

**Norman  
Thomas**

or  
**Organizing  
Recovery**

SEE PAGE 12

# Socialist Call

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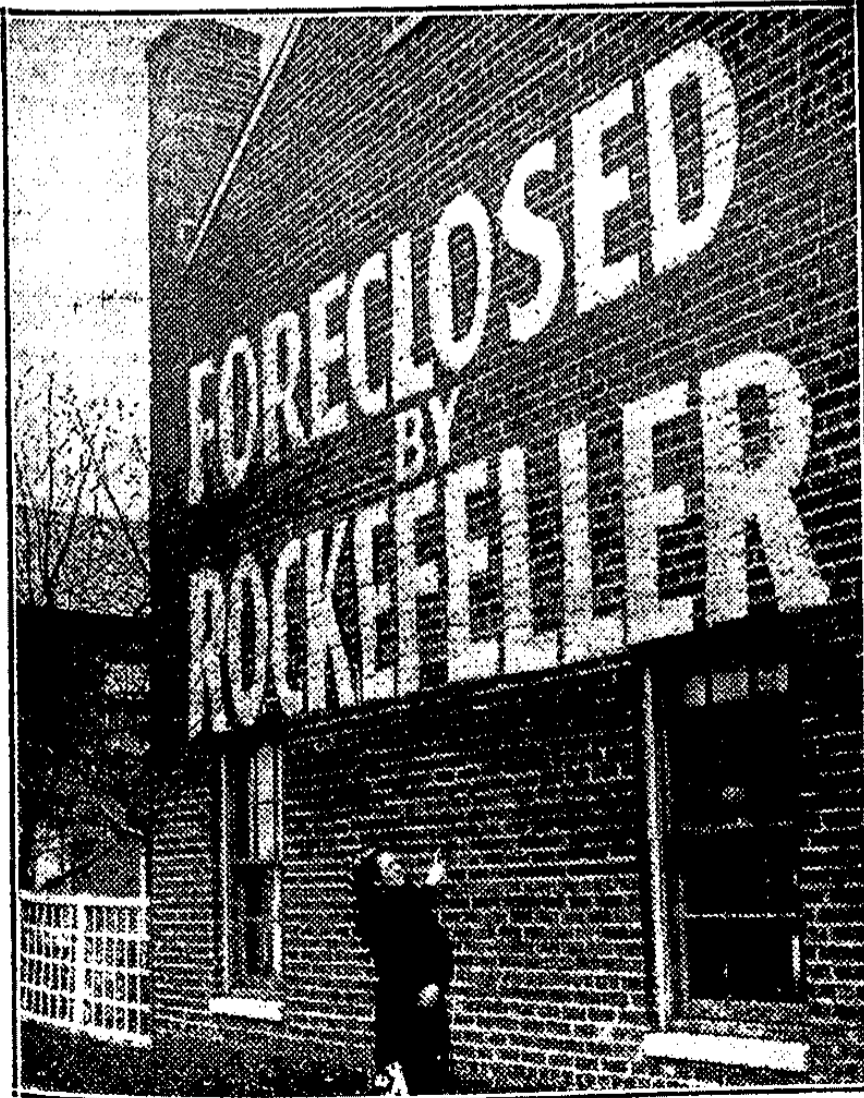
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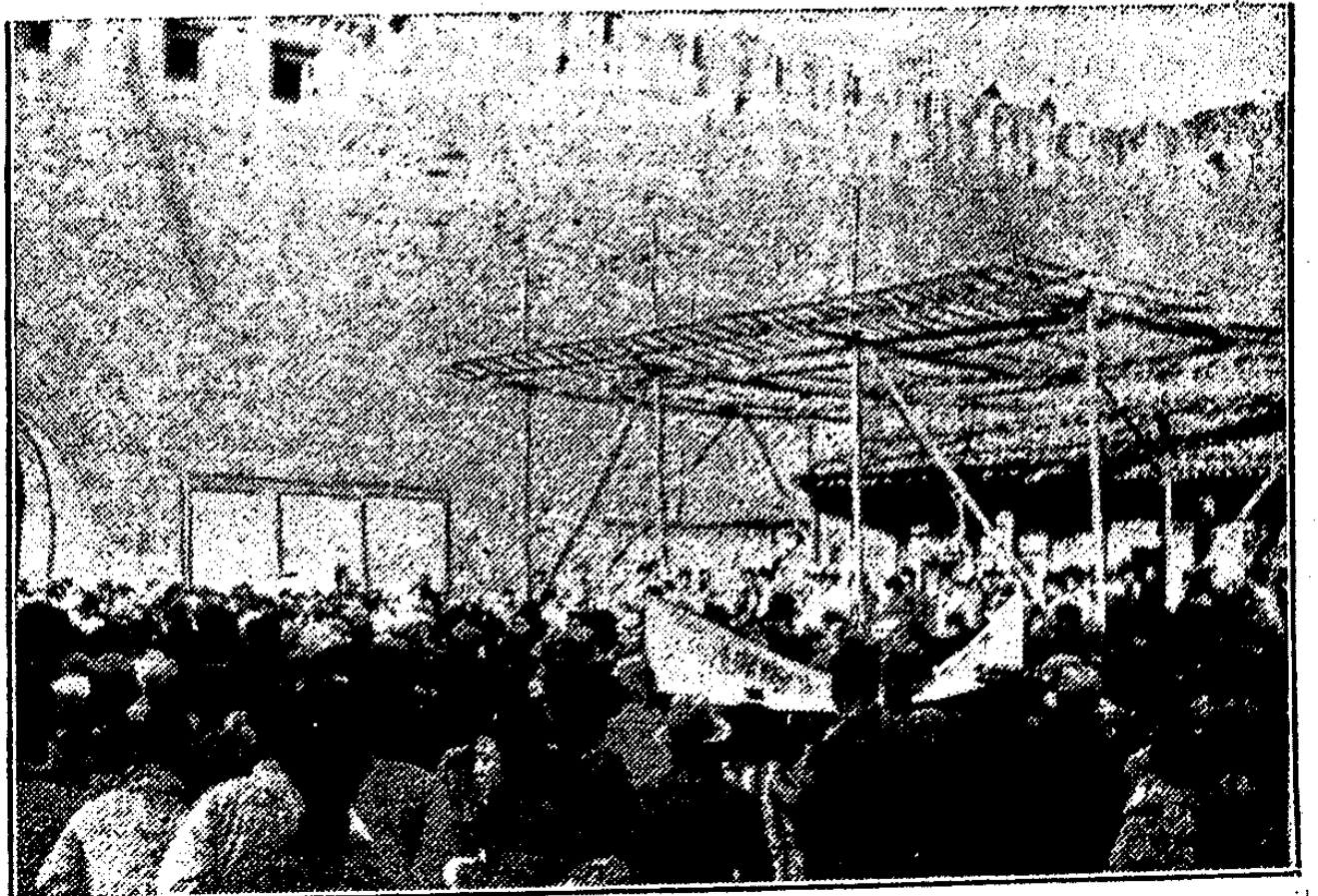
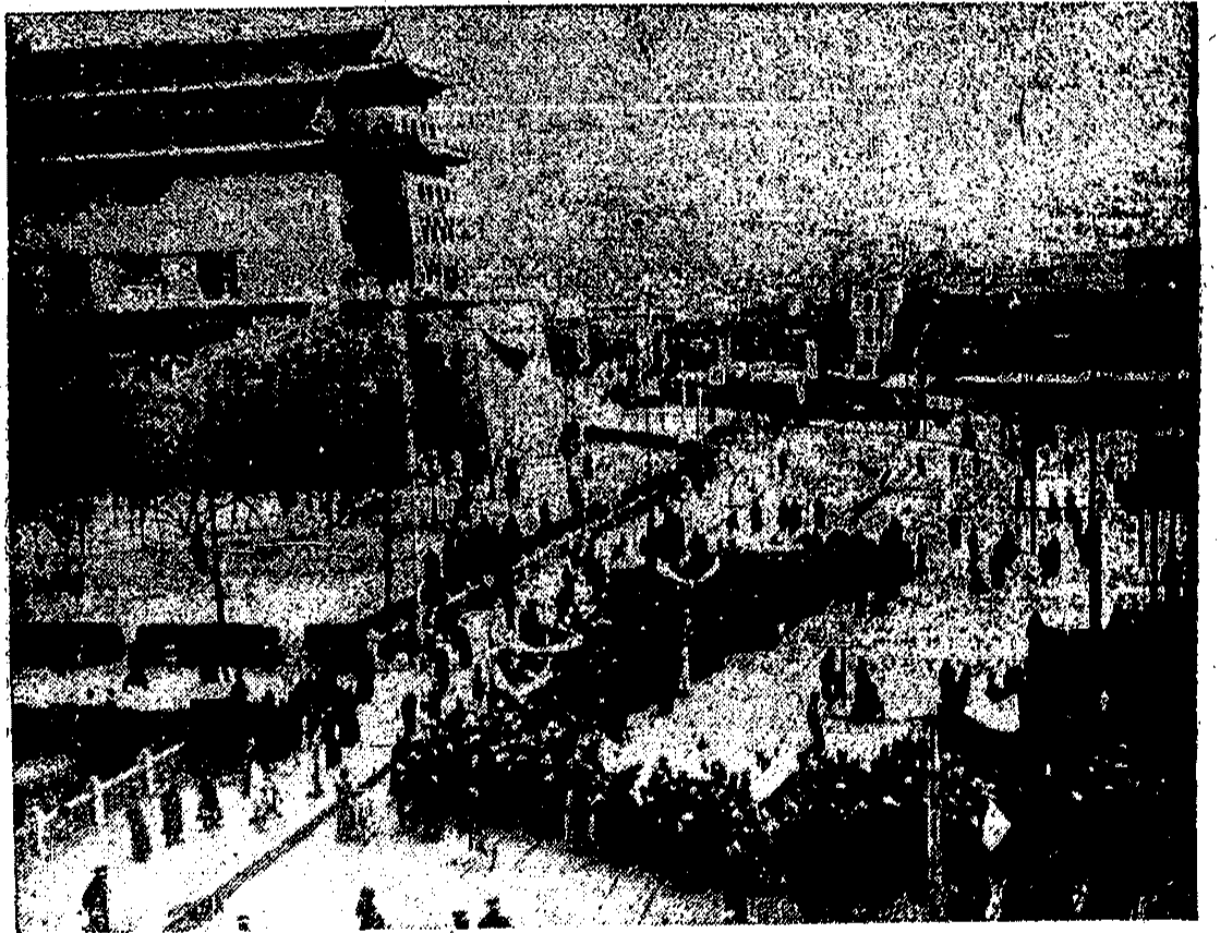
PRICE FIVE CENTS

# ARKANSAS TERROR RAGES—TWO SHOT; HUNDREDS EVICTED

—STORY ON PAGE TWO



AN INEFFECTIVE PROTEST. Foreclosure proceedings in Sunnyside, a Long Island suburb of New York City, is pictured above as Mrs. Corinne Thal waited for the court proceedings stayed the eviction of Mrs. Thal and her neighbors who all face eviction because they can not make mortgage payments to the wealthiest man in the world, John D. Rockefeller, 96 years old, is pictured above, Florida.



AROUSING CHINESE NATIONALIST STUDENTS demonstrated against Japanese aggression throughout China, demanding more aggressive defense measures on the part of Chiang Kai-Shek, brutal dictator. They accused Chiang of being in league with Japanese imperialists. Above are two views of rioting at Peiping; similar scenes took place in Shanghai, Canton, Hankow and other Chinese cities.

# Mass Evictions, Mob Terror Used Against Sharecroppers

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—The convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union held last week has been promptly answered by a ferocious attack from the boss planters. Murderous shootings of sharecroppers, mass evictions and vigilante raids were let loose against members of the union this week.

Two tenant farmers were shot in the back by deputy sheriffs and 105 members of the STFU including 28 children under the age of six, were evicted from their homes.

Homeless, without bedding, clothes or shelter of any sort, 105 men, women and children are sitting by the roadside under the winter skies of the cheerless southland. They are denied the use of any firewood to keep their bodies warm by the planters who own everything in sight.

The evictions took place at the Dibble and H. F. Avery plantations. At the latter, the families were dispossessed without any legal order at the point of the gun. Even in the so-called government Rehabilitation Farm in Fcinsett County, 70 families were forced out of their dwellings.

The bosses have made it plain, however, that the sharecroppers have but to repudiate their union and they will be promptly returned to their dreary shacks which keep out the wind, at least, if not the cold. The union men and their families are standing firm in spite of the horrors through which they are going.

### Raid Meetings

At the same time, a union meeting was raided in Earle by Deputy Sheriff Hood and a gang who arrested John Ball, a Negro sharecropper. In the presence of Simon Bass, president of the union, Hood and another deputy sheriff opened fire on Negro and white union members leaving the meeting and shot two members, Liggon and Williams, in the back. One is in very serious condition.

Another meeting was addressed by attorney Goldberger. When he was followed by Howard Kester, union organizer and prominent Socialist, the mob broke in, led by five men armed with guns. A crowd of planters surrounded the exits while the thugs set upon the men, women and even children inside, beating them with blackjacks. The building was wrecked.

Kester and Goldberger were dragged from the building and driven out of town by the armed planters, barely escaping lynching.

### Led By Officials

The raiders were led throughout by deputy-sheriffs Hood and Peachers. The latter only a week before had stated, "We'll break the union if we have to use Winchester rifles to do it." Planters have threatened to repeat the Crittenden County massacre of 1880 when the rivers were filled with the bodies of dead Negroes.

Appeals to local and state authorities have been futile. The Governor of the state is himself a small plantation owner who comes from the very district in which the terror has now been unleashed. The planters and raiders have all been deputized as officers of the law and kill men under the pretext that the victims were resisting arrest.

### Ask White House Aid

Communications and appeals have been addressed to President Roosevelt to intervene for the purpose of preventing the continuation of the atrocities that have broken out. Resolutions and memorials have been addressed to the authorities to supersede the local officials who connive with the criminals in the perpetration of such brutality.

