

**All Out To The Garden Sunday!
Vote Every Arm And Torch!**

**Norman
Thomas**

DISCUSSES
*The Socialist
Campaign*

ON PAGE 12

NEW YORK EDITION

Socialist Call



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THOMAS, LAIDLER SPEAK SUNDAY AT GIANT RALLY IN MADISON SQ. GARDEN

—STORY ON PAGE 3



**NORMAN
THOMAS**
for President



**GEORGE
NELSON**
for Vice-President

VOTE SOCIALIST!

Jobless Leaders Jailed In March On White House

WASHINGTON—When the time came for the Roosevelt administration to fulfill its pretty promises to America's jobless—

"The President is not making any appointments!"

This was the experience of more than 600 representatives of the Workers Alliance from states as far west as Minnesota and as far south as North Carolina. When they came to Washington to demand that promises two and three months old be kept, they learnt that these were still just promises to the Roosevelt administration.

And—when they protested, despite the fact that an administrative order had recognized the Workers Alliance as the collective bargaining agency on WPA projects, their leaders were arrested and thrown into jail.

The WPA administration was guilty of the "worst of bad faith" in failing to keep its promises. David Lasser, national president of the Alliance and a prominent Socialist, charged. Lasser was arrested along with Herbert Benjamin, Alliance secretary, and John Kelly, Alliance organizer in Lackawanna County, Pa.

Warned that the Washington police, with the aid and consent of the Federal authorities, were determined to break up the demonstration and arrest its leaders, Lasser ordered the marchers to keep "perfect order" in order to prevent anything that might provoke a police attack. But even as the pickets gathered in front of the YMCA in files of two by two, police tried to break up the formation.

"I am going to walk over to the White House," Lasser then told the pickets. "If you as citizens want to walk over also two by two, you have a right to do so."

Gathering in front of the White House, Lasser discovered that "no one was in." The President was not in, his secretaries were not in, even the office boy had taken a "vacation." After Lasser presented the Alliance demands to a White House guard and voiced protest at this treatment, a silent,

unending picket line was formed before the Executive Offices.

Williams Appears

Suddenly Aubrey Williams, WPA director, who had "been out of town" earlier in the day, miraculously reappeared and agreed to see a delegation of six. But when the marchers reached WPA headquarters, they discovered the police waiting for them and Lasser, Benjamin and Kelly were arrested.

While in jail Lasser heard that McIntyre, too, had miraculously reappeared and would see the Alliance delegation. Lasser then sent back word that the President's secretary could visit them in jail, if he wished to.

Meanwhile, a committee of 25 who were admitted to see Williams refused to begin the conference or to leave the WPA office until their leaders were freed. The tactic was successful and the three were released.

"No Appointments"

Going to the White House, Lasser informed McIntyre that he held the Federal government responsible for the arrests. When he demanded an appointment with the President, McIntyre abruptly refused. "The President is not making any appointments," he told them.

The Alliance leaders then returned to the WPA and, meeting with Williams, demanded that the Roosevelt administration fulfill its promise to rescind Order 44 (which penalized workers because of bad weather) and the reinstatement of Eugene Poulot, Florida Socialist fired from his job because of his politics. They were again given promises that these would be done.

After the conference with Williams, the Alliance group adopted a resolution which called for a continuation of their campaign for wage increases and proposed a "mass hunger march" in the winter "if conditions become more acute and remain unrelieved." They threatened to enforce their program "by means of local demonstrations, local stoppages and, finally, if necessary, a general strike."

Salinas Union Hits 'Peace'

SALINAS — Striking lettuce workers here rejected by a 3-1 majority a "peace" proposal by the growers which would have refused the basic strike demand of preferential hiring through the union and would only have freed strikers jailed on minor charges.

The answer of the strikers was enforced with large picket lines and militant activity against all forms of police and vigilante intimidation. Determined to win, the strikers see victory near as a labor boycott against scab-packed produce grows. San Pedro longshoremen have refused to handle scab lettuce and three hundred carloads of lettuce are rotting on sidings here.

The growers' proposal also reserved the right to retain the strikebreakers now working in barricaded plants and refused to guarantee no discrimination against active union members.

JAIL TO WHITE HOUSE



"From the Jail House to the White House in 30 Minutes" is the story David Lasser (above), president of the Workers' Alliance, will be able to tell. He was jailed by Washington police for protesting Roosevelt's broken promises to the jobless—but when his fellow-workers refused to leave WPA offices, he was quickly released.

CIO Meets Nov. 9 To Decide Tactics

WASHINGTON.—Resolutions condemning the decision of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor suspending ten unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization are still pouring in—

to AFL offices as the labor movement awaits the meeting of the CIO scheduled for November 9 in Pittsburgh. The session will determine to a large extent the conduct of the CIO unions in connection with the AFL convention to be held in Tampa a week later.

Hopes that peace might be restored by this time have not been realized. A request for the re-establishment of harmony by the hatters union convention on the basis of lifting the suspension has thus far been ignored by the executive council.

An editorial printed this week in the Union News Service, issued by the CIO, charged the executive council at its recent meeting with "burying its head in the sands of silence and inaction."

Referring to the sessions which had before them the proposals of the hatters union as drawn up by President Max Zaritsky, the editorial says:

"For about two weeks its members sat and talked. They then adjourned, not only without lifting the suspension but without even deigning to answer the request of Chairman John L. Lewis of the CIO that they announce their stand on this basic question."

The editorial calls attention to the importance of continuing the drive for the organization of workers in the mass production industries into industrial unions. "To restore unity by lifting the illegal suspension," it says, "would not settle the life-and-death issue raised by the CIO, namely, the necessity of organizing the basic industries."

Among the organizations demanding the reinstatement of the CIO unions were the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and the Portland, Me., Central Labor Union.

AUTO STRIKE

COLUMBUS, O.—One of the newest locals of the United Automobile Workers, that organized in the D. L. Ault Co. here, parts manufacturers, led 450 members in a strike last week for better working conditions.

N. Y. Referendum

NEW YORK—The Socialist Party urges voters to vote YES on the propositions submitted for statewide referendum and on the local questions submitted to the voters in New York City.

Terror Reign Laid to Weir

PITTSBURGH — Democratic Governors Martin L. Davey of Ohio and Herman G. Kump of West Virginia were confronted this week by demands from Philip Murray, chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee for the protection of union organizers in those states against the campaign of terror being waged against them by steel barons. Beatings have occurred in Weirton, W. Va. and Steubenville, O.

Specifically naming Ernest T. Weir of the Weirton Steel Co. as responsible for the use of armed thugs, Murray said: "I very deliberately, and with a clear recognition of the seriousness of my statement, hereby charge Ernest T. Weir with being personally responsible for these brutal attacks and the flagrant disregard and setting aside of the laws and law enforcement in West Virginia."

Meanwhile, the steel corporations are finding themselves hard pressed in the effort to resist the growing wave of unionization.

Company union representatives are turning eagerly to the SWOC and are showing aggressiveness in demanding better conditions. A recently organized Central Committee of company union reps in the Pittsburgh area, which was insisting on arbitration of wage increase demands, heard Arthur H. Young, vice-president of U. S. Steel, personally refuse the workers' requests. He came to Pittsburgh to address 18 representatives—two from each of Carnegie-Illinois' plants in the Pittsburgh district—who met here after "recognition" by company officials.

"We now realize that the company union permits us to gather in Pittsburgh at the company expense to receive a lecture on economics and a cigar any old time," one representative declared.

COLLEGE RE-OPENS

CHICAGO—The Chicago Labor College will open its ninth quarter in new and more spacious quarters at 189 N. Clark on Monday evening, Nov. 9. Among the instructors are Joseph M. Jacobs of the Workers' Defense League, and Maynard Krueger, vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers and Socialist national committeeman.

40,000 Await Strike Call In Maritime

SAN FRANCISCO—Final preparations for a strike of the maritime unions on the west coast are under way. More than 40,000 men are expected to go out, following the refusal of shipowners to come to terms on preferential union hiring, cash or overtime, and better working conditions.

The decision to strike came after the unions were compelled to denounce the dilatory practices of Rear Admiral Harry G. Ham, a member of Roosevelt's newly appointed Maritime Commission. Hamlet opened and then promptly adjourned a hearing in the situation until after the decision set for the strike by the workers.

A clever move on the part of the companies to split the ranks of the united maritime workers by "capitulating" to all the demands of the International Longshoremen's Union was quashed when ILA spokesmen refused to split the ranks of maritime workers for their own immediate gain.

In a telegram addressed to the commission, the joint committee said:

"This last-minute information from your representative that the commission is not interested in the present crisis, and misleading the unions into the belief they were, has resulted in wasting much time the unions otherwise could have spent in negotiating with those shipowners who have demonstrated they did not wish a tie-up by offering to grant full demands to some maritime unions."

John T. Flynn Lauds Thomas

NEW YORK—Praising Norman Thomas as "the only candidate for the presidency I see who stands for the control of the economic system by the democratic masses," John T. Flynn, noted economist and magazine writer, declared he would vote for Thomas. Flynn's announcement was made in a letter to Thomas which declared:

"You alone hew to the essence of the great rising struggle of our time. That struggle has for its end the control of our economic life. Will it be ruled by the men and women of America in the interests of the toiling masses of by organized business groups in the interests of the profit-hunters?"

The Independent Committee for Thomas and Nelson also announced this week that Rosika Schwimmer, world-famous pacifist, and Edgar S. Brightman of Boston University, president of the Eastern division of the American Philosophical Association, had joined the committee.

In a letter to Mary Hillier, secretary of the committee, Miss Schwimmer declared:

"Considering Thomas' stand on world peace, I would be delighted to work for his election, but citizenship has been refused to me because of my pacifism." Miss Schwimmer's application for citizenship went to the U. S. Supreme Court.

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.

**85 EXPIRED!
RENEW NOW!**

SOCIALISM IS THE ISSUE!

Listen In Sunday!

- Hear Norman Thomas end the greatest Socialist campaign since the War in a nation-wide radio broadcast over the NBC network Sunday afternoon at 4:45 p. m. EST.
- Hear George A. Nelson, Socialist candidate for Vice-President, and Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee in a nation-wide radio broadcast Sunday afternoon at 3:00 p. m., EST.
- Invite your neighbors and friends to listen in with you Sunday afternoon. Arrange for a "radio party."
- Man the polls for Socialism on Tuesday.
- And go to the polls early and cast a straight Socialist ballot—and then make sure that your neighbor and your friends vote straight Socialist, too.
- THE ISSUE IS SOCIALISM!

Whirlwind Activity Marks Final Drive For Socialist Vote

In a whirlwind campaign finish, 45 million American voters, young and old, will hear the stirring, vital message of Socialism before they go to the polls next Tuesday to decide the fate of America!

In city and village, on the highways and in crowded auditoriums, in factory and on the farm—thousands of loyal, militant Socialists stand on the mark, awaiting the final order before beginning a whirlwind week of crusading for a Better America, for a Socialist America—a fitting end to a historic campaign.

With the battle cry: "Socialism Is The Issue!" these marching hosts of America For All will lay bare the sham battle of the two old parties — a battle in which the hollow echoes of empty promises cannot hide the real truth, the important issues before America.

The drift toward Fascism, America's jingo program of preparation for a new and terrible war, the failure of capitalism to find jobs for eleven million hungry, jobless men

and women, the Supreme Court dictatorship of nine men over our lives — these issues, which the old parties have evaded and ignored, will be brought home to the American people as from house to house, on the street corner and over the radio networks, Socialists in every state sound the cry:

"SOCIALISM IS THE ISSUE!"

In every community, the Socialist campaign committee is ready to enroll volunteers for activity in this last whirlwind week. If you have not yet enlisted, do so immediately! Report TODAY at the Socialist campaign headquarters in your community.

