

JUN 22 '35

Unemployed Leaders Face Florida Lynch Mob

STORY ON PAGE THREE

Norman Thomas

on
*Roosevelt and
The Navy*

SEE PAGE 12

Socialist Call

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

Vol. 1.—No. 38.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1935.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

HEARST ASKS MASS VIOLENCE AGAINST SOCIALIST PARTY

STORY ON PAGE TWO



A picture of Madison Square Garden during the Thomas-Browder debate where more than 20,000 stormed the gates to hear Norman Thomas (left) tear

Thomas Foto by Staff Photographer; Garden Foto by Film and Photo League to pieces Communist policy and tactics. The Hearst papers, enraged by the debate, immediately began a vicious slander campaign against the Socialists.

Hearst Incites Violence Against Socialist Party

NEW YORK—Wrapping themselves in the holy cloak of jingo-Americanism, William Randolph Hearst, "patriot" fascists and leading capitalist politicians opened a stormy attack of libel, slander and abuse against the Socialist Party after the Thomas-Browder debate last week. Incited by these hysterical rantings, one fascist group openly threatened Socialists with mass violence and lynching while others joined in the chorus.

"The saying 'Old men for council and young men for action,' is our motto," the national president of the Young Men's Council declared. "Our council is committed to a policy of action against all communistic activity. Membership is limited to men under 40 years of age."

"We feel that the Socialist insult to the American flag at Madison Square Garden is a direct challenge to our organization. We accept it and will show no quarter. Anything short of 100 per cent Americanism has no place in his country."

Flew Red Flag
The "insult to the American flag" was the flying of 40 red banners by the Socialist color-guard at the Garden debate. The color-guard, an integral part of the Socialist Party, leads Socialist parades and acts as guard of honor at all Socialist mass meetings, flying high the international emblem of the world workers.

Ignoring the fact that an American flag was flying at the rally, the Hearst papers have carried on an intensive front-page campaign against the Socialists for the last week, carrying again and again the story that "red flags flew but there was no American flag." In a half-page editorial, "The Red Insult to the American Flag," it

assailed Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party as "subservient instruments in the spread of Russian principles" and as "enemies of America." The same story, sent over the wires of the Hearst International News Service was reprinted in all parts of the nation.

Demands 'Action'
After demanding "action" and calling for an investigation by the district attorney's office, the Hearst papers discovered that a "red-flag act" passed during the post-war hysteria, had been thrown out as unconstitutional by the courts. Forgetting for the moment his cry of "defend the constitution," Hearst set in motion the wheels of rotten politics for another red-flag act.

He found political tools in both Republican and Democratic ranks. Among those whose voices were added to the cat-chorus were George U. Harvey of Queens, Republican; State Senator John McNaboe, Tammany leader; Alderman Murray W. Stand, Democrat, and Alderman Thomas J. Curran, Fusion-Republican leader. Stand and Curran jointly sponsored a Hearst-drawn "red flag" law in the Board of Aldermen.

In a statement to the press, the CALL declared that the Hearst hysteria was but "another indication of the growth of fascist sentiment throughout the nation. It must be met by intensified action for Socialism."

MAGIC OF 'DIPLOMACY'



Norman Thomas (left) seems slightly bored as Earl Browder went into the ramifications of "international diplomacy" to explain Soviet shipments of oil to Italy.

DEBATE HIGHLIGHTS

The doors of the Garden were broken down by the first rush of the holders of unreserved tickets.

An inspiring sight was the color guard on the platform, 40 beautiful Socialist girls in snappy uniforms carrying at attention 40 huge flags of bright red.

On the platform were more than 100 prominent trade unionists, Socialists and Communists. Among them were Charles Zimmerman, manager of Local 22 of the Inter-

national Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Joseph Baskin, president of the Workmen's Circle; Isador Laberman of the International

For an analysis of the debate, read the article by Haim Antorovitch on Page 9 of this issue.

Pocketbook Workers' Union, Ben Gold of the Furriers Joint Council and Philip Kapp, secretary-treasurer of the Dessmakers' Joint Board.

In the audience were many celebrities including Charles Solomon, former Socialist candidate for governor.

Heywood Brown and Eddie Levinson were two newspapermen who sat on the platform and looked down on the press table.

There were more than 100 correspondents at the press table. One of the Garden attendants declared that the press table reminded him of a World Series Game.

"Those who died on the battlefield do not understand international diplomacy; they only know that they were killed by Mussolini's tanks driven with Soviet oil..." This acid comment of Thomas provoked booing and hissing on the part of the audience.

Browder's reply of "international diplomacy" to Thomas' charge of capitalist-ethics on the part of the Soviet government was met with laughter when the Socialist leader pointed out: "When Socialists do it, it's 'class collaboration'; when communists do it, it's 'great statesmanship!'"

The debate was the first to be held in the huge Garden.

Debate profits will be divided between the CALL, the national

THANK YOU

By JACK ALTMAN
Business Manager

The CALL wishes to extend its thanks and appreciation to the army of ticket sellers who have done so much that the debate was the success it became.

We regret particularly that because of the unwarranted interference of the police, holders of reserved tickets were refused admittance despite the fact that at all times there was available space for them. The police explanation that tickets had been "forged" has been investigated by The CALL—insofar as we know there is no truth to this.

We have invited an impartial committee to investigate this situation. Meanwhile we ask all ticket holders who were not admitted to be patient and cooperate with us in laying the blame for the mistakes where they belong.

In expressing our thanks to those comrades listed below, we can only regret that space limitations are such that we cannot mention all who helped. We thank especially:

Murray Gross of Local 22 (IGWW), who sold \$567.92 worth of tickets; Jacqueline Feltingoff, Furriers, \$274.45; Harry Simon, Local 10 (IGWW), \$228.71; Meyer Motlin, Pocketbook Workers, \$79.15; David Tulchin, Teachers, \$77.11; Leo Hyman, Furriers, \$53.90; Murray Nathan, BS&AU, \$30.32. More than 100 branches with a sale of more than \$500. Outstanding sales by individuals were: Isadore Fried, \$138.95; Siemund Goldstein and Max Eisenstadt, \$121.31; Bruno Fischer, \$112.65; Samuel Schwartz, \$62.06; Carl Eichandler, \$61.13; Max Dison, \$6; Carl Eichandler, \$61.13; Max Dison, \$63.44, and James L. Siegel, \$51.18.

Just short of \$50 each were: Gerald Coleman, Andrew Demma, Alex Retzkin, Judah Drob, Benjamin B. Naurhoff, Ernest Mendez, Lazar Becker, J. Rutes, Anicus Most, George Siatin, Harry Wynn, Max S. Siegel, Phil Heller and Jack Kaye.

We also wish to thank the Women's Guard of the Socialist Party for the color guard; also the uniformed ashers from the Young Peoples' Socialist League, Young Poale Zion, Polish Socialist Alliance, Young Circle League and Brookwood Labor College. Deserving special mention for their work on arrangements are H. Sobotko, usher chief; Joe Glass, Gerald Coleman, Harold Draper, Henry Margulier, Judah Altman, Harry Wynn, Dora Tschinsky, Jack Lynn, Robert LaRene, Harold Siegel, Rubin Newman and Frank Stern.

office of the Socialist Party, and various Socialist institutions.

Murray Baron of the Portfolio Makers' Union made the collection speech for funds for the defense of Angelo Herndon and Terre Haute. More than \$1,000 was collected.

A special souvenir edition of The CALL was published for the debate. Thousands were sold.

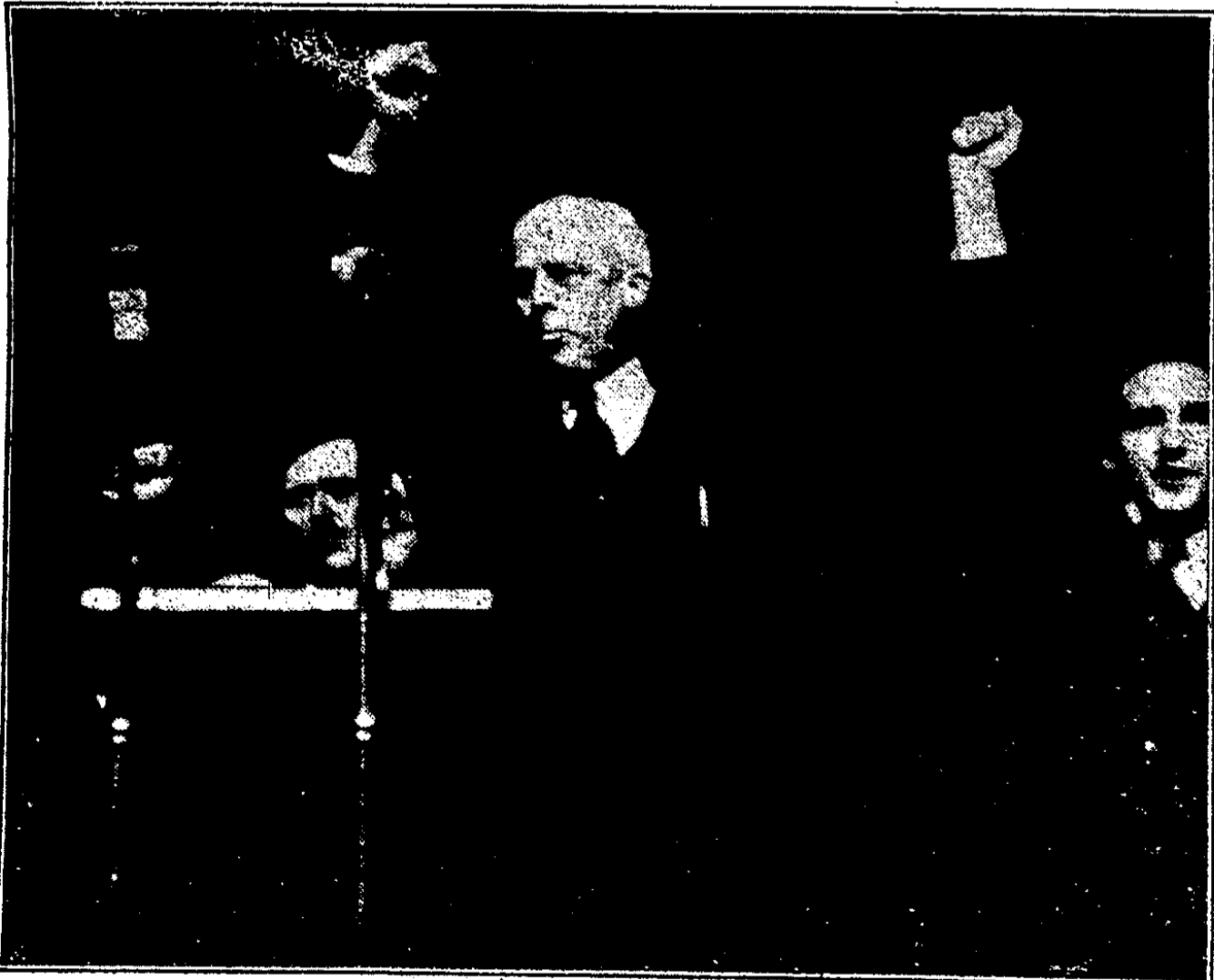
Time out was taken between the prepared speeches and rebuttals to remember labor victims of American repression of civil liberties.

Thomas' attacks on communist policy and tactics were centered upon inner-party government, Soviet foreign policy, the belated change-of-heart of the communists, and Russia's continued repression of civil liberties. Communists admitted that Browder met, none of the charges.

When Browder sang the "Star-Spangled Banner" in his rebuttal, Socialists reminded themselves that the tune was written during the War of 1812—an imperialist war if there ever was one.

Thomas proved himself an able song leader when he led the chorus of "The Red Flag"

SINGING THE 'INTERNATIONALE'



The debate was no "united front" as this picture shows. Norman Thomas and Jack Altman, business manager of The CALL (right) have raised their hands in Socialist salute during the chorus of "The Internationale"; Earl Browder (left) keeps his fist in the traditional communist salute.

LABOR IN ACTION

By JOHN HERLING

After three and a half months of one of the most significant strikes this year in the south, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America compelled Sam Finkelshtein and Company of Norfolk, Virginia, to agree to restore all strikers to their jobs and continue the 36-hour week and code wages. The Amalgamated continues its aggressive campaign to organize the unorganized. It has served notice to employers that flight to low-wage areas is no escape from the union.

The unions of Portland, Oregon, secured the pardon of three longshoremen who were serving a year's sentence for alleged assault on two dock guards during the 1934 waterfront strike. After spending five months in jail, they were freed by Governor Martin.

In North Winnipeg, Canada, the drivers and inside workers of thirteen of the sixteen North Winnipeg bakeries have won signed union agreements and wage increases as a result of a strike.

The first chapter of the American Newspaper Guild chartered in the state of Washington is enrolling members on all three dailies of Tacoma, so far without discernible opposition from the publishers. The unions of the AFL are ready with sympathetic support. The guild is aiming to include three-quarters of all guild eligibles inside the organization by Christmas.

The Ferryboatmen's union of the Pacific has won a 12 per cent wage increase, six days off a month and improved conditions for workers on freight, passenger and tow boats in the Portland region, in an award just handed down. Shore crews receive an eight-hour day for the first time, and monthly hours for boat crews are cut from 260 to 240. The union was represented by the Pacific Coast Labor Bureau in arbitration proceedings.

Twelve thousand employes of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, working in 20 plants in various parts of the country, won a 5c-an-hour increase after strike threats by the Federated Flat Glass Workers, an AFL union. The union won a signed contract for one year.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which recently called strikes in 51 Los Angeles shops, has signed up all but three or four. Terms include a 36-hour week, wage-increases of nearly 10 per cent and time-and-a-half for overtime.

Newspapermen, like elephants, are proud that "they never forget." They proved their ability to remember when they blackballed Gen. Hugh S. Johnson's application for membership in the Newspaper Guild's Washington chapter. It was Johnson, acting as NRA Administrator, who was one of the leading forces in the fight to smash the Guild.

