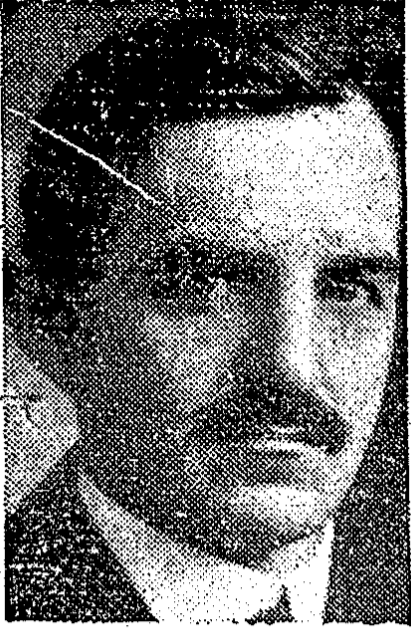


Socialist Leaders At Reading Victory Jubilee



Here are five of the national leaders of the Socialist Party who are participating in the party's victory celebration at Reading, Pa., this week. From left to right: State Representative Darlington Hoopes of Reading, Mayor-elect J. Henry Stump of Reading, Norman Thomas, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee, and Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Conn.

Norman Thomas
on
Sanctions and the League
SEE PAGE 12

Socialist Call

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1935.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

Socialists Say:

'ONLY LABOR CAN STOP WAR DANGER'

STORY ON PAGE TWO



MUSSOLINI SHOWS HOW HE WOULD FIGHT THE WAR. While young Italians are being slaughtered in Africa, Il Duce goes around pepping up the people by kissing babies. Last week saw the beginning of sanctions against Italy—and as the Italian people, inflamed by Mussolini's war speeches, tightened their belts, Mussolini showed his solidarity by resorting to tricks first used by Faammany.



Here is a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union doing her bit to build up the educational program led by Director Mark Starr. It's because ILGWU workers have learned their lesson that the union can boast of being one of the strongest and most militant in the country.

Ohio Socialists Begin Drive For Anti-War Action

Since wars are waged merely for the benefit of small groups of bankers and investors fighting for more wealth to add to already immense fortunes;

Since no war was ever declared by the common people of any country, nor for the benefit of the common people;

We, workers of hand and brain, realizing that we are the only force that can prevent war, dedicate ourselves to the struggle for a warless world.

We pledge our unyielding opposition to all proposed legislation for military or industrial conscription.

We pledge to do all in our power to arouse the masses of the people against present war evils, for the prevention of future wars, and for the destruction of the causes of war.

We pledge that we shall refuse to lend our support to any capitalist war in which the Government of the United States may participate and that we shall do all in our power to promote Labor Action Against War and against war-makers.

CLEVELAND (Special)—Every local union in Ohio, every fraternal and social organization in this state sympathetic to the organized labor movement will be asked to subscribe to the above pledge in a monster drive for labor action against war which is being conducted by the Socialist Party of Ohio.

The drive, which is part of the national campaign against the war danger, will enlist the activity of every Socialist Party member and sympathizer. It is also expected that other state organizations will carry through the same plan.

The purpose of the drive, Robert D. Dullea, Socialist state secretary, told the CALL, is "to build—not an organization—but a mass movement against war, to build LABOR ACTION AGAINST WAR." Dullea declared that Socialists were not interested in creating another organization which would compete with other anti-war groups.

"Labor Action Against War" was defined by Dullea as having as one of its main objects pointing out that the basis of opposition to war must be Labor, if that opposition is to be effective. The movement will circulate the anti-war pledge, hold anti-war mass meetings throughout the state and call for "the united opposition of the workers of hand and brain as the only real bulwark against war."

Minneapolis Labor Hits 'Red Purge'

MINNEAPOLIS (Special)—A mass meeting attended by more than 4,000 Minneapolis unionists heard labor's answer to the "red purge" in Minneapolis ordered by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor.

Backed by 15 powerful local unions who have pledged every resource to keep the Minneapolis labor movement united, Local 574, teamsters' union, leaders called for solidarity in the face of attempts of Green's representative, Meyer Lewis, to revoke charters and split the ranks of labor. In addition to 574 leaders, others who spoke included a representative of the iron workers' union, oldest in this city, and of the candy makers, only three weeks old.

The charter of the Laundry Workers and of the Cleaners and Dyers' unions have been revoked because of their sympathy with the teamsters. The teamsters' charter was revoked some months ago after they had led two important strikes and had aided in the organization of various unions in this city.

DOCK STRIKE SPREADS TO NEW ENGLAND

BOSTON—Strike action in sympathy with the fight of 3,000 gulf port longshoremen for union recognition and higher pay spread up the New England coast this week.

In Boston harbor, the freighter Liberty Glow, destined for struck gulf ports, remained untouched by union longshoremen, although the owners tried desperately to get it loaded. Even the company's threat to ship the cargo to New Bedford and load there failed, when dock workers at the latter port declared that they too would strike.

In Portland, other members of the International Longshoremen's Association boycotted the freighter Frieda, loaded by scabs at Freeport, Texas.

Face Six Injunctions

NEW ORLEANS—The strike of longshoremen in gulf ports still remains solid, despite six different injunctions and attempts of the police to smash all picket lines.

Police, under old party control, have already shot a number of strikers and are trying to terrorize the rest. In the Sabine area, for example, the sheriff of Jefferson County has sworn in more than 700 deputies.

At many of the docks there are more deputized company gun thugs than there are pickets, and their chief business seems to be picking fights with the strikers.

The Texas Federation of Labor has passed a resolution demanding removal of all armed forces of the employers from the strike area.

Coast Docks Tied Up

SAN FRANCISCO—Several ships bearing "hot" cargo loaded by scabs at gulf ports remain tied up here and at San Pedro, as union officials flatly denied that arbitration or any other devices would stop them from showing their solidarity with brother strikers.

900 workers from fifteen projects have laid down their tools in protest against the "security" wage rates offered them by relief officials.

STAR WITNESS



RUBY BATES, star witness for the defense in the Scottsboro trials, is expected to testify once more about the frame-up when the trial begins for its third time.

Socialism Main Aim Of Reading Unions

READING, Pa.—Solidly supporting the program of the Socialist Party, recently victorious in the local elections, the Federated Trades Council of Reading and Berks County last week revised its constitution to list Socialism as the major objective of the local trade union movement.

Nationalization of banks, mines and lines of communication and the collective ownership of all means of production and distribution were given as immediate aims of the council in the new constitution.

LABOR IN ACTION

By JOHN HERLING

The Iowa State Federation of Labor has sponsored a state convention in an effort to secure united action on WPA projects.

The case of Joseph Morris, of the American Workers' Union, charged with contempt of court, was postponed once more at Potosi, Mo., when tiff miners packed the courtroom.

The arrest of more than 200 pickets at the Cincinnati clothing strike, putting in practice the slogan: "Fill the jails," forced the modification of a drastic anti-picketing injunction.

More than 300 Kroger grocery stores in St. Louis are being picketed by the Warehouse Employees' Union.

The strike at the Rabhor Robe Company, largest bathrobe concern in the U. S., at South Norwalk has entered its second month. It is being conducted by Local 91 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Thugs have been hired by the Lindemann-Hoverson Stove Co. of Milwaukee to mingle in picket lines and foment trouble. Joseph A. Padway declared in court last week.

More than 2,000 Consolidated Gas Co. employees face layoffs on the excuse that a proposed public power plant may in the distant future cut profits. Martin A. Wersing, president of the New York regional board of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees, charges. In justifying the layoffs, the company uses as a stodge a "committee of employees" from the company union.

Mrs. Jacob Riis, widow of the noted philanthropist, has accepted the post of treasurer of the Consumers' Research New York Strike Aid Committee. The American Federation of Labor has contributed \$300 to the strike fund of Technical, Editorial and Office Assistants' Union, Local 20055, members of which are CR strikers.

Following refusal of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad to employ more than one man on locomotives of their high-speed Diesel trains, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen started taking a strike vote this week.

News Guild Fights 6-Day Week Return

NEW YORK (FP)—The 6-day week is once again being forced on newspapermen throughout the country, a survey conducted by the American Newspaper Guild shows.

Since October 1, 16 newspaper or press association offices in four cities have given up the 5-day week, despite promises by newspaper publishers last summer that no changes would be made. In Chicago, where the guild only recently started organizing two papers and two wire service offices have increased the workweek to 48 hours.

In Milwaukee, San Francisco, three Ohio cities, Seattle, Alaska and Baltimore, local guild units are planning an immediate fight for restoration of the 5-day week.

VIRGINIA RELIEF WORKERS STRIKE

ROANOKE, Va.—A strike of Roanoke relief workers that may quickly become a state-wide walk-out, was called here last week, after negotiations between the jobless and relief officials broke down completely. Two picket captains have been arrested, and sentenced to four months in jail on charges of "vagrancy."

Hilliard Bernstein, Socialist organizer for the Workers' Alliance of America, which called the strike, made a plea for food and funds for the strikers.

New Strikes Loom

ALBANY, N. Y.—A new wave of strikes throughout upper New York State threatened here this week as State WPA officials flatly rejected labor demands for prevailing wages.

"We simply haven't the money to pay prevailing wages," was the excuse offered by Administrator Lester W. Herzog for the rebuff.

Michigan Workers Act

DETROIT, Mich.—Steps toward a strike for the prevailing wage for all skilled mechanics are being taken by the Detroit Building Central Trades Council.

Meanwhile, at Muskegon, Mich.,

SOMEBODY'S A LIAR—GUESS WHO?



NEW YORK (FP)—Irene duPont (center right) had better meet Irene duPont (center right) Baker, in a letter to the New York Times, indignantly denied that America had entered the war to save Wall Street's investments. But duPont, shown here conferring with Lamont duPont and his attorney, William Lyons, during a senate investigation, testifies that his company had made a profit of 250 millions during the war.



THOMAS, HOAN AT SOCIALIST JUBILEE MEET

READING, Pa.—A giant mobilization of Socialists in preparation for the 1936 national elections is taking place here this Thursday, as party leaders from all parts of the country gather for the jubilee celebration of the party's outstanding election victory in this city.

Norman Thomas, twice the party's candidate for President of the United States, is a leading participating, along with Mayors Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee and Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Conn., Mayor-elect J. Henry Stump of this city and other outstanding political figures in the Socialist ranks.

With thousands expected to march in the victory parade here, the Socialists anticipated the largest demonstration of its kind ever held. A parade through the center of the city is to be followed by a huge mass meeting in the Capitol Theatre, where Thomas, Hoan, McLevy and Stump are scheduled as the main speakers.

Darlington Hoopes, Reading Socialist legislator and member of the party's national executive committee, is to be the chairman of the mass meeting. James W. Maurer, 73-year-old veteran of the Socialist and labor movement and Socialist candidate for Vice-President in 1928 and 1932, has been invited to the rally as guest of honor.

In addition to the local Socialist, labor and unemployed groups participating in the parade, the publishers of The CALL announced that they would enter a float in the parade. A committee representing The CALL is on hand to greet Stump and the other victorious Socialists here.

ALABAMA MINE WARFARE ENDS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Ending eight weeks of bitter struggle in which two were killed and many shot, 17,000 Alabama miners called off their strike and returned to the pits this week with a partial victory.

Under an agreement signed here by the mine operators and the United Mine Workers, representing the men, wages were advanced 20 cents a day or 4½ cents a ton for tonnage workers. A 5 per cent increase was also granted on dead work.

The end of the strike brings to a close a prolonged mine war which had brought from John L. Lewis, president of the mine workers, threats of a nation-wide general stoppage in protest against slaughter of union pickets by company gun thugs.

Under the settlement terms, which do not expire until April 1, 1937, the union is recognized as the workers' agency in adjustment of all grievances arising until that date.

IN WEALTHIEST AMERICA
CLEVELAND — Jobless and tubercular and without hope. Woody Murphy, 23-year-old Warren, Ohio, youth, this week offered to sell his body for \$5,000 for medical experimentation.

In a letter to the Cleveland News, he explained his plight and said:

"The price I am asking is \$5,000. But I will accept less."

AGAINST WAR



Because he knows all about the "war racket," General Smedley Butler was wildly greeted by New Yorkers when he announced his determination never to "shoulder arms again for Wall Street." Butler described himself as an "expert racketeer."

Vigilantes 'Save' Sheboygan Falls From The Unions

SHEBOYGAN FALLS, Wis. (FP) — The hamlet of Sheboygan Falls, near the anti-union village of Kohler, where plumbing fixtures are made, has better than one vigilante for every employe, according to Mayor F. A. Leighton, who brags of the strong-arm defense against organized labor.

During the Kohler strike of 1934 when several pickets were killed, Mayor Leighton guarded against trouble in his village by swearing in 200 businessmen and others as special police, headed by husky Henry Boldt, ace druggist.

"If an organizer comes to town our police (two officers) hustle him out. If the police can't do it our organization will do something about it," the mayor said.

New Auto Union Calls Out 3,200 In Detroit Plant

DETROIT (Special)—Threatening a quick spread to other key auto plants here, a strike of 3,200 members of the newly-formed Automobile and Metal Workers' Union against the Motor Products Corporation gave Detroit its first big industrial flare-up of the season here this week.

Walking out after company officials had refused their demands for higher wages, the Motor Products workers struck suddenly last Friday morning. With their lines still holding firm, union leaders anticipated sympathetic action by workers at the Midland Steel Products, Detroit Molding, and other plants, unless a settlement is secured this week.

