

Norman Thomas
on
Labor Unions and Politics
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Socialist Call

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PRICE FIVE CENTS

PLANTERS THROW DYNAMITE IN MURDER PLOT

Frame Negro to 7-Year Jail Term

STORY ON PAGE 3



PROBER



Sleepy looking Congressman Bell from Missouri wants to be shown. He heads House committee which will probe Townsend pension plan.

THIS WEEK

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BANDAGED, Leon Blum, Socialist leader, is recovering from an attack by members of the Royalist Action Francaise, a fascist group. 2,000,000 members of the Peoples Front demonstrated in protest against the murderous assault.

TWO PHOTOS on the left show Akron rubber strikers, fortified with coffee and rolls, and protected from icy winds by tarpaulin shelters, they shut three plants, maintained picket lines.—Story on Page 3.

GROUCH-FACE—German Air Minister Goering (at right) snapped as he watched opening of Nazi Olympics. His thoughts were probably of how to further suppress all opposition to his boss, Hitler, from sour look on his face.



Socialists, AFL Attack Housing Program

WASHINGTON—Establishment of a permanent national agency independent of the Federal Housing Administration is urged by the American Federation of Labor housing committee. At the same time, a statement from the National Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party, of which Norman Thomas is Chairman, points out that after three years the Roosevelt Administration is still without a low-cost housing program.

The Socialist committee demands that the Administration recognize its permanent responsibility to provide decent homes for workers and farmers.

Extension of the Federal Housing Administration program to cover "a coordinated national housing plan" is vigorously opposed by the AFL committee on the grounds that the FHA activities "constitute the opposite of a real housing program."

According to the Socialist National Affairs Committee, "the disparity between words and action which is characteristic of the Roosevelt Administration is nowhere better illustrated than in the matter of housing. For three years, Administration spokesmen have been arousing the hopes of slum-dwellers with promises of low-cost housing. Today, toward the end of the last session of the New Deal Congress, we are still waiting for the President to come forward with a national housing program that has some relation to the needs of the people."

'Grimm' Pessimism

"One of the best reasons for pessimism regarding housing is the presence of Peter Grimm in the Treasury Department as Special Adviser on housing. For many years Mr. Grimm was the chief spokesman for realty interests in New York City where the slums are second to none. He represents the real estate operators who gave us our slums and who are bitterly opposing every attempt to enact an adequate housing program. These realty interests are powerful politically."

"The country has a right to know whose advice on housing the President is going to take. Private enterprise has obviously failed to provide civilized housing for the mass of the American people. The Socialist Party insists that the Federal government must assume the permanent responsibility of constructing decent low-cost homes for workers and farmers. It cannot compromise with private enterprise."

A blast at the low wage scales paid on jobs under the auspices of the FHA and the high rentals of homes completed under the program came from the committee appointed by Wm. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

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

Aid Offered For Building I Steel Union

WASHINGTON—While William Green ordered all affiliates of the AFL to refrain from giving "allegiance, support, or assistance to the Committee for Industrial Organization or any other organization which attempts to usurp the functions of the AFL," the industrial unionists stood firm this week and countered with an offer of aid in the organization of the steel industry.

President Green's reply to the offer of the Committee was to refer their communication to the May meeting of the executive council and to continue with the preparation of his own plans for a campaign in the steel industry.

Meeting in Washington, the Committee for Industrial Organization announced that it would not dissolve in spite of the decision of the craft-controlled AFL executive council and insisted that "continuance of the Committee is not only fully justified but essential to the future growth of the American Federation of Labor."

At the same time, the industrial unionists announced their support of the radio workers, urging the executive council "to issue the radio and allied workers the national industrial charter they are requesting."

The CIO, which includes some of the largest internationals in the federation, called upon the executive council to carry out the instructions of the last convention calling for organization in the mass production industries. The industrial union forces pledged to raise \$500,000 out of a fund of \$1,500,000 for the organization of the steel workers, and offered the use of trained organizers from their respective staffs. They insisted, however, that organization must be along industrial lines and that "the leadership of the campaign must be such as to inspire confidence of success."

At the same time they denied that they were "attempting to usurp the functions of the AFL," as President Green had charged. "We wish to emphasize again," said the statement of the CIO, "that we are trying to remove the roots of dualism by making it possible for the millions of mass-production workers now outside the AFL to enter on the only basis they will accept — industrial unions."

NEW YORK—Rumors that the International Ladies' Garment

Vigilantes Seek Damages After Lynching Victims

SANTA ROSA, Cal. (FP) — Beat a man up, tar and feather him, and then sue him for assault!

Little wonder Jack Green and Sol Nitzberg, two victims of Santa Rosa vigilantes last August, find themselves perplexed. Fred Cairns, alien Chamber of Commerce head of Heraldsburg, who is defendant in Green's \$50,000 damage suit, and Harold G. Campbell, a member of the vigilante mob from Petaluma, have brought suit against Green and Nitzberg for \$2,300 damages. The complaint, sworn out in November, has just been served.

A masterpiece of unconscious satire, it states that Cairns and Campbell, "in pursuance of their rights, duties and obligations," as residents of Sonoma county, "went upon the public streets and highways for the lawful purpose of detecting and apprehending such

persons as might in plaintiffs' presence be engaged in the commission of crimes and offenses;" that while they were so engaged Green and Nitzberg "did pull, push, jerk, jostle and strike plaintiffs"—to say nothing of shooting at them with a double-barreled shotgun which nobody ever heard of before.

In consequence, the unfortunate vigilantes "were rendered tired, sore and lame, and each of them suffered and sustained severe shock and injuries to their nervous systems."

"I suppose," commented Director Ernest Besig, of the American Civil Liberties Union, "we'll have a suit next for damages because one of the vigilantes hurt his hands while beating Green and Nitzberg, or because he was injured while applying the tar and feathers."

Eastern Socialist Conference Condemns Enemies of Party

NEW YORK—With party members from eight states in attendance, the eastern conference arranged by the Socialist CALL for examination of party policies and program closed after two days of discussion on a note of confidence in the future of the Socialist Party.

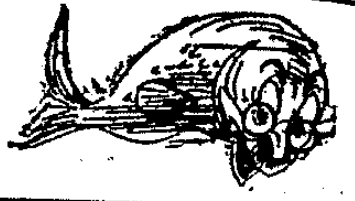
"Conscious that great strides had been made in recent months in the direction of Socialist clarity, party members from Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire and Maryland,

Workers' Union might resign from the CIO were proven false with the publication of an editorial in *Justice*, the Union's official organ, in support of the committee.

The editorial points out: "Only those who are alien to the spirit of our movement or to whom wish is the father to the thought will construe this advocacy of industrial unionism for the millions of workers in the mass production industries as an effort to split or divide the general trade union body."

THOMAS ON RADIO

NEW YORK — On Friday, Feb. 28, Norman Thomas will be interviewed by Boake Carter, news commentator, over the Columbia broadcasting system at 10:45 p. m., eastern standard time.



"Speed, Daring and Grace Tell Picture Story of Winter Olympic Games," according to a N. Y. headline.

But what about the repression, suppression and oppression which tell the real picture story of Germany today?

Surprise

"Recovery will not dispense with relief and we might as well face the situation."

Guess who said that this week — none other than Mayor La Guardia, in an address to the Mayors' conference in New Orleans. He kept quiet, though, when his cops were clubbing relief workers the week before.

La Guardia added: "Business is improving but factories and business will be able to meet increased orders and business without increasing the number of their employees."

Sensible words for the sales tax Mayor.

