

**Norman Thomas**

*on*  
**The Hillquit Amendment**

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# Socialist Call

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# KKK MOB VICTIMS ACCUSE GOVERNOR IN TAMPA KILLING

## Tour Nation To Publicize KKK Terror

America will hear the story of Tampa from the lips of two of the victims of the terror. America will hear the story of kidnapping and of murder, of lawless violence perpetrated by "the defenders of law and order." Throughout the country, Eugene F. Poulnot and Sam Rogers, two Socialists who accompanied Joseph Shoemaker on that "ride" given them by Tampa police and Klansman will spread the tale of Tampa terror. The story will be first told in the city of Tampa. Poulnot and Rogers will tell it at a mass meeting in New York. They will tell it in a tour of the nation.

### Hear Norman Thomas

TAMPA, Fla.—More than 6,000 outraged Tampa citizens are expected to jam the Municipal Auditorium here to hear the story of Tampa. Norman Thomas, Socialist leader who helped break open the connection of the Ku Klux Klan with the murder, will be the chief speaker. Unusual interest has been aroused by the meeting.

Other speakers will include George Gogge, regional organizer of the AFL and Dr. Hamilton Holt, president of Rollins College.

### In New York City

NEW YORK — The spacious auditorium of the Hotel Delano, 42nd Street and Sixth Avenue, will be the scene of a Tampa mass meeting, Wednesday evening, January 22.

Among those who will address the meeting will be Eugene F. Poulnot and Sam Rogers, two of the Socialists who were kidnapped in the kidnapping of Joseph Shoemaker.

The meeting is sponsored by the Committee for the Defense in Civil Rights in Tampa.



**JOSEPH A. SHOEMAKER**  
*A Martyr To The Cause Of Labor*

## Say Sholtz Incited KKK To Lynching

By BRUNO FISCHER

NEW YORK — Dave Sholtz, Democratic governor of Florida, was accused this week of direct responsibility in the murder of Joseph Shoemaker, lynched November 30 by a police-inspired mob of Klansmen.

With a voice that never faltered as he voiced the indictment, Eugene F. Poulnot, who with Sam J. Rogers and Shoemaker was a victim of the lynch mob, told the story here this week of "the Tampa terror"—a story of official corruption that shocked the nation.

Here was part of the story he told:

In a speech several months ago, Governor Scholtz, elected to uphold law and order, gave direct incitement to lawless violence and lynch mobs when he called upon the Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion to conduct a KKK pogrom—to drive out of the state by brute force all Socialists, communists and "Reds."

Leo Walters, Tampa justice of peace, threatened Shoemaker with lynching four days before the actual crime.

Sergeant "Smitty" Brown of the Tampa police let the cat out of the bag to Poulnot when he told him in jail: "We're going to show you tonight that you can't get away with this." Brown is now under arrest as one of the murderers of Shoemaker.

New York newspapermen, us.  
(Continued on Page Three)

# Reintroduce Hillquit Bill In Congress

WASHINGTON—The Hillquit Amendment to the Constitution, endorsed by more than two million workers and farmers, was introduced in the House of Representatives last week by Vito Marcantonio, New York City congressman.

The bill, considered by many the most effective answer to the lawless dictatorship of the Supreme Court, was drafted by the late Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party. It provides power for Congress to pass labor legislation of any sort and "to establish and take over natural resources, properties and enterprises in manufacturing, mining, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities and other business to be owned and operated by the Government of the United States for the benefit of the people and for the economic welfare of the workers, farmers and consumers."

### Backed By Labor

The amendment, known throughout the country as the Hillquit Bill for Workers' Rights, has been endorsed by six state federations of labor, national and international unions, central labor bodies in more than 30 cities, national, state and local organizations of the unemployed and thousands of farmers banded together in farm unions. The campaign for the amendment was initiated and has been led by the Socialist Party.

Clarence Senior, Socialist national secretary, in New York last week, called for a renewal of the campaign for the amendment.

"The decision of the Supreme Court on the AAA," he declared, "can only serve to emphasize the

need for unity in the labor and farm movements behind the Hillquit Amendment. The question before the American labor movement is whether we shall let nine old men—none of whom were elected or approved by the people—govern our lives and sabotage any attempt on the part of the federal government to aid the welfare of the masses. Labor's answer to this challenge must be an immediate and effective campaign to force adoption of the Hillquit Amendment."

### Push Other Bills

The amendment is a part of the 5-point Socialist legislative program. Other bills in the program are:

The National Production Corporation Bill, providing for the socialization of industry.

The Boncel ordinance, giving local executives power to close strike-bound factories.

The Sharecroppers Bill, providing for farm relief through partial socialization of the land.

Mandatory neutrality legislation.

WASHINGTON — Two bills of extreme importance to American workers were introduced in Congress last week. One, the Workers' Insurance Bill, introduced by Senator Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota, is based on the Lundeen Bill which last year received support from hundreds of trade unions. The other was a 20 billion dollar housing project bill, introduced in the House by Congressman Maury Maverick of Texas.

## THE HILLQUIT AMENDMENT

The following amendment to the Constitution of the United States was introduced in Congress last week by Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York City. CALL readers are urged to introduce resolutions in their trade unions and fraternal organizations endorsing this amendment.

ARTICLE XXII Section 1. The Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws throughout the United States to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age; to limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage earners; to provide for the relief of aged, invalid, sick and unemployed wage earners and employes in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation or indemnities from the public treasury; to establish and take over natural resources, properties and enterprises in manufacturing, mining, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities and other business to be owned and operated by the Government of the United States or agencies thereof for the benefit of the people, and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers, farmers and consumers.

Section 2. The power of the several states to enact social welfare legislation is unimpaired by this article, but no such legislation shall abridge or conflict with any Act of Congress under this Article.

## N. Y. State Party Plans Membership Registration

SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—Making clear at the outset that they intended to allow no purge "either on the right or on the left" the newly-appointed provisional state committee of the Socialist Party met here this week-end to map the rehabilitation of the party in this state.

In accordance with the action of the Socialist national executive committee at Philadelphia, the committee took steps to register all party members in the state prior to February 7. Opportunity to register with the committee will be afforded by an every-member mail canvass starting this week, by contact in branch and local meetings, and through personal canvassing in some communities.

### Trager to Be Secretary

The committee appointed Frank Trager, Baltimore Socialist and national executive board member of the Workers' Alliance of America, as temporary state secretary, and will soon establish new offices in New York City. A temporary state action committee was also set up, with the follow-

ing members: State Chairman Lewi Tonks, Jack Altman, Murray Baron, Winston Dancis, Max Delson, Jacob Jay, and Edward Marks.

The meeting was attended by Devere Allen and Albert Sprague Coolidge, members of the special supervisory sub-committee of the party's national executive committee. At the opening of the session, Coolidge stated:

"We must make it plain that we intend to persecute no party members; All have equal rights in the party, and that is why this committee was set up."

Following out this policy, the committee issued a statement outlining as its major task "to make arrangements for elections on a basis of proportional representation for all opinions in the party, as well as to maintain the functioning of the party." In Buffalo and New York, where Old Guard strength is greatest, the committee took special pains to ensure full democratic rights to all.

### Name City Committees

Pending new elections in New York, a temporary city executive committee was set up, with 11 members from the old local at 7 East 15th Street, 11 from the newly-reorganized local at 21 East 17th Street, and three "centrists," Harry W. Laidler will be city chairman. A similar committee of nine was set up to administer party affairs in Buffalo.

As its meeting opened here, the new committee received a communication from the state committee elected at the emergency state convention at Utica, stating that, though it was "keenly disappointed" by the national executive's failure to recognize it as the official state committee, it would nonetheless go along with the decision in the interests of party discipline and democracy. The communication was unanimously accepted.

### Invite "Old Guard"

On the other hand, although several "Old Guard" appointees to the state committee had stated to the capitalist press their refusal to serve on the committee, the committee will again request their attendance at meetings. They will have until January 22 to accept the appointments, after which the NEC will be asked to fill all vacancies.

To help promote organizational activities planned by the committee, a voluntary "Build-the-Party" stamp will be sold, at 25c each, to all members in the state.

### GOTHEM'S RICHES

NEW YORK—One out of every four persons in New York City, or more than 1,750,000 men, women, and children were dependent on the emergency relief bureau for food, shelter, and other necessities of life during 1935. Miss Charlotte Carr director of the bureau, announced this week.

## LABOR IN ACTION

The Pacific Coast will see a 1-day protest strike of all maritime workers if the Copeland bill, providing for the establishment of Shipping Board hiring halls, is passed by Congress. More than 34,000 members of the Marine Federation voted 3-1 to authorize such a strike in protest against government efforts to eliminate hiring halls which, as a result of the 1934 strike, are now operated by unions.

Marine workers on the Gulf have followed the lead of the Pacific Coast unions and have formed a Gulf maritime federation. The federation serves to coordinate and direct united efforts of seamen, longshoremen, firemen, etc.

Products of the Eagle-Picer Lead Company have been placed on the "unfair" list by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Local 111. The company has refused to meet a union committee although a strike has been in effect since May.

More than 2,000 Pacific seamen are on strike for a 6-hour day at San Francisco. The strike has tied up 23 vessels. Four deep-water ships are also tied up while their crews hired on the Atlantic, are demanding the Pacific wage scales.

The Berst - Forster - Dixfield Company will face a strike of 5,500 match makers at its various plants unless it settles with 350 strikers at its Cloquet, Minn. plant, President G. B. Gerhart of the Match Makers Union has warned.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union ended a 1-month strike against the Kansas City Ritter & Levin shop when a union contract was signed.

Glass workers in eight centers of the industry are on strike under the leadership of the Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America.

The amalgamation of all metal workers' international unions under a single AFL charter is demanded by Lodge 459 of the Machinists in St. Paul.

Picketing of Kroger chain stores in many mid-western states and action by numerous central labor unions on the "unfair" list was the response of organized labor to an appeal by St. Louis Kroger employes out on strike.

A strike which tied up operations of the Eastern Railway and Lumber Co. at Centralia, Wash., for a month ended when workers won increased wages, shorter hours and prohibition of discrimination.

The Labor and Socialist Defense Committee has been endorsed by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. The STFU annual convention, which met last week, elected a special committee of five to cooperate with the LSDC in court fights. The Ward Rogers case is expected to be the first central battle.

Among the speakers at the convention was John Herling, representing the Emergency Committee for Strike Relief.

It will cost Portland, Ore., citizens \$35,000 to have provided police protection for seabs during the sawmill and lumber strikes in 1935. Police have put in an overtime claim for strike duty during the year.

DON'T FORGET. SOCIALIST CALL FIRST ANNUAL DINNER ON MARCH 21.

## WHAT CAN I DO?

1 CALL readers are urged to introduce resolutions in their unions and organizations pledging support to the Hillquit Amendment to the Constitution, introduced in Congress last week by Representative Marcantonio.

2 Copies of the resolution, if passed, should be immediately mailed to:

(a) Rep. Hatton V. Summers, chairman of the Judiciary Committee in the House of Representatives.

(b) Your Congressman in Washington.

(c) If a union, to the headquarters of your national or international union and to the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.; other organizations should send copies to their national headquarters.

(d) National headquarters of the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

(e) Amendment Editor, THE CALL, 21 East 17th Street, N. Y. C.

3 Write and agitate that the State Legislature in your state may memorialize Congress to adopt it.

4 Order MAKE FREEDOM CONSTITUTIONAL pamphlet from the Socialist Party; order other literature to propagandize and fight for the amendment.

5 Talk about the amendment to your shop mates and neighbors, your friends and relatives.

Make Freedom Constitutional!

## Iowa Labor Wins Prevailing Wages

DES MOINES, Iowa — The threat of a state-wide relief workers' strike has forced WPA officials to grant labor the prevailing wage on all jobs in Iowa.

Low wages on the relief projects had previously brought a strike vote by the Iowa Federation of Labor and other workers' organizations. On behalf of the federation, President J. C. Lewis announced, however, that officials had granted a four-point program satisfactory to labor.

In addition to the prevailing wage, the program includes: increased allocation of federal funds to the state to provide cash for all eligible workers; employment of all the destitute jobless not previously eligible for WPA work; and an increase in monthly wages; particularly in the lower brackets.

After conferring with L. S. Hill, state administration of the WPA, Lewis charged that 10,000 eligible workers have been denied relief jobs in the state.

## ASU To Campaign For Nye-Kvale Bill

NEW YORK CITY—The newly formed American Student Union launched a nation wide campaign this week for two measures expected to be introduced at this session of Congress, according to Joseph P. Lash, executive secretary of the Union.

The projected bills it seeks are the Nye-Kvale bill providing for the abolition of compulsory military training and its replacement

## Asks U. S. Probe In Minn. Strike

WASHINGTON—How a federal judge used a writ of replevin in an attempt to smash a strike of hosiery workers in Minneapolis will be the subject of a congressional investigation, if Representative Ernest Lundeen, Farmer-Laborite, has his way.