Here is the program for the week:

Factories and meeting halls will be covered by leaflet distributors. In many cities, local radio broadcasts will tell the message of Socialism by local candidates. Thousands of extra copies of THE CALL are being sold.

Four-minute speakers will appear at unions, churches and clubs.

Saturday evening, hundreds of indoor and outdoor meetings will be held. In large cities, auto parades have been planned.

Sunday morning, thousands will roll out of bed at dawn to distribute Socialist platforms and other literature from house to house.

On The Air

Sunday afternoon, house "radio parties" have been arranged to hear two Socialist broadcasts over the NBC national networks. George A. Nelson, Wisconsin dirt-farmer and Socialist candidate for Vice-President and Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee will speak at 3:00 p. m., EST. Norman Thomas, fighting Socialist candidate for President, will speak at 4:45 p. m., EST, from a huge Socialist rally at Madison Square Garden in New York City, the largest hall in the United States.

Monday evening, poll watchers and booth workers will meet to be assigned to booths and be given final instructions.

And all day Tuesday, the Socialist army will be on the march, making the final drive for a record vote for Thomas and Nelson, for the straight Socialist ticket, for the emancipation of labor from the system of wage slavery!

Labor in Action

BINGHAM CANYON, Utah—When metal mine operators threatened to use scab labor to break the strike of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in Utah, they discovered strong picket lines on the "dawn patrol." The mines did not work.

PITTSBURGH—More than 6,000 Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. strikers walked out in five plants throughout the country, shutting them down completely. They ask a 12c hourly raise and preferential hiring of union men.

CLEVELAND—Four ship lines on the Great Lakes were struck last week by the American Radio Telegraphists Association. The union demands nine months guaranteed work, minimum wages and union control of hiring halls.

HAZELTON, Pa.—Twelve collieries of the Lehigh Valley Coal Co. were struck when 4,000 miners walked out protesting a wage cut.

READING, Pa.—Mass picket lines before the Berkshire Spinning Mill plants here continued as the strike entered its fourth week. More than 5,000 are out, protesting a 14-hour work day and \$8 weekly wages.

HOLLYWOOD—Secretary Kenneth Thomson of the Screen Actors' Guild was elected a vice-president of the California State Federation of Labor recently. Active Guild members include Gary Cooper, Edward Arnold, Eddie Cantor, Robert Montgomery, James Cagney and Jean Muir.

NEW ORLEANS—Five hundred strikers entered the sixth week of their fight against the Louisiana & Arkansas Railroad firm in their demand for a return to the old working schedules. Scabs are operating the trains.

CLEVELAND—When Cleveland pants manufacturers refused to agree to a 20 per cent wage increase, more than 200 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers struck five Union.

'Stop Evading The War Issue!' Thomas Tells Landon, Roosevelt

BOSTON—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, demanded that his opponents on old-party tickets give straightforward answers to seven questions on "the next war." Hitting at "Roosevelt silence" and "the inadequacy of Governor Landon's discussion," he quoted military experts as saying that the next war may "possibly consist of one battle lasting but a few hours—so terrible might be the consequences in Europe of surprise attack on land, sea and in the air."

Against the old-party dodging of the all-important war issue, Thomas posed the Socialist solution of an international cooperative commonwealth based on peace and plenty.

Thomas' questions to his opponents follow:

1. Why are we spending more on our army and navy than any nation in the world?
2. Assuming that it is for "defense," what are we defending — our shores, our trade, or our honor?
3. Why does defense require a naval race in building capital ships useful for long range warfare?
4. Why not get entirely out of

Norman Thomas will lead a Socialist picket line at Syracuse, N. Y., Thursday afternoon in defiance of an anti-picketing injunction issued against the Remington-Rand strikers. By invitation of the strike committee, Thomas will also speak at a mass meeting of the strikers.

the Philippines, trusting not to a naval station to "protect" them but to a neutrality treaty which we lead in negotiating, and in decent trade relations which we help them establish? Why offer such unnecessary hostages to fortune as we have in the Far East?

5. Why not abandon our own imperialism? This we have not done in Cuba where our Ambassadors, first Sumner Wells, and then Jefferson Caffrey, supported imperialist, sugar baron-banker reaction in Cuba. And Welles is now rewarded by appointment on the American delegation to the Buenos Aires International American Peace Conference.

6. Will either Governor Landon or President Roosevelt explicitly declare against allowing American traders to coin the blood of

the slain in others' wars into their gold? What about genuine neutrality? What exceptions, if any, should be allowed?

7. When both the President and now Governor Landon talk about taking profit out of war, how will they do it? By universal conscription which will apply to the farmer at the plow and the worker at the bench and the soldier in the trench far more inexorably than a capitalist government will apply it to wealth?

We favor, in the event of war, conscription of wealth by taxation, not universal conscription of soldiers and workers. But our great concern is with socialization for peace and plenty. This is the real answer to war as it is to unemployment.

Cheer Thomas

SULLIVAN, Ind. (LSP)—Almost 800 miners and their families turned out last Saturday morning to hear Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential candidate. He was wildly cheered and applauded throughout his speech. As they left the meeting many miners exchanged their Landon and Roosevelt buttons for Thomas buttons.

CONVICTED BY LABOR



The Roosevelt administration was indicted and found guilty of anti-labor bias by this picket line of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor and the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee when the Young Democrats held their national convention in Socialist Milwaukee last year. Placards carrying the separate counts of indictments go back as far as the camera-eye can see.


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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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YOU ARE NEEDED

Though the political campaign is nearing its end, there are still important tasks to be done. And you, who are friends of the Socialist movement, whether party members or not, must do your share.

Election Day brings with it vital last-minute jobs. The polls must be manned with watchers to see that every vote for a better world is actually counted. Doubtful voters on the way to the polls can still be swayed to cast their votes for freedom by the pressure of a Socialist leaflet placed in their hands.

In party headquarters, workers are needed for clerical duties of all kinds. Automobiles must be placed at the disposal of the Socialist Party. Voters must be canvassed in their homes and reminded of their electoral responsibility.

These are only a few illustrations of the hundreds of things that must be done on Election Day, not to mention what can be done in the preceding hours.

Volunteers are needed. You should not be content this year with merely going to the polls and casting your own vote for a workers' world. Help to get others to do the same.

Report at once to the Socialist branch in your community and offer your services. Tell your Socialist Party friend that you are available for Election Day work and ask him what you can do to be of aid to the cause in which you believe.

Multiply your own vote and help realize your hopes for the future!

RALLY A MIGHTY SOCIALIST VOTE!

THE WAR GODS STIR

Huge, black headlines in the newspapers are ahead of us. Europe is moving rapidly to war. Each morning brings further news of the nations sharpening their battle-axes, building their armaments, aligning their forces.

This week, Italy and Germany—with an eye on Soviet Russia—have arrived at an "accord" in preparation for the coming of a war that will be more devastating than the world has dreamed possible.

Only a few weeks ago, Hitler declared his intentions frankly. "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."

War is coming.

Americans as they go to vote next week must cast their ballots with an eye on the European situation. It is foolish for us to hope, after the experience of the last world war, that we can escape being dragged into it by our own business-men who seek their profits even in the slaughter of human life.

During the Roosevelt administration, careful preparations have been made for American participation. The Roosevelt arms budget of more than a billion dollars, the equipment of an army and navy far beyond any possible necessities of defense, should be warning enough.

Under these circumstances, what can American workers do? First of all, they must understand the importance of organizing their own strength to block the onward march of the forces that make for war. They can place no faith in any of the governments of capitalism, the institution that is responsible for war. Only a workingclass organized for peace can block any war moves against the Soviet Union or any other assault on the peace of the world.

Workers must understand, too, that so long as capitalism exists, their lives will be haunted by recurring international conflicts. The lesson of 1916 must be remembered—no president elected by a capitalist party on a program of service to capitalism can keep us out of war.

As the Socialists declared in the famous St. Louis Declaration following America's entry into the war:

"The Socialist Party emphatically rejects the proposal that in time of war the workers should suspend their struggle for better conditions. On the contrary, the acute situation created by war calls for an even more vigorous prosecution of the class struggle."

How much truer is it, in the days when the seeds of war are sprouting, that the workers must press their war against capitalism, the cause of war! Like the Socialists of 1917, the Socialist Party re-dedicates itself in the words of the St. Louis Declaration to a course of "widespread educational propaganda to enlighten the masses as to the true relation between capitalism and war, and to rouse and organize them for action, not only against present war evils, but for the destruction of the causes of war."

The hope of permanent peace in the world depends upon Socialist victory. You can serve that hope by voting Socialist on November 3.

IN A NUT-SHELL

"No one in the United States believes more firmly than I in the system of private business, private property and private profit."—Roosevelt.

"I am for the preservation of the American system of free enterprise and profit."—Landon.



VERSER

How To Throw Your Vote Away

"Now then," said the old party orator, from the back of his automobile, "you know as well as I do that Norman Thomas hasn't got a chance. He may be the choice of a lot of you folks. I don't say anything against that. But I ask you, what's the good of going down to the polls on election day and throwing your vote away? You might as well stay home and not vote at all. Why vote for a man, even though he's as good a man as Thomas, when he can't possibly win? Even if he has got the best platform, it won't get anywhere 'cause he can't win."

That line of bunk appears in every campaign about this time. If you find any of your neighbors falling for it, then you ought to tell them that their mental motors are missing and they need new spark plugs or something.

Here's the truth. The best way to throw your vote away, if that's what you want to do, is to cast it for Roosevelt or Landon. In either case you'll just be one more vote among many millions, of not the least importance. Nobody pays much attention to yes-men.

You might just as well pick up a grain of sand on the seashore and say: "This grain of sand is very important; it counts big."

Well, it doesn't and you know it. If you vote for either Roosevelt or Landon, you'll be that grain of sand, politically speaking.

But a vote for Thomas counts! Its political and social value is several times greater than any Republican or Democratic vote.

Take, for example, your neighbor—Henry Dubb. He's voting Republican. His vote represents exactly the same thing as the vote of the political ward-heeler, the political machine grafters, the Black Legion night-riders, the ex-convict strike-breakers and the industrial magnates who hire them.

But take the Socialist vote of Jimmie Higgins. It means the same thing as John Dewey's vote, as Oswald Garrison Villard's vote—it means a ballot for a better world.

In every practical sense, an old party vote is thrown away. It brings you nothing in return except things that you don't want—hunger, war, tyranny.

A Message of Warning.

In every practical sense, a Socialist vote is a triumph. It brings you the knowledge of larger organization for the things you do want—peace, freedom and plenty. In addition to that, it means a message of warning

to whatever capitalist happens to win temporarily. Several million Socialist votes will scare the pants off the next administration, and watch it toe the mark. Meanwhile, your vote helps build the future.

There is only one way to throw your vote away and that is: to give it to a party in which you have no faith. You throw your vote away if you vote for something you don't want. It's better to take your chances and vote for something you want and not get it at once than to vote for something you don't want and get it . . . in the neck!

The only way to make your vote mean something, to make it stand head and shoulders above the vote that is cast in ignorance, is to chalk it up on the side of a decent life.

Vote Socialist

If you believe in the superiority of Socialism over capitalism, if you believe in the need for the establishment of a workers' world, then the least you can do is to vote for it. For workers to give their vote to any other program would mean that they are voting against their own welfare and giving strength to their enemies. Treat your vote with respect. It's a club; swing it at your enemies. And don't let anybody convince you that the only way to use your club is to hit yourself over the head. If that's all you can do with it, you would be better off if you threw it away.

But you needn't throw it away. It's useful if you use it right—in behalf of Socialism. It's harmful only if you use it to harm yourself.