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor, whose Atlantic City convention endorsed the Southern Tenant Farmers Union will consider an appeal from the victims of the new terroristic outbreak. It is expected that the AFL will bring pressure to bear on those with power to put an end to the Arkansas atrocities.

## Thomas Hits Tampa Terror Before 3,300

TAMPA — Norman Thomas came to Tampa Sunday, January 19. He saw, was seen and he conquered.

Before a wildly cheering crowd which packed 2,300 inside Tampa's huge Municipal Auditorium and left more than 1,000 listening outside to a loud speaker, Thomas kept the entire crowd in a state of constant excitement during his biting address which lasted fifty minutes, alternately bringing the audience to the verge of tears with his moving description of the torture murder of Shoemaker, then moving them over to raucous laughter at the expense of local bigwigs whom he gibed frequently.

Thomas proved himself to be America's most powerful orator in this effective speech. Never before has Tampa had such an audience. At the beginning of the speech the entire hall arose and applauded before they would let Thomas speak. At the end the audience again arose and rendered him an ovation.

Rev. Walter Metcalf, courageous Congregational minister, who is the chairman of the Committee for Defense of Civil Liberties in Tampa, presided, Dr. Royal W. France, of the Department of Economics of Rollins College, and a member of the Socialist state executive committee in Florida, also spoke.

In his speech Thomas drove home the true facts in the case, raming the officials responsible for the plotting of the crime, and made an emphatic demand that instead of the slogan, "Tar today, Whitewash tomorrow," it must be "Tar Yesterday, Justice Today, Tomorrow, and Forever." A collection netted \$140.

It is expected that this tremendous outburst of mass enthusiasm will result in more indictments by the Grand Jury this week.



TERROR AGAIN rages in the Arkansas cotton fields as the plantation owners use mass eviction as a weapon to stop unionism.

## Auto Organization Campaign Depends Upon Strike Victory

By JOSEPH BROWN

DETROIT—The strike at the Motor Products Co. at Detroit, which began as a dispute over wages, has developed into a titanic struggle between the auto unions and the automobile manufacturers.

Arrayed on the one side are the Motor Products Co., the Detroit city administration, the National Metal Trades Association, the Michigan Manufacturers Association and the Employers Association. On the other side are the strikers from four different auto-workers' unions, actively supported by many social, fraternal and other organizations.

### Join NMTA

The strike started on Nov. 15. On Nov. 20, the company joined the National Metal Trades Association; on Nov. 22, L. A. Stringham of the NMTA took charge of the fight against the strikers. It soon became apparent that not only were the auto manufacturers determined to smash the Motor

Products strike, but that this fight was but the opening battle to smash all semblance of unionism in the industry.

The company has been forced to fire between 400 and 500 scabs because of inefficiency. At the present time six departments are closed down. Strikers say that it is impossible for the factory to operate under these conditions.

### In Seventh Week

The seventh week of the strike opened with the strikers in a stronger position than they were three weeks after the strike started. The realization that the winning of this strike means the rapid organization of the workers in the industry causes the strikers to battle onward. Whether the auto barons can maintain the industry on an open shop basis or whether the auto industry will become the first mass production industry to become organized depends largely upon the outcome of this strike.

## LABOR IN ACTION

Union recognition and better pay are the demands of 250 workers in a wire workers' strike in Worcester, Mass. If the strike is won, it may mean the organization of 10,000 workers.

The strike of 900 workers at the Vermont Marble Company is actually a strike against the political powers in Vermont politics, the Proctor family. The Quarry Workers International Union has asked for aid in its struggle.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation (called by insiders the Roosevelt's Friends Club) has loaned \$800,000 to the Mooreville Cotton Co., at Mooreville, N. C., despite protests by the United Textile Workers which is conducting a strike at the plant.

More than 300 strikers entered the fourth month of their strike against Cincinnati clothing sweatshops this week. They have asked for a boycott by labor of scab Cincinnati-made clothes.

Meeting in secret convention, the International Seamen's Union in Washington, D. C., will make decisions that may affect the entire labor movement. Reactionaries in the union are attempting to stop the industrial union movement which has resulted in a maritime federation composed of all dock and sea workers.

In one of the most important meetings of the Cleveland Federation of Labor in many months, a series of progressive resolutions were passed last week. These included militant action against anti-labor movies, investigation of a police "spy" system, and endorsed unemployment insurance.

Adding to the strength of the closed shop in Hollywood, movie directors, some of the highest-paid men in the industry, have aligned themselves with the movie union.

More than 1,000 ferry workers who will lose their jobs when two San Francisco bay bridges are finished next year, many of them too old to obtain similar work elsewhere, are demanding dismissal pay equal to one month's pay for each year of service.

A quick victory was won when Missouri Public Service Co. workers walked out and cut off service in 68 Missouri towns.

A single industrial union of packinghouse workers, regardless of craft, color or creed, was called for at a 2-day conference at Mason City, Iowa, called by two independent packinghouse unions.

A war chest of \$200,000 to fight Seattle unions is being demanded of businessmen and others by Frank R. Jeffrey, president of the Seattle Food Council, chain store bosses' association.

SETTLE GULF STRIKES NEW ORLEANS (FP) — Contracts recognizing the International Longshoremen's Assn. have been signed at Mobile, Ala., with shipping interests, according to New Orleans labor officials. The new arrangements will settle outstanding difficulties at Gulfport, Miss., and Pensacola, Fla., as well as at Mobile.

WELDERS STRIKE BERKELEY Cal. (FP) — Union welders, 50 in number, have struck at the Steel Tank & Pipe Co. of California, asking wage increases. The firm is doing fabricating work for the East Bay Municipal Utility District.

## BACK TO THE HORSE-AND-BUGGY



Horse-and-buggy transportation expressed the ideas of Col. Theodore Roosevelt, reactionary Republican cousin of the President, when he arrived in Omaha for a political speech fighting any proposed constitutional amendment to safeguard the rights of labor. He said nothing about the attempted frame-up of Omaha street-car strike leaders on flimsy "bombing" charges.

# AFL Leaders Seek Change In Basic Law

MIAMI, Fla.—With the proposal for a constitutional amendment temporarily shoved into the background by the bitterness of the dispute between industrial and craft unionism at the quarterly meeting of the American Federation of Labor executive council, observers nevertheless felt that it would become a burning issue in the committee before the sessions ended.

This was made more obvious when the inner-AFL dispute took on an unexpected new form because John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America and chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, came out vigorously for a constitutional amendment in his Cleveland speech to the automobile workers.

### Lewis Backs Plan

It was doubted that Lewis' backing of the plan would cause contrary action on the part of President William Green who had previously declared himself strongly in favor of such an amendment. It is known, however, that opposition to the amendment exists in some quarters of craft-unionism and is led by President William Hutchinson of the carpenters.

President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union is pushing the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment in the executive council. Dubinsky sponsored this amendment at the annual convention of the AFL in October where it received considerable support until it was shelved for a compromise resolution to allow the council to consider such an amendment. The amendment has been re-introduced in Congress by Vito Marcantonio of New York as the

## 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 employees in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation or indemnities from the public treasury, from contributions of employers, or other such sources; 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.

### SORRY

Through a regrettable error, the agricultural bill published in a recent issue of The CALL was announced as drafted by the Socialist Party. We have been informed, that it was drafted by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and has been endorsed by the Party.—Editor.

## Open Attack On Radicals

NEW YORK — This city was faced this week with a revival of criminal anarchy prosecutions when District Attorney William O. Dodge began an investigation into the activities of the communist Daily Worker

The criminal anarchy law of New York state was a dead letter for years until the post-war anti-radical drive when Ben Gitlow, Harry Winitsky and others were sentenced to prison terms as long as five years.

The law became dormant again until it was revived this year when Sidney Bykofsky, a member of the Young People's Socialist League, was arrested and charged with violating the statute because of a street-corner speech advocating the Hillquit Workers Rights Amendment. Bykofsky was acquitted after a magistrate's court hearing.

In issuing subpoenas for members of the Daily Worker's staff, Assistant District Attorney Neary indicated that he intended to take steps against other labor papers in New York.

It is commonly believed that William Randolph Hearst is in back of the new drive. Following the Thomas-Browder debate in Madison Square Garden, the Hearst press demanded that The CALL be prosecuted for violating the anti-red flag law.

"Farmers and Workers Rights Amendment," H. J. R. 440.

### Old Guard Fights

Meanwhile, the meeting of the executive council was torn by a marked bitterness on the part of the craft-union group who saw in the Committee for Industrial Organization, on which eight international unions are represented, the death-knell of the divided unionism that has so weakened American Labor in its struggles. Suddenly taking the offensive, the Old Guard of the AFL opened an acrimonious attack upon the progressive unions and demanded that these unions be suspended from the AFL. Although the craft unionists control a majority on the executive council it is expected that saner minds will prevail and a split in the AFL will be averted.

The council has so far made no decision on removing the next national convention from Tampa, scene of the brutal murder of Joseph Shoemaker, unemployed organizer. After listening to a recital of events in Tampa from Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, the council ordered President William Green to watch events closely and to ascertain that Shoemaker's murderers were being vigorously prosecuted.

While the council was in session, Norman Thomas brought news to it of the Arkansas terror in which union sharecroppers were evicted and stripped of shelter. It ordered an immediate investigation of this situation.

### Lewis Speaks

CLEVELAND — Akron and Cleveland were called "the 1936 editions of Lexington and Concord in the modern industrial crusade in emancipating the workers of America" as the Committee for Industrial Organization, AFL insurgent group, began its organization campaign in auto and rubber labor.

John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America was the chief speaker at both meetings. He emphasized the necessity for

## Hoosier Hitlerism

# Indiana Governor Orders Tin-Hats Into Two Counties

INDIANAPOLIS—Governor Paul V. McNutt, once called by Norman Thomas the "Hoosier Hitler," is adding to his laurels. He has added two more counties to those in which organized labor is shorn of civil rights.

## WILL MISS PERKINS SIGN?

### DEATH CERTIFICATE

City of <u>BERLIN</u>		DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH BUREAU OF RECORDS
Character of premises <u>NAZI-INFESTED</u>		STANDARD CERTIFICATE OF DEATH
FULL NAME <u>ALFRED MILLER</u>		
Classification <u>HUMAN-BEING</u>	Method <u>BENEFADING</u>	Date of Death <u>MARCH, 1936</u>
AGE <u>33 yrs. 2 mos. 5 days</u>	I hereby certify that the foregoing particulars are correct as near as the same can be ascertained, and I further certify that I attended the deceased from <u>FEBRUARY, 1936</u> to <u>FEBRUARY, 1936</u> , that I last saw <u>him</u> alive on the day he was deported, that death occurred on the date stated above and that the cause of death was as follows:	
MEANS OF DEATH Suicide Natural Murdered Accidental	<u>MURDERED</u>	
OCCUPATION Trade, profession, <u>EDITOR</u> or kind of work	<u>DEPORTED FROM U. S.</u> <u>BENEFADED IN GERMANY</u>	
General nature <u>ANTI-NAZI</u> of industry	Contributory <u>PAST REC.</u> <u>OP. IN GERMAN POLITICS</u>	
BIRTHPLACE <u>GERMANY</u>	Witness my hand this day of <u>MARCH</u> , 19 <u>36</u>	
REASON FOR LIVING TO PRESENT DAY <u>MANAGED TO STAY IN THE UNITED STATES</u>	Signature <u>[Signature]</u>	
FILED <u>MARCH 1936</u>	Place of burial <u>UNKNOWN</u>	Date of burial <u>MARCH, 1936</u>
	Undertaker <u>ADOLPH HITLER</u>	Address <u>WEIMAR PALACE</u>

WILL FRANCES PERKINS PUT HER NAME TO THIS DOCUMENT?

Will Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, once a liberal, sign this death warrant for Alfred Miller? Immigration authorities are seeking to deport Miller, at one time editor of Producers News in Plantywood, Mont., because he agitated for farm relief.

## Toledo Labor In New Fight

TOLEDO (FP)—Trade unionists of Toledo, a strong union town since the famous 1934 Auto-Lite battle of Local 18384 of the United Automobile Workers, face new battles to maintain their hold on the auto industry here. Chevrolet has already shifted part of its production machinery to open shop plants in Saginaw, Mich., and Muncie, Ind., and other auto parts companies have announced they will follow suit.

Much bitterness exists among workers because of Chevrolet's failure to keep its gentleman's agreement, made at the end of the April strike, to re-employ 2,300 men, 900 of whom have been left walking the streets. The company has played on the antagonism between those with and without jobs, and further attempted to undermine union sentiment by \$25 Christmas bonuses. Strong support of the picket line at Mather Spring Co., leading to negotiation of an agreement, has, however, improved labor morale.

a constitutional amendment to stop the Supreme Court from invalidating labor legislation and declared that the only hope of labor lay in strong industrial organization.

Lexington and Concord were recalled by Leo Krzycki, national

## Hal Siegel Is Elected CALL Business Manager

NEW YORK — Hal Siegel, active New York Socialist, was elected business-manager of The CALL, on the resignation of Jack Altman to take over party duties.

The Board of Directors of The CALL gratefully acknowledge the services rendered by Jack Altman in laying a firm foundation for The CALL.

## Goldman to Defend Omaha Strikers

CHICAGO — Albert Goldman, attorney for Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, was sent Monday to Omaha to take charge of the defense of the members of the Omaha Street Car Union No. 1002 arrested in that city charged with criminal syndicalism, conspiracy and malicious destruction of property.

Goldman, the outstanding labor defense attorney of the Middle West, has been sent to Omaha to make a thorough investigation of the case, which has been hushed up by the local newspapers and ignored by the Omaha Central Labor Union.

chairman of the Socialist Party, who spoke at both meetings representing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

2500 Cleveland workers braved a Lake Erie blizzard to hear Lewis and Krzycki. More than 3500 attended the Akron meeting.

Determined to break a strike of shirtmakers at the M. Fine factory at New Albany, McNutt ordered National Guardsmen on duty to enforce the tin-hat dictatorship. Vigo and Sullivan counties have been under martial law for more than a year.