First time a National Guard unit has done anything except break a strike was Saturday, when the Virginia National Guard gave ex-baseball champ Walter Johnson a 19-gun salute for chucking a silver dollar across some unpronounceable river to vindicate another George Washington fable.

An unemployed worker in nearby Fredericksburg was heard to murmur: "It's about time some of the Liberty Leaguers got on the other side of that river and tossed a little dough over here."

While you are digging out from a snow storm in the country or sliding on an icy city pavement—Smile, because, according to a Hearst Headline:

"Palm Beach is Enjoying It's Best Season in Years."

Ham-Sandwiched

Poor, red-baiting Ham Fish is alarmed at the tory delegation New York Republicans are sending to the national convention.

"If you think you can carry the election by methods like this, you're crazy!" shouted Ham. "There isn't a liberal among the delegates. You picked the same old group of reactionaries who always got themselves elected."

A Congressional investigation as to whether Ham Fish is getting Moscow gold is in order. And Marcantonio should demand it!

While Al Smith and wife were given the largest party of the year in swanky Palm Beach, it was disclosed in New York that porters and elevator operators in the Empire State Building still get \$1.00 a week under the Union scale, despite increases forced by recent publicity.

Smith's employees work a 52-hour week, but what does Al care when he's dining with E. T. Stotesbury, partner in J. P. Morgan Co.

It's lucky those Nazi winter Olympics didn't last very long. Anyone of those scraps between the competing teams might have ended in a war!

WATCH THE WRAPPER

on your copy of the Socialist Call. If the number on the lower left of this notice, or any number less than this number appears on your wrapper it means that your subscription has expired. Renew immediately.

EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

4-LEGGED BORDER PATROL



"Get a lift with a camel" is the slogan of King Edward's patrol as it guards the British Somali-

land border. To the westward war continues between the fast-foot Italian troops and the

Ethiopian natives. Imperialist Britain is prepared to maintain the colonies she stole years ago.

"Real Socialists will continue the fight against the New Deal and its program for saving the profit-system. Real Socialists will continue to fight the program of pay-slashing that has been the result in part of the WPA wage scale. We will carry on in the fight against the war program, with its billion dollar military budgets, that Roosevelt is pursuing."

"The Old Guard may support Roosevelt. Socialists will not!"

"We pledge ourselves to support the Socialist campaign planned by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. Ours is a (Continued on Page Nine)

Owners Jail Sharecroppers, Resort to Guns, Dynamite

Special to The CALL

PARKIN, Arkansas.—Within twenty-four hours of the time Jim Ball, Negro sharecropper, was railroaded to jail for a seven-year term, renewed terror broke out. Agents for the boss cotton planters, in the dead of night, threw sticks of dynamite into the tent colonies just outside this town, in a murderous attempt to blow up the tenant farmers and their families who are sheltered there.

Fortunately, none of the dynamite exploded. After this night of terror, the sharecroppers crawled out from their crude homes, cold and hungry, to find warnings scrawled in pencil and attached to boards,—warnings to all union men to "get the hell out of Arkansas, and stay out."

The members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union have become accustomed to the southern terror, which includes gun-fire, mass evictions, and vigilante raids. Only a month ago a hundred union members with their families—which included 28 children under the age of six—were evicted from their plantation homes.

Ball, who is secretary of the St. Peters, local of the STFU, was given a seven-year prison term on the charge of "assault with intent to kill." The jury convicting him was composed of planters and the judge sentencing him is a large land owner. Defense Attorney Fowler claimed there was no evidence upon which to base conviction.

The Negro sharecropper was arrested a month ago in Earle, Arkansas, when Deputy Sheriff Hood and an aide opened fire on a union meeting, wounding two workers. The case is being appealed by the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, 112 East 15th St., New York, which seeks funds to aid the fight.

Three other sharecroppers, Simon Bass, John Ligonis and Sam Brown, also arrested, are being tried on a charge of rioting. With the sheriff's office and newspapers hostile, and the court packed in favor of the plantation owners, it is expected that the defendants

Unions Help Akron Fight, Defy Court

AKRON, O.—The "rubber workers on the picket line here" are singing: "The Goodyear Strikers blew in here . . . The idea's going round and round," and the management of other Akron Rubber plants are losing a lot of sleep wondering if "it comes out here. Other factories may very well follow the example of the 14,000 Goodyear employees.

Violence in the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. strike appears inevitable if Sheriff Jim Flower, National Guard captain who gassed strikers at a Barberton strike a few months ago, carries out his announced intention of enforcing an injunction against the pickets. So far no effort to enforce it, other than a public reading of the court order, has been made.

Fight Injunction

The injunction, which was granted at a special court session Saturday, permits picketing at 32 Goodyear entrances, but nullifies this concession by forbidding picketing at other entrances and enjoining the pickets against hindering the movement of persons and goods in or out of the plants or, in any other way, hampering the Goodyear in its business. Strikers say that mass picketing will continue, and that they will keep the plants closed regardless of the court order.

Workers at the Goodrich, Firestone, and many other local factories, as well as WPA workers affiliated with the Workers' Alliance, have arranged to have news from the picket line relayed to them. They will leave their jobs and rush to the strike scene at the first sign of trouble. Organizations in Barberton, Cleveland, Canton and Massillon have also offered to send pickets if needed.

The Summit County Central Labor Union, representing more than 125 local unions, voted at a special meeting to do everything in its power to prevent enforcement of the injunction.

Solidarity

Pledges of aid and support have also been received from William Green, president of the AFL; Leo Krzycki of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and national chairman of the Socialist Party, and Adolph Germer of the United Mine Workers.

The company organized its "loyal" employees into an anti-strike meeting, consisting mainly of foremen, company union delegates, office and technical workers. The scabs were addressed by Mayor Schroy of Akron, and by Sheriff Flower, who told them they would be deputized to aid in maintaining "law and order."

HEARST LOSES

READING, Pa.—Hearst Metro-tone news pictures were withdrawn from the Colonial Theatre after the Federated Trades Council, Young People's Socialist League and Socialist Party had carried on a vigorous "We Don't Patronize" campaign.

'Ridiculous'



"Ridiculous," said Charles M. Schwab on his 74th birthday in replying to criticisms against munitions makers. Charlie's Bethlehem Steel made millions out of the last murder-fest, and he can't help being optimistic during these troublous days.

Guild Strike Hits Hearst

MILWAUKEE (FP)—Undaunted by scabs' attempts to smash their strike 29 staff members of the Hearst-owned Wisconsin News, aided by money and man-power from Milwaukee unions, maintain their picket lines around the newspaper plant.

Arrest of Milton Hart, scab copyreader, was asked by the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild's strike committee after he seized a placard from the hands of Charles Strong, striking financial editor, and threw him against the wall of the building.

Other developments in the strike include:

1. A conference between Executive Secretary Jonathan Eddy of the American Newspaper Guild and Socialist Mayor Daniel W. Hoan. Eddy described the conference as "highly satisfactory" and called the mayor "one of the most liberal and progressive executives I have ever met."

2. Calls for support of the strikers from Sen. Elmer Benson of Minnesota, Congressman Thomas Amle of Wisconsin, Congressman Vito Marcantonio of New York and Congressman Byron Scott of California, and Gen. Smedley Butler.

3. Failure of "concessions" from local Hearst bosses to break the strikers' ranks.

4. An increasing flow of contributions from guild units, labor and liberal organizations to the guild's strike fund, 49 W. 45th St., New York City.

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

TIME TO ACT!

The 1935 AFL convention unanimously resolved to extend aid to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and instructed its Executive Council to seek a Federal investigation of conditions among sharecroppers.

It further resolved "that legislation designed to remedy existing conditions and to establish decent labor standards among such workers receive the support of the Federation."

