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# Socialist Call

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## Norman Thomas Attacked in Arkansas

### Gen'l Motors Praises Nazi Rule of Reich

### Mooney Finds Hitler's Principles of Government 'Fundamentally Sound'

Less than a year ago Hitler and the Nazi government of Germany won one of the warmest endorsements it has ever been given.

The booster was James D. Mooney, vice-president of the General Motors Corporation of America.

No newspaper or magazine in the nation has had the courage or the initiative to discover and print the fact of General Motors' sycophantic praise of Hitler. The SOCIALIST CALL is glad to be able to do so in its first issue.

General Motors' kinship with Hitlerism will be no surprise to the automobile workers or those who know their struggles; that the corporation has been brazen enough openly to admit it, will be news to many.

#### Hitler "New Deal"

Here are excerpts from the article, "James B. Mooney Discusses Automotive Industry with Hitler," taken from the General Motors World of June, 1934:

"While in Berlin on his recent European trip, James D. Mooney attended the May Day celebration and the following day called on Chancellor Hitler. Mr. Mooney has given the General Motors World the privilege of being the first publication to carry the story of these two interesting events.

"The May Day celebration in Berlin, duplicated in every city and town throughout Germany, marked the first anniversary of the German "New Deal" under Herr Hitler's guidance.

#### "Hitler Weather"

"The children's festival was held at nine. The streets were full of people waiting to see Herr Hitler go to meet the children. As his car dashed into Unter den Linden, with their "leader" standing erect beside the driver, the crowds surged to catch a glimpse of him. Long after his car had passed from sight, its progress could be gauged by the cheering and by the forests of hands that rose and fell.

"The big meeting at the Tempelhof Field took place at four in the afternoon. All day the sky had been free of clouds and the sun shone with July intensity; "Hitler Weather," the Germans call it because every important event since he took office has been favored with perfect weather. The Chancellor's office had sent Mr. Mooney a special windshield card for his car and, as he left the hotel to go to the field, he found that the card was an "open sesame" to

### Workers Again Start March to Destruction.



Nazi cannon-fodder on the march, preparing to slay their fellow workers in other lands. And in France, in England, in Italy, in America, men dressed in different uniforms but with same purpose, march and train to destroy each other for the preservation of profits.

### Socialist Forces Through Bill Outlawing All Company Unions

#### Hoopes Makes Pennsylvania Legislature Pass Bill With Teeth

HARRISBURG, Pa.—With the passage today by the Pennsylvania House of Representatives of his bill outlawing company unions, Darlington Hoopes, Reading Socialist, again showed the workers of Pennsylvania where the leadership in fighting their battles is coming.

More stringent than section 7A of the NRA, the bill was passed by a vote of 189 to 9.

The anti-company union law makes the fourth bill that the Socialist has sponsored and forced through an almost leaderless assembly in which a supposed "new deal" democratic majority, is in the process of emasculating most of the labor legislation promised during the campaign.

The others are an anti-eviction bill, one setting up much needed machinery for the collection of wages and another requiring that all official meetings of public bodies be public, so that the voters can know what is going on.

In addition the Socialist has introduced an unemployment insurance bill recognized to be the best in the country, bills bring the archaic Pennsylvania workmen's compensation laws up to date, and many other measures needed by the workers.

His colleague, Mrs. Lilith Wilson, also of Reading, is responsible for a 30-hour work week bill for all industry, an old age pen-

#### Call Meeting Held In New Jersey Sunday

A meeting to organize the New Jersey section of the Call Press Association and to push the sale of the CALL in New Jersey will be held this Sunday, March 24, at 2:30 p. m. at the headquarters of the Newark Socialist Party, 1085 Broad street.

#### Crowds Jam Court, Pittsburgh Abandons Suit Against Jobless

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—After considerable blustering on the part of city authorities, injunction proceedings against the Unemployed Citizens League were finally dropped. The unemployed organization had besieged the offices of the relief authorities for weeks as a result of which the officials applied for the injunction to restrain the activities of the U.C.L. on the ground that they were interfering with the proper functioning of relief administration.

The matter had been set for a hearing, but on the trial day, with the court room jammed by hundreds of jobless, with countless others out in the streets, it was announced that the application had been withdrawn by the relief board.

The Unemployed Citizens League is led by Bob Lieberman, prominent Pittsburgh Socialist.

### Boss Run-Out Forcing New Rubber Strike

WILLOUGHBY, Ohio.—Failure of the Ohio Rubber Company to observe its part of the agreement that concluded the rubber strike here last week, makes a new walk-out likely, according to Leonard Duncan, chairman of the last strike.

Duncan, who is also the local Socialist secretary, predicts widespread strikes in the rubber industry if the employers continue to discriminate against union members. He charges that the rubber companies have acquired large stocks of tear gas and ammunition for the purpose of breaking strikes by violence.

After an eleven day strike, marked by mass picketing under Duncan's militant leadership, the Ohio Rubber Company agreed to recognize the United Rubber Workers' Union, Local No. 18284. It has failed to re-employ all strikers, as agreed, and has placed scabs in preferred positions.

Twenty-two workers were arrested, and one, Mrs. Betty Springer, was fined \$25 and sentenced to 30 days in jail for allegedly breaking a headlight of the sheriff's automobile. The local Socialists are making a vigorous fight against this unjust reroading of a widow with dependent children. Trials for others arrested during the strike are scheduled for March 14.

### Mob Drives 3 Socialists From Town

#### Planters Deport Leader After He Addresses 8,000 Poor Sharecroppers

BIRDSONG, Ark.—Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, speaking here for the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, was man-handled and forcibly prevented from addressing a meeting of the union Friday by a mob of armed planters. John Herling, who accompanied Thomas, was snugged.

Buck Kester, union organizer, an Associated Press reporter, Thomas and Herling were then seized, thrown into their automobiles and escorted out of Mississippi County.

The mob was led by a deputy sheriff who refused to give his name. He threatened to fire upon the crowd of nearly a thousand sharecroppers, including many women and children who had gathered to hear Thomas.

#### Had Addressed 8,000

Previous to the Birdsong meeting Thomas had addressed some seven or eight thousand persons at Little Rock, Parkin, Marked Tree, Truman, Lepanto and Memphis. Never before had so many tenant farmers, white and Negro, left their fields and thronged to the towns in this region to hear a national leader.

Many, lacking cars or mules, walked seven and eight miles to hear the man who had helped found their union and who, in spite of a hush-hush policy by government officials and the press, had called national attention to their plight.

Thomas was in the state four days, during which time he called upon Governor J. Marion Tutrell and demanded a legislative investigation of the "bootleg slavery" in the cotton fields. The Governor's reply was "If you want an investigation why don't you pay for it yourself?"

#### Rodger's Hearing

Thomas' tour of Arkansas was timed to coincide with the court hearing on Ward Rodger's appeal from a six months' sentence for "anarchy." The court, fearing the national publicity which Thomas could secure, postponed the hearing until October 8. In the meanwhile, Rodgers, a former FEPA teacher and an officer of the union, will make a tour of the country, to raise funds to help the union organize all tenant farmers in the South.

Though only a year old, the union has already become the spearhead of the sharecroppers' struggle. It was founded following a visit of Thomas to the cotton country in 1934.

The economic troubles of the sharecroppers derive from a feudal

# N.E.C. to Pass On 3 Vital Party Issues

## New York Must Defend Right to Retain Its State Charter

RUFFALO, N. Y.—One of the most important meetings of a Socialist Party National Executive Committee in fifteen years will be held here this week-end.

Among the important problems which will come up for consideration are the following:

1. Report of a special committee appointed at the last meeting of the National Executive Committee to study the possibility of the formation of a farmer-labor party.
2. Action on the report of the special committee appointed to investigate the revolutionary Policy Committee.
3. Consideration of the motion introduced by Albert Sprague Coolidge of Massachusetts, which was carried by a mail vote of the National Executive Committee, that the New York State organization show cause why its charter should not be revoked. Two states, Massachusetts and New Jersey, have asked that New York's charter be suspended. Many locals and branches in New York have asked that the National Executive Committee take action to bring about the return of order, activity and party democracy to local New York.

The Young People's Socialist League will also appear to ask that action be taken on the attempt of the New York City Executive Committee to take over the New York Young People's Socialist League.

## Chicago Planning Impressive Rallies For the First of May

CHICAGO.—Chicago Socialists, in cooperation with the Pocket-book Workers Unions, Chicago Joint Board of the ILGWU, Chicago Federation of SNFU Lodges, City Central Committee of the Workmen's Circle, Chicago Workers Committee, and Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, Poale Zion, and Chicago Labor Youth Council have set up a committee and broadcast a call to all Chicago labor for a May Day Conference Sunday morning, March 31. Every local of the American Federation of Labor, the railway unions, and sympathetic labor fraternal orders has been individually requested to send delegates to the 31st Conference, which will meet 10 a. m., Sunday morning, March 24, in the Carmen's Hall on Ashland boulevard.

Chicago labor is being appealed to give support for a genuine mass demonstration for the 30-hour week and against the rising tide of reaction which is headed up in the Hearst red-scare campaign and at least eight reactionary amendments to the present election laws, which would bar all radical parties, in the opinion of the present election officers, from the ballot.

### Bazaar at B'klyn Lyceum

The Twenty-fourth Anniversary Bazaar of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum will be held from April 3 to April 7, inclusive.

The Brownsville Labor Lyceum, located at 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn, is one of the foremost centers of Socialist, labor union, and workmen circle activity in Brooklyn.

Subscribe to the Call! It brings you authentic Labor and Socialist news.

# The Socialist Call Needed to Fight 'Radio Misleaders,' Chairman Krzycki Writes

By LEO KRZYCKI  
(National Chairman, Socialist Party, U. S. A.)

This is to transmit my cordial best wishes to the Socialist Call and to its staff as it enters the important field of labor and Socialist journalism in America. I trust that you will serve as an able instrument for carrying the message of socialism to the masses at this crucial time.

One of the heartening features of our movement today is the appearance of a growing number of well-edited, progressive labor and Socialist papers. Publications which have been drab and uninteresting in past years, which have been written from a quite conservative point of view, have recently experienced a new birth.

### Roosevelt Loses Followers

Under enlightened progressive editorship these papers are carrying our message to growing bodies of disillusioned workers. New papers are appearing which are a credit to our movement. In other lines of publication, such as in the

production of pamphlets and study outlines, the Socialist Party and its allied groups, and the more progressive unions, are making a most commendable mark in carrying the spoken word to the masses.

Today the labor movement stands waiting for our message. After two years of the "Roosevelt honeymoon," labor is no longer sure that salvation will be furnished by the man in the White House. Roosevelt, who alone among the capitalist politicians has seemed to labor to be their Messiah, has stripped himself of the protection of his "Brain Trust," and stands disclosed to the American workers in his true colors, as the creature of the exploiting class. In repeated reactionary stands and decisions he has proven that he is in reality no different from his conservative predecessors. While he is turning away from further "liberalism," the courts of the nation are rapidly destroying those few portions of his legislation which have given crumbs of comfort to labor.

The Call's Opportunity  
Demagogues such as Huey Long

and Father Coughlin have sensed the disillusion of the workers. Aided by hundreds of thousands of dollars of free time on the national radio networks, they have attempted to win the workers to their allegiance. Socialists must be awake to this situation. The labor movement, and the great army of unorganized workers, must be shown the false nature of these radio misleaders and must be taught the true message of emancipation, the Call of Socialism. This challenge faces the Socialist Call at its birth! Labor stands in need of our message! Labor stands ready to listen today! Labor is ready to march!

Let the Socialist Call steer clear of party controversy. Let it serve as a valuable organ for the Socialist and labor movement. Let it serve as an important agency toward the awakening and the enlightening of the labor movement. A great opportunity is ahead! Let the Socialist Call be aware of its responsibility in meeting this great opportunity!

# Unemployed Form Nation-Wide Organization, Draft Program

## Convention, Representing 400,000, Presents Demands to Roosevelt

Delegates representing 400,000 unemployed from all sections of the country gathered in Washington early in the month and organized a powerful, non-partisan, nation-wide unemployed union.

For the years of the depression groups of organized unemployed had pursued their own paths, developing their own groups, fighting local politicians for a little more food, for a few cents more an hour on relief jobs. Now the unemployed movement has matured. The unemployed came to Washington to draw up a real program of demands and to organize to obtain them.

### Lasser National Head

For three days the delegates wrestled with the many problems that confronted them, and at the end of the convention a nation-wide group was formed and a national executive board representing all sections of the country was elected. The name chosen for the national organization, the Workers Alliance of America was the final result after dozens of names were debated and then rejected. David Lasser of New York was chosen national chairman, and W. K. Patrick of Oregon was elected vice-chairman. To further emphasize the nation-wide character, Paul Rasmussen of Illinois was elected national secretary and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, chosen as national headquarters.

### Adopt Demands

The program of demands that was adopted by the delegates was a rounded program to benefit both the unemployed and the employed, and the program of action was designed to cement unity between the unemployed and the trade union movement. The demands called for:

1. Trade union wages on all public works jobs with a minimum of \$30 a week for a 30 hour week.
2. Real social security by passage of the Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill H.R. 2827.
3. Passage by Congress of the 30-hour work week bill with trade union wages.

### Won't Scab

These demands a committee of six took to the White House and presented to Marvin H. McIntyre, secretary to President Roosevelt. A carefully prepared statement accompanied the demands in which

the unemployed declared that now after two years in office it was time that the President fulfilled his promises to provide a decent standard of living for all. The statement declared in addition that in asking unemployed to accept less than union wages on relief jobs, they were being asked to scab on organized labor. They stated emphatically that they would not scab.

Mr. McIntyre replying to the demands declared that "\$50 a month was better than nothing." This statement from the secretary to the President of the United States sounded rather ominous in the ears of the unemployed, who stated that the organized unemployed would unite with organized labor to obtain that decent standard of living promised us.

### Visit Congressmen

A committee of 30 chosen from all states in the convention then visited the capitol where a conference was held with five liberal congressmen. Here they read the statement that had been submitted to the President and asked the representatives for their support. They informed the delegation that the most effective way to obtain our demands was by organization and exerting full pressure upon Congress.

Late in the afternoon of Monday, March 4th the last day of the convention a telegram arrived from William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, pledging cooperation.

Wild cheering greeted its reading to the delegates. With the five million workers of the A. F. of L. allied with the unemployed, they felt that they could go on to a victory in their fight for escape from the prison of unemployment and poverty. They have already established communication with Mr. Green to make possible the cooperation referred to in his telegram.

### Four Tasks

"Our main job now," said David Lasser, "is first to organize the unorganized unemployed and relief workers. Plans are being made to carry on an extensive organizing campaign and establish groups in every state in the union. In this work, the organizing of New York State is of great importance. With nearly 2,000,000 unemployed in the state, only a small percentage are now organized. Next we will secure the affiliation to the Workers Alliance of all unaffiliated non-partisan unemployed groups. Third, we will try to unify all unemployed groups with whom we

## Call Association Will Meet Friday, Mar. 29

Applications for membership in the Socialist Call Publishing Association will be accepted at the first regular meeting, to be held on Friday, March 29th, at 8:30 p.m., at the headquarters of the Socialist Call, 21 East 17th street. The membership fee is \$1 a year, payable on application. Only members in good standing of the Socialist Party of the United States and the Young People's Socialist League are eligible.