In Chicago, the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee announced that Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party, and Joseph Jacobs, LSDC attorney, were on the way to New Albany. The LSDC reported that, according to its information, strikers were not permitted to go to their homes within the military zone by the tin-hats.

Krzycki has been invited to speak at a statewide rally in Indianapolis, in protest against the new outrages. On Saturday, together with Powers Haggood, member of the Socialist national executive committee, he will address a meeting of hosiery workers here.

The form of martial law used by McNutt has been pronounced as one of the most peculiar forms ever used in American history. The military has no command over ordinary infractions of law such as criminal felonies, but steps in whenever the forces of labor threaten the vested interests.

Martial law in Vigo and Sullivan counties was broken when Socialists, led by Norman Thomas, defied the military's command and addressed open street meetings in Terre Haute. Powers Haggood and other Socialists were arrested at that time; more recently Hoot Rasmussen, Workers Alliance of America organizer, was jailed and released only when the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee threatened to blow the case wide open again.

## Socialists OK Wisconsin Tie

MILWAUKEE.—A united political front of labor, farmer and progressive forces in all future state elections won the overwhelming approval of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin in a party referendum completed last week.

By a state-wide membership vote of nearly 6 to 1, the Socialists approved affiliation of their party with the Farmer-Labor-Progressive Federation, recently formed on the initiative of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor. The coalition, still to be passed on by the Socialist national executive committee, includes the Progressive Party, now in control of the state government.

Under a declaration of principles approved by all constituent organizations two months ago, the new grouping is officially committed to a production for use program.

Socialist voting in Milwaukee city and county was approximately four to one for affiliation, and in the rest of the state the vote averaged as high as 8 to 1. Out of 130 party locals and branches participating in the voting, 23 voted unanimously for the federation while but two reported majority votes against

DON'T FORGET, SOCIALIST CALL FIRST ANNUAL DINNER ON MARCH 22.

# Membership Backs NEC N. Y. Action

NEW YORK—In the face of one of New York's worst snow-and-sleet storms, one thousand party members came out to gather in a demonstration of party loyalty at Stuyvesant Casino. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, chairman of Local New York and Lewi Tonks, state chairman.

A resolution unanimously adopted by the meeting declared that "any comrade who does not abide by the decision of the national executive committee is helping to split and destroy the Socialist movement."

Dr. Laidler urged the party members to stand loyally with the national organization, adding that loyal party members will refrain from using the abusive tactics characterizing the Old Guard's campaign.

He presented a legislative and organizational program of activities that called for agitation in behalf of the Workers Rights Amendment which would prevent the nullification of labor legislation by the Supreme Court; a vigorous drive for the thirty-hour bill, the nationalization of public utilities, genuine social insurance, a peace program and a more adequate agricultural program. The address was greeted with cheers by the audience.

## Pass Resolution

The resolution on party problems, presented by David Cory, one of the leaders of the Unity Group, read:

"Members of the Socialist Party, Local New York, assembled at Stuyvesant Casino, hereby declare that as disciplined members of the Socialist Party, U. S. A., we will support and make effective the spirit as well as the letter of the NEC decision on the New York situation.

"We pledge to do all in our power to build the Socialist Party of New York into an effective and powerful weapon for the emancipation of the workers. We hope that all comrades, irrespective of differences of approach, will join with us in building a united, democratic party, composed of all Socialist elements. Any comrade who does not abide by the decision of the NEC is helping to split and destroy the Socialist movement, and we urge all in the interests of a united Socialist Party to accept the decision, to register and participate in the new elections."

The resolution came after the rejection of the latest peace move made by the state committee appointed by the NEC, which had set up an evenly balanced temporary executive committee for New York City, composed of eleven Old Guard leaders (Gerber, Fruchter, Lee, Berlin, Minkoff, Levy, Karlin, Gibson, Goldberg, Steinhardt, Maggin), eleven connected with the Utica convention (Altman, Baron, Crosswaith, Delson, Eichandler, Garfinkel, Lamont, Sadoff, Hay, Gross, Lazarus) and three from the Unity group (Cory, Dancis and Laidler). The Old Guard designees refused to accept. The executive committee is to conduct elections in New York.

Registration of the party members is proceeding at a rapid rate. Already more members have registered with the State Committee than registered with the Utica convention, which in itself had a majority of the party members. It is becoming apparent that only a very small group will refrain from complying with the NEC decision.

The new city executive committee, meeting last Friday, elected sub-committees for the various



Harry W. Laidler

## '1-Punch' Waldman Turns Parley Into Fight Exhibition

NEW YORK — The Eastern States Conference, planned by Old Guard leaders as the basis for a national split, convened in New York City with only three state committees officially attending out of nine that had been invited. Metropolitan newspapers reported that Louis Waldman, Old Guard leader, almost came to blows with the representative of a group pleading for unity.

The conference was called some months ago to mediate in the party controversy, before the national executive committee passed upon the New York situation. Only Maryland, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts were officially represented. The New York Old Guard also participated.

The conference was thrown into an uproar when Louis Waldman attempted to punch six-foot Samuel Friedman, a representative of the unity group, who was addressing the conference. Friedman had stated that Waldman might be a good lawyer but could not lead the party. The Old Guard leader interrupted, calling Friedman a "louse," but was restrained by Algernon Lee from actually landing a blow.

A resolution was adopted opposing the NEC decision after Old Guard leaders refused to allow the New York State Committee to be heard. Jack Altman and Max Delson, who had received a formal invitation from the secretary of the conference and who were representing the State Committee, were at first refused admission to the hall and then were denied the floor when they sought to present their view of the party contro-

party duties and made preparations for the primaries which are to be held on April 2nd. Much work is involved and the party members were instructed to cooperate with the City Office in the matter of filing the petitions. James Lipsig was appointed full-time worker on the primaries.

Jack Altman until now business-manager of The CALL, formerly manager of the Rand Book Store and labor-secretary of Local New York, was drafted as executive secretary of Local New York after declining the nomination. Altman is one of the most active Socialists in New York and is

## HOW LONG CAN IT LAST?



How long will low wages last? wonder these St. Louis WPA workers as the Workers Alliance of America carries on a determined fight for the prevailing wage.

## PROPHECY FOR 1936

By John Mann

Federated Press Financial Writer

CONFLICT and Change are the words written across the morning sky of 1936 in letters all men may see—if they desire to see.

Almost a billion dollars is being spent today by big business for rebuilding and modernizing plant, and most of this money is coming right out of reserves and current profits.

Bank loans to small businesses continue close to the lowest level of the depression. The big boys have the money and they are proceeding to spend it on more efficient tools of production. They say that "high wages are forcing labor-saving devices." But the index for industrial production in November reached 98 per cent—almost normal—while payrolls stood at only 75 per cent of normal—and more than 11,000,000 remained unemployed.

### Sees Only Conflict

Only conflict is to be seen in this picture. With vast resources at its command, big business is moving inexorably to exterminate as many small rivals as possible—or absorb them.

At the same time it is prepared to smite labor hip and thigh—and worst of all, poison its mind through the press, whose soul it owns. Big advertising interests have sold big business the idea, at last, that the public doesn't like it; and big business is going to engage in a vast campaign to tell us all how good it is to have big business.

As a matter of fact, it is good to have business big, for that means efficiency and economy, cheaper goods and better living. But unless the people themselves can control big business big business will control the people—and that is not good. The

extent to which it will go already has been evidenced in the lawless decision of its representatives on the Supreme Court, who declared the AAA unconstitutional.

### Labor Is Organizing

Labor, however, is organizing powerful unions to challenge the quickly-growing power of big business. The battle will take place not only in the courts, the legislatures and the polls, but in the factories and mines. Before the year is over great strikes are likely to occur, and probably with greater violence than this country has ever seen.

Many of these conflicts will grow out of change—change that is originated in laboratories where men are discovering new materials and ways of doing things. Into the workshops marches change in the form of alloy steels, streamlined railway trains, air conditioning, television, new types of airplanes. New industries are born and old ones die.

But in attempting to control the forces of nature that science is unlocking in our laboratories, and in the greedy effort to seize the resulting gains, there will be physical and mental strife. If labor can learn to fight with its head, it will stand a chance of winning substantial benefits. If it does not learn, it must wait until pain forces physical revolt.

For those industries and men who are strong, 1936 will be a year of gain. For those who are weak in resources, but strong in numbers and spirit and intelligence, 1936 will be a year of struggle for the more abundant life which is possible for all—if we fight for it.

## HEALTH and SOCIETY

By the HEALTH TEACHER

Mental diseases have their social and individual causes, both being so intermingled and interdependent that there can be no exact limit between them. There are real, basic causes and superficial ones which, in scientific

versy, though the conference had been called to mediate between both "groups."

Altman and Delson stated that "the Old Guard does not dare to allow both sides of the question to be heard."

Resolutions adopted by party locals throughout the country, including Local Worcester, Massachusetts, whose state committee participated, the Westchester County Committee, Local Chapel Hill, N. C., and others, indicate that throughout the nation the party membership is supporting the NEC's decisive action in dealing with the New York party problem.

known to New York Socialists for his great abilities as a party worker.

minds, require further investigation.

For instance, religious insanity undoubtedly has a deeper cause, or in certain cases, more than one. But a fanatical religious infatuation, be it started in childhood or in adult life, is an important factor that can precipitate a dangerous mental state in a person who already had a dormant tendency to it.

Dr. James A. Brussel recently presented in The American Journal of Psychiatry, under the title "Father Divine, Holy Precipitator of Psychoses," some illustrative examples from a Long Island psychopathic hospital. These patients were not only interesting from the viewpoint of the scientist; they were instructive for any intelligent layman.

### Father Divine

They had been completely under the "Colored God's" spell and could not extricate themselves from his fast and pernicious influence. Their sad and desperate condition should point the way toward sanity, clearness and correctness in thinking all through life.

toward a rational child-upbringing and away from any kind of fanaticism. Their lives, sufficiently enslaved without the darkness of this new superstition, wrecked by a stupid faith, should be a lesson to all those who have, in the past, encouraged the famous, or rather notorious, mind-destroyer by praising him and by associating with him. It is a crime against culture in general and against the mental health of the plain, naive workers to force them to demonstrate together with savage followers—no matter whether white or colored—of such silly beliefs—as it has been done for the ostensible purpose of revolutionary demonstrations. It is to be hoped that such horrors will not be perpetrated again.

Even without going into an analysis of the teachings of the holy misleader, their harmful consequences can be seen by their effects upon those disciples who are not yet admitted to the insane asylum. Just to hear them babble: "Father, you are God, Father Divine is God, our King, God, God, God."

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ASTORIA, Ore. (FP)—Loading of the freighter Kosie Maru came to a standstill when longshoremen refused to pass through picket lines established by lumber workers at Wauna.

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## Thomas Set For Big N.Y. Party Drive

NEW YORK — Starting off a city-wide drive for new members for the Socialist Party here, Norman Thomas will bring the Socialist message to thousands of New York workers in a series of meetings to start this week.

The campaign being launched with these meetings is intended to place the party on a firm base in preparation for the Presidential and State elections to be held in November. Other speakers, along with Thomas, will include Frank Crosswaith, chairman of the Negro Labor Committee; Max Nelson, president of the Call Press, Inc., and member of the party's national public affairs committee; Murray Baron, manager of the Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Makers' Union and Socialist national labor committeeman; and Amicus Most, formerly national organizer for the party and now a member of its national labor committee.

At two meetings held last week in Brooklyn and the Bronx, more than a thousand attended.

The meetings thus far scheduled include the following:

- Friday, January 24—Ardley Palace, Atlantic and Vermont Streets, Brooklyn; auspices 22nd A. D. (Kings) branch.
- Saturday, January 25—Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street; auspices Workers' Alliance of Greater New York. Also at banquet of Socialistiche Bfime, Fifth Avenue Cafeteria, 94 Fifth Avenue.
- Sunday, January 26—Curtiss High School, St. George, Staten Island; auspices Staten Island branch.
- Tuesday, January 28—Savoy Mansion, 1322 80th Avenue, Brooklyn; auspices Bensonhurst branch. Also at Premier Palace, 603 Sutter Avenue, Brooklyn; auspices 3rd A. D. (Kings) branch. Also at 968 Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn; auspices 21st A. D. (Kings) branch.
- Wednesday, January 29—Court House, Flushing; auspices, Flushing branch.
- Thursday, January 30—Grand Plaza, 821 East 160th Street, Bronx; auspices 3rd, 4th, and 5th A. D. (Bronx) branches and Jewish branch 2. Also at Burnside Manor, 85 West Burnside Avenue, Bronx; auspices, 8th A. D. (Bronx) branch.
- Saturday, February 1—Straubennulder Textile High School, 331 West 26th Street; auspices, Chelsea and Greenwich Village branches.
- Sunday, February 2—Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street; auspices, Young People's Group. (10:45 A. M.)

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## Spring Term Opens Feb. 10 at Institute

NEW YORK — Registration for the spring term of The Call Institute will open February 10. Carl Eichandier, Institute secretary, announced. The six courses offered will include Elements of Socialism (free to Party members), Problems of Trade Unionism, Socialist Theory and Practice, Basic principles of Scientific Socialism, Social Literature and Problems of the International Socialist Movement.

Haim Kantorovitch, Phil Heller and Herbert Zam have been definitely engaged as instructors.

Thursday, February 6—International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Forum, 7th floor, 222 West 40th Street; auspices Local 22, ILGWU.

Friday, February 7—Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn; auspices Jewish National Workers' Alliance, branch 53.

Sunday, February 9—Public School 68, Cypress Avenue and 145th Street, Bronx; auspices 1st A. D. (Bronx) branch. Also at Agure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Road, Bronx; auspices Bronx Era Fellowship.

