner arranged by Baltimore Socialists.

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SPEAKER



Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, who will open the major drive of the New York City campaign with a speech at Town Hall, Sept. 27. Hoan is now touring for the Socialist campaign.

chialists for Wednesday, September 30, at the New Howard Hotel. Reservations are being received by Elisabeth Gilman, 513 Park Avenue, Baltimore, at \$1.50 per plate.

Missouri

The quarterly meeting of the state executive committee, held at Joplin, made careful plans for the conduct of the campaign.

New York

The state committee will meet September 18-19-20 in the Labor Temple in Schenectady. Local candidates are urged to attend the meeting on Sunday at 10 a. m. at the Labor Temple when campaign strategy and tactics will be discussed. Harry W. Laidler, candidate for governor, is now touring up-state. Coleman Cheney and Edward Marks will visit Binghamton, Poughkeepsie and Kingston this week.

Rhode Island

William G. McGuinness, candidate for governor, spoke at a union outing of the workers of the Andrews Mill, August 29.

Texas

Copies of the state platform have been printed and are being widely circulated. They may be secured by writing J. M. Jewell state secretary, 2026 Flint Street, Waco.

Books

The Middle Class

By BRUNO FISCHER

The hardest part about writing a study of the middle class is finding a definition of that class with which most people will agree. The second hardest part is to stick to your definition throughout the book.

So Franklin C. Palm's task was far from easy in his "The Middle Classes Then and Now" (Macmillan, \$3.50). By and large, I think there will be general agreement with his contention that the middle class is made up of those who derive income from their own labors plus invested capital—such as the owning farmer, the storekeeper, the small manufacturer. Class is determined not so much by the amount of income—some highly skilled and unionized workers make more than the average shopkeeper—but the manner in which it is obtained.

Yet there is an exception. Palm lumps all professional men and women into a single class and lets it go at that. But is the engineer or teacher who works for wages and may belong to a trade union properly in the middle class? Can the lawyer who (if he's lucky) works for a twenty-five dollar a week wage or for skimpy fees be placed in the same economic class as the hundred thousand dollar a year lawyer? I think not. They are workers, whether they admit it or not.

Includes Everybody

Having decided on a definition of the middle class, Palm strays constantly from his definition. He broadens it to include mercantilists, traders, and in his later chapters modern capitalists. He sees the bourgeois revolutions of Germany, England, and France as revolutions by the middle class in the interest of the middle class. Actually they were revolutions by a rising capitalist ruling class against a declining feudal class. The middle class played a subsidiary role, as it always does. The middle class can play no independent economic role of its own, because it has no economic feet of its own on which to stand.

With the growth of monopoly capitalism, members of the middle class are slowly but surely pushed into the ranks of the working class. The many store-

keepers who were forced to be clerks by the growth of chain stores is a case in point.

What is the future of the middle class? Palm isn't sure. He sees it wavering between "capitalist reaction and proletarian radicalism." But capitalist reaction has not proved to be its salvation. In Germany the majority of the middle class supported Fascism to revive it from its coma. Today the German middle class is worse off than it was before Hitler.

Economically the middle class is through. As a class it may linger for some time, its dying throes lasting as long as capitalism. For the individuals making up that class salvation is in the cooperative commonwealth. They will cease to be members of the middle class, but they will begin to live a full and prosperous life.

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SPEAKERS' NOTES

Labor Research Front's latest issue of "Speakers' Notes" deals with the subject of the New York milk situation and is written by Jack Barbash. It contains carefully collected data on present conditions and concludes with an outline of a sound program for milk distribution.

Copies sell for five cents and can be obtained from Labor Research Front, 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

SEPTEMBER ISSUE



BEHIND THE MOSCOW EXECUTIONS

By J. Ayres

WHERE DOES SPAIN?