The members of the publishing association will elect a permanent Board of Directors in the near future. This Board, through its sub-committees and officers, will be responsible for the publication and future policy of the Socialist Call.

can work in harmony and on a sincere and honest basis.

"Fourth, we will work out plans to unite with organized labor in all of its struggles, so that our interests will be mutual interests. We feel strongly that the time is coming when an attempt will be made by the large interests to smash the workers' organizations. Use will be made, as far as possible of the unemployed to set them against the employed. We will resist this effort by organizing, educating and developing the unemployed to an understanding of the fact that we rise or fall with the success or failure of the trade unions.

"We intend to put out a national newspaper as quickly as plans can be made."

### Toledo Strike

Significant of the growing unity with the trade union movement is the strike of FERA workers now going on in Toledo, Ohio. 1,500 relief workers on strike voted unanimously to join the Workers Alliance. The Central Labor Union of Toledo voted full support to the strikers and is aiding in an organizing campaign to organize all the relief workers in Lucas County. There is a possibility that the strike and organizing campaign may spread through the State of Ohio. The demands of the workers are modest and they are determined to fight for them rather than to starve working.

After six years of depression the movement of the unemployed has come of age. They are through with barter schemes, with subsistence homesteads, with other quack plans, and at last are united on a nation-wide non-partisan basis, prepared to take their rightful place in the labor movement of this country.

# Exposes Red Scare as Gag On Unionism

## Civil Liberties Union Cites Planned Drive Against Unions

WASHINGTON (FP).—An attack upon the whole trade union movement is seen by the American Civil Liberties Union in the drive against the civil rights of working people launched in Congress and state legislatures under cover of "red scare" tactics. It issues a blacklist of "gag" legislation against which it calls upon liberals to marshal their forces.

"Not in all the years of our experience," says the Union, "have we seen so determined a drive by reactionaries to suppress political and civil rights. Under guise of attacking radicalism, the enemies of a strong labor movement are marshalling their forces to strike at militancy by workers, sharecroppers and farmers, wherever it appears.

### New Deal No-Help

"We cannot depend on New Deal liberalism to oppose these bills. Not a word of rebuke or protest has come from any high official and the backers are the most powerful forces in the country—the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the American Legion, the army and navy crowd and the Hearst press."

The Kramer sedition bill, the McCormack military disobedience bill and the Dickstein alien propagandist bill are singled out by the Union as receiving most support from reactionary quarters. It points out that the Kramer bill, like state sedition statutes, is modeled on war measures under which pacifists, Socialists and aggressive labor leaders were persecuted. Under the McCormack bill, "strikers and their sympathizers protesting the use of the National Guard in a strike area would be punished," it notes.

State bills blacklisted by the A.C.L.U. include bills to ban radical political parties from the ballot; sedition bills punishing "revolt against legitimate authority" and striking at mere opinions and possession of radical literature; and legislation requiring loyalty oaths of teachers.

## Lewiston, Idaho, Labor and Socialists Marking Big Gains

LEWISTON, Idaho.—Socialists are leading a revival in the labor movement of this depression-ridden state.

The new militant temper of labor was demonstrated by the election of a Socialist, F. V. Lund, as president of the State Federation of Labor at its recent convention. Fred Henderson, famous British Socialist, who addressed the convention, was given a great ovation.

Here in Lewiston, another Socialist, C. R. Knoll, has taken a leading part in organizing the Loggers and Sawmill workers union. In Jerome the sheep-shearers and the unemployed are being organized by Ralph Collings, a member of the Socialist state Executive Committee. Collings recently headed an unemployed delegation which demanded better relief from the governor.

Though greatly handicapped by the long distances in a sparsely settled state, the Socialists are at last getting a firm foothold. Without constant help, however, from the national office and from James D. Graham of Montana the growth would have been impossible.

# NBC Unions Keep Plants Shut Down

## Workers in Five Cities Battle Company, Police and Scabs

By JAMES ANDERSON  
(Chairman, National Biscuit Company Strike Committee)

On Tuesday, March 19, the state of war between the stockholders of the National Biscuit Company and its six thousand workers on the Eastern Seaboard enters its eleventh week. The ranks of the workers, despite the efforts of the company to stampede them back into the plant by the use of personal persuasion, scabs and police brutality, remain true to their nine-month-old union.

It was no longer than May 28, 1934, that fifteen men and women strode determinedly into the office of the bosses of the National Biscuit Company.

"We," said the leader, "represent your three thousand employes in New York City and we demand recognition of our union."

### Demands Rejected

Their demands were refused and within twenty minutes, to the shock of the company officials, the entire plant was paralyzed. Thousands of dollars' worth of dough ready for the ovens were ruined. Ten minutes later the workers of the National Biscuit Company in Philadelphia followed the example of their union brothers in New York City.

Between the hours of 11:30 and 1:30, the Inside Bakery Workers Union had won full recognition and their demand for equal pay for equal work in all the plants, with better working conditions guaranteed.

### Strike Is Called

Thereafter, for the first time in the memory of the majority of workers employed by the company for more than twenty-five years, the plant ran full time. In the storehouse rented for that special purpose, went the results of this unusual production schedule on the part of the National Biscuit Company which never before had given any employe a full week's work. All this time the union was fighting with the company because two hundred workers in the Philadelphia plant had not received equal pay for equal work according to the union agreement.

On May 28 at 10:30 in the morning a strike was called and answered with unanimity by the six thousand members of the union on the Eastern Coast.

### Galvin Is Leader

Since that morning the strikers have remained steadfast to their union, fully realizing that to return without a union means virtual slavery to the National Biscuit Company, slashing of wages, speed-up, lay-off and intolerable working conditions.

Inspired by the fighting spirit of their young leader, William A. Galvin, president of the union, the workers have demonstrated their determination to follow him unflinchingly in his struggle with the company.

Carrying their fight to the very doorstep of the most powerful and brutally indifferent stockholder in the company, Ogden L. Mills, the workers have demonstrated with slogans, placards and songs before his mansion, where the servants slammed doors and windows in their faces, at 2 East 69th street. Into the very heart of Wall street the strikers have gone with their shouts for fair play from the company and defiance against its tactics to break their union.

### 24-Hour Pickets

Throughout the streets of New York, Brooklyn, Newark, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Ga., and York, Pa., they carry through the day and night, on foot and on trucks, the word of their battle against the unscrupulous attempts of the Na-

'Send a Greeting by Wire'



It's gratings, not greetings, for these unemployed homeless men in New York City. They sleep on the metal grating outside a Western Union office to get the benefit of the hot air blasts which come out. It doesn't look very comfortable but they say it's better than the flophouses.

# Rebel Arts Puppeteers Tour East for Unions and Party

By JOEL LLOYD  
READING, Pa., WITH A CARLOAD OF PUPPETS, EN ROUTE TO YORK, PA.—Philadelphia — Baltimore — Washington — Norfolk — Richmond — Durham — Knoxville, Tenn., — and points South. In each town we pass, a quick stop, up with the stage on the Main Street—then out with the dolls, with six or sixty reasons for boycotting all the products of the National Biscuit Company, a quick distribution of "U-Don't-Need-A-Biscuit" circulars—back into the car and on down the road. And so another town passed, chucking happily at the disappearing Rebel Arts Puppeteers—"and they'll be damned if they'll eat any more scab crackers."

### Jogging Along

Now a word about transportation. With less than one day on the road we've decided that our car can have only one name—Capitalism—because it's on the verge of collapse. Harry Herzog sits somewhere under the steering wheel and nurses the old girl along with the abandon of only Herzog turning out a caricature of Fascism, et al. The biggest kick on the road for Sam Friedman is the "Twenty Mile Speed Limit" signs we pass on the way. He thinks if we can ever work the car up to the pace that pinches (about 21 miles per) we're ready for anything. And of course Helen Fichandler worries for the puppets and prays that they'll last the trip.

### On the Boards

But more about bookings. In all the key cities that we hit, we have bookings with the Socialist Party branches, Workers Unemployed Unions, or the International and Amalgamated locals, where we shoot the works. Anti-War—General Strike—and local situations. And organization for Rebel Arts. In Norfolk, we're scheduled to be on the boards for the Labor

tional Biscuit Company to exploit the thousands of men and women who have built the industry for its stockholders.

A twenty-four hour picket line surrounds every plant of the company. Women and men wear their strike placards before the doors of stores which refuse to boycott the National Biscuit products.

Members of the Young People's Socialist League have given active service and support to the strikers.

The Rebel Arts Puppeteers have toured the city for the strike, strengthening the morale of the workers by their performances. At present, the Puppeteers are touring the Eastern Seaboard for the union. They will travel as far South as Atlanta.

Festival and we hope we can crash the Drama Festival program at Chapel Hill, North Carolina — where Sam is dated to speak for the Theatre Union.

And by the way, from what we saw at the Socialist Bazaar in Reading and the spirit exhibited—you can start giving odds that there's going to be another Socialist city after the next elections.

# Socialists Force Bill Through Pa. Legislature

(Continued from Page One)

sion amendment to the state constitution, and a health insurance bill on which hearings are to be shortly held, among others.

How far the Hoopes measures will get in the reactionary Republican controlled senate, depends upon how much pressure the workers can bring on the legislators and how sincere the Democratic votes in the house were.

Unquestionably many of the house votes in favor of the Socialist's measures were with the hope, or perhaps the knowledge that they would die in the senate, which in the past has been the best graveyard for labor legislation in the country. Unfortunately there is no Socialist in that body to do the job that Hoopes and his colleague have done in the house both in the present session and in earlier ones.

The Reading Socialist became nationally known when in the 1933 session by a series of parliamentary maneuvers, he forced through a recalcitrant house the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the Federal constitution.

# No Seat Safe From British Labor Party

The recent by-election in Norwood, conservative South London stronghold, shows again that no seat is safe from the onrush of the British Labor party.

This was one English by-election which the Labor party did not win, but the increase in the Labor vote and the loss of Tory votes does not make the government particularly happy. In 1931 the reactionary coalition vote was 30,851 and Labor polled 7,217 votes. But in last week's by-election the combined Conservative and extreme Conservative vote was 18,745, while Labor's vote was 12,799, a loss of 12,106 votes for the Tories and a gain of 5,582 votes for Labor.

# Striking Toledo Relief Workers Strengthen Ranks

# Steel Trust Overcome by Iron Miners

DULUTH, Minn. (FP).—The steel trust's iron wall is being pierced by organized labor for the first time in almost 25 years.

Almost 5,000 iron miners have recently become members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in the Ironwood, Michigan, district. And this time, the miners vow, not all the corporation's spies in steel, whose activities were so minutely described by Frank L. Palmer in his book by that name, shall succeed in breaking the union.

At a recent meeting in Bessemer, Michigan, officers and committeemen from the 11 upper Michigan locals discussed plans for united action. Creation of a teamsters' union was urged by one mine delegate, who said activity had already been started by his local among the teamsters.

Creation of an upper Michigan council, composed of four delegates from each local, was favored as the business body of the section. The conference voted to help workers of other crafts organize into their own unions. A resolution was also passed in favor of the Lundeen workers' unemployment insurance bill, H.R. 2827.

The conference set up a wage rate of \$1.67 an hour, with a minimum of 1,560 hours a year.

"I would not take \$100 to miss this meeting," one delegate said. "We must organize every man, woman and child."

The same spirit was reflected by all the other delegates. "We cannot depend upon the arbitration boards to settle our questions," another remarked. "We must settle them ourselves."

# Connecticut Party Hits New Armories

HARTFORD, Conn.—Socialist legislatures and Party locals played a prominent part at two hearings before the state legislature last week.

The first was at a hearing held on the building of armories in several Connecticut cities, including Putnam, where the National Guard had been called out against the textile strikers. The Socialist State Senators and Representatives went on record against the bill. Arnold Freeze, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, and Harry Fleischman, representing the Young People's Socialist League, spoke against the bill.

The following day Jasper McLevy, Socialist Mayor of Bridgeport, all Socialist state legislatures and hundreds of representatives of the Socialist Party, labor unions and liberal organizations flocked to the state capital to urge the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.

# Unemployed Pick Socialist Leaders

TOLEDO, Ohio.—Confidence in the militant Socialist leadership of the FERA strike here was expressed in the election of four Socialists as officers of the powerful new Relief Workers League.

John C. Taylor was elected president, Elmer E. Ledford, secretary-treasurer, and Tim McCormick and Homer Hilton, executive board members. Other executive board members chosen are Roy Mulholland, F. B. Gorham, and P. Roche. The Communist slate was overwhelmingly defeated.

# Trade Unions, Workers Alliance, Socialist Party Join Fight

TOLEDO, Ohio.—The 1,500 striking FERA workers in Lucas County entered the third week of their strike with all relief projects in the county practically at a standstill.

The Workers Relief League, which recently affiliated with the Workers Alliance of America, is leading the strike. It has already reached a membership of more than 1,000, with new applications pouring in every day.

Paul Rasmussen, secretary of the Workers Alliance, addressed a huge mass meeting and explained the policies and program of the Alliance.

### Unions Cooperate

A strike committee of fifteen, including representatives of Building Trades Council and other organized labor bodies, has been formed to carry on the strike activities. Projects are picketed daily. The union has expressed its determination to fight to a finish.

A committee of strikers met with the County Relief Administrator and demanded an investigation of the local relief administration and that the allowance for direct relief be immediately increased. The committee gave figures proving that the amount per family per month was probably the lowest of any city of its size in the county.

### Ledford in Charge

Elmer Ledford, secretary of Local Lucas County and chairman of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Ohio, is in full charge of the conduct of the strike. He is also secretary of the Workers Relief League of Ohio.

Full support to the strike is being given by the Toledo Central Labor Union, the Toledo Building Trades Council, and the Socialist Party.

# Hoopes Jobless Bill Best One Yet Proposed

# Introduced in Pennsylvania Legislature by Socialist Member

The Hoopes Bill to provide \$12-\$25 a week indemnity for all unemployed is rapidly gaining nationwide attention. Farmer-Labor legislators in Minnesota have requested copies for introduction in their own state, and many unions and unemployed organizations are discussing the bill.

Introduced in the Pennsylvania Legislature by Darlington Hoopes, Socialist Representative from Reading, the bill frankly recognizes that unemployment insurance on an actuarial basis is impossible. It therefore demands a weekly cash indemnity for each jobless worker as long as he is without employment.

Hoopes fears that emphasis on insurance will result in a fake program that will temporarily fool the workers, but leave them without protection.

While many unions are praising the bill as the best protection against unemployment that has yet been proposed, it is meeting stiff opposition from Pennsylvania manufacturers and their yes-men in the state legislature.