All meetings, unless otherwise noted, begin at 8. Admission is free.

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## Labor Notes in New York Labor Unions Fight Move To Fingerprint Employees

Organized labor in New York, led by the Central Trades and Labor Council, is vigorously fighting a move to fingerprint and photograph all hotel employees. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union has attacked the proposal as a blacklisting scheme to thwart the organization campaign of labor.

The national convention of the Men's Hat department of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union voted to merge with the millinery department of that union during the summer to secure more effective action in organization drives.

Open-air meetings every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 41st Street and 13th Avenue publicize the strike of the Rothstein Department store strikers, now out for the 10th week.

A mass picket line to aid the May Department Store strike will take place Saturday afternoon. Pickets will meet at 42 Smith Street, Brooklyn. More than 200 have been arrested during the course of the strike.

Aroused over a report that Metropolitan News Company fired three union members in violation of the agreement, the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants union voted to throw a mass picket line against the company

The Teachers Union, in a telegram to Governor Herbert Lehman, asked that he include "unconditional full statutory quota of state aid" in his budget report.

The Brownsville Labor Lyceum, with the cooperation of the WPA, is arranging educational classes in its building at 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn.

Fur Dyers' Union, Local 88, has asked a federal investigation in the murder of Joseph Shoemaker.

The scheduled strike of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees, Local 103, which threatened for a while to affect the entire city, has been postponed indefinitely while negotiations are in progress.

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## A Bleeding Hand

Senator Carter Glass was addressing the United States Senate. His wisps of white hair swung with his heavy head as he thundered; his fists flailed through the air and pounded on the table till his knuckles bled.

He was defending the "integrity and the veracity" of Woodrow Wilson. He was denouncing those who were guilty of "dirt-daubing the sepulchre of Woodrow Wilson" by charging that the war president had falsified when he said he knew nothing of Europe's secret treaties.

That Woodrow Wilson falsified is beyond question. That he knew of the back-door pacts is clear. That he secretly favored the Allies while he preached neutrality is fact. That he had determined to bring America into the trenches while campaigning for re-election on the slogan, "He kept us out of war," is written in bold script in the documents of the state department.

All this the Senatorial munitions investigation has proved beyond doubting. Not all the legislative rhetoric can wipe out Woodrow Wilson's record of deception.

We need not speak of Wilson's motives, for modern economic forces never stop their determined course to consider the wishes of any single man. Dollars demand a diplomacy all their own, and when commerce needs a war to sustain it, no individual's integrity can halt its outbreak. After all's said and done, the declarations of war come, not from the Capitol in Washington, but from the Capital in Wall Street.

That Woodrow Wilson falsified is hardly shocking in an age accustomed to "statesmanship." That any man should dare to say it, however, is intolerable to those who practise "statesmanship."

When Eugene Victor Debs revealed these things in the very hour when the truth was needed, together with his comrades, Wilson punished him in the name of law. When Socialists spoke out the truth, they were hounded into prison cells.

But Truth makes its way into strange places, even into the halls of the United States Senate. And so it was that Carter Glass shook his fist in the face of Truth, thundered his little piece, pounded his knuckles on the table, and then held out his bleeding hand to the newspapermen to be photographed.

But a little blood on a Senator's hand will not wipe out the memory of a nation's bleeding heart nor make a people forget how its workingmen, lured on by lies, had been bruised and killed in European slaughter-houses.

## Neutrality—or Neutralization?

No matter how cleverly worded, neutrality bills are not what it takes to keep us out of war. The world is too much knit together for us to be able to keep ourselves—even if we wished—from being tangled up with the threads of foreign economic life. Our own businessmen help plant the seeds of war.

The danger in the neutrality talk lies in its tendency to lull the people into the feeling that we are safe, while the commercial rivalries that make for war go bubbling on under the surface until the moment of explosion. Then, as Page wrote to Wilson early in 1917, "Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present prominent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted." And in we go, pushed by the money-boys—right over our ears.

Neutrality laws must not be allowed to neutralize the independent action of the working-class for the preservation of peace, which in the long run means the elimination of capitalism. Workers must not forget that the only power that will prevent war is the power of their own organization. They must hasten with the building of their own political party; they must solidify their labor unions for the general strike that haunts the war-makers in their sleep.

Governments may make for wars; but workers can stop them.

## The Unemployed Prepare!

The organized unemployed of the nation are facing New York where the national executive board of the Workers Alliance of America is meeting to consider the problems of the nation's jobless.

The Workers Alliance is now giving itself for a stiff battle against the starvation program of the Roosevelt administration. Workers, organized and unorganized, are being driven to the streets by the starvation program of the Roosevelt administration. The Workers Alliance is now giving itself for a stiff battle against the starvation program of the Roosevelt administration.

## A BLOODY ROSE



NEWS ITEM: The House of Morgan made \$30,000,000 acting as American purchasing agent for the British government during the World War.

## Patriotism and the American Liberty League

To the Editor:

Some of our superior "patriots" who look askance upon Socialism as an imported "ism" of dangerous tenets should consider what the father of the American Revolution in Virginia, Richard Bland, forerunner of Patrick Henry, had to say about the exercise of unlawful power. Those who worship Bland, Henry, Jefferson and other "dead patriots"—and know next to nothing about the principles they stood for should study the import of this statement made by Bland.

Bland, called the "Great Virginia Patriot" and the first statesman to approach the chasm of separation of Great Britain, declared, "Power abstracted from right cannot give a just title to dominion, and though submitted to because of necessity, may be resisted whenever the sufferer obtains strength enough to do so."

These words by Richard Bland, which apply today in the midst of the debacle we are witnessing in legislation at Washington, would be considered rank heresy by our American Liberty League and its sympathizers—by all reactionaries. But why should not Socialists use this quotation to show that as early as the 1760's, Virginia had a voice that was as strong against usurped power as any that Socialism speaks today? Our American institutions were

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.

built upon the principle of freedom, not upon "power abstracted from right." Socialists stand for this First Principle uttered by Bland.

J. LUTHER KIBLER, Williamsburg, Va.

### The Meaning Of 'Disarm'

To the Editor:

In reading "Socialism, Neutrality and War" by Herbert Zam in the Jan. 11 number of The CALL, I was struck by what I consider a poorly worked out argument against the pacifists. To quote:

"It will make it easier for the jingoes to declare war because it will disarm the workers and prevent a really effective struggle against war."

Now, I do not want to throw any ridicule at his argument, but it does seem absurd. Possibly I do not understand what he means by the word "disarm." We are already disarmed if he means by the term weapons of warfare. We have to get permits to carry revolvers. We can carry deer rifles

only during the hunting season. I am not sure but I think we have to register possession of a shotgun here (in Michigan).

What is the "advanced position" of the Socialist as compared with that of the pacifist?

CARL B. WATERS, Grand Rapids, Mich.

### Father Divine And the Communists

To the Editor:

I'm rather curious just now as to how "Oil" Browder is going to "clarify" the rank-and-file communists on the Stalinist united front with "Comrade God"—the strikebreaker!

I refer, of course, to Father Divine (whom Browder defended so eloquently in his Madison Square Garden debate with Thomas), whose International Righteous Government Convention last week proposed a new law to forbid all strikes in which the union doesn't pay the strikers their full wages during the strike.

Obviously since the unions are not rich profit-making concerns, this would outlaw practically all strikes. The American Liberty League must be turning green with envy because such a rank upstart beat them to this swell strike-breaking scheme, which incidentally has the added advantage of appealing to politically backward workers.

How many more such allies are the communists going to recruit in their "People's Front Against War, Fascism and Reaction?" HARRY FLEISCHMAN, New York City.

### MUST GIVE LIEN

VANCOUVER, Wash. Feb. 1. A man who has invested his savings in a little cotton, and all he can get for it is a bundle of starving, unless he gives up on the property, must give up at Vancouver have just

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# WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

ONCE more we seem to be approaching war. Japan has walked out of the naval conference. At the same time the papers are filled with loud assertions on the part of Japan that, within a year, Soviet Russia will launch an attack on her. The radio, too, carries "solemn warnings" issuing from the lips of poker-faced Japanese spokesmen, about the aggressive policies of Soviet Russia.

This is all poppy-cock. Anyone who knows anything of the internal affairs of the Soviets is aware of their pressing need for peace. It is true that the Red Army has been put on a war footing. Its numbers, if news reports are to be relied on, are to be increased to 1,300,000. There is a corresponding increase in activity in the manufacture of war materials. The emphasis on Stakhanovism (in plain English, the "speed-up" and the "stretch-out") may be the consequence rather of fear of war than of any sudden conversion to a capitalist ideology.

Yet to assert, as do the Japanese, that the Soviets are deliberately planning an attack on Japan, is to strain the credulity even of a Hamilton Fish. The shoe is clearly on the other foot.

## Russia and Japan

The Soviets have no population problem. They have vast lands as yet sparsely inhabited. They have not, by many years, solved the problems of their internal economy. They have no huge un-consumed surpluses to be exported at all costs. They have no need of "spheres of influence," "mandates" or colonies with which to keep up a falling rate of capitalist profit.

Conversely, the Japanese have the traditional "pressure of population in land areas" that make for imperialist war. They have for years been stimulating this population growth. They have used it as a convenient cloak for their military adventures in Korea and in Manchuria. There is no reason to suppose they will not use it again.

They have, since the middle of the 19th century, busily and efficiently developed a system of capitalist production which now floods the world with cheap goods. Cheap, because it is made with coolie labor at starvation wages. They, like the rest of the capitalist world, have been in the grip of the world depression. To Japanese capitalists new markets, new sources of raw material, new populations to exploit as labor and as consumers, are of vital importance.

Russia is governed by Marxian ideas. War, to Socialists and communists alike, is in itself abhorrent. It may be resorted to in a revolutionary crisis or to defend the fruits of revolution.

War, to the Japanese military clique which today rules that country, is a way of life. As to Mussolini, to Hitler, to the Prussian Junkers, war is not so much a means to an end as an end to itself. The Japanese capitalists know well how to exploit for their own purposes, the samurai spirit.

War, even defensive war, will be for Russia a grave risk. Fear of war has been the reason for the feverish tempo of Soviet industrialization. Fear of war has been the reason, sometimes obscured and sometimes avowed, for the failure to develop within the Soviets a greater degree of workers' democracy.

War for Japan is just another adventure in the game begun in 1894, when the first slice was cut from the Chinese colossus. Victory will increase the power of the ruling classes. Defeat will not seriously shake the hold of the military and business aristocracy upon the Japanese masses.

Russia has all to lose by war. Japan, nothing!

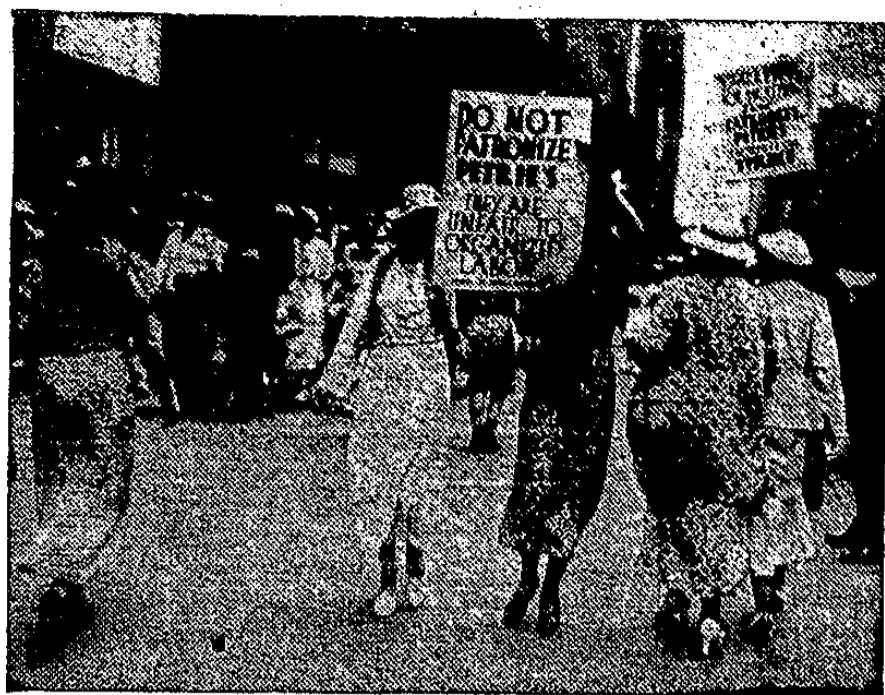
## We Drift Nearer

Under the circumstances, will any reasonable man believe that the Russo-Japanese war, if and when it comes, will be the will of Soviet Russia? Is it not already clear that Japan is even now planning its aggression? In putting the blame in advance on Russia, it is merely following the time-honored policies of the war-makers.

There will be many taken in, many who will believe, because they wish to believe, that Russia is an imperialist power today, as she was under the Czar. There are those with a small knowledge of history, who will draw a comparison between post-revolutionary France, under Napoleon, and post-revolutionary Russia today.

Whoever is deceived, it will not be the workers. They, at least, will see the Japanese aggression in its true colors. In the meantime, Japan has withdrawn from the naval conference. This robs the conference of all meaning. There will be a naval arms race to rival the arms race engaged in between the United States and the League of Nations. The League of Nations, as we have seen, is a farce. So, do not...

## IN ACTION



Here are members of the League of Women Shoppers "in action" as socialites and workers' wives turn out to picket in a strike situation.

### Mothers and Wives

## Women Shoppers Aid Labor Unions

By EVELYN PRESTON

President, League of Women Shoppers

The League of Women Shoppers began to function last June. Its board and its membership include women of different political affiliations who believe they can unite on the single economic platform of higher wages, better working conditions and trade union organization for the workers. They are aware of the great power that resides in women as the principal purchasers of consumer goods. From concrete experience they have discovered that they can influence both employers and public opinion.