As both the day and the night shifts quickly responded to the strike call, Matthew Smith, told The CALL that the strike is already "the cleanest and most complete walk-out that ever happened in this city."

Demanding raises averaging approximately 15 per cent and abolition of piece rates, the Motor Products workers negotiated with their employers for over a week and staged one short "stay-in" strike before striking the plant.

The present strike is the first one called by the new union, which is an amalgamation of the Mechanics' Educational Society, the Automotive Industrial Workers' Association, and the Associated Automobile Workers of America. It is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but is friendly to the federation.

Farm Union Growing Rapidly In Six States

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Blazing a trail of organization across six states, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union has chartered 71 new locals of share-croppers and working farmers since September 1, an announcement from the union's headquarters here reveals.

Most of the new organizations are in Arkansas, center of the share-croppers' strength, but several have also been started in Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Mississippi and Tennessee, as union organizers continued their intensive work in these states.

The STFU recently won a partial victory in its strike for higher pay for day labor cotton pickers. Socialist-led, it has the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor.

Busy With Naval Jobs, Shipyards Turn Away Work

NEW YORK—Inferring that they are too busy with construction of naval vessels, the four largest shipbuilding concerns in the United States refused last week to bid on a new liner planned by the United States Line for transatlantic passenger service.

Although the job they spurned was estimated at between \$10,000,000 and \$15,000,000, the four companies let it be known that they are keeping their ways open for the New Deal's naval building program and so can not undertake contracts for merchant ships.

The New York Shipbuilding Company of Camden, N. J.; the Newport News (Va.) Shipbuilding Company; and the Fore River plant of the Bethlehem Steel Company refused to bid, while the Federal Shipbuilding Company, of Kearney, N. J., showed its complete disinterest by failing even to send a letter of rejection.

8,000,000 IN BRITAIN BACK LABOR PARTY

LONDON—More than 8,000,000 people voted Labor at the polls throughout the British Isles last Tuesday, sending 156 Laborites to sit in the House of Commons and partially wiping out the disastrous rout suffered by the party in 1931.

In constituency after constituency, Labor candidates either completely snowed under their Conservative and Liberal opponents or jumped the Labor vote as much as double and triple the total in the last elections.

Avenge 1931 Defeat

Thus Labor partially avenged the defeat it suffered five years ago when defection of Ramsay MacDonald and other former party leaders to the capitalist camp brought consternation and defeat to the workers' ranks.

Outstanding leaders of the party were re-elected. Results in many constituencies were sensational. Two victories stood out:

Sir Stafford Cripps, former Solicitor-General and Socialist leader, who had bitterly opposed the Labor majority's sanctions

Read Herbert Zam on the British elections on Page 8; watch for an analytical article to appear soon by John Cripps, CALL London correspondent.

policies, increased his vote in Bristol from a bare 429 to over 7,000.

George Lansbury, who resigned his leadership of the party because he could not accept sanctions, was triumphantly returned in his Poplar constituency, receiving a majority of 13,357, as compared with 4,600 in 1931.

Herbert Morrison, outstanding London spokesman for the party and minister of transportation for Labor in 1929, regained his seat, along with some two dozen other Laborites who had formerly held cabinet posts or other important positions in the government.

Miss Ellen Wilkinson, who lectured extensively in America last year, was the only woman Laborite to emerge from the election victorious.

McDonald Crushed

Although the so-called "National" Tory government held a majority of 250, the National Labor group, which deserted Labor in 1931, took a severe drubbing.

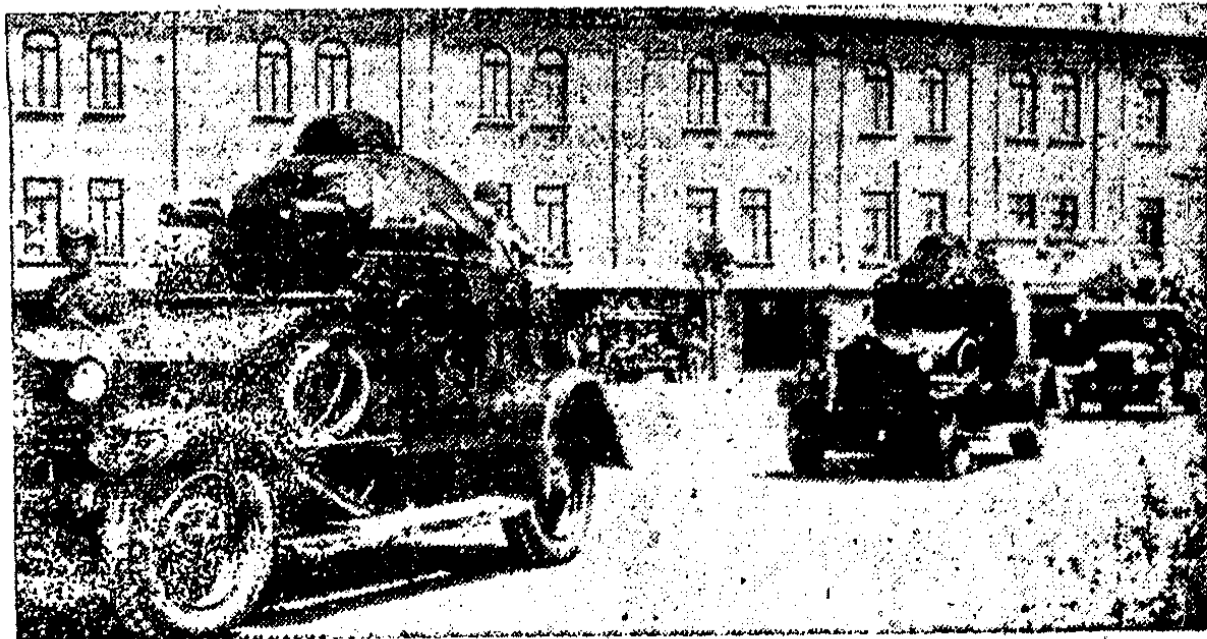
Rugged miners and their wives in the Sealham constituency significantly chastised Ramsay MacDonald for his treachery to the workers. Decisively defeated by an avalanche of 38,380 Labor votes to his own 17,882, MacDonald could only say:

"I am a completely done-in old man."

MOONEY LAWYERS FINISH

SAN FRANCISCO — Resuming the adjourned hearings on Thomas J. Mooney's plea for a writ of habeas corpus, here Tuesday, Mooney's attorneys quickly completed presentation of the remaining evidence on their side. The hearings had been recessed for two weeks while the state prepared its case.

JAPAN MOVES TO SEIZE NORTH CHINA



These Japanese armored cars are on the move in the Yangsun district of North China. Observers declare that their touring the land means that Japan will set up another puppet state like Manchukuo—this time a puppet state the size of the U. S.

THE SOCIALIST CALL

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

Business Manager: Jack Altman. Managing Editor: Samuel Romer.

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To The Members Of The Socialist Party

Dear Comrades:

The CALL has since its birth served the Socialist Party and the working class with loyalty and faith. It is convinced that only through the medium of a strong, disciplined Socialist Party can the working class of America and the world fulfill its historical task of emancipation. That the membership has perceived these aims is clearly indicated by the enthusiastic response it has accorded The CALL.

Despite this, however, there has been a disgruntled faction in the Socialist Party that was intent upon destroying The CALL. The CALL has not spoken publicly about these attempts; it has been content to go forward, confident of its own power to survive. Today, however, The CALL is compelled to speak out frankly if it is to remain loyal to its Socialist ideals. For the discredited Old Guard has not only tried to destroy The CALL—it has sought to crucify with it the active and loyal Socialists who cannot accept the peculiar Old Guard brand of cadaver-Socialism.

Despite the many sins of the Old Guard—not the least of which has been its continual use of the capitalist press to attack the Party and its leadership, the CALL has been patient. We have been subjected to continual provocation, yet have with the greatest restraint continued in our basic task of the building of the Socialist Party. To do this hasn't been easy; for they have committed many sins under the cloak of Social-Democracy.

They have supported Hyman Nemser and his anti-AFL "union."

They have virtually supported Harry Lang and his vicious, counter-revolutionary attack upon the Soviet Union.

They have dissolved militant branches and chartered paper branches of its own affiliation to keep control of the New York City Central Committee.

They have supported union splitters in the American Federation of Teachers and aligned themselves with the reactionary elements within the AFL to endorse a heinous "red-baiting" campaign.

They have killed all opportunities for Socialist recruiting in New York City, through a vicious factionalism, while the Socialist Party in the rest of the country was going forward to new victories; they sabotaged the municipal campaign by disdaining The CALL's offer of cooperation.

They have supported unfounded charges against the national leader of the Party, Norman Thomas, and other Socialists active in The CALL.

Through all this, we have shown great restraint. But events of the last week force us to speak up. We are here compelled to defend—not ourselves—but the Socialist Party and those thousands of loyal comrades who have given freely of their energies and talents to build The CALL.

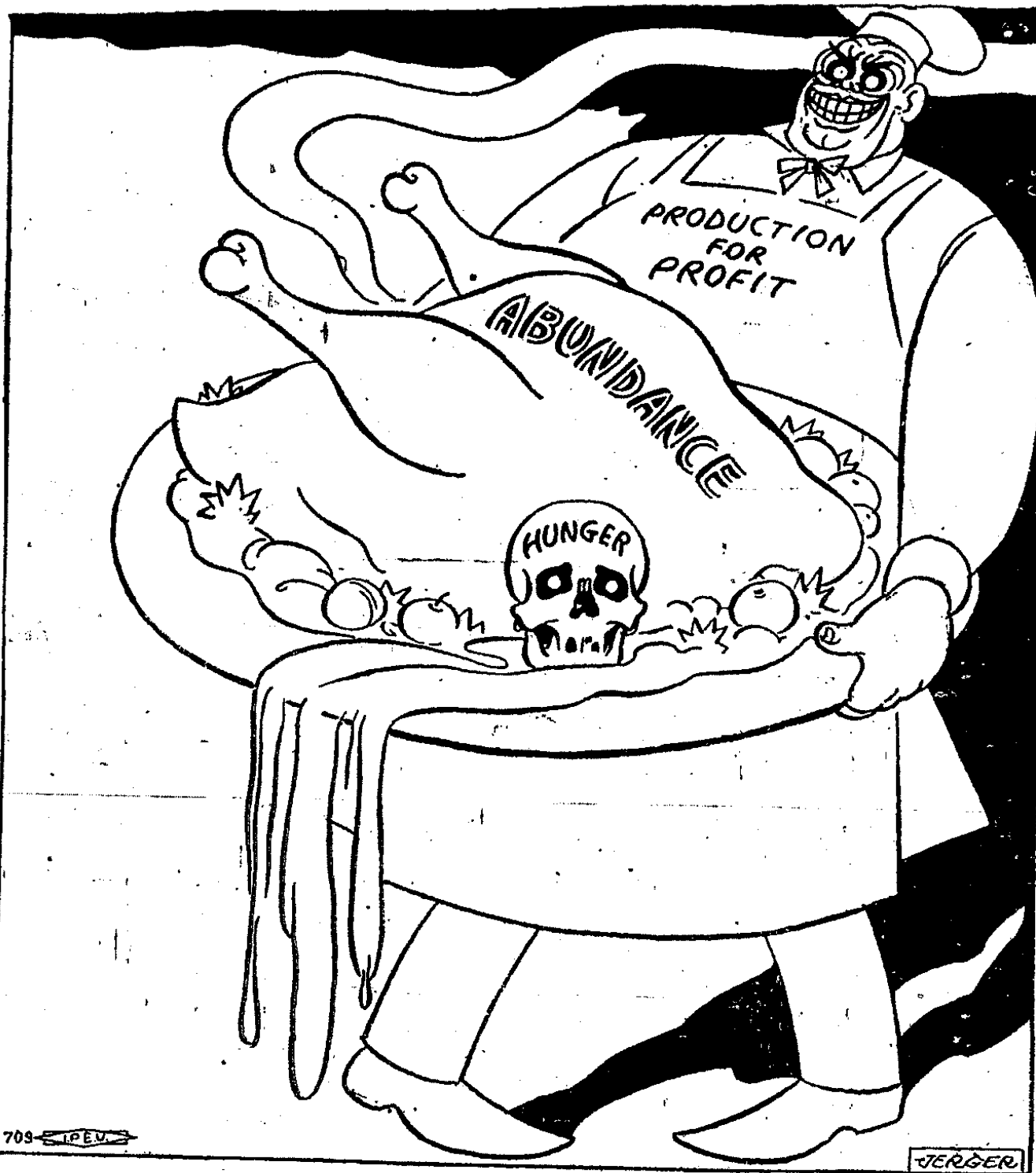
Last week, the Old Guard resurrected an old resolution of the New York State Committee and ordered a "reorganization" of the local.

The resolution provides for the virtual liquidation of the City Central Committee—the seat of Party democracy. Absolute and dictatorial power over the entire local has been handed over to a small factional group to rule and ruin. The order to proceed with the "reorganization" while a referendum is pending, reminds us of the Hitler referendum taken after the dictatorship had been established.

This is being done with the intention of splitting the Party and expelling, without appeal, those who cannot accept the cadaver-Socialism of the Old Guard. Inspired statements in the Jewish Daily Forward, the New Leader and the New York Times prove it.

Leading members of all honest Socialist groups within the Party have announced their intention to carry the fight

ANOTHER NEW DEAL BANQUET



Thoughts About Peace On Armistice Day

To the Editor:

Armistice—peace on earth. We are celebrating the seventeenth anniversary of the ending of the World War. In the back of my window young cadets are marching one of those crippled, disfigured Christian Soldiers."