Is it not time for affirmative and vigorous action?

will be convicted. Bail of \$5,000 will probably be required.

President Roosevelt, and Rexford Tugwell, director of Resettlement, refused to step into the picture, when Norman Thomas called for Federal action. They claim this is a State problem, and one in which the Federal government must not interfere.

Howard Kester, union organizer and Socialist, who was dragged from a meeting recently and driven out of Earle by armed planters, will be in New York for speaking engagements next week, according to H. L. Mitchell, executive secretary of the union.

SOCIALISTS WIN

SEATTLE—Efforts of reactionaries to bar Socialist candidates for city office failed when courts here dismissed a legal action alleging candidates failed to meet residence qualifications and were not taxpayers. The action was aimed at Tillman Garrison and Fay Garrison, Socialist candidates for mayor and council, respectively, and Tom E. Smith, "progressive" candidate for mayor.

NO PEACE BANNERS



The banners at the upper left do not carry peace slogans, for this photo shows Japanese army officials signing up recruits in Tokyo in response to conscription orders. Capitalist Japan is preparing her war machine against the Soviet Union.

Scranton Jails Blind 'Newsy' For Selling 'Socialist Call'

See Editorial: Free Press!

SCRANTON, Pa.—Twice within a week, Marshall Bush, blind Socialist, was arrested for selling the Socialist Call on the streets here. After the second arrest, he was given money by the Mayor and told to get out of town.

Blind and unemployed, Bush hoped to make a few pennies selling the Call, but James T. Hanlon, Director of Public Safety, refused him a permit. Bush started peddling papers, anyway, until he was arrested by Patrolman Connors on a charge of "peddling a Socialist newspaper without a license."

In court, Bush was sentenced to ten days in the county jail by Magistrate Frieze, who declared that this was not a case of freedom of speech under the Constitution.

City officials expressed the view that Socialists were becoming active just at this time when the agreements between the anthracite operators and the United Mine Workers of America were about to expire. Scranton, with its 143,000 people, is the greatest hard coal center in the country.

Denied Work

From the Lackawana County Jail, Bush wrote the Call.

"As I am a blind man, one of the inmates is writing this letter for me. I was denied a permit to work here and was put in jail when I attempted to do so. I was given no opportunity to obtain bail or legal counsel."

The Labor and Socialist Defense Committee immediately moved to have Bush freed. He was released after serving five days in jail, and immediately re-arrested when he again went out to sell the Call. In order to avoid too much unfavor-

able publicity, the court refused to sentence him a second time.

An attempt will be made to get a genuine test case of the city ordinance involved, by the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee.

YPSL's Drive Seeks \$2,500

An intensive national drive for funds to carry on various organizational activities of the YPSL has been announced by the national office of the Young People's Socialist League.

Milton Weisberg, National Director of the "United Young Socialist Appeal" in a statement officially opening the drive to begin March 1st and terminate May 1st stated that "on the success of the drive depends the future growth and activity carried on by the YPSL. The Party organization must rally behind the drive to its youth section."

insure the raising of \$2500.00 for All local sections of the YPSL have been given quotas and the drive has been accepted with enthusiasm by the League throughout the country. The drive will be a united appeal and will benefit all sections as well as the national organization.

All throughout the first week in March dinners are being held by drive committees to fire the opening call for the United Appeal.

In a statement issued by Ben Fischer and Ernest Erber, National Secretary and Chairman of the YPSL, to all league sections, the Young Socialist leaders pointed out that the year 1936 will offer great opportunities for the Young Socialist movement of America. We urge the league to provide the means to take advantage of these opportunities.

World Socialism

SPAIN MOVES FORWARD

By HERBERT ZAM

SIXTEEN months after the defeat of the October uprising, the Spanish proletariat was able to score a decisive victory over the forces of reaction in the parliamentary election. This should be the best answer to those who cried "they should not have taken arms" and a brilliant illumination of the German debacle. For worse than any defeat is failure to enter the fight when that fight has become the only alternative to miserable capitulation. There can be no doubt that the heroic resistance to the onslaughts of reaction which the Spanish revolutionists put up not only preserved the morale of the movement and the organizations of the workers, but also made impossible the consolidation of the forces of reaction. Thus the workers were able to win back many democratic rights which had been abrogated after the revolt, compelled the freeing of many working class leaders (Caballero above all) and the amnestying of numerous participants in the actual uprising.

Spain's United Action

The Spanish workers profited well by the lessons of the October uprising. Not only have they been relieved of the illusions of republicanism and reformism, but they have learned the need for unity as a prerequisite for a successful struggle against fascism and reaction. In these elections, therefore, a Peoples' Front, including Socialists, Communists and Left Republicans faced the other two camps: the fascists, clericals and monarchists led by Gil Robles on the extreme right under the watchword "National Front Against the Revolution and its Helpers," and the right bourgeois republicans, under the leadership of the premier, Portela, in the center, but very close to the right in actual policies and social base. In the elections, the Portela group was but a stalking horse for Robles. Thus there were actually two camps: reaction and Peoples' Front. This was understood by the workers, whose pressure for unity was so powerful that even the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists, in numerous instances participated in the elections in defiance of their historic traditions.

Some of the demands of the Peoples' Front were:

1. Amnesty for all political prisoners; to date back to Nov. 1933.
2. Reform of the judicial system (at present largely controlled by monarchist elements).
3. Lowering of taxes and increasing of credits for the peasantry.
4. Re-establishment of collective bargaining, institution of minimum wages and the placing of private social aid systems under government control.
5. Reform of the financial system.
6. National, free, non-sectarian education.
7. Cooperation with the League of Nations in foreign affairs.

This program, even making allowances for the fact that it was only an election platform, and not

Only Minimum Program

the program of a permanent organization as in France, once more shows the limitations of a Peoples' Front or of any united front with the bourgeoisie. In the two important fields, agrarian and labor questions, the opposition of the bourgeois republicans made impossible the adoption of the essential demands: expropriation of the landed estates and the division of the land among the peasantry; and the setting up of a system of direct unemployment insurance. Similarly, the bourgeois parties rejected any

declaration on foreign policy except the one shown. These issues, nevertheless, remain basic in Spain, and their non-inclusion in the election program is a foreshadow of future trouble between the proletarian forces and the republicans.

The Peoples' Front which succeeded in setting up organizations in 250 localities was not the only form of labor unity which made possible the electoral victory. There were also set up numerous joint local and district committees between the Socialist and Communist Parties and between the Socialist and Communist youth organizations; and a United Committee for the Support of the Victims of the White Terror, in which all sections of the labor movement except the anarchists participated, with local organizations in all the important cities and centers. Also, some months before the election, the labor movement succeeded in re-establishing its press, notwithstanding the threats of the government to re-introduce military censorship. El Socialista, published in Madrid, after only a few issues reached a circulation of 60,000.

The reactionary forces, having the support of practically all the big capitalists and landowners, spent enormous sums of money to prevent a victory for the left in the elections—in vain. They could not triumph over the proletariat which was backed by its firm convictions, its heroism, its hatred of the exploiters and oppressors and the splendid traditions of the October uprising.