The method of work follows certain definite lines in every instance. A group of workers appeals to us for assistance. A committee of three is appointed to inquire into the dispute. The workers state their case and add written affidavits and photostatic copies of pay checks if possible. The history of the union involved is examined. The employer is interviewed and a statement of his position secured.

The committee turns to government agencies, finds out from the files of the Regional Labor Board what efforts at conciliation have been made.

On a basis of the information secured above a report is submitted to the board of directors who vote whether or not to endorse the strike. If the vote is affirmative, various methods of support are worked out in cooperation with the union leaders. These may include sending members on the picket line, withdrawing charge accounts, bringing pressure on local grocers, sending delegations to the employer, stamping stickers on envelopes, sending out speakers to get the cooperation of other organizations.

As the League of Women Shoppers becomes more efficient, there will be women organized in neighborhood groups under the leadership of a "captain" who will map out a continuous plan of pressure on neighborhood stores until the strike is settled.

Many middle class organizations have attempted to set up minimum standards for labor, but none have participated in labor disputes as a matter of policy

over a continuous period of time. Various unions and the Women's Trade Union League have called upon prominent middle class women in the past to speak at their meetings or to go on the picket line. But there never has been an organized definite method of procedure whereby middle class women could quicken their understanding of the labor conflict and improve, through an accumulated body of experience, their method of cooperating with the labor movement. The League of Women Shoppers has already been endorsed by the Central Trades and Labor Council and its president is a member of the Women's Trade Union League and serves on its organization committee.

This close cooperation between labor and the middle-class is particularly necessary in a country so strongly middle-class in its psychology and population. The middle class holds the balance of power, and if a large section of it does not sympathize with labor, there is a great danger that the workers lose the last vestiges of their most elementary democratic rights of free assembly and collective bargaining.

The League of Women Shoppers has grown by leaps and bounds the last few months. It evidently fulfills a real need. Apparently it is true that many women are aware that the labor conflict is the most important one facing our generation. They are professional women or women with families or both, and they cannot give full-time to the struggle, but they want to identify themselves with it. By working half a day or a few hours a week for the League of Women Shoppers they have found an avenue of expression that gives them a sense of harmony with the forces striving for justice. From a detached objective point of view, their experience assures them that they have been of some small service to the workers.

## Democracy

In South Carolina the rule of the Democratic Party... (Text is partially obscured and difficult to read due to image quality and font size.)

# GAMES FOR CHILDREN

By McAlister Coleman

HAVE any of you boys and girls come across an uplifting and instructive game called, "Monopoly"? Whether or not it was conceived in a satiric mood, it is as beautiful an exposition of the workings of finance capital as could well be imagined.

It is played, of course, with dice. Also with stage money. Everyone starts in with the same amount of money and then moves counters around a board according to the throw of the dice. The squares on the board are labelled "railroads," "electric light companies," "real estate" etc. The object of the game is to monopolize these necessities so that the winner takes all and the rest are either broke or in jail.

There is no more touching sight these cold winter evenings than to see a bunch of cockroach capitalists who have long since lost their last shirt, sitting around cheating one another at this engaging game.

### Hypnotized 'Millionaires'

It reminds me of the story of Oscar Ameringer's adventures with the hypnotist. He met up with this magic worker while he was on an organizing trip in the Southwest. At the hypnotist's suggestion, the two joined forces. First the hypnotist would get a bunch of pantsless peasants, representing the ruggedly independent American farmer, up on the stage and put them in a trance. Then he would tell them that they were Rockefellers, Morgans, Vanderbilts and so on and that they had come together to do business. Pretty soon these bemused rustics would be buying railroads for millions, swapping vast acres, going through all the motions of captains of industry. Then Oscar would come out and point the Socialist moral which the dimmest wit in the audience could not fail to grasp.

Similarly "Monopoly" seems to have a mesmeric effect upon its players. Their eyes gleam with greedy rapture, they mutter to themselves, some of them water a bit at the mouth, as they do in their fellow players. It is indeed an edifying sight to watch a group of busted brokers' clerks and their wives giving full vent to their beautiful acquisitive instincts.

We have another game at our house. It is called "Thomas McCarter." That, as you may have guessed, if you have done your home work on this column, is the name of the President of the Public Service Electric and Gas Company of New Jersey. "Come children," I say gently, when things get dull around the home, "let us play 'Thomas McCarter.'" Whereupon my son, aged four, puffs out his cheeks, protrudes his stomach and waddles round the room in a perfect an imitation of the original as you would want to see. He is followed by Ann, aged two, who does her best to emulate her brother's pomposity but fails occasionally from sheer excitement. The game is to find two pennies which are hidden round the room. The winner pockets both pennies and then has the privilege of turning off the electric light on the side wall.

### For Older Children

I have other games in mind for the little dears when they grow older. "Running for Office," for example, a game also played with money and loaded dice. Then there's "Democracy," quite a hilarious pastime, and "Civil Liberties," the point of which is to catch the player called "Worker" and whale the tar out of him.

I did have in mind "Old Guard," but of course that will be hopelessly out of date by the time the children are a year older.

Saki, the English short story writer, once wrote a skit called "The Toys of Peace," in which he kidded the efforts of serious minded pacifists to persuade their children to forsake the lethal weapons with which they were playing and take up more peaceful pastimes. That, of course, is a hopeless task. No pacifist parent alive but what has experienced the strange sensation of being compelled to throw up his hands at the point of his small boy's wooden gun. I have already either hidden or destroyed a young arsenal but I realize the futility of it all.

Now my suggestion is that our children be taught games which show up capitalism in its most unlovely aspects. If they are bright, they will realize that the whole affair is something to laugh at rather than to revere and when in later years some started that gets up to tell them about the glories of private profit, they will drown him out with derisive words.

If on the other hand, they take the games seriously, take them out some dark night and throw them in the nearest creek.

# World Socialism

## THE RESIGNATION OF CABALLERO

By HERBERT ZAM

As this column is being written, the news comes in that Largo Caballero, chairman of the Socialist Party of Spain, has resigned from the Party. No details of this event are given except that Caballero declared his resignation was not based on any principled differences but solely on inner-Party organizational questions.

This news is a veritable bombshell in the international Socialist movement. Caballero became famous throughout the labor world as the leader of the heroic struggle of the Spanish workers against reaction and monarchism. He was but recently freed after spending a long period in prison for his activities during the uprising.

Those who know anything of the Spanish situation will realize that more than organizational questions must be involved in this resignation, which may lead to a split in the Spanish movement. A struggle has been going on in the Spanish Party ever since the defeat of the uprising. Caballero was looked upon as the leader of the left-wing, which, supported by the youth organization and by a large (probably majority) section of the Party, wanted the Party to adopt a more revolutionary policy as a result of the experiences of the uprising and the growth of reaction. Other comrades, under the leadership of Besteiro, wanted the Party to move further to the right, advocating in fact the adoption of an almost pure democratic republican position, with the fight for Socialism shoved into the background.

Only further information will disclose whether the resignation of Caballero is a result of this struggle, whether it inaugurates a split in the Party or whether it is a purely personal act. Socialists throughout the world can only hope that nothing will happen to destroy the unity and fighting capacity of the Spanish Socialists, and that the inner struggle will crystallize a policy without the need for a split.

A split has taken place in the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland, resulting in the formation of the Revolutionary Socialist Workers League. This Party was formed something less than a year ago through the unification of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Trotskyite) and the Independent Socialist Party (Left Socialist). While the former was by far the smaller of the two organizations, it easily obtained hegemony in the new organization, largely because it had a definite point of view and an international outlook, while the latter was still floundering after having broken organizationally with the extremely reformist Dutch Socialist Workers Party but not having developed toward a complete revolutionary position. As a result, the RSWP became one of the banner bearers of the Fourth International, and was held up as a model of success in other countries. In reality, this Party was not a party at all, but only a somewhat large sect and influenced only a small section of the Dutch workers.

### Splits And Sects

A similar development had taken place in the United States, where almost at the same time there had been formed the Workers Party out of the fusion of the Communist League of America (Trotskyist) and the American Workers Party (Musteite). The American and Dutch developments were considered, even very lately, as indicative of one of the main roads to the Fourth International. But it is through the formation of these two parties that the road is now completely blocked. For almost at the same time in Holland a split also took place in

the United States. While in the United States the split was to the left, however, under the leadership of "pre-turn" Trotskyists who objected to the pro-Socialist Party orientation, in Holland it was to the right, under the leadership of former members of the ISP who objected to being swallowed by the Trotskyites. The fact of these splits, that they took place under different circumstances and for different reasons only serves to emphasize the instability of groups and sects under present conditions in the labor movement. Sectism breeds intolerance and intolerance breeds splits. And this is true even of the so-called "non-sectarian" sects, that is of those sects which profess to be against sectarianism as a policy, and advocate unity in principle. The history of all the modern sects is a history of continual splits.

In his struggle against sectarianism, Karl Marx gave characterization of the sects of his day which holds for the sects of today. He said: "The sect views its *raison d'être* (reason for existence) and its point d'honneur (point of honor) not in that which it has in common with the class movement, but in a special shibboleth that DISTINGUISHES it from this movement."

How true of the present day sects which always defend their existence by the "special" point of view which distinguishes them from everybody else. Marx was by no means opposed to taking the sects into the mass movement. But he insisted that the sect be absorbed into the movement, and that its special point of view be introduced "as an element of enrichment" into the movement as a whole. But he fought bitterly against the demand that "the class movement subordinate itself to a special sectarian movement." This he considered as thoroughly reactionary and harmful. And so with our modern sects. Even when they begin moving toward the mass movement, they still express their sectarian aims, they still appear desirous of subordinating the mass movement to the sects and their fetishes.

### Marx On Sects

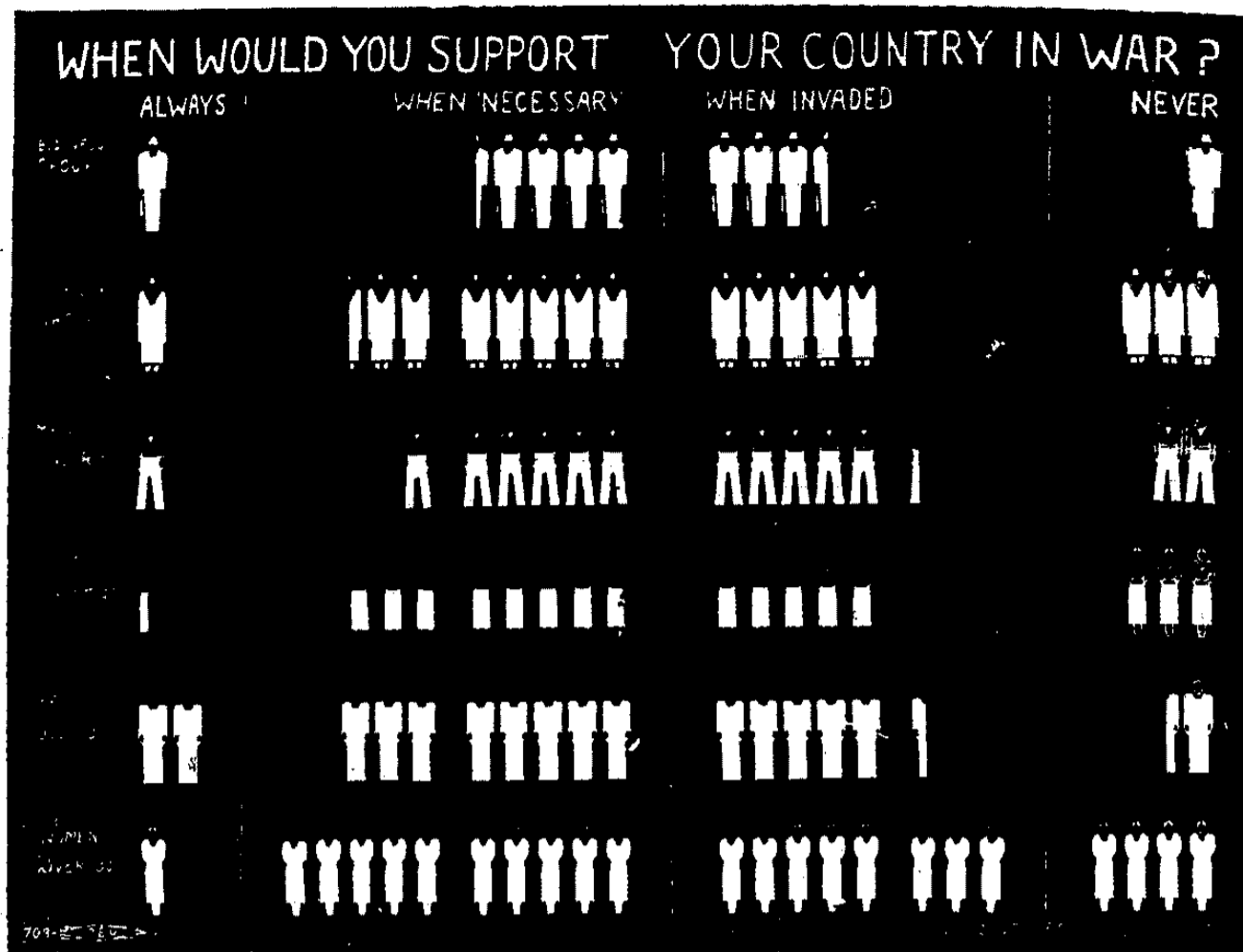
The existence of the special sects was justified only so long as it was impossible to propagate revolutionary Socialist ideas inside the mass movement. The sects served the purpose of helping bring to the attention of the advanced workers the "forbidden" ideas, so to speak, so that they could be judged on their merits. But the continued existence of the sects once this was accomplished becomes not only useless but positively harmful. And this applies not only to the sects as special organizations, but also to the special ideas they developed during their existence as sects. Any effort to foist these ideas upon the mass movement, or to consider the mass movement as merely a vehicle for the advancement of these ideas must inevitably lead to the separation of the sects from the mass movement and their re-crystallization as sects.