Lundeen has announced that he will seek a federal probe into the judicial strike-breaking attempt at the Strutwear Hosiery Company plant there recently, as a result of which several workers were arrested for contempt of court for interfering with the moving of scab goods through the picket lines.

Strutwear, it is charged, set up a dummy corporation in another state, secured the federal writ solely to avoid the strike at its Minneapolis plant. The federal court then enjoined pickets from stopping the scab deal, and the arrests followed.

Three of the workers were sentenced to six months each. The cases are now being appealed.

by optional drill, and the American Youth Act, providing for a comprehensive system of youth relief, to be administered democratically by representatives of various student and youth organizations.

Both measures have won widespread support from individuals and organizations throughout the country, Lash declared. At present representatives of the Union and of the recently held Youth Congress are in Washington, negotiating for the introduction of these desired bills.

# NAME SHOLTZ IN KILLING

## Say Sholtz Incited KKK To Lynching

(Continued from Page One)

usually so cynical and base, listened with amazement as Poulnot, in New York with Rogers, outlined a sorry tale of capitalist political corruption. He told of how workers and liberals in Tampa organized the Modern Democrats—a coalition of unions, the Workers' Alliance, the Socialist Party and some liberal groups, to fight the gang rule of the rotten and tyrannical Tampa political machine.

But Shoemaker, Poulnot and Rogers were guilty, not only of organizing against corruption. They were charged, too, with the heinous "crime" of organizing the unemployed in the Workers' Alliance to fight together for jobs and for relief.

It was for these two "crimes" that the murder mob kidnapped these men. It was for these two "crimes" that this mob tortured and killed Joseph Shoemaker. It was for these two "crimes" that this mob beat, tarred and feathered Poulnot and Rogers.

As the newspapermen wrote, Poulnot told the story of the fight. So successful were they in arousing the Tampa citizenry that their candidate for mayor, an unemployed worker named Miller A. Stevens, was declared defeated only after open vote-stealing at the polls.

### Fight Just Begun

"But terror and corruption cannot frighten us," Poulnot asserted. "Next election, we're going to run Stevens for mayor again. We'll run him for governor, too. We have just begun to fight!"

One knew that Poulnot spoke the truth. For he had previously told of how the day after the kidnapping, unemployed from surrounding territory poured into Tampa. They came with their guns and rifles and formed an armed guard around Poulnot's home—knowing well that the sinister powers that rule Tampa might return to silence Poulnot forever.

"We have just begun to fight!" declared Poulnot. For he told of an aroused Tampa, a Tampa that would no longer brook the iron rule of the reactionaries. For the reactionaries rule Tampa today—make no mistake of that!

And the reactionaries were behind the murder of Joseph Shoemaker—make no mistake of that, either!

### KILL HANDBILL LAW

DETROIT (FP)—Protests by organized labor prevented passage at the Hamtramck city hall of an ordinance which would have forbidden "the distribution, circulation of bills, posters or advertisements that tend to incite the readers to illegal force or violence."

Since an unfriendly judge could rule any strike appeal illegal under the proposed law, trade unionists packed the gallery to hear Frank X. Martel, president of the Detroit Federation of Labor, denounce the bill as opposed to the interests of organized labor.

### NEW WAGE CUTS

NORWICH, Conn.—Textile manufacturers, free at last of the twin "evils" of NRA and AAA, against which they have ranted for many months, began a wage-cutting program in Eastern Connecticut last week. At one mill, in Plainfield, 1,000 workers have already been forced to strike against a wage slash. New rates offered are as low as \$9 per week.

## TSK, TSK



Ham Fish (above) fell out with America's No. 1 "red-baiter," Ralph M. Easley, when the congressman endorsed Senator Borah's candidacy for the Presidency. Easley accused Borah of Bolshevism!

P. S. Senator Borah will do nothing to stop lynching if he is elected President, he has announced.

## 10 Socialists Ask Return to Office

MILWAUKEE—Ten out of the 11 Socialist aldermen here will seek re-election, it was announced this week by Herman O. Kent, county secretary of the Party.

The only Socialist incumbent who will not seek office again is Emil Seidel. Seidel, who served as mayor of this city from 1910 to 1912, is retiring.

Those seeking re-election are: Paul Gauer, council president, William Baumann, Frank Boncel, Carl P. Dietz, Leonard K. Place, Alex C. Ruffing, Charles C. Schad, August W. Strehlow, William H. Tesch and Charles E. Winkelmann.

### RHODES RE-ELECTED

READING, Pa.—George M. Rhodes, veteran Socialist, was elected president of the Federated Trades Council here for the ninth time last week. He is a member of the International Typographical Union.

# J. P. Admits Guilt In U. S. War Entry

WASHINGTON—In a tiff over a Biblical quotation, J. P. Morgan told the Senate Munitions Committee here last week:

"The love of money is the root of all evil."

How that "love of money" drove the United States into the most catastrophic war in all history was dramatically outlined, with Morgan himself a more than interested witness, in the crowded caucus room of the Senate last week. The story, as it unraveled bit by bit, was so new to most of the nation's capitalist dailies that they gave it the front page.

## AFL Considers Curb on Court

MIAMI, Fla.—Issues of nationwide importance faced the executive council of the American Federation of Labor as it opened its quarterly sessions at the Hotel Everglades here this Wednesday.

Once more near the top of the committee's agenda stood the crucial question of amending the U. S. Constitution to end the Supreme Court's veto power over labor and farm legislation. Big factors in the committee's decision on the question will be the court's AAA decision and the tremendous pressure that has developed behind the Socialist-sponsored Workers' Rights Amendment.

The battle within the AFL over industrial unionism will also be brought sharply to the fore, with the Committee for Industrial Unionism, headed by John L. Lewis, directly challenging the administration of President William Green to act decisively in several industries. Craft union interests conflicting with organizational possibilities in the steel, auto, and radio industries are almost sure to provide committee members with plenty of verbal fireworks.

**DON'T FORGET. SOCIALIST CALL FIRST ANNUAL DINNER ON MARCH 21.**

## Lewis Speaks At Cleveland

CLEVELAND—The automobile industry, for years the pride of the open shop, will be the first objective of the Committee for Industrial Organization, progressive bloc in the AFL led by John L. Lewis. A campaign to organize labor in the industry will begin Sunday, January 19, when Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, will address a huge mass meeting of automobile workers in Cleveland's Music Hall.

Previous union organization campaigns in the industry have been hampered either by lack of finances, as in the case of the independent unions, or by a lack of militancy that marked the efforts of the highly touted AFL campaign in 1933 and 1934. The new campaign, financed from the war-chest of the Lewis committee, will have the services of veteran organizers who long ago learned that unions are organized at shop gates and gains are won on picket lines.

Although many union leaders believe that labor must strike soon in auto if it is to stop impending pay cuts, observers doubt that there will be an auto strike until after the November elections. Lewis.

Most of them, though, had to leave out some of the most dramatic details. The story was too explosive—because, documented by document, it bore out the fiery speeches of Eugene V. Debs and Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit in the war days and of Socialist writers and orators from that day to this.

What was proven here in the caucus room where the committee held its dramatic hearings? Most significant were these:

1. That the firm of Morgan and Co. represented the British government in this country throughout the war. They bid competitively with other American banking houses for the "privilege." After they won in the bidding, Morgan actually was a member of the British War Council.

2. That the firm made some \$30,000,000 directly out of the war, the profits on commissions on the British business in this country, — despite the pious neutrality speeches of President Wilson.

3. That they aided in manipulating the British pound downward, — thus endangering the security of American manufacturers who had sold millions of dollars of goods to the British government on credit. Big business then became frightened and put its weight on the Wilson administration to allow flotation of a large British loan in direct violation of "neutrality."

4. That Wilson himself knowingly violated his own neutrality policy, threw the federal government's weight behind the Allies and thus made American entry into the war inevitable—nearly two years before the formal declaration of war. The exact date was August, 1915.

Called Foes "Pro-German" 5. That the Wilson administration as early as the Summer of 1915 was labelling those who disagreed with the Morgan loan promotion as "pro-German" and unpatriotic.

6. That prior to his violation of his own "neutrality" policy, Wilson warned that all changes must be made orally so they might not be used against him in his "He-kept-the-country-out-of-war" campaign in 1916.

Through it all Morgan remained the central figure, dominating the committee's sessions just as he dominated government policy—in the years preceding and during the world war. Smiling and beaming at his own cleverness most of the time, occasionally slightly irritated by some Senator's direct question, he sat smoking his underslung briar pipe.

It was as though the World War was to him only a slightly amusing episode in a long life of gaining money at any cost to others. "Love of money," he smilingly told the committee, "is the root of all evil."

## 'DON'T TREAD ON ME'



Reviving the old war cry of the American Revolution thousands of New York WPA workers turned out on the picket line protesting a projected dropping of 20,000 from the relief payroll. After one look at the line, the administration forget about the plan.

# THE SOCIALIST CALL

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Business Manager: Jack Altman Managing Editor: Samuel Romer

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## A Glowing Opportunity

At their meeting in Miami this week and next, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor will have a glowing opportunity to give the American workers a message of hope and cheer in the midst of this, the sixth dismal year of a great economic crisis.

By fighting vigorously for the Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution, it can effectively meet the Supreme Court's challenge to all progress. It can make more mightily the drive to end for all time the autocratic dictatorship of nine old men over the American people.

By moving vigorously toward industrial organization in such key industries as steel, autos, and radio, it can put to rout key barons of America's industrial oligarchy.

By saying plainly and unmistakably to the city of Tampa: "Unless you punish the killers of heroic Joseph Shoemaker; we will boycott your city," it can strike a mighty blow against embryonic fascism and the blatant corruption of an old-party administration.

Certainly if it does not do these things, we can expect some pretty pointed comments from the progressive leaders within the AFL. And under the circumstances, those remarks, no matter how pointed, would seem well justified.

## Another Do-Nothing Congress

Congress has just gotten started.

At least it's gotten started about as much as it ever will get started.

Obvious from the beginning is the fact that it is going to be just another do-nothing Congress. Oh, sure, the Congressmen will earn their pay. They'll talk a lot, they'll rant a lot, and they'll even pass a lot of laws. They'll keep busy enough, all right.

That isn't what we mean. What we mean is that once more Congress is going to meet for a few months and then adjourn without much more than rubbing the surface of the big problems it ought to solve.

A war threatens. And we shall have, at best, another pious neutrality bill, which our bankers can smile at with the sure knowledge that it won't mean much anyway.

Eleven million men are still without jobs. And we shall see another cruel juggling of paltry relief allowances against human lives.

An economic crisis still spreads its paralyzing web across the nation. And we shall have little more than political speeches, plus a few weary legislative poulitices to relieve, not cure the illness.

**America still goes without food, without clothing, without decent housing, while men wait for jobs, eager to produce the things which other men need. And we shall have from Congress no plan for sharing the great abundance of our rich land!**

Yes, it's another do-nothing Congress.

But don't blame Congress and don't blame your Congressman. You didn't tell Congress to give the nation Socialism. You never instructed Congress to quit playing with reforms and to get down to solving some of the big issues before it.

In a word, if Congress is a do-nothing Congress, don't be too harsh on the Congress. Maybe it's your own fault, and your neighbor's and your neighbor's neighbor,—for not building a strong Socialist and labor movement to give us that economy of abundance we could have and ought to have in America.

## Do You Want It?

Announcement in this issue of The CALL of plans for a 10 page New York edition should call forth an immediate response on the part of the entire Socialist membership in New York.