SIGN CONTRACT

OKLAHOMA CITY, FP.—After ten weeks of negotiation, 200 field employes of the Indian Territory Manufacturing Oil Company won a new contract providing for a 36-hour week, wage adjustments and security rights.

BOYCOTT NAZI OLYMPIAD



Thousands of Americans have followed the lead of this woman in signing petitions against U. S. participation in the Hitler Olympiad. "Fair play in sport and Nazi propaganda just don't go together," the petition declares.

AFL Progressives Act To Help Auto Workers

WASHINGTON—Losing no time in placing industrial unionism as a major issue before the American workers, the Committee on Industrial Unionism, headed by John L. Lewis, insurgent American Federation of Labor leader, moved swiftly on two fronts this week.

Moving toward a quick test of the new committee's organizing ability, Lewis pledged full support to automobile workers in their attempt to organize on an industrial basis and backed up his pledge with action. Not only will he himself speak at a huge mass meeting of auto workers to be held in Cleveland, but he also assigned one of his crack United Mine Workers organizers to survey the auto situation and report back to headquarters here at once.

Germer Chosen

The organizer Lewis and his colleagues in the new left bloc picked for this initial task is Adolph Germer, fearless veteran of the labor movement and one-time national secretary of the Socialist Party. Germer is now in Cleveland and will report back to the committee at a meeting to be held sometime this month.

The committee, however, is not aiming all its ammunition toward the outside. Launching an educational campaign within the AFL,

it has sent out to every labor union in the country a copy of a pamphlet explaining in detail its aims and purposes.

Denies Dual Intentions

The pamphlet in part answers the charge that the bloc set up by eight powerful AFL unions is in reality a dual organization. Lewis himself denied the charge in a radio speech last week, as did Charles P. Howard, secretary of the committee.

In a press interview, Howard declared:

"We, in no sense, have the dual intentions that have been imputed to us in some quarters. We are interested in promoting organization."

SEES IDEAS "LYNCHED"

NEW YORK—"Loyalty" oaths exacted from teachers by reactionary State legislatures are simply attempts to "lynch ideas," Dr. Ray Dixon Fox, president of Union College, declared here. Fox spoke before 500 educators at the National Council for the Social Studies.

Lynching Party Greet Florida Jobless Leader

A nation with 22,000,000 men, women and children hungry—

A nation that discusses the relief question from a political rather than a humanitarian point of view—

A nation in which Socialists and unemployed organizers are kidnapped and nearly lynched—

A nation in which the forces of organized labor and of the organized unemployed are preparing for a winter of struggle—

Such is the picture of the United States of America the week after Thanksgiving Day.

On Thanksgiving Day the President made a speech in Georgia. There he gave the unemployed ample cause for thanksgiving—for he announced that no more would federal funds be given to the states to feed the jobless. Nor, he added, would any more federal funds be used for work relief projects. It was Thanksgiving—for the bankers!

Jobless in Washington

But the unemployed gathered instead in Washington, where, unable to see the President, they were shunted from secretary to secretary. But their demands, delivered by David Lasser, national secretary of the Workers' Alliance of America, came clear: "GIVE US BREAD!"

"Give Us Bread!" was the cry of six Socialist unemployed leaders in Tampa, Fla. But the peaceful meeting they were addressing was illegally raided by the police and six were arrested. They were arrested "for investigation" because they had told the unemployed to organize and demand relief.

Among the six was Jensen, the secretary of the Socialist Party of Florida; Roush, a member of the Socialist state executive committee; E. F. Poulnot, Socialist president of the Florida Workers' Alliance; Sam G. Rogers and Joseph A. Shoemaker.

Roush and Jensen were released—but Poulnot, Rogers and Shoemaker were kidnapped by uniformed police and "taken for a ride." The mob beat them unconscious after flogging and feathering them. At the hospital, it was announced that Shoemaker may not live, that Poulnot and Rogers were seriously ill.

In New York, where the Hearst papers called for "action" against

the Socialists, the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee went into action. Defense funds were raised and a representative sent to Florida to make sure that the Bourbon prosecutor would prosecute the identified assailants. Telegraphed protests were sent Mayor Chancey, Chief of Police Titsworth, Sheriff McLeod.

Face Terrible Winter

Twenty-two million hungry men, women and children in America face a terrible winter as a callous capitalism retrenches and decides to use its funds hereafter for battleships instead of bread.

In Chicago, 5,000 families face immediate eviction when the Real Estate Board issued orders to landlords that all relief workers be thrown into the streets if they did not pay their December rent.

In Ohio, 310,000 are on relief rolls, but Governor Davey is playing "pass the buck" with the local mayors and there is no money for relief in sight.

In New Orleans, children fainted at school from hunger. Aged women and their grandchildren go rummaging in the scrapheaps of grocery stores.

Labor Fights Back

But labor will fight! Powerful in its strength of numbers, it has announced that it will not accept a Presidential whim as a sign to let millions starve.

In Illinois, a state-wide strike of WPA workers has been set for December 16 by the Illinois Workers' Alliance. An intensive pre-strike campaign is being conducted.

In Pennsylvania, representatives of several score organizations of unemployed and projects workers will meet at the capital December 7 and 8 to prepare action against relief and pauper wages.

In New York City, the musicians have announced that they will strike to defend their wage scales against the commercialization of WPA projects.

In Rochester, the shifting of the TERA burden to the WPA was met with a strike of truckers and organized labor.

Labor Wins

When labor fights, it wins. It has won prevailing wage scales in New York and Ohio.

Last week, it recorded another victory. The St. Paul, Minn., WPA administrator announced that hereafter the prevailing scale would be paid on all projects. The announcement came after a month-old fight by the St. Paul central trades council in alliance with unemployed organization.

In Roanoke, Va., where Hilliard Bernstein, Socialist jobless leader, was arrested and beaten in a wave of police terror, Lasser defied the hired thugs and stool-pigeons of the employers and addressed a mass meeting in which for the first time in the city white and Negro workers mingled. Despite threats, the meeting was not interfered with.

UNCLE SAM IS THROUGH



Not another cent for federal relief to cities and states was the Thanksgiving message of the President in Atlanta. He said nothing about the biggest peace-time military and naval appropriations in the history of the nation that his administration has sponsored.

MOONEY SEES PLOT TO END FRISCO TRIAL

SAN FRANCISCO—In a statement to the CALL and to other labor papers, Thomas J. Mooney, America's best known class-war prisoner, this week charged the State of California with a new "dastardly" plot to block his present fight for vindication.

Already highly embarrassed by the testimony presented in his legal battle before a state Supreme Court referee here, Mooney charged, high officials are planning to gag further evidence by immediately commuting his sentence to time served.

Sees Powers "Embarrassed"
Outlining the scheme in his own words, the aged labor martyr declared:

"There is a persistent rumor afloat underground and word comes from a man who claims to have reliable information that the Mooney sentence is liable to be commuted to time served at any moment to save the California State Supreme Court the very difficult embarrassment of passing upon the issues that are so clearly demonstrated in the present hearing, to wit; that perjury was committed against Thomas J. Mooney; that public officials in the person of the Police Department and the District Attorney's office did have knowledge of that perjury; that the District Attorney's office and the Police Department did wilfully conceal and suppress vital evidence that would have been of inestimable value to the determining of justice in this case.

"There can be just one purpose to such a move at this time, and that purpose would be to seal forever the infamous frame-up against the lives of two innocent, loyal, and devoted militant trade unionists. The commutation would brand me a felon for the rest of my life; forever I would be referred to as an ex-convict. This part of the frame-up is more dastardly than the original foul conspiracy itself."

So uncertain of its case is the state that it has secured another adjournment of the refereed hearings, this time to January 15.

LABOR OPPOSES WAR SANCTIONS

MELBOURNE — By a vote of 78-41, the All-Australian Trades Union Congress, dominant labor organization of the Australian commonwealth, vigorously opposed support of government sanctions by organized labor.

The resolution, adopted after a stormy debate, declares that such support would "commit organized labor to support the sending of armed forces overseas to take part in capitalistic wars."

Won't War for League
WELLINGTON, New Zealand — Sharply criticizing Great Britain and "the other dominant imperialist powers" for being "as much to-blame as Italy and the weaker ones" in the present war crisis, the Federated Seamen's Union recently voted unanimously to refuse all war support, whether asked by the League of Nations or by their own government.

Labor Wins Elections
WELLINGTON, New Zealand—For the first time in New Zealand's history, Labor will form the Dominion government as the result of last week's elections. Labor won 52 out of 80 seats in the House of Representatives.

The campaign, led by Michael J. Savage, who will be the next premier, was conducted on absolute opposition to the policies of the National government in office since 1931.

BUTCHERS WIN
DALLAS, Texas (FP)—In a one-day strike union butchers at 51 Safeway Stores in Dallas won a new contract providing an increase of \$5 a week.

THE REVENGE OF LABOR



Ramsay MacDonald and his son Malcolm (left) can only look upon their past glories as British Labor, remembering its renegades, booted both of them out of Parliament.

Profits Up, Wages Down Means New, Worse Crash

WASHINGTON (FP)—Beyond a possible boom in the next few years, the American Federation of Labor sees another and a worse "depression." In its monthly survey of business it points to the factors—such as profits and production outstripping wages and employment—which are already making for the next crisis.

"Evidences of growing business confidence" and a rising stock market are seen by the Federation. It cites the serious shortages in houses, automobiles, machinery and railroad equipment, describing

the manner in which replacement is beginning. Increase in production of cars and trucks, for instance, from 2,870,000 in 1934 to a probable 3,900,000 or 4,000,000 this year has meant a 45 per cent increase in profits, an 8.3 per cent increase in employment and 18.5 per cent in payrolls.

Profits Soar
The profit increase in general is very great, the survey notes. Some 1900 corporations, which in 1933 received more than half the entire profit made by all United States corporations, increased their profits in 1934 by 32 per cent over 1933, it says, while Standard Statistics estimates that for the full year 1935 industrial profits will exceed 1934 by 35 to 40 per cent.

Speaking of a boom as probable in the next few years, the A. F. of L. points out that in five years since 1929 the average factory worker's producing power per hour has increased 25 per cent. "Unless hours are shortened and production of our industries greatly exceeds previous levels," it says, "we shall still have a standing army of unemployed, numbering in the millions, even when we reach the peak of the coming boom."

New Crash Looms
Three facts should be kept in mind about such an approaching boom, the survey declares: (1) In every industrial boom, profits increase faster than wages. (2) The boom cannot last more than a few years. (3) The danger of another great stock market boom and collapse is serious.

Workers bear the brunt of depression, and their living standards are never raised to the levels possible in periods of prosperity, according to the A. F. of L. In five years since 1929, workers' losses amounted to \$76,200,000, those of all others to \$40,500,000,000.

Masses Always Suffer
"We know that when industry operates without control, depression must follow prosperity as surely as night follows day," the survey asserts. "Periods of prosperity bring large fortunes for the few, but never has any period of prosperity lifted living standards for the masses to the levels modern industry makes possible."

"In our year of greatest prosperity, one-sixth of our population were living below the minimum necessary for health when they had had a comfort level."

CABALLERO SET FREE BY COURT

MADRID—A significant victory for the Spanish working class was won here last week-end, when Francisco Largo Caballero, militant Socialist leader, former Minister of Labor, and secretary of the General Labor Union, was acquitted and freed after a six-day court trial on charges of "armed insurrection" and "military rebellion."

Although the prosecution asked a 30-year jail sentence for the 63-year old labor head, the Supreme Court found no evidence sustaining the charge. The defendant was then freed, bringing to an end thirteen and a half months of arbitrary imprisonment.

When Caballero left the courtroom to rejoin his comrades outside, a huge crowd of Socialists greeted him with fists upraised in the party salute and shouted: "Long live the proletarian republic!"

"Down with capitalism!"
Caballero's imprisonment and trial grew out of his active leadership in the general strike of October, 1934, in which the capitalist guns killed more than 3,500 persons and wounded 10,000.

TENANT FARMERS TO MEET
MEMPHIS, Tenn.—The national convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union will be held January 5 and 6. H. L. Mitchell, executive secretary of the union, announced here this week.

The STFU now has approximately 200 locals. It is planning to support a bill as a substitute for the AAA.

1936 PARLEY WILL BE HELD AT CLEVELAND

CLEVELAND — The 1936 national convention of the Socialist Party will be held in Cleveland the latter part of next May, Clarence Senior, national secretary of the party, announced here this week.

Although both Indianapolis and Chicago had also bid for the convention, the national executive committee chose Cleveland because of its central location for Socialists from all parts of the nation.

To Name Candidates
In addition to nomination of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States and adoption of a platform for the 1936 campaign, the convention will act on a host of other subjects, including trade unions, the farmers, the unemployed, the New Deal, international relations, Soviet Russia, war and fascism, youth, and party organization. Resolutions on these subjects are now being considered by party locals and will later be whipped into a tentative agenda by a committee headed by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee.

Likened to 1917
"With America, and the world entering the seventh year of the depression and the world on the brink of a new and more brutal world war," Senior declared, "the convention promises to be an historic one. It can be compared to the convention we held in St. Louis during the trying days of 1917 to declare our opposition to the last World War."

Election of delegates by states will begin February 1.

RYAN APPROVES GULF SHIP BAN

NEW YORK—Despite the urgent pleading of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins at Houston, Texas, an official nation-wide boycott of gulf coast shipping lines went into effect at all American ports Tuesday morning.

The ban was announced by President Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association after ship-owners stubbornly refused to move toward a settlement of the gulf dock strike, now entering its third month.

Ryan stated that unless steamship firms engaged in whole or in part in the gulf trade will sign agreements with the ILA at the struck ports, union dock workers on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts will not handle any of the companies' vessels, regardless of whether or not the vessels are themselves loaded in gulf ports. The ban, therefore, includes both coastwise and transatlantic ships.