I am thinking of the Armistice right after the war when peace was proclaimed and the soldiers—those who survived and were on leave in Vienna, could hardly believe that the slaughter had ended. But I remember vividly one tall blind man with dark glasses who was led by a dog—and the hand that was the link between the man and the dog was an artificial hand—the other one was missing. For him Armistice came just a little too late—as it came for thousands of others who were maimed and wounded for life. For those who were detained in lazarets, for it was impossible for them to be seen by people who were sound and well. And every one of those crippled disfigured human beings had a right to live, a right for happiness, a right for a normal existence. For those Armistice came too late.

But what about those young

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

cadets who just passed my window, marching to the tunes of "Onward Christian Soldiers"? What about the school children, following them eagerly, what about their future? What about a world which protests against war and does not do a thing to eliminate the causes of war?

BERNICE F. COHEN.

Yonkers, N. Y.

A LESSON OF THE ELECTION

To the Editor:

We who are living here in New York get tremendous encouragement from the gains that our party made in some of the smaller cities and towns this year. Sometimes I think we are inclined to forget that the most important job facing the Socialist Party is the job of organizing the millions

for Party democracy to the national membership, if need be. Their love of the Socialist Party is too great to allow the party to be split without a struggle. The CALL supports them in this fight—for it is The CALL's fight. A Socialist Party without true democracy and firm principles is a perversion of true Marxism.

The CALL once more pledges its loyalty to the Socialist Party of the United States of America. It will never swerve from this position.

With revolutionary greetings.

Fraternally yours,

The CALL Press.

of workers who are not yet class-conscious or even union-conscious.

Outside of the city, I know, the job of Socialist organization is in many cases very difficult. That is why I am so nappy over the big gains the party made in such places as Reading, Bridgeport, Olean and the other cities.

Certainly we can learn a lesson from this, too. We can learn that we must find better ways right here in New York to wage effective campaigns and to organize the workers much better than has been done heretofore.

G. W.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

SOCIALISTS AND WAR

To the Editor:

I have been intending to write to you ever since you printed the so-called Thesis On War to tell you how surprised I was to know that some of our comrades in the European countries are even considering the idea of supporting war.

Certainly, Socialists everywhere should have learned their lesson in the World War—a catastrophe which brought nothing good to the workers anywhere, only death and destruction and tyranny.

Socialists in the United States must not be fooled in this way, and I hope that the ideas that are contained in the party's national executive committee statement are the sentiments of the whole party.

GEORGE BAKER.

Tulsa, Okla.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

Two weeks ago we gave this column to a casual discussor of Sinclair Lewis' new novel, "It Can't Happen Here." On Wednesday of last week we came upon an item on the school page of the New York Sun that lends point to the thesis Lewis advances.

The item sets out to deny the charges made by left-wing groups that the Association of Junior Military and Naval Organizations of Greater New York is organizing a student "spy system" to detect and report radical teachers. It is in the form of a report of a speech made by Naval Cadet Commander William Jules Siegrist at a meeting of the United Bronx American Legion Post. Let us see what Mr. Siegrist says:

"Some of our adult cadet commanders have told their cadets that it is the duty of every loyal citizen to report those advocating the overthrow of our government by force. However, we have set no spy system. If a pupil, or any one else, reports to the authorities a person advocating the forceful overthrow of the Government, that does not make him a spy."

Mr. Siegrist went on to say that the "situation isn't bad enough to cause us to set up a spy system, and it probably never will be. "If the situation should warrant our looking into it, we will, but we will do nothing without consulting Superintendent of Schools Campbell." Mr. Siegrist denied that it was the "policy" of his organization to break up meetings of radical groups, but "if a cadet commander asks his group to break up a communist meeting, that's his business."

It Can't Happen Here?

It can't happen here? It is happening here. Mr. Siegrist's speech is typically fascist. His attitude is fascist. His morality is fascist. His tactics are fascist. Whether he comes by his fascism through German contacts (his name has a suspicious ring!) or whether he is unconsciously fascist, as are many members of the middle class, is beside the point.

Notice the technique developed in his organization. It sets young children, who literally do not know what they are doing, to spy on liberal and radical teachers, with the obvious intention of busting them from their jobs, and then denies the fact. Notice the way in which the denial is worded: "If a pupil, or any one else, reports to the authorities a person advocating the forceful overthrow of the Government, that does not make him a spy." Children do not like to be called spies, and well Mr. Siegrist knows it. So he makes spies of them under another name. Under the name of patriotism. Let no one imagine that this transparent camouflage must fail. Not only the children, but large numbers of unthinking grown-ups as well will say with Mr. Siegrist that no spy system exists, because this sort of spying and tale-bearing is not spying.

Note further, that whenever Mr. Siegrist decides that there are enough disloyal teachers (apparently on the basis of the reports the children will bring in) to justify a real spy system, he will not hesitate to set one up. Of course, he will consult Mr. Campbell first. Again, let no one imagine that the authorities will be deaf to his urgings. The memories of the treason trials in the school system in the war years are too fresh. They ought to be a warning to the innocent that the Siegrists will have the warmest co-operation of 59th Street.

It Is Happening Here

Note again that the cadet organization takes no official responsibility for breaking up radical meetings, but if a group commander asks his corps to do it "that is his business." This is, of course, open indictment to violence, and properly Mr. Siegrist ought to be arrested at once and sent to jail. Of course, he will not be touched. Equally, of course, this is the fascist trick of disowning the violence it stirs up. Mr. Siegrist is safe. He knows he can get away with this sort of talk because America is already far gone along the fascist path.

It can't happen here? It is happening. Ever since the war evidence has been piling up to indicate that the tradition of democracy are by no means so deeply rooted as well-meaning people, out of touch with reality, like to think. There are thousands ready to "protect American liberty" by jailing and killing all who really believe that they are free. Worse, there are millions to applaud these fascist deeds.

Mr. Siegrist and his naval cadets are not important in themselves. As symptoms of a grave disease they are of the deepest significance. They are warnings of what will happen here unless the working masses awake to the danger.

LEO KRZYCKI TELLS OF VICTORY NIGHT IN READING

By LEO KRZYCKI

National Chairman of the Socialist Party Election night in Reading I saw the power of the working class.

I have known many thrilling moments in the Socialist and labor movements, but never has anything stirred me as deeply as that joyous march in the early morning hours to the home of our beloved comrade, the grand old warrior, Jim Maurer, and there to be met by him, risen from a sick bed with tears of happiness streaming down his face.



It is past midnight. The tally sheets are almost aflame with the red of Socialist totals. Now it is one o'clock. Stump is 8,000 votes ahead of his nearest opponent, the present mayor. Every other Socialist candidate has a similar lead. There is no doubt. We have won Reading!

A mighty roar sweeps the crowd that fills the streets outside the Labor Lyceum. Stump! Stump! Stump! they chorus. We push Henry, the quiet-spoken cigar maker, forward to greet his supporters.

"Comrades, fellow-workers: This is a happy moment for the workers of Reading. When you chose Socialists to govern your city you elected yourselves. You have again put the people in power."

The parade lines are forming. Henry Stump and I are pushed to the front. Behind us blares a 22-piece labor band. Then come the victorious candidates: Tomlinson, McDonough, Sands, Hoverter, Hollinger, Leshner, Mrs. Hoopes, and the others. There are the party war-horses, Ray Hofses, George Rhodes, and Darlington Hoopes.

And who can forget the Yipsels, riding in heavy open trucks, cheering, singing, beating tin pans and hoisting a red flag to the breeze!

By my watch it is 1:20 a. m. We march up Penn Street, Reading's Broadway. Then into the workers' districts. Lights flash on. Sleepy heads appear from the windows. Then a shout of joy!

"Oh, Ma, wake up. It's the Socialists. They've won."

Young men dash from the houses, throwing their coats around them. They, too, shall march with the Socialists.

Someone yells "We'll elect Thomas next!" It is quickly taken up.

"Hooray for Norman Thomas for President!" they shout. And why not? Thomas is revered by the Reading workers. Thirty thousand came out to hear him at the Socialist park three years ago. To them, as to many of us, he is a second Debs—a man unafraid, walking fearlessly into the guns of drunken thugs in Arkansas or militiamen in Terre Haute in defense of the rights



LEO KRZYCKI

of sharecroppers and striking workers. So naturally, in our hour of victory, we think of our beloved standard bearer.

It seems that we shall never tire, yet for almost two hours we have been marching. Now we are nearing the home of Jim Maurer. He has heard us coming, and as we come into sight there he is sitting in a rocker on his porch with a blanket draped about him.

Jim is an old man now, growing physically weak after many long years of service to labor and Socialism. He was our first Socialist legislator in Pennsylvania. For sixteen years he was president of the State Federation of Labor. Through the darkest hours of the war he stood like a Rock of Gibraltar. When would-be fascists— they were just legionnaires then—planned a raid on Socialist headquarters, Jim mobilized a defense corps and called their bluff.

And still the fire of the old fighter burns as brightly as ever. He grips Stump and myself in a warm embrace. Tears are flowing down his cheeks. The crowd expects a speech, and Jim forgets his illness. The blanket falls to the floor. Jim's voice rises—once more he is the great orator, the great warrior, as he hails the victory and spurs the workers of Reading to still greater conquests.

"Never have I lost faith," he exclaims. "The day of a national victory is not far away. Fight on!"

Yes, Jim, you, whose rugged honesty and devotion stand forth as a symbol of the might of the workers, shall see us fight on to victory everywhere. We pray that you may live to see the day when Norman Thomas is inaugurated as President, and when the workers throughout the world lift aloft the red banner in another triumphal march—the Socialist march to peace, plenty, and freedom.

MR. HOOVER HAS A PLAN

By McAlister Coleman

A private resident of California, one-time occupant of a good-sized white house in Washington, has a plan to end planning. The plan of Mr. Herbert Hoover is to elect Mr. Hoover President of the United States and end all nonsense. Mr. Hoover's idea is that after he is elected next year, he will stop Federal relief and "unnecessary public works," and "reform experiments" and balance the budget.

Editors, who still suffer under the illusion that any save a few antediluvian members of the Ohio Society and the Union League Club give one single whoop what Mr. Hoover plans, smeared his stuff over their front pages. The gentleman evidently has a new ghost-writer who has decided to build Herbert up into a humorist. We find him panicking his Ohio Society audience by such gems as "I learned as a boy that money does not grow on trees; it must be earned," and "If they (the New Dealers), have a cash register, it must have an astronomical keyboard." While Mr. Hoover's new line offers as yet no serious threat to the wise-cracking prestige of Gracie Allen or Phil Baker, it is something of a relief to find that he can sound off a sentence less than a couple of hundred words along. Whoever is writing his pieces for him now should get a bonus.

One Good Thing

One thing in favor of the election of Herbert Hoover in 1936 is that after he had been in office a few months, choked off relief and stopped public works, we would all be that much nearer drastic social overturn than we have been since he jumped off the dock in 1929, taking the rest of the country with him. For while Mr. Hoover may have learned that money does not grow on trees, he early learned where it does grow and as a promoter of mining stocks, he soon had the technique of large-scale promotion at his finger-tips. No one in our history had a more prominent part in the promotion of the most catastrophic and far-flung panic that America has ever known. Give the man credit for that. We are beggars for punishment, but to get Hoover wished on us again would make even a nation of economic Milquetoasts gag.

Speaking of humor, all sorts of wild rumors are afloat about Charlie Chaplin's forthcoming picture, "Modern Times." The theme is that of a little man in revolt against the pressures of mass production and a power-driven civilization. In the picture, Charlie is said to run hog-wild through a factory bursting up machines and other things that have darkened his life. From time to time, Charlie has had his philosophical say about such matters and has been acclaimed by radical writers as a protagonist for the Left. Of these writers, Max Eastman has probably known Chaplin best. In an interview in Stage magazine, Chaplin says to Max: "Why this terrible insistence on work? Work is a beastly thing, especially when it gets to be a kind of religion. . . ." "It is too damned irksome and nasty. I'd like to see a state of society where everybody could get up in the morning and say, 'Well, it's all right. I don't have to work.'"

Max, who dislikes work as heartily as Chaplin professes to hate it and as the writer of this column does, must have written this interview with loud internal cheering. Of course, the answer is that Chaplin can quit any time he wants. He won't exactly lack spending money. He must find that the work he does is not really so irksome and nasty. Or maybe, he has arrived at that blessed state where he can do what he wants in the way of work and then paradoxically it isn't work at all.

A Life's Ambition

But as for the most of us, most of our lives are given over to irksome attempts to get enough work to keep ourselves and our families on the face of the earth. And when we're doing what we want to do, nobody thinks of paying us for it.

If it really matters, my life's ambition is to be able to get up in the morning and say, "It's all right. I don't have to work today. I'll do a little writing on something that interests me keenly. I'll fool with the cat for awhile, muss around in a library or a grill-room, whichever appeals to me more at the time, maybe play some tennis, indoors or out, talk about things in general with people whose ideas I respect and then go down to the CALL and sit on the editor's desk and watch the poor slaves at their labors." But right now, I'll have to go to work on an advertisement in praise of pipe-smoking. Which will be pretty irksome going as I haven't had a pipe in my mouth since 1909.

DOES YOUR NEIGHBOR KNOW THIS FACT?