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### Socialist Call

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### The Socialist Call

The SOCIALIST CALL is the organ of revolutionary socialism. Revolutionary socialism aims at nothing less than the transfer of power to the working class. This, and this alone, can save the workers from tyranny and starvation, from wage-slavery and war.

The CALL will devote its energies to the daily struggle of the workers as they strive for power. Every battle waged by the workers for decent living conditions is the concern of the CALL. Every effort of the workers to organize their strength effectively will receive our support.

The CALL is enlisted in the fight for a united and militant trade union movement, for industrial unionism, in the battle against the company union, against the injunction as used in labor disputes, against the "yellow dog" contract, against child labor, against the whole effort to reduce the working class to open slavery.

Every force that is hostile to labor, whether it be the agent of capital or the racketeer where he exists within the ranks of labor, will be fought with all our strength.

Industrial labor, in its struggle for power, must have an understanding with the farm worker. To the CALL the problems of the farm worker are as important as those of the worker in mine, mill and factory.

The world is rushing into war. The CALL will oppose war. It will, so far as lies in its power, expose imperialist aggression, the frauds of diplomacy, the schemes of the munition makers, the lies of the jingo propagandist. In the spirit of the Detroit Declaration of the Socialist Party it will seek to enlist the workers—who in the next war, as in all wars, will pay for the greed of their masters with their lives—in the war against war.

As capitalism decays it is preparing to rivet on the workers its open dictatorship. It is preparing to destroy even those feeble democratic institutions that it has so far allowed to exist. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assemblage—the "precious liberties" of workers engaged in a fight for power—have already been seriously curtailed. They will be destroyed, if the fascist aims of finance capital are realized. The CALL enlists to the finish in the war on fascism.

There has long been need of such a paper as the SOCIALIST CALL. The voice of capital expresses itself in thousands of journals. Fascism has its papers, and makes great use of the radio. The confused version of Socialism that calls itself communism has its own avenues of expression. Socialism has had no adequate voice.

Journals calling themselves "Socialist" have failed in that they have confused socialism with reform. They have in recent years lived in eternal fear of offending labor leaders, and have therefore kept silent in the face of reaction and racketeering within the unions. In so doing they have damaged the reputation of the Socialist movement, and have lent aid and comfort to the enemies of labor. They have failed to distinguish between the "liberalism" of Roosevelt and revolutionary socialism. There is need of a Socialist organ that can differentiate between reforms for the preservation of capitalism, and socialism.

### \$4,000,000,000 Campaign Fund

The Roosevelt administration, which is continually crying "lack of funds" in answer to the demands of the unemployed, is doing some peculiar financial juggling.

Huge balances are available in various of the funds being administered by the federal government. In practically no instance has the administration expended all the money appropriated. The FERA and the RFC alone have over three billion dollars still unspent. Is the administration "saving the taxpayers' money?"

The wily Mr. Roosevelt has his eye on 1936 and a second term in the White House. The huge balances from PWA, RFC, AAA, HOLC, and very likely even the contemplated Works Bill, will constitute a potent political argument when

poured into the doubtful state for various kinds of "relief."

When Woodrow Wilson said that the candidate with the largest campaign fund gets elected, he certainly could not have foreseen that one day there would be a candidate with a campaign fund of four billion dollars. We are living in an age of marvels.

### The Bankers Collect

The Roosevelt administration's stand on the much disputed Relief Works Bill represents a concerted effort on the part of the big exploiters of labor to force down wages and living conditions for the mass of workers still employed. This is the "peace" which was born at the Bankers' Convention some months ago. The bankers agreed to the appropriation. Roosevelt would force through a \$50-a-month wage provision.

The administration, in opposing the amendment for the "prevailing wage," frankly stated that it was a blow at the "very object" of the bill. In other words, the "very object" is to smash prevailing wages, not supply work for the unemployed!

If the bill is passed without the prevailing wage clause, as appears certain will be the case, wages will go tumbling down unless the workers are ready with definite action.

The American Federation of Labor is fighting for the prevailing wage amendment but has made some blunders, particularly the suggestion that the prevailing rate and the \$50-a-month section both be maintained! Of what value is it to the unemployed to work at a high wage rate, if the total income is insignificant?

The adoption of the Roosevelt plan in any form can be offset in only one way—by a united, organized movement, culminating in strikes, if necessary, of the labor movement and the unemployed, with the American Federation of Labor the backbone for such action.

### The War Dogs Howl

Germany has re-armed.

England, France, Italy and the United States have either filed protests in Berlin against the scrapping of the Versailles treaty, or are planning to do so.

War, in the opinion of Lloyds, which is ready to bet on anything, is a 10 to 1 chance, instead of 50 to 1, the odds quoted before Sunday, March 17.

Germany has restored conscription, will build up an army of 400,000, will increase her air forces and plans to restore her naval power. Hitler defies the allied powers and thumbs his nose at the League of Nations.

The League will meet, solemnly discuss the predicament in which Hitler has placed it, and will probably eat humble pie and accept the accomplished fact.

So ends the mockery of international peace under capitalism, exactly as Socialists have always said it would.

All the fuss about disarmament, about Locarno pacts, Kellogg peace treaties, the outlawing of war, the League of Nations turns out to have been much ado about nothing. The stern realities of capitalist competition for markets, trade monopolies, imperialist expansion, the collection of debts have proved once more to be stronger than fine words.

The so-called peace structure built up after 1918 started to crumble long ago. When Mussolini defied the League of Nations over Corfu, when France invaded the Ruhr, when Japan was given a free hand in China, the doom of peace was written large enough for every man to see.

We enter on a new era of armament races and war. The munition makers will reap great profits. They will corrupt legislatures and poison public opinion. As the war-clouds darken, our so-called democratic rights will be further curtailed.

The madman Hitler has set the ball-a-rolling. That was to be expected. But the blame must be shared by the allied powers which, when they had their chance in 1919 to make peace possible, preferred to play the old game of jockeying for imperialist advantage. The responsibility for the coming war rests on the capitalist system, which even in times of so-called peace, is a form war.

In the coming crisis the only force that can prevent war is the international labor movement. It must be galvanized into action in time to save the world from years of war, worse than the holocaust of 1914 to 1918.

### And They're ALL Right!



—Harry Herzog.

### Workers' Enemies, Nos. 1, 2 and 3

ONE—TWO—THREE DEMAGOGUES—Johnson, Coughlin, Long—lambast and slander each other on the air and in the press. All three evade or falsify workers' problems while TWENTY MILLION—20,000,000—Americans struggle along on relief.

#### WORKERS' ENEMY NO. 1.—

Johnson, who called the great San Francisco General Strike an "ugly thing" and a "bloody insurrection," was forced from the NRA by workers' protests. No worker believes his mud-slinging, rodeo-jumping speeches.

#### WORKERS' ENEMY NO. 2.—

Coughlin, Pirate of the Air, preaches well sounding words, but is today on the UNFAIR LIST of the Detroit Federation of Labor because of: 1. His patronage of a sweatshop printing plant for all his literature; 2. His payment of very low wages to his office force of 45 young girls; 3. His employment of a notorious, anti-union, wage-chiselling firm of contractors to build the Shrine of The Little Flower. BEWARE of his soft-spoken appeal. His fanciful ideas lead inevitably to FASCISM.

#### WORKERS' ENEMY NO. 3.—

Long, who sounds big in Washington, but "can't remember" using police and militia against striking textile workers and longshoremen in Louisiana. Judged by prevailing wages, and social and labor legislation Louisiana is among the most backward States in the Union. What about passing the child labor amendment in your home state, Huey? The Kingfish's troops have Hitlerized one state, and now Herr Huey is out after bigger game. "Every Man a King" is his slogan, and we suppose he wants to be "Queen of the May!"

ONE—TWO—THREE DEMAGOGUES—All calling each other names—AND THEY'RE ALL RIGHT!

### SOCIALIST WORLD FRONT

The mass trial that the Austrian government is preparing against Major Eifler, Captain Loew and more than twenty workers, all section leaders of the Socialist Republican Defense Corps, has provoked public protests throughout the world. Most of the Schutzbundlers were already under arrest when the workers' rising in Vienna broke out and consequently took no part in the fighting. All are charged, however, with high treason, and have been imprisoned for months without a hearing. The Austrian government has offered to let them go unpunished if they entered its service. All have spurned the bribes of the Clerical-Fascist dictatorship.

A mighty protest has just been delivered to the government signed by hundreds of deputies, senators, labor leaders, writers, professors, Nobel prize winners. Included among the American signers are Roger Baldwin, Professor Boas, Professor Millikan, David Stern, Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, all the members of the NEC of the Socialist Party, the editors of the Nation and New Republic, William Green, Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky, Joseph Ryan, B. C. Vladeck and many others.

Just as impressive have been the protest demonstrations held outside of Austrian consulates on both continents, and the mass dem-

onstrations that angrily greeted Schuschnigg, when he recently visited Paris and London, seeking foreign credits.

Isabelle Blume, National Secretary of the women's organization of the Belgian Socialists, was sentenced to four months' conditional imprisonment and a fine of 100 francs for inciting soldiers to disobedience. Before the court she declared that no mother of a family wishes to see her son used as cannon fodder.

International Information (I.I.), published by the Labor and Socialist International, gives some interesting statistics from Austria: 540 criminal police officers of the Vienna force arrested 38,132 persons for "activities hostile to the State" between March 15th, 1933, and December 31st, 1934. These included 12,276 Socialists, 6,775 Communists, and 19,090 Nazis. During the same period 540 plain clothes officers made 106,319 domiciliary searches—46,111 in the homes of Socialists, 13,626 in the homes of Communists, and 46,582 Nazis. Of the 106,319 searches, however, only 27,876 had any police consequences! I.I. estimates that searches were made in the apartments of a full sixth of the Viennese population, demonstrating how popular the Schuschnigg regime is with the people.

# Workers Awake To Phoney "New Deal" and NRA Snare

The "New Deal" is dead. Socialists, of course, know that it never lived; that the widely advertised benefits it was to bring to the "forgotten man" were just campaign promises. They were the old hokum, meant to keep the workers quiet while the old hocus focus of fleecing them went on. Socialists could only smile at the idea of a self-regulation of capital for the benefit of labor. That a number of liberals and labor leaders were taken in proves only that some people are still gullible. It is still possible to fool some of the people all of the time.

The "New Deal" was going to give the workers the right to organize and to bargain collectively. Section 7A of the NRA was greeted by liberals, and by labor leaders who do not know the a-b-c of politics and of economics, as a "new charter of rights" for labor.

From the beginning it proved a fraud. In the threatened strikes in the steel and auto industries, and in the textile strike, Section 7A turned out to be the old game of "government arbitration" — a game at which it has been shown again and again that the workers must lose. Why should anyone imagine that it can be otherwise, so long as the partnership between government and the bosses exists? In any "government arbitration" of an industrial dispute the cards are stacked two to one against the workers.

In thousands of shops Section 7A became the cover for company unionism and the yellow dog contract. In thousands of others the bosses have just ignored it. It was easy for them to do so. If any worker complained to the authorities, he could be fired. The enforcement machinery set up is even less efficient than was the notoriously poor mechanism to enforce Prohibition. The Labor Boards have proved excellent machines for creating precisely that delay and uncertainty that plays into the hands of the bosses.

The NRA when first drafted contained one clause that seemed to hold out real promise of decent treatment for labor. It provided that the President might license any industry, or any shop, that violated the provisions of the codes or of the NRA itself. This provision was never used. It lapsed after six months.

It is significant that the Presi-

dent did not ask Congress to renew it! Without the licensing clause—the only means of compulsion that the law held — the NRA became a joke. Henry Ford defied it, and got away with it. The Weirton Company defied it—and got away with it. After that the only people who had to obey the NRA were the workers—when Section 7A was used against their efforts to organize.

In the Weirton case the courts have now decided that Section 7A is unconstitutional. Of course it is. Anything is unconstitutional that even remotely threatens the liberty of capital. Capital is the government and the constitution.

The "New Deal" was supposed to reduce unemployment. There are still twelve millions without jobs. There are twenty-two millions on the dole. There are millions who, although nominally employed, are in fact engaged in "made work," that is, in unnecessary work that may at any moment be dropped.

The NRA was to raise wages. Instead, wages have fallen to the levels of pre-war days. In strongly unionized trades wage standards have been fairly well preserved. Where there is no union, or where the union is weak, wages of twelve and fourteen dollars a week have been the rule. Thirty dollars a week is "tops" in dressmaking; it was sixty dollars five years ago.

While wages have fallen, prices have risen. In two years the price of butter and eggs has risen 80 per cent. The price of meat is 30 per cent higher than last year and is still rising. Clothing and rent are going up. The whole cost of living is going up.

The farmers were promised higher prices for their products. They were paid to plough under their crops, or to keep land out of cultivation. Prices have gone up, but the beneficiaries have not been the masses of the farmers, not the share croppers of the South, not the beet-sugar workers of New Jersey or the onion weeders of Ohio. As in industry, the large money bonanzas have gone to the richer farmer who needed no help. The vast masses of the working farmers are in worse plight today than in 1932. And where, as in Ohio, in New Jersey, in California, and now in Arkansas, they venture to do for themselves what the government did not do, they are shot down, while the AAA looks on and does nothing. While, indeed, it

even prevents the truth about their condition to become common knowledge.

The extreme Right is beginning to attack the "New Deal." Some people are deceived by the campaign of Al Smith and the American Liberty League. They believe that if Wall Street is against Roosevelt, he must be in truth a friend of the "forgotten" man.

That is nonsense. The Wall Street crowd, and Al Smith must today be counted with them, the insurance companies, the manufacturing and advertising interests that are now fighting back at Roosevelt, are doing so for one reason only. He has given them what they wanted: They have a certain degree of prosperity. They believe that if they are now let alone they will regain all the ground they have lost in the depression, without incurring further obligations to the government. They are making money, as the income tax reports show, and as is further shown by the vicious fight they are putting up against income tax publicity. They are tired of paying taxes for relief purposes. They are afraid of the growing debt burden, and of the possibility of inflation.

They differ with Roosevelt in one important particular. They want to stop relief because it costs too much. They would let the unemployed go to hell their own way. They are confident that they can handle (by force?) any "emergency" that may arise. Roosevelt, more cautious, more the politician, senses the danger in this, and wishes to prolong the tactics of "bread and circuses" a little longer.

Meanwhile the distress grows. The masses are growing restless. Political quacks are making headway. Huey Long speaks on the radio to millions, who listen and agree. Millions are ready to follow Father Coughlin. Millions more see nothing impossible in the Townsend Plan.

The "New Deal" is exploded. Soon it will be clear even to the liberals that it is dead. What will follow—whether fascism or socialism—depends on only one thing: the maturity of the working class. If the workers and farmers of America realize what is at stake, and if they have sufficient determination to resist their final enslavement, all will yet be well. If not—we shall go the way of Italy and Germany.