Early in the week, the boycott had already won considerable ground for the strikers, as several large ship owners rushed to sign with the union once they were assured of the union's strength and militant intentions.

Frisco Bargemen Strike
SAN FRANCISCO — New labor upheavals on the troubled San Francisco waterfront seemed imminent here as captains of 10 tug boats and more than 200 bargemen walked out in a strike for higher pay and better conditions.

CABALLERO IS FREE!

—Who is this man Caballero who, at 63, remains the leader of Spanish Socialists; who despite prison and terror remains undaunted in his struggle for Socialism?

—What is this tremendous movement in Spain that can at one mass meeting gather together 400,000 workers to pledge themselves to ceaseless struggle for the emancipation of labor?

—Who is Azana, peerless leader of the Spanish united front? Who are the unknown and brave leaders of the Spanish working class?

The CALL

Presents

in a coming issue an article "The Revolution in Spain Continues" that answers these important and popular questions. The article is by A. Reina, former American correspondent for El Socialista in Madrid and now editor of the Spanish edition of Justice, organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Labor Notes In New York

A picket in the Cushman-Purity bakers' strike was murdered this week. He had been on his way to join fellow pickets at one of the struck shops. Police refused to allow union doctors to examine the body. Meanwhile, more than 1,800 bakers remain out, and the boycott against Cushman and Purity products continues.

The Negro Labor Committee will dedicate its new home, the Harlem Labor Center, at 312 West 125th Street, on Sunday afternoon, December 15. Speakers will include Norman Thomas, David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Joseph Schlosberg, A. Philip Randolph and William Collins.

The N. Y. & Queens Electric Light and Power Company has discharged three officers of the Queens local of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees. Those fired are Martin A. Wersing, president; J. A. Greulich, vice-president, and Michael A. Wagner, treasurer. The three have been active in fighting the Edison Company union. A strike is threatened.

Twenty-four striking journeymen tailors arrested in front of the John Wanamaker store in New York were freed when arraigned in court. The union is fighting for restoration of wage cuts and recognition.

A pleasant way to spend Saturday afternoon: Join the pickets at the May's Department Store, Brooklyn, on the picket line. A gallant six weeks' strike is still under way, as strong as ever.

"The New York Teacher" is the title of the new monthly publication of the Teachers' Union of New York, which appeared for the first time this month. Charles J. Hendley is editor.

When the Radio Factory Workers' Union attempted to unionize the employes of Gared and Espey Radio Companies of 12th Street and University Pl., it resulted in a lockout. Picket lines have been thrown around the plant.

Classified Directory

AMPLIFIERS TO RENT

DANCE or symphonic music for your affairs. World's finest recorded music. High fidelity equipment. Also public address systems. \$5.00 per evening. WHITE, 141 W. 2nd St., SU-squehanna 7-0207.

HOME WANTED

HIGH SCHOOL GIRL, 17, seeks room and board with family in exchange for some services. Box 5 CALL, 21 E. 17th St.

PHARMACIST

J. RUTES, Pharmacist Chemist, 444 Howard Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

ROOM TO RENT

SUNNYSIDE, preferably comrade, Apt. 35B, evenings or holidays. 41-28 47th Street Jack Kaye.

SODA FOUNTAIN

DEBS, DRINKS—27 Union Sq. (next to Kitz) Soda fountain—Orange & Pineapple drinks, Cigs, cigarettes, candy.

UPHOLSTERER

JOHN CARSTENS, 517 Coney Island Ave., Brooklyn. Upholstery slip covers, furniture repaired. Published. IN. 2-8345.

WANTED

A TYPEWRITER for the "American Socialist Quarterly." Will some comrade who can read or donate a typewriter please contact with Anna Berowitz, American Socialist Quarterly, 21 E. 17th St., N. Y. C.

28 BRANCHES NOW LINED UP AGAINST SPLIT

NEW YORK.—A bitter and unwarranted attack in the capitalist press upon Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party, by Louis Waldman of the New York state committee was the contribution last week by the right-wing to unity in the Socialist Party.

In a statement, a copy of which appeared in the Hearst N. Y. American, Waldman assailed Krzycki for his participation as chairman of the Thomas-Browder debate sponsored by The CALL, and demanded that he resign as national chairman. He also attacked Norman Thomas and the national leadership of the party.

"Reorganization" Delayed

Meanwhile, although the much touted "reorganization" of Local New York which would mean the ousting of many members from the Party was delayed, letters and telegrams of support were received by The CALL from many sections of the country. Practically all of these letters promised to stand solid in the fight for Socialist democracy.

The attempt of the local administration to enlist out-of-state support for its moves was foiled in Massachusetts, as previously in Connecticut and Maryland, last week-end. Meeting in New Bedford, the Bay State executive committee voted four to two, against participation in the rump inter-state conference called by the New York state committee. The motion was presented by S. Syrjala. Two members of the committee abstained from voting.

As more branches met and voted on a resolution opposed to reorganization, the totals stood 599-317 against reorganization, with 28 branches opposed. The branches which voted last week were:

Against reorganization: 11 AD, Manhattan; 18 AD 2, Kings; Jackson Heights and Sunnyside, Queens; for reorganization: Midwood, Brooklyn, 4 AD and Lower 8, Bronx, and Sunnyside 2, Queens.

The resolution voted upon in the majority of branches follows:

Whereas, at the last meeting of the City Central Committee a resolution was forced through, empowering the Executive Committee to reorganize the Party in Local New York and to eliminate comrades from membership, and

Whereas, this move is a violation of the Party Constitution, of Party democracy and procedure and deprives the Party membership of all rights to pass upon Party questions, and

Whereas, this move by the Old Guard is a conscious endeavor to split our Party, Therefore, be it resolved that this branch, in the interests of Socialist unity, firmly rejects the resolution for reorganization and will resist this move to the utmost, and orders to preserve the Socialist Party.

Union Membership Is Cuban "Crime"

HAVANA — Participation in strikes and membership in a trade union are the two "crimes" for which Cesar Vilar, general secretary of the Cuban Federation of Labor, received jail sentences totalling four years, according to the newspaper, El Pais, published here.

Vilar, states El Pais, was absolved of the trumped-up charge of conspiracy to assassinate Ambassador Caffery, Colonel Battista, and President Mendieta, but is now being held on a dozen additional charges.

DOUBLEHEADER

NEW YORK.—In a doubleheader arranged by the Basketball League of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Local 91 Girls overwhelmed Local 62, 48-13; Local 135 Men beat Local 22, 20-13.

COMING EVENTS

Friday, December 6

Bazaar and Christmas sale of the New York Women's Trade Union League at 247 Lexington Avenue (between 34th and 35th Streets).

Sophia Deiza, concert dancer, in a dance-lecture demonstration sponsored by the Rebel Arts Dancers at 44 East 21st Street, at 8:30.

Saturday, December 7

Fall frolic and amateur show of Circle 2 Seniors, YPSL, at Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, at 9. Music by Collegiate Rascals; Levy and Nathan. Refreshments. Admission, 25c.

Cooperative dance at Bellamy League, 107 McDougal Street (near Washington Square), 9 to 1:30. Village Troubadours band. Refreshments. Admission: men, 50c; ladies, 35c.

Bazaar and Christmas sale of the New York Women's Trade Union League, at 247 Lexington Avenue (between 34th and 35th Streets).

Sunday, December 8

Report on convention of Jewish Socialist Verband, at 21 East 11th Street, at 2 p. m. Auspices: Debs Club.

Friday, December 13

Nineteenth annual entertainment and dance for the Class-War Prisoners' Christmas Fund of the General Defense Committee, at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, at 8. Admission, 25 cents.

Saturday, December 14

Dance and social run by the Rebel Arts Dancers, at 44 East 21st Street, at 8:30.

Wednesday, December 18

H. N. Brailsford, British Labor Party leader, speaking on "The British Labor Party," at YCLA Auditorium, 11 Union Square. Auspices, American Socialist Quarterly. Admission 50c.

Tuesday, December 24

City-wide Pre-Amalgamation Dance, joint auspices: Student League for Industrial Democracy and National Student League, at Hotel Delano. Admission: 49c (50c at the door).

Thursday, December 26

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

Tuesday, December 31

Greenwich Village Socialist Ball, at 107 MacDougal Street, at 9 p.m. Auspices: Village Branch and Bellamy League. Tickets: \$1.00.

Sunday, January 5

Debate between Haim Kantorovitch, Socialist, and M. Katz, co-editor of the communist Freiheit, at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 16th Street, at 2 a. m. Auspices: Debs Club.

Yorkville Printery

Rhineland 4-9761

206 EAST 85th STREET

UNION PRINTERS

Special Rates to Organizations
Printing of Every Description

Next Week At The Call Institute

Mon., Dec. 9,—7 P. M.

JOEL SEIDMAN

Guest Speaker—Abraham Isserman, Noted N. J. Labor Lawyer.

"Labor and the Law"

Wed., Dec. 11—8:30 P. M.

HERBERT ZAM

"Marxian Conception of the Law"

Thurs., Dec. 12—7 P. M.

VINCENZO VACIRCA

"Birth, Growth, and Transmutation of Fascism"

Thurs., Dec. 12—8:30 P. M.

PHIL HELLER

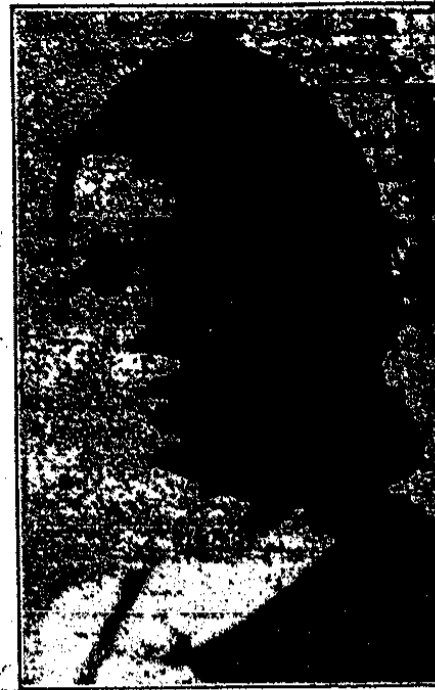
"United Front and Unity"

Fri., Dec. 13—7:00 P. M.

AUGUST TYLER

"Strategy of the Movement"

WILL SING



Olyve White Norman, union dressmaker in New York, who will sing at the dedication of the Harlem Labor Center Sunday afternoon.

Lash—Bedford-Jones

YUMA, Ariz. (Special)—Joseph P. Lash, national secretary of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, married Nancy Bedford-Jones, Los Angeles Yipsel, here last week.

Miss Bedford-Jones achieved nation-wide publicity when her father attacked Lash and the SLID in the Liberty magazine. She is well known on the Pacific coast as a speaker and organizer. Lash is editor of The Student Outlook and a contributor to The CALL, The Nation, New Republic and other periodicals. The couple will make their home in New York City.

FIGHT ON SALES LEVY SPREADING

CHICAGO — A growing tendency in many states to repeal and fight against the "poor man's tax," or sales tax, was noted at Socialist national headquarters here this week.

In New Jersey the tax was repealed almost as soon as it was adopted, due to overwhelming protests from labor organizations. Lieutenant-Governor A. B. Chandler of Kentucky was elected governor with the largest majority ever given a candidate since the Civil War on his promise to repeal the sales tax. There were other issues involved, but this was by far the most important.

A poll of the Minnesota state legislators revealed that the members "got cold feet." With the poll incomplete, the results are that 62 per cent of the Senate and 54 per cent of the House will vote against such a tax. Last year these same legislators passed the sales tax, but it was vetoed by the governor.

In other states having sales taxes, amendments are being offered to still the growing protests. The Socialist Party urges continued efforts to repeal the sales tax and to fight against capitalist legislatures which are trying to enact such legislation.

NO WAY OUT

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles County board of supervisors has named a new thoroughfare New Deal Avenue. Why? Because it's a dead-end street.

ORGANIZATIONS

Get estimates on your printing jobs from

CHELSEA PRESS

UNION PRINTERS

8 WEST 19th STREET

CHelsea 3-6964-6965

Socialist Call Forum

21 East 17th Street, N. Y. C.

DECEMBER 8, (Sunday Night) 8:30 P. M.

BEN GITLOW

ALFRED BINGHAM

Symposium on "The Third Party"

DECEMBER 14, (Sunday Night) 8:30 P. M.

SAM BARON,

Vice Pres. Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants Union.

"The AFL Convention from the Inside"

ADMISSION FIFTEEN CENTS

FREE

TO

Branches

Y. P. S. L.

Falcons

Fraternal Organizations

THE Socialist Call Basketball Team is now prepared to engage in contests with church teams, "Y" teams, club teams, etc. If your branch can arrange a game or a game with a neighborhood team the Call squad, composed of former college stars, will be glad to give its services. All proceeds will go to the branch arranging the game. Games may be booked in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island.

For particulars write to Joseph G. Glass, Box 103, Socialist Call, 21 East 17th Street, N. Y. C.

Practice is held every Saturday at 1:00 P. M. sharp, Judson Memorial Gym, 55 Washington Square. All comrades welcome.

THE SOCIALIST CALL

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

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

Official organ of the Socialist Party of the states of ARKANSAS, ILLINOIS, MISSOURI, OHIO and WEST VIRGINIA. Endorsed by the Socialist Party of the states of INDIANA, MASSACHUSETTS and MICHIGAN, and by the YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

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

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

Vol. I Saturday, December 7, 1935. No. 38.

Our Answer To Hearst

It is obvious that the attack that William Randolph Hearst has launched upon the Socialist Party is no isolated instance of high indignation against a non-existent insult to the American flag. It is part and parcel of a definite fascist campaign led by Hearst which has for its aim the abolition of civil liberties in the United States.