By Labor Research Front

Thirteen states with a total population of close to 32 millions or 25% of the people in the United States, have no old age pension legislation on their statute books. Four states with a population of 6,200,000 have only optional old age pension laws, leaving it to the individual counties in each state to provide an old age pension. Two states with a population of 4 million people are not yet protecting their workers against accident with a Workmen's Compensation Law.

Discussion on the Bauer-Dan War Thesis

A Thesis Based On Contradictions

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Dan, Bauer, Zyromski and Dun-
 nis have offered nothing new in
 their thesis on war (in reality a
 thesis on why the Socialist parties
 should help the imperialists in the
 next war). Take out a few phrases
 about terrorist dictatorship and
 the Stalinists would sign the the-
 sis with both hands and clasp the
 authors to their breasts as long-
 lost brothers. Every incorrect and
 reformist idea which the Stalin-
 ists have propounded, since the
 Franco-Soviet pact has been in-
 corporated in the thesis. Revolu-
 tionary Socialists do not hesitate
 to accept any idea from the com-
 munist, but it must be a revolu-
 tionary and not a reformist idea.

It would be difficult, if not im-
 possible, to find any document
 presented by members of any So-
 cialist Party, which is so full of
 contradictions as the thesis. Ex-
 cerpts can be taken out which
 would gladden the hearts of right-
 wing Socialists and quotations can
 be found, which, if taken out of
 the text, would be accepted by the
 most uncompromising Marxist.
 Before proceeding, however, with
 an analysis of the numerous con-
 tradictions it will be interesting to
 note how many propositions are
 laid down which are immediately
 followed by qualifying clauses—
 thus showing either an uneasy
 conscience on the part of the au-
 thors or, what is more probable,
 an attempt to satisfy mild objec-
 tions to the crassness of the op-
 portunist formulations.

Major Propositions

A casual reading of the thesis
 uncovers eight major propositions
 with qualifying clauses. A more
 careful reading by more patient
 souls will probably disclose more.

1. "International Socialism
 must support the governments
 of those countries which.....
 want to preserve peace. BUT it

must try to destroy the illusions
 of the masses, etc." (Capitals
 not in original).

2. "International Socialism must
 support the institution of the
 League of Nations..... BUT
 it must beware of dangerous
 illusions, etc."

3. "International Socialism must
 assist the efforts to enlarge and
 support the Covenant by pacts
 designed to create a system of
 collective security. BUT it must
 not deceive itself, etc."

4. "British imperialism has an
 interest in preserving peace.
 Therefore international Social-
 ism may support the efforts for
 the institution of a system of
 collective security, although this
 system obviously favors the in-
 terests of British imperialism.
 BUT.....we must not let il-
 lusions be created amongst the
 masses, etc."

5. "International Socialism must
 also support regional pacts.....
 BUT.....must not deceive
 itself, etc."

6. "International Socialism must
 nevertheless assist all efforts to
 arrive at a limitation of arma-
 ments by agreement. BUT it
 must not indulge in the illu-
 sion, etc."

7. "In the countries allied with
 the Soviet Union, Socialists
 cannot and must not hinder the
 conduct of war.....BUT So-
 cialism.....must not enter in-
 to a civil peace, etc."

8. "In the democratic countries
 fighting on the side of the So-
 viet Union.....Socialism can-
 not refuse nor undermine na-
 tional defense. BUT it must try
 to make use of the war in order
 to transform it into a Jacobin
 revolutionary defense of a work-
 ing-class and Socialist country."

This article, written by Albert
 Goldman of Chicago, is pre-
 sented as a commentary on the
 thesis: "Socialism and the War
 Danger," which was published
 in the October 12 issue of The
 CALL. Other articles on the
 thesis—"Socialism and the War
 ing issues.—Editor.

make possible the victory of So-
 cialism in Europe in the same way
 as a defeat of Germany would? If
 the answer will be that a victo-
 rious fascist Germany will crush
 a Socialist revolution is it not also
 true that a victorious capitalist
 France and England will crush a
 German Socialist revolution? Are
 we asked to believe the French
 and English capitalists are great-
 er lovers of Socialism than the
 German capitalists? And has not
 history already taught us, in the
 case of Soviet Russia, what a vic-
 torious France and England are
 sure to do in the case of a victo-
 rious Socialist revolution?

The Defeat Of Fascism

As a matter of fact, speaking of
 the Central European revolutions
 following the World War, the the-
 sis states that the power of the
 victorious capitalist classes pre-
 vented those revolutions from go-
 ing beyond the boundaries of cap-
 italist democracy. Of course Bau-
 er and Dan, who played such an
 important, if not a very heroic,
 role in those days are careful to
 place the blame upon the working
 classes and the victorious cap-
 italist countries and not where it
 belongs, upon the Social-Democ-
 ratic Parties. At any rate there
 is the realization that victorious
 capitalist countries are not going
 to stand by idly while a Socialist
 revolution which also threatens
 their existence in the progress.

The Road to Power

And what is more, the thesis
 goes on to say that "these lessons
 (of the World War) must inspire
 the working class of the world
 with the determined will to use a
 new war to win power for the
 workers and thereby, to overthrow
 the capitalist system." And we
 must infer that the way to over-
 throw that system is by fighting
 on behalf of the capitalist gov-
 ernments. But it is so easy and
 sounds so well to insert a revolu-
 tionary idea which is meaningless
 when taken together with the re-
 formist nature of the whole the-
 sis.

Starting from the premise that
 a victory of the democratic cap-
 italist countries over fascist Ger-
 many will somehow favor the So-
 cialist revolution the thesis recog-
 nizes "the necessity of arms for
 the people threatened by Hitler."
 Stalin also recognized that neces-
 sity in his famous, or infamous,
 statement to Laval. And follow-
 ing the brilliant suggestion of the
 communists the writers of the the-
 sis insist that the capitalist army
 be cleared of all the fascists and
 of all class privileges. Why the
 writers of the thesis did not de-
 mand the immediate surrender of
 the capitalist class is not ex-
 plained. To demand the abolition
 of class privileges in the chief in-
 strument for the protection of the
 class state is nothing less than
 fantastic.

When it deals with the aims
 which the capitalist governments
 will cherish when fighting against
 Hitler the thesis almost recognizes
 the correct principle that in a war

between fascist and democratic
 states there will not be a conflict
 between democracy and fascism
 but between different imperialist
 powers. Every thinking Socialist
 realizes that in case of war what-
 ever democracy exists quickly dis-

appears and the fascist elements
 both in military and civil life gain
 complete control. No matter what
 the idealistic slogans may be the
 upper classes conduct the war in
 their own manner and for their
 own purposes.

A Mysterious Contradiction

And what will be the aim of the
 capitalist governments in a war
 against Germany? To deprive the
 German people of national unity
 and liberty, to destroy Germany's
 power. The thesis states that very
 plainly and correctly. But the aim
 of the working class in fighting
 with their capitalist governments
 against Germany will be entirely
 different. They will fight only
 German fascism. Presumably the
 workers will wage the war under
 their own banner. The thesis even
 speaks of independent action on
 the part of the working class. Ex-
 actly how the workers will con-
 duct the struggle independently is
 not explained by the thesis. Per-
 haps on the basis of organizing a
 separate red army to fight side by
 side with the capitalist army!

Position Contradictory

The authors of the thesis seem
 to be slightly aware of the fact
 that a struggle against the Ger-
 man fascist government by imper-
 ialist powers having the support
 of the Socialist Parties would tend
 to rally the German people behind
 their fascist government. And so
 we have this perfectly correct
 idea inserted: "only if the work-
 ing classes in the countries fight-
 ing against Germany take the
 power into their own hands will

the German nation be sure that
 Germany's enemies do not aim at
 conquering, dismembering or out-
 lawing it." And well towards the
 end of the thesis there is expressed
 the marvelous idea that "the soon-
 er Socialism in the countries fight-
 ing against Germany seizes power
 and thereby cleanses the war of
 all imperialist purposes directed
 against the German people, the
 easier will it be to bring about the
 working-class revolution in Ger-
 many."

Can anything more correct than
 the above be conceived by the
 most consistent Marxist? Hardly!
 Not to expect the German work-
 ers to revolt after a defeat of Hit-
 ler Germany by imperialist gov-
 ernments but after the workers
 and soldiers revolt against those
 governments and call upon the
 German workers to do the same.
 Fascism can be defeated by the
 victorious proletarian revolution
 and not by the victorious cap-
 italist countries. The thesis advises
 the workers in the capitalist
 countries fighting Germany to
 take over power and at the same
 time tells them to support their
 governments. A crying contradic-
 tion, a mystery which the well-
 known authors of the thesis did
 not attempt to solve.

Defending The Soviet Union

It is clear that the thesis would
 favor the support of democratic
 capitalist governments against
 fascist governments even if the
 Soviet Union were not in existence
 or were not in danger of being
 attacked by Hitler. The existence
 of the Soviet Union, however, and
 the fact that it will be allied with
 the capitalist democracies in a
 war brought on by fascist Ger-
 many, clinches the argument for
 the necessity of declaring peace
 with the capitalist class during a
 war. Of course the thesis dutifully
 asserts that Socialists must not
 enter into any civil peace, but what
 does such an admonition mean
 when it declares that "in capi-
 talist countries allied with the So-
 viet Union Socialists must appeal
 to the workers to do their duty as
 soldiers as well as in the war in-
 dustry?" We do not know what
 the authors would term a state of
 affairs when Socialists appeal to
 workers to support their capital-
 ists governments, but revolution-
 ary Socialists as well as honest
 workers would call that civil
 peace.

"The interests of international
 Socialism demand that the Soviet
 Union should be victorious." No
 Socialist can make any qualifica-
 tion to that proposition. That
 does not, however, solve the prob-
 lem of HOW to assure the victory
 of the Soviet Union. We shall not
 deal here with the extremely super-
 ficial attempt to characterize
 the Soviet Union. It is to the
 credit of the authors that they
 recognize the necessity of defend-
 ing the Soviet Union.

Defending the U. S. S. R.

Stripped of all unnecessary ver-
 blage the thesis declares that in
 defending the Soviet Union and
 in defeating fascism it is necessary
 to depend upon the capitalist
 state in the democratic countries.

At best the working classes will be
 in the position of supporting the
 capitalist governments in the task
 of annihilating fascism and pro-
 tecting the Soviet Union. Stated in
 this way the absurdity of the posi-
 tion should become clear to every
 revolutionary Socialist. Is any
 capitalist government interested
 in defending the Soviet Union? He
 who would claim that, is not living
 in the world of reality. But are
 we not in a position to utilize the
 antagonisms of the capitalist
 countries for the purpose of help-
 ing defend the Soviet Union?

Granting the necessity and cor-
 rectness for the Soviet government
 as such to utilize those antagon-
 isms by making temporary alli-
 ances with capitalist states against
 its immediate enemies, it does not
 at all follow that the revolution-
 ary parties must follow the lead
 of the Soviet government. Both
 the leaders of the Soviets and the
 leaders of the revolutionary parties
 must understand that the only
 reliable defenders of the Soviet
 Union are the workers and that in
 order to guarantee the defense of
 the Soviet Union it is necessary
 for the workers to determine the
 foreign policy of their own coun-
 tries, which means that the work-
 ers must seize the state power.
 While the official leaders of the
 Soviets may not be able openly to
 state that fundamental principle,
 the leaders of revolutionary parties
 must not for one moment per-
 mit the workers to forget it.

The Thesis and the Masses

That the authors of the thesis
 are not themselves over-confident
 of the serious intentions of the
 capitalist powers either to defend
 the Soviet Union or to defeat fas-
 cism is evident by their statement
 that "in the course of events we
 may be compelled to mobilize the
 masses."

(Continued on Page Seven)

'Buts' Nullify Propositions

The poor workers! They are
 asked to march to the slaughter
 on behalf of their imperialist gov-
 ernments with the consolation of
 numerous "buts." And the task of
 the Socialist Parties during the
 next war will be—not to mobilize
 the masses for the overthrow of
 the capitalist system but to guard
 the workers against illusions which
 they might get as a result of what
 the Socialist Parties will tell them
 to do. Without any illusions the
 workers are to take up arms on
 behalf of the capitalist state,
 slaughter their fellow-workers
 willingly and enthusiastically on
 behalf of their imperialist govern-
 ments—all this, is fine so long as
 it is done without any illusions.
 And the well-known authors of
 the thesis have forgotten to men-
 tion the exact technique to be
 used for the purpose of freeing the
 minds of the workers of those very
 illusions which will be inevitably
 engendered as a result of what
 they are told to do by the Socialist
 Parties.

Must Destroy Illusions

The working masses have a tremen-
 dous number of illusions. And
 it is the function of a revolution-
 ary party to destroy them. But
 how can that be done if we tell
 the workers to do one thing and
 believe the exact opposite? To
 tell even a few persons to support
 the League of Nations, collective
 security, disarmament, British im-
 perialism and one's own govern-
 ment in a war against a fascist

tyranny, and at the same time ex-
 pect them to be without illusions
 as to the nature of the government
 he is fighting for and the League
 he is supporting, is sufficiently ab-
 surd. But to expect the millions
 of workers to be without illusions
 under such conditions is to evi-
 dence a complete incapacity to
 understand the healthy thought
 processes of the masses, who are
 sure to draw logical conclusions
 from what they are told to do and
 to pay very little attention to the
 Jesuitical "buts."

Every single one of the proposi-
 tions enumerated above is advice
 to the workers to forget the class
 struggle and the qualifying clauses
 are meaningless. And not only is
 the class struggle to be given up
 during the war but even before
 that. For we are told to support
 the governments who favor peace
 because they are satiated with the
 spoils of war. And what is left of
 Socialism? The authors would
 probably refer us to the "buts."