## Hark from The Tombs

By McAlister Coleman

I met a lady from North Carolina the other night, and I want to underscore the fact that she was one, who told me that all the equestrian statues of the heroes of the Confederacy which adorn the main streets and court-house squares of Southern cities and towns have the horses turned with their backs to the North.

This is a noble gesture of defiance and humanly understandable to any one who has read Claude Bower's book, "The Tragic Era" and knows what a pack of palookas we sicced on the South to "reconstruct" them after General Grant had gone to Appomattox in his union suit and given back General Lee's sword. By way of passing, this never struck me as being a particularly heroic act as what would anyone want of an old sword after the war was over anyway?

### Southern Gent Ends Northern Congressional Mouth-Shooter

We were still rubbing it in on them long after the whole business was over. There was a Congressman from Vermont who used to get up and wave the bloody shirt and holler for more Southern gore. No one paid much attention to him, putting him down for just another Congressional mouth-shooter, until Jim Allen was elected to Congress from Mississippi. Jim listened to a couple of the Vermonter's speeches and then he rose in rage and forever ended the Northern oratory by telling the story of how he was trying to foot it back home to remote Mississippi after Lee's surrender. He was accompanied by a young Confederate named Bob who got gloomier and gloomier as the road got hotter and longer. Finally Bob sat down on the side of the road, sunk his head in his hands and gave way to his overweening misery. Jim tried to cheer him up but Bob continued to groan: "Here we are licked in the war, with no horses left to ride home on, no mules left to drag the plows when we do get home, no feed for the mules, if we had any, no seeds to plow if we had any plows. And that isn't the worst of it. I got the idea that fifteen years from now some son-of-a-so-and-so from Vermont will rear up in Congress and throw the whole blamed business back in our faces."

### Help the Share-Croppers Win Their Fight Against Hunger

All this Southern drawing comes about due to the fact that I have been getting all sorts of literature about the plight of Southern share-croppers. They are getting "reconstructed" all over again by the A.A.A. which has been almost as successful in keeping jobs and workers apart as the NRA. Norman Thomas has written a most readable pamphlet published by the L. I. D. called "The Plight of the Share-Cropper," which you can and should get for ten cents, or if you want to do something more substantial send along a check or money-order to the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, at the L. I. D. office, 112 East 19th street, New York City, and they will see that it is put to good use in relieving as far as possible the miserable condition of these most exploited of our fellow sufferers under the New Deal.

### New Jersey Exile Glad to Be Back in the Class Fray Again

To turn to a bit more cheerful subject, I am delighted to be writing again for a real Socialist paper. Heaven knows we are in desperate need of genuine articulation of our tactics and strategy. It's no great trick for a Father Coughlin or a Huey Long to go out and catch a million or so suckers on the ground that every man will be crowned and have a pile of jack to blow around. The trick is to show folks that the permanent foundation for any sort of real security is the collective ownership of the tools of production and a planned method for the distribution of what is produced.

In recent years most of us have been so busy trying to cut our comrades' throats, that we haven't had any time to devote to building a real movement. At any rate, that's what it looks like to this New Jersey exile. I must make public confession that I have left undone a great number of things I should have done and have been pretty much of a slacker. The essential grime of the class struggle is not always in evidence in this small, smug, white-collar community which I adorn.

It comes home, however, whenever we go but four short miles away to Paterson and the dreary textile towns hereabouts. I have done a little picketing, a little speaking, some writing, but not nearly enough to justify my pretensions to be an active worker. Now with the coming of Spring and this new paper of ours, I hope to get down to business again, the only business that amounts to anything, that of starting men marching towards a new civilization, the civilization created by the workers therein and planned for their happiness.

## Socialists and the State

### A Review of Harold Laski's New Book

THE STATE, IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, by Harold J. Laski. New York: Viking Press, \$3.00.

By AUGUST TYLER

"Where the effort of the state is seriously perverted to the interest of some special group within the society it controls, sooner or later revolution is likely to occur. Revolution may be defined as an attempt by the use of force against the government legally in power to compel a change in what are held to be, by those using such force, the actual purposes of the state.

"That there is a bias in state operations will be denied by no one who scrutinizes the historical evidence. . . . Since the Industrial Revolution, the state has been biased in favor of the owners of the instruments of production as against those who have nothing but their labor power to sell."

Hence the conclusion that modern capitalism can be overthrown by revolution only; i.e. by "the use of force against the government legally in power."

This conclusion is neither new nor profound. But the manner in which it is developed and the source from which it flows consti-

tute real novelty and profundity. The conclusion is important, in this case, precisely because it is Laski who states it.

Harold J. Laski, any student of political science in one of our modern colleges will inform us, is probably the foremost scholar in the field of politics. Harold J. Laski, it was regularly rumored, was one time prime whisperer into the ear of the lamentable Labor Cabinet of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Harold J. Laski, his writings of just a few years ago will reveal to us, was neither a Marxist nor a revolutionary.

And now, the most mature brilliance of Laski is displayed, in defense of Marx and revolution, to obliterate the many scintillating arguments Laski once advanced, in opposition to Marx and revolution. Nor is it at all surprising that this "left turn" to Laski's into the camp of revolutionary Socialism should occur at that crossroad post marked: "The State!" For the analysis of the state is the watershed of Socialist theory dividing legal from revolutionary Socialism.

Starting with the basic tenets of Marxism: the materialist con-

cept of history and the theory of the class struggle, Laski proves that any realistic analysis of the state must recognize in each state the executive committee of some ruling class.

In the final analysis the coercive force behind the government; i.e. a body of men expressing the will of the state, is the army; i.e. a body of armed men.

No, revolutionary class can win victory unless it is able either to destroy the armed forces of the ruling class or weaken the loyalty of the armed forces to the present ruling classes.

Laski understands very well that "the view here taken is one that naturally disturbs many generous minds. It postulates the inevitability of revolution as the midwife of social change." Laski understands full well the horrors of civil war and slim chance for its success. But he still stands firm on his revolutionary concept of social change, not because it is the best way, but because history makes it the only way.

Revolution is obviously the only way out in a Fascist ridden country. But revolution is also, not so obviously but certainly as truly,

the only road to Socialism even in democratic countries.

The reason for this is "that the state with which we are concerned here is not the democratic state pure and simple; it is the state of capitalist democracy."

Laski does not deny, in fact he amply proves, that within a democratic state of capitalism the working class can win great and significant reforms for itself. But this continual expansion of the worker's life on the capitalist base can only exist as a stable phenomenon while capitalism itself is expanding. But in a contracting capitalism the ruling classes fear and desperately oppose any further extension of economic advantage to the working classes, for now these advances of the workers constitute direct assaults upon the central citadels of capitalism.

"When political democracy seeks to transfer ownership to the community, the capitalist class, will, if it can, use the state power to suppress democratic institutions. . . . At this stage of economic development the difference between classes can only be settled by force."

A victorious revolution must not be content with the simple reestablishment of the old democratic forms. The real power of reaction lies in the military and bureaucratic posts. Not to destroy these, means to attack capitalism without attacking its prime political bulwarks. A successful revolution must at its very beginning also destroy the old economic relations.

This, Laski points out, the German revolution failed to do. Hence, "the German democracy was not defeated by Hitler in 1933; it was destroyed by its makers fifteen years before."

The working class state must be a centralized political institution which, especially during the period of crucial transition, must bend all its energies toward the economic and political destruction of its enemies. This must be a new state which "both in principle of form and in personnel" must assure the maintenance of power by the working class.

This is the thesis Laski propounds. He, too, he tells us, has learned much from Germany. Welcome, comrade!

# Indiana Socialists Defeat Sales Tax

## Party, Revitalized After Reorganization, Scores Great Victory for Workers of the State

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—New vitality has come to the Socialist Party of the home state of Eugene V. Debs. Although the state officials were suspended for disloyalty to the party late in January and direction of affairs of the state party was temporarily assumed by the National Executive Committee, the internal troubles have not interfered with party progress. On the contrary, enthusiasm for party-building has been greatly increased by the drastic and courageous action of the national officials.

An overwhelming majority of locals promptly endorsed this action and pledged loyalty to the national organization. Only two weak locals and six branches have followed the former officials who had instituted a referendum to repudiate the party's principles and to split from the national organization, and have now sought to incorporate a dual organization. Loyal locals report a gain in membership, while at Medora, West Terre Haute and Clinton, groups of workers have applied for local charters.

A newly-elected State Executive Committee is now assisting the National Executive in an advisory capacity. Whether or not it will be given an official status will be determined when the NEC holds an open hearing on the suspension in Buffalo, March 22-24. The new committee defeated the

disloyal officials by decisive majorities before the suspension, but the results were not known until the ballots were counted on February 12th.

### New Officers

The elected officers are Charles R. Rogers, chairman; Eugene Cooney, state organizer; F. S. Rogers, secretary, and Lula Halvorsen, W. H. Richards, M. B. Tomsich, and Roy Wilson, committeemen. The two Rogers, who are not related, Richards and Wilson are from Indianapolis; Cooney and Tomsich from Gary, and Mrs. Halvorsen from Evansville. They met in Terre Haute Sunday with Monarch, representing the NEC. Delegations from locals in every section of the state were present.

The new vitality and activity in the party resulted in the defeat by the party of a sales tax proposal.

### Beat Sales Tax

Faced with Socialist-led opposition which in two weeks had rallied 10,000 protestors, Indiana Democrats quickly shelved their plans for a sales tax and on March 11 adjourned the Legislature, leaving state tax problems more muddled than ever.

While the Socialists have spiked, temporarily at least, the Democratic "soak-the-poor" tax program—a remarkable feat in view

of the fact that the Socialists have no representatives in the Legislature—the sales tax danger is not past. Governor Paul V. McNutt has indicated that he may summon a special legislative session later when the opposition has quieted.

The opening gun in the anti-sales tax campaign was fired when the Socialists staged an Indianapolis mass meeting on February 22 in Tomlinson Hall, with William Zumach, Milwaukee tax commissioner; Maynard C. Krueger, University of Chicago economist, and John Monarch, state organizer, as speakers.

### Income Tax Possible

This meeting was followed by another large one in Evansville addressed by Krueger and Clarence Senior. Monarch, a former organizer for the United Mine Workers, made a tour of the coal fields, and Socialists throughout the state began a petition campaign that quickly secured 10,000 signatures. F. S. Rogers, acting State Secretary, enlisted the support of the State Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods. The Democrats were so startled by this vigorous opposition, which by this time had received wide publicity, that they sidetracked their own bill.

The Socialist campaign will be continued so as to prevent the adoption of the sales tax at a later date, Monarch told a state-wide gathering of Socialists. They will advocate a tax on large incomes as a substitute. An amendment to the State Constitution, authorizing an income tax, lacks only the Governor's proclamation in order to take effect. It was voted 3 to 1 in a popular referendum in 1932, but thus far the Governor has failed to announce officially its adoption.

### Fight Legion Bill

Socialists almost upset another piece of legislation also by their fight upon the American Legion sponsored bill outlawing political parties which "advocate violence." Aimed primarily at the Communists, its broad provisions could be used to ban any party incurring the dislike of county election commissioners. A democratic election board could theoretically bar the Republicans in the county of their jurisdiction.

Like Hitler's yes-men in the Reichstag whom they apparently seek to emulate, the representatives in the lower house had passed the bill 94 to 0, with virtually no discussion. The Socialists then swung into action and demanded and secured an open

hearing in the Senate.

### Map Many-Sided Fight

Charles R. Rogers, newly elected Socialist State chairman, denounced the bill before the Senate committee as a Fascist measure. At the request of the Socialists, Alex Gordon and Martin Miller, representing the Railroad Brotherhoods, testified against the bill. Liberals also became aroused, and when the bill reached a vote in the Senate, it passed only by 26 to 18.

It now awaits only the approval of Governor McNutt. Since he is a former commander of the American Legion and is closely identified with the steel, auto and railroad interests that rule Indiana, his approval is taken for granted.

Meanwhile the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party mapped out a many-sided organization program, decided to invite the state committees of Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia to cooperate in sponsoring a weekly radio program from a Cincinnati station, endorsed the campaign for the 30-hour week, recommended Cooney, a railroad machinist, and Phil K. Reingold of Terre Haute as State Labor Secretaries, pledged support to the Indiana Unemployed Union, and voted to ask the National Executive Committee to restore the state charter in view of the loyalty of the Indiana membership and their support of an active program.

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**HAIM KANTOROVITCH**, one of America's leading Marxists will write on theoretical problems.

**POWERS HAPGOOD**, union organizer and member of the National Executive Committee, will write on labor and labor activities.

**McALLISTER COLEMAN**, author of "Eugene V. Debs" and free lance newspaper writer, will contribute a weekly column to the CALL.

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# Young Socialists Lead Many Strikes

## Student Mass Action Ends Reading Row

### Fusion School Board Unable to Enforce Flag-Drill Ruling

READING, Pa.—Politicians of the Republican-Democratic fusion in this city, which succeeded in wresting two seats on the school board from the Socialist Party, suffered an ignominious defeat in the face of mass student pressure in the Senior High School here last month.

Ever since the election every effort has been made to destroy Socialist influence in the schools. Intimidation has been used against radical teachers, and last term an attack on student rights was begun, with the prohibition of all leaflet distribution at the high school, a ban promptly defied by the Young Socialist Student Committee.

At the beginning of this year the school undertook a move reminiscent of war days. A daily flag-raising ceremony was planned, during which all the boys on their way to school were to stop and remove their hats while Boy Scout buglers gave a call to the colors! The students decided to act on this themselves rather than through the Socialist minority on the school board, which would have been forced to play into the hands of the old party politicians.

#### Students Unanimous

It was decided to have each classroom instruct its delegate to the student council on how to vote. When the matter came up the student council decided against the ceremony by a vote of 70 to 10. In the fact of this clear indication of student opinion the school announced that the daily flag-raising was to take place as previously arranged, whereupon the remaining ten members of the student council joined in the protest, and the council resigned in a body until the ceremony would be discontinued. The Socialist members pointed out that the flag was of a revolutionary origin quite foreign to its present reactionary defenders.

For three weeks the flag was raised, the buglers called to the colors, but students neither stopped nor bared their heads. With the beginning of the new term the ceremony was stopped for lack of observance.

## 250 Yipsels Celebrate Launching of The Call

NEW YORK.—Two hundred and fifty young Socialists attended a festival held here Saturday in honor of the SOCIALIST CALL in the hall of the SOCIALIST CALL building at 21 East 17 street.

Festivities were interrupted for brief speeches by Ben Horowitz and Ben Fischer, pointing out how the CALL is relying largely on the devoted support of members of the Young People's Socialist League for widespread and efficient distribution. Many volunteered to act as newsboys and all pledged their full support.

### School Heads Nominated

MILWAUKEE.—Averaging 2,000 votes more than the tally of the successful Non-Partisan nominees, all five Socialist candidates for the Milwaukee school board were nominated in Tuesday's primary. There were 36 candidates in the race. The final election will be held in April.