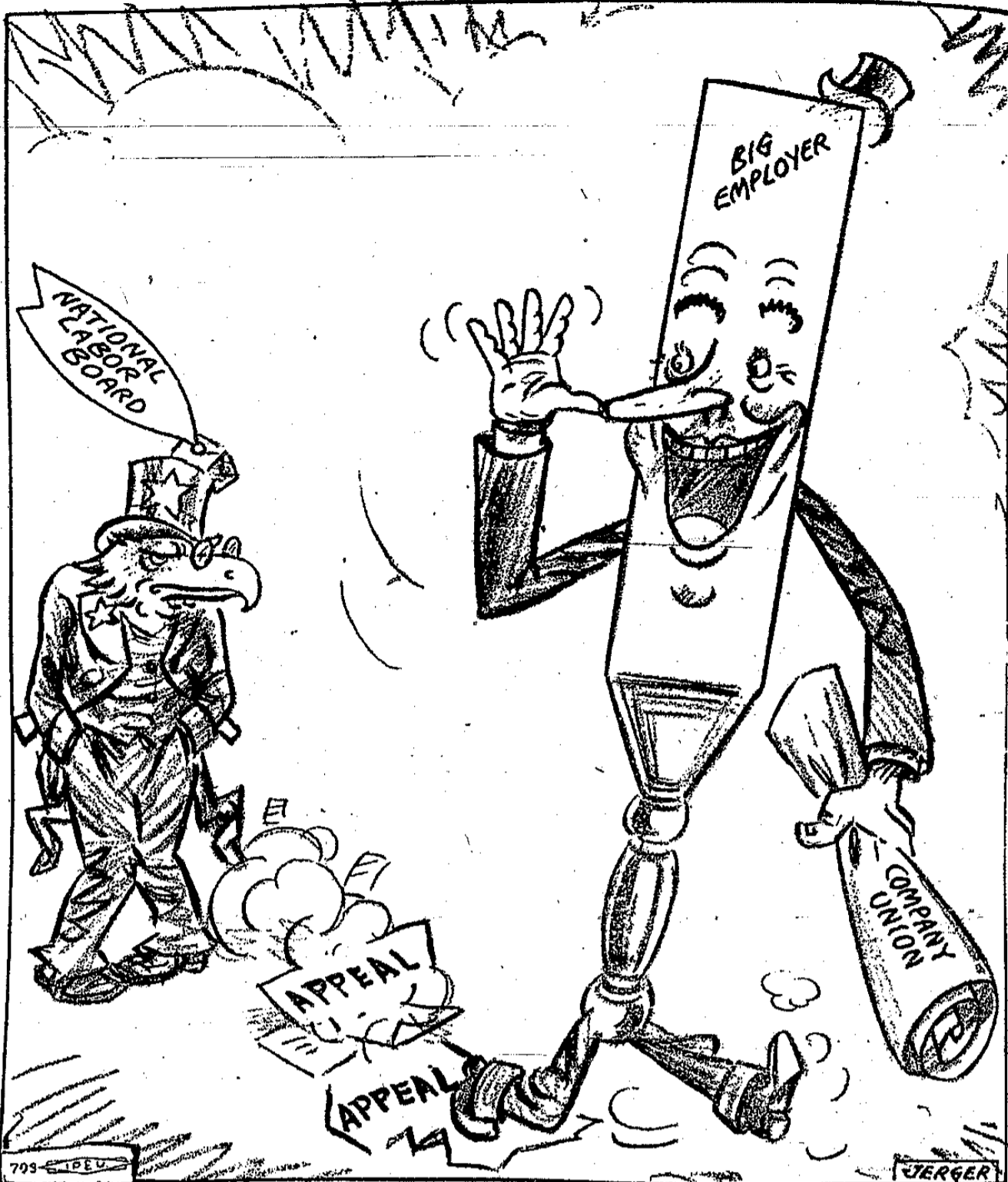
This city has long felt the need for an aggressive, local Socialist weekly that will serve to strengthen the Socialist Party and will take an active part in building of a fighting, aggressive trade union movement. But while such papers have been launched from time to time in other industrial centers where Socialist strength is much weaker—New York has never seen it.

The CALL, existing today as a national paper, cannot in fairness to the bulk of its subscribers and readers throughout the country play such a role—that is, the function of a local paper.

But an edition of the CALL with its main emphasis on the New York labor and Socialist movement can and will do it.

Let's get some action! We'll use the 10 page, New York edition of The CALL, will you? The answer can only be given by the New York branch.

# THE NEW CO-OPERATION



NEWS ITEM: The National Industrial Conference Board reports no decline in the number of company unions under the Wagner Act.

## Roosevelt Juggles a 'Hot Potato'

To The Editor:

So far as I know the CALL was the first paper to lay bare the reluctance of President Roosevelt to touch the issue of amending the U. S. Constitution, as you said, "with a ten foot pole." Personally, I enjoyed very much your story (in the January 4 issue) of the motives behind some of the issue dodging that has already begun here.

Your views on the amendment question as a political issue seem to be right—despite the AAA decision. I noticed in the New York Times of January 10 an editorial entitled "Not a Promising Issue." Here is part of it, in case you didn't notice it:

"The whole idea of amending would encounter so many difficulties that practical politicians (sic) will hesitate to take it up definitely and specifically. They may advance it with a good deal of general rhetoric in their speeches, but to seek to carry it out would surely prove to be a painful and disappointing experiment."

In other words, in plain English, the present administration intends to steer clear of the issue because it isn't an issue that (so they think) will produce votes. More power to the CALL in its campaign for the Workers' Rights Amendment.

J. L. Washington, D. C.

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.

### The Socialist Platform in 1936

To The Editor:

I hope that by the time the next national convention of the party gets started a good deal of thought will have been given by the responsible leaders of our party to the formulation of a comprehensive and down-to-the-minute platform for the presidential elections. At the last convention, I understand, a great many other issues, all of them in themselves important, so occupied the time of the delegates, that very little time or attention was given to the big problem of writing our congressional platform.

I think we should understand that tremendous changes have taken place in the United States in the last four years. We can not simply put in the same old string of "immediate demands" in a party platform, tack on here or aft a pious declaration of our belief in Socialism, and expect to get away with it before the American workers. We must have

a platform which will meet the needs of the day, will link up our ultimate objectives with these immediate needs, and will speak to the workers and the farmers in a way that they can easily understand.

REALIST

Chicago, Ill.

### A Fox, a Crow, And the CP

To The Editor:

The new line of the Communist Party reminds me of the fable of the fox and the crow.

"A certain Fox spy'd out a Crow upon a Tree with a morsel in his mouth that set his Chops a-watering; but how to come at it was the Question. Oh, thou Blessed Bird! (says he) the Deight of Gods and of Men! And so he lays himself forth upon the Gracefulness of the Crow's Person and the Beauty of his Plumes; his admirable Gift of Augury, etc. And now, says the Fox, if thou hadst but a Voice answerable to the rest of thy excellent Qualities, the Sun in the Firmament could not shew the World such another Creature. This nauseous Flattery set the Crow immediately agaping as wide as ever he could stretch, to give the Fox a taste of his Pipe; but upon the Opening of his Mouth he drops his Breakfast, which the Fox presently Chopt up; and then bade him remember, that whatever he had said of his Beauty, he had spoken Nothing yet of his Brains."

CHARLES D. GRAHAM Dallas, Tex.

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# WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

Now the fat is in the fire. With the passing of the AAA, the New Deal is deadlier than the dodo. We are back in the Hooverian days of "rugged individualism," which is another name of the law of claw and fang, and the devil take the hindmost. We shall now see the markets once more flooded with foodstuffs that the underfed city workers cannot buy. Prices of farm products will fall. The farmer will once more be unable to pay his mortgage interest. The old and familiar sequence of bankruptcy, foreclosure and destitution will unfold. Maybe there will once more be "penny sales;" maybe the threatened farmers will, as in 1932, take to direct action. Did the six old men who killed the AAA think of the possibility of farm revolt when they gave the farmers to the banks as vassals and serfs?

The New Deal was a faint and timid step away from "rugged individualism." It was a vain and faltering effort to persuade tough and hard-headed capitalists to regulate themselves, please, so that revolution might be forestalled. It left to capital all that could be left to it: its property, its profit, its courts, its law, its control over public opinion. It merely asked, in humble tones, that capital be wise enough, far-sighted enough to accept a slight limitation of its powers—as a sop to the starving workers and the impoverished farmers. Even this much, however, capital was unwilling to concede. Arrogant, brutal, proud as Lucifer and indifferent to human suffering, it repudiated self-regulation. Now it smashes Roosevelt's timid and ineffectual efforts at enforced regulation.

## A Lesson for Socialists

Is there not a lesson in this for those who imagine that the road to Socialism can be traversed by slow and easy stages? If capital so bitterly resents even the slight regulatory efforts of the New Deal, which left its property intact, to what means will it resort to resist the socialization of all the great industries? If its present truculence is a measure of its future intentions, will it not fight with overt force, if need be, to prevent even so mild an advance as the nationalization of the banks or the railroads?

Socialists had no sympathy with many measures of the so-called "New Deal." They were immature, futile, cumbersome and deceptive. They were based on the theory that the capitalist system was sound, and that only its "abuses" needed correction. We had no sympathy with the curtailing of crops, the destruction of foodstuffs, the pegging of prices that were the mainstays of the AAA.

It is not the passing of the New Deal that we regret; it is the manner of its passing. It gives way now to reaction, undisguised and unashamed. Triumphant capital sweeps on to new positions of power. It is now clear that no relief from capital is possible within the framework of the constitution. The new turn of events forces all who oppose either capitalism as such, or even only some of its manifestations, to advance constitutional amendments, or to proceed by unconstitutional means.

## Our Task Today

It is exceedingly difficult to amend the constitution. Twenty-one changes in 147 years—that is the record. Far more than 21 amendments, and more far-reaching ones are needed now. And they are needed in a year, or less. Only a dreamer imagines that they will be forthcoming.

Barring such deep and broad alteration of the constitution as virtually to recast its whole structure, capital is safely in the saddle. No temporizing, middle-of-the-road policy will so much as shake it. Only a farmer and labor movement committed to a program essentially Socialist will have the courage and the foresight needed in the present stage of the struggle.

The only real question before us is this: Will such a movement come into being before the capitalist reaction evolves into the fascist dictatorship?

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# READY FOR ACTION



Here is Julius Hochman, manager of the Dressmakers Joint Board in New York City, (center), oiling up the machinery for a general strike in the women's garment industry February 1. He is shown distributing instruction cards to shop chairmen at a preliminary meeting.

Await Feb. 1

# Dressmakers Plan General Strike

By VIRGINIA HOLLMAN  
 NEW YORK—Preparations for a general strike affecting 105,000 workers in New York's \$500,000,000 dress industry, took a long step forward at a mass meeting of 4,500 active union workers in the spacious Manhattan Opera House here last Wednesday.

The workers represented every section, every branch of the industry. Even while they were meeting, it was learned that the general strike of the dressmakers would be accompanied by similar strikes on the part of the furriers and of the building service employees.

Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dress Joint Board, reported that no progress had been made in negotiations with the employers.

### Must Meet Demands

"We are here tonight to organize the general-strike machinery," Hochman declared, "and to serve notice on our employers that unless they sign contracts which meet the basic demands of the union, a general strike will be declared in the dress industries. The associations of the employers are lacking in constructive leadership

and are serving only to emphasize the inevitability of the strike."

The thousands cheered as Hochman declared:

"Ours is not merely the problem of signing an agreement. If that were all we were after, it would not be difficult to accomplish. We want an agreement that will be more than a scrap of paper. We want an agreement that will assure us of enforcement, that will ensure us decent standards and conditions, that will provide peace and stability. We want an agreement that will wipe out the shameful practices making our lives unbearable.

### Crosswaith Speaks

Others who spoke were Frank R. Crosswaith, Negro Socialist and labor leader, who pledged the solidarity of Negro workers with their fellow strikers on the picket line; and Luigi Antonini of Local 89, Charles S. Zimmerman of Local 22 and Samuel Perlmutter of Local 10, who pledged the full resources of their unions under the banner of the Dress Joint Board to mobilize the union masses of the New York garment industry for a short, sharp and successful struggle.

## Launch Drive to Free Norman Mini

NEW YORK—A national drive has been launched by National Sacramento Appeal Committee to protest the continued imprisonment of the Sacramento prisoners. Unions throughout the country have been asked to pass resolutions of protest to reach the California Parole Board at its meeting early in February.

The Parole Board, if it wishes, can release all the prisoners because the minimum sentences of the prisoners will expire February 27. The sole "crime" for which the prisoners were convicted was union organization; one of the convicting jurors has already repudiated the verdict as a "horse-trade."

Meanwhile, the appeal of Norman Mini and the other prisoners has been delayed because the defense attorneys have been denied the right to a copy of the trial record. Appeal for Mini's release has been made by R. W. Henderson, representing the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and Leo Gallagher, representing the International Labor Defense, with the Marin County Court on the

## Workers on Short End of '35 Gains

WASHINGTON—"A year of progress for business at the expense of the worker" is the way the American Federation of Labor's monthly survey of business sums up the year 1935.

It was pretty good sledding for the industrialist, the AFL found. Industrial profits were 40 per cent higher in 1935 than in 1934.

John Work, as usual, however, got the short end of the stick. Although industry, up to November, 1935, had recovered more than half its depression losses, only 29 per cent of the depression unemployed had found work, leaving a total of 11,672,000 jobless, according to the AFL figures.

During the year, the survey found, workers in industry increased their output 14 per cent, but the number of workers employed increased a bare 4 per cent.

— grounds that the prisoners have been denied their constitutional right of appeal since no brief can be drawn without the trial proceedings. It is expected that this writ will reach the U. S. Supreme Court before finally decided.

# NINE OLD MEN

By McAlister Coleman

OUR pet pedagogical pest, Nicholas Murray Butler, threw up his hat for the Supreme Court last week. Nick, it seems, is radiant with joy over the way the Nine Relics have been bumping the New Deal around. He arrives at the interesting conclusion that "the judiciary is more representative of the majority of the people than the Congress."