The answer to Hearst need not be given by us; it was given some months ago by America's foremost historian, Charles A. Beard. We quote:

"In the course of the past 50 years I have talked with presidents of the United States, senators, justices of the supreme court, members of the house of representatives, governors, mayors, bankers, editors, college presidents (including Charles W. Eliot), leading men of science, Nobel prize winners in science and letters, and I have never found one single person who for talents and character commands the respect of the American people, who has not agreed with me that William Randolph Hearst has pandered to depraved tastes and has been an enemy of everything that is noblest and best in the American tradition. There is not a cesspool of vice and crime which Hearst has not raked and exploited for money-making purposes. No person with intellectual honesty or moral integrity will touch him with a 10-foot pole for any purpose or to gain any end. Unless those who represent American scholarship, science, and the right of a free people to discuss public questions freely, stand together against his insidious influences he will assassinate them individually by every method known to his yellow press."

Never Trust A Liberal!

Never trust a liberal!

Take the example of Mayor (former Congressman) LaGuardia of New York. LaGuardia was an ace liberal in Congress. He wasn't radical—the voters back home had never had sense enough to instruct him to be—he was just a liberal and a good one.

At appropriate intervals he bolted the Republican leadership. At appropriate intervals, he led some brave and very admirable fights on particular reform measures. He fought pretty hard, but he kept in with the boys—enough so that he was given the Fusion-Republican-Good Government nomination for Mayor of the City of New York. Unfortunately he won.

Since then, he's been just about what you'd expect—a miserable flop. Nobody ever really told him what to do—only to give "good government," a pretty vague order. He had no party behind him, unless you count the defunct Republican machine, a little more reactionary in the city than nationally.

This week, the climax: LaGuardia, ex-champion of the people, after a conference with patent-medicine advertisers, radio magnates, and the news publishers he was afraid to buck, assassinated the food and drug bill, which his own commissioner of health and his own commissioner of accounts had endorsed as absolutely essential to save human lives.

As usual, the liberal bowed to the group with the biggest political pressure behind it.

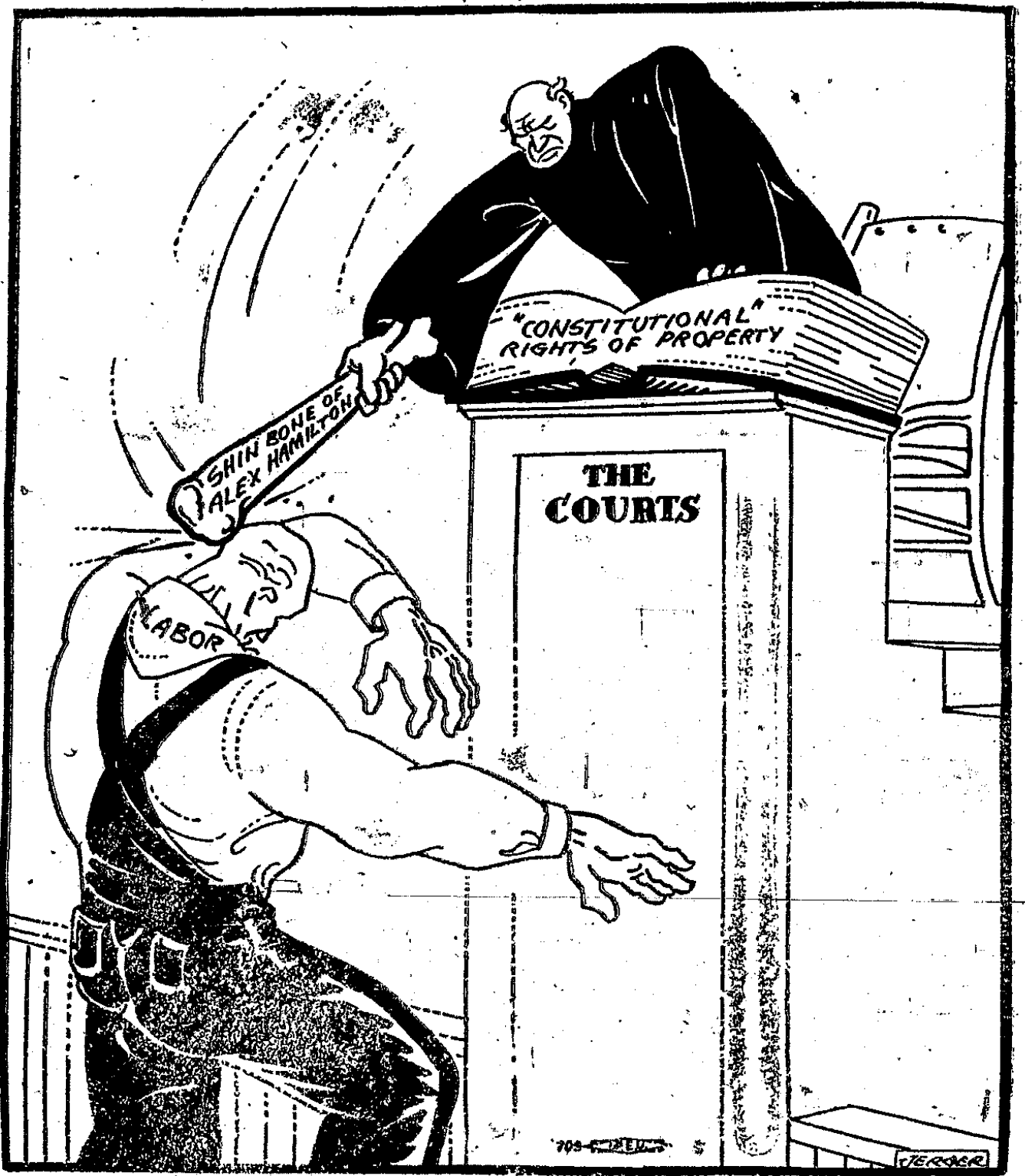
Herbert And Franklin

We've heard the story about pudgy Herbert you know, he used to be President—having a new ghost writer. We think there's more to it than that. We've a hunch that pudgy Herbert and smiling Franklin have just swapped ghost writers.

For instance, did Herbert say this in 1932 or Franklin in 1935:

"I sense a swelling prosperity of the spirit that spells a greater help and deeper happiness for our fellow men." No, you're wrong, that's Franklin!

THE MAJESTY OF THE LAW



Case History Of Life In Free America

To the Editor:

This letter is to acquaint the readers of your weekly with the facts of the infamous Lindway case. A little past history is necessary for background.

Mike Lindway, former coal miner, was an employe of the National Screw and Manufacturing Co. of Cleveland. That is, he was until he joined the IWW and struck along with his fellow workers in January, 1935. Like all strikes in this city, there was a great deal of violence engendered, by the strike and union-breaking Associated Industries, Inc. After the strike had been in progress several weeks with no apparent let-up, the Associated Industries became desperate. They had promised to smash this strike, like they had smashed other strikes in Cleveland, in a couple of weeks.

Taking advantage of the spurious dynamite history of the IWW, Lindway's home was raided without a search warrant by the police. While Mike, his young wife, and baby were held upstairs at the point of guns, the basement was raided. There the police

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.

claimed they found dynamite and caps as well as other bomb materials. Mike Lindway denies that this is his property and that it was in his basement prior to the raid. Nevertheless he was indicted by the grand jury on conspiracy.

Shortly before Lindway was brought to trial, the prosecution realized their indictment was faulty. They had the grand jury change this without giving proper notice to the defense attorney, Morris Wolfe, or a copy of the new indictment in time for an able defense to be prepared. A few days continuance was denied and Lindway went to trial in March 1935. Despite pleas for nolle prosequere on the grounds that the raid was illegal and that the indictment was phoney, Lindway

was tried and convicted with the defense making no defense.

Appeal was made to the Circuit Court of Appeals. This body in October last reversed the decision of the lower court and revoked the twenty-year sentence of Lindway. He was ordered re-tried.

The prosecution at Cleveland, after asking for and receiving a postponement indefinitely of a new trial, immediately appealed the Appeals Court decision to the State Supreme Court. The Associated Industries is determined to keep this loyal union man behind bars for life.

JAMES M. DeWITT, Cleveland.

WE APOLOGIZE TO GUS TYLER

To the Editor:

In the CALL of Saturday, November 30, under "Party Activity" in Ohio, you announce a debate between Williamson of the Communist Party and myself, in which you describe me as "educational director of Local 91 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union." I am not the educational director.

GUS TYLER, New York.

Join the Socialist Party

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

Name
Address
City State

JOBS FOR CHILDREN
NEW YORK—Sharp increases in the use of child labor following the Supreme Court's NRA decision were noted this week by the National Child Labor Committee, making its annual report. In New York City alone, the committee found, working permits for 14- and 15-year olds jumped from 390 in September, 1934 to 1,428 in September, 1935.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

"The conditioning of petty criminals with the whip, or some more scientific procedure, followed by a short stay in the hospital, would probably suffice to insure order. Those who have murdered, robbed while armed with automatic pistol or machine guns, kidnapped children, despoiled the poor of their savings, misled the public in important matters, should be humanely and economically disposed of in small euthanasia institutions supplied with proper gases."

Sounds like the pronouncement of some Hitler, grown a little more humane; or like the utterance of a Mussolini, grown conscious of the superiority of chlorine gas to castor oil. It is a quotation from the writings of a great physician, a Nobel Prize winner. It is taken from "Man, the Unknown," by Dr. Alexis Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute.

So far has the fascist virus come! How much further will it go? What will be the effect of such teachings, backed by the enormous prestige of the man, and by the weight of the Rockefeller millions?

The quotation with which this column opens is not an isolated or accidental item. It is the logical consequences of a reasoned thesis. It is offered as an integral and important part of a program for "The Re-Making of Man."

The Degeneration of Man

Man, in Dr. Carrel's opinion is degenerating. He is too materialistic—too rich. He has forgotten how to work; he is soft and flabby; instead of braving the elements in healthful work in the open air, he lives out his life in air-conditioned, steam-heated, electric lighted offices and apartments. He rides in heated cars—he never walks! He eats too much, of denatured foods. In place of hard work he has put athletic sports. He has lost the capacity to resist diseases. He fools himself in the belief that medical science has prolonged life. He is doomed and damned to the "demnition bow-woes!"

And the villains of the piece are liberalism, materialism and democracy. Materialism leads men into the morasses of mathematical science. It leads scientists to think of man as a machine—whereas man has a soul! Liberalism leads men away from their mother, the church. Democracy brings all down to the level of the lowest. And so, we are sliding down fast to the fate of Egypt, Rome and Babylon!

Of course, it would be hard to prove that liberalism and democracy had anything to do with the fate of these hoary empires. But why should that rob Dr. Carroll of his rhetorical climax, and of his hobby-horse?

The doctor has a remedy. He would set up a "center" (like the Rockefeller Institute?) of scientists (not specialists!) who would be scientific dictators, of a sort. This "high council" would live the ascetic lives of monks. All knowledge would be its field. "Democratic rulers, as well as dictators could receive from this source of scientific truth the information that they need in order to develop a civilization really suitable to man." The group would be small "like the Supreme Court," but self-perpetuating. No democratic elections for the doctor! It would have power. "Why segregate people ill with infections, and not those who propagate intellectual and moral maladies. It would use force, if need be, to enforce its decrees. Civilization, as defined by Dr. Carroll, must be jammed down man's throat, willy-nilly.

Who Is The Fascist?

It takes no profound knowledge of politics to realize that once again the shoemaker has not stuck to his last. Politically speaking, Dr. Carrel's scientific fascism is nonsense. It has as much chance of adoption as the program of the Seventh Day Adventists, with which it has much in common! In another sense, however, it is very important. The danger lies in the possibility that his reasoning, or something like it, will be used to win the "scientific elite," the professionals, and even the better paid white collar slaves to fascism. It was Frederic R. Coudert who provided the "impulse responsible for this book." Is it Mr. Coudert who is the fascist behind the woodpile? And is Dr. Carrel merely his stooge?

We shall never know. But we do see the menacing fascist tide rising, on all sides. And we know what must be done to stop it.

McAlister Coleman, who usually writes on this page, caught a bad cold at the Columbia-Dartmouth game last week-end. He will be back with us next week.

World Socialism THE COMMUNISTS, OIL AND WAR

By HERBERT ZAM

No matter how critical one may have been of the communist movement, no one could possibly have expected the communist case to be so empty and unprincipled as it was presented by Earl Browder at the debate between Norman Thomas and Browder in New York. Even granting (as one of the communist papers claimed) that Browder deliberately refused to meet the points Thomas raised because he did not want to "sharpen" the situation, the defense of the present communist situation must still be a little stronger and more consistent if it is to be even taken seriously. After all, a movement which claims to be the vanguard of the world proletariat must have more to show in its favor than simply the desire to establish a united front! We are not Christians, and brotherly love does not make a very dramatic appeal.

Some of Browder's attempts to show the difference between communism and reformism were really ludicrous. The communists, he declared, believe in proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power, the reformists do not. This repetition of ancient formulas is absolutely meaningless under present circumstances. Since when do we judge a movement by a few phrases in its program? Do we not remember Lenin's warning: "He who believes in words is an idiot?"

Browder well knows that today, as in the past, some of the worst forms of opportunism in practice can cover themselves with revolutionary phrases on paper. Did not the two-and-a-half International include belief in proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power in its program? Even Kautsky and Hilferding at one time professed agreement with these ideas. But the communists today no more apply a policy consistent with this belief than did Kautsky when he was applying for admission to the Comintern.

Phrases and Action

A glance at the events of recent years will further demonstrate the futility of judging a movement by a couple of phrases in its program. The communists had for years been talking about proletarian dictatorship, Soviet power and armed uprising. But was their action in Germany consistent with such talk? Quite the opposite. When the crucial moment arrived their action was complete capitulation in practice. In Austria and Spain, on the other hand, there were big Socialist Parties which had never included belief in armed uprising in their program. But when a crucial moment arrived and the interests of the proletariat demanded armed resistance to reaction, these parties were found at the head of the workers.