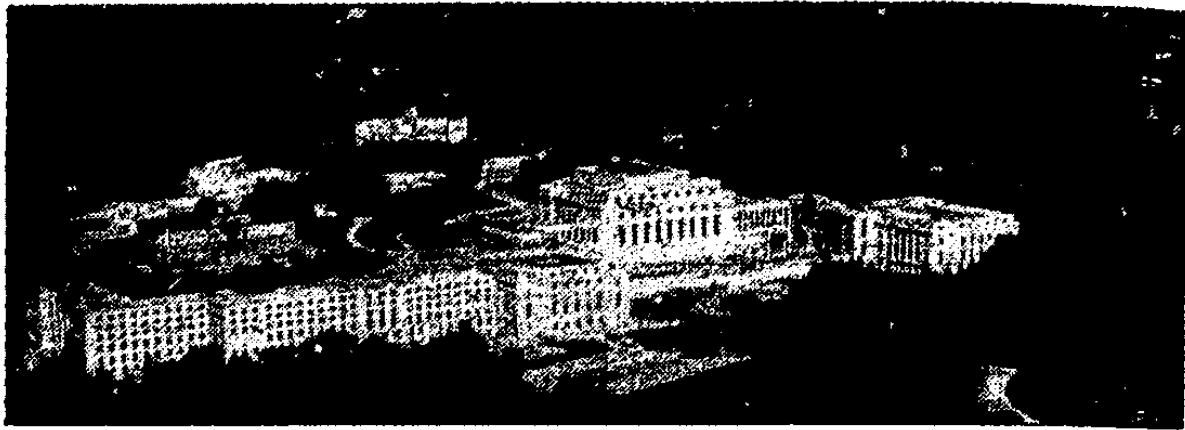
But the electoral victory will be valuable only if it is a starting point for the onward march of the Spanish proletarian revolution. History moves fast these days. Already the republic, as a progressive measure in Spain, has played its part. The bourgeois republic cannot solve the problems which are now on the order of the day. Let it not be forgotten that it was under the republican regime with Zamora and Azana at its head that reaction was able to stage its come-back. If the economic power is left in the hands of the capitalists and landowners, sooner or later they will also take over political power. They must be deprived of their economic power through socialization. And this can be done only by a Socialist government, which will begin converting Spain into a proletarian, a Socialist country by expropriating the big landowners and capitalists; by nationalizing all undertakings controlled by foreign capital; by freeing the colonies; by converting the army into a toilers' militia and eventually a Red Army, if necessary; by reorganizing the political machinery so as to make it rest upon the broad masses of the toilers, particularly the workers. Largo Caballero, leader of the labor wing of the Peoples' Front, of the Socialist Party and the trade unions, has already indicated that the Socialists will not be content with a bourgeois republic, but will press onward to Socialism. The Azana government just set up can at best be a stop-gap.

The Spanish workers have the opportunity of making Spain the second workers' republic in the world. They must not miss the chance.

THE SPANISH WORKERS HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY OF MAKING SPAIN THE SECOND WORKERS' REPUBLIC IN THE WORLD. THEY MUST NOT MISS THE CHANCE.

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COD LIVER OIL



The League of Nations, housed in its new \$10,000,000 building, has evolved a plan to achieve world unity. An international commission of nutrition experts formed by the League suggests greater world use of cod liver oil. Possibly rascor oil might be better for Hitler and Mussolini.

Japanese Pacifist

Kagawa Offers "Love" Instead of Economic Science to Solve Our Problems and Those of Japan

By JAMES RORTY

While Japanese generals are pushing west into Mongolia and south into China, Japanese capitalists are avidly monopolizing the rich trade of Manchukuo, and Japanese diplomats are threatening withdrawal from the Armaments conference unless their demands for "parity" are acceded to.—Toyohiko Kagawa, the Japanese Christian cooperator is touring America preaching the Christian gospel of love and the cooperative gospel of economic democracy.

Kagawa feels keenly the irony of his position. Indeed, he has suffered on the cross of this contradiction in every city where he has spoken.

Recently he spoke at Cooper Union on the same platform with representatives of the Cooperative League and the Federal Council of Churches. Cooperators are mild people, not given to heckling, but at the conclusion of his address, this question was put to him:

"In the event of war between Japan and Soviet Russia, what attitude would you take, and what attitude would be taken by the members of the movement of which you are the acknowledged leader?"

A moment before, Kagawa had been animatedly explaining his seven-point cooperative program, his accent and smile combining to infect his audience with his genuine charm and earnestness. But the question sobered him. He answered it truthfully, no doubt, and in the only way he could have answered it.

Pacifist

"I can speak only for myself," he said. "My personal philosophy is pacifist and non-resistant. As to the Japanese cooperative movement, I point out that when in 1914 the British Labor movement plumped for war, many of the British cooperators stood firm for peace."

Kagawa might also have retorted with justice that he, in Japan, has repeatedly opposed the Japanese militarists, and that in the past the government has frequently jailed him. More recently, however, Kagawa's mass following has caused the government to adopt a different tactic. While other pacifists, like Nitobe, have been exiled or jailed, Kagawa is permitted to organize his various types of consumer and producer cooperatives, and has even received some more or less qualified and ambiguous government support. He is regarded as the leading social worker of Japan.

More important from the point of view of the present Japanese government, he is regarded as the lesser of two evils. His opposition to communism is explicit. Doubtless he has helped greatly to enlighten and organize Japanese masses, but it is also clear that the growing success of his movement has converted many Japanese peasants and proletarians from the more radical doctrines of Marx and Lenin particularly the latter's concept of "revolutionary non-playing what would be in a war

James Rorty is a well-known journalist, and author of "Our Master's Voice," and "Where Life Is Better—An Unsentimental American Journey."

crisis. Pacifists can stage a general strike, tie up ports, cripple the government's war powers. Yet it may well be doubted that Kagawa can or would lead his followers in a struggle of this kind



KAGAWA

defeatism" in war—to the milder gospel of Christian cooperation.

Cripple Government

Does Kagawa's gospel conflict with loyalty to the Emperor and to any war which the Emperor may decree? Theoretically it does. Nor does Kagawa's pacifism necessarily disqualify him which, if successful, would inevitably precipitate a revolutionary situation.

After the meeting, I pursued Kagawa backstage and presented myself as editor of the *Consumer Defender*. He is a quiet, moon-faced little man, unimpressive until he speaks and then very impressive indeed. His face lights and what shines through is the fanatical, stoical faith, not of our diluted latter-day Christianity, but of the early Christian martyrs. He is transparently sincere. He has back of him a life of almost legendary devotion and sacrifice. He smiles, and I remember that gold teeth replace those knocked out by a drunkard in the slums of Tokyo where he began his missionary work.

Kagawa is evidently tired and I remember that he speaks four or five times a day; also that his entire income from lectures and books (he is probably Japan's most popular author) is devoted to his cause except for the \$40 a month on which he and his family subsist.

Marxist, But—

Moreover, in answering questions Kagawa is frank and unreserved. Yes, the cooperative objective is identical with the Socialist objective to replace capitalism with the cooperative common-

wealth, the classless society. He goes even further:

"I accept the Marxian diagnosis of the capitalist economy and its present crisis. I would even grant that the struggle of classes expresses the fact of contemporary capitalist societies. But I oppose any sort of violence to bring about economic solutions. Revolution merely endangers life; it cannot produce a new economic order. Moreover, I contend that the materialistic philosophy of Marx fails to take account of fundamental psychological factors which in my opinion determine the course of history."

Princeton Degree

Kagawa is the son of a Japanese nobleman and government official by his purchased concubine, a geisha girl born in the slums of Tokyo. He was converted to Christianity in his teens and was given the degree of Bachelor of Divinity by Princeton University. His career includes playing an important role in the organization of both the Japanese Federation of Labor and of the Japanese Farmers Union. The Japanese Cooperative movement, started in 1900, has today a membership of 5,000,000 families — about a third of the population. The leading Japanese cooperative magazine has a circulation of nearly a million, and it features a serialized novel by Kagawa.