By Roberto

MAXIM GORKI

By Leon Trotsky

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Platforms
Leaflet edition, 35c for 100, \$1.00 for 300, \$3.00 for 1,000.
Campaign Buttons
Three arrow design—red background, white arrows, black lettering on arrows—buttons read "Vote for THOMAS—NELSON—SOCIALISM." 15c for 12, \$1.00 for 100, \$7.50 for 1,000.

"Smoking Out The Candidates"
Planographed reproduction of an interview with Norman Thomas—size 17" x 22"—suitable as a poster. 15c for 12, \$1.00 for 100, \$10.00 for 1,000.
"Farmers, Where Are We Going?"
An analysis by George A. Nelson, candidate for Vice-President, of the farmers' problems and of proposed solutions. 16 pages. 10c each, 50c for 12, \$3.50 for 100.

"Is the New Deal Socialism?"
Radio speech by Norman Thomas. Pamphlet. 2c each, 1c each for 10 or more.
"You Can't Cure Tuberculosis With Cough Drops!"
Radio speech by Norman Thomas. Leaflet. 35c for 100, \$1.00 for 300, \$3.00 for 1,000.

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'Der Kampf' Is Tale Of Nazi Rule

DER KAMPF with George Dimitroff and Henri Barbusse. Produced by Majrah-pomfilm, Moscow, U.S.S.R. At the Cameo.

Out of the hell of Nazi Germany have come these German refugees to tell the story of Hitler barbarism. In the Soviet Union, they pooled their artistic forces to bring the world the amazing and terrible story of the Third Reich. It was a picture to look forward to.

Unfortunately, its effect is entirely inadequate. If one has read carefully the daily newspaper accounts of the rise and rule of Hitler, the incidents are not at all hard to follow; but they are rarely sufficiently connected to tell more than a coherent story. It loses in dramatic effectiveness through a staccato structure which never really catches.

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'GIVE ME YOUR HEART'



Kay Francis and George Brent in a tense moment in their new picture, "Give Me Your Heart," which will open Wednesday night at the New Criterion.

events inane portrayed—in any case, in neglecting a really dramatic picture of Nazi brutality, "Der Kampf" muffed a swell opportunity in the ways of propaganda. One of the faults of the picture is, no doubt, the intrusion of the Moscow angle — George Dimitroff, courageous Bulgarian communist who provided the sensation at the Reichstag trial, is blown up to gargantuan heroic proportions in a flat and

insipid portrayal of the workers' fight against Fascism.

"Der Kampf" had great possibilities; it took advantage of few. —S. R.

The WPA Tries H. M. S. Pinafore

H. M. S. Pinafore and TRIAL BY JURY, Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, produced by the WPA Operetta Theatre. At the Lafayette.

One must be a hardy Gilbert and Sullivan fan indeed to enjoy this WPA production; even the lyrics and music are drowned out in wooden acting and worse singing. The Operetta Theatre falls far below the high standards set by the WPA dramatic groups.

As a matter of fact (and I can think of little that would be worse), the WPA Operetta Theatre reminds me of some of the WPA Writers' Projects. —S. R.

Seek Song, Poster For S. P. Campaign

A song and poster contest for the Socialist national campaign has been announced by Rebel Arts, labor's cultural auxiliary. The winning poster will be reproduced and distributed all over the country. The best size is 11 x 17 inches or multiples thereof; preferably in two colors, or in one, if the design does not demand more. "Vote Socialist — Thomas and Nelson" should be included in the legend.

The winning song will be published and similarly distributed and sung at mass meetings throughout the country.

The contests close October 5. Designs and songs should be sent to Contest Committee, Rebel Arts, 35 East 19th Street, New York City.

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

A pamphlet of unusual significance has just reached us from the Cooperative Union, the English cooperative and educational organization. It ought to be made compulsory reading for every cooperators and every Socialist:

"the denial that the profit-making motive can ever produce a just and humane society." He charges that cooperators have been apt to take for granted this fundamental premise, thereby allowing their movement to disintegrate into

dividend hunting and isolation from the other working class efforts. The proper attitude is to be gained from the realization that between Capitalism and Cooperation there can be no peace. His criticisms, as I have said, apply here in America. It may or may not be possible for the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. to heed his advice. In either event it is important that such cooperators and Socialists who would build a working class cooperative movement along the lines of Laski's ideal, organize to accomplish that purpose.