Let us analyze the main ideas
 of the thesis.

Germany's victory would bring
 Europe under the heels of the most
 brutal fascism. Its defeat would
 bring revolution in Germany and
 thus make possible the victory of
 Socialism in Europe—so the thesis
 claims. But could it not be said,
 with equal justification, that a de-
 feat of France and England would
 bring the Socialist revolution in
 those countries and consequently

Italian Labor Fights Il Duce

An Interview With Luigi Antonini By Herman Wolf

The success of Mussolini has been based on the division of the working class, and only through unity of all labor and radical forces will fascism be overcome. This is the message which Luigi Antonini, first vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and general manager of the Italian Dressmakers' Union, brings back to America from the Brussels Anti-Fascist Congress of Italians Abroad.

"The revolution in Italy will be brought on by the fascists themselves," Antonini told me. "Their plans will not work, and they are doomed. Their downfall will come as economic conditions become more and more unbearable."

Antonini attended the recent Anti-Fascist Congress at Brussels as a representative of more than 200,000 American trade unionists. His own union, Local 89 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, is the largest local union in the world, with 40,000 Italian dressmakers.

"It was easy for me, with my American passport, to pass the borders as I traveled through Europe, but it was a different matter for the Italian exiles residing abroad through the special permission of foreign governments," Antonini explained. "To reach the congress they had to slip over the borders at night. A few delegates came from Italy, arriving in many disguises, with big glasses, their coats buttoned high and their hats pulled down over their faces. While they were at the meetings the lights were kept out so no spy could possibly recognize them."

REPRESENT ALL FACTIONS

The united front feature of the congress was stressed by Antonini. The 350 delegates attending the two-day conference came from countries throughout Europe and both Americas, and comprised anti-fascists of all shades, from left to right. Socialists, communists, republicans, trade unionists, monarchists—all were present, united in one determination: To rid Italy of the tyrant Mussolini and his fascism.

Antonini is a tall, heavy-set man who dresses in the Italian style, with large, flowing tie. On a wall of his office, where I interviewed him, was a sign, "Welcome Home, Chief." The "chief" had just come from the studios of WEVD, where his union conducts a weekly radio broadcast for the benefit of its members.

After the Brussels congress, Antonini went on a speaking tour through Belgium, France and Switzerland under the auspices of the Italian Socialist Party and the Italian Confederation of Labor. He toured part of the time with Giuseppe Modigliani, former member of the Italian parliament, who was recently in the United States.

"In Nice, Marseilles and Toulon huge crowds attended our mass meetings, especially in Marseilles, where loudspeakers were placed outside to handle the overflow crowd in the square," Antonini said. "Everywhere we found soldiers, and soldiers, and soldiers. Europe has forgotten the lesson of 17 years ago."

"Our conference succeeded in bringing about a unity of action which will greatly intensify the underground propaganda against Mussolini. We want world opinion to realize that it is not Italy or the Italian people, but fascism which is guilty for the war in Africa. The Italian people cannot express themselves at home and



THOUSANDS WELCOMED LUIGI Antonini when he returned to New York from the Brussels Congress. Below is part of the crowd of 3,000 that crowded the dock to welcome "the chief," at the left is Antonini, vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and manager of Local 89, largest local union in the world.



it is only through us that they can bring their message to the world.

"While in Paris," Antonini continued, "I spoke with F. S. Nitti, once Premier of Italy. He is a conservative, exiled during the early years of fascism. He feels he is too old to ever again hold a government position, but he has one ambition. Before he dies he hopes to bring a free press back to his

native country. He hopes to see the day when he can return to Rome and publish a paper.

"Nitti told me that Mussolini is at last being discussed and criticized within Italy. Before the Ethiopian invasion, no one ever dared criticize him. The young people were trained in the fascist war spirit. They were made to feel that it was their duty to bring to Italy the glory of the ancient

Roman Empire. They were filled with enthusiasm. They were too young to remember the horrors of the World War. But now they are experiencing something worse than war in Europe. The climate and mountains of Africa are too much for them, and they are becoming disillusioned.

THE OUTLOOK IN ITALY

"Meanwhile the workers at home, traditionally against fascism, are gradually becoming critical of Mussolini. There is dissension in the fascist ranks, too. Those groups backing the monarchy feel that Il Duce is heading downward and they are looking for another combination. Only this week Mussolini changed the commander of his African troops.

"The outlook for Italian finances is also bleak," Antonini said. "When Italy began her African invasion she had four and a half billion lire. A few weeks ago she had three billion and of late the government has refused to issue any statement. The war is costing thirty million lire a day. Rome's gold reserve is rapidly diminishing and when sanctions become effective and League members refuse to extend credit she will be unable to hold out. Then disillusionment with Il Duce will be all the more rapid.

Without League sanctions the war will last indefinitely," Antonini said. "Geneva is greatly encouraged by the attitude of the United States. And the results of the recent elections in England will mean a strong policy, with the Conservatives kept on their toes by the strong Labor bloc."

Antonini believes that sanctions will halt the fascist war and it is his hope that Geneva will realize that the Brussels Congress favors a decisive and forceful policy on this point.

Sanctions will not lead to a general European war, according to Antonini, because too many nations will bring pressure upon Italy. He feels, in addition, that there is little immediate prospect of agreement between Hitler and Mussolini.

"Remember that it is Italy which is opposing Germany in Austria," he said. "And also remember that Germany will never forget her betrayal by Italy in 1915."

The future is dark for Italian fascism, but light for Italian freedom, according to Antonini, for he holds that disillusionment with Mussolini has already begun. "And remember," the trade union leader concluded, "Italians are temperamental."

Albert Goldman On The War Thesis

(Continued from page six) masses against the governments" which the workers are called upon to support. The authors of the thesis evidently think that they have the masses in the hollow of their hands and can manipulate and direct them with the same ease that they can write a very shallow thesis. They forget that it is necessary for a party to train itself and to train and direct the masses in a certain manner for a rather long period before it is possible to call upon the masses to commence a serious struggle to

overthrow their masters. And the school of class peace and support of the capitalists is hardly the type of school which will educate the working masses to struggle for power.

To take advantage of the disillusionment and bitterness which will take possession of the masses as an inevitable result of their sufferings caused by an imperialist war which can bring to the masses nothing but disaster, it is necessary to keep the banner of the party unspotted and to cling to the class struggle at all times.

semi-fascist countries which are part of the coalition against Germany. By what rules of logic or common sense can it be said that in a fascist state the proletariat will be able to continue a war against German fascism after a revolution, while in a democratic state the proletariat will be unable to do the same thing?

And the well known authors of the thesis, obviously in order to please all the reformists in all the countries, state that in neutral countries the Socialists must not demand the joining of the coalition against Hitler. Assume that the Soviet Union is attacked by Germany, and Great Britain or even France is not attacked and decide not to interfere, will they not be in the category of neutral nations? And should we permit

the Soviet Union to be destroyed? Should we not, in accordance with the whole logic of the thesis, demand that the democratic countries come to the help of the Soviet Union? And if the victory of German fascism will bring in its wake such dire results (and we all agree that it will) why should the Socialists of any neutral country, not urge their governments to join the coalition against Germany? Of course we know that the authors of the thesis want to give the Scandinavian Socialists a chance to remain neutral, but can they not realize that a victory of German fascism also threatens the existence of the Scandinavian "Socialist" countries?

But no one can be logical only if he is a revolutionary Socialist and relies on the class struggle.

Shall We Support Capitalism?

While the thesis does not expressly say so, the inference is clear that the reason why we must support the democratic capitalist governments in order to defeat fascism and defend the Soviet Union is because any attempt at a revolution during the war will make it easier for German fascism to come out victorious. Otherwise there would of course be no justification whatever for supporting the capitalist governments during a war. Revolutionary Socialists answer that argument by saying that even if the democratic capitalist governments come out victorious, fascism in the last analysis is not defeated, because fascism springs out of the soil of rotting capitalism. Nor is the Soviet Union safe through a victory of the democratic capitalist countries because in the last analysis the democratic-capitalist as well as the fascist-capitalist countries are bitterly opposed to a country which, if permitted to develop, will undermine the whole capitalist system. Only a complete victory over world capitalism can defeat fascism and safeguard the existence of the Soviet Union.

stroy the effectiveness of the capitalist armies through an attempt at revolution. But what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. If the army of a capitalist enemy of Germany is to be supported because such an army, disorganized by revolutionary propaganda, will make easier the victory of Germany, then it also follows that the army of a capitalist enemy of Germany should be supported REGARDLESS OF THE NATURE OF THE CAPITALIST ENEMY OF GERMANY.

If the victory of a capitalist army over the German army will destroy fascism in Germany and defend the Soviet Union, then the same result should follow whether the capitalist army belongs to a fascist state or a capitalist state.

Lack of Logic
But the thesis does not dare draw such a logical conclusion. It states that "in fascist and semi-fascist countries belonging to a coalition allied with the Soviet Union, Socialism... must overthrow the fascists and then only turn against Germany." Now at last the thesis does suggest that by overthrowing a capitalist state in the midst of a war the proletariat will be able to continue waging a war against German fascism. But the thesis only confines that suggestion to fascist and

The Path We Must Follow

But what shall we do, one hears disturbed and well-intentioned Socialists ask. We are not strong enough to make the revolution and we are in danger of fascism and the Soviet Union is in danger of being destroyed. Under such circumstances, bad as it may be, we must accept the only recourse left to us, and that is to rely upon democratic-capitalist governments. As well claim that if the right road is blocked we should choose a road that inevitably leads to destruction rather than make a strenuous effort to clear the right road.

The issues are clearly drawn. Opportunistic and vain reliance upon the capitalist state versus revolutionary and effective reliance on the working masses. Class peace versus revolutionary defeatism and class war. Revolutionary Socialists should have no difficulty whatever to make up their minds. They will understand that to defeat fascism and to defend the Soviet Union the fires of the

class war must be kindled in every capitalist country.

The German workers under the brutal domination of a Hitler will understand and appreciate the language of the class war; they will answer the call of a victorious working class to rise in revolt, but they will scorn to listen to those who support their own capitalist governments. Revolutionary Socialists, during a war, will work for the defeat of their own capitalist governments, fascist or "democratic," confident that such a defeat will bring the working class to power and enable the workers to defeat fascism and to defend the Soviet Union.

The right wing of the Socialist movement, the communists dancing to the tune of Stalin's foreign policy, the authors of the thesis have chosen what is essentially the same path taken by the Social Democracy in 1914. And the revolutionary Socialists must choose the same path that was taken by Lenin and all other revolutionary Socialists. The first path led to fascism; the second to the October revolution in Russia.

World Socialism

THE BRITISH ELECTION RESULTS

By HERBERT ZAM

As a result of their victory in the general election held November 14, the Tories in England will control the government for five more years with a majority in the neighborhood of 250. The majority is large

enough to provide for all eventualities, so that Baldwin will have to depend neither on the Simon Liberals nor on the arch-reactionaries in his own party for support. In other words, the present ruling group of the capitalist class is firmly in the parliamentary saddle.

The British ruling class, with its traditional astuteness, has once more outmaneuvered and outgeneraled all its opponents, including the Labor Party, and has emerged with flying colors out of a situation which only a few months previously had spelled certain defeat for them.

The Tory victory lies not so much in the size of its vote, which is not at all impressive, as in the fact that through clever use of a carefully worked up international situation, it was able to maneuver the Labor Party into a prepared trap and deprive it of the power of its opposition. The Tory rulers knew how to utilize the peace sentiments of the bulk of the population expressed in the famous "peace referendum" for its own imperialist war plane.

Labor was defeated because it did not know how to differentiate its own peace policy from the war policy of the Tory government cloaked in a peaceful garb. The Labor Party tried to bridge the gap between its support of economic, financial and military sanctions and its opposition to expansion of the navy and air forces.

Charles A. Seldon, the New York Times London correspondent, in his comments on the election, also referred to this as one of the major reasons for Labor's defeat:

"Labor's attempt in the campaign to fight the naval increase as a means of backing League obligations, after the party had endorsed sanctions, did not appeal to the voters as consistent."

All of the by-elections which preceded the general election indicated a victory for Labor. Had the Labor Party found a way of sharply distinguishing its own policy from that of the government's, there is no doubt that it would have secured a majority in the general election. As it is, the million or so voters whom the government was able to swing changed the situation.

HOW "PURE DEMOCRACY" WORKS

A glance at the results disclose a number of interesting highlights of the election. The Tories received roughly 10,200,000 votes. The Labor Party obtained roughly 8,300,000. A swing of a million votes would have given Labor the majority. The total pro- and anti-government vote disclosed this even more sharply. The total vote of the pro-government parties was 11,500,000. The vote of the anti-government parties was 10,000,000. A swing of three quarters of a million votes would have given a majority against the government.

These figures indicate how narrow a squeak the government had, and how avidly (and with what good reason) they took advantage of the Ethiopian situation. Under any other circumstances the government would have suffered a smashing defeat. The results of the election also show how a "pure democ-

racy" works. The Tories, with only 47 per cent of the popular vote, managed to obtain 63 per cent of the parliamentary seats. Labor, with close to 40 per cent of the popular vote, secured only 25 per cent of the seats. The relation of these figures to those of 1931 shows that this is no accidental occurrence. In 1931 the Tories secured 55 per cent of the popular vote and 75 per cent of the seats in Parliament, while Labor, with 31 per cent of the popular vote, secured only 10 per cent of the seats.