Don't let the bunk-shooters fool you. Vote for Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson and the straight Socialist ticket! Don't throw your vote away!

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 _____

CAMPAIGN CARAVAN

—By Howard Brubaker—

F. D. ROOSEVELT: We have a rendezvous with destiny. We will graze in green pastures and lead abundant lives making snoots at the economic royalists. That's all you need to know until after the election.

Walter Lippmann: Vote for Landon. He isn't much good but he will be too weak a President to do us any harm.

The New York Times: We are heart and soul for Roosevelt and gosh! how we dread it!

John W. Davis: The Democratic Party should be a dim carbon copy of the GOP. That is the policy which brought us a half a century of glorious defeats.

Jim Farley: It's in the bag. America will keep the same faces at the stamp windows and the same feet on the office desks.

James, Elliott, F. D. Jr., Anna and John: All Frank's chillun got shoes.

American Labor Party: Hold your nose and vote for FDR. If you ask for what you don't want you are more likely to get it.

Al Smith: I have two hats. The old crackpot never asked me anything. Therefore Alf Landon is the cure for all our ills. I hate to take this walk but I must be true to my trust. Especially my gunpowder trust.

Frank Knox: Owing to an unfortunate error at Cleveland I am running in second place. If you want me you will have to vote for that fellow from Kansas.

Earl Browder: Pretend not to notice me. I am running to keep the franchise.

W. R. Hearst: We must stamp out the Red menace. This great country should be yellow, like gold and sunflowers and my papers. Vote American, vote Journal, vote Hearst lewsreels.

John N. Garner: Now I am a forward-looking soldier of the common good, fighting for social justice against the forces of greed and economic tyranny. I wonder how I ever got this way.

Arthur Brisbane: It doesn't matter who is elected. The human race will never be civilized until it builds a million airplanes and drops bombs on itself.

Father Coughlin: I will kick Rothschild in the seat of the pants and cook up a money system that will give you justice, peace and prosperity. Vote for —what's his name now?—Lemka.

Alf M. Landon: I will give you all the gravy you are getting now, cut down taxes, balance the budget and restore the American way of life. I will shut out foreign goods and increase our international trade. How am I going to do this! Dunt esk.

THE BASIC ISSUE

By Morris R. Cohen

Professor, College of the City of New York

Despite Landon's attempt to represent himself as anxious to preserve our liberties and to be all things to all men, it is obvious that his principal supporters are extreme reactionaries. The unmistakable Fascist leanings of his campaign manager clearly show themselves in his attacks on those who have contributed to help the Spanish people in their struggle to maintain democratic forms of government against Fascist rebels. But Fascism is the desperate resort of a sick and bankrupt capitalism—and no cure for the sickness that gives rise to Fascism can be expected from Roosevelt.

With all his good intentions, Roosevelt has not been able to bring about any real recovery from the incurable illness of capitalism. The present boom in business is due to the artificial stimulation brought about by borrowing billions of dollars and dumping them into circulation through the bonus and other projects which offer no solution to our economic ills.

It is obvious that despite all the excitement of the election, there are no real issues between Roosevelt and Landon. Both stand for the existing economic system, and both stand for the constitutional theory that voters cannot decide any fundamental question but that such questions must be left to a few elderly lawyers sitting in the Supreme Court. Change in our economic system requires parallel change in our constitutional system.

Thus, I think, is the basic issue that faces our democracy today—and on this issue, Norman Thomas' stand is clear and courageous.

THEY SHALL NOT PASS!



This banner in a Madrid street reads: "They shall not pass! Fascism is attempting to conquer Madrid. Madrid will be the tomb of Fascism!"

A Socialist Mother Pleads For Spain

By SAMUEL ROMER

Donna Isabella de Palencia, Socialist deputy in the Spanish Cortes, Spanish minister to Sweden, internationally noted pacifist and writer, former delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations, came to America last week.



"Oh, Men of America!" she pleaded. "Women of America! Come and help us! For our struggle is not merely for ourselves—it is a fight for a new democracy, for a finer life for ourselves and our children!"

Donna de Palencia, the first woman ever appointed by Spain to a high diplomatic post, is a far cry from the smooth, cultured gentlemen who deal secretly in pacts and treaties that spell war and disaster to the common people of their countries. Small, beautiful in her middle age, she looks more like the working-class mother that she is than a woman entrusted with the fate of a nation. When she speaks, as she spoke to 20,000 who heard her in Madison Square Garden in New York City last week, she voices the touching sentiments of motherhood in every land.

Perhaps once she was happy and carefree. But now she is wan and tired—her face is beginning to show lines.

"—My son is at the front," she says simply.

Her speech, delivered in excellent English was for the most part a logical analysis of the contrary forces in Spain—of destruction and of civilization. But she has the ability to reach great dramatic heights when, with fire flashing from her eyes, she suddenly cries:

"Madrid will not be taken! The barbarians will not enter Madrid!"

And when she speaks thus, you

know that she is doing more than voicing a forlorn hope. She speaks thus because she knows of the determination and of the courage of those splendid soldiers of labor enrolled in the government militia—a bravery which will suffer death itself before it allows the Fascists to enslave them.

"I have been at the front," she cries. "I have nursed the wounded, I have given aid to the suffering. With these men and women as its defenders, Madrid will not be taken."

Donna de Palencia does not indulge in fanciful flights of oratory—nor does she speak in abstractions. Because she is a Socialist, she knows the real reason for the revolt in Spain.

"My country is a wealthy country, rich in mineral mines, rich in mercury. Italy and Germany know that a democratic Spain will not ship them mercury to use for war purposes. Greedy, hungry, they seek to dominate Spain. Even today, over the beautiful Balearic Isles, there flies the hated flag of Italian Fascism."

She becomes bitter as she speaks of the Moorish hordes imported into Spain by the Fascists to rob and rape and murder. "At one time," she tells us, "my country was ruled by another race. It took us a century to free ourselves—but we did. Today we are determined to keep ourselves free of the Mohammedan yoke."

And there is bitterness in her voice as she speaks of "neutrality"—a phrase which has covered foreign aid to the Fascists but has prevented succor for the workers.

"I say to you," she suddenly shouts in stentorian tones, "that you are an accomplice to a terrible crime if you keep silent!"

What lies ahead of Spain? Donna de Palencia gives the answer—"When we win—and I say when and not if—Spain will be the cradle for a new democracy, for a finer, a fuller life. Come with us, men and women of America, help us rock that cradle!"

ABOVE THE BATTLE

By McAlister Coleman

I AM writing this in the most appropriate place in the world for the calm contemplation of the national political scene. My present habitat is variously described as a "retreat," a sanitarium, a resting place for those whose nerves have gone wacky—and a plain hospital. And by most of its inmates it is described as what it is, namely a "monkey house." When I sighed myself in, I was assured that it was just like a country-club where you "met the most interesting sort of people and had a good build-up for more or less shattered nerves. Yeah, I am building up my nervous break-down by running after a sternly starched nurse, just like a house pet, answering one and one half million question a day, doing tricks for bored doctors and making baskets.

When I get out of here, I am going into the Navajo Indian basket business in a big way. I'll bet it will pay better than book writing at that. You see, they have me on what is euphemistically called, "occupational therapy." Most of the jobs such as printing, bookbinding etc. are organized in the world outside and I told the keepers that I wasn't so far gone that I was going to scab on Big Six, even in a stream-lined monkey house. So I picked the basket making as I've never heard of any Navajo basket makers union. Maybe we can organize one. At all events I am making a rather fetching basket and if some day you come on me sitting at a railroad station in Arizona calling out, "Ugh, ugh, buy basket," be good enough to buy a couple. I'll even autograph one for you, if I am still sane enough to sign my name.

"How Old Is Ann?"

Before we get to politics I would like to tell you something about psychiatrists.

Psychiatrists are worried looking little men with red noses in which they have perpetual colds, soft brown mustaches, steel-rimmed eye-glasses and a note-book. They have a way of popping into one's cell at the most unexpected moments and asking you hard questions such as "What was the cause of the Civil War?" I knew the answer to that one but I fell on my neck when I was asked to subtract seven from one hundred until nothing was left. In the first place I flunked math all the way through high school and college and in the second place I don't see yet how it can be done, whether you're nervous or not. At all events I got quite jittery in the process of subtracting seven from one hundred and then another seven from ninety-three and so on because seven is supposed to be a lucky number and I never was any good at craps and seven is a mean number to add or subtract anyhow.

Out of the corner of your eye, while you are wondering desperately what seven from forty-nine comes to, you see the little feller writing down ominous words in his book and sweat starts out all over you and you begin to wonder how soon you'll be playing with blocks. Then at long last, the job is done and immediately the psychiatrist says, "Do you ever feel as if ants were crawling over you?"

Now how do you answer that one? The moment the question is asked you begin to feel filthy with ants. Ants in your pants and all over. This charming idea had never occurred to you before, except possibly at picnics, but now it becomes an "idea fixe" and the world is just one crawling ant.

Awaiting a Miracle

I don't want to indicate for one minute that all these strange happenings are not doing me a world of good. Anyhow they are giving me something new to think about. "They are keeping your mind off your troubles," as the cheerio boys say. They sure are. My mind has taken on so many new things to get wrought up about, that if there's any of it left after this experience, the day of miracles is not yet ended.

But this is all an indication of what the psychiatrists undoubtedly call by some fancy name signifying rambling and, boys and girls, up here you begin to ramble and you're sure out of luck. They have places for ramblers and they are not exactly rose-beds.

What I started out to write was a sort of summary of the campaign to date. But what the blazes—You know the summary. And anyway just now a squirrel jumped up on the window sill and looked at me with such a peculiar expression that I am feeling pretty gloomy. So I guess I'll have to go and answer some more hard questions such as, "What are the five oceans?" "What day of the week is it?" "Where are you?" That last is the one that sticks a lot of us. But plenty of folks outside can't give such darned sensible answers either. Back to the baskets, boys.

LANDON

The Republicans Have a Candidate Hitched to a Buggy

ALF M. LANDON, hitched to the rickety old buggy of the Republican Party, still has a few days left in which to run for the Presidency of the United States. Colorless and drab, he has been trying to tell the American people that they will be better off if they'll throw their votes away on him than they were as a result of throwing their votes away on Roosevelt in 1932.

In his Presidential race, he has been hampered by the cumbersome past which drags at the heels of any capitalist candidate. To begin with, his party designation and his platform immediately raised the nauseating odors of Herbert Hoover's administration—breadlines, hunger marches, the bonus battle at Anacostia Flats—all the accompaniments of capitalism rolling down the hill of depression.

Added to that, Alf Landon carried his record as governor of the state of Kansas. After having made his fortune in oil operations by working together with John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company, he got himself installed as Governor of Kansas, replacing Democrat Harry H. Woodring, New Deal militarist, in the state capitol.

His Workers Not in Union

Landon's attitude toward union labor is demonstrated by the view he has toward the men who work his oil fields and pour a golden stream into his bank-roll. They're not unionized, and Landon doesn't suppose they will ever join a union. You see, they've been with him such a long time.

It is the boast of the Republicans that their candidate is a business man and that he is therefore superior to President Roosevelt, the country gentleman with the great estates at Hyde Park, N. Y. Landon can balance a budget, they say. Look at the budget of his home state.

Yes, look at it. The Kansas Hoover balanced his budget by taking it out of the stomachs of the unemployed, by cutting relief appropriations. Their boast covers a relief rate of \$1.08 a week to families averaging three members.