If such a situation could develop at a time when the communists were still shouting about "proletarian revolution," how much more probable is it today, when the communists have forgotten all about revolution and are concentrating on defending democracy against fascism and supporting capitalist governments in good wars?

Naturally no such discussion could take place without an airing of the Communists' new position on war. On this point, no one can accuse Browder of having been equivocal. *Should the Soviet Union, he declared, be attacked by Japan and Germany, it would be treason to advocate neutrality for the United States. The revolutionists will have to insist that the United States enter the war on the side of the Soviet Union!* And naturally, in such a war, it will be the duty of the workers to support the American government which is conducting a "progressive" war!

So all the charges of chauvinism 'revolutionary Socialists have been directing at the Communists are not manufactured. Not only are we to be asked to support a war once it is declared, we are to go about agitating for a war when there is no war. And Browder wants the American Socialists to believe that after the American capitalists, for their own imperialist interests have entered a war, somehow or other we will be able to maneuver them to participate in such a war only for the benefit of the Soviet Union!

The Sale of Oil

How the minds of those who depend for their ideas upon the Soviet Union operate was shown nicely in Browder's attempt to defend the Soviet Union's continued sale of oil to Italy even after the application of sanctions. Browder completely justified the Soviet Union's declaration that only if all other countries discontinued selling oil will it also discontinue. This Browder explained as a clever use of the Soviet Union's international power to compel capitalist countries to stop selling oil to Italy. What Browder and the Russian leaders fail to see is the discrediting of the Soviet Union as a result of its practice of what looks to the international working class as pure capitalist diplomacy.

The Soviet Union's dependence upon a declaration of sanctions before it stopped selling wheat, coal and other articles, its continued sale of oil even after the application of sanctions, give the impression that the Soviet Union is willing to do only the things that the capitalists do. It is no wonder that the Yipsels left the hall referring to Browder as "Oil" Browder.

It is undisputable that a consistent Socialist position on war must include criticism of such acts by the Soviet Union and rejection of the advocacy of American participation in any war. And yet Browder sees no inconsistency in demanding a united front precisely on the issue of war, when he knows very well that Socialists will never agree to accept the policies he advocates. Is it not just a little unprincipled to raise the roof for a united front and refuse to recognize such basic differences as obstacles to be removed?

Whose "New Line"

Even on the more favorable aspects of the Comintern's new line Browder left a cloud of doubt. Thomas wanted to know whether the new line is really a new line or just a temporary moratorium. Browder not only refused to answer, he even refused to acknowledge the newness of the line. He contented himself with making facetious remarks about "Thomas' new line" which may or may not have been funny. This is one of the worst manifestations of the unprincipledness of the Comintern.

In spite of the poor case Browder presented, the debate was of great value. It really demonstrated to skeptical comrades that the present communist position is undefendable, and that no salvation can be looked for from that direction.

TRUE STORY FROM LIFE

By THE BYSTANDER

Walter Seeley was going home. The factory employes of the concern in whose office he worked as a petty executive were on strike. The employes in fighting the strike had elected to close the plant rather than employ scabs, intending to starve the strikers into submission. In consequence Seeley had been given two weeks leave of absence and he was going home to the small Illinois home of his childhood.

Surprisingly enough, although he had always considered himself a liberal even back in his college days, Seeley's sympathies were not with the strikers. The workers as a whole, he felt, were ungrateful. He believed that American workers owed a debt to capitalism for the opportunities it had created for them, for America's progress and advancement, of which they were the chief beneficiaries.

But he was going home, to his father's town where the workers, employes of his father's door-hanger factory, were grateful for the privilege of working. Most of them had worked there for many years, in lean days as well as prosperous ones, and were fully appreciative of their jobs.

Away from the Struggle

As the taxi which was carrying him to the railroad station sped through the streets he saw numerous pickets tramping to and fro in front of various stores and shops. These signs of struggle irked him and he was anxious to be away from the city and its constant labor war.

All through his long journey he thought about it. How he hated picket signs and banners, those symbols of the workers' constant demands. He never wanted to see another one.

Late the next morning he was in a cab in Montgomery, speeding toward his father's house, when suddenly he ordered the driver to stop. He found himself near his father's factory and to his amazement a huge picket line was marching around the building. He was shocked and a little hurt. He could see among the pickets a number of men with whom he had gone to grade school. He knew they had been working for his father for some years as had their fathers before them. He couldn't understand it.

He rushed up to his father's office. The pickets, some of them recognizing him, made way for him. "Father," he was asking breathlessly, "what does this mean? What do those men downstairs want?"

"Money, son," replied his father from behind a much chewed cigar. "They say that I'm not paying them enough. They forget the high wages I used to pay them a few years ago. They've forgotten how I kept them on during the long lean years I almost went broke. Now that I'm doing some business and making a little money they want me to give it to them."

"But, Dad, I don't understand, most of those boys are friends of mine, I went to school with them. It can't be. They've got to understand. I'm going down and talk to them."

"Don't be foolish," his father laughed. "They won't listen to you."

But he went down and was soon in a corner with a group of the strikers, old friends of his, former classmates. He tried "reasoning" with them, trying to get them to "see the other side of the question."

Joins the Line

The listened to him patiently and when he had finished, they began. He heard a long recital of their woes. He learned about the vicious speed-up, the bitterness of trying to support a family on \$12.00 a week while the factory paid increased dividends to its stockholders. When he mentioned the lean years he was told about the stagger system and two days work a week. He heard about the firing of union organizers, and about the lock-out, the employment of scabs, and thugs who beat strikers.

When they had left him he stood there for a moment in a daze. His mind in a whirl, his whole world of ideas was crashed about him.

In front of the plant he saw the massed picket line rallying for another march around the plant. They were singing now.

"On the line, on the line, on the picket line," they sang, and bitter tears came to his eyes.

Then suddenly he found himself running, running toward the head of the line. On the way he snatched a sign from a boy's hand. And then he was marching with them, singing with them, joyously.

And the banner in his hand read: "We want to eat, too, Mr. Seeley."

Underground News From Hitler Germany

3 Labor Leaders Hounded to Death By Hitler Regime

LEIPZIG—Hermann Liebman, a former metal worker, leading German trade unionist, and later editor of the famous labor daily, "Leipziger Volks-Zeitung" is dead at the age of 63, a victim of Nazi brutalities. He was arrested immediately after Hitler's victory in 1933 and interred in a concentration camp where he was subjected to indignities and mistreatment. He was freed in the summer of 1935 with his health broken and his days obviously numbered.

HAMBURG—Karl Hildenbrand, one of the founders of the German labor movement and a staunch fighter for the workers' rights, died at the age of 72. Hildenbrand, who stood by the German labor movement until the last, was imprisoned by the Nazis despite his age. He had been pensioned some time before the Nazis came to power, but even this did not hinder the dictatorship from wreaking its vengeance on the former Reichstag member and member of the State Council. He was freed after six months, but deprived of his pension and even of his old age insurance benefits from the printers' union into which he had paid for more than

Germans Feel War Misery

The following confidential report just received from Germany through underground channels throws vivid light on conditions in Nazi Germany:

Things in Germany have reached a stage where they resemble closely the conditions prevailing during the war. Fats, meat, lemon and onions are scarce; and at times even potatoes, Germany's staple food. The women are lined up before the stores in queues. They very often wander out in the country to purchase some foodstuffs. Prices are steadily mounting; bread is of a much poorer quality; substitutes for wool, cotton, copper and rubber have become a common necessity.

The authorities profess that the foodstuff necessities of the people are taken care of, but nobody believes them wholeheartedly. The cabinet ministers call upon the people to keep faith and discipline, but the man in the street says to himself and to others: "You can easily talk, you do not miss anything." The fear of war is prevalent everywhere and the people are very much disquieted about the future of the currency.

Everybody grumbles and almost nobody dares to openly defend the government. Many people, even those who are taking advantage of the Nazi regime are thinking: "This cannot go on much longer; it must collapse some day." However, only a small minority draws the only possible conclusion, namely, that there is only one way out: the overthrow of the regime. And why should the people know better? It witnessed the collapse of the empire in 1918 and it saw in 1933 how Hitler used the power which fell into his lap.

FLAYS NAZIS



Labor Mayor James Simpson of Toronto who pledged himself before 2,000 Toronto workers not to buy any German goods.

A reflection of the state of German intellectual life under the Nazis is offered by the following figures. In 1929 the turnover of German books was 1,725,000,000 marks; in 1935 it was 278,000,000. According to the year book of the German postal service, the number of papers and periodicals has declined from 11,300 in March, 1933 to 8,700 in March, 1935. The loss is even more pronounced when taking into account that more than 2,000 Nazi papers were founded during the last few years. The number of delivered newspaper copies declined 400,000,000 annually.

fifty years. He died in bitter misery.

CHEMNITZ—Another victim of the Nazi terror has been added to the long list in the person of Dr. Max Sachs, well known labor editor of the "Dresdener Volkszeitung" and an active trade unionist. Sachs' death is reported as having taken place a few days before his rearrest and transportation to a concentration camp. His death became known only accidentally through a press notice that appeared more than a week after his death. Sachs was 52 years old. He had been arrested in 1933 but later freed and kept under constant observation by the Nazis.

Cannon Fodder For The Next Slaughter

KOENIGSBERG—More than 180,000 young Germans have just been released from German labor camps where they underwent a course of intense military training. In each camp the departure of the future soldiers was celebrated by festive gatherings and war-like speeches of the Nazi leaders. The most aggressive of all seem to have been the leaders of the camps in East Prussia. In their speeches the men were urged to "hold themselves in readiness." "Germany needs living space which can only be found in unpeopled Russia. In one, two, or four years at the latest Hitler will give the order and requite from each German the supreme sacrifice."

Hunger, Food Scarcity Spreading Over Germany As Living Costs Jump

HANOVER—Calling upon the German women to resist the German food scarcity, the German Labor Front says in a fervid appeal: "When no pork is available, fall back on beef and when fresh eggs are scarce take cold storage eggs. If fresh fruit and vegetables cannot be had, take dried fruit and canned foods." The appeal fails to state that the German workers are financially unable to buy these substitutes.

Dried fruits, if available at all, have risen 78 to 174 per cent in price, according to the "Frankfurter Zeitung" and canned goods are much too expensive for working class households. The paper of the Railway Workers recommends the people to dispense for a time with bread and butter and to eat potato dishes and starchy foods. The "Angriff", paper of the German Labor Front states on October 12th, "The restriction of the consumption of butter is obviously a national duty of every German." These utterances remind the working people more and more of the war period and agitation and unrest are gaining ground.

WHAT, NO GENESIS?

BERLIN—The Reichswart, a Nazi weekly edited by Count Reventlow, publishes a long list of names "not fit for Aryans." They include Adam and Eve.

Material on this page was furnished by the Labor Chest for Relief and Liberation of Workers of Europe.

Nazis In New Terror Drive Against Foes

HAMBURG—New terroristic sentences against German trade unionists have been pronounced by the Nazi tribunal in Hamburg. Five workers, Kieras, Thron, Osterholt, Schumacher and Goldenhauer, have been sentenced to terms ranging from two to four years at hard labor and deprived of their civic rights. The defendants were accused of having distributed anti-Nazi propaganda and periodicals sent to them from labor headquarters at Copenhagen, Denmark. The extreme nervousness of the Nazi dictatorship is indicated by the threats of the prosecuting attorney, Behr, who stated that "this infernal propaganda" must be stopped at all costs and that if necessary "the heads of such criminals would be laid before their feet."

The same court sentenced 27 defendants to terms ranging from two to five years at hard labor. The defendants, all of them workers, were accused of having distributed an illegal newspaper and other anti-Nazi literature.

At Stuttgart the former editor of the labor daily "Sueddeutsche Arbeiterzeitung", Willi Bohn, has been sentenced to ten years at hard labor. Six co-defendants were sentenced to a total of 26 years at hard labor. The group was charged with attempted high treason. The charge, however, was not specified.

A Challenge To Mussolini—Civilize Yourself!

MALARIA AND DROUTH PREVALENT IN ITALY WHILE WATER POWER IS WASTED—WHAT ARE THE TRUE CONDITIONS IN ITALY.

By ALFIERO LEONE

This is the second of a series of five articles by Alfiero Leone, noted Italian Socialist, on conditions in Italy under the Fascist regime of Mussolini. The next article in the series will appear next week.

The gradual disappearance of the trees from the hills has caused both malaria in the lower plains and drouth in summer season. As the hills have, been denuded of their trees they can no longer hold the water in times of storms and heavy rains; the water has been flowing down toward the rivers and brooks carrying with it the good top soil and leaving only sand, rocks and lime stone. At the same time, the soil that has been washed away from the hills has raised the river beds while the water has continuously overflowed or flooded the lower plain lands, thus creating swamps and consequently malaria and drouth at one and the same time.

We have today a remedy that could prevent both malaria in the lower plains and the general drouth in the South. The remedy consists in impounding with stone, concrete and steel every single river and brook on the upper hills, creating in this way hundreds

of artificial lakes that would hold the storm rain and melting snow water that accrue during the seasons. In this way the plains would not be flooded, malaria would be prevented and all the land in the lower plains could be cultivated.

These impounded rivers and brooks would provide hundreds of hydro-electric power houses. Electricity would be cheap enough to be used for heating, cooking and all other purposes. The mountain forests would not be cut down any more; the naked hills could be reforested and, together with the impounded rivers and brooks, creating hundreds of artificial lakes, the atmospheric condition of the surrounding land would be changed also. Rains would fall more frequently owing to water evaporation from these lakes which could also be used for irrigation. In this way drouth would also be ended.

Cheap electricity would mean cheap transportation and travel,

it would mean the creating of hundreds of other large and small industries, especially electro-mechanic industries for the manufacture of electric ovens, electric ranges, electric radiators, electric washing and ironing machines, electric water heaters and hundreds of similar products. The poor women and young girls would not then have to go so far away to fetch wood and carry it upon their heads, would not have to go to the rivers to do their washing, and in this way would be emancipated from their actual life of slavery in which they are used like beasts of burden.