This applies particularly to the Trotskyist organizations, which in a whole series of countries have been "welcomed" into the Socialist parties, and not only into left parties, as in France, but also into "right" parties, as in Belgium and Federal Germany. The Trotskyist Parties have

demonstrated their concern for the unity of the movement of the workers. The sects must now demonstrate theirs by working as part of the movement and not as sects. Such special ideas as the "Fourth International" obviously cannot be carried over into the mass movement because the very essence of this idea is not unity but division. It is not enough that the sects should express their willingness to join the mass movement. They must also express their willingness to build it and not split it. And if they refuse, regardless of whether they base their position on Lenin's position of 1914 or on Trotsky's of 1933, they will either remain outside the mass movement, or their period of membership in it will be short indeed. This issue can no longer be straddled. The sects must decide one way or the other.

Those touring are President B. C. McCartney of the Kansas Allied Workers, Vice-Chairman W. Washington of the United Action Committee, and Helen Hester, American Workers Union organizer who twice led Kansas City, Kans. jobless in laying siege to the relief commissioners in the courthouse until relief grants were forthcoming. John Brown's passion for liberty is still remembered by the Kansas people. A spokesman for the United Action Committee declared: "The history of Kansas is one of struggle against slavery and economic bondage, and the People's March will be in keeping with this tradition."

# A PEOPLE'S MANDATE FOR PEACE



An overwhelming vote for peace marked the poll of 200,000 members of the Congregational and Christian Churches, conducted by the Council for Social Action. This chart, illustrating the results, indicates that only 6% of the voters will blindly support United States imperialism.

NEW YORK — In accordance with the decision of the emergency New York state committee of the Socialist Party, Local New York with headquarters at 21 East 17th Street is prepared to surrender its records to a city executive committee representing all party groups, Jack Altman, acting executive secretary of the local announced last week.

### N. Y. Accepts NEC Decision

The emergency committee was appointed by the national executive committee of the Party at its meeting in Philadelphia recently. It is headed by Lewi Tonks of Schenectady. Speaking for the executive committee of the local, Altman bespoke the local's willingness to cooperate.

"Our major demand has been the restoration of democratic procedure within the Party," he declared. "We believe that the basis for democracy has now been established and we are happy to accept the arrangement."

DON'T FORGET, SOCIALIST CALL FIRST ANNUAL DINNER ON MARCH 22.

### Workers' Alliance Plans Relief Fight

NEW YORK — The continued fight against reductions in relief will occupy the foremost position on the agenda as members of the national executive board of the Workers' Alliance of America, meet in New York City. The Alliance has organized jobless in 37 states.

Other problems to be considered during the three-day meeting, from January 25-27, will be arrangements for the national unemployed convention to be held at Washington in March or April and further study of the possibility for unity of all unemployed.

Only those who fear democracy, who have no confidence in the will of the Party membership, will oppose this decision. Only those who dread the vote of the membership will stay away from the ballot-box.

The state committee has set up its offices at 44 East 21st Street.

### Repeat U. S. History

# Jobless March In Kansas

By deWITT GILPIN  
TOPEKA, Kans. (FP) — "Bleeding Kansas" bleeds anew as the specter of hunger stalks the state, casting an ominous shadow across the neatly-balanced budgets of Gov. Landon, Hearst's protege, as America's No. 1 reactionary and Republican presidential hope.

The suffering of the state's jobless, now spreading with the cessation of crop reduction benefits to the farm households of Kansas, is reflected in response to the call for a People's March on Topeka to take place Feb. 2.

Three leaders of unemployed and WPA workers are now touring the state, conducting mass meetings to mobilize farmers and workers for the march, sponsored by the United Action Committee. Organizations represented on the committee include the Kansas Allied Workers, the American Workers Union, the Farmer-Labor Union, the Central Service Union of the A. F. of L. and the Marshall County Labor Union. Other groups are cooperating.

Those touring are President B. C. McCartney of the Kansas Allied Workers, Vice-Chairman W. Washington of the United Action Committee, and Helen Hester, American Workers Union organizer who twice led Kansas City, Kans. jobless in laying siege to the relief commissioners in the courthouse until relief grants were forthcoming.

John Brown's passion for liberty is still remembered by the Kansas people. A spokesman for the United Action Committee declared: "The history of Kansas is one of struggle against slavery and economic bondage, and the People's March will be in keeping with this tradition."

Sponsors of the march point out that it will be the second of its kind in the history of the state. The first occurred 82 years ago when the Kansas free state was torn by civil war and struggling to repel the slavery forces and their hired mercenaries, the "Border Ruffians" from Missouri. These ruffians were accustomed to pour into Kansas, sacking the farms of Free Staters, burning their crops and plundering their villages. Yet time after time the plain people of Kansas rallied their forces and defeated the slavery armies in open battle.

In 1856 the Free State Party issued a call for a People's March to Topeka to protect the anti-slavery legislature of the state from attacks by the slavery forces. The latter were making every effort to disband the legislature by force and had actually imprisoned Gov. Robinson.

Fighting against every conceivable obstacle, 1,500 men beat their way by foot and horseback into Topeka, where they met in convention and passed resolutions demanding that Kansas remain forever free. Hardly had the state legislature met, however, before federal troops entered the city, placed it under martial law and disbanded the legislature.

But the demonstration served its purpose and Kansas remained a free state. In the People's March of 1936, the plain people of Kansas will again voice their demands for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—their determination that its free farmers shall not sink into tenant peonage, nor its jobless go without relief and see their children perish from disease so that Gov. Landon can lay at the feet of Wall Street bankers a



Program Discussion

LESSONS FROM SOCIALIST HISTORY

BY HAIM KANTOROVITCH

THE Socialist Party of America is at the cross-roads. The fight between the right and left wing...

The right wing of the party, under the leadership of the old guard, has wasted much time and

Haim Kantorovitch, author of the accompanying article criticizing the Draft Program, is generally regarded as one of the leading theoreticians of the international Socialist movement...

fascism, but both are double-edged swords. Either may prolong its agonies or hasten its end.

Whether war and fascism will end in the strengthening of capitalism or its death does not depend merely on objective conditions...

Objective Conditions

After the victory of fascism in Germany, Karl Kautsky—and after him every Social-Democrat—sorrowfully declared:

Nothing could be done. We were powerless. Objective conditions determined the course of events!

This sounded terribly Marxian. What can one do against objective conditions? These "objective conditions" have long seemed to us a rationalization and excuse for passivity.

"Objective conditions" become a new synonym for fate. They come and change and go independent not only of our will but also of our actions.

This was given out as true, orthodox Marxism. These "Marxists" forgot Marx's dictum that:

History does nothing, has no overwhelming wealth, fights no battles; man, the real living man, does all things, owns and fights. History (in our case, objective conditions — HK) does not use man as an instrument to fulfill its own purposes...

Shaped By Activity

Of course, there are objective conditions against which we are powerless, but these objective conditions are themselves shaped by human activity. There were in Germany objective conditions that made Hitler's victory possible...

Our activities today determine the objective conditions under which we have to fight tomorrow.

quences to which they may lead, the Socialist declares that the causes of these evils are deeply rooted in the existing social order, and cannot be remedied without the complete abolition of this order.

This, of course, does not mean that Socialists, no matter how left, disdain fighting for any immediate demands that may benefit the working masses. They are always ready to fight for such demands, to formulate them, popularize them, organize the masses to fight for them.

If this is true, and it is difficult to see how any Socialist can deny this truth, a Socialist Party cannot successfully continue its work of building the party or mobilizing the masses for their fight for immediate demands without being able to say definitely what its ultimate aim is and how it will achieve it.

Not a Blue-Print

This program which the left-wing offers now to the Socialist Party is not an utopian blue print of the future, nor is it a "scheme" for the making of revolutions. It is first of all a realistic document.



Haim Kantorovitch

energy in denouncing the left wing. There is not a crime with which the left wing has not been challenged. The Jewish Daily Forward, which is the ideological as well as financial leader of the old guard, and the New Leader, which since the Detroit convention has been nothing but a weekly echo of the Forward, have devoted dozens of columns to discredit the left wing not only in the American Socialist Party but also in the Socialist International.

"At some very-distant future time, Socialism will somehow be realized. Meanwhile, we must get together with all good people and get what we can. There is no use running around with red flags shouting revolution. Respectable people don't do things like that."

In accordance with this "theory" the idea is being cultivated in the party that "programs" don't matter, they are nothing but blue prints of the future with which idle theoreticians, having nothing else to do, occupy their time; what we need now is a practical program of immediate reforms; that the future will take care of itself.

Neither True Nor Practical

A moment's reflection is enough to realize that this "theory" is neither true nor practical. Whether one is a right or left wing Socialist, he is a Socialist precisely because he has the future in mind. One is a Socialist because he does not believe that the evils of capitalism can be buried within the framework of capitalism.

LABOR IN REVIEW

By FEDERATED PRESS

ONE YEAR AGO (Jan. 20-26, 1935) WASHINGTON — Labor has reared a resounding challenge to the administration's plan to give "security" to the jobless through a \$4,000,000,000 work relief program paying \$50-a-month wages. WASHINGTON — The nation's newspaper publishers, hiding behind the frayed skirts of a "freedom of the press" issue, have taken heart after President Roosevelt's warning to the National Labor Relations Board to keep hands off cases in industries where there exist code boards that may give final decisions.

have you read? Draft for a Program for the SOCIALIST PARTY 10c PER COPY 7c Each, 10 or More 6c Each, 25 or More Please Remit With Order SOCIALIST CALL 21 EAST 17th STREET

The German Catastrophe

The new "Draft Program" is free from this perversion of Marxism. Speaking of the experiences of the European Socialists, it does not ignore the objective conditions—but neither does it ignore the part that the Social-Democrats and communists themselves contributed to the creation of these objective conditions.

The Draft Program declares: "After the World War, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany surrendered the power which the workers gave it to the capitalist class, and was satisfied to become the doctor instead of the grave-digger of capitalism. It clung tenaciously to the capitalist democracy and to an entirely false conception of the state. It erroneously believed in the possibility of ushering in Socialism by a gradual transformation of the capitalist state through the process of bourgeois democracy."

Too little space is given to the reactionary role played by the communists in the German comedy. After all, the communists have contributed much more to the victory of fascism in Germany as well as everywhere else.

The main causes, however, that turned the revolutionary ardor of the communists into a counter-revolutionary force are given by the Draft Program. We quote:

"The disruptive policies of the Communist Party of Germany, its organizational and ideological flirtation with fascism and opposition to the united front, its complete dependence upon the policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its own policies, contributed just as much to the victory of fascism."

The Past Is Still With Us

Why, some reader may ask, return to all this? The past is gone and buried. But this, readers, is wrong. The past is still with us. The fact that we still have Socialists who are not only ready to defend the past but to repeat it, that the communist movement still believes that its tactics were right even though new conditions compel it to change its tactics for a while, shows that the past is not yet gone and is certainly not buried. It will be gone and be buried only after we critically analyze it, consciously overcome it and draw all the theoretical and practical lessons from it.

A program is not only a blue print for the future, it is true, but it is nevertheless a prediction of it. It proposes a certain road to power, based on what its exponents believe is the probable development of society in the future. This is not prophecy—it is simply applied social science. It proposes a certain tactic and strategy based on both the probable developments of the future and the lessons learned from the past. The

goal of the program may not be very new or original—but it certainly must be clearly stated, especially when the program is proposed for the American Socialist Party where ideological confusion reigns supreme. Its conclusions are:

"The change from capitalism is a revolutionary act, involving the transfer of the means of production from one class to another. Therefore Socialism, in the economic field, cannot be the result of the accumulation of economic reforms (higher wages, shorter hours, etc.); similarly, on the political field, it cannot be the result of the accumulation of political reforms. In order to make possible the change from capitalism to Socialism, the working class will have to take political power into its own hands, and set up its own state, in the form of a Workers and Farmers Government."

And what is even more important and more necessary to stress in the present situation is:

"The material prerequisites for Socialism already exist in this country. But Socialism cannot come as an automatic process. It must be the result of deliberate action by the working class supported by other sections of the population, and led by a conscious, well-organized political party."

After establishing this general basic truth, it proceeds to make clear what kind of a Party the left-wing Socialists desire.

Defects of The Program

The program does not claim perfection, nor can it, until it is adopted by the Party, claim finality. There are certainly passages in it with which some comrades will disagree; there will certainly be amendments to it—but the body of it—its main basis—cannot but be accepted by every critically-thinking Socialist.

A program cannot be too long. It must of necessity be schematic, limiting itself to conclusions. Some of the criticism of this program which we have already heard is that it is too abstract, that it does not deal with the burning practical problems that the Socialist Party faces at the present time.

The comrades are right in demanding that the left-wing publish a clear and comprehensive program of the practical immediate changes in the life and activity of the Party which it proposes. They are wrong, however, in demanding that the organizational and tactical changes that the left-wing proposes for the Party must be part of the general program. It might have been practical to do so—for it would have the advantage of combining theory and practice and of showing some of the practical applications to which this purely theoretical document must lead. The fact that this is not done, however, does not detract from the general value of the program.

# Party Activity

## California

LOS ANGELES debate between Glen Trimble of the Young People's Socialist League and Matt Pelman of the Young Communist League was attended by more than 1200 people at Mason Opera House. Subject: The Road to Peace.

LOS ANGELES YPSL has appointed Milton Miller Falcon director.

## Illinois

CHICAGO has two new Falcon Flights. One, with Elizabeth Sharnoff as Guide, has adopted the name of Joseph Shoemaker; the other, under the direction of Ella Caselli, is composed mainly of Italian children.

WAUKEGAN has organized a Falcon Flight with Mrs. Anthony Zager and Mrs. Paul Albright as Guides.

## Michigan

FLINT has organized Tom Mooney Flight with Hazel F. Reed as Guide. A Party committee with Nellie B. Powell as chairman is working with the Falcons.