In every matter of importance in judging a civilized community, Landon's administration of Kansas has fallen down. In the matter of educational retrenchment, Landon has shown a contempt for the interest of the future citizens. According to a report by State Superintendent of Schools W. T. Markham, the average wage for the one-room rural school-teachers is about \$45 per teaching month. The average grade school teacher gets about \$62 a month. Kansas school districts were hard hit. Last spring, there were 444 districts not operating but sending their children to other districts. And Governor Landon considered his budget balanced!

Compulsory Military Training

The sunflower state which has tasted Landon rule is the only state in the union which makes military training compulsory for young men by state statute in its tax-supported college. Landon could have vetoed the compulsory drill law under which student conscientious objectors are suspended—but he didn't!

Kansas labor has no affection for Alf Landon. It remembers too well that the Governor is just another one of the martial-law governors of the United States. In 1935, during the strike of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, at the request of the company lawyers, he called out the state troops, proving that all governors—Democrat or Republican—are brothers under the skin when it comes to protecting the interests of the employers as against those of workers.

Like his Democratic opponent, Landon boasts of liberal legislation adopted by his administration. The fact is that social welfare laws in Kansas have been quite ordinary. But, again like the record of his New Deal opponent, Landon sat quietly back when the courts nullified them as unconstitutional. The instance of the Kansas minimum wage law for women and children parallels perfectly the story of the New York minimum wage law in the Supreme Court of the United States. The

same silence hung over Alf's executive mansion as over the White House.

The platform on which he is running commits him to paralysis on the question of saving the people from the judges who, in the name of the Constitution, trample under foot whatever legislation might help them. The Republican platform reads: "Believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of right among our citizens, we oppose all legislation tending to impair them."

Even Landon recognized that the situation was bad when he grudgingly scattered a few vote-getting words by talking about some kind of amendment that might some day be necessary to give the states—not the federal government—the power to do something for labor. But he forgot about that soon enough, just as Roosevelt forgot about his talk of "a clarifying amendment."

Supported by Liberty Leagues

Added to the handicap of his own record, Landon has got to stand up under the terrific burden of his Party and the men who are associated with it. To be the candidate of William Randolph Hearst is no easy matter. Political observers have commented that in his long and infamous political life, the yellow journalist has backed only one successful candidate—that was Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. This year, by his endorsement, he has smeared Alf Landon with his yellow brush.

Then there are the American Liberty Leaguers under whose weight poor Alf is being crushed—the duPont munition-makers, Alfred P. Sloan and Jouett Shouse, John D. Rockefeller, Henry Ford, Harold S. Vanderbilt, and Andrew W. Mellon are just a few members of the school of sharks with whom Alf Landon must swim.

His speeches, based on the platform of the Republican Party, have done him very little good. Very bluntly, he has stated his belief in capitalism. He is pledged to "preserve the American system of free enterprise, private competition."

Frankly his platform lays the basis for coming wars in which America will participate when it is to the interest of American big business: "We favor an army and navy, including air forces, adequate for our national defense." Such has been the language of war-makers throughout history.

The Only Difference

Alf Landon has nothing to offer labor as a way out of the difficulties into which capitalism has led the country. His place in the political scene has been summed up by Paul Ward, the Washington correspondent of the Nation, in the following words:

The only essential difference between Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Alfred Mossman Landon at the moment is that Roosevelt is in the White House and Landon is in Topeka."

Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for president, has described Landon as "a good, 'average American,' whom fate made an admirable man to push forward as the representative of men and interests who did not dare to show themselves too openly. He typifies reaction in the strict sense of the word; that is, he wants to go back somewhere in American history—to Coolidge, McKinley, or maybe all the way to Jefferson.

"With his nomination, as someone has said, 'the elephant moved West.' But its fodder still comes from Wall Street."

The Republicans are trying to make a come-back to the flesh-pots of Washington at which the Democrats are now filling their naws. They are going through the old, old act wherein "the politicians take campaign contributions from the rich and votes from the poor, on the ground that they are going to protect one from the other."

But they don't. Republicans and Democrats, seek to keep things as they are, and that is to keep the workers on the short end of the horn of plenty, while capitalism goes on guzzling its fill.

A vote for the capitalist party is a vote for profits and against wages.

What FDR Did For Us

Authentic statements from active members of organized labor tell their stories of what President Roosevelt, labor's "friend," really did for the textile workers, rubber workers, auto workers, sharecroppers, longshorem, and the unemployed.

What FDR Did for AUTO LABOR

By ALAN STRACHAN
Chairman, Detroit Council of the United Automobile Workers

The opinion is often expressed that President Roosevelt bestowed two major blessings upon the auto workers—first, a code for the industry, guaranteeing protection to union members and the establishment of seniority rights during lay-off periods, and second, the Automobile Labor Board.

But the code contained a joker—a merit clause. This clause meant that union members could be laid off regardless of years of seniority, because the bosses were allowed to be the sole judges of a worker's ability or merit. They could say they were laying off the men for inefficiency, violating company rules, talking, smoking, or any other trivial or trumped-up charges, when they were really laying them off for joining the union.

As for the Labor Board, it soon made history by its consistent findings in favor of the manufacturers. It proved to be a deliberate, effective method of frustrating the growing sentiment among the workers for organization. In other words, even if there had been no joker in the code, the Labor Board would have made it useless anyway. After the Board had done nothing about a number of discrimination cases, the auto workers repudiated it. Many workers left the union in sheer disgust. Organization in Michigan, the center of the industry, which had just begun to crystallize, suffered a severe set-back, from which it has not fully recovered even today.

Organized labor in the auto industry has nothing for which to thank President Roosevelt, unless it can profit by experience. Then it will know that codes and labor boards set up by capitalist governments hinder rather than help in the building of a strong, militant union movement.

What FDR Did for the Sharecroppers

By J. R. BUTLER
President of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union

The Roosevelt New Deal paid thousands of dollars in A.A.A. benefits to the plantation owners for plowing under cotton, but not a cent went to the sharecroppers and tenant farmers. Instead, many of us lost our one means of support.

When we organized our union, the Democratic governors of the cotton states called out the national guard. The planters organized bands of vigilantes and night riders. They broke up union meetings with guns and whips. Union men were killed, flogged, tortured. Roosevelt knew about this but did nothing. He needs the votes of the planters.

Roosevelt's close friend and political adviser, Senator Joe Robinson of Arkansas, is the leader of the plantation owners. He fights to keep the system that benefits them and keeps us far worse off than slaves. When Roosevelt came to Arkansas, he made a campaign speech for Robinson, and he refused to see a committee of sharecroppers.

Roosevelt finally sent two investigators here, who made two reports. The first was a complete whitewash for the planters and Robinson. That report was published. The second told the truth about conditions. That report was suppressed by the government.

It's just plain hell here. But Roosevelt won't do anything except what the plantation owners want him to do.

Rubber Workers

"The rubber workers' unions lost an enormous number of members when the pressure of Madame Secretary Perkins, under orders from Roosevelt, caused the signing of the 1935 Washington agreement. The growing union membership was stifled, because the agreement meant merely a continuation of company unions, spy systems, low wages, long hours, and bad working conditions in the rubber industry. The actions of the labor boards

and government officials resulted in a glorious run-around for the rubber workers. Re-election of Roosevelt will simply mean another four years of this same bitter medicine."

"A fifty per cent increase over the tremendous profits of 1935, with an increase in wages of only one per cent in the entire industry, speaks eloquently for what Roosevelt didn't do for the workers but did for the rubber barons."

—R. J. WIDICK,
Editor, United Rubber Worker.

Longshorem

"President Roosevelt appointed the National Longshoremen's Board to settle the strike of the 27,000 maritime workers in San Francisco. The Board decided in favor of the employers and refused to consider the strikers' demands, so naturally we stayed out on strike. All the workers in the city backed us up and walked out in a general strike.

"President Roosevelt then sent in his 'personal representative,' General Hugh S. Johnson. He saw at once that the strike couldn't be broken while public opinion was with the strikers, so he launched a onslaught of vicious and unjustified red-baiting. The labor movement was stamped by communists," he said, and the strike was a bloody insurrection. To grant our requests would be a 'compromise with revolution' and he urged all good citizens to 'run the subversive elements out like rats."

"This was the signal for the police and vigilantes, aroused by the tirades of Roosevelt's 'personal representative,' to begin a siege of violence and terror. For months they lay wild, carrying on raids, destroying the property of radical and labor organizations, and arresting all suspected radicals, in an attempt to 'purge the state of these criminals.' Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor was asked for and readily granted full cooperation in delisting any alien involved in radical activities. Blame for this terrorism falls directly in the lap of General Johnson and the Roosevelt administration."

—A LONGSHOREMAN.
(Name withheld by request.)

What FDR Did for Textile Labor

By GEORGE BALDANZI
Vice President of the United Textile Workers of America

The only good thing the NRA did for the textile workers was to raise wages a little in some places, but the stretch-out and speed-up increased more than wages, so we were worse off than before. The code helped only the bosses. Not a thing was done about complaints filed with the labor board. When we threatened to strike, Roosevelt got us to call it off by making a lot of promises, but he didn't carry out a single one of his promises. Instead, hours were reduced some more, with hourly wages staying the same.

When we had our general strike, the bosses cried for help, and the government replied by stopping relief. It used every possible means to make us go back to work. The militia was called out. Strikers were killed and wounded. The guns that the militia used to shoot down strikers belonged to the federal government. President Roosevelt could easily have prevented the use of these guns if he was really a friend of labor, but he didn't. Instead, he held federal troops ready to be rushed to any point where the militia might need help in putting down the strikers. All along, he used all his influence to try to get us to end the strike. Finally, in his smooth, persuasive voice, he promised a new textile board, an investigation of the stretch-out, and no discrimination against strikers.

We were fooled into believing that this time Roosevelt really meant what he said, so we called off the strike. Again the joke was on us. There was discrimination everywhere. Decisions of the textile board were violated right and left by employers, and Roosevelt never said a word. The stretch-out kept on. Wages stayed as low as ever.

Roosevelt did a good job for the bosses, but we learned a lesson we're not going to forget.

What FDR Did for the UNEMPLOYED

By DAVID LASSER
President, Workers' Alliance of America

To the unemployed Roosevelt was the great promiser. He promised the "abundant life" and gave us starvation relief. Then he promised the more abundant life and withdrew relief completely, throwing it back on states and local communities unable to bear the burden. He promised us work and gave us WPA jobs at wages from \$19 a month up. The average WPA wage was on ' \$50 a month—\$12 a week.

He promised a works program that would create millions of jobs. But only three million were taken off the relief rolls, for a period of just one month. He then began to lay off workers, some 700,000 WPA workers being laid off between March 1 and August 1, 1936. And there are twelve million of us still unemployed.

When the works program was passed by the Senate in 1935, Roosevelt threatened to veto it if the Senate persisted in its attempt to pay prevailing wages instead of the scab wages proposed by his administration. His Senate strike of relief workers was called by the labor movement of New York City in August, 1935, to protest the scab wages and to demand union wages on WPA. Roosevelt issued his famous "Work or Starve" order. Yet he promised the abundant life.

Now, when the Workers Alliance of America, supported by William Green, president of the AFL and John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, has launched its nation-wide drive for "The Living Wage on WPA," Roosevelt refuses to meet with the responsible officers of the unemployed. He is too busy promising the abundant life.

By RALPH LEVINE

LEMKE

Named by Coughlin, He Is Playing Reaction's Game

IN the political Who's Who of the 1936 campaign, you come across the name of Whoosis William Lemke, running for President on a ticket known as the Union Party, launched by Father Coughlin.

Lemke isn't taking his presidential jaunt any more seriously than are the American people. At the same time that he's talking about the White House as his next residence, he's running for Congress on the Republican ticket back in his home state. It's a dead give-away about his intentions.