## Red Falcons Launch Organization Drive

GARFIELD, N. J.—The Red Falcons of America, youngest section of the Socialist movement, have organized in new territory ahead of either the Party or the Yipsels. In this town, despite vicious attacks by a reactionary priest who has

practically ruled the community for years, two splendid Falcon fights have been organized through the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Liberti and other members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. These children of underpaid dye workers have immediately taken their place in the ranks of militant labor. A few of the older children were thrilled to get up at six in the morning one day and go down in the silent dawn to help distribute union leaflets at an unorganized handkerchief factory.

Their day-to-day activities have attracted members from the Scouts and the Sunday schools and their membership is growing by leaps and bounds. The children have already made two trips to New York, many for the first time. Fifty strong, they went to a museum to see the visual portrayal of the story of evolution, and on the other occasion they visited a factory to learn the workings of the capitalist system.

The Red Falcons are a national organization with units in many parts of the country. They issue a monthly children's magazine, The Falcon Call, for which they are now raising funds in a "Print the Call" campaign. Information may be obtained by writing to the national office at 549 Randolph street, Chicago.

## Ohio Yipsel Circles Plan State Federation

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—Young People's Socialist League circles in Ohio have arranged a convention to be held April 6 and 7 in Massillon for the purpose of forming a State Federation along the lines of Pennsylvania.

There will be representatives from Cleveland, Toledo, Yellow Springs, Akron, Fletcher, Oberlin, Cincinnati, Warren, and Massillon. Every Ohio circle is asked to send two delegates. A state bulletin, the Rebel Youth Call, has already made its appearance. The convention will elect a state secretary, a state executive committee, industrial, educational, and cultural directors, and a corps of volunteer state organizers.

## 18 Ohio Colleges Join Anti-War Move

OBERLIN, Ohio.—A peace conference, with representatives from eighteen Ohio colleges, was held here and passed resolutions in support of the April 12 student anti-war strike, and in opposition to war preparations, the militarization of the CCC camps, the ROTC, legislative measures against student rights, and the fascist tendencies represented by Hearst, Father Coughlin, and Huey Long.

The Student League for Industrial Democracy has sprung into activity all over the state, with new chapters organized at Fenn College and elsewhere. Monroe Sweetland, national organizer, expects to be working in the Midwest territory until June. Comrades having contacts in the colleges in this section should get in touch with him at 112 East Nineteenth street, New York City.

## To All New York Yipsels

(Release to All N. Y. Socialist Papers)  
The Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York now has the opportunity to indicate its Socialist fibre. For a long time it has been our boast that the Yipsels constitute the most disciplined section of the Socialist movement. Now is the time to prove your mettle.

Nothing must be allowed to interfere with the building of the Young People's Socialist League. Activities must go on to an increased extent. Carry on with your strike duties, your educational work, your cultural activities, your circle membership drives. Keep in close contact with the Executive Committee and Executive Secretary.

### BUILD THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE!

Every Yipsel Must Attend GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

at IRVING PLAZA  
15th Street and Irving Place on

Saturday, March 23rd, at 2:30 o'clock  
TO FAIL NOW IS TO FAIL THE MOVEMENT

Executive Committee, YPSL,  
BEN FISCHER,  
Executive Secretary.

## Students Prepare Anti-War Strike

By RUTH OXMAN

Encouraged by the defeat of the Nunan Bill, which was defeated through the mass protest of some 200 delegates from 24 New York colleges, three high schools, and seven national organizations at Albany, presenting more than 8,000 signatures attached to a petition demanding the abandonment of the "loyalty oath" bill, New York students look forward to the most important student action of the year, the International Student Strike Against War on April 12.

The call for a nation-wide strike of students against war and Fascism at 11 a. m. on April 12, has been issued by the National Council of Methodist Youth, the Inter-Seminary Movement (Middle Atlantic Division), the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the National Student League, and the American Youth Congress. Student leaders estimated at least 100,000 students from the high schools and colleges would respond to the call. Last year 25,000 students left their classrooms.

The immediate incentives to the strike this year are decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court upholding compulsory drill, the Hearst campaign against liberal students and professors, and the various student-loyalty oath bills that have been introduced before state legislatures, such as the Nunan-Devany Bill in New York and Assembly Bill 105 in the California State Legislature.

Similar strikes will take place in Canada, Cuba, Argentina and other nations of the Western Hemisphere following the call of the World Congress Against War and Fascism, which met in Brussels, Belgium, Christmas week. In Europe, upon the call of the Brussels Congress and the International Socialist Student Federation, the strike will be held on May 10, the second anniversary of "the burning of the books" in Germany.

Socialist women in Holland have undertaken an offensive against the sale of war-like toys.

## Y.P.S.L. Aids Trade Unions On New York Strike Front

### Youth Group Members in Labor Struggles Face Police Intimidation

NEW YORK.—The strike activities of the Greater New York Federation of the Young People's Socialist League during the past few weeks have won the admiration of trade unionists throughout the city.

Fourteen Yipsels were arrested in the strike of the James Butler grocery store chain. They were mass picketing in front of the Butler store at 6th avenue and Waverly place, when the police suddenly corralled them into a corner and declared them under arrest. While waiting for the patrol wagon, during the ride to the station, and in the jail itself they continued to shout defiant slogans and sing Socialist songs.

After being held for five hours they were brought to trial. There the police, with usual accuracy, charged them with mass-picketing.

### Shipping Clerks Union Is Installed

NEW YORK.—Over three hundred enthusiastic shipping clerks jammed the union hall at 131 West 33rd street last Tuesday to witness the ceremony in which the shipping clerks' union was officially installed as Federal Union Local 19,953 of the American Federation of Labor.

The young unionists were addressed by William Beadie, President of the New York Council of Federal Unions; Arthur Harcham, Secretary of the Building Service Employees Union, and others. Alexander Zimmerman, President of Local 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and Saul Metz, of the Ladies' Garment Truckdrivers Union, also pledged their aid.

The union is initiating its chartered existence by a membership drive through which it hopes to enroll a substantial portion of the 10,000 shipping clerks, porters, and other non-operating employees in the city. William Gomberg, who was head of the organizing committee and is now secretary of the union, is a leading young Socialist.

### Correspondents Are Wanted for Youth Section

The SOCIALIST CALL is offering more space to youth news than any other adult Socialist paper in the country. This is an opportunity to further the cause of Socialism among the young people who will build the future society, an opportunity which every Socialist and Socialist sympathizer should grasp.

News is needed from all parts of the country on the activities of the Young People's Socialist League, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Red Falcons, and other youth organizations. Also news about young people in unions, in schools, on the farm, in industry; news of the fight against militarism and educational retrenchment, for civil liberties and the organization of the working class; news about child labor; CCC camps, and every other subject for or about young people.

Let each young reader serve as special correspondent:

two abreast, in a circle "four feet in diameter"! The case was dismissed.

This was one of numerous actions taken by the young Socialists in support of the strike after their aid had been officially solicited by the union. Yipsels have been picketing, holding street meetings, and conducting tag days for the strikers. They arranged for joint picketing of the 360 Butler stores by the Butler and National Biscuit strikers, without which it had been impossible to obtain the requisite manpower. Recently the Yipsels organized a mass picket line in front of Butler's home.

### Arrested While Aiding Lift Strike

The Building Service Employees' Union is another union which has officially asked the New York YPSL for help. Led by Irving Barshop, Emil Revyuk, and Jack Lynn, Yipsels have been used everywhere as strike captains on picket lines, and in organizing committees. They have been instrumental in arousing the sympathy of the tenants in buildings where strikes were taking place.

Arrests of Yipsels in the building service strike have been reported from all parts of the city. They have mainly been picked up and "held for investigation," which is the stock phrase for third-degreeing. In the Bronx a strike committee consisting of Irving Barshop, Jack Lynn, Martin Stellman, and Alex Benedict, after being ejected from a building by company agents, against whose protests the workers in the building went on strike immediately afterwards, were picked up by five radio cars.

### Given Third Degree

They were taken to the third-degree chamber in a police station, where they were held incommunicado for six hours, refused the right to obtain an attorney, and denied food or water, permission to leave the room, or even to speak to each other, while they were illegally grilled, searched, and repeatedly lined up for "identification." They were finally released without having been booked on any charge.

### Lend Assistance to NBC Strikers

The National Biscuit Company strike has likewise received invaluable Yipsel assistance. The young Socialists have been conducting tag-days for the benefit of the Uneeda strikers, in which one Yipsel, George Krubitzky, has already raised over \$200 through collection cans.

### Praised by New York Union Leaders

New York City union leaders have openly and repeatedly praised the Young People's Socialist League for its splendid and tireless solidarity with organized labor. Appeals for aid of every sort are pouring into the city office.

Where manpower and leadership are needed the young Socialists are in a strong position to fulfill the demands, but lack of funds has thus far hampered them in providing financial assistance. To remedy this the Yipsel Industrial Department is now making a special drive to set up a permanent strike relief fund and a rolling kitchen which will provide food to the strikers on the picket line. For this purpose collection cans are being circulated. Larger contributions are received at the city office.

Subscribe to the Call! It brings you authentic Labor and Socialist news.

# Marxism Stands Test Foresaw Modern Trends

March 14 was the anniversary of the death of Marx. In a little more than half a century the figure of Marx has grown to be the most important on the horizon. Not that he was less great in 1883, when he died,—but a world usually laggard in recognizing its truly great men has advanced in this relatively short time, at least so far that it can glimpse his greatness.

All the world today must deal with Marx, whether gladly, as in the case of Socialists, or in a hostile spirit. It is significant, indeed, that Hitler's Germany lumps all liberal and radical thought together (however erroneously) under the blanket term "Marxism."

### Marx Was Right

There is no room in a brief article of this sort to discuss the Marxist theories. Nor is there room for even a summary of the sense and nonsense that has been uttered in his name. But it is pertinent here to take issue at least with those of his critics who have ventured to sneer at his "prophecies," and who assert that because these have "failed," all else that he taught is equally fallible.

Quite apart from the logical fallacy involved in such reasoning, it is in place to ask "What prediction has failed?" Is capital be-

ing dissipated among many instead of being concentrated among a few? Are capitalist crises becoming fewer, and less acute? Is finance capital becoming less powerful? Does capitalist imperialism tend less heedlessly toward war? Is not the whole capitalist structure shaken by its internal contradictions? May we not be facing the imminent dissolution of the capitalist system?

### Not a Fortune-Teller

Driven by the logic of events the critics of Marx fall back on the "time factor." It is true that the revolution did not come in 1848, quite as Marx thought it would. Nor has it come as yet in the Western world. It is true that the first revolution that hailed Marx as its prophet came in one of the least developed rather than in one of the most advanced capitalist states.

But Marx never pretended to be a fortune-teller, a seer able to give the precise dates of future events. He asserted the prerogative of the scientist to foretell tendencies on the basis of observed fact. Who—other than the critic who deliberately misrepresents the functions of the scientific forecast—shall say that, in this sense, the Marxian predictions have not been fulfilled, and more than fulfilled?

# Latest Issue of the American Socialist Quarterly Off Press

Contains Articles by Dan, Allen, Berenberg, Lamont, Altman

### By CHARLES STEWART

Those of us who have studied Russian Communism almost exclusively in literature bearing the imprimatur of the orthodoxy, should find the article "Socialists and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," in the forthcoming American Socialist Quarterly, most illuminating. For the author, Theodor Dan, a leader of the Russian Social Democratic Party, residing now, significantly enough, in Paris, approaches the Russian Revolution and the dictatorship from a strictly Marxian position, deals with not unknown facts about both, but with results that are quite startling.

The article has that effect because the conclusions should have been common-place—if in our defense of the revolution against its capitalist critics wish-fulfillment and the proletarian aura of the revolution had not taken their toll. Dan insists that the Jacobin, Bolshevik dictatorship was inevitable under Russian conditions, that its accomplishments cannot be underestimated. He calmly adds that the revolution was but a phase of the bourgeois revolution, that Lenin recognized it as such, and that if a counter-revolution is to be avoided the undemocratic dictatorship must be transformed into a true dictatorship of the proletariat.

### Fake Utopias

Closely related to Dan's criticism of the Bolshevik dictatorship, on the ground that it is a denial of every presupposition of the Marxian concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is Devere Allen's analysis of worker's democracy, in his article "The Conquest of Democracy," the Quarterly's lead.

Most timely of the contributions, in the light of the three-cornered Long-Coughlin-Johnson embroglio, is David P. Berenberg's study of the current utopian—avowedly—notions. The Townsend Plan, Share-the-Wealth and Everyman-a-King, Coughlin's inflationism, the less-known Distributism of G. K. Chesterton and Belloc and

the American Review crowd, as well as Social Credit and Sinclair's Epic, are all discussed with the writer's customary clarity.

The two other articles in the issue deal comprehensively with the trade union question. One of the two, Margaret I. Lamont's "The Negro's Stake in Socialism," treats critically the Party's Negro policy from the noble enunciations of Debs to the present; but particularly it examines the status of the Negro worker in (or outside of, as the case usually is) the organized trade unions.

### The Trade Unions

The other is an inquiry into the function of Socialists in the trade unions, with detailed directives, presenting in summary fashion much valuable information. Written by Jack Altman, the article represents both his own views and those of other party members active in the labor movement.

The issue carries an announcement of the Quarterly's campaign for 5,000 new subscribers "to make the Quarterly a Monthly." The official theoretical organ of the Party, its aim theoretical clarity within our Party, the Quarterly has a function it can best perform as a monthly. The editors, therefore, urge individuals and branches to cooperate with them to give the Party a publication timely enough and adequate in size to discuss the issues facing the Socialist movement in these critical times.

### 2 New Leaflets Ready

Two new mimeographed leaflets on Socialist methods are now ready for distribution.

"Arranging Meetings," a 13-page illustrated program, will be sent for 10 cents. It may be secured from the national headquarters of the party.

"Preparing for May Day in 1935" has already been sent to Party locals and branches. Additional copies may be secured free by sending a self-addressed, stamped envelope to Socialist Party, National Headquarters, 549 Randolph street, Chicago.

# New Pamphlet Explains Why We Aren't Rich

## Second of Party's Series On 'Profits and Poverty'

"Why Aren't We All Rich?" asked the first pamphlet in the Socialist Party's new "Profits and Poverty" series. The answer was given in the terms of the class struggle, with an owning class enjoying more goods than it can consume, and the working class producing more but receiving little.

The second pamphlet in this series, just published, goes deeper into causes, indicting Profits as the Siamese twin to Poverty.

The attempt to reap maximum profits with minimum costs, regardless of human consequences, is set forth in detail as the cause of inefficiencies and wastes which keep society poor.

### Siamese Twins

Turning to the question, "Can capitalism be reformed?" the pamphlet reviews the "new capitalism" of the 1920's and Roosevelt's "New Deal" program as alike working to entrench capitalist ownership.