## Missouri

ST. LOUIS has organized a branch of the Friends of Workers Children with Mrs. R. Saunders, chairman, and Mrs. Gilbert Getz, secretary-treasurer. Eugene Victor Debs Flight, with Gertrude Oldendorph as Guide, has just received its charter.

## New Jersey

NEWARK YPSL has appointed Daniel Lesser to direct Falcon activity.

## New York

FRANK RICHARDSON, active Kingston Socialist, died there last week. A member of the Amalgamated Lace Operators, he was secretary of the central trade and labor council for 12 years. He was a frequent candidate for office on the Socialist Party ticket. Born in England, he was one of the first members of the Labor Party.

## Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA — Strawberry Mansion branch will give an informal party at 1719 N. 33rd Street Saturday evening, Feb. 1. Admission 20c.

PHILADELPHIA new Falcon Flight is called the Jesse H. Holmes Flight.

## Wisconsin

CHEYENNE has organized a Falcon Flight under the guidance of W. Roy Nicodemus and Jack Chambers, known as the Debs Flight.

ASK ANTI-HEARST STICKERS SAN FRANCISCO (FP) — The northern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union has protested to Postmaster-Gen. Farley the "uling that letters bearing 'I Don't Read Hearst' stickers are to be sent to the dead letter office. "The sticker is obviously not libelous," Director Ernest Besig declares.

## LECTURES

### Why Hitler Fears Jewish Intellectualism

Dr. Henry Neuman  
SUN, JAN. 30, at 11 A. M.  
Brooklyn Academy of Music  
Lafayette Ave.  
ADMISSION FREE  
Ausp.: Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society

## BOOKS, by Bruno Fischer

### The Tragedy of America—Where Life Is Not Better

WHERE LIFE IS BETTER: An Unsentimental American Journey, by James Rorty. John Day. 383 pages. \$3.00.

Years ago, when James Rorty was an advertising man, he wrote a booklet called "Where Life Is Better" for a California boosting agency. Twelve years later he returned to find "that the dream of the pioneers was a childish, greedy, fake, doomed from the beginning to dissolve in panic-stricken chaos."

San Francisco had shed what liberalism it had had. In Sacramento men and women were being sentenced to long terms in prison for no other crime than that of organizing agricultural workers. In El Centro, county seat of Imperial County one of the increasingly numerous Fascist spots in America, he himself was thrown into jail, where he found the bravest and most intelligent people in the county.

Rorty traveled back and forth across the country, 15,000 miles in all, and in "Where Life Is Better" he tells what he saw and heard and his conclusions. His conclusions were predictable before he set out, for he is a radical, and did not have to witness the failures of business and the government to know, for example, that there can be no effective planning within capitalism. But this is a book, too, of interpretation, of understanding and knowledge and wit and stretches of magnificent writing. The chapters on Hollywood and Huey Long alone are worth the price of the book.

#### Life Is Not Better

Life, of course, is not better throughout the country. If anything, it is becoming worse. And the tragedy, and the danger is that he found that only about five per cent of the people know what it is really all about.

He passed through a country desperate and demoralized from six years of depression. Workers and farmers have not yet learned to look beyond their noses. They are learning, but learning slowly. The unorganized unemployed, sapped of energy and forced to subsist on a semi-starvation basis, are beginning to disintegrate morally. Often he heard the deadly phrase: "What we need is another war."

#### Industrial Captains Stalled

For the captains of industry, the cream of rugged individualism, he has the utmost contempt. "They stalled like Model T Fords when faced with the multi-engined complexities of the current economic and social situation."

In one city he discussed the matter with a local newspaperman and concluded: "There were perhaps half a dozen business men in the whole city who had mastered the elementary facts of the capitalist economy and culture which we accepted as the commonplaces of our discussion; which any moderately competent village Socialist can recite by the yard."

BOOKS RECEIVED  
The Hoover Administration, by William Starr Myers and Walter N. Newton; Scribners, New York. \$3.50.

## The Modern Monthly

THE MODERN MONTHLY, January 1936. With an increased editorial staff at the helm, the Modern Monthly makes its January appearance. The additions include David P. Berenberg, Jerome Davis, Robert Delson, Bruno Fischer and Herbert Zam.

An article by Haim Kantorovitch, prominent Socialist scholar, discusses the situation in the Socialist Party, analyzing in detail the character of the "Old Guard" and the history of that group's activities after the historic Detroit convention of the party. Kantorovitch asserts that "the present split in the Socialist Party is not between left-wingers and right-wingers, but between activists and quietists." He describes the Old Guard as persons who "cling to their Socialist principles and very seldom act in accordance with them."

The issue covers a variety of themes, from Britain's black-shirt Mosely, discussed by S. L. Solon, to Russia's Makhno, the "bandit" who saved Red Moscow, the conclusion of Max Nomad's study begun in the December issue. Sidney Hook contributes an article on "Feuerbach's Psychology of Religion."

The featured article is that by V. F. Calverton, entitled "Who Killed Walter Liggett?" Three days before his assassination, Liggett had written Calverton a letter in which he predicted the murder:

"I have determined to drive Olson (Farmer-Labor governor of Minnesota) and his gang out of public life if it is the last thing I do. It will be a tough job—but I have already weakened his popularity and in another year I think I can finish him off—that is if he doesn't have me shot in the meantime as he did poor Howard Guilford. There is always that danger."

The article is sensational, but there is no evidence to link Olson to the assassination of his political opponent. Calverton's article gives an interesting and detailed picture of political corruption and social decay in the mid-West, and the hardships of a newspaperman who comes to grips with it. An earlier issue of the Modern Monthly, it

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## MASQUE with CLOWNS

By John Wheelwright  
At first burlesque and then grotesque this satire of democracy and defeatism—Technocracy, Hearst, Long, Coughlin, Townsend, Roosevelt, Dem-Reps and Radical Sects rises to prophecy of victory over Fascism for the Cooperative Commonwealth.  
CLEARS THE DECKS FOR THE 1936 SALVO

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will be recalled, contained an important controversy between Seldon Rodman and Liggett, which now merits re-reading.  
Under the title, "Infantile Rightism," Edward Conze examines, from the British political scene, the effects of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern at which the Communist International filed its petition in bankruptcy.

Editorials cover the following subjects: "Hitler Also Favors Sanctions," "Will Mexico Go Fascist?" and "Farmer Laborism."  
The January issue is proof that the Modern Monthly is growing to even greater stature as a radical magazine.—AL.

## International Review

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND ACTION. Vol. 1, No. 1.

Of all the magazines which recently made their appearance in the United States, International Review is undoubtedly the most interesting. If we are to judge by the first number, it will be devoted to presenting translations and articles on events throughout the world without comment and without opinion, but with a decided left slant. There is lots of room for a magazine of this type, and if it really sticks to such a program, it will go far.

The first number shows a very diversified and interesting contents, running through Italy, China, Soviet Russia, Uruguay, France, Mexico, Spain and many other corners of the earth, with the subject matter as diverse as the countries represented.

Two shortcomings must be mentioned: There seems to be no plan to the issue. One gets the impression of a jumble of articles thrown together pell-mell to fit the 24 pages. This can be avoided by more careful selection of material and topics, and by a more proper balance between basic and secondary material. The second and more important shortcoming is the apparent ignoring of the international labor movement, both on the political and trade union fields. Only two small items are devoted to this. One is an excerpt from a speech by Zyromski on organic unity, one a criticism

## Party, Verband Parley Discussed in 'Shtime'

NEW YORK—Discussion of the annual convention of the Jewish Socialist Verband in Cleveland and of the situation within the Socialist Party is the main concern of the January issue of "Di Socialistische Shtime," Yiddish Debs Club monthly. The issue contains a full report of the Verband convention by H. Sobotko and copies of resolutions presented by the "militants" there.

Copies of "The Shtime" can be obtained from the Debs Club at 21 East 17th Street, N. Y. C.

of the British I. L. P. by an insignificant Socialist sect. The main activities of the big movements are nowhere treated.

If International Review can overcome these shortcomings, and at the same time avoid giving the impression of favoring one particular tendency in international politics, it will deserve broad support from radicals, liberals, and people who merely want information.—H. S. TORIAN.

## JOINT STRIKE

SAN FRANCISCO—All shipbuilding and ship-repairing in the local harbor is tied up in a strike of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers in conjunction with Local 68 of the Machinists Union. More than 1500 are on strike.

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# More About 'Paradise Lost'

## Reader, Editor and Critic— And a Play by Clifford Odets

To the Editor:

As a reader of The CALL and a member of the LID, I wish to protest against the review of Clifford Odets' play, "Paradise Lost," printed in the current issue of The CALL. It is a piece of vituperation in the worst tradition of the gutter-press, and the fact that it is signed with the initials of your managing editor makes it all the more deplorable.

Why was not the regular critic of The CALL, McAlister Coleman, assigned to review the work of a playwright of the standing of Odets? No matter how little he might have liked the play, he would at least have reviewed it on a plane of criticism and careful thought. SR's "review," on the other hand, can by no stretch of the imagination be called a dramatic review; it was a political attack, and as such garbled, full of misquotation and misrepresentations, and of personal malice.

The CALL owes not only Odets and the Group Theatre, but its readers, a review of the play by Coleman.

ELEANOR FLEXNER.

(Because to The CALL no one opinion is final, even that of the managing editor, Coleman in compliance with Miss Flexner's wish was asked to review the play. His review follows below. The CALL is at all times happy to open its columns to theatre controversy because it sees in such controversy a sign of an awakened social theatre.—Editor.)

By McALISTER COLEMAN

PARADISE LOST, a play in three acts, by Clifford Odets. Presented by the Group Theatre at the Longacre Theatre, New York City.

Just to make confusion about this controverted play worse confounded, I have to come along with the report that I disagree with my colleague, SR, who reviewed it in The CALL last week. He turned his critical thumbs down on Odets' latest. I salute it as a stirring drama, crackling with life. To be sure, it is life among a group of bemused middle-class neurotics caught in the storms of the depression without any spiritual, economic or social umbrellas.

But it is life for all that, jumpy, nerve-jangling, running out into the border-line of complete breakdown, yet at the end daring to hope, once more. The Paradise that was lost, the old, easy-going days before 1914 and all the hell that has come after, will never return but in its place man may, by his own struggle contrive a better world.

It is my belief that many theatre-lovers have been kept away from the Longacre by the winds of controversy which have blown from that theatre since the opening night of "Paradise Lost." An over-sensitivity to any criticism that does not hail Odets as a second O'Neill has led his followers to extremes of adulation which do him no good.

Then, too, the playwright himself messed things up by sending around an amazing advance notice of his play in which he referred to Chekhov in a manner which the critics took to be insufferably conceited. They sharpened their axes before the curtain rose and let

### Going To The Theatre?

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## CALL BOARD

**BUILDERS OF SOCIALISM** will open Saturday at the Cameo. This picture is a film tour of inspection of the Soviet Union by the International Workers Delegates including Meta Berger . . . For a third time at the Civic Rep. Sunday—**HYMN TO THE SUN** and **UNTO SUCH GLORY** by Paul Green . . . **COLLEGIATE** opens at the Paramount this week . . . **LADY PRECIOUS STREAM**—Chinese play in English—opens Monday at the Booth Theatre . . . **PARADISE LOST** will not close Feb. 1 as announced.

### Chicago Bus Loads On Way to Congress

NEW YORK--When the American Artists' Congress open its first sessions at Town Hall here February 14, several bus loads of Chicago artists will be present, according to an announcement by the arrangements committee this week. The Chicago delegation will be headed by Ivan Lorraine Albright, vice-president of the Chicago Society of Artists.

### Mother Goose

The Supreme Court justices, on that AAA decision, looked like the six little pigs who went to market.

### Two New Plays by Paul Green

NEW THEATRE NIGHT with four one-act plays, presented at the Civic Repertory Theatre by the Actors' Troupe of "Let Freedom Ring."

Score: Two hits, short runs, two errors.

The two hits were the two plays by Paul Green. One is "Unto Such Glory," a play dealing with the activities of a lecherous preacher who goes around seducing gullible Carolina women-folk by whipping them into religious frenzies and telling them it's the will of the Lord; the other is "Hymn to the Rising Sun," dealing with the brutality of a chain gang. Both plays were aided by splendid performances. Will Geer, as Brother Simpkins, the sexy sky-pilot in "Unto Such Glory" was outstanding until Charles Dingle surpassed even that perfor-

mance with his characterization of the captain of the chain gang in "Hymn to the Rising Sun." The two errors were "Private Hicks" by Albert Maltz, and "Angelo Herndon," a mass chant by Elizabeth England. Badly written, poorly directed and amateurishly acted, "Private Hicks," dealing with a young National Guardsman who won't fire on strikers doesn't even deserve this space. It would be a wise move on the part of the troupe to feature only the two plays by Paul Green. By tossing in stuff like "Private Hicks" and the mass chant, they are doing themselves and the entire new theatre movement an injustice.

—ALTON LEVY.

DON'T FORGET, SOCIALIST CALL FIRST ANNUAL DINNER ON MARCH 22.

Commencing SATURDAY, JAN. 25th  
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## in hollywood

By JOHN R. CHAPLIN  
Federated Press

HOLLYWOOD--For the first time in his career, Charles Chaplin has had a film cut by the Hays censorship office. Six scenes came out of his Modern Times—because of vulgarity, says the official edict. But many think the social implications may have accounted for the deletions . . . Major Bowes' amateur racket seems to have passed its peak. The 18 shorts the major was supposed to make for the screen have been called off, because the first six went begging.

The French governments has just given the Legion of Honor to Walt Disney, only because there is no provision for awarding it to so unearthly a creature as Mickey Mouse himself . . . Protests of organized labor have forced film

theaters and studios to postpone till August the adoption of 2,000-foot reels of film, which was to take place April 1 . . . Lucler Andriot, American-naturalized French cameraman, has been released by French authorities who had him in prison for failure to return to France and serve in the army. American Society of Cinematographers protested through Secretary of State Hull, and effected his release. . .