BUT IN ORDER TO DO THAT, THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY, INSTEAD OF WAGING WAR UPON ETHIOPIA AND FALSELY PRETENDING TO CIVILIZE THAT COUNTRY, SHOULD THINK ABOUT CIVILIZING AND MODERNIZING ITALY

(Continued on Page Nine)

Protests Against Nazi Games Grow

NEW YORK—Adding its strength to the growing fight against Hitler's use of the 1936 Olympics for Nazi propaganda, the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union, with 10,000 members, voted this week to protest against American participation in the games if they are held in Germany.

HAMBURG—A foreign department of the German Labor Front under the direct supervision of the Nazi party has been established, which replaces the former seamen's section and the trade group of German salaried employes abroad. It furnishes the necessary funds for Nazi propaganda in foreign countries. The reorganization has been accompanied by a radical purge of the Nazi staff of the former seamen's and salaried employes' unions. Nazi party members of long standing who are suspected of radical tendencies have been dismissed or transferred to unimportant posts.

THE THOMAS-BROWDER DEBATE

By Haim Kantorovitch

The debate between Norman Thomas and Earl Browder was of great historical significance to the Socialist as well as to the Communist movement. It marked the beginning of a new epoch in our movement, an epoch in which the struggle between Socialism and communism, a struggle which will go on as long as there will be Socialists and communists, will take a new and a different form.

Instead of name calling, character assassination, the spreading of misrepresentations and often downright lies, which was the official policy not only of the American Communist Party, but also of the communist movement all over the world, we will have mutual criticism and discussion.

The debate was not as some of our right-wing comrades prophesied a "love feast," and it is nonsense to designate it as a united front. Neither was it the long looked for open rapprochement between the militant Socialists and communists about which the right-wing has talked so much. Norman Thomas made it very clear that no matter how much, and in what direction, the communist line may change, no matter how desirable united action may be. Socialism remains Socialism and communism, communism.

The new communist line has not changed communism. It has changed its tactics. Essentially communism is what it always was. Neither has Socialism changed. The Socialist opposition to communism is not based on its abhorrence of communist tactics. Harmful as these tactics were to the entire proletarian movement, they were not the basis of the Socialist opposition to communism. The differences between Socialism and communism are much more fundamental. These two broad streams in the proletarian movement represent two different philosophies, two different, mutually exclusive proposals for the achievement of Socialism. Neither the growth of revolutionary Socialism nor the new communist line have changed anything. The fundamental differences between Socialism and communism remains what they were. It is true Thomas did not and could not under the conditions of the debate dwell at length on these differences. He made it clear, however, right at the beginning that it was not a rapprochement, but a debate.

REAL ISSUE WAS UNITED FRONT

The topic of the debate was: "Which Road for the American Workers — Socialism or Communism?" The real issue of the debate, however, was the united front. Has the time for a united front really arrived? Has the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, with its new line, really made a united front possible? Both debaters may be criticized for debating a topic which was not yet announced, and saying very little on the topic announced. Yet both may, and will be, forgiven. Twenty thousand or more people who packed the hall wanted above all to hear what the representatives of the two main proletarian parties had to say on the united front. One cannot get away from the fact that the united front at present is the most burning issue in the entire labor movement. Whether a united front is possible or is

advisable at this time, in this country, is another question.

"When I read the Daily Worker now," Thomas said, "I cannot recognize myself, my own wife would not recognize me!" This observation really expressed the feelings of the majority, if not all, present. They remembered then the meetings at the same Madison Square Garden, meetings of trade unions, meetings of Socialists.

They remembered the meeting in honor of the Austrian revolutionists. The same people, or almost the same people who were at the debate, were also there. The same chant: "We want a united front," that was heard at the debate was chanted there. We remember how the police had to clear the hall and escort bleeding combatants; how different it was this time! There were some "boos," there was some hissing when Thomas said something about Russia which the communists did not like. These "boos" and hissings were unavoidable. People who for long years had been fed on the gospel of hate and intolerance to any other opinion but their's could not be expected to change overnight, even at the bidding of Stalin.

THE CHANGE IN LINE

This is exactly what Thomas had in mind when, discussing the new communist line, he said, "We want to know whether the past is really the past or only a temporary moratorium." We may add that this question is uppermost now in the mind of every serious observer of the communist movement. There is something unreal about the new communist line. One can, of course, understand a change of line by a party which, realizing its mistakes, would try to correct them. There would be nothing strange or suspicious about it, but changes of this kind do not come about suddenly, overnight, without any preceding discussion or self-criticism, without as much as one dissenting voice, as happened at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

The "tactical mistakes" of the communist movement were not something apart from communist philosophy and program. That the Socialists are twin brothers to the fascist; that the Socialist movement is the chief enemy against whom the "main blows" must be directed; that in the interest of the social revolution the Socialist and "reformist" trade unions must be destroyed; that the fight of the communists against the Socialists and the trade unions was not a fight between disagreeing brothers, but a fight of "class against class," a fight in which all means are fair, no matter how low and dishonest, these were no "tactical mistakes." They are the essence of communism, the logical application of communist philosophy to current problems.

When Earl Browder assured his fellow communists that the Socialist Party is the direct creation of the American capitalist class "because it knows that in the coming great class struggles in America it is going to need the Socialist Party," and that the same American capitalist class "put" Norman Thomas at the head of the party because it wanted "to be sure they have a reliable man at the head of it" Browder, "Meaning of Social Fascism" — page 41, he did not make a "tactical mistake." He

simply applied communist philosophy to the analysis of the Socialist Party. Has this communist philosophy been changed? No, of course not. Communism remains what it was. What then is the new line? Is it, to repeat the question as Thomas put it, only a temporary moratorium?

A change of tactics may be due to two causes. It may be due to the fact that the communists sincerely realize their mistakes; that they have convinced themselves that Socialism is not the twin brother of fascism; that the term Socialist is not synonymous with faker and betrayer; that it is not in the interests of the social revolution to destroy the Socialist Party and trade unions. But a change of tactics may also be due to the fact that the old tactics was not successful in breaking the Socialist Party and the trade unions and a new maneuver must be tried. Maybe the new line will succeed where the old line failed.

What did Earl Browder have to say about it? Nothing! He avoided all references to the motives behind the new line. He appealed again and again for a united front, for a "people's front" with Catholics, Republicans and Democrats—but he seems to have failed to realize that the success of his very appeal depends on his answer to the all-important question:

What are the real motives behind the new line? Is it a change of heart or a new maneuver?

THE ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA

The communist past is not the only obstacle in the way of a real united front. An even greater obstacle is the communist attitude towards the Soviet Union, its "great leader," Stalin, and his enemies. A united front is a temporary union of people of different opinions and ideas for some

common end. The communists have reached the stage where they compel themselves to tolerate non-communist opinions on the class-struggle, on social revolution, even on the problem of proletarian dictatorship. But they cannot tolerate any one having an opinion about Soviet Russia different from their own. Soviet Russia and Stalin are above criticism. Whoever dares criticize either of them is a counter-revolutionist, just as one is still a counter-revolutionist if he dares remember the glorious role of Trotsky in the creation of the Soviet State.

Thomas made his position of Soviet Russia very clear. It is the position now held by every Socialist in America as well as Europe. He had nothing but praise for the great constructive work that is being done in Russia. He asserted his belief that the leaders of Soviet Russia are passionately devoted to the building of Socialism. As a Socialist, however, he felt it to be his duty not only to praise but also to criticize. Many mistakes were made in Russia, mistakes for which the Russian masses paid with rivers of blood, untold suffering and millions of human lives. Most of these mistakes were and are the direct consequences of the Stalinist dictatorship.

Is Russia so weak, Thomas asked, that it cannot afford, 18 years after the revolution, to grant civil liberties to its citizens? And the Russian foreign policy? No one will deny that Russia is above everything else interested in preserving world peace. But its foreign policies are not the policies of a Socialist state but that of any other capitalist state. It is by Russian oil that the defenseless Ethiopians are killed, Thomas exclaimed.

Communists do not share these opinions. It is true that even they feel quite uncomfortable about it. But they somehow manage to rationalize it away. The impor-

tant thing, however, is that they cannot tolerate any expression of opinion which they do not share, not even in a debate. Every time Thomas made a critical remark about Russia it was met by the well-known communist "hiss" and "boo" of the pre-new-line era. It seemed as if they would say: We want a united front but don't you dare have and express any opinion which we do not share! What a poor basis for a united front.

HOW NEAR IS UNITY?

Has the Thomas-Browder debate brought us nearer to a united front with the communists? By no means. It was a debate and nothing but a debate. The united front will not be created by debates and does not depend upon who made a better argument. It is not only up to the Socialist and communists to decide on the united front. The labor movement as a whole will also have something to say about it.

A united front between Socialists and communists with organized labor outside of it or even hostile to its—is of no value. The communists are facing a long and difficult task now in convincing the labor movement that when they say united front they really mean a united front. Only when this task is accomplished will a united front be possible.

That, of course, does not mean, as Thomas made clear in the debate, that no temporary united action is possible. Local and temporary united front actions take place and will surely take place in the future—but they are bound to be local and temporary. The time is not yet ripe for a national and permanent united front. And here again it may be said that Thomas undoubtedly represented the views of the vast majority of party members.

A Challenge To Mussolini—

(Continued from Page Eight)

FIRST. THE BILLIONS SPENT FOR WAR, BULLETS, GUNS, BOMBS, WARSHIPS AND ALL THE BARBAROUS, INFERNAL PARAPHERNALIA COULD WELL BE SPENT TO DO ALL THE NEEDED THINGS IN ITALY, THEREBY CREATING WORK, WELL-BEING, MODERNIZATION AND CIVILIZATION, RATHER THAN SANCTIMONIOUSLY FORCING IT ON A FAR-OFF NATION.

Aside from what I have already said, Italy needs thousands of miles of roads and railways to adequately link and connect all its towns, villages and cities. At present, with the old method of transportation and travel, consisting of walking on foot over long distances, or using donkeys, mules or horses, ancient buggies and carts, travel and commerce exchange are very slow and cannot be developed. The towns having roads (mostly dirt gravel roads) have the Postal busses carrying both mail and passengers, but the enormously high taxes levied on gasoline causes the fare charged by the companies operating the busses to be so high that not very many people can afford to travel on them. Over a distance of ten miles they charge from sixty to eighty cents, while it should not be more than five cents in order to have everybody use these

means of travel. The horse-drawn buggies cost even more and therefore the people travel very little. When it is necessary, they go on foot or use a donkey or a mule.

FARMS AND TOWNS

For lack of roads, the farm also are distant from the towns, so that the exchange between farms and towns is very slow. This slowness is more marked in the south than it is in the center and north. In the southern part of Italy, for lack of roads, water supply, housing facilities, etc., farmers instead work, live mostly in the towns and villages, perched, from ancient times, on high hills. Every morning they can be seen going to their fields with their hoes, spades and other working implements on their shoulders, and a meager lunch wrapped in a napkin.

Those who own a donkey or a mule, use them to carry their implements and other things. Often the farms are far away, considering such slow means of travel. They may have to walk two or three hours and in order not to be late, they have to start very early in the morning, sometimes before sunrise. They seldom eat any breakfast in the morning, first because of lack of time and because of lack of food.

After walking a long distance in the morning, to reach their fields,

they have to do a long day's work, often lasting until sunset. Then, instead of resting and having a good supper, they must walk another two or three hours back to their town or village, carrying their heavy tools. Many of these poor working people on their return home at night, knowing that they need fire just as much as they need bread, gather a bundle of wood or a piece of a tree and carry it home on their shoulders. Like the "Via dolorosa" of the working women and girls which I have described above, this is the "via crucis" of the working man. Can you imagine how tired they must be when they reach home?

These poor people have no time to do anything or enjoy themselves in any way. After their meager supper, consisting mostly of some vegetables, macaroni or beans, they go to bed and sleep in order to begin the same grind next morning. This mode of life is not only endured by the farm hands who have no land, but is the same for the farmers who own their land. This is due to the antiquated methods of work and the lack of roads. Before these conditions, the Fascist Government ought to be ashamed to say it wants to civilize Ethiopia while here is so much to civilize in Italy.

Party Activity

Connecticut

BRIDGEPORT local will hold a victory ball at the Pyramid Mosque, Saturday, December 14, at 8.

BRIDGEPORT Polish Socialist Branch ("Wolny Duck") will celebrate its thirty-fifth anniversary December 14.

Illinois

COOK COUNTY Socialists have completed arrangements for a large meeting for Mrs. Victor Berger at the Workmen's Circle Lyceum at Ogden and Kenzie Streets, Thursday, December 12, at 8. Tickets are on sale throughout the city, and an overflow crowd is expected.

VERBAND STAYS LOYAL TO S. P.

CLEVELAND (Special)—Meeting six months before the national convention of the Socialist Party, the annual convention of the Jewish Socialist Verband in session here last week definitely rejected attempts to place the organization on record as ready to split the Party.

A resolution, attacking the national leadership of the Party, introduced by N. Chanin, was withdrawn after it became plain that the more than 100 delegates assembled would refuse to accept it. Instead a resolution pledging the Verband to work for peace within the Party was passed. The Chanin resolution, in line with speeches by Ab Cahan, Alex Kahn, Forward attorney, and James O'Neal, sought to place the Verband on record in favor of a split.

Forward Rebuked

Policies of the Jewish Daily Forward, the most powerful foreign language daily in the country, were twice rebuked inferentially by resolutions passed on the Soviet Union and on the Palestinian question. The resolution on the Soviet Union, although critical of the communist regime there, was worded in friendly fashion in contrast to the extremely negative attitude by the Forward. A resolution introduced by Meyer Motlin of New York on Russia, also critical but expressing the left-Socialist point of view, was rejected.