"The Siamese Twins—Profits and Poverty" is intended primarily as a study class for labor groups, and study helps are included. Yet it will be found valuable for the casual reader, as well as for the organized study class. Its three chapters are: "What Causes Our Trouble?", "Profits Limit Production," and "Can Capitalism Be Reformed?"

The price, postpaid from the Socialist party, 549 Randolph street, Chicago, is 5c a copy, 50c for a dozen, \$3.00 for a hundred.

# Service Union Forces Bosses To Raise Pay

## Tenants Support Strike; Young Socialists Give Aid

By GEORGE TROY

(Strike Chairman, Locals 51 and 51B, Building Service Employees International Union)

The strike of the Building Service Employees International Union—Locals 51 and 51B of the AFL of Brooklyn and Queens has been in progress for over a week.

Although the Real Estate Board is still non-committal, a great deal of progress has been made by the union. We can safely estimate that at least half of the buildings that went out on strike have already signed up with the union. We are more than pleased with the outcome as most of these contracts are for closed shop and the increases in salary and reduction of hours are most gratifying. We are confident that the rest of the real estate owners will concede to our wishes eventually.

In any event we are prepared for a long fight if necessary. We will not give up until every house in Brooklyn and Queens will be completely signed up.

### Tenants Refuse to Pay

We have set up food stations for the strikers and their families and have seen to it that no man is uncared for. The tenants have shown the most wonderful co-operation. They have been contributing food and money and many of them have even refused to pay rent until this strike is settled. Every day we receive letters from tenants asking us how they can help us win this strike.

I want to thank especially the members of the Young People's Socialist League for their support in this struggle for decent wages and working conditions.

# The Commune of Paris A Glorious Episode

By DAVID FELIX

On March 18 thousands of workers in Paris celebrated the anniversary of one of the most amazing and glorious episodes in all history. Sixty-four years ago the "City of Light" was besieged by the Prussians under Bismarck. The French army, led by the contemptible Napoleon III, had been routed; annihilated by the armed forces of Prussia, aided by military science's latest gadget, "the needle gun," ancestor of the modern machine gun.

In September, 1870, the enraged and betrayed workers had booted out the monarchy and proclaimed the French republic—for the third time. Called upon by Bismarck to surrender, they thumbed their noses at the august drillmaster and told him to come and get them. Without an army, they withdrew within the walls of Paris and prepared to defend themselves to the end. The workers armed themselves and formed their own defense corps. For six months they stood off the military might of Prussia.

Suffering was untold, unique. Rat meat sold for forty cents a pound and you couldn't get it. Horses, dogs, cats all found their way to the stew pot. In addition to the enemy without was the traitor within. The ruling class of France, the bankers, industrialists and landlords were aghast at this spectacle of an armed working class. Themselves unable to resist Bismarck, they shied in horror from the thought of successful resistance on the part of the "lower classes." Holding the honor of France as cheaply as that of a boulevard cocotte, they prepared the great betrayal. In January, 1871, the proud city, bled white by the wolves without and the rats within, surrendered. At once the upper class gangsters got to work. No concession was too great to make to Bismarck, the enemy, in order to disarm the workers who alone had shed their blood in defense of their city.

Adolphe Thiers, misshapen leader of the French upper class, grovelled on his knees before Bismarck and was laughed at and spat upon for his efforts. A one billion dollar indemnity was exacted. Alsace Lorraine was forfeited. Anything, anything at all, dear Herr Bismarck, just so we disarm that ruffian in Paris. But the ruffian would not be disarmed.

On the 18th of March, 1871, Thiers tried to capture the artillery and ammunition. His soldiers were scattered by the women. His screams of rage were answered by the workers of Paris proclaiming the Commune.

The Commune was a workers' government—no more, no less. It existed in all its glory for 60 brief days—until Bismarck released enough prisoners to conquer the exhausted city. During its brief reign, the church was disestablished, the police dismissed, the standing army abolished. Cheap government, talked about by bankers, was accomplished by shoemakers. It abolished night work and raised wages. It surrendered to associations of workmen all the closed factories and started the wheels of industry turning again. While the "ignorant" workers held the reigns of power, there were no burglaries, scarcely any robberies—in fact it was the first time since the last workers rebellion in 1848 that the streets of Paris had been safe—and this without any police.

Paris was busy and happy and the red flag flew over the city hall. At nearby Versailles, seat of decadent monarchy, sat Thiers and his crowd of bankers, pickpockets, embezzlers, police spies, traitors and kept women. He was waiting for Bismarck to give him enough

men to capture the city. In the meanwhile, this flower of the French nobility amused itself by shooting prisoners.

The men of the Commune were patient and humane—too patient and humane—considering the scum they were opposing. They answered the provocative acts of the aristocracy by passing further social legislation and improving the lot of the people. They had as allies the shop-keepers and small business men, who, for the first time in their lives were getting a square deal.

Finally, Thiers got the troops he wanted. No hero, he gained access to the city by the treacheries of one of its defenders.

Then began the carnage. For eight days the hirelings of the Versailles gentry bombarded their own city and murdered all who crossed their path. The defenders of the Commune, fought bravely, desperately, hopelessly.

After the fighting ceased, the terror began. Workmen were shot by the thousand and thrown, still breathing, into giant graves. Women and children were not spared. The survivors hid away their red flags and muttered threats of undying revenge against the cruelty and barbarism of the capitalist butchers. Their time would come again!

In nearby London sat a bearded man with piercing eyes. He followed the events in Paris with unbelievable concentration. His name was on the lips of many of the Communards—his teachings were being put to practical application by their Central Committee. He was the great leader of the working class—the man whose teachings had stirred the hope of emancipation in the breasts of millions of down trodden laboring men. He exulted when the Commune was proclaimed. His heart bled when Thiers' cannibals waded in the blood of the workers.

He honored their memory in imperishable words, "The Communards—storming the heights of heaven," and he drew from their experiences the lessons which workers the world over must learn if they are to be successful in the struggle to win a fuller life. His name was Karl Marx and his teachings on the Commune are to be found in a book called, "The Civil War in France." Read it!

## 125,000 Persons at Milwaukee Bazaar

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The annual Socialist bazaar which closed here last week drew an estimated crowd of over 125,000 persons.

The largest auditorium in the city was jammed to capacity throughout the four days of the bazaar.—On the opening night 35,000 persons attended.

The bazaar was organized to raise funds for the National United Socialist Drive, build up the local Socialist press, and place more party organizers in the state. Preliminary estimates indicate a net profit of \$25,000. Last year a much smaller bazaar cleared \$17,000.

Al Benson, former sheriff of Milwaukee and present state secretary, organized the bazaar. He was assisted by 500 volunteer workers.

## Boro Park Socialists Plan Entertainment

An entertainment and dance will be held by the Borough Park Branch, Local New York, at the Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 42nd street, Brooklyn, Saturday evening, April 13th. Admission will be fifty cents.



## Problems of Socialism In the Modern World

(This is the first of a series of six articles by one of America's leading Marxists, under the general heading of "Problems of Contemporary Socialism.")

By HAIM KANTOROVITCH

Once upon a time social revolutionists were deeply interested in the technic of revolution. The building of barricades, mining of bridges, preparation of explosives, etc., were problems constantly under discussion in revolutionary circles.

These discussions, however, belong to an age now past. There are still individuals, especially among the Communists, who glibly discuss the building of barricades, but they are considered anachronisms, even by their own comrades. Marxian realism has put an end to these discussions. When, however, some Socialists therefore draw the conclusion that Marxism is essentially non-revolutionary, that Marx and Engels discarded the idea of social revolution in the latest phase of their development, they are wrong.

### Old Never Abdicate

Marxism is revolutionary through and through. Neither Marx nor Engels has ever discarded the idea of social revolution, nor could they have done so without discarding their belief in the dialectical nature of the social process. Nature, as well as history, they argued against the evolutionist-gradualists, proceeds by "jumps," by sudden cataclysms.

The word "sudden" may not be correct here. These "sudden cataclysms" are not really sudden. They are the result of a long chain of slow development, of a long chain of accumulation of quantitative changes. At a certain stage in this process, these quantities suddenly become a new quality. Neither in nature nor in society are these transformations of quantities into qualities easy or peaceful. The old never simply abdicates. No thing that is alive, whether useful or harmful, dies willingly. It clings to life, it fights for its existence. Inorganic matter fights for its existence by resisting destruction, living beings by fighting back.

### Nothing Eternal

Whatever has outlived its natural function and therefore its usefulness, has no chance in this fight, but it will fight, and fight hard. The superiority of the new is precisely the fact that it is new. It has the promise of tomorrow as its guiding star. The old has tradition behind it, the strength of centuries. It has its forces trained and ready. At times it may seem as if the old will triumph, but this is an illusion. It may have temporary victories, but a permanent victory is prohibited by nature itself. Nothing is eternal, nothing is inimitable, nothing is immortal. Everything is changeable, finite, mortal. What is must always make place for what is to be.

Poets may decry this tragic fact of reality, sentimentalists may shed tears on the fact that whatever lives must die, but this is nature's way, this is how she manages her domain. Nature does not know of life without death, of light without darkness, of sweet without bitter, of good without bad. Everything has its opposite, and it is the clash of opposites that drives life forward, and gives life to new systems. Society, like an individual, has its childhood, its youth, its old age, decline and death. A skillful doctor can, in some cases, prolong the life of a dying man for a short time. Fascism is attempting this for capitalist society. It may succeed for a while, it may score a temporary victory, but it cannot stave off its inevitable death.

### Bloody Struggle

Capitalism was born of the inner contradictions and social struggles of feudalism. Its triumph

over feudalism was determined in advance by the fact that feudalism had outlived its social function and usefulness. It was a bitter and a bloody struggle, interspersed with revolutions and counter-revolutions. In the process of these struggles, it not only changed the political and economic order of society; it also had to destroy and replace the type of civilization and culture which had grown up under feudalism.

In its fight against feudalism, it not only faced the feudal state, which served feudalism, just as the capitalist state serves capitalism; it faced an even more powerful enemy, feudal culture—a system of traditions and institutions, deeply rooted ways of life and thinking. It had to destroy and replace feudal religion, feudal art, feudal philosophy and morals, along with the political and economic system of feudalism. A new ruling class cannot replace an old class in one field only. No class struggle can be confined to economics only, or to politics only. These cannot be separated. They are branches of the same tree, they have the same roots. Every new class plants its own tree, and destroys the former tree, root and branch. Capitalist culture did not arise suddenly. It had to fight, and fight hard, for its existence. It had the same birth pangs that proletarian culture is having in our time.

### Bourgeois Culture

At that time capitalism was young, progressive and revolutionary. Out of the turmoil of ideas accompanying the growth and victories of the bourgeoisie the newer materialistic philosophy rose, and the ideal of individual liberty and political democracy flourished. It is true, the pen is more far reaching than the hand. Many of the ideologists of the young bourgeoisie, went much further than the practical leaders of the new ruling class thought either necessary or safe, and came into conflict with the very class which they were unconsciously serving. Others went so far in their revolutionism that Marx found it possible to connect his own proletarian philosophy directly with theirs, and simply by continuing their work, to arrive at conclusions of which these bourgeois philosophers never dreamed (as in the case of the French materialists and historians of the 18th century).

This, however, does not lessen their importance as builders and creators of that most powerful weapon of bourgeois society—bourgeois culture. That capitalism, becoming conservative and reactionary in its later development, which is to forget, and wherever that is impossible, to disparage its early idealogical protagonists, only testifies how ungrateful a victor

## California Sees S. P. Lone Hope; Epic Plan Fiasco

STOCKTON, Calif. -- Political winds in California are again blowing toward the Socialist Party. A large group of Epic Democrats in this city has voted to join the Socialists en masse, and throughout the state a loss of faith in Roosevelt is turning labor toward Socialism.

The Sinclair campaign took from the Socialists a large portion of their normal vote and even some of their party members, including the leading right wing spokesmen, Stitt Wilson and John C. Packard. But now the tide is turning, and Sinclair's enthusiastic praise of Roosevelt is proving a boomerang to him now that the President's popularity is waning.

The recent State convention of the Socialists in Bakersfield found them more united than at any time in months. Despite a rumor published in an Eastern paper that the California Socialists might secede from their national organization, obviously calculated to provoke strife in a party that has been waging an uphill battle for two years, the convention voted approval of the principles and policies of the national organization without a dissenting voice or vote.

At one meeting alone the California Socialists raised three-fourths of their quota in the United Socialist Drive for funds. Members of the new state executive committee are: Raymond Henderson, chairman, Gardner Wells, Julius Levitt, Ben Sands, Milen Dempster, Samuel S. White, Alan Clark, and Clarence Rust.

may be to those who helped him gain the victory. But it cannot change historic facts.

### Ivory Tower

To define capitalism as Stuart Chase does (Nation, July 25, 1934) as resting on "private ownership of the means of production" is correct only from the point of view of ivory tower economics (and there are ivory tower economists even among Socialists). For those who are engaged not only in analyzing and understanding capitalism, but in fighting it, this definition is dangerously narrow.

Capitalism is not only a system of production and distribution of wealth; it is capitalist civilization, capitalist culture, law, morals, etc., built on the economic foundations of capitalism, and serving the interests of capitalism. To reduce the definition of capitalism purely to its economic basis as a certain system of production and distribution of wealth, means reducing the class struggle also to this basis.

### Not Social Reform

We must admit that under the influence of social reformism which has reigned supreme since the war in some of the most important Socialist parties in Europe,

## Socialists Active—And How!

### Kansas City

KANSAS CITY, Kan. -- This packing-house and railroad center is being stirred to its depths by militant Socialist activity. The Central Labor Union and the Socialists have set up a joint legislative council which has capitalist politicians worried.

Led by H. R. Rentfrow, a former I. W. W. and now chairman of the Socialist party labor committee, the packing-house workers are moving toward a strike. Rentfrow is business agent of the Amalgamated Association of Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

The Socialists are also influential among the teamsters and the railroad trainmen, switchmen and shopmen.

### San Antonio

SAN ANTONIO, Texas. -- Pecan shellers in San Antonio, whose pay averages less than 50 cents a day, are organizing with the aid of Harry Plampin, local Socialist secretary. Most of the pecan shellers are Mexicans, a number of whom belong to the Mexican branch of the Socialist Party.

### Cleveland

CLEVELAND, Ohio. -- Socialists and trade unionists will demonstrate together in Cleveland on May Day for the 30-hour week and unemployment insurance, and against the rising threats of war and fascism.

A call for a preparatory May Day conference has gone to all local unions signed by James McWeeny, president of the Metal Trades Council. Robert Dullea, Socialist state secretary; Max Hayes,

editor of the official paper of the Cleveland Federation of Labor; Edward Simpson, president of the battery workers, and a score of other labor leaders. Simpson is a member of the Socialist state executive committee.

### Sioux Falls

SIoux FALLS, S. D. -- Marvin Halvorsen and Charles Jennings, two young Socialists, had charge of strike headquarters and the preparation of leaflets during the recent packing-house strike here. Halvorsen is Socialist state organizer.