Of course, Nick forgets to state that there's a little matter of voting for the man to represent you and that no one votes for the old gents on the Supreme Court. The President just sends around to some legal museum and gets out one of their most notable antiques, and dusts him off and gives him a job for life as Supreme Court Justice. All the Justice has to do from then on is to give full play to his upper class prejudices and write them up in the shape of learned opinions.

I've been lathered up several times in this column about the Supreme Court and the Constitution. I don't want anyone to think it's because I am overwhelmed with admiration for The New Deal.

When they first started this AAA, for example, I wrote to Washington and said that I would promise not to raise any peanuts or tobacco on the old Radburn, N. J., fifth of an acre that is my estate. That is, I would hold back if they would shoot me along the processing tax. But they never even answered my letter, so I am shedding no buckets of tears over the fate of the AAA. That it should have to be done to death in the way it was done, is what burns me. The story goes that four of the judicial relics are so sore that they are not speaking to each other. They just go around making faces at each other and hollering, "meanie," in the robing room. Let's hope that no blows are exchanged. It wouldn't be dignified at all to have Hughes come out to the bench with his whiskers all messed up following a five-round bout with "Butch" Stone.

## Borah and Butler

Old Man Borah, who as you know is getting up his wind to run for the Presidency, joined with Butler in commenting on the Supreme Court. He wrote a piece for a magazine saying that the idea that the Supreme Court had usurped the job of passing on the constitutionality of legislature was all wrong. It seems that it wasn't Johnny Marshall, after all, who thought up this smart one. I don't know what sort of history books they have around at the Borah shack, but I suggest that the Big Wind from Idaho go and read a bit before he makes another break like that one. For the entire history of the Court is an attempt more and more to grab off rights that should belong to the people acting through their representatives in Congress. And there's a dramatic story in the attempts of a few far-seeing men to put an end to this black-robed skullduggery.

It is undoubtedly true that the "sanctity" of the Constitution has been so thoroughly sold to the majority of Americans, that any old-line candidate with courage enough to stick his neck out on this issue will lose hundreds of thousands of votes. Lots of La Follette's advisers begged him not to handle this hot subject. But the doughty little fighter went to it the stronger. Finally he introduced it into practically every speech he made. Of course the Liberty League of those days, led by that valiant mouth-fighter Charles (Hellanmariar) Dawes, hopped to the fray and the old-line papers printed pictures of La Follette ripping up the Constitution, with Norman Thomas applauding heartily.

## The Star Chamber

Roosevelt's advisers will undoubtedly urge him to duck and go back to the White House in his stride. But he may be forced into some sort of a stand, and if so, so much the better for the entire campaign. We Socialists, at all events, should lose no time in pointing out what a Star Chamber government of elderly justices means to the farmers and workers.

Before I close, I want to revert for one paragraph to the subject of the labor drama. Alton Levi has written me a long letter saying that while I may be a "noble character," though he seems to be in some doubt about that, I am a rotten dramatic critic because I don't let down my hair and get frothy every time I go to one of these shows. He intimates that I try to conceal my emotions. Well, in the company of Alton and Florence Lasser and Manny Racies, and others of the Rebel Arts, I went over to Newark last week and had a high old emotional time, watching the boys and girls do their stuff, a side-splitting dialogue between Alton and Florence and a great take off on labor plays generally. And because the emotion was expressed in loud laughter by myself and the rest of the audience, instead of the moans of grief that seem to be expected at the majority of these propaganda plays, don't think that the work of the Rebel Arts actors and playwrights was not appreciated by a genuine workers' audience.

# World Socialism

## DEMOCRACY AS A WEAPON

By HERBERT ZAM

In this issue of The CALL, there is published the statement on organic unity just adopted by the French Socialist Party. The statement is really a remarkable document. Abandoning all past prejudices, it shows that the French Socialist Party is grasping the realities of the present situation, is realizing that the only solution to the ever-increasing chaos of capitalism is the seizure of power by the working class led by a united revolutionary party, and the building of a Socialist society. Regardless of whether organic unity will or will not be achieved in the near future, the French Socialist Party is certainly doing fine pioneering work in courageously raising these questions and rescuing them from the realms of forbidden ideas.

In sharp contrast to this point of view is the statement on the united front recently published by the Prague Central Committee, representing the right wing of the German Socialist movement. While not opposed to occasional united activities in specific instances, a general united front with the Communist Party is rejected. This of course, is a matter only for the Party itself to decide. But what is of concern to all is the reasoning in support of this decision. After properly criticizing the Communist Party for its past negative attitude toward democracy, the statement continues:

"For the German Social-Democratic Party democracy is not a political expedient but a principle and an aim in the struggle."

The one thing we should have learned from the recent events in Germany, Austria and other countries is that democracy is either a weapon in the struggle for Socialism, or it is nothing at all. To look upon democracy (that is, bourgeois democracy) as a principle or an aim in the struggle, is objectively to abandon the struggle for Socialism.

Another peculiar reason given in the statement in opposition to the united front is: that it would give the Nazis an opportunity to raise the "bogey of Bolshevism" and drive followers of the Social-Democrats to the right, thus strengthening the fascist regime. For a Party whose every action is illegal, whose members and followers fill the concentration camps, whose leaders are exiled, to worry about the "bogey of Bolshevism" (as if Hitler can't raise that bogey without a united front) appears to us to be stretching credulity quite a bit. A united front in Germany may not be the best tactic at present, but the Prague Central Committee will have to give better reasons in support of its position than it has so far.

### The Expulsion Of Torgler

Finally the Central Committee of the German Communist Party has announced the expulsion of Torgler, one of the defendants in the infamous Reichstag fire trial, from the Communist Party. Several months ago Torgler had been denounced by Dimitroff, his co-defendant, as a petty bourgeois weakling and turn-coat, but no other action was taken until now. The statement expelling him has very little to say about Torgler, however. It is devoted largely to a caustic attack against Maria Reese, another former communist who has evidently gone over to the Nazis, and with whom Torgler is collaborating in a book explaining his conversion. After her break with the Communist Party, Maria Reese was for a while associated with the Trotsky movement, and this is the central point of the statement—the implication being that Trotskyism is the direct road to Nazism. That Torgler was not a Trotskyist but the contrary, he was a very close

follower of the official line. He distinguished himself in the fight against all deviators, and particularly in his fight against the Brandler group in Germany. He was considered as one of the three leaders of the German communists, and the head of the communist parliamentary fraction. Therefore to try to give the impression that he was some sort of uneducated rank-and-filer, misled by Maria Reese, is an attempt to evade responsibility for an unfortunate incident.

After every severe defeat, there are found elements who repent their revolutionary past, who succumb to pressure of one type or another and either give up the struggle or go over to the enemy. These elements are found in every camp and in the vigorous fight against them, the true revolutionists will become strengthened. But they cannot be combatted by the method adopted by the German communists.

### Labor Unity In France

The Congress for the reunification of the trade union movement in France will take place Jan. 28, according to a joint statement issued by the two trade union centers, CGT (Socialist-led) and CGTU (communist-led). The two organizations will first hold separate congresses, and then merge into a single Congress.

All of the preliminary matters have already been agreed upon except the composition of the Executive. It is likely that the old CGT will have a substantial majority of the new Executive, with minority representation for the CGTU. The constitution of the CGT has been agreed upon as a basis for the constitution of the united organization, which will be affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Up to the unity Congress, the process of the unification of the individual organizations will continue. The latest industry in which unity has been established is railway transportation, which was dominated by the CGTU. The executive committee elected consists of an even number of representatives from each side.

### Communists Support Benes

In a recent issue of the communist Jewish Daily Freiheit, there appeared a question from a reader who wanted to know whether it was true that the communists in Czechoslovakia had voted for Benes for president. The Freiheit replied that the Socialists, who believe in class collaboration, had voted for Benes, but the pure communists had voted against. To check this story, we turn to the Freiheit's contemporary, the Moscow Eines, where we find a Tass dispatch from Prague dated Dec. 18, reading:

"The results of the vote show that the entire coalition, including the communists and the Czech clericals, voted for Benes."

The manifesto of the Czech communists, as summarized in the Daily Worker for Jan. 9, declared:

"If the election to the Presidency involves a fight in which we have the deciding vote, we shall vote for Dr. Benes."

Actually the communists voted for Dr. Benes although their vote was in no way decisive. Benes's majority was sufficiently large to assure his election even if the communists had voted against him. We will frankly state the

truth without such attempts at evasion and misrepresentation?"

Some time ago this Journal, which is the chief mouthpiece of the medical profession in the United States, published a series of articles on glandular physiology and therapy. This is not the proper occasion to explain the meaning of these words. The important thing is that this series attracted world-wide attention and that requests for the right to translate and republish the articles came from several countries, among which from a medical publisher in Germany. This was accorded. But it so happened that two of the articles had been written by two celebrated men, former German professors of medicine who, being Jews, have lost their teaching positions due to the advent of Nazism: Their names are well known everywhere among doctors and intelligent laymen. They are Zondek and Aschheim and at present they are practicing abroad.

Well, the publishing firm that was so eager to present this entire work to its medical countrymen had to give up the plan entirely and renounced the whole series. And so the German doctors will be deprived of the opportunity to read and study this excellent and much needed information, which could help them to help their patients. This is, of course, only one of many similar examples.

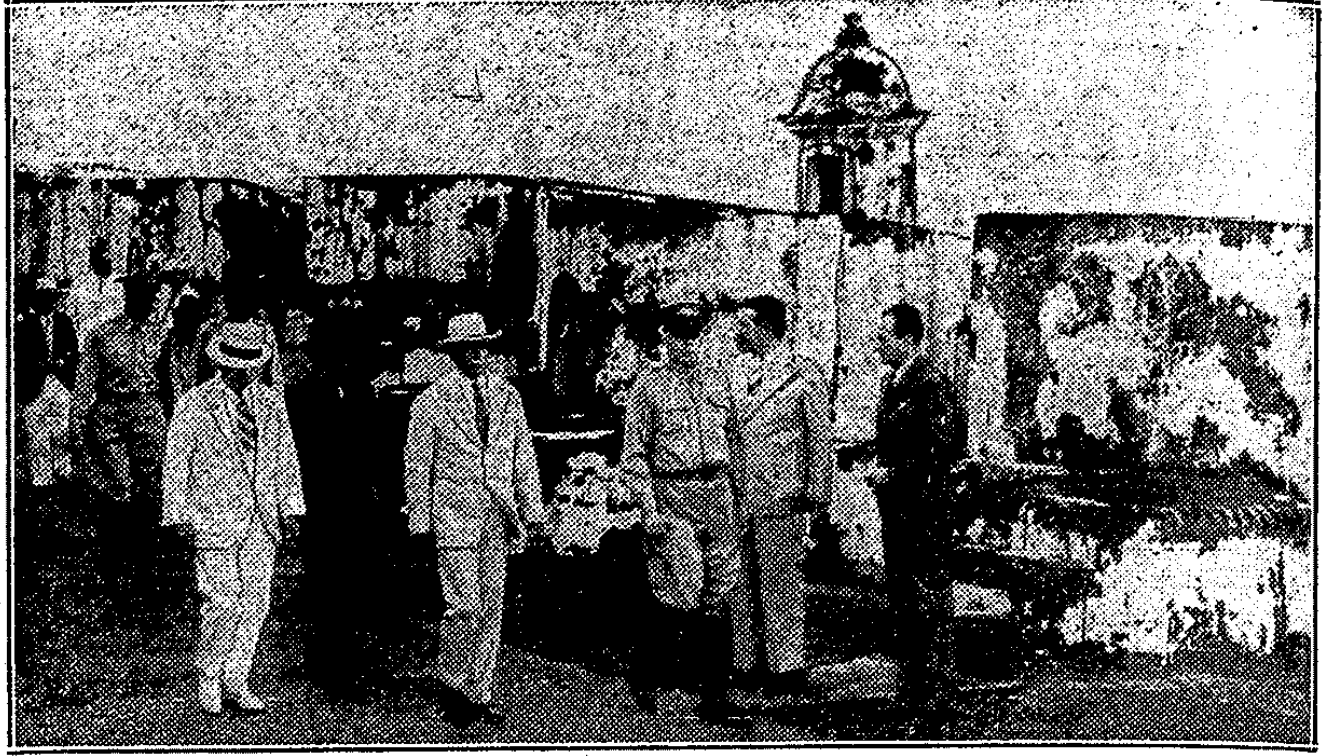
### Communists And War

We have received many inquiries from comrades throughout the country regarding the policy advocated by the communists in case of a war involving the Soviet Union. At the Madison Square Garden debate with Thomas Browder made the following declaration:

"It is time I think that the leaders of the militant Socialists should take a clear position on the defense of the Soviet Union. A situation can develop tomorrow when German and Japanese fascism will proceed to attack the Soviet Union. . . Will the militant Socialists adopt a position of neutrality? Will they advocate the slogan 'Keep America out of war'? Impossible!"