Lemke Backers Support Landon

That Lemke's campaign is not intended as a serious move to present a political program is revealed by the conduct of his backers. While they are pushing him as a presidential candidate, they are also urging the election of Landon in some states. Actually, Lemke's candidacy is just an example of how the clever Republican campaign strategists outsmarted themselves. When they put Coughlin's puppet in the field with the intention that he collect discontented Roosevelt votes, they didn't figure on a back-fire, that he would take votes from Landon.

They're backing down, now. Recent events show the Republicans recovering from their brain-storm and ditching old Bill. Dr. Townsend, who together with Father Coughlin and Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith formed the messianic triumvirate backing the Union Party, is now out openly rooting for Landon in at least ten states—New York, California, Florida, Oklahoma, Nevada, Kansas, New Jersey, North Carolina, West Virginia and Maryland.

It's all as plain as day, now. Lemke is no more a candidate for the masses than his Republican brother, Alf M. Landon.

The close connection between the Coughlin-Lemke sister act and the Republican Party was further displayed when it became known that William Hard, Republican ace publicity man and radio wind-caster, had been acting as a Coughlin representative in attempting to secure a press agent for the radio priest. He had approached Gardner Jackson who turned down the offer. Jackson quotes Hard as saying: "I am one of his (Father Coughlin's) closest friends and advisers and, while I am not on his staff officially, he asks me for his counsel and advice."

Could anything be plainer?

All Things To All Men

But Lemke has a program—and it reads like a fairy tale. The emblem of his Union Party should be the horns of reindeer and his speeches should be accompanied by the jingle-bells of Santa Claus. All things are promised to all men, and they will be accomplished with the wave of a Congressional wand.

Do you want higher wages? Congress shall legislate them for you. Do you want higher profits squeezed out of your workers? Congress shall legislate them for you. Do you want more money to pay your debts? Congress shall legislate it for you?

The Methodist Federation for Social Service, in a summary of the Union Party's platform, says: "At every point the Union Party platform suggests a dictatorial power in the hands of Congress, without regard for the democratic rights of the masses. The promises are large and the suggestions for their fulfillment are small and vague. Does this not seem to be a framework for developing American fascism?" (Italics theirs.)

It should be remembered that candidate Lemke turns naturally in that direction. He has beaten the jingo bass-drum in years gone by. Back in 1915, he wrote a book called "Crimes Against Mexico," one of the most imperialistic documents of that imperialistic day. In it, Lemke called for intervention in Mexico to serve the interests of American business-men in the name of protecting their property. In tone and substance, it is a reminder of the writings of a Hitler or a Mussolini.

The company that is kept by the Union Party candidate is not of the best. Around his lurid standard are rallied the small-time, would-be dictators of America. In Illinois, he is backed by Big Bill Thompson, known to be one of the most corrupt figures that ever marched across the stage of municipal politics. He is backed by such men as Newton Jenkins, head of a fascist-minded outfit.

An examination of Lemke's program reads almost like a plagiarism from the literature of European fascists in their early stages.

The very first plank in his platform reads: "America shall be self-contained and self-sustained, from foreign entanglements, be they political, economic, financial or military." Such has been the program that Hitler has undertaken for Germany—intensely nationalistic, bristling with enmity for other countries. Hitler calls it autarchy.

Platform Accepts Profit System

Lemke's platform accepts the profit system, with its inescapable companions—unemployment and war. He talks about protecting "small industry and private enterprise" and significantly to protect all "private property from confiscation through unnecessary taxation."

That is the old technique of the demagogue; offer all things to all men. The little business-man is supposed to rub his hands with satisfaction because of the few words thrown him by the Union Party. At the same time, big business gets its assurance that its property is safe "from confiscation through unnecessary taxation."

Vague though these words are, they can have only one real meaning. It is impossible to protect both sides in the struggle for existence. Big business is big because it has swallowed and is swallowing the small men and the workers in its hunger for profits. No one can be on both sides. Either you are for the masses of the workers and the lower middle class, or you are for the privileged few. Demagogues may carry water on both shoulders, but they do not take their stand with the masses though they angle for their votes.

On the question of civil liberties, Lemke is totally silent. His platform contains no single word in defense of the freedom of labor. In these days when labor is stirring to achieve new organization and to solidify its ranks, the Union Party's presidential candidate has no word to speak concerning his rights.

Nominated by Coughlin

That the Union Party's platform is so unsatisfactory is not a matter of surprise. No actual party adopted it. No body of men and women gathered in a convention to deliberate on the problems of the nation. On the contrary, Lemke stands before the voters as an individual, nominated by one man, Father Coughlin, over the radio—as part of a political maneuver.

From week to week, it has become increasingly clear that the Union Party will gather little support. Where political advantage dictates, its high priests endorse Landon. That it has no real political principles for which it stands unswervingly is made plain by its willingness to take part in political trading, offering to endorse—as it did in New York—old party candidates. Such an organization can have no mass support.

But Lemke and his party have importance as a threat against the future. Small though it is today, playing politics unscrupulously as it does, we must halt its development. We dare not forget that Nazism grew from small beginnings until it flooded all Germany with its rivers of blood.

Now is the time to organize against the coming of fascism. If fascism is to be defeated in America, there must be a powerful labor and Socialist movement. The answer to Lemke-ism is the building of the trade unions and the political party of the masses. To do that—vote Socialist!

THE LIFE OF NORMAN THOMAS

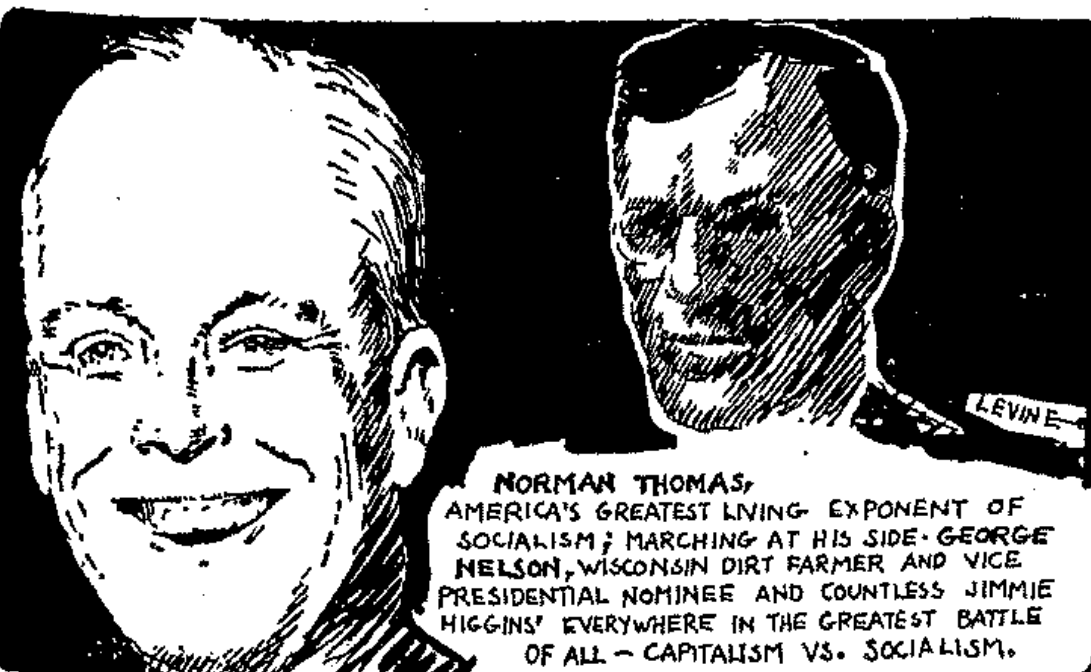
The Issue Is Socialism



WITH MAYOR HOAN OF MILWAUKEE AND H.W. LADLER MAKING THE NOMINATING SPEECHES FOR THOMAS AT THE 1936 SOCIALIST CONVENTION AT CLEVELAND—THOMAS WAS SELECTED AGAIN TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT BY UNANIMOUS ENTHUSIASM.



HIS ACCEPTANCE SPEECH WAS BROADCAST ON A COAST TO COAST HOOKUP.



NORMAN THOMAS, AMERICA'S GREATEST LIVING EXPONENT OF SOCIALISM, MARCHING AT HIS SIDE: GEORGE NELSON, WISCONSIN DIRT FARMER AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE AND COUNTLESS JIMMIE HIGGINS! EVERYWHERE IN THE GREATEST BATTLE OF ALL—CAPITALISM VS. SOCIALISM.

With The Party

This last week of the campaign has been designated Socialist Whirlwind Week. Socialist branches are arranging, with the aid of party sympathizers, to have watchers at the polls to see that the vote is honestly counted. . . . House parties are being arranged to hear the two Socialist broadcasts Sunday afternoon, Nov. 1. George A. Nelson and Mayor Hoan speak at 3 p. m. E.S.T. and Norman Thomas speaks at 4:45 p.m. E.S.T.

After the election, party branches are arranging Debs Memorial Meetings for Nov. 5, the anniversary of Debs' birth. . . . Though the Socialist ticket in Florida has been denied a place on the ballot, due to the law that blocks all minority parties, an active write-in campaign has been waged. The names to be written in are as follows: R. G. Cox, presidential elector; Charles E. Jensen, governor; Charles W. Keyes, U.S. Senator; W. L. Foster, U.S. Senator; E. F. Poulpot, 1st Congressional District; F. S. Porter, 2nd C.D.; Will C. Shumaker, 3rd C.D.; Lee Hankins, 4th C.D.; B. T. Tiller, 4th C.D.

CAMPAIGN IN CONNECTICUT

Socialists in Connecticut are winding up an intense campaign for Thomas and Nelson in spite of the fact that a court decision has left the McLevy machine in control of the state ticket. After the election, steps will be taken to see to it that only those affiliated with the Socialist Party of the USA are permitted to use the name of the party. . . . A huge crowd, paying admission fees, jammed Schenley High School in Pittsburgh to hear Norman Thomas. Large sums were contributed by the audience to the campaign fund. . . . The Kansas state organization has joined the Western Federation of the Socialist Party. The federation is requesting the national organization to loan it one of the Red Sound Trucks for use after the elections to extend party organization in the west. . . .

A big hallowe'en party is being staged by the St. Louis Socialist party branch. . . . New York Socialists report that they have distributed larger quantities of literature than in any other campaign in years. . . . John Monarch, Socialist candidate for governor of Michigan, has completed a 4,000 mile trip through the state with a sound truck, accompanied by Jessie Wolerstein of The CALL. . . .

RALLY IN PHILADELPHIA

Gus Tyler, director of the Debs Labor School, and Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, Pennsylvania state chairman, will speak at a rally at Eukier Hall, 2026 North 32nd Street, Philadelphia, on Friday, October 30, at 8 p. m. . . .

Devere Allen, candidate for U. S. Senator in Connecticut, will speak on the Spanish Civil War at Touro Hall, Arcadia Building, 88 Mathewson Street, corner Washington Street, Providence, R. I., on Thursday evening, Oct. 29. . . . The Negro Work Committee of the party has issued a leaflet, revealing the responsibility of the Republican and Democratic parties for lynching. . . .

FORM LABOR LEAGUE FOR CANDIDATES

A large number of trade union leaders connected with the textile industry have joined the Philadelphia Labor League for Thomas and Nelson. The needle trades are also well represented in the or-

A Program To Vote For

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

Socialist Candidate, Governor of New York; Author, "A Program for Modern America"

It goes without saying that the primary job of Socialists in this campaign is the job of making Socialists, of convincing the people of the country that there is no hope of bringing about security, plenty, genuine democracy and peace short of Socialism.