The exact role of Kagawa with respect to the various Japanese labor and cooperative organizations is not entirely clear. This much is certain, however: that he has failed to build these mass organizations into a militant anti-imperialist bloc

5,000,000 Families

Five million Japanese families are organized in cooperatives. Nearly a million read Kagawa in the Japanese cooperative magazine. Kagawa is a Christian, a non-resistant pacifist. But he is also against "materialistic communism" which, he says, is "utterly unable to cure our economic ills."

The approaching war crisis will bring the acid test of this opposition, which can so easily be exploited by the forces of militarist and fascist reaction. American cooperators too, will face a similar testing. The contradiction between the cooperative objective—which is the cooperative commonwealth — and imperialist war coupled with military and fascist repression is fundamental.

In facing such a crisis the natural allies of the cooperators are the militant and leftward moving formations of labor. Hence, Kagawa's platform repudiations of "materialistic communism" have been more than a little confusing, particularly in America, where the gap between our primarily agricultural cooperative movement and the labor movement is not yet bridged.

Kagawa must face this issue not merely as an individual pacifist, but as a mass leader. And our American Christian pacifists and cooperators must face it in realistic terms

Spanish Workers Victorious

Fascist Reaction Hit By Recent Elections

By ANTONIO REINA

American Correspondent of El Socialista

The victory of the combined Left political parties, composed of left-wing Republicans, Socialists, Communists and Syndicalists, in the Spanish general election of February 16 did not come as a surprise to those who had been following the development of the Spanish political situation during the last year.

The iron repression maintained

by the Lerroix-Gil Robles government, which sent 30,000 Spanish workers to jail and killed several thousands, after the uprising of October, 1934, was the principal force in getting the workers of differing ideology together in a special agreement to regain the republican form of government which had been inaugurated in 1931, and to crush decisively the menace of fascism which the Clerical Party, headed by Robles, had planned to bring at any price.

According to Francisco Largo Caballero, leader of the Peoples Front, and general secretary of the General Union of Workers, the Left coalition has secured 264 seats of the 473 in the Spanish Parliament. This is something the right-wingers never expected, as they claimed previous to the election that they would take full power in Spain, winning at least 340 seats, and restore the Church to its former might.

'All Power'

Under the electoral agreement drawn up between the Left political parties, no participating group sacrificed its principles. However, the Socialists will not accept any Cabinet posts with the new government. In accordance with its previous decision, the Socialist Party will wait until it has a full

PREMIER



Manuel Azana, Left Republican, former Premier of Spain during the second Republic's first two years, who was again chosen Premier by the victorious Left coalitionists. Senor Azana not only formed a new cabinet at once but immediately issued orders for provisional liberty to more than 25,000 political prisoners.

majority before taking control of the government. In the meantime, the Socialists will fight to carry out the pledges of the Left agreement made prior to the general election.

Victory of the Spanish Left Bloc spread enthusiasm among the working masses to a degree never before known. Following the election returns, the Spanish daily *El Socialista*, official organ of the Socialist Party of Spain, declared in blazing headlines, in connection with the amnesty of the 30,000 workers in jail:

"All power to the Left Bloc -- with them in the government, the popular front need ask for nothing more. All the people will be free"

Spain Approves

The sentiment which brought about the October uprising has now received the full approval of Spain. The Fascist Party, led by the son of the former Spanish dictator, Primo de Rivera, was crushed so completely that not one Fascist candidate was elected to the new Parliament. (Robles' party, called "Ceda," has not formally declared itself as fascist, but may be described as semi-fascist.)

In contrast to the defeat of the fascists and semi-fascists, for the first time in the history of Spain there will be a minority group of fourteen Communist representatives in the next Cortes. Among these is the first Communist woman representative, elected from Asturias, while not one woman was elected from among the Conservative coalition candidates.

On the Alert!

"But the Socialists," declared Caballero, "will not fall asleep with their triumphs. They will continue to carry out the Marxist aim of establishing a Socialist Republic in Spain, with or without the help of the Republican allies."

The excellent discipline of the Socialist Party, and the class-consciousness of the Spanish workers of all ideologies, have taught a lesson to all the workers of the world—the lesson of how to stop fascism. Despite all the money and power of the Church, and despite the millions of the capitalist Juan March, the reactionaries could no longer force the Spanish workers to submit to their oppression. The thousands of dead and orphaned left by the October uprising and the ensuing year of cruel oppression by the reactionary government have, in time, condemned those responsible.

Lerroix Out

Lerroix, government head during the repression, will not have a seat in the Parliament. He was defeated in two cities—Barcelona and Huelva. Gil Robles barely managed to be elected. He was defeated in Madrid, but was saved by carrying Salamanca. With the fall of La Ceda, Robles is no longer leader of the Clerical Party, but has been replaced by Manuel Jimenez Fernandez, another Cedit, whose ideas are not more liberal, but who possesses a shrewder mind.

During the rule of Lerroix and Gil Robles, the government returned to the monarchists all the land confiscated by the Constituent Cortes in 1931. The government cut the appropriations for the Educational Department by 527,000,000 pesetas; increased the extra credit in the treasury by 238,000,000 pesetas; reduced public works by 350,000,000 pesetas; but gave to the Church 16,000,000 pesetas, and to the Jesuits 150,000,000 pesetas. Meanwhile, unemployment increased by about 1,000,000 workers.

Trotsky Wrong

Fascism has been liquidated by the Peoples Front. The advance of the Socialists and their allies in Spain will be an inspiration for further united action in France in the forthcoming elections this spring.

In this connection we must point out that Trotsky's absolute-

KILLED FOR HITLER



Photo shows Nazi funeral given Wilhelm Gustloff, leader of Swiss Nazi. Body was brought to Germany from Davos, Switzerland, where Gustoff was killed by David Frankfurter, who is a Jewish medical student. In pronouncing a eulogy, Hitler bitterly denounced Jews, asserting Germans accepted their challenge—but it was he who challenged the Jews.

90 SOCIALISTS SEATED

Approximately 90 Socialists will have seats in the new Spanish Cortes, which convenes March 16. Among the 90 will be five Socialist Congresswomen.

ly wrong when he calls Juan Andrade, one of his followers, a traitor because he signed the pact of the Left Bloc in the name of "Marxist Unity." Trotsky may be thoroughly familiar with the conditions prevailing in Russia, but when he puts his foot into the Spanish political situation he loses his heel. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Left Bloc in Spain has not a Socialist program; but the danger of the semi-fascist party regaining power, the need of restoring the right to function to labor unions and left political parties were all urgent necessities at this time. The Marxist Unity comrades acted with good sense.

World Blow

Socialists, the largest group in the Peoples Front, will not participate in the government, but together with the Communists and Syndicalists will influence the government very strongly. As I see the situation, Azana plays the part of Kerensky, while Caballero plays the part of Lenin. No doubt,

Not Lost in the Noose

By KENNETH PORTER

Morning: and after the smother of night how the headlines—Scarlet they are and not black—snap like banners: THE LEFT SWEEPS THE COUNTRY!

O Weissl, O Wallisch,
Your words were not lost in the noose which the princely landlords
Coiled from the cord of a cassock.
The peasants and workers
Of Spain—and the world—had their ears to the ground on that day:
You can kill me, but cannot kill us;
And
The Social Democracy lives! Long live Freedom!
The peasants and workers have answered—with bullets and bombs
Last October, with ballots on Sunday, with bullets if need be tomorrow.
Freedom lives, and the Social Democracy
Yet shall come forth from her loins, not still-born
By the tools of abortionist-priests . . .
Dirty snow of last week is a great Bourbon banner,
Polluted and prostrate.
February 18, 1936.

in the very near future, Spain will be the second Socialist Republic in the world.