This quotation appears in the transcript of the debate which has just been published, and is obtainable from The CALL. It should serve to allay all doubts as to what the policy of the communists is.

## A 'GOOD NEIGHBOR' POLICY



Although President Roosevelt talked about the "good neighbor" policy of the United States as a peace measure, here it is in action. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes is pictured (left in white) in Wall Street, dominated Puerto Rico with Governor Winship and some of the American ambassadors (in uniform) who enforce "neighborliness."

## HEALTH and SOCIETY

By the HEALTH TEACHER

The Journal of the American Medical Association for December 14, 1935 printed an editorial note that should be known to the widest lay circles. It is a striking illustration of the return to medievalism of everything scientific and particularly of medicine in the "new" Germany.

### And in Russia . . .

Through a pure coincidence, in the same issue of the above mentioned paper, which is quite careful and conservative in social and economic matters, we find a letter by an American physician who has visited Russia recently and speaks about health conditions there.

He soberly describes the difficulties encountered by the Soviet Government in a country which was sorely lacking in physicians, nurses and sanitarians and the gradual building up of a profession and a health service which is not yet adequate to the needs of the population and the huge territory. He shows plainly how, in spite of enormous hardships, great progress is being rapidly and con-

stantly made and how scientific research is done with great intensity and learned minds are invited and encouraged.

Among other things he says that "infant mortality has fallen from 22 per cent before the war to 14 per cent, and the maternal death rate is quite low"—the latter being in sharp contrast to that of our own country, we would add, where the mothers' death rate at childbirth is among the highest in the world.

"Summarizing briefly, it seems fair to say that there is today in Russia a medical service which, no matter how modest, is an enormous advance over precarious conditions . . . The Soviets have planned and are doing noteworthy things along the line of maternity care and infant welfare . . . The average doctor is badly underpaid and terribly overworked, but practical steps are being taken to correct this."

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# 15 Years at Brookwood

## Union Leaders Back Labor School

By LAWRENCE ROGIN  
**C**AN workers be trained for labor leadership? Does loyalty to the labor movement grow with an increased knowledge of its history and struggles? Can the principles of trade unionism, of cooperation, of labor political action, be taught? Does a discussion of the different points of view within the labor movement clarify issues? In short, does workers' education pay?

For fifteen years graduates of Brookwood, America's oldest and best known resident labor school,

## AT BROOKWOOD



A typical summer class at Brookwood Labor College, sent to Katonah by Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Fannia M. Cohen of the ILG Educational Department is shown third from left in the second row.

## 420 Students Lead Labor Battles

effectively make use of this knowledge they are trained in organization methods, speaking, writing, and dramatics. It is in the field of dramatics that Brookwood has perhaps made its most unique contribution to the labor movement. For the Brookwood Chautauqua, the two months in which the students go "on the road" with a program of labor plays, skits, group recitations and songs, has proven the effectiveness of spreading labor's message through the stage.

A vital part of the Brookwood course is the political symposium which takes place toward the end of each school year. Representatives of every different point of view within the labor movement—Socialist, communist, non-partisan and even the splinter groups—are brought to the school where they first shoot at the students and then the students at them. For while the teaching at Brookwood is non-factional, except that it points toward the cooperative commonwealth, this opportunity is given the students to learn the strengths and weaknesses of these differing political philosophies. And they eat it up, especially the discussion and question periods following each talk.

Brookwooders realize that the school can do but a small part of the job, so badly needed, of awakening the American workers. What they hope for is that each graduate will become a center for workers' education and organization, and that the school itself will be an inspiration for others to enter the field. As Brookwood's first fifteen years draw to a close, its friends feel that the school has done this job successfully enough to say that Brookwood has come of age, and is no longer an experiment.

## Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

A recent dispatch from Hanover, Germany, tells us that in line with the destruction of the organizations built by the German labor movement, the Sick and Insurance Fund Exchanges are undergoing a thorough "reorganization" at the hands of the Nazis. Of the existing 1,730 local exchanges, more than 700 will be dissolved and liquidated. The Nazis justify the reorganization by reasons of efficiency. In reality, however, they are trying to destroy the last strongholds of the labor movement and the connecting links between the working people of Germany.

### Dissolve Co-Ops.

The same method was followed in the liquidation of the famous German cooperative movement. One of the last of these powerful cooperatives to be dissolved has been that of Hanover, where dissolution was ordered without consulting the membership. The repayment of the obligations of the cooperative, including 3,320,000 marks in saving deposits of their members, will not take place before November, 1940. All cooperatives, however, must be dissolved before the end of this year, according to the law passed by the Nazis.

The unscrupulousness with which the members are treated is clearly illustrated in the case of the Chemnitz cooperative where only saving deposits up to 100 marks will be repaid, while all higher amounts are wiped out. The shares of the cooperatives are completely worthless due to the wasteful methods of the Nazi administration. The real reason for the hate with which the Nazis are persecuting the cooperatives is best explained in the words of the Nazi magazine, "Soziale Praxis" which writes that "they (the co-ops) were pace-makers and expressions of the gradually growing economic strength of the working class and their self-reliance."

### "Straw Barricades"

Soon even the last vestiges of the once powerful German labor movement will be gone, and in their disappearance both Socialists and Cooperators may learn a lesson. Cooperators must learn that cooperatives are in themselves no safeguards against Fascism. Those who believe that solely by having cooperatives we are going to put the profit system peacefully and quietly out of commission are making the serious mistake of building straw barricades that will fall apart with the first gust of a Fascist hurricane.

Nor can Socialists be at all sure that their traditional policy of organizing Socialist Party branches and trade unions is going to stem the tide.

One thing, however, is certain. Unless the workers of America use every possible weapon at their command, unless they organize at every front, unless they corporate each and every organized front into one mighty mass movement, the fight against fascism and war cannot be won.

1931. The gain over the figure for December, 1934, was 27 per cent.

The first 73 railroads to report November figures show an aggregate net operating income of \$51,600,000, a gain of 58 per cent over the corresponding month of 1934. Some individual carriers reported gains as high as 200 per cent.

Stocks have likewise continued their steady upward climb, with a moderate decline setting in only several weeks ago. From March to November, 1935, industrial stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange showed a net rise of 63 per cent in value as a group. Railroad shares advanced 50 per cent in the same period, and public utility shares rose 40 per cent.

## Luncheon Symposium

**NEW YORK**—Brookwood's fifteenth anniversary will be celebrated by New York labor at a luncheon symposium at which Thomas Kennedy of the mine workers, Francis J. Gorman of the textile workers, and Tucker P. Smith, school director, will speak.

The luncheon will take place Saturday afternoon, January 18, at Frank's Hofbrau, 1680 Broadway at 52nd Street. It will cost \$1.00 per plate.

have been answering these questions with activity in every field of the labor movement, and they have been answered with an emphatic affirmative.

Brookwood was frankly experimental when it started in the fall of 1921 with a student body of 15 and a faculty of three, in the Westchester county summer home of William and Helen Fincke, which had been donated to the school.

It was experimental in teaching method, in selection of students, in curriculum, in control; but the group that started the experiment was determined that it be a success.

In that group of pioneers in American workers' education were James H. Maurer, then president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; John Fitzpatrick, head of the Chicago Federation of Labor; Professor Walton Hamilton; Fannia M. Cohn, secretary of the educational department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Toscan and Josephina Bennett; Abraham Lefkowitz; the Finckes; and Arthur Gleason. A. J. Muste was the first chairman of the faculty, with E. L. Oliver and Sarah Cleghorn, soon to be replaced by Josephine Colby, as his associates.

## Labor Direction

As the experiences of the years crystalized, the school grew, its student body and faculty were enlarged, an extension department was added, and the surroundings were made more appropriate for study. With the incorporation of Brookwood in 1925, control was vested in the hands of the labor movement, for the labor members of the board of directors were given a majority of one over the other three constituent elements, the faculty, the student body, and the graduates. Labor members of the board today include three of the founders, Maurer, who is president of the corporation; Miss Cohn, and Lefkowitz. The others are Julius Hochman, representing the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Abraham Miller of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; A. J. Kennedy, president of the Amalgamated Lithographers; Phil E. Ziegler of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; John Breyer of the United Mine Workers; and

Emil Rieve, president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

## Brookwood Graduates

What have Brookwood graduates done to make the friends and supporters of the school feel that it has proven its worth to the labor movement? Let us look at some of the individual examples first:

Two vice presidents of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Julius Hochman and Rose Pesotta, are graduates of the early classes.

E. J. Lever is president of Cooperative Distributors, while another Brookwooder, Harry Howe, edits the CD magazine, Consumers' Defender.

Hy Fish is editor of the Labor and Socialist Press Service and Socialist Action.

Israel Mufson is managing editor of the Brewery Worker.

Len De Caux, former Washington correspondent of Federated Press, is now publicity director for the Committee on Industrial Organization.

Ed Falkowski is star reporter of the Moscow Daily News.

Alfred Hoffmann was a pioneer in the organization of southern textile workers, and is now manager of the seamless division of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

The list of Brookwooders who have risen to prominence in the labor movement might be lengthened, but to no purpose, for it is not so much of the achievements of the individual grads that the school is proud, as of the rank and file Brookwooder, who, after he leaves the school, goes back into the local labor movement to do his bit in every possible manner. One grad, for instance, is president of his local of the United Mine Workers, an officer of the local central labor union, and has been instrumental in pushing workers' education.

## Organize, Edit and Teach

Reports from last year's graduates find them organizing Negro workers in Cleveland, Ohio, and Lynchburg, Virginia; teaching workers' classes in New York City; directing the Reading (Pa.) Labor College; heading the first workers' education project in Puerto Rico; acting as secretary to the board of the newly organized Paterson, N. J., labor paper; reporting for the Detroit Labor News; working for the United Shoe and Leather Workers; organizing hosiery workers in Indianapolis.

That the labor movement has appreciated the services of Brookwooders is shown by the fact that both the A.C.W. and the ILGWU turned to Brookwood grads for assistance during the organization

drives which followed the NRA, and by the numerous requests for aid in developing workers' education programs.

Where have the 420 workers who have studied at Brookwood come from? Geographically, they represent 34 states, Puerto Rico, and 12 foreign countries. They have worked in 61 different industries and trades and held cards in 58 different unions. For the most part they have been chosen for Brookwood because of outstanding activity in the local labor movement, in many cases coming on scholarships granted by international or local unions. Others have paid their own way in their desire to get the Brookwood training.

## Student Training

What sort of training are these workers students given? The resident course is organized so that they will receive a knowledge of the labor movement, of economics, of history, and of current happenings, so that they intelligently face the workers' problems. To

## Prepared for Labor Research Front

# Factory Production Jumps But Jobs, Payrolls Decline

By JOEL SEIDMAN

While business was enjoying its best Christmas since the depression became acute, industrial workers were being laid off and their income was declining.

In the month of November, the last for which figures are available, the number of factory jobs fell by half of one per cent, and the aggregate payroll dropped by seven-tenths of one per cent.

The Department of Labor's index of manufacturing employment, based on the 1923-25 average, was only 84.8 for November, while the factory payroll index was only 74.5.

By way of contrast, industrial production advanced from 95 per cent of the 1923-25 average in October to 97 per cent in November. Though some workers were laid off during the month, the production figures rose. Increasing mechanization of industry and speed-up are thus intensifying the cause of the depression, and preparing the way for a new crash.

### Machine Jobless

The volume of technological unemployment and the lack of mass purchasing power are startlingly revealed by a comparison of these figures. In November we produced 97 per cent of the volume of 10 years ago, but it took only 84.8 per cent as many workers, and these were paid only 74.5 per cent as much. These figures reflect the basic causes of the depression and demonstrate that it will continue for some time to come.

It is not surprising, therefore, that increased production should have brought little change in the

number of jobless. The revised unemployment estimates of the American Federation of Labor show nearly 11,650,000 American workers without jobs in October. Ten years ago, when the volume of production was only slightly above the present level, the number of jobless was less than 2,000,000.

From September, 1933, to September, 1935, the number of jobs created in this country was 1,483,000. The growth of population, however, gave us 600,000 new workers each year, or 1,200,000 for the two-year period. The net gain in employment, therefore, was only 283,000 in this time. At this rate it will be 82 years before the jobless are absorbed.

### Profits Go Up

Meanwhile profits continue their upward trend. The aggregate net profits of 259 industrial and mercantile companies and 56 public utilities in the first nine months of 1935 are estimated by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to be \$674,600,000.