While educating the workers in the need for Socialism, we likewise urge a number of immediate changes as a means of relieving present day distress and of strengthening the workers in their fight for the far flung goal of a cooperative order. The Socialist Party urges, among these immediate changes, the following:

The Workers Rights' Amendment

Perhaps the most urgent immediate need before the American people is a constitutional amendment conferring upon Congress positive powers to pass social insurance legislation, and other legislation for the public welfare, including the power to socialize industry. The Supreme Court of the United States was given no power in the Constitution to declare social legislation of Congress unconstitutional. This power the Court usurped. It should be shorn of that power.

The people of the United States, through their chosen representatives, should be able to decide their own destiny. That destiny should not be left in the hands of elderly judges, most of them formerly corporation attorneys, in Washington. Congress should be given affirmative power over labor and social legislation. Industry is increasingly national in its scope. Labor legislation should likewise be national.

Labor should not have to go cap in hand to the 48 legislatures of the land and beg for labor legislation over industries that are intimately connected with the whole economic life of the country.

Child Labor Amendment

Socialists have long stood for the Child Labor Amendment to the federal constitution, followed by adequate legislation by Congress. In 1930, over a quarter of a million boys and girls were employed between the ages of 10 and 13, nearly a half million between 14 and 15 and nearly a million and a half between 16 and 17.

The elimination of child labor will take hundreds of thousands if not millions of children out of industry, and give jobs to the jobless adults. It will remove from industry the depressing effect of the miserably low wages now paid to children, in most cases, of only a few dollars a week. It will remove the child from a work-a-day environ-

ment that frequently leads to demoralizations in body, mind and spirit, and will give him a chance for an education formerly closed to him.

Social Insurance

With or without a Workers' Rights Amendment, we Socialists urge the immediate enactment of a comprehensive adequate federal system of social insurance, including old age pensions, unemployment insurance and health insurance. Socialists have fought for years for such a system. The principle of social insurance was formerly bitterly attacked by Republicans and Democrats alike. Now it is accepted.

But the system of social insurance adopted by the Roosevelt administration is a travesty on any sound system. It utterly excludes systems of health insurance at a time when every advanced industrial country has successfully conducted such systems for years, and a time when, according to the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, "it is impossible for 99 per cent of the families to set aside any reasonable sum of money with positive assurance that that sum will pur-



LAIDLER

chase all needed medical care."

Roosevelt has utterly failed to urge a federal system of unemployment insurance. He has left such insurance to the 48 states of the union. Unemployment insurance is national in practically every country where compulsory insurance systems prevail. It should be national here.

"Under the Wagner-Lewis Bill," declares Bryce M. Stewart, Director of Research, Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., "broad industrial spreading of risk will be impossible because many states have no diversification of industry and in some a single industry or a few with high rates of unemployment bulk large in the total." The only practicable way to deal with this problem, these authorities declare, is by organizing the insurance system on a national scale.

We Socialists maintain that unemployment insurance should be placed on a federal basis; that benefits given should be adequate; that all involuntarily unemployed should be included within the system and that the nation should contribute toward the insurance fund, the contributions to be raised from income, inheritance and excess profits taxes. We agree, in other words, with the principles laid down in the Frazier-Lundeen bill, though we would amend some of the provisions of that bill.

As for old age pensions, we would eliminate the cumbersome and complicated dual system of old age assistance and pensions. We would reduce the age for receiving old age pensions at least to 60. We would include all with inadequate income within the scope of the law. We would rapidly increase the present low pension to a level that would permit of a decent and human existence, and we would raise

the pension fund from taxes imposed on those most able to pay.

Public Works

A further factor leading to a greater degree of security is the development of a far more comprehensive system of public works than has thus far been developed.

The unemployed want work, not relief. If private industry is unwilling or unable to give them work public industry must step in. Under Roosevelt public works has absorbed only a small part of the unemployed, and under conditions that, in many cases, lowered trade union standards. It but scratched the surface of the housing problem, though a great public housing project for the building of workers' houses would alone have, directly or indirectly, given work to millions of the unemployed. Socialists insist on a public works and relief program adequate to meet the needs of the times.

Taxation

Under the recent barrages against the Roosevelt administration, Roosevelt and his advisers are maintaining that they will not increase taxes after the 1936 election. They have done little to use the system of taxation as a means of securing a better distribution of wealth or of raising sufficient money for much needed social services.

Socialists urge drastic increases in income and inheritance taxes, in excess profit taxes, and the imposition of land values taxation, so that the community-at-large may be able to secure to itself the increments in land values due to society's effort. We urge a capital levy for the purpose of working out the terrific debt imposed on our people.

Public Ownership

The aim of Socialists is the social ownership and democratic management of the socially necessary means of production and distribution to the end that security, peace, freedom and plenty may be the heritage of all. This new cooperative order cannot be attained until the workers by hand and brain, dedicated to the Socialist ideal, obtain control of the reins of government.

In the meanwhile Socialists urge extension of public ownership of our national resources, our public utilities and of other basic industries, with as much control as may be possible by worker, consumer and technician.

Today over half of our iron resources, seven-eighths of the raw material used in the making of aluminum and most of the world's nickel, are owned respectively by one corporation. Eight corporations own eighty per cent of anthracite coal. Other resources are concentrating in few hands. These resources are exploited for profit. They are exploited wastefully. The Natural Resources Board in 1934 declared that, on one of our oil fields, as much natural gas was blown into the air as would supply in that year almost every housewife in the United States with gas. These resources should be owned by the nation and run for the benefit of the nation.

Our public utility monopolies—our electric, gas, water supply, telephones, telegraphs, railroads, etc.—should likewise be publicly owned. In every publicly owned industry trade unions should be recognized and trade union conditions should prevail. Managers should be appointed not by politicians but by boards representative of employees, consumers and technical experts. Any con-

siderable steps toward public ownership and democratic control of industry, however, must await the advent of a Socialist government. But we can begin with the task now.

Civil Liberties

Under a declining capitalism increasing attempts at suppression of free speech, free press and free assemblage are made by the economic rulers of industry. A flood of gag laws, sedition laws, loyalty oath bills have been introduced into Congress and the legislatures during the past few years.

For the most part, the Roosevelt administration has remained silent in the face of these fascist attempts.

"I feel," wrote Oswald Garrison Villard of The Nation, a short time ago, "that the President's greatest failure is in the matter of standing up for fundamental American rights and liberties. Not one word has come from his lips as yet on these questions that are so vital if our Republic is to endure."

Some of the worst instances of fascist tendencies have been seen in such Democratic states as Arkansas, Indiana and Florida. Nor has the Republican Party or its Hearst and American Liberty League supporters shown any solicitude for fundamental civil rights. Quite the contrary. These elements in the Republican Party like to crush out movements for fundamental social change.

The Socialist Party stands alone as a consistent champion of civil rights. Socialists, wherever elected to office, may be depended upon to battle for the preservation and extension of our civil liberties and to do everything that in them lies for the building of a system of economic democracy under which alone civil liberties may survive and flourish. The fight for civil liberties constitutes one of the great issues of this campaign.

Foreign Relations

Finally Socialists insist that America must begin a right-about-face on its international program if it is to avoid a plunge into another war. Of all the parties today, the Socialist Party is the one party whose representatives can be depended upon to oppose all capitalist wars.

The last Congress appropriated a larger sum of money for the army and navy than was appropriated by any nation in the world in times of peace. Socialists propose a frontal attack on militarism in all its forms; a neutrality policy that will seek to keep us out of immediate wars while building up a system of industry which will eliminate the causes of war. We urge the reduction of trade barriers; the development of international organizations for the allocation of raw materials, and, most of all, the development of powerful economic, cooperative and political organizations of labor dedicated to world peace.

It is the task of Socialism, while gaining increasing strength on the political field, to lend of its strength to the raising of living standards, the suppression of fascist reaction and the warding off of international conflicts while building for a world order. But it is the Socialist movement's supreme duty to show the world that there can be no genuine security, democracy of peace under a system where we put our economic life in the hands of private profiteers, and that the one most important political issue of the times is that of transferring our system of monopoly capitalism with its tragic and increasing evils into that of Socialism, with its promise of the good life for all.

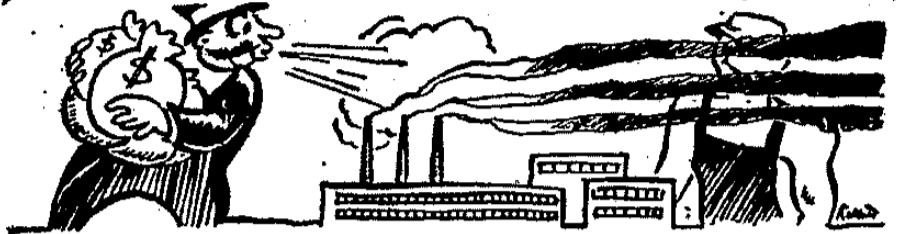
Smoke In Your Eyes

When you burn large heaps of wheat, you get smoke. And that smoke gets in the eyes of the American people.

Wheat wasn't made to be burned. Yet it's been done on a large scale. And coffee was hardly made for fish's diet. Yet tons of it have been tossed into the ocean. Anybody who's kept informed about what's happening in the world knows that these things are done. Not by private business-men alone but with government help. Take the plowing under of cotton, for example, or the slaughtering of pigs.

Intelligent people wonder at the spectacle of so many good, useful things being deliberately destroyed. It seems illogical.

But there is a reason, and the reason is spelled profit. The smoke of the burning wheat, and the smoke from the factory-chimneys,



cover up a huge profit-grabbing scheme at the expense of the working people. The capitalist system—as it is called—is not interested in making food, clothing and homes for the people; all it wants is profit.

By destroying the things that are created through labor, it can get higher prices for the little that remains. And that's all the owners of industry care about because it means profit for themselves, even though for others it means hunger and poverty.

Workers sweat long hours to make those things but they cannot claim them as their own. Oh, no; the products belong to the owners of the factories who can burn them, toss them in the ocean, or even tease starving workers with them, by giving the workers such little wages that they can't afford to buy back what they have made.

This system of seeking profit, which causes the destruction of food in times when people are starving, which plows under cotton when people are ragged, which dumps coffee in the ocean when homeless men walk the streets begging for "nickel for a cup o' coffee"—this system is capitalism, the system of scarcity.

But there is another system possible—abundance. That is Socialism. It says:

"We have in this world machines enough and raw materials enough to give everybody a decent living. Let us use this abundance to care for the men and women who do the work of the world, instead of delivering it into the hands of a small group of individuals who want it only for profit."

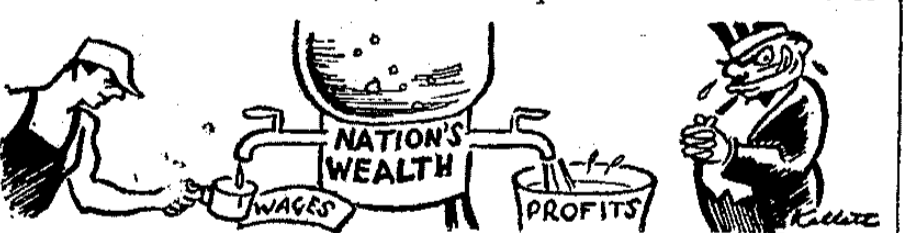
That group is able to keep us in scarcity because it owns the industries. It cracks the whip over our heads because it holds the whip—the factories, mines and mills. It does not have to lift a finger at the work-bench, but it claims the rewards of labor.

It is time that labor insisted that it be given what it produces, instead of being given scarcity, unemployment, homelessness and war. It is simple for labor to win real prosperity for itself. Instead of working for men who claim to own the factories because of legal papers with fancy seals, labor must decide to work for itself in those factories which, in the last analysis, were built by its hands. The engineers and workers should be working for society, that is, for themselves.