### Henderson

HENDERSON, Ky. -- Three hundred relief workers, led by members of the Socialist party labor committee, have won an important strike here.

Henderson Socialists have also established unemployed organizations in Morganfield, Dixon and Sturgis. The Socialists most active in organizing the unemployed are R. H. Sheffer, C. C. Cochran, Bud Kilman, J. H. Humpton, R. J. Daugherty and H. L. Harwood, Jr.

### Massillon

MASSILLON, Ohio. -- Special conferences of Socialist steel and rubber workers have been called for April 6 and 7 in this city. They will be held at the same time as the Socialist state convention and will be addressed by Leo Krzycki, national chairman; Sarah Limbach, Pennsylvania state secretary; Paul Porter, national labor secretary, and Roy Burt, national organizer.

### Florence

FLORENCE, Ala. -- The trade union movement in the Muscle Shoals region is taking on a Socialist color. The textile workers and the carpenters especially are moving to the left.

The leading spirit in both the unions and the Socialist party is a young carpenter, Coy E. Fulton, who is vice-president of the Tricities Central Labor Union and an editor of the Muscle Shoals Labor Advocate.

During the recent textile strike Fulton was indicted as an "agitator," but he and the other Socialists nevertheless saw to it that not a single scab entered the mills during the ten weeks the strike lasted in Alabama.

The Socialists plan an intensive state-wide organization campaign this spring.

### Jeannette

JEANNETTE, Pa. -- Seven federal labor unions have been organized in this town by Alex Sinclair, local Socialist chairman.

### Holyoke

HOLYOKE, Mass. -- Growing friendship between the Socialist party and the trade unions in this city is causing the Democrats considerable worry these days. The Socialists recently staged a "Release Tom Mooney" mass meeting in which they were supported by forty local unions.

The Socialists and the unions are now cooperating in a campaign for the 30-hour week and a big May Day march is expected in this city for the first time in years.

### I.L.G.W.U. Lecture

"Defending the Worker as a Consumer" will be the subject of the next conference of the International Ladies Garment Workers on Saturday, April 6, at the Auditorium, 3 West Sixteenth street. Mark Starr, educational director of the union, announces that Charles Zimmerman will preside at the meeting, at which the speakers will be Dr. Colston Warne, E. R. Bowen, Charles E. Sinnigan, and Jack Lever.

The world labor movement remembers the gallant struggle of the Austrian Socialists.

## Tear Gas---Not Relief---For Oklahoma Unemployed



This bedraggled group is part of a crowd of 200 men, women and children who went to the McAlester, Okla., courthouse to get unemployment relief. Officials told them to go home and wait, but unemployed have been doing that for years. When they refused, they were evicted with teargas. They say they're going to keep on fighting until they win or know the reason why.

# Greece Strides Toward Fascism As Result of the Recent Fight

## Revolt Is the Result of Disgruntled Officers and Liberals

By GEORGE PAPPASTRATIS

Disgruntled army and navy officers, in service and out, were responsible for the breaking out of the recent revolt in Greece. They sought to put someone in office who would restore them to their commands, promote them, or give them back pay, and increased pensions.

Thus far there have been no indications that Venizelos himself had anything to do with the actual preparation for the mutiny, or that he knew that it was being hatched. But there is no doubt that the officers' clique would have revolted with or without his connivance and consent.

Although the revolt was suppressed, the causes of the revolt have not been removed. They have been intensified. The winners must resort to more dictatorial means to maintain themselves in power. They have already abolished the senate, where the Venizelists had a majority, the life term for judges, and the permanency of tenure for civil servants. The court martials are busy; but General Metaxas, Fascist leader, who became a minister without portfolio during the revolt, resigned from the cabinet in protest because Tsaldaris has been too lenient toward the rebels.

Definite ideological differences distinguish the two sides in this revolt. The government in office and the party behind it are composed of the very same elements which had supported and had fought for the monarchy from the time that the Venizelists had begun to challenge it during the World War up to the time that it was expelled from the country in 1923. With the establishment of the Republic in 1924, these elements formed the Popular Party, and professed their conversion to republicanism. But this was merely lip service, because the monarchist and fascist elements have been and are very strong in this group. Many of its actions before the revolt indicated very definitely that the monarchy and fascism were very imminent.

The rebels, including the officers, can be regarded as republicans, that is, petty bourgeois republicans, or as anti-monarchists. Venizelos' own party, the Liberal Party, is patterned after the Liberal Party of England. It did not take an actual part in the revolt, but there is no doubt that its sympathies were with it.

While he was in office, Venizelos gave the workers some labor legislation, and social insurance. The conservative labor unions supported him and his party. On the whole, he has a much better labor record than any of his opponents. But if he had emerged from this revolt as the victor, he, too, would have been compelled to use dictatorial means in order to reestablish himself. Some Greek Socialists have been accusing him with dictatorial aspirations since his party lost the election of 1933.

From all reports the organized labor movement did not take any part in this event. Outside of the Soviet Union, Greece and Bulgaria are the only countries in Europe where the Communist Party is larger and stronger than the Socialist Party. The press reported Communist agitation in both sides of the revolt; but apparently it was altogether ineffective. The Communist party polled enough votes in the general election of 1932 to have 11 out of the 250 members in the chamber of deputies under a system of proportional representation. In 1934, the towns of Cavalla and Seres, which were rebel strongholds during the

recent trouble, elected Communist mayors. Communists were elected to the municipal councils in many other towns and villages of Greece during the same year. What happened to this Communist sentiment is not known. The local Communist press reported that Soviets were set up in Cavalla. Evidently these did not last very long, if they were ever really set up, because the reports were never confirmed by any other sources.

At the present time, the Trotskyites are stronger than the Stalinists. Recently, one of the Trotskyite factions, the Archeo-Marxists, launched their own political party, in opposition to the Stalinists. The Socialists have not taken part in any political activity. They have confined their efforts to propaganda and trade union work.

Early in 1934, a united front against fascism was established between the Socialists, Communists, and some of the trade unions. Neither this, nor the League for the Defense of Democracy, a bourgeois organization, were heard from in this revolt.

Greece is predominantly an agricultural country, and her peasants are very reactionary in politics. The Greek proletariat is composed of the tobacco workers in Thrace, the marine transport workers, and other workers in the small and incipient industries of the country. A larger percentage of the Greek workers are in trade unions than is the case in the United States. But they are not yet strong and numerous enough to check the drift to fascism.

**Arnold Freese to Broadcast**  
Arnold Freese, Socialist Town Chairman of Norwalk, Conn., will speak over Station WICC, Wednesday, March 27, at 6:45 p. m., on "The Double Political Machine Can Be Smashed." All people whose radio can pick up the station are urged to inform their neighbors to listen in.

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# 'Awake and Sing' Is Presented by Group Theatre

Awake and Sing, a Drama by Clifford Odets, Presented at the Belasco Theatre by the Group Acting Company.

When the patriarch of a family which was disintegrating by the forces of present-day economics thundered out, "Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust," the entire gallery rose as one to applaud, while down below, in the \$3.30 orchestra seats, a deep silence prevailed.

Clifford Odets, in telling the story of a typical Bronx Jewish family, has faithfully accented the beat of the human heart counterpointed against the savage rhythm of the labor-displacing machine. With crisp dialogue that is seemingly flippant but deeply profound, the plot unfolds the case of a young man whose meagre salary does not allow him to marry or enjoy the simple luxuries of life. Through the sacrifices of his enlightened and radical grandfather he comes to an understanding of the class struggle. He does not then jump on a table and wave a red flag, but instead quietly picks up a copy of Marx—a simple action which carries more force and more propaganda than the most violent histrionic display.

The acting in general is excellent, Morris Carnovsky carrying off the honors as the revolutionary grandfather and J. Edward Bromberg as the bloated Uncle Morty, a wealthy dress manufacturer who contributes five dollars a week to the family and a lot of advice about rugged individualism.

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# Bronx Labor Center Dance This Saturday

Eviction faces the Bronx Labor Center, headquarters of Socialist Party and progressive labor activity in the Bronx. Unless, that is, comrades flock to the dance to be held at the Center, 309 Westchester avenue, the Bronx, Saturday evening, March 23.

Tickets are only fifty cents. A large variety of entertainment is planned, including that indomitable and inimitable and Marxian pair, Nathan and Levy. Avoid the danger of spending the rest of your life kicking yourself for having missed the sprightliest evening in Bronx history by rushing to the Bronx Labor Center Saturday night.

# 30-Hr. Week Conference To Be Held in Hartford

HARTFORD, Conn.—A conference to rouse sentiment for the Thirty-Hour Week Bill will take place on Sunday, March 24th, at 3 p. m. at the Labor Temple, headquarters of the Central Labor Union. The conference was initiated by the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party here, which succeeded in getting the official cooperation of the Central Labor Union. Most of the active unions and fraternal organizations in Hartford have already agreed to send delegates. The meeting will be addressed by Professor Norman J. Ware of Wesleyan University; John Egan, secretary of the Connecticut Federation of Labor; Francis P. Fenton, New England representative of the A. F. of L., and Abraham Perlstein, Socialist candidate for mayor in the last election.

# Mob Drives 3 Socialists From Town

(Continued from Page One)

plantation system that has long held them in virtual slavery. Their situation has grown much worse, however, since the AAA crop reduction went into effect. Reducing the cotton acreage has meant reducing the number of tenant farmers.

**Driven From Farms**  
Thousands of sharecroppers have been forced off the land and into the ranks of the city unemployed. Many of those evicted may be seen any day trudging along the backroads of Arkansas with their families and few possessions.

Their plight was described as "worse than that of homeless Belgians during the war" by Mrs. Mary Conner Myers, AAA special investigator. Her report to Secretary Wallace, however, has been suppressed.

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# Local 22, ILGWU, Battles Reaction From the Left

## Communists Unite With Reactionaries to Oust Progressives

A unique battle of Progressive forces and a united front of reaction is now being waged in the Dressmakers Local 22, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The Progressive group of Local 22, which boasts of a membership of over 1,500 dressmakers in this union of nearly 40,000 workers and takes in all shades of opinion, including Socialists, Lovestonites, Anarchists and other progressive trade-unionists. This group is now fighting a combined gang of Stalinite-Communists and reactionary opportunists.

The "Left-Wing" group, carrying out in Local 22 the general policies of the Communist party, which is that of uniting with reactionary elements, has made alliances with two discredited groups, sharing places with them on the ballot, and hoping in this manner to demoralize the dressmakers with their well-known demagogic appeals.

### Communists Bitter

The bitterness with which the Communists are fighting the Progressive administration is probably justified from their point of view. To them, certainly, Local 22 dealt a blow from which they will not recover for some time to come. It was the constructive position that was taken by Local 22 on such questions as the NRA, on dual unionism, and on administrative policies, and the strike, initiated and led by the Progressive forces of the Joint Board that finally forced the Dress Department of the Industrial Union to go out of business. They came into the International with hearts full of bitterness and seeking revenge.

On the other hand, the reactionary groups who ruled at the expense of the dressmakers for so many years until they were unsaddled a few years ago, could hope for nothing better than a chance to destroy the Progressive movement.

### Administration Wins

Putting aside all principle, program, and policy for which they claim to stand, these groups of right and "left" extremists have put up a joint ticket in the faint hope of removing the present administration.

The first skirmish took place last Thursday, March 14th, in the election of the Election-Objections Committee, which is to be in charge of the voting.

The returns dealt a heavy blow to the dual unionists, the "lefts" and the opportunists by registering a huge majority for the entire administration slate.

According to reports the enthusiasm of the dressmakers is such that progressive unionists are confident of a smashing defeat for this anti-organization combination, and confident that the Progressives of Local 22 will come out with colors flying and be able to continue their constructive work.

The regular elections for officers will be held Thursday, March 28. There will be 17 polling places in all parts of the city. Members must not fail to vote!

## Publishers Work Children for Profit

### The Youngest Boys Are Worked the Longest Hours

WASHINGTON (FP).—In order to earn 82 cents a week from wealthy newspaper publishers little newsboys under 12 years of age have to work about 18 hours. This is one of the many facts of child labor exploitation revealed by the U. S. Children's Bureau after a study of children under 16 years engaged in newspaper and magazine selling and carrying in 17 cities.

Only 7 per cent of the newsboy sellers, it was found, earned \$4 or more a week. The work-hours of these children ran from five to 30 hours a week, "the younger boys often working the longest hours." Although night work has been decreasing, many of them work till 8 in the evening and from 9 to 15 per cent as late as 10 p. m.

The "little merchant" system, under which the children have to secure new customers and make collections, has lengthened the hours, made earnings irregular and imposed a "task out of all proportions to the pay and to the maturity of a grade-school boy," the Bureau notes.

Many more children than before have been drawn into the magazine-selling field in recent years, selling hours have increased and the children's cash earnings have decreased. Ten per cent of these children investigated by the Bureau were found to be under 10, and one-third under 12.

## Young Italian Socialists Hold Dance Saturday

A group of young Italian-American Socialists, who have been organized by Cicero Codina, member of the Village Branch of Local New York, are laying extensive plans to reach the great mass of Italian youth in the city.

In order to raise money for this work and to make contacts socially, a dance is being run in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, Saturday, March 23. Admission is thirty-five cents. There will be a six-piece band, entertainment and refreshments.

# Funds Needed for Fifteen Who Face 6 to 84 Year Sentences in Frame-Up

Fifteen men and women are now on trial in Sacramento, facing 6 to 84 years' imprisonment each because of their labor activities.

They are indicted for "criminal syndicalism," but their real crime is that they organized the cruelly exploited field and cannery workers and conducted successful strikes. Hearst and other big business anti-labor elements are behind the prosecution.

That the trial is an onslaught on labor unions is proven by the inclusion in the indictment of the organization of picketing as specific proof of criminal syndicalism.

According to the Sacramento Bee, February 4, F. J. Palomares, manager of the San Joaquin Valley Employment Agency, stated: "This trial is of the utmost importance to them (the bosses) because they believe the defendants responsible for the San Joaquin strike of 1933—the first serious one in that section's history."

**Fear Nation-wide Attack on Unions**  
It should be clear to all that if convictions are obtained in Sacramento, the next step will be a state-wide and eventually a nation-wide attack on labor unions.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense was called in by Norman Mini, one of the defendants. Albert Goldman, noted Socialist and labor attorney, was sent to Sacramento to defend Mini and offer aid to the other prisoners. Bail amounting to \$6,400\* was raised for Caroline Decker and Jack Warnick, co-defendants of Mini.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense has publicized the case, provided the prisoners with relief funds and literature needed for the trial, and has begun an investigation to impeach state evidence.

All this has been done without a general appeal for funds. Now funds are needed. Rush your donations in care of the SOCIALIST CALL, 21 East 17th street, New York City.

Help smash the attack of California bankers and industrialists on the elementary rights of labor.