These figures tend to show that the cards are stacked against the Labor Party. It may be that in order to secure an absolute majority in Parliament a popular majority will not be sufficient. Labor may have to secure up to two-thirds of the total vote in order to have control of the majority in Parliament, and this may be somewhat more difficult than our optimistic democracy lovers think.

One of the welcome results of the election is the practical elimination of the "national" laborites, headed by MacDonald. This group always had a largely mythical existence, as its members could be elected only with Tory votes, but in the last election not even the Tory votes were ample. MacDonald has outlived his usefulness to the British capitalists. Now they will thankfully let him end his days in Britain's political graveyard—the House of Lords.

SANCTIONS AND THE ELECTION

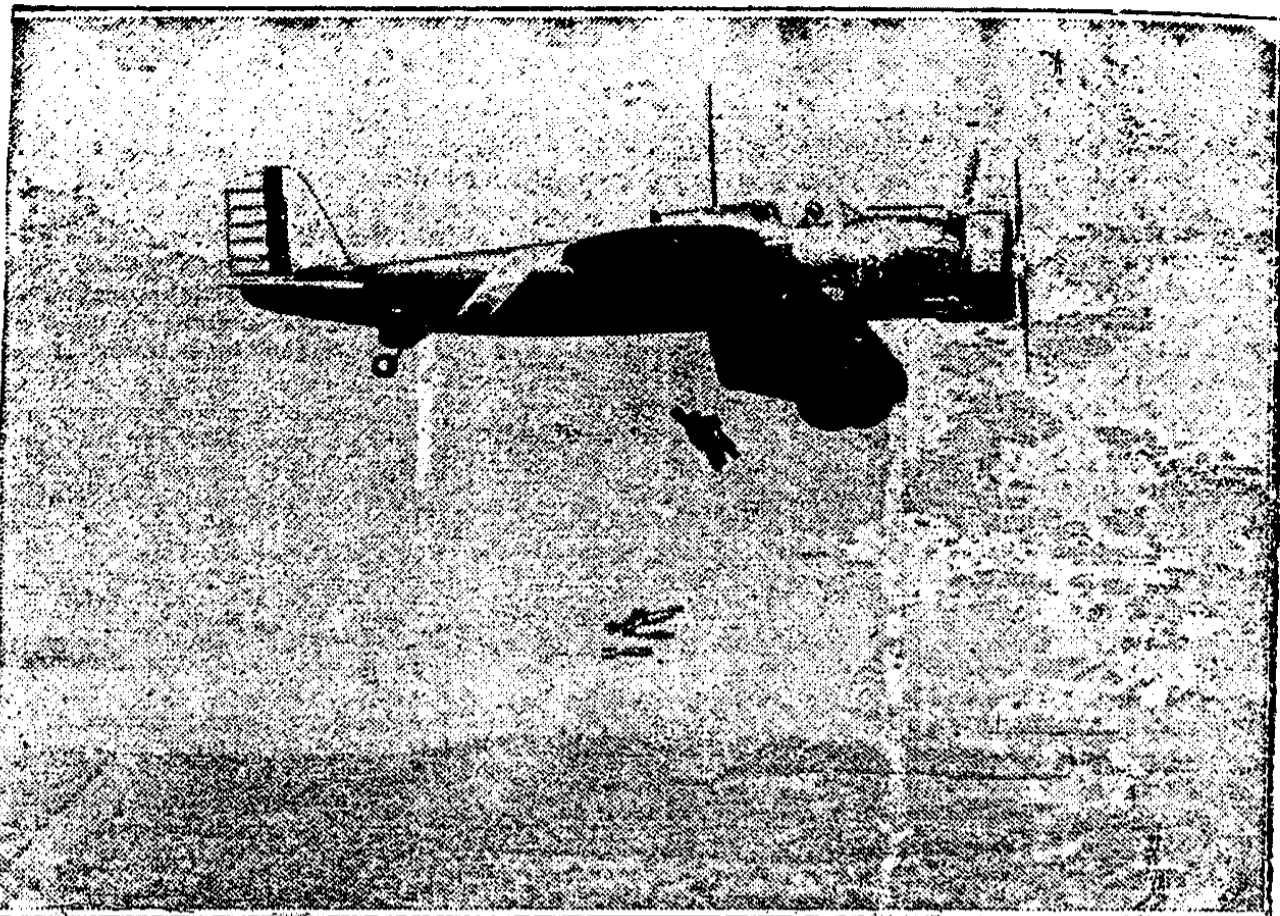
The argument that Labor would have fared even worse had it come out against sanctions is refuted by the votes for Cripps and Lansbury, who were both re-elected with tremendously increased majorities. It seems logical to believe that if there had been any genuine resentment against those who were the outstanding opponents of the sanctions policy it would have found expression in their vote. And when we find their vote running way ahead of the normal vote, may we not conclude that this was a sort of indication that the workers were more in agreement with their policy than with the official Labor policy?

This same conclusion must also be drawn from the creditable showing made by the Independent Labor Party, which ran upon a policy of clear-cut opposition to war and sanctions, and which defended the revolutionary position that the British working class can under no circumstances support any war the ruling class might undertake, but must strive to overthrow the government. The ILP increased its vote considerably, and succeeded in electing four members to Parliament, against the opposition of both Labor and the Tories.

It is also interesting to note that Labor made the best showing in Scotland, where its position on the international situation was to the left of the official position of the Labor Party (for economic and financial sanctions but against military sanctions).

All these incidents should spur the Labor Party on to a thorough overhauling of its policy and its methods to put it in a better position for an effective fight against Toryism.

THANKSGIVING FOR DEALERS IN DEATH



When the munition makers see pictures like this, it makes their Thanksgiving all the happier, for each bomb means more profits, more turkey on the table—and more gravy for their bank account. This army airplane, weapon of destruction, is called "preparedness," the workers call it capitalism.

The Haymarket Martyrs—48 Years After

By CARL HAESSLER

Federated Press

"For the love of truth they died. They fought for a cause believing themselves in the right, and in the years to come they will be loved and revered."

These words of eulogy, spoken 48 years ago over the broken bodies of five Chicago labor leaders, hanged November 11, 1887, by the state (one cheated the gallows by suicide) were repeated at the Haymarket memorial meeting in Chicago this year and given fresh meaning.

Papers Aroused Mobs

Originally pronounced by Captain W. P. Black, chief counsel for the doomed labor men, they were seized on at the time by the Chicago newspapers, who had whipped up Chicago mob feeling until no fair trial was possible, and used to drive the attorney from a leading position at the bar into obscurity.

The hangings, for a murderous bomb explosion with which the defendants were never shown to be connected, and the ostracism of their counsel, "because he believed in the innocence of his clients against the dictates of big business, were grim double warnings to both workers and professional men not to interfere with the profit march of Chicago finance and industry.

Speakers at the memorial arranged by the Pioneer Aid and Support Association proudly asserted that today the Haymarket martyrs—Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fischer and Lingg—were in truth loved and revered while those that did them to death are buried in oblivion. Even the papers, like the Daily News and the Tribune, that lashed them to the gallows, are today dubious about that legal lynching.

Issue Is Won

Today the immediate issue of the May days in 1886 when police killed and wounded strikers at the McCormick Reaper Works has been won. That issue was the eight-hour day. The police blood-thirstiness led to the protest meeting at the old Haymarket on May 4 of that year, which was just disbanding because of rain when 200 armed police marched up. A bomb was thrown, killing 7 police and wounding 60. Who threw the

bomb is not known, but agents of the business interests, perhaps the Pinkertons, were suspected. A Pinkerton man, retained by the First National Bank of Chicago since 1884, had testified on the stand to being a member of various labor defense organizations as a stool pigeon for several years.

The Pioneer Aid and Support Association was organized soon after the executions to raise funds for the support of the labor men's widows and orphans. In recent years the association has devoted

itself to keeping up the monument in Waldheim cemetery and to sponsoring the annual memorial meeting on November 11. John Pemoller of 5053 North Kil-dare Avenue is secretary.

STUDENTS SPURN WAR
EASTON, Pa. — Students at Lafayette College will refuse to submit to the draft if the United States becomes involved in a war on foreign soil, they voted, 232 to 66, in a poll completed at the college last week.

TRUE STORIES FROM LIFE

By THE BYSTANDER

DEATH ON A HOLIDAY

The child tossed in its slumber fitfully. His mother, Myra, paced the room softly. Soon the child would wake and ask for food. There was no food. There hadn't been any for days, weeks, it seemed to the mother.

The relief agencies had refused her aid. She had only come to

town about a year before when Joe died. Insufficient residence, they had told her.

"Send your child to an institution."

She would never send her child to an institution to die. Rather kill him herself, quickly, mercifully.

The child was awake, crying, hungry.

She dressed the child hurriedly, mumbling to it softly, comforting it, promising it food. Then she took him to the park.

She sat on the grass while the child played in the sunshine, tossing pebbles at squirrels. It had forgotten its hunger for the time.

"Mamma, wanna do wade," the child begged.

She took off the child's shoes. The park was deserted. It was early morning. She took the child by the hand and walked with him out into the lake. The child splashed happily, tossing little handfuls of water at her playfully.

She picked him up in her arms and walked far out into the water. When the water reached her waist she bent down and lowered the baby under the water. She held him there. Soon he stopped struggling.

Myra Manning walked into a police station.

"My baby won't be hungry any more, ever," she told them.

Ohio Students Hit League Of Nations

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Meeting in the first state conference of the Student League for Industrial Democracy at Ohio State University last week-end, representatives of ten Ohio colleges repudiated the League of Nations as an instrument for peace and genuine internationalism.

"Long the hope of most internationalists, the League," they declared, "is now functioning to preserve the supremacy of one set of imperialist powers over another."

Harold Spring of the College of Wooster was elected state chairman and John Morgan of Ohio Wesleyan was chosen secretary-treasurer. Other colleges represented were Fenn, Wittenberg, Bluffton, Ohio University, Ohio State, Cincinnati, Antioch and Wooster.

Labor Notes In New York

More than a million New Yorkers went meat-less when workers in kosher butcher shops throughout the city went on strike. Many operators immediately signer contracts, however. Butchers in nonkosher shops may also strike.

Thousands attended a mass meeting Wednesday night at Madison Square Garden to protest against impending mass layoffs.

A 1-day stoppage by 1,200 workers at the Cascade Laundry Company, Brooklyn, N. Y., won a reduction in working hours and restoration of a wage cut.

More than a score of companies have signed union contracts in the Paterson, N. J., strike. Eight thousand strikers are going forward to new victories with mass picket lines.

Twenty-four pickets arrested while on the line before the Amsterdam-News, Harlem Weekly struck by the American Newspaper Guild, were released after a court hearing.

The Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce was accused of aiding in the formation of more than 300 company unions by Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, regional director of the National Labor Relations Board.

Local 50 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union charged last week that Hitler Fascists are being used as professional strikebreakers in the Purity Baking Co. strike.

A mass demonstration Saturday afternoon, November 23, will mark the beginning of the seventh week of the heroic strike of shoe clerks against the eight stores of the National Shoe Company. The strike is being conducted by Locals 1268 and 287 of the Retail Clerks.

Fur Workers' Union, Local 85, reinstated a member of the Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, previously fired, last week. The BS&AU conducted a picket line at the union headquarters for your hours.

Socialists Fight Party Split

20,000 WILL JAM GARDEN FOR DEBATE

NEW YORK—Twenty thousand people will pack Madison Square Garden to capacity on Wednesday evening, November 27, to listen to Norman Thomas and Earl Browder debate the subject: "Which Road for American Workers—Socialist or Communist?"

That the huge amphitheatre would not have a vacant seat the night of the debate was made certain early this week when a quick check showed that less than 2,000 seats were still unsold. These tickets will be sold in short order, Jay H. Siskin, in charge of the debate, declared.

Nation Shows Interest

The debate, which is sponsored by the CALL, has aroused widespread interest in all sections of the country. More than a thousand will come from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the New England states, ticket sales showed. Norman Thomas, twice the presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, is known and loved throughout the nation; Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, has a widespread and enthusiastic following.

An indication of the brilliance which the Thomas-Browder debate will offer was revealed in the two Thomas-Sinclair debates held last week. Before more than 2,000 in Philadelphia and 2,000 in New York, Thomas displayed extraordinary wit and sarcasm in ridiculing Sinclair's thesis that "a fifth-of-the-loaf is better than none." Thomas pointed out that in the present world crisis, with war and fascism so near, more than care of the unemployed is necessary; all Socialists and workers should make as their main object the capture of the "citadels of power" of capitalism.

Tickets for the Thomas-Browder debate are still available at the CALL office and at bookshops throughout the city.

Local 10 Quintet Downs Local 158

NEW YORK—In a thrilling game here last Saturday, the basketball team of Local 10 (International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union cutters) defeated Local 158 (Amalgamated Clothing Workers), 32 to 31. The winning tally was scored in the final minute of play.

A preliminary game saw Local 89's Williamsburgh Branch team bowing to the Boro Park Branch five, 16 to 8.

The ILGWU basketball season will formally open at Stuyvesant High School here this Saturday night, when the Local 22 girls' quintet will meet the Local 89 (Bronx Branch) outfit and Local 40 (beltmakers) will clash with Local 102 (cloak drivers).

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'ON THE LINE'



HEYWOOD BROWN, president of the American Newspaper Guild, picketing during the guild's strike of the Amsterdam News, Harlem weekly.