This compares with \$535,600,000 in the first nine months of 1934, and \$327,700,000 in the corresponding period of 1933. The 1935 profits were 26 per cent above 1934, and more than twice as large as in 1933.

Dividends declared in December amounted to \$313,600,000, the largest for any December since



Program Discussion

# ORGANIC UNITY IN FRANCE

The united party of the working class is a class party whose aim is the conquest of power with a view to the socializing of the means of production and exchange, i.e. to the transforming of capitalist society into a collective or communist society.

The united party of the working class, whilst it will strive for the realization of the immediate reforms demanded by the working class, is not a party of reform but a party of class struggle and revolution.

## Class Struggle Is Paramount

The united party of the working class aims at combating and destroying the capitalist system. It could not entertain a policy of permanent and organic collaboration with the bourgeois parties. It could not seek participation in the Government in a bourgeois society. It rejects all the attempts made to mask the ever-increasing class antagonisms—with a view to facilitating a rapprochement with the bourgeois parties. Even when it takes advantage, for the benefit of the workers, of the secondary disputes of the possessors, or when it is found combining its action with that of another political party for the defense of the rights and interests of the workers, it always remains a party of fundamental and irreducible opposition to the bourgeois class as a whole and to the State which is the instrument of it.

It rejects methods of a nature to keep the ruling class in power and which thus ensure the domination of the bourgeoisie; in consequence, it will vote against all military credits, credits for colonial conquest, secret funds and the budget as a whole where a bourgeois government is concerned.

The united party of the working class is aware that its goal can only be reached by the conquest of power from the bourgeoisie by main force.

Thus alone can the bourgeois State be destroyed and replaced by the proletarian State which will

Last week, the CALL published the first of a series of articles in preparation for a discussion of the "Draft Program for the Socialist Party" presented by two CALL institutes. We continue the discussion this week.

The article on "Organic Unity in France" is reprinted from the "Populaire," Socialist daily paper in Paris. It represents the official point of view of the Socialist Party of France. Although written for a specific purpose, the Program Committee feels that it deserves wide discussion as the point of view of a considerable section of the international Socialist movement.

It should not be necessary to emphasize that The CALL takes no responsibility for the many points of view that will appear on this page during the discussion. Socialists interested in contributing toward the discussion are requested to make their criticism as short as possible.

## An Objection From the West

By SAMUEL S. WHITE

Portland, Ore.  
To The Editor,

I have read the Draft with care, and in the main I agree with it. I think that care was exercised in getting it up, and I can see nothing inconsistent with Marxism in it. But I have two criticisms.

First, I don't like the position on the united front. I think we ought to make clear that a united front with Communists is "out." The Draft represents the program for the next two years, I take it, and there is not a possibility in my mind of any united front with communists in that period.

Irrespective of any statements by the communists as to their changed hearts, I don't trust them, and I see no change in their actions. Their lack of democracy, their violent and intemperate language in criticising union leaders with whom they disagree, their slavish devotion to Stalin, their insistence that Russia is right in everything and all we have to do is OK what is happening in Russia, and above all, the stench which communists have left in

their wake as the result of 15 years of disruption and attacks on the working class, their hypocrisy and their Jesuitical belief that the end justifies the means bars them from having any dealings with us.

Two years from now we will see. I think the majority of Socialist in this country don't want nor care for a united front with communists. And I think we ought to make our position clear on this point.

### Attack on S-D

Second, I see no reason for attacking the Social Democrats of Germany. The working class will make many mistakes before it achieves power, and whatever the failings of the SD, there is no assurance that any other program in Germany would have succeeded. That is a long story, and you can't tell it completely in the four paragraphs you have allotted to it on page 9. I would leave out completely the first four paragraphs on that page. If you want to use the last sentence in these paragraphs, dealing with the communists, the sentence, a little reworded to make it applicable to gen-

eral CP policy and not to Germany alone, can be added to the United Front section as explaining why we don't want a united front with communists. As far as I am concerned, we can just ignore the communists. I think they are on the way out, and they represent no appreciable element or strength in this country.

### Successful Revolution

A minor correction I suggest at the end of the first paragraph on page 7. The Russian revolutions were the first successful revolutions in the interest of the working class, but as the sentence now reads, it might be interpreted to mean that a real workers' society was established. The "successful" part ought to describe the revolutions, not the workers' society. They are far from a successful workers' society, or at least, such a workers' society as we Socialists and the labor movement seeks to establish.

On page 12, near the middle of the page, where you mention incipient fascist spots, I would drop the "Southern" in "Southern California." The entire state is full of

## Wants a Left Socialist Program

By WILLIAM PURDY,  
East Orange, N. J.

To The Editor:

I have just had a chance to read the copy of the left-wing program that you sent me. I am in favor of the draft being adopted at the next national convention.

When this is done, we shall have a live, working Socialist movement. We cannot gain a Workers' and Farmers' Government with the tactics and principles that the Party has at present. A revolutionary Socialist program is our only hope for achieving our aims.

## Next Week

Haim Kantorovitch, an editor of the American Socialist Monthly, will occupy this page next week with an article discussing the draft program.

places where civil liberties have ceased to exist—Sacramento valley, San Joaquin valley, Santa Rosa.

The last two paragraphs are minor. I think the first two represent my real criticism. It is too bad that the far-Western comrades couldn't have mulled over the Draft. I think our views have a certain importance because we are farther away from the personalities that seem to embitter all theoretical debates in the East and mid-West. One Eastern militant told me that our Socialism is "provincial," and this may be. But then, of course, that's because we live in the "provinces."

exercise the dictatorship of the working class during the whole of the period necessary to smash the counter-revolution.

The united party of the working class accepts the Marxian conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form in which it figures in the critique to the Gotha programme, viz.: *between the*

*capitalist and the communist society there is a period of revolutionary transformation from the first into the second: to this there corresponds a period of political transition during which the State can take no other form than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*

The dictatorship of the proletariat, an indispensable stage on the road to the social revolution, to a classless society, ensures to the revolutionary forces the totality of political power. It must signify at one and the same time a considerable enlargement of democracy for the people and a curtailment of the liberty of the exploiters and the oppressors of the people.

## Rejects War Collaboration

The united party of the working class rejects any policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie during wartime as during peace. It will not take the path of the "National Union" or of the "Sacred Union" in any circumstances, or under any pretext.

Its action will continue to be guided by the general principles included in the Stuttgart resolution.

It will always be determined by the higher interests of the international working class.

The united party of the working class is based on democratic centralism.

The policy of the united party of the working class is laid down by the party itself at its conferences.

These conferences consist of the delegates of the whole of the members of the party, and their discussions are free, as the discussions of the members themselves in their local or regional groups are free.

Within the framework of the policy thus determined direction

is to be exercised by central bodies elected by the conferences.

The bodies for the various units of the party are elected by their appropriate assemblies.

The decision of the central bodies of the party are binding upon the regional and local bodies.

## Deputies Must Obey Policy

The activities of the Parliamentary Group, of all Deputies and of the Press must be in conformity with the policy laid down by the party. It is the task of the cen-

tral body to ensure this conformity.

Within the Party itself freedom of discussion is complete; for public action in all its forms there is only one policy, that discussed and decided by the party.

Whilst utilising all existing legal methods in its declared action, the party will never allow itself to be hindered in this action by the impediments of bourgeois legality. It must adapt itself to all the tasks which present themselves, concerning itself to increase to the maximum the revolutionary combativeness of the working class.

## Notes From England

# Communists Disband Dual Miners' Union in England

By JOHN CRIPPS

In recent months there has been an increasing demand in Britain on the part of the Communist Party for a "United Front." They have coupled this assistance with a display of practical co-operation that is gaining much sympathy for their demands. In the elections, for instance, members of the Communist Party gave their active support to Labor candidates in all but a handful of constituencies. In Parliament the newly-elected communist member has consistently supported the Labor Party and has gone so far as to ask to be taken into the fold of the Labor Parliamentary Party.

Until the next annual convention of the Labor Party, little is likely to be done in the way of concluding a formal "united front" agreement. But cooperation in various parts of the country between local Labor and Communist groups is increasing. The debate on this issue next year should be of more than usual interest.

Meanwhile the Communist Party have given a further practical demonstration of their desire for working-class unity. There are not many communist Trade Unions in this country, but one such union has existed since 1929 among the miners in Scotland. It has carried on a bitter rivalry with the Miners' Federation of

Great Britain, the main union of the mineworkers in Scotland as in England and Wales. Last week this communist union, the United Mineworkers of Scotland, decided to disband itself and urge its members to seek membership in the MFGB.

The decision is embodied in a resolution that was unanimously passed by a delegate conference last Sunday. It reads:

"In accordance with the overwhelming majority ballot vote decision of the members of the UMS and in the light of the very important fight for a 2s. wage increase for all miners, along with the important decision of the EC of the National Union of Scottish Mineworkers in turning down the Scottish coal-owners' proposals to discuss district agreements in the place of a national agreement, the EC of the UMS has decided that the time has come when it is necessary to take the most decisive step for achieving unity by advising all members to join up immediately in the county unions of the National Union of Scottish Mineworkers, a part of the MFGB."

## DOES YOUR NEIGHBOR KNOW THIS FACT?

NOFRONTIER NEWS SERVICE

An amazing, crazy-quilt pattern of financial investment in the African war zone exists, but has received scant publicity possibly because the facts are about as embarrassing to each one of the involved nations as to all the others.

Working the platinum deposits of Ethiopia is a company whose make-up should be the occasion for laughter among the gods of war. The firm itself is French; its founder is an Italian; the board of directors is composed of French and Italian officials; and Haile Selassie is one of the largest stockholders!

The Emperor of Ethiopia is said to have a considerable fortune which is invested partly in London, partly in Paris, and partly in Italy! The Negus is, in fact, the principal stockholder in a large Italian cheese factory.

The Suez Canal is owned up to 40 per cent by the British Government. Italy's war has increased the traffic to the point where

earnings amount weekly to tens of millions of francs.

The Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway is now owned jointly (1) by a French financial and munitions group; (2) by a group of Italian capitalists; and (3) by the Ethiopian ruler. The French dispatched 200 colonial troops to protect their national interests; the railroad company is obligated in time of war to move the troops and the military supplies of the Emperor. It looks superficially like a dangerous powder barrel, but no trouble is expected. Everything can be arranged among friends.

SUE JUDGE AND SHERIFF LONDON, Ky. (Special)—Suit for \$350,000 for denial of constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly has been filed in Circuit Court here against Judge James Gilbert of Pineville and Sheriff Theodore Middleton by 14 Harlan County miners. The men are being assisted in their suit by the United Mine Workers of America.

# Party Activity

**NATIONAL CONVENTION** will be held at Cleveland, from Saturday, May 23 to Tuesday, May 26, the national executive committee has decided. Prior to the convention, national organization conferences will be held on Thursday and Friday, May 21 and 22.

## Arkansas

**EVENING SHADE**, Short County, is the newest Socialist local in Arkansas. Arthur Branes organized it, and is now serving as local secretary.

## Colorado

**CALL** endorsed by state executive committee.

**STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** quarterly meeting held in Denver. Progress reported included: formation of YPSL circle in Denver; Socialist aid in formation of four locals of Workers' Alliance; formation of local at Boulder.

Committee prepared resolutions on war, on the use of militia in strikes and a 1936 national platform, all to be presented to national convention.

## Connecticut

**HARTFORD** local has elected the following officers for 1936: organizer, Victor Harris; assistant organizer, Nelson Niles; secretary, Esther Emerson; financial secretary, Meyer Gere; treasurer, Ricci Perlstein; and educational director, Abraham Perlstein.

**NEW HAVEN** local has re-elected Celia D. Rostow town chairman.

## Kansas

**STATE LABOR SECRETARY**, H. R. Rentfrow, is formulating plans for coordination and promotion of labor work in the state. His office is at 2715 North Early Street.

## Massachusetts

**STATE CONVENTION** will be held April 24-25 in Boston. Agenda of convention: instructing delegates to national convention, nomination of state candidates, adoption of platform.

## Minnesota

**STATE CONVENTION** in St. Paul February 1 and 2.

**ONE DAY'S PAY** drive for the national office has been endorsed by Socialist Action, state bulletin.

**SOCIALIST ACTION**, state bulletin, was late because, as explained, "your secretary has been snowed under by such details as the Minnesota Conference for Progressive Legislation, union activ-

## LECTURES

### How We Built The Moscow Subway

by an American Engineer  
A Lecture by one of the builders  
**WOODSIDE LABOR TEMPLE**  
4132-58th St., Woodside, L. I.  
SAT., JAN. 18, 8:30 P.M. Adm. 35c  
Auspices: American Youth Association

### League of Nations: FAILURE OR HOPE?

PROF. HANS KOHN  
SUN., JAN. 5, at 11 A. M.  
Brooklyn Academy of Music  
Lafayette Ave.  
ADMISSION FREE  
Aus. Brooklyn Ethical Cultural Society

### MILITIA! MUST IT BREAK STRIKES?

Lecture by WALTER WILSON,  
Author and Author  
THURS., JAN. 16, 8:30 P.M. ADM. 10c  
29 ST. MARKS PLACE, N. Y. C.  
League of Nations Branch, American League Against War and Fascism

ity, picket duty, local activity and work."