A long and sharp debate occurred on the Palestinian question, a problem which has become one of the burning issues within the Verband. Under the motion of Sobotko of New York, a militant, the convention unanimously renewed a resolution forbidding Jewish Socialists to affiliate themselves to the Gewerkschaften campaign for Palestine—again a policy which breaks definitely with the Forward.

Protest "Transfer Pact"

Charney Vladeck, business manager of the Forward, led a successful opposition to policies followed by the Histadruth, Palestinian labor organization, in making a "transfer pact" with Hitler.

FARM-LABOR PARTY BEGUN IN WISCONSIN

MILWAUKEE.—The Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation was born here last week at a conference of 225 delegates, 25 each from the following organizations:

The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, the Wisconsin Co-operative Milk Pool, the Farmers' Equity Union, the Wisconsin Farm Holiday Association, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Wisconsin Workers' Alliance, the Progressive Party, the Farmer-Labor Progressive League, and the Socialist Party of Wisconsin.

Eight Will Merge

The new Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, however, will not consist of these organizations as such. The first eight of them, above mentioned, have not at any time intended to go into the new organization—they have only intended to help to organize it. Such of their members as desire to do so will form clubs, and these clubs will affiliate with the new federation. The Socialist Party, if it affiliates with the new federation, will be the only one of the nine groups that goes in as a group.

The platform declares for production for use and a new social order, besides many other things. For this reason, the new organization has already drawn the fire of all conservative and reactionary newspapers and organizations.

To Poll Socialists

The constitution provides that the candidates nominated by the federation shall be run on the ticket of the Progressive Party and that no state or local candidate who is not a member of the federation shall be supported. There is no national organization, and national candidates are not affected. The Socialist Party is to name the candidates of the federation in places where it is especially strong.

The Socialist Party will take a referendum vote of its membership to see whether or not it will affiliate with the new federation.

A sharp resolution of protest was adopted. A resolution opposing any united front with the communists was adopted by a large vote as against a resolution proposed by militants which proposed united fronts on specific issues such as civil liberties, etc.

Militant delegates from New York, Chicago and Detroit, although few in number, exercised an important influence upon the convention because of their clear stand upon every question before the convention. In addition to the questions of the united front and the Soviet Union, militants introduced a resolution on the situation within the Party which was rejected.

KARL MARX

By Franz Mehring

Published at \$5 our price \$3.25

WORKERS BOOK SHOP

50 E. 13th St., N. Y. C.

PEOPLES BOOK SHOP

140 2nd Ave., N. Y. C.

BOOKS

The Middle Class And Revolution

"INSURGENT AMERICA: THE REVOLT OF THE MIDDLE CLASS." by Alfred M. Bingham. Covici-Friede. \$5.00.

Son of ex-United States Senator Hiram Bingham of Connecticut, Yale law graduate, and editor of Common Sense magazine, Alfred Bingham now makes his debut as the author of "Insurgent America: The Revolt of the Middle Class."

This is a remarkable book. While sympathetic in its attitude towards Marxian economics, it seeks to demonstrate the fallacy of the Marxian social philosophy and the failure, consequently, of its politics.

In "Insurgent America" we find that, contrary to Marx, there is no irreconcilable class struggle between capital and labor, in which the middle class disappears. Instead, the class struggle is blurred and the middle class, instead of being destroyed, is very much in revolt and rising to increasing dominance in many ways.

"Insurgent America" aims to direct this middle class in the formation of a Farmer-Labor party, which is to transform capitalist collectivism into a collectivism of all the people. In pursuit of this aim, Mr. Bingham insists on a change of emphasis from the working class to the middle class as the prime agency in this transformation. Either that or drive the middle class into Fascism.

The aim of "Insurgent America" is desirable. This country needs a Farmer-Labor party. It needs, thanks to the great change going on all around us, the unity of all of the anti-capitalists involved. Such unity, however, is not likely if the working class is underrated and the middle class overrated; especially by detaching whole corps of workers from the working class. It is not dominance of the working class by the middle class that is wanted, but, where fundamentally sound, the cooperation of all classes.

As we view the world picture, the working class is destined to be the transforming class. It forms the cooperative mental and manual framework of capitalism and needs only to grasp that fact completely to realize its own emancipation. It is doing this with increasing strength through

its trade unions, labor parties, sports, cooperative and cultural activities, from day to day; hence the growth of oppression against it. But even in Italy, Germany and Austria it shows signs of coming back and finally triumphing. Despite force and fraud, it will not down.

—JUSTUS EBERT.

The Apex Of Hero-Worship

STALIN, by Henri Barbusse. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1935. Translated by Vyvyan Holland.

If one has any doubts of the genius of Stalin, Barbusse's biography will dispel them. For a man who is as great as Stalin tolerant, as beloved, cannot possibly need a biography so psychopompic as this one. It is very difficult to see how a man of Lincoln Steffens' stature can call this work a literary event. For it is neither good literature nor is it an objective biography. It is nothing but a collection of the various products of the hero-cult which recent years have seen. All of Russian revolutionary history is being remade in order to give Stalin a place in it—a place which he either never occupied, or does not deserve.

Needless to say, the various op-

position leaders get short shrift in this book. Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kameney are continually referred to as "crew," "parasitic," "decadent," "enemies of October." Certainly even if the fight were in full blast at this moment, not even an ardent member of the Stalin faction would discuss these figures (who, let it be remembered, in spite of Barbusse's history worked closely with Lenin for more than six years after the October Revolution) in the fashion of Barbusse.

It would be futile to make a detailed analysis of the book to show its distractions, its inaccuracies, its downright falsifications. After finishing with the book, one is compelled to declare that Barbusse did Stalin a great disfavor. For the book leaves one with the feeling that here is an attempt to make a giant out of a dwarf. And Stalin is no dwarf. Surely a good many of the things he has done speak for him without any need for such glorification. Surely, all recognize Stalin's great ability without any pictures of omnipotence. Stalin can do nothing better for himself than to collect all copies of this book and burn them.—H. Z.

NORMAN THOMAS
'HOPE IN A MAD WORLD'
Sunday, Dec. 15, at 11 A. M.
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
Lafayette Ave. (nr. Atlantic Ave. Sta.)
ADMISSION IS FREE

INGERSOLL FORUM
PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70 St.
SUNDAYS—8 P. M.
Admission: Debates, 35c; Lectures, 25c
DEC. 8
"Is Communism A Religion?"
Ex-Priest LEHMAN vs. M. TALPALAN

"Educators Report on Soviet Russia"
SYMPOSIUM
Prof. Weisman (C.C.N.Y.) Prof. Harper (Teachers' College, Columbia)
Prof. Schlauch (N.Y.U.) Prof. Miller (Long Island U.)
and others
MONDAY, DECEMBER 9 — 8:30 P.M.
Washington Irving High School (16th St. & Irving Place)
Auspices: Friends of the Soviet Union Admission 25c

WORKERS! Join the
Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund
(Organized 1881) (Reserves \$3,500,000)
A society, always found on the front in all struggles against Nazism and reaction.
Comrades: Make this your society, for your own benefit; aid and support the Labor Movement as a member of the Society.
A means of self-protection. Total benefits paid, \$19,000,000. All healthy workers between 16 and 45 years of age welcome and eligible.
Monthly dues from 45c to \$2.20, according to amount of insurance.
Main Feature is the continuous payment of sick benefits, not limited to a few weeks in a year. Sick benefits available from \$360 to \$900.
Life Insurance From \$175 to \$885
ADDITIONAL FEATURES
Hospital Fund • Juvenile Insurance • Recreation Farm
All unemployed and destitute members aided by a National Relief Fund
Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund
714 SENECA AVENUE, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Sir ROUND TABLE PUBLIC DISCUSSION WITH
NORMAN ANGELL
"The New Line-Up of Forces for War"
Participating: Dorothy Dunbar Browley, Joe Pass, Maxwell F. Stewart, Alfred Bingham, Chas. Augoff, Wm. F. Dunne, Varian Fry, George Seldes, Alvin Johnson, George Leighton, Johannes Steel, Malcolm Cowley, and John Chamberlain.
Tickets: \$55, \$33, \$11 on sale at the offices of the Henri Barbusse Mem. Comm., 156 5th Av.; Amer. League Against War and Fascism, 112 E. 19th St.; N. Y. U., Columbia U. Bookshops; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1502 King's Highway, Brooklyn.
Friday Evening, At 8:30
Pythian Aud. Dec. 13
135 West 70th Street

SAT.
DEC. 21
9:00 P. M.

—SOCIALIST CALL—
ANNOUNCES
FIRST ANNUAL DANCE
Tickets: \$1.00; 75c in advance — Order Now — 21 East 17th St.

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

Broadcast Social Drama

Ibsen First Drama To Be Broadcast

NEW YORK—On Sunday, December 8, the Theatre Union will resume its weekly series of broadcasts of social plays over WEVD, which were highly successful last season, when the program was known as "Plays That Speak With a New Voice." Last season's programs included only American plays, but those given this year will be plays of all countries, and the program will be titled "Social Plays From All Over the World." The first to be given will be Ibsen's "Enemy of the People."

The schedule of broadcasts also includes Gilbert Seldes' version of "Lysistrata," "The Armored Train," Ernst Toller's "The Machine Wreckers," "1931," "Precedent," "The Good Hope," the William Lawrence version of "At the Bottom" and "The Hairy Ape." Sylvia Fennington, director of the Theatre Union's studio, is in charge of the programs, for which adaptations of the plays, direction and acting will be done by members of the Theatre Union staff, of the cast of its current play, "Mother," at the Civic Repertory Theatre and by guest friends.

They will be given every Sunday from 8 to 8:30 p. m. over Station WEVD. As last year, the programs will continue throughout the season, affording a resume of the most important social plays of all times.

200 Signed For Artists' Congress

NEW YORK — More than 200 artists residing in 20 states have already been accepted for membership in the American Artists' Congress, originally scheduled for December but now postponed to February 14 to 16, according to Stuart Davis, secretary of the congress.

Important art centers represented in the group are New York City, Woodstock, N. Y.; Chicago, Provincetown, Mass.; San Francisco; Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Taos, N. M., and Santa Fe.

Singers of the call for the congress include Rockwell Kent, Alexander Brook, Ivan Le Lorraine Albright, Arnold Blanch, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Reginald Marsh, George Biddle, Raphael Soyler, and Nicolai Cikovsky.

Read the CALL every week for timely news, pictures, cartoons and features of American working-class life.

HOLLYWOOD SHORTS

HOLLYWOOD, Cal. (FP)—The Screen Guild (union) nominations toward their annual prizes are for September, best performances. Fred Astaire in "Top Hat," Merle Oberon in "Dark Angel" and Robert Donat in "39 Steps"; best screen plays, "The Gay Deception," "Dark Angel" and "Broadway Melody of 1936." For October, best performances, Edward Arnold in "Diamond Jim," Katharine Hepburn in "Alice Adams" and Miriam Hopkins in "Barbary Coast"; best screen plays, "Alice Adams," "Diamond Jim," and "She Married Her Boss." One-third of the 31 plays released in October received one or more votes for the nominations.

Paramount is frankly going out and advertising its new film, "So Red the Rose," as a defense of the Confederacy in Civil War times. Picture had 11 simultaneous openings, in Confederate capitals, sponsored by Daughters of the Confederacy.

With only stage people set to get jobs in the WPA drama projects in California, and the wage scale well below Equity and Screen Guild rates, the unions called a huge mass meeting November 25. Their protest is getting support of all organized labor in southern California.

Titles for scenarios are getting better and better. Latest two: A Sliver in God's Eye and The Devil Is a Sissie. Screen Writers' Guild has brought its membership up to 879, as against less than 40 in the Academy (company union). Among latest guild members are Horace McCoy, Charles Grayson, Harold Buchman, Thyra Samter Winslow. The Actors' Guild has added 28 members to its rolls, including Monroe Owsley, Wini Shaw, Lionel Stander, Onslow Stevens, Fritz Leibler, Frank Lawton, Valerie Hobson and Joseph Spurin-Calleia.

The Soviet Union has bought the latest three Walt Disney cartoons for its theatres. Charlie Chaplin's film, "Modern Times," has been booked sight unseen for a 20-week run at the Tivoli in London. George Jessel is said to be negotiating with John Barrymore for the latter to play John Brown in a new play based on the life of the martyred abolitionist.

A reactionary organization,

the League for Upholding the Constitution, is said to have completed a film, "The Sentinel," made of pieced-together "stock shots" and to be circulated as anti-New Deal propaganda. Monogram Pictures has taken four Soviet films for distribution in Cuba, the first time Russian-made pictures will be seen in the American-dominated sugar-island. M. G. M. has bought, and will film, Sinclair Lewis' anti-fascist novel, "It Can't Happen Here." Lionel Barrymore will have the leading role. Sidney Howard is adapting the novel for the screen. H. G. Wells, who recently became a screen writer in London, is on his way to Hollywood to study screen technique under Charlie Chaplin.

Rudy Vallee Is New President Of Union

NEW YORK—Rudy Vallee, star of radio and screen, is the new president of the American Federation of Actors, AFL union of vaudeville, cafe and outdoor entertainers.

Commenting on Vallee's election, a writer in The Billboard, trade journal, says:

"It was not believed among the boys alleged to be in the know that a man of Vallee's earning power and mass-appeal caliber would want to be bothered about helping the underdog in this day and age. In an era when certain alleged bigshots who are still hams and don't know it keep away from the AFL like it was poison because it might hurt me with the booking offices."

"In this era, Vallee—topnotcher of hardiness unsurpassed—fooled them and cast his lot with the organization that has scratched, bled and bit its way through the cave of horrors in which all great movements are born."

POOR BARBARA!

NEW YORK — Countess von Haugwitz-Reventlow, the former Barbara Hutton, now has only \$5,000,000 of her original \$40,000,000 fortune, according to reports here.

6TH & LAST WEEK
THE NEW
**GULLIVER
CAMEO** 42nd St. E. of B'way
25c to 1 P. M.