NOTICE
NEW YORK—All Socialist Party members who are WPA workers, on relief, unemployed or work in the Home Relief Bureaus, must attend an important meeting at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, Saturday, November 23, at 2:00 p. m.

COMING EVENTS

Friday, November 22
Nancy McKnight, dance-lecture demonstration on "Methods of Modern German School," at Rebel Arts Dance Studio, 44 East 21st Street, at 8:30.

Saturday, November 23
Meeting on united front at Morning-side Heights branch, Room 29, 600 West 125th Street, at 8:30. Speaker: Willie Sue Blagden, Local Somerville, Mass. secretary, committee for Socialist action for united front. Admission by party card.

Sunday, November 24
Bridge party, conducted by Nathaniel Hillson, bridge authority, under auspices of 2 AD (Bronx) Branch, at 1401 Jerome Avenue, at 8:30. Prizes, refreshments.

Wednesday, November 27
Debate between Norman Thomas and Earl Browder at Madison Square Garden. Audiences: Socialist Call.

Friday, November 29
Eather Junger, star of "Parade" and "Life Begins at 8:40," in a dance-lecture demonstration sponsored by the Rebel Arts Dancers at 44 East 21st Street at 8:30.

Saturday, November 30
Dutch Cabaret Night (beer party) to be given by 6 AD (Kings) Branch at 167 Tompkins Avenue. Floor show and as much to drink and eat as you want. Admission, 40c.

Thursday, December 26
Theatre party at "Mother," Civic Repertory Theatre. Sponsored by the American Socialist Quarterly. Tickets at ASQ offices, 21 East 17th Street.

Thousand Pledge Loyalty As Right-wing Seeks To 'Reorganize' Local N. Y.

NEW YORK—More than a thousand members of the Socialist Party of New York braved one of the worst rainstorms in years to meet and declare their unyielding opposition to the splitting tactics proposed by the right wing last week, when the city central ordered the virtual expulsion of Socialists who refuse to follow right-wing policies. Taxing spacious Stuyvesant Casino to capacity, the 1,000 Socialists reaffirmed their loyalty to the national party and applauded enthusiastically Norman Thomas and other speakers who warned the Old Guard that to carry through the proposed split in the party would find the rank and file solid in their determination to carry the fight to the national convention, if necessary.

While the loyalty meeting was going on the state committee of New York, controlled by the Old Guard, was meeting in the Rand School. They not only affirmed the city central decision but laid plans for a regional right-wing conference that, according to the New York Times, would draft a national platform and declaration of principles and consider nominations for President and Vice-President. In the face of a motion by the national executive committee against the expulsion of five Buffalo Socialists, the state committee reaffirmed its stand in favor of expulsion.

Aim at Expulsions.

The city central committee resolution, based on a state committee ruling of 1934, provides for the "reorganization of Local New York" to stifle opposition to right-wing policies. In inspired statements appearing in The New Leader, the New York Times and the Jewish Daily Forward the resolution was declared to mean the expulsion of all militant Socialists and the destruction of The CALL.

The resolution, which passed 69-47, was attacked by its opponents as a violation of Socialist democracy, unconstitutional and illegal. It provides for absolute and unqualified dictatorship over the party by the executive committee of 23 and gives to the executive the right to appoint all party officers and committees.

Will Deny Representation

If carried into practice, it will mean the gerrymandering of party branches to destroy any semblance of proportional representation and oust militant Socialists from the party. When more than a third of the central committee signed a petition asking for a membership referendum the committee chairman, U. Solomon, ordered the executive to

proceed with the reorganization immediately.

Although the resolution was ostensibly aimed at the militants, many followers of the right-wing and centrists attended the Stuyvesant Casino meeting to add their voices in protest against the violation of Socialist democracy. Among the speakers at the meeting, in addition to Thomas, was Max Delson, Murray Baron, Charles Garfinkel, former Socialist assemblyman; Dr. Louis Sadoff and Halm Kantorovitch.

Crosswath Opposed

Frank Crosswath, in a message to the gathering, declared:

"Although I will not be present at your meeting, I want to be counted as one of those who does not wish to see the party, which I have loved and served, destroyed under the guise of reorganization or any other guise."

The meeting was called by a committee of 50, representing the delegates to the city central committee who were opposed to the resolution. During the week the Bronx and Queens county committees passed resolutions repudiating the action of the right wing and pledging themselves to solidarity and loyalty with the party groups standing for Socialist democracy. The Queens resolution was passed unanimously; the Bronx resolution also received unanimous approval after right-wing supporters walked out.

Branches Vote

In the first two days of this week nineteen branches of Local New York met and voted on a resolution opposing the "reorganization" move. Of these, 14 voted favorably on the resolution, several by a unanimous vote.

The branches opposing the split threat included:

Upper West Side, N. Y.; Washington Heights, N. Y.; East Flatbush, Kings; Boro Park, Kings; 6th A. D., Kings; 21st A. D., Kings; 23rd A. D., Kings; 2nd A. D., Bronx; 3rd A. D., Bronx; 5th A. D., Bronx; Jewish Branch 2, Bronx; Astoria Branch, Queens; Flushing Branch, Queens, Jamaica Branch, Queens.

The Yonkers (N. Y.) branch, Local Westchester, also passed a resolution vigorously protesting the Old Guard's move.

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Party Activity

ROY BURT, national organizer, continues his tour east to address meetings in Pennsylvania, New York and New England. His schedule follows: November 23, Sayre, Pa.; November 24, Northampton, Mass.; November 25, Bennington, Vt.; November 26, Berlin, N. H.; November 27, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.; November 29-30, Western Massachusetts; December 1, Worcester, Mass.; December 2, Portland, Me.; December 3, Boston, Mass.; December 4, Quincy, Mass., and December 5, New Bedford, Mass.

JEWISH Socialist Verband will hold its annual national convention at Cleveland November 28, 29 and 30.

ITALIAN Socialist Federation is now publishing its official organ, *La Parola*, as a standard size newspaper, instead of as a tabloid as heretofore. Many new features have been added to the paper. The federation is also conducting a vigorous campaign to rally Italian workers against war and against Mussolini.

YPSL national office is making a drive to place a network of Young Socialist organizers in charge of district, county, city and state organization work.

California

EAST BAY local executive elected Tillman K. Garrison as secretary.

PARTY MEMBERSHIP is steadily gaining in Oakland-Berkeley area.

EAST BAY local aided in the formation of a Union of Professional Workers. At a meeting held recently, it raised nearly \$50 for relief for the Santa Rosa victims of vigilantism.

Connecticut

ROY BURT will tour the state between December 9 and 15.

Illinois

JOE BRINOCAR, state secretary, has started an organization tour of the state. He expects to touch every local in the state.

STATE OFFICE is now located in Room 412, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago.

CHICAGO Socialists are planning a meeting in the Workmen's Circle Lyceum Thursday, December 5, which will be addressed by Mrs. Victor Berger on the subject of "Progress in Soviet Russia." The meeting will be a city-wide affair, with admission of 25 cents.

CHICAGO Socialist Open Forum will present a symposium on "The Socialist International vs. the Communist International" at 3400 Douglas Boulevard Friday, November 29, at 8:30.

CHICAGO Socialist Open Forum will present Carl Haessler speaking on "Fascist Tendencies of the Hearst Press" at 3400 Douglas

Boulevard Friday, December 13, at 8:30.

CHICAGO Socialist Open Forum will hear Leon M. Despres speaking on the Workers' Rights Amendment at 3400 Douglas Boulevard Friday, December 27, at 8:30.

Massachusetts

SOMERVILLE Socialists were sponsors of a united anti-war and anti-fascist mass meeting held at Casa del Popolo last Sunday.

Michigan

DETROIT People's Forum will present two lectures by V. F. Claverton at People's House, 3946 Trumbull Avenue, this week-end. On Saturday, November 23, at 8:30, he will discuss "Europe and the War Crisis"; on Sunday, November 24, at 3 he will speak on "America at the Crossroads."

DETROIT LABOR COLLEGE symposium course offers a lecture on Organized Religions by O. Norris of Michigan State College November 22 at 3946 Trumbull. This will be followed by a lecture on The Economics of Feudalism on November 29.

Ohio

SECRETARIES' conference will be held at Hungarian Hall, Center and Main Streets, Martin's Ferry, Sunday, November 24.

AKRON Socialists have organized a branch of nine members in the suburb of Kenmore.

CLEVELAND forum will hear Dr. Leo Gleisser speaking on "The Real United Front" at Workmen's Circle Hall, 147th Street, near Kinsman, Sunday night, November 24. A supper will be served.

CLEVELAND YPSL is planning to picket the anti-labor movie "Red Salute" when it comes to their city.

CLEVELAND VANGUARD CIRCLE of the YPSL will present Dr. Leo Gleisser on the subject "The Liquidation of the Young Communist League" in an educational meeting at 3471 East 147th Street Sunday, November 24, at 3:30.

Oregon

STATE CONVENTION will be held at Portland December 14 and 15, at which time the question of re-affiliation with the party nationally will be considered. Unless the convention votes to re-affiliate the national executive committee will take steps to re-organize the state.

Rhode Island

ROY BURT will speak in Rhode Island December 6, 7 and 8.

INGERSOLL FORUM PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70 St. SUNDAYS—3 P. M. Admission: Debates, 35c; Lectures, 25c

CHICAGO Socialist Open Forum will present Carl Haessler speaking on "Fascist Tendencies of the Hearst Press" at 3400 Douglas

BOOKS

By BRUNO FISCHER

Childhood in A Socialist Family

THREE FLIGHTS UP, by Helen Woodward, Dodd, Mead & Company. \$3.00.

"Radicalism is in my grain," Helen Woodward told me. "If I made a million dollars I could not help remaining a radical. I never became a Socialist, I always was one."

Helen Woodward is not one of your liberals who suddenly discovers the working class. She was born in the working class of a Socialist father, and though she went on to achieve success as an advertising and newspaper woman and as a writer, her sympathies remained "fixed, definite,

never lost his loyalty to Socialism and his union.

Read her book, speak to her for five minutes, and it is obvious that it was her father who had the dominant influence on her. "Radicalism is in my grain!"

"If there were a labor union in my field, I would join it," she told me.

She wants to do all she can



HELEN WOODWARD

strong"—her words. Read "Three Flights Up" and see for yourself.

As we sat on her couch in her apartment, she spoke of her father. Having read her book only a few days before, I felt as if I knew him intimately, almost personally. For "Three Flights Up" is not so much the story of her childhood as an admirable picture of her father and mother.

Her Socialist Father

Her father was a Polish Jew who had lived in the 1880's in Germany, where he had drunk in Socialism at its font. In America he became active in the Socialist movement and the Cigar-Makers' Union soon after his arrival. Her mother, a tidy, taciturn German, could not understand his zeal for Socialism and his devotion to his union. Socialism meant evenings away from home (even as today), and the union meant strikes and loss of work. He gave in to her protests and devoted himself to gambling. But not wholly. He

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I BREAK STRIKES

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By EDWARD LEVINSON

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HOTEL DELANO 108 West 13rd Street N. Y. C.

Albert Bein Defends 'Let Freedom Ring'

Says Coleman Neither Just Nor Correct

Dear Mr. Coleman:
Perhaps I shouldn't be the one writing you this letter. But, somehow, I feel that the false ethics which apply to the Broadway theatre are not necessary in the labor-theatre. And I feel you will understand that I am writing this only because I am genuinely concerned with the reactions of labor critics to my play.

And to be perfectly frank, I do not feel you were altogether just or correct in your review of "Let Freedom Ring." You managed to summarize the theme and content of the play in less than a brief paragraph, creating the impression that the play was a formula labor drama. Now, I think the play deserved at least an adequate exposition of its content. And the content is not simply that "hill-billies" descend into the mills and organize a union. My basic purpose in the play was to illustrate what to me is one of the most significant processes of the growth of capitalist economy.

That is, these hill-folk are undergoing that catastrophic and profound change which accompanies an industrial revolution; they are ripped out of a world (their mountain world) which is essentially a handicraft world and thrust into the age of mass-production and machine-craft. The process in our American life parallels that black and bitter period in English history which we know as the origins of English capitalism and which drove hundreds of thousands of yeoman and British peasants into the early British factories. It has, also, I think, an obvious kinship to the theme of Hauptmann's "The Weavers."

This, briefly, is the basic spine of the play. The unionization, the deaths and blood and hunger and pellagra are only the brutal details of the canvas. That there are union speeches in the play, and that you have heard union speeches before, are, I think, inevitables which cannot be helped. Now I certainly do not demand

Rebel Arts Offers Bulletin Service

NEW YORK—A series of informative bulletins for use by groups anxious to engage in labor cultural activity has just been prepared by members of Rebel Arts experienced in this work.

Available at 10 cents each from the Rebel Arts headquarters at 44 East 21st Street, the bulletins cover the following subjects: the modern dance, organizing a workers' theatre, a workers' chorus, scenery for workers' theatres, notes on mass recitations, notes on puppet scripts, how to make puppets and poster reproduction.

Rebel Arts also announce that the first installment of its index to labor and social plays is now ready for distribution and can be obtained without charge from the Rebel Arts Play Exchange.

Start Cleveland Classes
CLEVELAND—Two new Rebel Arts classes were organized at the Workers' Center here this week. One is in labor dramatics, and will be directed by Esther Levine; the other is a choral group, and will be directed by Katherine Lowell.