Screen Guild's choices for best work in December were: Charles Laughton and Eddie Quillan in Mutiny on the Bounty and Kay Francis in I Found Stella Parish; best-written screenplays, Mutiny on the Bounty, So Red the Rose and Annie Oakley . . .



### COMING EVENTS

Friday, January 24

Jack Schuyler speaking on "Science and Economic Development," at 4th and 14th A. D. (Kings) branch, 108 Marcey Avenue, Brooklyn, at 8:30 P. M.

Tampa Protest Meeting with Rogers and Poulnot as speakers. At 1140 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn. Auspices: 18 AD Br. 1.

Rebel Arts entertainment at Community Church, 550 West 110th Street, at 8:30 P. M. Dancers, chorus, action chorus, and plays. Dancing, refreshments.  
Symposium: Joel Seldman, Harold R. Shapiro, on "Wagner Labor Disputes Act" at Mid-Bronx Forum, 1401 Jerome Avenue. 8:30 P. M.

Saturday, January 25

Welcome party to national executive board, Workers' Alliance of America, at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 18th Street, at 8. Speakers: Norman Thomas, David Lasser, D. M. Benson, Hillard Bernstein, Hugo Rasmussen. Dancing, entertainment. Auspices: Workers' Alliance of Greater New York.

Sunday, Jan. 26  
Modern Monthly housewarming party at 47 East 21st Street. Speakers: Norman Thomas, Sidney Hook, V. F. Calverton others. Admission: 75c in advance, \$1 at door.

Monday, Jan. 27  
Tampa Protest Meeting with Rogers and Poulnot as speakers. At Boro Park Casino, 3810-14th Ave. Auspices: Boro Park Branch.

Thursday, January 30  
Theatre party, "Paradise Lost," sponsored by East Flatbush branch, Longacre Theatre.

Saturday, February 1  
Annual Dance of Problems Co-operative Association, Inc., 186 Lenox.

Friday, February 7  
Norman Thomas, speaking on "Tactics in the Struggle against Fascism in America," at Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, at 8:15 P. M. Sponsored by Branch 53, Jewish National Workers' Alliance of America. Admission: 25c in advance; 35c at door.

Saturday February 8  
Spaghetti and Wine Orgy at East Bronx Labor Centre, 892 Prospect Avenue. Spaghetti and wine free; Dancing, entertainment. Admission 50c. Auspices: 4 AD Br.

Friday, February 14  
Theatre party, benefit Brownsville Labor Lyceum, at Yiddish Folk Theatre, 2nd Avenue and 12th Street.

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# AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

**M**UST we organize for recovery? Conceivably Herbert Hoover would say yes, meaning that we must reorganize the New Deal and go back to his own program, whatever that was. Conceivably Roosevelt might answer yes, meaning that we must reorganize the system which he inherited and which already he has done something to change. I certainly would answer yes, meaning something very different from either of the two gentlemen who represent these old parties.

The fact that so many people with such divergent views might conceivably answer our question in the affirmative is proof of a situation in which clearly we cannot trust to drift or to the automatic working of markets in a so-

## Consumers' Cooperation

By **BENJAMIN WOLF**

Back in the hills of Washington, N. J., in a Valhalla all its own, Consumers Research sets about committing suicide in a peculiar fashion. From the start, big business and the advertising fraternity have been extremely inimical to the work of this research organization, which is dedicated to the protection of the "consumer." Who this "consumer" it has in mind may be indeed puzzling. We used to think the consumer included the great mass of workers who buy most of the goods CR tests. We used to believe the interests of CR were unquestionably bound up with that of the working class. Apparently this is not so. Not only has CR denied the right of workers to bargain collectively, but it has denied that right in the very same manner and pursuing the very same tactics employed by reactionary employers. As far as workers are concerned, their thumbs are down on CR.

Having lost the support of organized labor, CR now attacks the Cooperative movement. In its January Bulletin, CR lets loose a four-page emotional outburst against the Cooperative movement generally and Cooperative Distributors in particular. Among the loose accusations we find such statements as "—selling goods on a 'cooperative' basis or any other has been, so far as demonstrated to date, incompatible with unquestioned forthrightness, candor and critical examination—" and a warning, that consumers will "fare better if they do not fall into the verbal trap of 'economic democracy' the 'cooperative approach' and 'collective bargaining' a la CD!"

We have often wondered about the difference between "pure" advice and that advice tainted with responsibility. After all, it is one thing merely to sit in judgment, and another thing quite different to have to back up a recommendation when a consumer finds the article does not stand up. In one case there is always an easy out. You simply say the article was not the same as when tested. You don't have to make repairs, accept returns or lose members.

Perhaps the good servants of the consumer at CR will cry, "Truth, truth, at any cost, no matter how close home it hits." But we can't help wondering why CR has rarely passed judgment on any of the hundreds of products handled by the Central Cooperative Wholesale, or for that matter, the great number of products handled by CD. And why CR has refused to advise CD to

ciety where already the interferences with that working have been so many and various. One thing more: the American people should seek some other goal than recovery.

## CAPITALISM AND CRISES

In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding of my position let me make it clear that I believe it is impossible along the lines of either the Old Deal or the New Deal under capitalism to get recovery if by recovery is meant a recurrence of the days of Calvin Coolidge. Those days are gone forever.

If in any degree we return temporarily to a speculative and temporary prosperity, such as marked the Coolidge epoch, it will be but the introduction to a more ghastly and catastrophic crisis than that through which we have not yet passed. There is no warrant whatsoever for acclaiming the present improvement in business conditions and in the index of industrial production as the return of prosperity.

The gains are even more precarious than the usual gains of a prosperity under capitalism which is only a peak between two valleys of depression. The so-called recovery which President Roosevelt is now hailing enters upon its new race loaded down with an appalling burden of debt. To some degree, possibly to an increasing degree, it is bound up with world recovery based on production for purposes of war or preparation for war. It is as valid as the recovery that a man on the verge of delirium tremens finds from taking one more stiff drink.

Moreover, even the figures which Washington has given out show how insecure is this so-called recovery. The index of production, we are told, has reached 97 per cent of its 1930 level. But employment has reached only 84 per cent and payrolls only 74 per cent of that level.

Here is no conceivable basis for a prosperity even as enduring as that of some of our other good periods between depressions. So far as the farmers are concerned their prosperity is bound up apparently with a continuance of a system of taxing consumers in order to pay producers not to produce in a society where we do not have enough food, enough clothing, or the right sort of shelter.

give proper acknowledgment to CR whenever CR's data or recommendations were used. And why CR has never acknowledged test data furnished by CD, data furnished free of charge in a cooperative, friendly fashion.

We cannot help wondering with what "forthrightness, candor and critical examination" CR has treated the growing Cooperative Movement. Can it be that CR fears that the success of CD, which is likely, will mean the death of CR? Consumers, you know, are lazy, and it is easier to purchase at a place where you are sure of anything you buy, than it is to memorize thousands of items of data. One simply cannot carry his CR bulletins with him wherever he goes.

It is easy to say you are for labor and the consumer, but it is hard to say it and mean it when labor knocks at your door and demands a break, and when consumers threaten to replace your service with something more complete and practical.

No, no, CR! We are afraid the consumers, too, will have to say, "Thumbs down on CR!"

## WHAT KIND OF RECOVERY

There is every evidence that we are entering upon whatever degree of business boom may temporarily lie ahead with a standing army of 11 million unemployed, with a burden of taxation which falls primarily upon the poor and the middle-class because of the immense magnitude of sales taxes and consumption taxes of all sorts, with a burden of debt which invites inflation, and with no substantial readjustment whatsoever in the distribution of the national income. To this is to be added the grave fear that we may again become involved in war by the old road of following after the profits of other folks' wars. Clearly we are not getting recovery.

But—and this I insist with even more emphasis—it is a tragedy to hear the masses of the American people yearning primarily for recovery of a prosperity which in fact they never had.

Suppose we went back to the good days of 1929. What then? At least a third of our people would be housed in shacks and slums which could not be remodeled but were fit only for destruction. At least 2 million of our people would be unemployed and the farmers would justly be complaining of a dwindling proportion of the national income. Seven per cent of our people would have had family incomes less than \$500 a year.

The state of civilization for millions of human beings in the great cotton areas of America would be the tragic thing it was in 1929, a thing scarcely fit to be called civilization at all, a combination of the worst features of capitalism and feudalism in the exploitation of white and colored share croppers and field workers. In 1929, as in 1935, these people raised the cotton, lived in houses unfit for hogs, were in a perpetual slavery of debt, and as their reward received so little that they could not even provide their children with underclothes or their wives with sheets for the beds. We do not want recovery of any such civilization as this. We want to win what we ought to have; namely, the abundance that already we have the productive capacity to create.

Our failure to achieve that abundance which we can create is clearly the fault of the system. It is not primarily the fault of the Old Deal; it is not the fault of the New Deal. It is primarily the fault of the capitalist-nationalist system of which both the Old Deal and the New Deal are expressions. What the captains of industry and the great Wall Street magnates gave us, with the blessings of Coolidge and Hoover was an example of a steady march toward monopolistic finance capitalism in the hands of the few. Fifty per cent of the business wealth of America was controlled by less than 200 great corporations. They were uninterfered with by radical parties or by an aggressive labor movement.

The world was theirs. What they did with it or rather what their system did with it we all know. At the height of prosperity we did not have what we ought to have had. Yet the \$3 billion dollar income of 1929 was reduced to the \$8 billion dollar national income of 1932 without war, fire, flood, earthquake, or any natural disaster. Wall Street was still there and look what happened.

What Mr. Roosevelt did we know. It was not in any sense to set us on the road to Socialism. True he did borrow and distort some Socialist immediate de-

mands. He couldn't help himself. So menacing was the crisis of 1933 that he had to act. He could find nothing in the Democratic platform on which to act. He sent for a Republican platform and could not even tell what year it was written. He could only notice the musty smell. He sent for a Socialist platform and turned some of our immediate demands over to Jim Farley and the Brain Trusters with extraordinary results.

## NOT ROAD TO SOCIALISM

We have a caricature of our housing program, a caricature of our proposal for security, for unemployment insurance. That security simply means that to get it the unemployed must first get a job, then lose the job, then pick a state which has a good state employment insurance law in the hope that the state will have enough to pay benefits, which hope depends upon the success of the federal government's collection of payroll taxes, ninety per cent of which are to be rebated to employers who may rebate them to the states, who may give them to the unemployed—provided there is a good system and everything works well!

If this is a Socialist brain-child the rich uncle when he adopted it has brought it up very badly. But the important thing is that Mr. Roosevelt never took the basic idea of Socialism. What is that basic idea?

It is that in order to plan for abundance in the interdependent world, the collective society made necessary by power driven machinery, we the people, we the workers with hand and brain, through our co-operatives—and through the proper use of a government which we control, must own the great natural resources, the principal means of production and distribution, and on the basis of this social ownership must set up in democratic fashion a planned economy of abundance.

It is wholly impossible to plan for abundance under capitalism because capitalism runs on a profit system and profit requires relative scarcity. Nothing is better proof of that fact than the way in which the Administration, which I think has honestly meant to improve the condition of the masses, was compelled to base its planning upon the restriction of production in a country where we do not have enough. By some hocus pocus we were to get more by paying farmers to produce less. This is characteristic of the general economics of scarcity.

We shall not have abundance until we can plan in terms of what people need instead of what

they now can buy. This is made impossible by the dominance of the price and profit system.

## SOCIALIST SOCIETY

I have no time for the details of a possible Socialist society. I can say this What we intend to do:

What must be done if we are to have abundance is to transfer in orderly fashion from private to public hands the key industries.

We must get the control of banking and currency, public utilities, the natural resources, the great trusts, and such distributive agencies as the chain stores, dairy trusts, and the packing houses.

We shall protect the individual farmer in the possession of his land, but we shall abolish by the use of taxation the possibility of private landlordism.

We shall arrange for the government of socialized railroads and other similar institutions under a directorate representing the workers of different categories in the industry and the consumers or users of the products or services of the industry.

Over the socialized industries we shall set up a national economic planning council representing agriculture and industry, with the full knowledge that some of its functions must become international if we are finally to conquer war and poverty. We shall reward workers with hand and brain on a double basis. We shall set up a minimum payment according to need, a payment which will permit a decent life for all, especially for the children, who are the hope of the future. Above that, within certain limits, there will be variations according to deed. We shall not reward men according to breed or according to greed.

It is along these lines, and only along these lines, that we can conquer poverty and get abundance. The experimental difficulties in the way of this plan are real but they are as nothing compared with the horror of the present system, its fantastic injustice, insecurity, its nightmare of war and unemployment and depression. It is far more easily possible in this great age of power driven machinery to plan for a collective society than to try to revert the stream of economic development and give us a lot of little businesses instead of a few big businesses.

All the hope our generation has depends on our moving forward. Our only guarantee of plenty, peace, or freedom is our ability to build and maintain a federation of co-operative commonwealths of mankind.

## British Socialist Students Unite in Labor Federation

By **JOHN CRIPPS**

LONDON—Last month witnessed the re-establishment of unity in the Socialist student movement in Britain. At Cardiff the University Labor Federation met in its annual convention with members of the communist-controlled Federation of Student Societies attending as members of the U.L.F. The FSS is to be dissolved and once again all student Socialists are to work together in one organization.

Already during the past year the full advantages of unity have been apparent in some colleges where the combined forces of the two hitherto existing organizations have exerted a great influence in the fight against war.

Peace Councils have been formed on a wide front, including Liberals and many religious bodies within their ranks. But the leadership has remained with the Socialist and communist students, without them discussion is rarely followed up by action and is never successful in relating the international difficulties of Britain to the position in our own country.

Reports of student activity were received from many parts of the world. The work of American students in their fight against war and the achievement of unity within the ASU was warmly applauded. One student brought greetings from his contacts in Australia.