It is even more significant that the Cooperative Union should have published his lecture and given it wide distribution, for Laski's remarks strike at the most important deficiencies of the English movement. To American cooperators the pamphlet is even more valuable because these faults are found here to an even greater degree.

No Peace
To Laski the "inarticulate major premise" of cooperation is

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66 West 12th St.

Thurs., Sept. 17, 8:30 P. M.
Admission 25c and 50c

Norman Thomas

DISCUSSES
A Campaign Trip
ON PAGE 9

Socialist Call

Vol. II—No. 79

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

THOMAS ASSAILS STEEL BARONS, ENDORSES CIO

Thousands Cheer Socialist Attack On Feudal 'Lords'

WHEELING, W. Va.—In a whirlwind tour through the domain of the oligarchic steel trust, Norman Thomas, fighting Socialist candidate for President was cheered by thousands as he minced no words in a verbal assault against the dictatorship existing in the area. Overflow crowds heard him in both Morgantown and Wheeling, while his Wheeling speech was broadcast through the radio to the entire countryside.

The success of the union organization drive of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, is "vital to true democracy," Thomas declared. He assailed the Iron and

Shall we socialize the steel industry? Read "The Truth In Steel" by John Mann on Page 5.

spies. And this they do to fight unionization."

"Democracy Unknown"

"True democracy," he said, was unknown throughout the region. "I know of at least one town in this area where it has been impossible for a Socialist to get a hall or even a field where I could speak as a Presidential candidate."

Thomas attacked the theory of the "open-shop" with his typical vigor. "It is all very well," he told the cheering crowds, "to talk about freedom of contract between the great steel corporation and a worker. But the corporation controls the machine and the jobs. The worker has only his own labor. His freedom is a freedom to starve or to see his children starve or else to take the terms which the boss offers."

The company union controlled and dominated by the corporation, could not protect the workers' interests he declared. "We have been taught from childhood to feel pity and contempt for the man without a country. What, then, ought we to feel for the worker without a union?"

Socialization Necessary

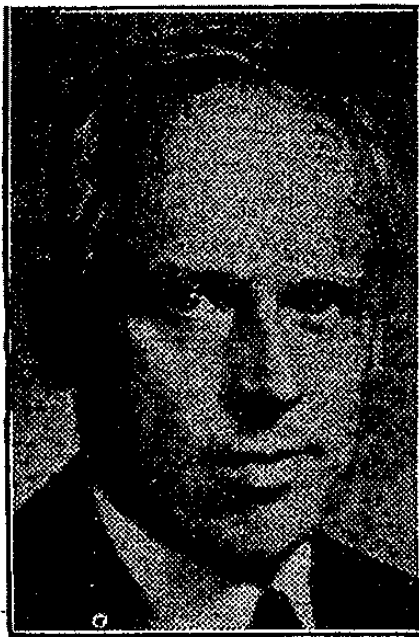
Thomas emphasized that "deeply interested as is the Socialist Party in the success of the steel campaign, we do not regard that as enough to achieve the victory of the workers. No unions alone can make the profit system which depends on relative scarcity produce abundance. No unions by themselves can cure the deep-seated sickness of unemployment. Indeed no industry by itself can be guaranteed absolute prosperity."

Only social ownership of steel and of industry generally and planned production for use can end "the feudalism of these steel towns," he said. The achievement of this end, he declared, required "a genuine farmer-labor party in America—not a fall to the Democratic or Republican kite."

The Great Issue

Only the Socialist Party, the political party of progressive labor, is pressing "the great issue" in the 1936 campaign, Thomas said. This was "Socialism versus Capitalism."

ON TOUR



Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, invaded the feudal domain of the steel barons last week carrying the Socialist message of freedom and security.