**GOLDEN VALLEY** was a 100 per cent local in the 1935 United Socialist Drive.

## Missouri

**EDUCATION COMMITTEE** of the state organization has just published a one act play "The Sanity Trial of Capitalism," by Martin B. Lechner. Prepared especially for use by Socialist locals and branches, the play is available, at 15c a copy, at Room 202, 133 South 11th Street, St. Louis.

## New York

**NEW WORLD** is title of new Socialist publication in East New York. Now a monthly, editors hope to see weekly soon.

## Pennsylvania

**BERKS COUNTY** (Reading) Socialists will name their legislative and congressional candidates at a county caucus February 16 in Odd Fellows' Hall, 8th and Franklin streets. The meeting will begin at 1 p. m. Admission by red card.

## Wisconsin

**MILWAUKEE** local added 400 members during 1935. Its annual meeting, one of the best attended in years, elected Herman O. Kent executive secretary for the fourth time; re-elected Rudolph Beyer, treasurer; re-elected entire executive board: Mrs. Meta Berger, Walter Polakowski, Otto R. Hauser, William C. Zumach, Anthony J. King, George Hampel, Walter Palm, Max Raskin and Paul Gaurer; elected William Blunk, sergeant-at-arms; and elected Emil Brodde, Michael Katzban and Joseph C. Brauer to the auditing board.

**MILWAUKEE** Socialist Bazaar will be held at the Milwaukee Auditorium, January 29, 30, and 31 and February 1 and 2. Ticket sales thus far indicate a crowd even bigger than last year's will attend.

## 27 Cities Hear LID Discussions

**NEW YORK** — Twenty-seven cities in 15 states will hear Norman Thomas, Joseph Schlossberg and other Socialist and Labor leaders in the fifth annual discussion program of the League for Industrial Democracy.

Among the speakers in addition to Thomas and Schlossberg will be Tony Sender, German Socialist exile, Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the LID, Reinhold Niebuhr, Roger Baldwin, Raymond Gram Swing and Bishop Francis

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## BOOKS, by Bruno Fischer

### 'Unquiet' by Gollomb At Times Fascinating

'UNQUIET', by Joseph Gollomb. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.50.

It is no doubt proper to assume that this novel is to a large extent, if not wholly, autobiographical. A novel about adolescence and young manhood on New York's Lower East Side nearly always is, and nearly always it follows a pattern. A sensitive boy, brought up amid dirt and poverty and squalor, feeling an intense desire to break away from his people and at the same time a close attachment to his people, manages to struggle through school and college and eventually, we have reason to believe, become a writer.

The trouble with "Unquiet" is that there is not sufficient variation of a familiar theme. There is a story of the pre-war East Side which has never been written—the story of the birth of the garment unions, the great strikes, the magnificent Socialist campaigns, the color and drama of a miserably exploited people fighting back. A number of novels have touched on this theme, but have never done justice to it.

But perhaps it is unfair to criticize a book for what you would like it to be rather than for what the author wanted it to be. Joseph Gollomb was more concerned with the inner struggles of the proverbial sensitive young man. This still makes for interesting and at times fascinating reading.

### Hull House

**FORTY YEARS AT HULL-HOUSE**, by Jane Addams. The Macmillan Co. \$3.50.

Both of Jane Addams' two previous books about what is perhaps the most famous settlement house in the world, "Twenty Years at Hull-House" and "The Second

McCormick. As usual, the lectures will be correlated by a discussion outline published in pamphlet form.

Cities which will sponsor the series are: Birmingham, Ala., Little Rock, Ark., Urbana, Ill., Louisville, Ky., New Orleans, La., Framingham, New Bedford, Mass., Detroit, Flint, Pontiac, Mich., Long Branch, N. J., Buffalo, Binghamton, Rochester, Schenectady, Yonkers, N. Y., Toledo, Ohio, Tulsa, Okla., Erie, Pittsburgh, Pa., Providence, R. I., Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, Tenn., Austin, Dallas, San Antonio, Tex.

### MASQUE

#### with CLOWNS

By John Wheelwright

At first burlesque and then grotesque this satire of demagoguery and defecation—Technocracy, Hearst, Long, Coughlin, Townsend, Roosevelt, Democrats and Radical, Socialists—to prophecy of victory over Fascism for the Cooperative Commonwealth.

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by V. F. CALVERTON

Haim Kantorovitch

Discusses:

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY CRISIS

The Modern Monthly 47 E. 21 St. New York City 25c

thirds of my review of Clara Weatherwax' "Marching, Marching!" was omitted. The result was a review which appeared to be rather supercilious. I considered the book important enough and my criticism of it serious enough for the greater analysis which I had written.

### SOVIET NEWS STRAIGHT From the Source

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### Note

Through an error in making up the CALL last week, about two-

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# A New Play By Odets

## Paradise Lost at Longaere

PARADISE LOST, a play in three acts by Clifford Odets. Presented by the Group Theatre at the Longaere Theatre.

This is a remarkable play. Every character in it is psychopathic—and I suspect that the playwright is on the verge. Supposed to show the plight of cockroach capitalism in the relentless vise of the class struggle, it does little but furnish a laugh and a headache as one tries to smuggle logic into the synopsis.

"Isn't life a beautiful dream," says one of the characters.

"Of course," is the reply. "They tell me that it rains every week in New Zealand."

—Catch on?

And trade unionism enters the play, too. Dragged in by its tail, it dominates the scene only long enough for one of the unionists to assure the audience that the union leaders are racketeers. I feel sure that somewhere in his early youth, Odets was dropped on his head by a despicable union leader; he seems to have a deep and bitter hate for such people.

There is flash and color in the play. "Odets has something!"—the sidewalk cry; and this is not to be denied. Personally, however, I prefer to take my tomfoolery in Levy & Nathan doses.

It is a pity that the acting is so uniformly excellent. The play doesn't deserve it.—SR.

"A Million Torments," Soviet farce by Katayev opened Wednesday evening, too late for review in this issue.

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## 'GRAIN'



B. Tenon in "Grain," starting at the Cameo, New York, this week.

## CALL BOARD

GRAIN opened at the Cameo Tuesday too late for review in this issue... Arthur Byron is returning to the stage to appear as the inquisitor in B.S.'s SAINT JOAN... Theatre Union restored its top of \$1.50... New Film Alliance is showing MOANA OF THE SOUTH SEAS this Sunday... RUSSET MANTLE opens Jan. 16 at the Masque... Samuel French is publishing LET FREEDOM RING... New Theatre is repeating its Jan. 12th bill on the 19th to accommodate those who were not able to "get in"... Good news for musicians—Paramount Theatre is going back to its policy of stage productions and cutting out its "wired sound." Others may follow.

## Esperanto Groups Plan United Drive

NEW YORK — After a sharp factional struggle between two rival labor Esperanto groups lasting many months, peace has been found in the liquidation of both groups and the formation of a united Workers Esperanto Association of North America, it was announced here last week. The united organization is planning a drive to affiliate with it all labor Esperantists in the United States and to arrange correspond-

The New Film Alliance presents SUN. NITE, JAN. 19 "MOANA" The only authentic movie of the South Seas By FLAHERTY Director of "Man of Aran" NEW SCHOOL 66 West 12th Street ADMISSION 50c

Camp Unity Shows Entire Social Staff 2 Prizes Given Away 1st Prize: 2 Weeks Vacation 2nd Prize: 1 Week Vacation Percy Dodd and His Orchestra Dancing Until 3 A. M. Admission 55c in Advance 83c at Door Tickets on Sale at All Workers' Book Shops FRIDAY, JANUARY 17 at WEBSTER HALL 119 EAST 11th STREET

## Hollywood Becomes a Union Town

By JOHN R. CHAPLIN

HOLLYWOOD (FP) The biggest labor showdown in the history of films, predicted by Federated Press for early in 1936, beat us to the gun and with lightning rapidity has transformed the whole face of film production in America. On January 2, Hollywood went closed shop, the film magnates now speak of labor problems with greater earnestness than of any others, and the unions may be looked to as a real force in shaping future American films. The picture is not wholly a shining one; it is not at all a clean sweep for labor, and there are probably implications in it which are ominous to trade unionism in Hollywood. But at present, the unions are riding high.

This closed shop for technicians has spurred other organizations to new activity in Hollywood. The studio costumers are reviving their dormant union. The hair stylists are busy in their guild. Over 200 Polynesian actors have organized the South Seas Club. The Screen Dancers are asserting themselves more vigorously than ever. And new members are flocking into the closed shop unions as well as into the Screen Actors and Screen Writers Guilds. The question is now: What will the guilds do? Will the Writers Guild affiliate with the AFL? And will writers and actors be able to gain for themselves too a closed shop in Hollywood?

MOVE OFFICE HENDERSON, Ky. (FP)—The WPA office here packed up and moved to Owensboro after a strong demonstration by the American Workers Union demanding payment of \$600 in overdue WPA work-relief checks.

ence between Americans and workers in Europe, the Soviet Union and Asia. It has requested all those interested to communicate with it, PO Box 101, Station K, New York City.

Esperanto is an artificially formed international languages which seeks to provide a medium of communication between various nationalities on the basis of a common speech.

Emma Cessarskaya in The SUPERB DRAMA of SOVIET SOIL "GRAIN" CAMEO 12 ST. E. of B'WAY 25c to 1 P. M.

4th SMASH WEEK! "CAPT. BLOOD" with FERROL FLYNN, OLIVIA DE HAVILLAND, Lionel Atwill, Basil Rathbone, Ross Alexander 25c to 1 p.m. STRAND 47 Beg. SAT. (Jan. 18) 9:30 A. M. James Cagney - Pat O'Brien in "CEILING ZERO"

Stars of Camp Unity Shows Entire Social Staff 2 Prizes Given Away 1st Prize: 2 Weeks Vacation 2nd Prize: 1 Week Vacation Percy Dodd and His Orchestra Dancing Until 3 A. M. Admission 55c in Advance 83c at Door Tickets on Sale at All Workers' Book Shops

## in hollywood

By JOHN R. CHAPLIN

Federated Press

HOLLYWOOD (FP)—It is understood that Stokowski and the Philadelphia Philharmonic will shortly play Charles Chaplin's composition, A Modern Symphony, which is the score for his new picture, Modern Times... Franchot Tone and Joan Crawford are new additions to the board of directors of the Screen Actors Guild... Paul Robeson, who already speaks fluent Russian and Hebrew, (Eisenstein wanted him for a Russian version of Stevedore last year), has taken to studying Chinese. Which, of course, strikes Hollywood funny, but fills us with admiration...

their hearts plucked out and eaten by the moguls of modern mammon." Yowie!...

First WPA productions, on New Year's Eve and New Year's night, brought in \$1,200 in Los Angeles. Same show will now get a couple of performances at the Hollywood Women's Club. It's a vaudeville revue... Twentieth Century is rumored interested in signing the New York Group Theatre as a whole for a film production, to be co-directed by one of the Group directors. But the Group's habitual class-conscious material is liable to make Mr. Hays' office wince some...

Clifford Odets has signed a contract with Metro, and will come out here for screen writing next summer... Hear that Liam O'Flaherty's new novel, Hollywood Cemetery, carries this choice description of our fair film city: "Hollywood is a cemetery where the remains of present-day bourgeois intellectuals are buried, after being fattened like the sacrificial victims of ancient Mexico, on enormous salaries, only to have

ADD 4 TO BOARD NEW YORK—The Modern Monthly announced this week the addition to its editorial board of David P. Berenberg, Robert Delson, Bruno Fischer, and Herbert Zam. The January issue, out this week, includes an article by Haim Kantorovich on "The Crisis in the Socialist Party."

The Forum Theatre, Inc., presents "A Million Torments" By VALENTIN KATAYEV author of "Squirring the Circle" HECKSHER Theatre 1 E. 101 St. N. Y. C. Jan. 16, 17, 18, 19 at 8:40 P. M. PHONE LE 4-3546 for Reservations Tickets 50c, 75c, \$1.00

MIDNIGHT MOVIES "YOUTH OF MAXIM"

"PETERSBURG NIGHTS" ELTON THEATRE 13rd St. & New Utrecht Ave. SAT., JAN. 18 11:15 SHARP ADMISSION 35c Au.: Better Film League, Boro Park

NEW THEATRE NIGHT REPEATING SUNDAY JANUARY 19 at 8:30 Let Freedom Ring Actors Troupe in 'PRIVATE HICKS' prize winning play by Albert Maltz 'HIMN to the RISING SUN' a new play by Paul Green 'UNTO SUCH GLORY' comedy by Paul Green 'ANGELO BERNDON' by Elizabeth England and Joe North Civic Repertory 103 W. 14th St. Tickets 35c-1.50 at New Theatre, 156 W. 44th St. NK 9-8378; New Theatre League, 55 W. 48th St., Lo. 5-9116; Bookstores: 50 E. 13th St. and 112 W. 44th St.