The Story Of An Irish Rebel

By McALISTER COLEMAN

The big wind that blows from Broadway this week is the long-delayed opening of the much-press-agented "Jumbo," Billy Rose's circus at the Hippodrome. For months (it seems years to some of us), we have been reading about Mr. Rose's trained elephants and rehearsal troubles and the like and now at last the doors of the old Hippodrome are opened again to pageantry and some day soon our trick circus reporter will tell you all about "Jumbo."

In the meantime this is to report that "Parnell," which opened last week, is a well acted dramatization of the tragic love affair of the Irish leader, that "Pride and Prejudice," while not following too closely the Austen book, has been done over for the stage with elegance and surprisingly sprightly wit, that five openings are scheduled for this week and that the thought gives your reviewer heebie-jeebies.

'Parnell'

PARNELL, by the late Elsie Schauflier, at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre, New York City.

Starting at a leisurely pace and then finally getting into full stride, with George Curzon, Margaret Rawlings and Effie Shannon going wholeheartedly into their parts, this story of the love of the patriot Irishman for the wife of one of his followers is magnificently told. Historical dramas can be the worst bores behind the footlights; but there is no suggestion of boredom about Parnell. For the lost leader theme is pretty sure fire. Human weakness in men aspiring to leadership is always fascinating and when Elsie Schauflier sat down to write her script, she must have known that here was a looming figure of a man finally going to his doom, whose study would make an evening memorable.

The scene where Parnell's followers desert him one by one, following the exposure of his affair with the lovely Kitty O'Shea (played by Margaret Rawlings), and the interview between Kitty and the shuffling, shaggy, overplous Gladstone are both written with a passionate intentness which lifts the play far beyond the run of historical dramas. George Curzon is making his first New

York appearance as Parnell. Judging from the hold he has on his audiences at the Barrymore he is due to be with us for a happily long time.

that you become automatically enthused about a labor play. Nor is this letter a "dark exhortation". All I ask, and I think I am not asking too much, is that a dramatic critic on a labor paper at least do a labor play the justice it deserves:

ALBERT BEIN.

'On Stage'

ON STAGE, by Benjamin M. Kaye, a comedy in two acts. At the Mansfield Theatre, New York.

Here is a Pirandellish tour de force, of, by and for the theatre. In the competent hands of Osgood Perkins, whose name is forever blest by this department because of his grand, good job in the ill-fated "Spread Eagle," the play becomes a vastly entertaining adventure wherein a playwright, (Perkins) finds his characters coming amazingly alive and not acting at all the way he had dictated. If you want to see a man in action who can do his stuff with restraint and compelling charm, watch Perkins step through, "On Stage."

York appearance as Parnell. Judging from the hold he has on his audiences at the Barrymore he is due to be with us for a happily long time.

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THE NEW GULLIVER
The "New Gulliver," the Soviet screen adaptation of Jonathan Swift's satirical classic, featuring a cast of three thousand puppets and a single actor, has been held over for a fourth week. The film

has broken all records for the theatre, including those of "Three Songs about Lenin" and "Chapayev." "New Gulliver" is being held over for an indefinite run and will not be shown in any other theatre in New York this year.

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—HAMMOND, Herald Tribune

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AT THE FRONT



By... **NORMAN THOMAS**

THIS is written on the day when sanctions against Italy take effect. It is a momentous step. If these sanctions could have been taken to prevent Italy's preparation for the struggle, that is to say, if the League could have acted earlier; if they could have been taken under circumstances which did not make the League look so much like England's pawn in her imperialist ambitions, it would have been far better. Nevertheless, it is a noteworthy fact that such great world pressure has been put upon a nation which under the leadership of a tyrant violates its agreements and undertakes aggressive imperialist war.

The tragedy is that this whole trouble is unnecessary. Even as late as the Stresa conference last April it could have been avoided had England and France taken the proper action.

The obvious danger that sanctions may lead directly to war rather than avert it, and the further danger that imperialist powers can manipulate sanctions for their ends, as England is undoubtedly doing, raises very grave questions for labor to consider with regard to the use of sanctions. Clearly this is not the time for Socialists to urge the United States government to join the League. The Socialist Party, the labor movement, the true friends of peace, who understand that

peace must rest upon new world organization, will not have the strength to overcome the manipulations of the imperialists if we join the League. We will never join the League unless and until our own imperialists want to get us into the League for the sake of their profits.

Our fight, therefore, ought to be for genuine neutrality. Our neutrality ought to go beyond League sanctions in putting an embargo against materials like coal, oil, etc. We should demand the imposition of this type of embargo immediately. It should be set up as a rule to apply against belligerents or prospective belligerents now and in the future. Exceptions to the rule should be made by solemn vote since exceptions to the rule may conceivably lead to war. The established principle must be neutrality and absolute refusal to help belligerents or prospective belligerents in war.

We can assert this principle without in any way running counter to League sanctions and yet not make ourselves the puppet of our own imperialists and possibly of British imperialists, who have manipulated the situation so cleverly for England's imperial ambition. Still more, we can enforce this kind of neutrality without entering upon a task, the end of which may be war rather than

peace for ourselves. Labor itself must impose its own sanctions as the dock workers did on the west coast, who refused to handle lumber for Italy.

THE BRITISH ELECTIONS

THERE is much that is encouraging in the British elections in spite of the big parliamentary majority that the Conservatives won. The Conservatives played a dirty trick. In imperial affairs they harnessed pro-League idealism to the chariot of imperial ambition. They bombed from the air some of the tribes on the north-west frontier of India; they followed the course which has led to anti-British riots in Cairo at the very time that they protest their devotion to the rights of small nations. They were behind the restoration of the monarchy in Greece and they sent their navy to the Mediterranean without any League sanctions and in advance of League sanctions, at the very moment that they were still selling supplies to Mussolini. Indeed, British oil is still going to Mussolini.

Then they sprung this election upon the Labor Party. In spite of all that, the Labor Party almost recovered its popular vote at its peak as it was in 1929. The British system of representation resulted in the Tories getting a disproportionate number of parliamentary seats. I rejoice in the fact that George Lansbury and Sir Stafford Cripps were returned by such greatly increased majorities. I suppose I am in closer

agreement with Sir Stafford Cripps' type opinion on sanctions than with George Lansbury's, but the fact that both men are there means that some watch and ward will be set upon Parliament and government in regards to sanctions.

THE ELECTIONS AT HOME

THE more we learn about the 1935 election the better the situation looks to Socialists. Congratulations to Jeanette, Pa., Socialists on electing a councilman. There was really a splendid showing of the Socialists in Worcester, Mass., and Sayre, Pa. Good gains were reported in New Haven and Hartford. Special congratulations to Toledo labor which, with Socialist cooperation, elected John P. Taylor, a Socialist, and Theodore Zbinden to the Board of Education. Our good friend and comrade, Jim McCormick, is in the fifteenth place in a field of 56 as candidate for City Council. The result is undetermined under the rather elaborate scheme of proportional representation voting which is in use.

It does not follow that the only test of a good campaign is increased votes. I know cases where without any campaign to speak of the Socialist vote was markedly increased. I know one or two cases where a very fine campaign did not get commensurate results this time. Nevertheless, we can take election figures to some extent as tests of the work Socialists are doing, especially in a year like 1935 when there is a little drift our way.

The general gains outside of New York City call especial attention to the downward curve in New York. In spite of some good campaigning by individuals, New York City has made a bad Socialist showing, an increasingly bad showing, considering external circumstances in 1933, 1934 and 1935. During these years it has been under the exclusive dominance of the Old Guard faction. That faction has been more concerned in denouncing Russia along the lines of William Randolph Hearst and in fighting Communism and in hanging on by hook or crook to its own control in New York than in pushing Socialism. The result shows in the vote.

If this same Old Guard now succeeds, which it will not, in an

unconstitutional and undemocratic attempt to reorganize—that is to say, to gerrymander those of us with whom it disagrees out of the party or out of influence in the party, it will mean that the whole party is doomed to the futility, or worse, toward which New York City has been heading.

To fight against the Old Guard's unconstitutional plan for reorganizing New York City is more than a fight for fair play in New York. It is a fight for the life of the party as a useful vehicle of Socialism.

THE 'PURGE' IN MINNEAPOLIS

I wish success to Local 574 of the Minneapolis General Drivers, Helpers, Petroleum and Inside Workers' Union in its struggle for democracy within the labor movement. The attempts of certain labor bosses of the Teamsters' International, with some apparent support from President Green, to drive out this union is a very dangerous thing for Minneapolis labor, where the union has been at the forefront of the labor struggle. To weaken labor like this in the name of an anti-Red drive is to threaten the labor movement with suicide.

By way of contrast let me congratulate the AFL unions on their fine fight for the prevailing wage on WPA work in Nassau and Suffolk County, L. I. Let me especially congratulate the Workers' Alliance, which with Socialist and labor support is carrying on such an immense and heroic strike in Roanoke, Va.

60 Chicago Unions Push Labor Party

CHICAGO—Attended by nearly 150 delegates representing 60 local unions of the Chicago Federation of Labor and two joint boards, the second convention of the Labor Party of Chicago and Cook County launched an intensified drive for greater support by the Chicago labor movement.

Accepting many individual unionists into the party on a dues-paying basis, the group set up an organization committee of 50 to canvass the more than 500 local unions in the city before seeking official support of the Chicago federation. Membership is at present limited to trade unions and their members, but will later be opened to all working class organizations.

Paul Porter, prominent Socialist, was the main speaker at the convention.

"MILLIONS FOR DEFENSE"

PHOENIX, Ariz. (FP)—Allocations of \$150,000 for construction of five Arizona National Guard armories and \$69,000 for a warehouse and guard's range improvements in Papago National Park have been approved by federal authorities.

Governor Moeur, condemned by many unions for his indifference to the plight of hungry children, has finally apportioned \$6,256 for free school lunches.

"WAGE INCREASE"

CO (FP)—The union, after a long fight, won an increase in wages today.

Union Heads Back Labor Education

MONTEAGLE, Tenn.—Recently endorsed both by Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers, and by H. L. Mitchell, secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, the Highlander Folk School expects a greatly increased enrollment at its winter term opening here January 6.

Twelve \$100 scholarships are being offered by the directors of the school, covering all expenses for the term. Courses include public speaking, economics, labor, dramatics, labor journalism and labor history.

Brookwood Adds to Board

KATONAH, N. Y., (Special)—Emil Relve, president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers; Julius Hochman, vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; and Abraham Miller, executive board member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, have just been added to the board of directors of Brookwood Labor College.

California Labor Fights Sales Tax

SAN FRANCISCO—Launching of a state-wide drive by organized labor to repeal the California sales tax was announced by Edward D. Vandeleur, president of the California Federation of Labor, here this week.

Vandeleur sharply denounced the levying of discriminatory taxes upon wage earners who are being "through the nose" for "living and other ne-

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Anthracite Miners Disband; Ask Unity

WILKES-BARRE, Pa. (FP)—The bitterest struggle among hard coal miners since post-Civil War days has come to an end with the dissolution of the United Anthracite Miners of Pennsylvania, organized in August, 1933, in opposition to the established United Mine Workers of America.

In retiring from the field, the executive board of the "new union," as the UAMP was known in the hard coal fields, called upon its members to rejoin the UMWA, whose new district president, Michael J. Kosnik, promised that all applicants would be readmitted without discrimination. The UAMP, confronted by a dwindling membership and an empty treasury, decided to abandon the fight for its program, which included equalization of work, enforcement of contract rates of pay and recognition.

18 Student Movie Pickets Win Case

NEW YORK—Arrested more than a month ago for picketing the anti-labor picture, "Red Salute," eighteen student members of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League, had their cases dismissed in General Sessions Court here this week.

The case of Joseph P. Lash, national secretary of the SLID, who is pressing assault charges against a police captain in connection with the "Red Salute" picketing, will come up before the trial board of the police department in the future.

Young Circleites Fight Nazi Games

NEW YORK—Seeking wide support for a boycott of the Hitler Olympics, the Young Circle League of America has launched a nation-wide propaganda drive on that subject.

A series of street-corner and indoor meetings, the collection of signatures to petitions, and other activities will be carried on in all parts of the country, according to the league's plans. The group is also lending active support to preparations for the Workers' Sports Olympiad to be held in Cleveland in July, 1936.

SILK WORKERS TO MEET

NEW YORK—The annual convention of the American Federation of Silk and Rayon Workers will be held at the Hotel Woodstock here December 7 and 8, according to an announcement by the union's national executive board this week.

NAZI GERMANY SEEN STARVING

NEW YORK—Admitting that in Nazi Germany the common people are faced with starvation, German-American business groups are making a wide-spread appeal in this country for food and clothing for their countrymen.

Publicizing the appeal made in several cities by radio and advertisement, the German-American Commerce Bulletin, published here, admits:

"In Germany living costs are rising. Wages are falling. There is no buying power."

German progressives in this country were quick to point out that the appeal comes right at the moment when Germany has plenty of money for propaganda, the Olympics and arrangements and just after Hitler had ordered "recovery" celebrated at the Nuremberg rally held recently.

PLENTY OF COPS

NEW YORK (FP)—The number of cops is increasing four times as fast as the population, the current issue of The Monthly Labor Review, organ of the U. S. Department of Labor, shows. Police numbered 82,120 in 1920 and 131,687 in 1930, an increase of more than 60 per cent. G-men, private dicks, sheriffs and others are not included.

PROTEST FORT PECK SLASH

LAKEVIEW, Mont.—Sharp protest against governmental wage cutting at the Fort Peck Dam project was voted unanimously by project workers' meeting under the auspices of the Valley County Trades and Labor Council here last week.