The logical way is social ownership of natural resources, the principal means of production, the great trusts, the public utilities and the banking system. They must be managed for the use of the great masses of workers with hand and brain, rather than for the profit of an owning class.

Such a system would give abundance for all in that kind of private property, like food and clothes and homes, in which we all believe.


In that way, the workers would not find themselves compelled to live on a small portion of the wealth they produced while the big business-men turn on the big faucet of profit and drain off enormous quantities of the good things. Social ownership of industry would put a stop to that.



We can have real democracy, with the industries managed by directorates representing the workers and the consumers. In this way, we could build a classless society of workers where every able-bodied man and woman would work and all would share the leisure which the machine makes possible.

There is no time to lose. The job of reconstructing this sorry old world must begin immediately. We can, if we are willing, build a new civilization on the basis of abundance and plenty in which men will be freed from fear and poverty.

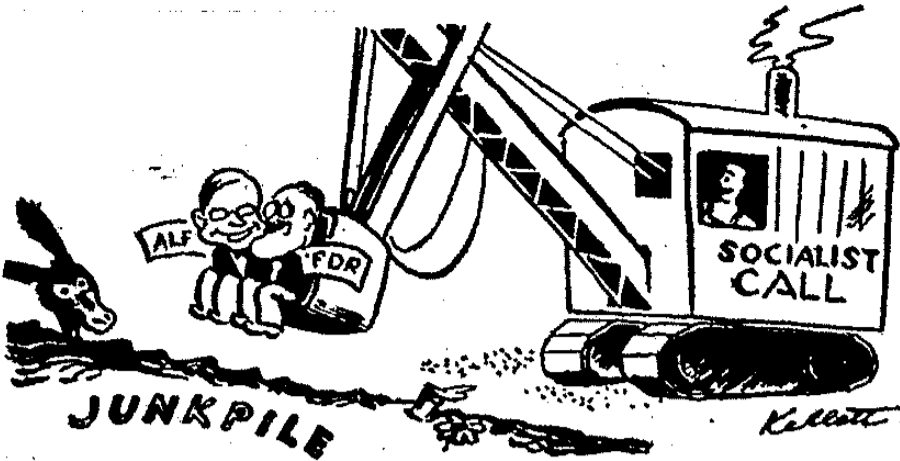
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The day after the elections, the two old-party candidates will shake hands, exchange congratulations and best wishes, and the system of capitalism will roll merrily on its way to ruin countless millions more.

But the Socialist Party will keep on fighting. The CALL will go right on telling the truth about unemployment, war and Fascism. So long as capitalism exists, we will never give the command, "Cease firing." We'll still be in the trenches, fighting for a better world. And we expect you to stand with us.

The real issue of modern life will not have been settled by the election. The war between Socialism and capitalism will continue. In the words of Gene Debs, "the supreme issue in America today is the contest of the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the powers of government." That contest goes on.

Recruiting Agent

And that is why The CALL goes on; that is why Socialists and friends of Socialism go on distributing it. Particularly important is it now to begin enrolling new members into the Socialist Party—and The CALL is an instrument for the accomplishment of that purpose. Use The CALL as your recruiting agent.

Just imagine if Socialist locals and branches had been distributed

ing The CALL all year round in the hundreds of thousands as they are doing in the closing weeks of the campaign!

Now is the time to renew this practice. The campaign for Socialism does not end on November 3. There must be no retreating from the new positions we have gained. For branches to reduce their bundle orders now means a retreat. Every copy less of The CALL that is distributed measures so many backward steps.

Now—before the formal political campaign is over—is the time to determine that the actual campaign goes on uninterrupted. Start planning immediately for the future. In those plans, The CALL must play a prominent part. See to it that funds are made available to meet its bills, see that the bundle orders continue, indeed in increased amounts, see that new subscribers are enrolled for it.

Has Your Neighbor Read Norman Thomas' Speeches?

ARE YOU LISTED?

Subscriptions for the week amounted to 194. Here's the honor roll of sub-getters and contributors:

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Books

'The Man Inside'

By BRUNO FISCHER

V. F. Calverton's "The Man Inside" (Scribner's, \$2.50) is different from the ordinary novel of ideas. Novels so described generally concern themselves with lengthy conversations by superior individuals about the state of their souls and the world, in that order. This book is nothing of the kind. The ideas Calverton discusses are an integral part of the story, and it's a swell story.

Joli Coeur, a doctor, buries himself in a jungle in order to try out scientific experiments in hypnotism on primitive natives and animals. It is emotion rather than logic, he contends, that is the key to human conduct. "Despite all the contradictions of their programs, the Hitlers and Mussolinis win the allegiance of the larger part of the population even though such victories are at the cost of defeat for the very populace which puts them in power." Emotions are determined by suggestion; therefore, to reach the sources of suggestion is the great task.

To get to the man inside, the essential man, is the job Joli Coeur has set for himself; and to a certain extent the experiments depicted in this book are successful. As far as I know the results of the experiments are valid. Russian doctors, for example, have had considerable success with childbirth through hypnosis, and there are cases on record of psychological ills which have been cured through suggestion.

Joli Coeur considers himself a Socialist. His experiments, he points out, would be even more important after socialism is established than today. The task of freeing man under Socialism from slavery to his fears and phobias through driving through to the essential being is a step beyond that of freeing him from economic slavery.

The above paragraphs only indicate in barest outline some of the ideas in V. F. Calverton's novel. The story itself I haven't the space to relate here. The story, as I said, is fascinating, and the ideas have a great deal of validity in modern society.

The Modern Monthly is easily the outstanding radical journal of opinion in this country. It's contributors are the cream of the left-wing writers and it is the only popular magazine in the country to take a forthright revolutionary position.

The October issue of the Modern Monthly is something for which to run to the newsstand. Lillian Symes writes a corking critical analysis of "Our Liberal Weeklies"—meaning, of course, the Nation and New Republic. Calverton concludes the second of two articles on James T. Farrell's book, "A Note on Literary Criticism." Max Eastman writes in his usual brilliant polemical manner on "John Reed and the Old Masses," in which, needless to say, he quarrels with present communist history of John Reed.

A Book by a SOCIALIST which received the attention of the Nation

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Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

The foremost problem facing progressive cooperators today is how to extend the cooperative movement to the great mass of industrial workers already organized in the trade unions. This problem has vexed cooperators and now it is beginning to be the concern of trade union leaders. When William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, is moved to extend greetings to the Co-operative Congress and pledge the assistance of the AFL in building the co-operative movement, you may be sure there is considerable sentiment in favor of cooperatives among trade unionists. Sentiment, however, will not build cooperatives. Action is needed.

Urges Expansion

Socialists and progressives should be in the forefront in making use of this sentiment. Every trade union league, and progressive group should be urged to draw up a program of action within their unions to extend and expand the cooperative movement. They should, for example, demand that the educational directors of their unions institute lectures, classes and forums on consumers cooperation. They should undertake to see that cooperative literature is available for sale or distribution at every meeting of the union. They

should propose a resolution endorsing consumers cooperation and should urge that their State Federation and AFL delegates be instructed to support endorsements by those bodies of consumers cooperation. They should vote an appropriation for cooperative educational work in their union.

All such activity will serve to crystallize sentiment in favor of cooperatives until an organization is formed to do for trade union cooperative organization what the CIO is doing for industrial unionization. A trade union committee for cooperative organization is urgently needed if trade unionists are to be enlisted in the support and the formation of cooperatives quickly enough to participate in our fight against fascism and war.

The task of organizing new cooperatives and strengthening

existing ones will be far less difficult than that which faces the CIO. There will be no opposition except the apathy and lack of understanding of their own members. The task, however, is not a simple nor an unimportant one. Without trade union support, the American cooperative movement can not be a working class mass organization nor can it be an influence for revolutionary change.

The movement is in danger, moreover, of becoming a sect in which the traditional cooperative policy of political and religious neutrality is fast becoming a complete disregard and disinterest in the perils and problems confronting the working class. When catastrophic events are shaking the world to its foundations neutrality and disinterest become chains to enslave rather than slogans to rally the working class. Trade union support of cooperation will make it reflect the fears of workers everywhere so that safeguards can be erected.

'Sweet Land of Liberty'

CHICAGO—(LSP)—With only a few days left to election day reactionary state election boards are still trying to keep the names of the Socialist candidates off the ballot.

In Tennessee the Socialist party was ruled off the ballot one day and after a strong protest was put back on. In Rhode Island and New Hampshire election boards disqualified almost half of the signatures on Socialist petitions on such pretexts as middle initials and periods. No time was allowed for appeal.

As it stands now the names of the Socialist candidates, Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson, will appear on the ballot in at least 37 states. In the other states, voters will write in the names of the Socialist candidates.

MODERN MONTHLY

in the current issue

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STALIN ON TRIAL

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LOBBY AND AISLE

By ALLAN GEORGE

TEN MILLION GHOSTS is not "dull" nor is it "undramatic" as some of our metropolitan critics reported. How can an anti-war drama, such as Kingsley has written, possibly be "dull and undramatic?" In the course of the new theatrical season we have seen many plays, some of them to leave after a short run and others to remain. Suffice it to say that TEN MILLION GHOSTS is the most dramatic thing that has yet come our way. It is powerful and vitriolic.

In the face of threatening Fascism and another World War, in the face of Roosevelt's billion dollar appropriation for more armament (the greatest in peace time history), TEN MILLION GHOSTS is a brave challenge to the people. Kingsley's message is to "let the people know" that the forces behind the making and prolonging of the last World War, were the international ring of munition makers, the 100 per cent Americans and the so-called "patriotic organizations."

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ADELPHI Thea., 54th St., E of 7th Ave.
BILTMORE Thea. (In Yiddish) 47th St. 8th Ave.
MAJESTIC Thea., Fulton St. Bklyn. Pl. Bklyn.

"891" Presents **"Horse Eats Hat"** MAXINE ELLIOTT
A Farce Comedy Evgs. at 8:40 of B'way, CH 4-5715

Kainey's **"The Path of Flowers"** Daily's Thea.
3 Act Comedy (Experimental) Evenings 8:30
Phone Circle 7-5652 63d St.—E. of B'way

CHILDREN'S Theatre Presents **"The Emperor's New Clothes"**
HECHSHER Thea., 104th St.—6th Ave.
THURS. & FRIDAY MATINEES at 4—SAT. at 2:30—15c-25c
ANDRE **"NOAH"** LAFAYETTE (Negro Thea.), 181st-7th Ave.
OBEY'S EVENINGS 8:40 TL 5-1424

LECTURE

Ernst Toller
WILL SPEAK ON HITLER

WALDO FRANK
Chairman

THIS FRIDAY EVE., OCTOBER 30 AT MECCA TEMPLE, 8:30
Tickets: \$2.20, \$1.65, \$1.10, 85c, 55c, and 35c at Box Office, and American League Against War and Fascism, 268 Fourth Ave., and 45 East 17th St.
AUSPICES: HENRI BARBUSSE MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

sens, the du Ponts, and their capitalistic cohorts are grippingly told both on stage and screen. For Kingsley adapts an old trick in showing actual war films and slides on a huge screen to supplement the stage.

Interwoven in the play is the deep friendship existing between four young people and their eventual breakup. Madeleine, daughter of de Kruiif, French munitions magnate, loves Andre, a young poet. They have two friends—Ryan, a tough, cynical American newspaperman, and Peter, a German artist. The war breaks out and Peter returns to his "fatherland" but is soon wounded; Andre joins the aviation corps and is stationed at the French mines and munition plants across the border from the German mines and factories supplying the weapons of war. He disobeys orders and leaves to bomb the enemy but is soon shot down, little realizing that an agreement had been made at the outset of the war between the German and French munition makers — an agreement whereby neither's mines and factories were to be bombed or otherwise attacked.