The Spanish election was a blow to world Fascism. Spanish Socialists in this country join with their comrades abroad in halting the accomplishments achieved.

More Unions Favor WRA

CHICAGO — The growing resentment against the power usurped by the U. S. Supreme Court in declaring acts of Congress unconstitutional is manifested by the large number of endorsements received at the offices of the Associated Committees for the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment, Moxley Building, Clinton St., Chicago.

With the new endorsements, close to 3,000,000 people are now on record in favor of the amendment introduced by Rep. Vito Marcantonio as House Joint Resolution No. 440.

Among the organizations which have endorsed it in the past two weeks are the powerful Farmers' Union of Colorado; the Wyandotte Co., Kansas, United Action Committee; locals 226 and 226a of the Int'l Union of Operating Engineers, New Orleans; the Workers' Alliance, the American Workers' Union and Relief Clients' Association of Kansas City, Kan.; the Workingmen's Union of the World; the Jasper, Ala., Central Labor Union.

Platform of Left Bloc

The electoral agreement between the various parties united in the victorious Peoples Front is as follows:

1. General amnesty for all political prisoners.
2. Re-admission of all government employes and private corporation employes to the positions from which they were expelled during the repression.
3. Reparations to all families of the victims of the October, 1934 uprising.
4. A new system of justice free from capitalist influence, and granting restoration of all constitutional rights.
5. Fixing responsibility for all acts of violence against workers during the time of the repression.
6. A new agrarian, industrial and economic policy.
7. Schools to belong to the state exclusively.

8. Respect for autonomous legislation.
9. Aid to the farmers in the form of low taxes, releasing credit, decreasing rentals, and revaluation of the production of the land.
10. Restoration of social legislation passed by the Constituent Cortes.
11. Minimum salaries for farm laborers, in accordance with living costs.
12. State regulation of all banks.
13. Nullification of all legislation which gave land back to the nobles.
14. Institution of a recovery program of public works, with a view toward ending unemployment.
15. Reforms in taxation so that taxes will be levied in proportion to the profits of capital.

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'Don't Go Near the Water'

Partly as a result of the Nye investigation which showed Morgan's connection with the last World War, Congress was debating whether to put up a "No Trespassing" sign on the old swimming hole where the bad boys of Europe play.

The neutrality law finally adopted allows the money-lenders and the industrialists to fish in the war-pond. If they hook the wrong fish, we all get pulled in for the purpose of saving their catch.

Senators like Nye who fumbled for a way to keep America out of war, insisted that American neutrality depended on keeping the business-men out of foreign wars. Under their proposal, the President was to be given the power to embargo various commodities.

The neutrality law which was adopted doesn't even go that far. An enumerated list of war commodities is proscribed. But coal, wheat, oil, metals—all of which are used to sustain armies, prolong wars and provide profits—may still be sent abroad.

This result was achieved by the strong lobby and the powerful control that industrialists have in Washington. President Roosevelt, as usual, has made no effort to get something decent, but backed down at the first breath of business opposition.

Meanwhile history repeats itself. The hungry profit-seekers go greedily on their way, laying the groundwork for future wars and preparing the armies for the day of slaughter.

Socialists have little hope in legislative safeguards such as our present Congress might pass. With war rooted in the capitalist, competitive system, it is too much to believe that even the wisest of capitalist Congressmen can cry a halt to the forces of war.

In the last analysis, to stop war we must stop capitalism. The fight against one is the fight against both. To stop war profits we must stop the profit system.

Free Press?

Two stories in this issue of the CALL bring up the question of freedom of the press.

One of them concerns the right of a blind man to peddle papers on a city street. The other has to do with the right of newsmen to earn a decent living.



A short while ago, Hearst-inspired aldermen passed an ordinance in Chicago forbidding a newspaper to display any newspaper not published in that city. Such a law is a clear violation of freedom of the press, except for Hearst.

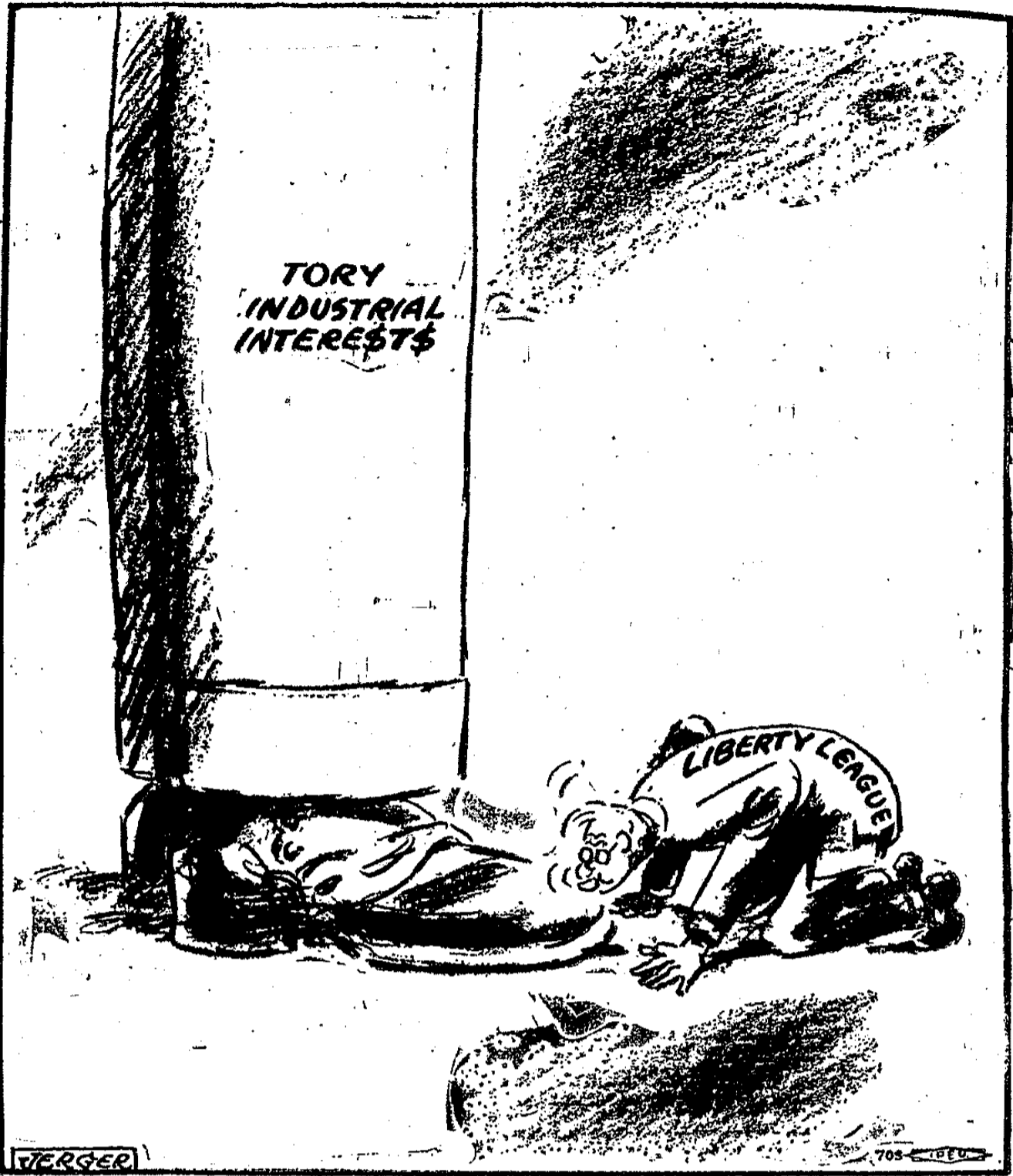
Recently, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional Louisiana's law taxing gross advertising revenue received by a newspaper. Hearst papers throughout the country crowded in glee at more freedom of the press, for Hearst.