## Vandals Wreck Cameras Of Rebel Arts Group

Breaking into the dark room of the Rebel Arts Camera Group at 44 East 21 street, New York City, vandals smashed beyond repair equipment valued at several hundred dollars. An entire file of newspaper plates which were to have been released to the SOCIALIST CALL and other labor and Socialist publications were deliberately broken into bits. The lenses of an expensive camera were scratched with a pointed instrument.

Funds are desperately needed to replace the damaged equipment and to carry on the work of the group.

## Washington Heights Anti-Hearst Meeting

Heywood Brown will be the feature speaker at an anti-Hearst meeting to be held by the Washington Heights Forum this Sunday evening, March 24, at the Y.M.H.A., 178th street and Fort Washington avenue, New York.

Other speakers will be Theodore Dreiser, Alfred Bingham, editor of Common Sense, and McAllister Coleman, prominent Socialist and SOCIALIST CALL columnist, chairman.

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# Graham Hits Copper Firm

BUTTE, Mont.—Worried by the militancy shown last summer by the copper strikers at Butte, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company is pressing for the establishment of a state constabulary.

The State Federation of Labor, however, led by its fighting Socialist president, James D. Graham, is putting up a stiff opposition, knowing full well that the chief function of the constabulary would be to break strikes.

As in other Western states, the class conflict is growing steadily sharper. Recently Captain John C. McKay of the Reserve Officers Association was arrested by army officials for making Socialist speeches. McKay a former football hero at the University of Montana, was raised in a worker's family and has remained true to his class. His advocacy of Socialism has made the employers jittery.


Farm unions and labor unions are joining in booming Graham for U. S. Senator in 1936. Considering the prevalent unrest there seems a strong likelihood that "our Jimmy," as he is known throughout the state, may be the first Socialist Senator.

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The S.L.I.D. already has in its arsenal a fine and growing magazine, THE STUDENT OUTLOOK, which appears three times a term and is edited mainly for the nation-wide college field. STUDENT ACTION, keyed to a faster tempo, will come out every two weeks, or more frequently when the situation demands, and will cover the high school field as well. For every alert, socially conscious student a subscription to STUDENT ACTION is a vital necessity.

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# At The Front

by Norman Thomas

When one comes back from the cotton country one can hardly believe that he saw the things that he saw or heard the things that he heard. The exploitation of the cotton fields is the most stark and savage exploitation on any large scale in America. It is aided by the kind of race prejudice which led Arkansas' caricature of a Governor to break in on the discussion of the imperative need of investigation of evictions and relief to tell me that "you can't preach race equality in this state."

The remark explains in part the inequality among whites who are about as liable as the colored workers to be beaten, shot, and cheated, by what is the most brutal and uncivilized section of a master class that I have seen. But you can call them "mister"—a term which must not be used, according to the Arkansas code, for Negroes!

One story will suffice. Four miles out of Marked Tree we came across a family, mother, five children, a couple of young hogs, five or six chickens, two puppies in the children's arms, and a few scraps of furniture. They had just been dumped by the side of the road by a deputy sheriff who was even then driving over muddy fields in a farm wagon. I suppose it argued consideration that he had dumped them out on a little hummock instead of in the ditches full of water by the roadside. The father came walking down the road a little later. He had been badly beaten up a few days before, nominally on the untrue charge that he had stolen a couple of eggs.

Actually the offense of the family was twofold. The man, a white man with a distinguished Nordic name, had joined the Union and he and his wife had sought "the law" on a riding boss who had kidnapped their fourteen year old daughter for some two or three weeks. The plantation owner, the family said, had somehow or other fixed "the law," and there they were by the road. This is part of the pattern of life fixed by the damnable plantation system.

## The Heroic Farmers' Union

In the face of the plantation system I cannot too much praise the five or six thousand white and colored workers who are making the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union a strong and flourishing organization. Their own elected leaders, some of whom have recently been in New York—H. L. Mitchell, the Arkansas Socialist, who is the father of the Union, and his right hand man, Howard Kester—are doing an amazingly brave and level headed piece of work.

Ward Rodgers, another brave man, is going to be speaking and raising money in New England. His life would be in danger in Arkansas. His trial, for which I went to Arkansas, has been postponed until next October. It is imperative that money be raised for this and other trials, for relief, and to keep the organization alive.

## Newspapers Boycott News

What happened at Birdsong, Arkansas, seemed singularly uninteresting to the newspapers of America. The AP and UP swear that they sent out the story. The AP had a man on the ground. What happened was that an armed mob of twenty or thirty planters, led by a man who later assured me that he represented the Sheriff's office, but was unable to give me an innocent listener's protection, broke up our meeting and drove us out of the county. I have no mind to tell the story in detail. The probabilities are that if they had had less fear of my possible publicity value there would have been some killings or severe beatings.

While it is true that we held six other meetings in the heart of the cotton country unmolested, while it is also true that the Sedition bill did not go through the Arkansas Senate, nevertheless the situation is charged with possibilities of immense tragedy which only a combination of the limelight of publicity and pressure on the Federal government can prevent.

It is difficult to understand and impossible to excuse the attitude of the Federal government in the cotton country. It is not responsible for the plantation system. It is responsible for the cotton reduction program which is driving untold thousands into the most utter destitution I have ever seen. Roughly, about a quarter of people at different meetings testified that they had neither crops to make nor work as agricultural laborers. Relief is so shockingly inadequate in amount, and administered with such discrimination, that it has become itself an agent of exploitation and tyranny.

Washington has been informed of all this. But Mr. Wallace goes on making excellent speeches and ignoring realities. Mr. Hopkins acts against political corruption in Ohio but lets the Arkansas administrator of relief, a Mississippi County planter (that's where Birdsong is) investigate himself.

So far it has apparently been impossible even to reach the President. None of our so-called progressive Senators has acted. Neither has the loud mouthed Huey Long. Neither has brain-fruster Tugwell, except to say that the system is bootleg slavery and that he favors the Bankhead Bill.

This bill would provide a possible \$1,000,000,000 corporation to put share croppers on their own land on easy terms. I am very skeptical of it and its probable administration. At best a subsidized peasantry is not a solution for the cotton problem, especially with a cotton picking machine in the offing. What I fear is that planters will unload inferior land on the government at a high price. The masses of America are now subsidizing these planters. Why continue farther by buying their second rate land and taking their victimized tenants off their hands?

I was told that there were four hundred thousand acres of land, three-quarters of it arable, which had already lapsed to the state of Arkansas for non payment of taxes. Why not use this land? There must be a corresponding amount in other states.

## Can't Be Solved Under Capitalism

The whole cotton problem is insoluble under capitalism. It requires large scale social planning in order that all of us may have the cotton that we need. The plantation system must be abolished. It is to a surprising degree, already characterized by absentee ownership, and under AAA the active owners and managers transfer most of their risk to the government. Some comparatively decent planters assure me—I think truly—that they aren't making money and can't make it on moderate sized decently run cotton farms. Let them then help us to abolish the system.

Immediately, the Federal government must be compelled by public opinion to stop evictions, to give adequate relief, and to protect workers in the right to organize. It has assumed so much responsibility that it cannot, like the Governor of Arkansas boasting of his impotence, take refuge now in lack of power to do something for the

## Chicago Labor Plans Anti-Fascist Meeting

The Chicago Federation of Labor has undertaken to sponsor a large Anti-Fascist mass meeting at the Ashland Boulevard Auditorium, Carmen's Hall, Sunday, March 31, 2 p. m. A committee of 40 has been appointed, including Morris Seskind and Samuel Laderman of the Cook County Labor Committee of the Socialist Party.

Local Cook County Socialist Party is cooperating in selling of tickets and in building public support for the meeting for Seger, who is favorably remembered for his successful appearance at the Reception for Julius Deutsch under auspices of Local Cook County last November.

This is the first definite anti-fascist activity undertaken by the Chicago Federation of Labor, and is believed marks a new step in the growing militancy and aggressiveness of organized labor.

## General Motors Praises Nazi Rule in Reich

(Continued from Page One)

every street leading to the field. "At a quarter to four Herr Hitler entered the field in a car and was driven rapidly up and down the long files to review the assembled multitude. At four, all planes and the blimp were grounded and a hush came over the vast field as the Chancellor arrived.

### Nazi Report "Progress"

"Herr Hitler opened his speech by saying that he wished to report to his people the progress they had made as a nation in the past year. He quoted statistics and reminded them of the many improvements in the German economy accomplished under his plan for giving every one an opportunity to work to improve his own condition—and thus to restore Germany to her place as a leading nation.

"Most of the Chancellor's speech was of a serious nature but he occasionally softened his tone to make a homely joke as a means of driving home a point. There were many smiles when he said, 'Some people were very enthusiastic about the "work program" until they found that it means that they, as well as their neighbors, must work!'

"When he visited the Chancellor the next day, Mr. Mooney was accompanied by R. K. Evans and R. A. Fleischer of Opel. As they entered his long office room, Herr Hitler arose from his desk and walked to meet them halfway. He shook hands cordially and in a moment the General Motors men, the Chancellor and two of his aides were seated at a table. Throughout the interview, Mr. Mooney found Herr Hitler as easy and as satisfactory to talk to as any intelligent businessman, with no air of bureaucracy about him.

Fascism Fundamentally Sound  
"Mr. Mooney's observations dur-

disease ridden and exploited share croppers and agricultural workers of the cotton country.

## Greeting to the Socialist Call

Greetings to the Socialist Call! It comes out at a time when we desperately need an able propaganda paper, 100 per cent loyal to the Socialist party as an aggressive nation-wide organization.

I am happy to send my column to the Socialist Call as, indeed, I am to send them to any Socialist or labor paper which will make an arrangement to use them in whole or in part. They do not appear and will not appear in the New Leader, not because of some difference of opinion within the party, but because the New Leader refused to print in my own column my support of the action of the NEC in resisting secession in Indiana and instead has steadily given left handed support and partial applause to an act of secession in Indiana which it has not yet had the courage openly and completely to endorse or to emulate. There isn't much difference between seceding and sabotaging the NEC which is blocking secession.

Following its stand on the Indiana case, the New Leader changed its constitution so that it is no longer subject to control of the party even indirectly. According to the new constitution, the association which controls it must be composed of members of a party recognized by the association. In other words, the New Leader becomes a law unto itself. Such conduct has made it imperative that we have a propaganda paper of the type which the Socialist Call hopes to be.

# Labor Board "Rat" Unions Oppose Auto Organization

## Wolman and NRA Aiding Company Union Growth to Smash AFL

By Samuel Romer

DETROIT.—As the fog slowly rises on the automobile labor horizon, one figure can be clearly seen. It is the naked body of a blighted Roosevelt liberalism rushing hither and yon in a desperate effort to build government-sponsored company unions and smash, subtly or openly, the rising tide of the auto workers' unions.

The entire story of American labor has never contained a chapter which reveals so absolutely the capitalist class character of the White House. Through the medium of the pro-employer Automobile Labor Board, shop unions are being formed throughout the automobile belt with the announced aim of uniting them into a country-wide organization that would rival and smash the American Federation of Labor.

One cannot accuse the Automobile Labor Board of hypocrisy—it has always been very frank. At its formation (to stave off the 1934 spring strike) it undertook to investigate cases where active

ing the May Day celebration; at the interview, and in Ruesselsheim where the Opel plant is located, have convinced him that Herr Hitler is a strong man, well fitted to lead the German people out of their former economic distress and that he is leading them, not by force or fear, but by intelligent planning and execution of fundamentally sound principles of government.

"Having aroused and captured his people's interest and enthusiasm by his earlier spectacular tactics, he is now tapering off his dramatic presentations, and sobering the Government down in tempo with the new industry and the will-to-work being shown by the German people."

## National Run-Around Bewilders Workers

HARTFORD, Conn.—Workers in Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Company are learning in elaborate style the workings of the National Run Around, known more popularly as the NRA.

After more than six months of attempting to gain satisfaction through regular NRA channels, the workers took matters in their own hands and went on strike.

The union had been awarded several decisions from the regional and national labor boards, all of which we brushed aside by Samuel Stone, president of Colt's. He was perfectly willing to deal with the representatives of his 1,500 employees, he said, if the workers would only attend to the little matter of dropping their union affilia-

tionists had been fired. In not one case did it order the employer to rehire the man; in the overwhelming majority of cases, its decision was monotonously the same, "The employer has not been in error."

Meanwhile, it is practically certain that labor will not answer in 1935 with a general automobile strike. Through hesitation and timidity, fearing to gamble on the result, the United Automobile Workers of America has permitted automobile production to reach its peak and stock the dealers. What will probably occur will be strikes in isolated plants throughout the industry—strikes which will not settle the issue of collective bargaining but which will be fought on the immediate demands of wages and hours.

Several such strikes have already occurred: the Mechanics Educational Society, independent militant metal trades union, has won genuine victories in Truscon Steel in Cleveland and in Spicer Manufacturing in Toledo, the latter in cooperation with the UAW. The UAWA is certain to lead strikes in such hot spots as Kelsey-Hayes Wheel and Motor Products in Detroit; Radiodyne in Racine and Auto-Lite in Toledo. And unless delay is again the rule, Flint, Michigan, will see its third major strike in four years when Chevrolet and Fisher Body workers walk out.

The organized auto workers are fighting mad! They are sore about the speedup of the line (nearly 33 per cent) against the vicious spy system which makes their private lives the property of their wage master, against the "blacklist" clause in the NRA code—and, above all, against the astute politician in the White House who crassly double-crossed them with fake promises and a smile.

The chronology of the NRA auto code would make a good skit for the Political Pollies of 1934—if it didn't mean the sweat and blood of the automobile slaves. Originally to have expired early in 1934, it was successfully forgotten, hemmed-and-hawed, postponed and delayed until in February, 1935, the "faith and hope of American labor," consulting only Alfred Sloan of General Motors and Alvin Macauley of Packard and the Automobile Manufacturers' Association, arbitrarily and undemocratically extended the code until the end of the production season. Labor was not consulted, was not allowed to suggest amendments. The notorious "merit" (read blackmail in Section 7-A; wages re-lit) clause was allowed to remain at the same low level (averaging between \$500 and \$600 a year for the lucky worker). The Automobile Labor Board, organized labor's avowed enemy, was not only kept alive, it was even made part and parcel of the code.

The organized automobile worker has suffered a rude awakening from his sleep, wherein he dreamed that a Washington government elected by the Fishers and the Knudsens would aid him in his fight for a more decent life.

Where will he turn? To Coughlin, the radio priest, who in his years of diatribes against anything and everything, has conveniently ignored the rotten shop conditions existing in his backyard — to Coughlin who hires scab labor to build his Shrine of the Little Flower and prints his speeches in rat print shops? Or to the Socialist Party which in the auto industry has led the fight for autonomous industrial unionism and which will do no sham boxing with anti-labor boards but instead will depend upon the strike as its prime weapon to wring wage and hour concessions?

Only time and continuous, aggressive Socialist agitation will reveal the answer.