Ryan hurriedly dispatches this "scoop" to his paper controlled by Pierce (Hearst) but the story is killed. From then on the play moves swiftly to a thrilling climax at the 1927 Disarmament conference.

George Colours is excellent as Zacharey (Sir Basil Zarahoff) and plays his part so convincingly that you begin to hate him by the end of the third act; Lee Baker as Francois de Kruiif is an old and experienced actor but overplays his part. The settings were designed by Donald Oenslager, who reaches his peak in the very opening scene. It is the inside of a munition plant and there across the length of the stage is a huge cannon in the process of construction. Kingsley has done a fine job. His message is there.

PLAYS

Laurence Rivers Inc., presents
WILLIAM KITTY
GAXTON CARLISLE
in ERIK CHAREL'S
WHITE HORSE INN
International Musical Comedy Success
CENTER THEA., 49th St. & 6th Ave.
Eves. 8:30, 55c to \$3.85
Mats., Weds., 55c to \$2.20 & Sat. 55c-\$2.75
Special Matinee Election Day

ARTEF PLAYERS
PRESENT
"200,000"
A Folk Comedy
By SHOLOM ALEICHEM
Prices: 50, 75, 1.00 and 1.50
ARTEF THEATRE
48th St. & 8th Ave.
PHONE: Chickering 4-7999

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DAUGHTER



Barbara O'Neill as Madeleine, the daughter of Francois de Kruiif, the French arms racketeer, in Sidney Kingsley's new anti-war play, "Ten Million Ghosts" at the St. James Theatre.

CALL BOARD

For the fourth successive year, S. Hurok will sponsor a seasonal showing of that spectacular fusion of the arts which is known as Russian Ballet when Col. W. de Basil's Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo opens an eleven day engagement at the Metropolitan Opera House this Thursday evening. The repertoire this season is of wide variety, ranging from works of colorful folklore and modern romanticism to the latest symphonic creations of Leonide Massine. Starting in the middle of July, 1934, The Ballet Caravan, in spite of being an unknown and untested organization, made thirty appearances in seven weeks at colleges and in summer theatres. It will make its New York debut Saturday and Sunday evenings at the Kaufman Auditorium, 92nd street and Lexington Avenue. Marsha Graham will give her first New York concert of the season December 13 and 20. Tamiris and her group, who believe that the dance must find its themes in reality and the present world of events, opens the new season under the auspices of the New Dance League on Sunday night, November 8 at the Guild Theatre.

Has Your Neighbor Read Norman Thomas' Speeches?

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At the Hippodrome

Alfredo Salmaggi announces six performances by the New York Hippodrome Opera Company from Friday evening, October 30, to Tuesday evening, Nov. 3, as follows:

Puccini's "La Boheme" will be presented Friday evening (Oct. 30th) with Annunziata Garrotto as Mimì, Lawrence Power as Rudolfo, Perla Wolcott as Musetta, and Messrs. Pilotto, Nilssen and Interrante in supporting roles.

"Lucia di Lammermoor" is Saturday night's bill, featuring Leta May in the title role, Lawrence Power as Edgar and Angelo Pilotto as Ashton.

"Tannhauser," as second of the Wagner matinee series, will be given next Sunday afternoon, Nov. 1 at 2:45 with Julia Peters as Elisabeth and Arthur Gerry as Tannhauser. Fritz Mahler conducts.

Maestro Salmaggi also announces the complete recovery of Ettore Nava, baritone. Mr. Nava, as originally scheduled, will appear in his famous delineation of the role of Barnaba in Ponchielli's "La Gioconda" Sunday evening. Anna Leskaya appears in the title role, Maru Castagna as Laura, Pasquale Ferrara as Enzo.

Special Election Day bills (Nov. 3) will be "Madame Butterfly" in the afternoon, with Annunziata Garrotto as Cio Cio San, and in the evening, the double bill of "Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci."

SCREEN

Soviet Color Movie
"Nightingale," first a 11-color feature produced in the Soviet Union, will have its American premiere at the Cameo on Election Eve.

SCREEN

"Your Chances to See the Best."—Post
"A Greater Promise"
4th & Last and "MILLIONS OF US"
Week! Great American Labor Film
"NIGHTINGALE"
Premiere Monday Evening
Cameo 42 St. East of 25c to 1 P.M. B'way Weekdays

Filmarte 48th St. W. of 7th Ave. CI 7-6971-2
Banned by Fascists Abroad!
Acclaimed by Critics Here!
"CARNIVAL IN FLANDERS"
6th Smash (KERMESSE HEROIQUE)
Week! "★★★★"—Daily News
Complete English Titles
"Excellent"—N. Y. Post
"Out, out!"—McAlister Coleman

ON THE SCREEN

THE BIG BROADCAST OF 1937. Starring Jack Benny, Burns & Allen, Bob Burns, Leopold Stokowski and Orchestra. Directed by Mitchell Lelien. At the New York Paramount.

By MANUEL WEIN

It is pleasant to report that there is no such monument to bad taste as a ballet of elephants in this year's "Big Broadcast" as was present in the last edition of series. It is even a greater pleasure to report that barring an unimportant story, the parts of which are occasionally sprinkled between the various scintillating skits, the "Big Broadcast" is an entertaining revue, easy on the eyes and ears and not too taxing on the brain.

On the whole it is Jack Benny's picture, with next honors going to that happy half-wit Gracie Allen. Leopold Stokowski, maestro of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, looking-as spooky as Bela Lugosi in a bilious moment, runs his boys through the Bach "Toccatina" which amazingly enough took top applause at its first performance.

"Les Miserables"

The French "Les Miserables" starring Harry Bauer in the role of Jean Valjean finally reached the screen and can be seen twice a day at the Cinema de Paris.

SCREEN

SCREEN

NOW SHOWING!

"GYPSIES"
WED. - THURS.
OCT. 28th-29th

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"Imperishable — A Classic"—Soc. CALL
"★★★★"—Daily News

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PITKIN & STONE AVENUES
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Buses to Mountains Lakewood Atlantic City Carbondale leave every hour

Manhattan Temple 105 E. 106th Street! The Year's Greatest Affair!... KEEP THIS DATE OPEN!
Thanksgiving Eve., NOV. 25th

AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

THE election of Roosevelt seems to me sure and the one best hope of impressing this self-proclaimed advocate of "private business" and "private profit" with labor's needs and demands is the size of the vote we Socialists will roll up. That isn't the best reason for voting Socialist, but it is a reason worth urging. Our communist friends who at last are beginning to talk more critically of Roosevelt are likely substantially to increase their very small vote of 1932. But that will mean less than it might have meant because of the indirect support they have given Roosevelt by making the issue "democracy versus Fascism"; by concentrating all their real attack on only one capitalist party; and by sending their people into so-called labor parties pledged to Roosevelt. Incidentally, the communists have indulged all over the country in an unscrupulous, whispering campaign to the effect that I urged voters to vote for Landon if not for me!

Is Pledged To Capitalism

Roosevelt will probably take office again pledged to nothing except capitalism. He has not even discussed peace, civil liberty, the future of unemployment relief, the constitutional crisis, or any economic question; realistically, or given any public pledges to workers on his future plans. He did not even see David Lasser and others of the Workers' Alliance who wanted to press the just demands of WPA workers. Robinson, as a price of support, gets a free hand for terrorism in Arkansas. Business men get

pledges of loyalty; the workers the assurance that the President is better than Hoover!

The Tragedy Of the Campaign

It is true that the election somewhat follows class lines with the workers and lower income groups—those not polled by the Literary Digest—almost unanimous against Landon. If out of this a real Farmer-Labor Party develops no one will rejoice more than I. It will not develop automatically or easily as a consequence of hating Hearst. It is the tragedy of this campaign not that there was a kind of labor stampede to Roosevelt, but that it asked so little and permitted Roosevelt to ignore all issues. And for that, labor tactics exemplified in varying degrees in the Non-Partisan Committee's statements, the Daily Worker, the New Leader, the Jewish Daily Forward and the Freiheit are largely to blame.

Under the circumstances, the Socialist campaign this year has been hard. But never has it been educationally more important or in itself more vital. Thanks that I can never properly express must go to the wonderfully loyal Jimmy Higginses, young and old; to my gallant running mate, George Nelson; to state candidates; to the self-sacrificing staffs of national, state and local offices, and perhaps especially to the loyal comrades who so intelligently and courageously have carried on the fight in New York State and are reorganizing the Party in Pennsylvania and Connecticut, Oregon and California. It has been a joy to work with you all. The future will thank us for our insistence

Next Week!
In order to provide more complete coverage of election returns, The CALL will go to press one day later.

this year that the issue is Socialism versus capitalism.

The Price Of Delay

On August 31 I wired Roosevelt to protest against the action of his State Department in encouraging American exports to Spanish rebels. I sent copies to Landon, Lemke and Browder, asking their cooperation in protest. I heard from none of them. Now I read in the paper that Browder demands from our capitalist government some sort of help for the hard pressed Spanish government which has been forced to the left. I think he, like the government of Russia and France, missed a great opportunity by delay.

It seems to me clear that France and Russia and Great Britain might at the beginning have ended the menace of Spanish Fascism to world peace by compelling the pro-fascist nations to keep hands off or by supplying a duly recognized government with means to meet a military attack. I believe that this could have been done in ways that would have made for peace, not war. The thing that made for halting action, or really no action, was Blum's internal difficulties and the deep and praiseworthy desire of France and Russia for peace. Even so, probably the chief factor in preventing their effective

action was the well grounded mistrust of the Tory government of Britain. That government has for decades controlled Portuguese foreign policy. Why not now, against Fascism?

Apparently what will happen now will not be European war, which no great nation is ready to begin. In Spain there may be long guerrilla war and, I think, ultimate victory for the masses, but at tragic cost.

I do not suppose that American exports have been a chief factor in such success as the Fascists have so far won. But America lost a chance to make a stand to discourage Fascist military rebellion which would have aroused worldwide attention and helped the cause not of war, but of peace.

Proportional Representation

Proportional representation in city government is just and practicable. (I do not think it is equally advisable in national government in view of German experience and its tendency, on a national scale, to split groups and divide responsibility.) It is, however, likely to benefit the Socialist Party or a labor party. The provisions for it in the proposed charter, on which New York City voters must pass are not ideal. But they are worth having. To win them we must vote Yes on the charter as well as on the separate question of proportional representation. The charter itself does not include provisions urged by myself and other Socialist spokesmen. It contains some improvements on what we have and contains no new perils. Therefore,

vote Yes, as the Party's Public Affairs Committee has advised.

The Workers' Alliance

The arrest of my friend, David Lasser, president of the Workers' Alliance, and two others who sought to lay the demands of that organization before the President, calls attention to what has been forgotten; namely, that his schemes of relief while better than no relief or better than Hoover's stubborn insistence on local relief, are discriminatory; shot through, locally, with politics; and on a scale scarcely better relatively than the old Roman program of bread and circuses.

In particular, WPA wages make the so-called American standard of living impossible, especially for the unskilled. On many occasions I have elaborated of our Socialist program for dealing with unemployment and endorsed the Workers' Alliance demands. We Socialists are for a program of useful work for the unemployed, especially public housing, at prevailing wages. We are for full recognition of the Workers' Alliance as the organization of the unemployed for collective bargaining. We are for a genuine security law along the lines of the Frazier-Lundeen bill, and as an emergency measure, the 30 hour week without reduction in pay. If capitalism can't grant this, so much the worse for capitalism, the more need for Socialism. Will the other candidates for the Presidency speak out with equal explicitness? What do they think is to happen to 10 million unemployed?



A GREEK FABLE UP-TO-DATE: Orpheus plays enchanting music, but what can he do to rescue the people?