Now striking members of the Newspaper Guild at Hearst's Wisconsin News are asking themselves: What does our boss mean when he talks about a free press?

The only freedom Hearst has given them is the freedom to work for wages as low as \$15 a week for reporters, and the freedom to color the news with anti-labor propaganda.

Newspapermen are not interested in a free press. We want a free press.

THEIR BOSSES



Desecrations Nearer Home

To the Editor:

Please call your shots. How is it that in your editorial of Feb. 15 the sacred stars and stripes are polluted by the Reich air? Was the flag so unpolluted after having waved over Southern Alabama, or Boston in 1927, or Tampa, Florida?

ARTHUR G. McDOWELL, Chicago, Ill.

To the Editor:

In reading your leading editorial in the issue of February fifteenth I got a distinct shock. I suddenly found the Socialist CALL emulating "Oil" Browder in its enthusiasm for the "Star Spangled Banner." So "Old Glory" has been soiled and desecrated because of close contact with the Swastika. Well, well, well, let's all take down our hair and weep about it. You even suggest that the "Americans" must blush at such desecration. Which Americans are you referring to—the duPonts and the Al Smiths, or the Americans of Tampa, Terre Haute, Scottsboro and Arkansas?

Those in the first category would rather cheer than blush, and those in the second should know the "Stars and Stripes" for what it is—a front for the most miserable exploitation and semi-fascism ever foisted upon a section of the working class anywhere on the face of the earth. They, I hope, are beyond blushing for the "Star Spangled Banner." Let them rather know it for what it is, and point out that the Olympic matter has given the working class just one more reason for changing the red, white, and blue of Willie Hearst and those of his ilk to the pure red of Socialism.

FRANK STERN Chicago, Ill.

Tory Politics Long and Loud

To the Editor:

Speaking of hoarse and buggy politicians and their bosses...

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.

tion that most politicians of the Democratic and Republican variety are both hoarse and buggy.

CARL BRANNIN, Dallas, Texas.

The Party And the Local

To the Editor:

A party is no stronger than its weakest branch or local. That is doubtless an exaggeration—but a justified one if it serves to arouse interest in a part of the party machinery, neglect of which sooner or later gums up the whole works.

The neglect arises from a wrong conception of a local, as merely that part of the membership who live in a certain district. A local should be considered that part of the party's work for which members in a certain district are responsible.

Where a local is intrusted with responsible work, the party has a vital interest in the local's work and the local in the party's. No question will arise as to main business of the meeting. Two powerful interests—that of party in lo-

cal—and of local in party—have already decided.

FRANK D. SLOCUM New York City.

The 1-Plank Platform

To the Editor:

As it becomes more and more evident that the communists are following the path of popular reformism, it becomes clear what the basis of the Socialist election platform of 1936 should be: a short, simple statement with but one plank—the abolition of the capitalist system.

The time is too short for the Socialist Party to waste any precious time or energy on immediate demands. The basic problem before us is education of the masses; this can only be accomplished by an uncompromising stand against the mother of war and fascism—capitalism. To burden our platform with social reforms will set us on the road which ends in a blind alley—support and bolstering of the capitalist system.

We must have a mandate from the people for Socialism. Let us forget the fake issues raised by the politicians and go forward to power under the banner of Socialism.

JAMES McMASTERS Toledo, Ohio.

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WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

PART of the vicious counter-attack on Roosevelt recently launched by that tribune of the people, Al Smith, and by his sponsors in Wall Street, is the sapping operation against the WPA. The whole arsenal of innuendo, slander and lying, always used by the professional defenders of things as they are against any measure of social amelioration, is being used now in an effort to turn public opinion against the relief workers, and against relief itself.

All efforts to provide relief workers with tasks that they can really perform, are condemned as "boon-doggling." It is apparently better, in the opinion of the self-appointed guardians of "rugged individualism," and of the tax-rate, to set artists, writers, actors and the like, to sweeping streets, or to chopping wood. To the Wall Street mind there is something obscene about a painter painting, or a writer writing!

Smithites and Hooverettes

When a WPA worker, making perhaps 18 dollars a week on his project, refuses a job in the "legitimate" industrial world paying \$20 a week, all the Smithites and all the Hooverettes cry out in horror. "See!" they say. "What did we tell you? Relief makes men lazy. It makes them unwilling to work. It is turning a sturdy, independent citizenry into servile dole cadgers." They don't have to worry, the Smithites and the Hooverettes, about the uncertainty of that job in "legitimate industry." What do they care if the \$20 a week offered is \$10 a week less than the job should pay!

When relief workers protest against ill-treatments, against lay-offs, against discrimination, against meagre wages, or (most important of all!) industry, the whole fury of the press and of the pulpit is loosed on them. They are "ingrates," "foreign agitators," "subversive elements." At best, relief workers who demonstrate or strike, are the dupes of a small group of "outside agitators." That is Mr. Ridder's version.

The relief worker—a recipient of charity, after all!—should be meek, humble and grateful. He should not look the gift-horse in the mouth. Beggars must not seek to be choosers. They must have a proper sense of obligation to those who, out of their Christian charity, fling them a bone.

What they overlook who think, speak and write in this vein, is that relief is not charity. It is social insurance. It is not insurance for the relief worker. It is insurance for Wall Street, for business, for all the smug and paunchy citizens. It is their guarantee against something worse than relief—against revolution. It was so conceived, even if that fact is now often forgotten.

What they overlook, besides, is that the one hopeful sign in the depression vista before us is the fact that not yet have all the workers on relief lost their spirit! Not yet are they really the cadging beggars of the official fiction. If and when they become so; if and when they cease to protest and to demonstrate; if and when they accept humbly the crumbs from the table of Dives, then there will be reason to fear for the safety of the republic. Then the fascism that we speak about so much, will be at our door.

Confession of Breakdown

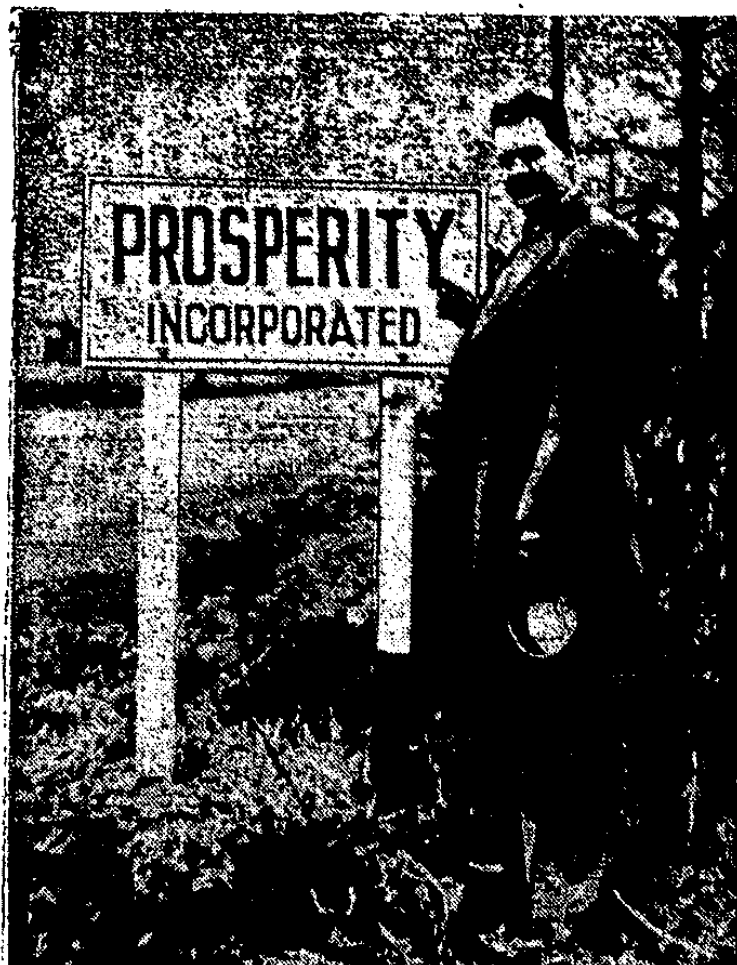
Socialists need not be told that, at best, relief is a sorry make-shift. We know, far better than the followers of Smith, Hoover and Ridder, that relief is a blind alley; that it leads nowhere. The continued necessity for relief is an open confession of the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. It is a standing challenge, a bitter reproach. For seven years capitalism has faced that challenge. It has resorted to all its time-honored devices in an effort to right itself. It has failed, and the challenge still stands. We Socialists know that capitalism cannot meet the challenge. It knows no way out. It cannot solve its problems.