SAM H. HARRIS presents JANE COWL in a new comedy "FIRST LADY" By KATHARINE DAYTON and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN MUSIC BOX THEATRE 45th ST. WEST OF BROADWAY Even. 8:30, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

THEATRE UNION presents the Tremendously Moving and Extraordinarily Impressive LET FREEDOM RING Easily the Most Significant Play of the Season "NO SUCH CHEERS AND BRAVOS SINCE THE SEASON BEGAN." Lockridge, N. Y. Sun. CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE 11th St. & 6th Ave. Even. 8:40 Best Seats 30c to \$1.50. Mats. Wrd. & Sat. 30c to \$1. On Reduced Rates for Theatre Parties Call Sylvia Regan, Cite. 3-6894

where to dine B & S NAT—Formerly of the Band School Cafeteria serves the finest selection of food at his own place. 15 East 17th Street, 3 doors from the Call.

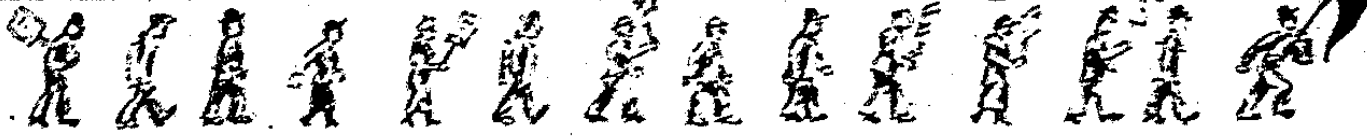
GIUSTI'S SPAGHETTI INN—4 and 5 course Luncheon, 40c and 50c. Six course Chicken Dinner, 60c. Special luncheon, 35c. Served all day. Spaghetti, Dessert, Coffee, 85c. La carte all day. Wines and Beer served. 40 W. 16th St. WA. 9-9177.

RHODA'S LUNCHEONETTE, Inc. 857 B'WAY, Cor. 17th St., Box candy, cigars, cigarettes. We deliver orders. SPARKY SERVICE. L. Feinberg, Prop. GRamercy 7-9272-9288-0440

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

5th AVENUE CAFETERIA 94 FIFTH AVENUE (bet. 14th and 15th St.) OFFERS SOMETHING NEW!—All the coffee you can drink—5c (bet. 3 and 5 P. M.). Any hot dish on the steam table—25c (after 8 P. M.). Visit our famous bar, featuring your favorite drinks at the most reasonable prices in the city.—REER 3c.

# AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

Unless the war issue should arise in an acute form, the probability is that the biggest single issue of the many vitally important issues before this session of Congress will be the issue of making democracy constitutional or of giving us responsible representative government in place of the judicial oligarchy to which we owe the AAA decision. Congressman Vito Marcantonio has reintroduced our Workers' Rights Amendment with a minor change which improves it. The famous or infamous Chicago Tribune honors him and the amendment by calling it an importation from Italy and a legalization of the Fascist totalitarian state. On the contrary, Fascism in America during its propaganda years will tend, as did Huey Long, to play up states' rights so as to make for the impotence and confusion of the federal government and limit its power to act for the workers. Our great task is to push the Workers' Rights Amendment in the interest of democracy, justice and domestic peace.

## WHY THE AMENDMENT?

Around the country the question is raised: Why the Workers' Rights Amendment? Why not curb the power of the courts? Three ways are proposed to curb the courts: (1) An act of Congress under Article III, Sec. 2 of the Constitution which gives Con-

## Progressives Win in CLU

NEW HAVEN, Conn. — Labor progressives carried everything before them in an almost clean sweep of elections of officers of the New Haven Trades Council last week. They lost only one office—that of vice-president—as they elected Alexander Driessens, of the cigarmakers' union and a veteran Socialist, president. Solomon Alperowitz of the street car workers' union was elected secretary in the progressive sweep.

The election was widely interpreted as a direct slap at Democratic domination of the labor movement in New Haven. Mayor John W. Murphy, Democratic politician who was for years president of the Trades Council, has since then exercised his control through Henry J. Tierney, defeated president.

Driessens in a "victory address" to the delegates declared that his election was not a personal victory but "one of principle."

"There are deep-seated changes taking place in the labor movement throughout the country which have not been recognized in New Haven. The measures which we have put forward as our program mean new goals for labor. Mayor Murphy and the Manufacturers' Association no longer have control over our activities."

All members of the newly elected executive board are progressives. Mrs. Anna Cross of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and Fred Frankes, president of the printing pressmen's union, two members of the board, are Socialists.

Walter E. Davis of the machinists' union, a member of the state executive committee of the Socialist Party, was elected a member of the board of trustees.

## Set High Bail In Omaha Strike

OMAHA — Twelve Omaha street car strikers are being held in \$1,000 bail each, charged with criminal syndicalism, conspiracy and malicious destruction of property as a result of a year-old strike.

The Labor and Socialist Defense Committee has appealed for funds to furnish bail. The defendants, most of whom are Socialists, have pleaded "not guilty."

Joseph M. Jacobs, counsel for the LDSC, branded the charges an open frame-up in an attempt to break the strike.

gress power to make in certain types of questions exceptions to the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Speaking as a layman and subject to correction in the light of further discussion, I do not believe that after almost 150 years of such power as the Supreme Court has been given or has usurped with general consent, any worthwhile curb can be put upon it, under the rather vague wording of this section, which the Court itself will hold constitutional. (2) An amendment may deny to the courts power to overrule the legislative branch or severely limit the exercise of that power. (3) The President might say like Andrew Jackson: "The Court has rendered its decision, let the Court enforce it." I have heard that suggested quietly here and there. There are circumstances under which a President might successfully defy the Court on the ground that it had usurped its power. Those circumstances are few and unlikely. Suppose the President tried it with AAA. Orders of the administration would be disregarded wholesale; many if not most courts would refuse to convict violators; there would be chaos.

## WHAT IT WILL DO

As compared with all other proposals our Workers' Rights Amendment has immense advantages. First, it does not give Congress power to touch civil and religious liberties as guaranteed under the Constitutions of the states and the nation. It does not impair the power of courts to protect these vital, essential and eternal rights. Various courts have been a little of a bulwark for such rights only recently in the Scottsboro and Herndon cases. Grant that the protection is not much it's worth something, and people concerned for civil liberty may not want any weakening of such protections as it has against the mob or dictator. Hence they may welcome our amendment, which gives Congress power to act for the economic and social welfare of farmers, workers, and consumers but not to take away civil and religious liberty.

In the second place, merely to curb the courts would not settle the states' rights issue. Congress might pass some law for the benefit of farmers or workers which a demagogue like Talmadge of Georgia would say impaired states' rights as laid down in the Constitution. He could not appeal to the courts, but with the backing of powerful interests which find protection in the weakness of a

separate state governments, he might defy Congress and get away with it, or at any rate make lots of trouble. He would claim that the Constitution was on his side. Our amendment would end that by giving Congress power to act positively and without doubt of its constitutional right. That's our case.

Of course merely to give Congress power isn't to establish the Cooperative Commonwealth. But it will be far easier for workers with hand and brain to win the federal government than to capture 48 separate states, and far easier to use it than to have to try to use 48 state legislatures to set up a decent economic order. We must have the Workers' Rights Amendment!

## FOR REAL NEUTRALITY

None of the neutrality bills before Congress, is wholly satisfactory. Here are the principles of a satisfactory bill: (1) Neutrality should apply to prospective belligerents as well as actual belligerents. True, any nation may be regarded belligerent so long as it arms at all. But there are obvious degrees of expectation of war. Lawyers are smart enough to frame a law which would not block general trade and yet apply to such obvious preparations as Mussolini was making last summer, not for some future war, but a specific, immediate war against Ethiopia. It's ridiculous to furnish a robber and murderer with weapons up to the moment he begins to kill his victim and then piously stop.

2. Neutrality should be a national policy, not subject to Presidential whim, buttressed by national declaration, and hence less subject to the pressure which the House of Morgan and others successfully put on Woodrow Wilson during 1914-1917.

3. Neutrality should apply to

## CHAIRMAN



Leui Tonks of Schenectady, who was elected chairman of the temporary state committee set up by the Socialist national executive committee to govern affairs in New York until a new state committee is elected.

everything used for war except that goods also used for peace should be exempt within the limits of a peace time quota fixed by the average trade over a five or ten year period.

4. The possibility that there might be a case where a departure from neutrality to aid a victim of attack which threatens humanity as a whole should be recognized in law, but the exception should be by formal and solemn act since such exception might almost amount to a declaration of war. No such exception should be made by the President either through granting him power to withhold a neutrality proclamation or modify its terms, or suspend it after it has been imposed.

A neutrality law isn't the final word in peace. That requires international Socialism. But it is worth something.

## THE NEC DECISION

It is regrettable that the carefully chosen representatives of the Socialists who supported the old organization in New York State refused to serve on the reorganization committee. At least one of them, I am told, didn't know that he had refused until he saw it in the papers! But Socialists in and out of New York will remember that:

1. The NEC expelled no one and deprived no one of voice and vote in New York by plan of representation under a strong temporary committee representing all groups. On the contrary, it protected all rights.

2. The NEC had to suspend the charter to guarantee fair elections and the enforcement of the Socialist rights of party members against the State and New York City Central Committees who had created the crisis by their alleged attempts at a wholesale "purge"—a purge they refused to repeal. That act was like Fascism; the NEC's action was for the protection of democracy within the Party.

3. We who considered that the old committees abdicated power by their high handed acts and who acted promptly to save the Party did what Socialists ought to do. Haven't we learned from the German tragedy of waiting to act until it is too late? We saw our opponents setting up the guillotine, for our political execution. They told us what they would do. We should have been stupid, indeed, to wait until a few heads had fallen!

Finally, our party should be inclusive. We want our right wingers. But we want them as loyal and aggressive Socialists. The more one believes in an intelligent right-wing Socialism the more, I should think, one would resent the travesty on Socialism represented by the Old Guard policy. Forward's editorial position, and the New Leader's line!

## Ask Bail for Two Italian Radicals

NEW YORK — Freedom of Domenick Sallitto and Vincent Ferrero will be sought on bail while the two are awaiting court hearings that they hope will squash Department of Labor plans to deport them to Italy.

Accused of housing the headquarters of an anarchist periodical, the two were slated to be deported last month. Energetic action on the part of organized labor however produced habeas corpus writs for both in Federal Court. It is on these writs that the hearing will take place.

If bail is granted, the case will mark a precedent in the district. All previous prisoners slated for deportation have had to remain on Ellis Island while hearings were pending.

Among those who have expressed support of the two in their fight against deportation have been David Dubinsky, A. F. Whitney, Carl H. Harkman, Luigi Antonini, Patrick E. Gorman and Joseph S. Blashersky.

DON'T FORGET SOCIALIST CALL FIRST ANNUAL DINNER ON MARCH 21.

## Ford Philanthropy Nets Auto Croesus \$600,000 Profit

By JOSEPH BROWN  
DETROIT (FP)—Henry Ford's philanthropy, like his auto factories, run on a strictly profit-making basis.

His latest scheme to "help the jobless" will net him a cool \$600,000 profit.

Here's the way the efficiency-producing industrial Croesus worked it:

The Ford company offered to give jobs to 4,000 welfare clients in Dearborn. Ford laid off 4,000 workers and put the former relief recipients to work. The workers he laid off used to get \$6 a day. The new employees will be paid only \$4 a day for the first 30 days. Then they'll get \$5 a day for the next 90 days.

The company saves \$600,000 in wages in the 4-month period.

## Labor Party Seen By Harry Laidler

NEW YORK—Development of a Farmer-Labor Party after the 1936 presidential campaign, with the Socialist Party participating in the movement, was foreseen by Director Harry W. Laidler of the League for Industrial Democracy on his return from a trip to the Pacific coast.

"In every highly industrialized country outside of the United States, not under a dictatorship, declared Laidler, "we now find powerful labor and socialist parties. Norway, Sweden and Denmark now have labor and social democratic premiers and cabinets, although these parties are not as yet majority parties. The British labor movement has nearly 160 members in parliament, and will find itself in office again within the next few years. Only in the United States do we find a weak labor political movement."

## Americana

ENGLEWOOD, N. J. (FP)—The sight of a man piling up garbage is a disgraceful sight. The Englewood News is doing the work of a municipal legislature.

# N. Y. Membership Meeting Sunday