Roosevelt General Asks Militarization Of Nation's Youth

WASHINGTON—The Roosevelt administration is moving toward the militarization of the United States, just as did the Wilson administration in 1916.

The capital was shocked this week by disclosures that involved at least one high staff officer in the United States Army in a sensational plan to place every 18-year-old youth in America under military conscription, paralleling the military conscription of youth in the European nations. In an exclusive story this summer, The CALL revealed the beginning of the plan to "put guns in the hands of the CCC boys!"

The story was spilled by Major-Gen. George Van Horn Moseley

and was splashed all over the front page of Happy Days, the authorized CCC weekly newspaper. Embellished with a cartoon occupying nearly the entire page showing a CCC lad in uniform, General Moseley then demanded the conscription of the youth of the nation for training for cannon fodder—for the enrichment of the war profiteers and munition makers!

Estimating that more than a million boys will reach the 18-year-old age every year, the General's plan would bring them into the CCC camps for military training for six months at a time, handling them in lots of 500,000. He specifically recommended that the present CCC set-up be changed to include "basic military training."

Although the White House early denied approval of the plan after immediate protest by Washington pacifists and liberals (just as Wilson campaigned on an anti-war program while negotiating for entry into the World War), the White House disclaimer was treated skeptically by observers in view of the billion-dollar war budget of the New Deal and the fact that notorious jingoes, like Acting Secretary of War Harry Woodring, are regarded with high favor by the administration.

In Texas

DALLAS, Tex.—"Southern Socialist Party Day" will be celebrated September 18 when Norman Thomas speaks at the historic Texas Centennial here. Thomas' speech will be broadcast over Stations FAA, Dallas, WBAP, Ft. Worth, and KPRC, Houston.

Steel Institute for its opposition to the organized labor movement.

"No feudal baron," he declared, "ever claimed more absolute power in his territories than do some of these steel companies. Like ancient feudal lords, they maintain their own armaments, their own troopers and their

Where Thomas Will Speak

Speeches in 14 cities in one week in addition to broadcasts is the schedule for Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president.

His schedule this week is:
Sept. 19—Oklahoma City, Okla. (Afternoon). Tulsa or Muskogee (Evening).

Sept. 20—St. Louis, Mo.
Sept. 21—Yellow Springs, Ohio (Morning) Dayton, Ohio (Noon); Cincinnati, Ohio (Evening).

Sept. 22—Washington, D. C.
Sept. 23—New York City.
Sept. 24—Bay City or Saginaw, Mich. (Afternoon); Flint, Mich. (Evening).

Sept. 25—Chicago Bar Association (Noon); Rockford, Ill. (Evening).

Sept. 26—Wichita, Kansas.
Sept. 27—Denver, Colo.

Socialist's Home Raided By G-Men

CHICAGO—Socialist nominating petitions and party records were stolen from the home of Edward Parker, state organizer for the Socialist Party of Illinois, by U. S. federal agents acting under a District Court search warrant. Protests to Attorney General Homer Cummings and U. S. District Attorney Arthur Roe have failed to bring about a return of the papers.

The illegal seizure of Parker's records followed on the heels of his release from the Vandalla state farm where he served ten days of a six-month sentence imposed without a legal trial. A writ of habeas corpus, obtained by the Workers Defense League, smashed the frame-up.

Legal steps to accomplish the

return of the papers are being taken by the Workers Defense League.

Meeting Gassed

TOLEDO, Ohio—Paul Rasmusen, prominent Socialist and national organizer of the Workers' Alliance of America, was subjected to a tear-gas attack here when he attempted to address a meeting sponsored by that organization. Two persons who were seriously injured were sent to the hospital.

WHEN THE BIG SHOTS GOT TOGETHER



Puzzle: Find McAllister Coleman, CALL columnist, in this crowd of stuffed shirts attending the Third World Power Conference banquet. Coleman can be recognized at once by the fact that he didn't don formal regalia. In his column (Page 5) this week, Coleman charges that the private utility big-shots stole the conference.