2nd RECORD MAKING WEEK!

JAMES CAGNEY

as the "FRISCO KID"

A WARNER BROS. HIT
STRAND - 25c
B'WAY & 47th ST. (to 1 p.m.)

AUSPICES INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

America's Greatest Dancers and Their Groups on One Program

GRAHAM—HUMPHREY—TAMIRIS WEIDMAN—DANCE UNIT

Tickets 25c to \$2.20 at Box Office and Bookshop, 50 E. 13th Street, New Dance League, 55 W. 45th Street, I. L. D., 41 Union Square
CARNegie HALL, SUNDAY, DEC. 15, 8:15 P. M.

Regionalism Aim Of Commonwealth

MEMPHIS, Ark. (Special)—A direct change of policy for Commonwealth College was forecast here this week by Richard Babb Whitten, new director. Whitten declared that Commonwealth hereafter would set for itself the task of a regional school instead of attempt to act as a national labor school.

"There are too few labor colleges in this country," Whitten declared. "More of them should be established to serve particular regions, and those existing should work in closer harmony for progress and strength. It is our

New Film Alliance
presents
KAMERADSCHAFT
with English titles
Directed by G. W. PABST
who will discuss the film which shows the unity of French and German miners.
SUNDAY, DEC. 8
at
NEW SCHOOL, 66 W. 12th;
6:30 and 9 P. M.
Tickets 50c, available at Rand School, Workers' and People's Bookshops; also New Film Alliance, 110 W. 40th St.

intention to draw more students from Southern states and we will expend every resource to strengthen the relationship of the college with the farmers' organizations and the trade unions of the South."

'Music in the Crisis'

Concert & Symposium
Georges Barrere, Chairman
AARON COPLAND

"The Composer and the Audience"
Songs by Charles Ives
Mordecai Bauman, Baritone

HANNS EISLER
"Music's Purposes in Society"
Chorus: Davidenko and Eisler
The New Singers, Lan Adomian, conductor

OSCAR THOMPSON
"The Critic and the Audience"
Arnold Schonberg, Op. 23 — 1 piano piece
Lydia Hoffman-Behrendt, Pianist

HENRY COWELL
"The Present Trend"
"March" by Cowell
Henry Cowell, Pianist

Auspices: New Music Society
Tickets: \$1.65; \$1.10; .83; .55; .35
On sale at Town Hall Box Office and
Midtown Bookshop, 112 West 44th St.

Sat. Evening, Dec. 7, at 8:15
Town Hall—Dec. 7

MUSIC AND POETRY IN THE LABOR THEATRE

A Symposium on "MOTHER"

The Theatre Union's Current Provocative Production

SPEAKERS:

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH "Poetry and Realism in the Theatre"
AARON COPLAND "Eisler and Music in the Theatre"
JOHN GASSNER "Dramatic Style in the Theatre"
FANNIA M. COHN "Social Drama as Workers' Education"

Wed. Eve., Dec. 11—YOUTH HOUSE—159 West 49th St.
See the Play Before the Symposium

CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE

103 West 14th Street, New York City
Admission: 25 cents at the door
Every day but Monday (including Sundays), WA 9-2054
Seats: 30c to \$1; Sat. and Sun. eves. and Sun. Mat. 30c to \$1.50

The Outstanding Laugh Hit of the Season! SQUARING THE CIRCLE

ADELPHI THEATRE
54th St. and 7th Ave.

SEATS NOW
SELLING
3 WKS. AHEAD

Even. 50c to \$2.00
Matinee
Wed. & Sat.

where to dine

GEFFNER'S Dairy Restaurant—24 hour service—a la carte at all times—Try our Special Luncheon 35c. Full Course Dinner 50c.
143 2nd Ave., cor. 9th St.

GIUSTI'S SPAGHETTI INN—4 and 5 course Luncheon, 40c and 50c. Six course Chicken Dinner, 60c. Special luncheon, 35c. Served all day. Spaghetti, Dessert, Coffee, 35c. A la carte all day. Wines and Beer served. 47 W. 15th. W.A. 9-9177.

JOHN'S ITALIAN RESTAURANT
Lunch and Dinner, Wines and Beer served. Favorite rendezvous of Eugene Victor Debs. Popular prices.
302 E. 12th St., NEAR 2nd AVE.

KAVKAZ RESTAURANT—332 EAST 14th STREET
Most Excellent Shashliks
Tompkins Square 6-9132 New York City

NEW CHINA CAFETERIA—Finest Chinese and American food at reasonable prices.
848 Broadway, between 13th and 14th Streets

PARRIS BAR AND RESTAURANT
Special luncheon 50c. Dinner 65c. also a la carte. We specialize in the finest wines and liquor. Prices reasonable.
29 E. 14th St.

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

DINER

5th AVE. CAFETERIA Celebrating the opening of our new bar dispensing Wines and Liquors at the lowest prices in the city—plus Excellent Food.
94 5th Avenue
bet 14th and 15th Sts.

Going To The Theatre?

Why not consult the CALL special THEATRE BUREAU for expert advice on matters pertaining to the theatre. Choices readily obtained.

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

Get in Touch With
The Theatre Bureau
c/o SOCIALIST CALL
21 East 17th St. New York City
or phone
GRamercy 3-6119

AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

GUARDIANS OF THE NAVY



These eminent gentlemen, all prominent advocates of "a navy second to none" comprise the U. S. delegation to the London Conference on Naval Limitations which, if it follows the line of other similar parleys, will become the Conference for Bigger Navies.

ONE of the cleverest, most arrogant and most demagogic of Huey Long's performances was his announcement of the Cabinet he would appoint if and when he was elected President. You will remember he was going to make Franklin D. Roosevelt Secretary of the Navy because he liked ships! Well, the country may pay very dear because Franklin Roosevelt is so fond of ships. This big navy program on which the Administration is embarked is not in any genuine sense defensive. The Administration has not even settled the question what we are to defend—our own shores or our commerce, wherever it may go, or perhaps every little island in the Pacific over which the American flag has ever flown.

Two things make the question immediately acute. The first is the magnificent flight of the China Clipper. That is a great achievement in aviation. But unfortunately there is reason to think that naval and military men are watching it and planning to follow it up by a development of aviation so that we can successfully get airplanes, if not ships, across to fight Japan in the Philippines and the Far East. Hence the preparation of airplane stations all across the continent and now across the Pacific.

The Naval Delegation

The second ominous sign is the personnel of the President's delegation to the London Conference on Naval Limitations. Nobody expects that that conference will accomplish much in the present state of mind of both Britain and Japan. But at least we ought to have a delegation capable of making a hard fight for limitation of navies. Instead we sent a thoroughly weak delegation—Norman Davis, whose main enthusiasm is for Great Britain and the League of Nations; a man named Phillips, a lightweight from the State Department, and an Admiral named Standley who goes around the country denouncing pacifists and arguing for heavy preparedness.

Fortunately the Secretary of State is a firmer friend of peace and international good relations than the President. We owe to him largely such degree of prog-

ress as was represented by the proposed tariff agreement with Canada. No such agreement can be perfect but that was a step in the right direction. We also owe more to Mr. Hull than to the President in the struggle for real neutrality; that is, for keeping oil, etc., away from Italy. On this matter Congress must act and act right.

THE SPEECH AT ATLANTA

The President's speech at Atlanta was a clever defense of his administration which will have weight against Republican attacks, but simply doesn't touch the main Socialist issue. The President admits that in the present state of the agricultural art we need more land under cultivation to feed America properly. He can't tell how we can bring this to pass under capitalism. One thing, however, even a Republican could find

to criticize. The President eulogizes his Social Security bill. That is a social insecurity bill, especially as far as the unemployed are concerned. Socialist propagandists—and every Socialist ought to be a propagandist—should familiarize themselves with the arguments on it as stated by Dr. Abraham Epstein in the current issue of Harper's Magazine. The kind of social security which Epstein criticizes is not what Socialists have promised the workers.

SOCIALISTS IN SOVIET JAILS

As a supporter of Soviet Russia and an advocate of the maximum possible amount of cooperation in America with communists and all other groups in the labor movement who are working in behalf of labor, I want emphatically to endorse the plea addressed to the Soviet government for mercy and for justice—for justice rather than mercy—to Socialist prisoners of the Soviet. Surely today the Soviet government is so strong that it no longer has even the excuse of urgent revolutionary necessity to deny elementary civil liberty. It has a magnificent chance to prove that communists are sincere in their new line and in their support of what democracy the workers have in bourgeois countries. We who know that our struggle against Fascism in America requires all possible unity of anti-Fascist forces and who therefore want the communists to succeed in showing labor that no longer are their tactics disruptive or anti-democratic, have a special reason to urge the practice of civil liberty in Russia. It is a practice in which we have always believed.

DEFENDING THE U. S. S. R.

My study for the debate with Earl Browder and my reflections on the debate convince me that there is a dangerous tendency in the communist new line which needs to be understood. I refer to the tendency to make the central point of communism the defense of Soviet Russia, an enormously important point as I think I have

himself might have agreed, a defense of what is fine in Soviet Russia in the long run depends upon the ability of the workers to make central in their thinking and planning an aggressive attack upon capitalism looking to the establishment of a federation of cooperative commonwealths throughout the world.

Merely to defend a nation—Russia—against physical attack by no means automatically means the victory of Socialism. Neither can the workers consent to abdicate control of their struggle against war and exploitation in America or in other capitalist countries to the judgment of the Russian dictators on what Russian national needs require in the realm of international politics. For instance,

at present they seem to think that Russia's national needs requires her to sell oil to Italy to use against Ethiopia.

If, as part of a program for defending Soviet Russia against physical attack, the communists in America—and other countries still under a nominal bourgeois democracy, virtually cease their attacks on militarism in order to seek any kind of united front which may serve the defense of Russia, it will mean that so far as they are concerned their struggle for real Socialism is about over. It is clear enough that the government of the United States, so long as the United States is a capitalist nation, will not go to war on the side of Soviet Russia for Socialist ends. It will go to war, if at all, only because of its own imperialist policies. If the first World War did not make the world safe for bourgeois democracy neither will a second.

If in practically every land, emphatically including our own, bourgeois democracy, such as it is, and bourgeois liberties, such as they are, are steadily receding, we cannot restore them, much less win the day against Fascism, simply by a policy of defense. The situation is worse when the generals in absolute charge of the defense are situated in Moscow and must necessarily think in terms of Russian national politics.

I do not say that already this notion of the defense of the nation—Soviet Russia—has taken all revolutionary drive out of communism. That would not be true. I do not deny the importance of the defense of the nation, Soviet Russia. I simply affirm that Socialism—whether of the extreme right of the extreme left—and on this matter the two seem to be meeting—will fail miserably and ignominiously if and when its guiding star becomes the defense of Soviet Russia and secondarily the defense of bourgeois democracy in America or England or France, rather than aggressive attack on the confusion, war, and tyranny to which the disintegration of capitalism gives hideous birth.

THE WASHINGTON SCENE

By LEN DE CAUX

WASHINGTON — Announcing his resignation from the AFL executive council with one short sentence on a Saturday, and successfully avoiding reporters over the week-end, John L. Lewis kept the press guessing so well that he had a record attendance at his press conference last week.

With more than 50 reporters turning out to hear what he had to say, Lewis did better than most cabinet officers. President Roosevelt is about the only one who draws a bigger house right along.

The reporters had a difficult time trying to build up a personal clash story, Lewis vs. Green, out of the serious issue of organization policy involved. Lewis insisted on praising Green; and Green, a member of the United Mine Workers, told the newsmen that he, like Lewis, had learnt to think along the lines of the coal miners.

"I have always been for industrial unionism," Green said. "The rights of the international unions must be respected. They cannot be forced to accept

any line of action, but they may be persuaded."

Lewis has a knack for colorful phrases that make "good copy."

He described the activities of the teamsters' union in enrolling workers claimed by the brewery workers' union as "equivalent to the Italian raid on Ethiopia."

As to his attendance at executive council meetings, the miners' president said he had attended all held in Washington. "But," he added, "I have not been able to follow the council in its seasonal peregrinations from the Jersey beaches in the summer to the golden sands of Florida in the winter."

Asked about the alleged "rebuke" administered to him by the executive council in its reply to his analysis of the AFL legislative record, Lewis answered with some of the pugnaciousness that brought him into his fist fight at Atlantic City: "Individually no member of the council has the attribute necessary to rebuke me. If they were to do so, they would be rebuked."

Southern Bourbons Happy; Begin Another Scottsboro

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (FP).—Death sentences against two Negro boys who had incurred the enmity of the same sheriff whose deputies drove Norman Thomas out of a town at which he was to address a sharecroppers' meeting have been affirmed by the Arkansas supreme court.

The boys, Bubbles Clayton, 21, and Jim X. Caruthers, 19, of Blytheville, were convicted of rape on the basis of a story which subsequent investigation showed could not possibly have happened. The escort of the woman alleged to have been attacked testified that he was thrown into a ditch by the side of a road, where he lay while the assault took place; yet United States Weather Bureau reports show it had been raining in sufficient quantities so that the ditch would have been full of water.

"Identification" Attacked

The two boys were "identified" after a third prisoner in their cell had been told to cover his face with a blanket. Identification was made by the white woman and her escort, despite the fact the latter subsequently testified he had not seen their faces at all. The defendants, who are day laborers, reside in the section in

which the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is leading militant struggles of cotton pickers and sharecroppers. The sheriff is notoriously brutal and anti-labor, and in addition had a grievance against the two boys, whom he said he suspected of shooting at him. Unable to extort a confession on that score, he switched the charge to rape, although the boys had been about the streets of Blytheville for several days following the alleged assault, without making any attempt to hide.

Rejects Appeal

The Supreme Court, in rejecting an appeal which cited the absence of Negroes from the jury, said there was no evidence Negroes were excluded. It is common knowledge about Blytheville that no Negroes have served on juries there for at least a generation.