Recently more and more capitalists have realized this truth. They are appalled by it. They do not know what to make of the failure of their bag of tricks. In their despair they seek a scape-goat, and in the WPA, in the relief program, they think they have found one. Hence the attack on the WPA. Hence the bitterness and the persistence of the attack.

Have they thought their strategy through? What if they succeed in wiping out, or even in radically limiting, relief? Have they considered what will happen then? Or are they prepared now for all contingencies? Are they prepared, in plain words, to come down with tear-gas and machine-guns upon the demonstrations of unemployed workers that will surely follow if relief is abrogated, or limited?

Maybe Smith does not know what Wall Street's plans are. Maybe he is only the stooge of the Liberty League. Whether he knows or not, there are those who know. And they aren't telling.

PUBLICITY STUNT



"Just a publicity stunt" is the way South Carolina workers read to this photo of Governor Johnston. They still remember how police killed Mrs. Bertha Kelly, 21 year old textile picket and mother of two, in Pelzer, S. C., last September.

"We'll Die in the Pits!"

Revolution in Coal

By LOUIS YAGODA

POTTSVILLE, Pa.—The operators of Pennsylvania's hard coal fields met in conference recently to formulate plans for their own private assault on the "coal bootleggers"—the unemployed coal miners who have sunk shafts on company property to eke out a living.

This meeting was called after Governor Earle refused to send state troops to shoot down the unemployed squatter miners.

At the same time as the operators were meeting, the coal bootleggers of Schuylkill County sent delegates representing 5,000 members of the Independent Miners Association to a conference at Minersville, just outside Pottsville. There the miners met to strengthen their ranks and organize a single, powerful unit of defense.

The conference named a three-man grievance board to confer with the sheriff in order to learn his attitude toward coal bootlegging, and a protest march on the courthouse was planned in the event of a test case arrest of an independent miner.

George Layman, Mahoney City Squire, was named president of the county organization.

"Revolution"
For four years the coal operators have been trying to break up the Pennsylvania Revolution. The coal bootleggers have been gradually coming to the realization that there is no such thing as "private property" while men are willing to work, and yet are cold and hungry—while wealth lies in the ground and men starve above ground.

When collieries closed, entire communities were thrown out of work. Through bootlegging coal, the miners have managed to eke out a hard and dangerous living. They have employed every kind of crude mining equipment, from primitive windlasses to resurrected automobile motors.

Open Defiance
Setting up their pits on abandoned coal land, the unemployed miners have defied the owners, as well as all the law enforcement bodies to evict them. Most communities are solidly behind the miners and it is almost impossible in the coal region to arrest and convict a coal bootlegger.

Again and again, the men have expressed a willingness to die in defense of their shafts, and no Governor has dared to bring upon himself the responsibility of shedding blood. Attempts of the Mellon-controlled companies to send steam shovels on the land or to dynamite the shafts in order to close them, have met with heroic and organized resistance. Indeed, miners have been known to place themselves in the mouth of their pits and to dare the company police: "Go ahead and dynamite, but I'll go with it."

TWENTY YEARS AGO

From the New York Call, Feb. 16, 1916

Editorially, the CALL comments on the fighting around Verdun: "The real assassins, however, keep out of the danger zone—the Kings and Kaisers, the capitalists and diplomats. They do their assassination by proxy; by getting a million-and-a-half workmen to assassinate each other."

Emma Goldman, anarchist leader, was held in \$500 bail on charges of advocating birth control . . . The stubborn resistance of bituminous coal operators of Western Pennsylvania, backed by assurances of support from Wall Street and the Steel Trust, continued to deadlock efforts to reach a new wage agreement.

Samuel Gompers, AFL president, announced that unless organized labor receives assurances that a "federalized militia," as proposed in Congress, will not be used to break strikes, labor will oppose it from start to finish . . . Mayor Mitchell of New York left for St. Louis to meet with other Mayors who have interested themselves in "preparedness."

A 13-year-old girl, on strike with 10,000 other shirtmakers, whose hand was injured from a needle wound, offered her weekly pay of \$2.10 to join the Union. Her offer was refused but she was given a Union card.

THIS DAM DECISION

By McAlister Coleman

DIFFICULT for me to understand is the attitude of many Socialists in regard to the Supreme Court's decision upholding TVA. Many of my comrades and friends looked upon me with vast surprise when I threw up my hat at word of the decision. They either expressed complete indifference to the entire matter or indicated that the court's decision inasmuch as it leaned towards the liberal viewpoint was regrettable. They apparently argued that the decision would weaken the case of those who insist that the court has no right to pass upon the Constitutionality of measures affecting the common good. It so happens that The New York Times and other reactionary sheets who have no love for public ownership found the only grain of comfort in the decision in this very idea—namely that now all critics of the Supreme Court would be therewith silenced since the court has handed down one liberal decision.

I know that the Socialists who see no good in the decision are acting on "the theory of increasing misery," that jolly old proposition that things have to get a lot worse before they can get any better. Look at this closely and you will see that it is nothing but the Old Guard "inevitableness," whereby you sit around with your fingers crossed, wishing the black curse on anyone who is trying to get anywhere. Strange that anyone calling himself a "militant" should fall into this egregious error.

The Judges Can Read

Anyone who has been in the thick of this long drawn out and bitter power fight knows that the TVA decision was a body blow to those marching under the banner of capitalist greed. You ought to hear what a few utility executives out our way are saying about it.

Now all this does not imply that those who have been fighting for TVA and other measures of public ownership are any more enthusiastic about the Supreme Court after that decision than they were before it. They are just realists enough to know that the Supreme Court can read. They know that the Supreme Court had no love for TVA, but that discretion being the better part of valor, eight of the old gentlemen after looking over the sentimental back of TVA decided to take no further chances with the public temper. If ever a bunch was pushed into a decision against its will, it was the reactionary majority of the court in this instance.

From this it by no means follows as The Times would like to have us believe that efforts to stop the court from passing on social legislation should be abandoned. The general principle on which our attack was based remains. We insist that regardless of the court's decision it has no right to pass on matters such as TVA, NRA and AAA. And since Roosevelt is glad enough to duck the whole question now that TVA is upheld, we will be the only party in the field this Fall that can go to bat on this all-important issue.

A Mournful Sight

Of course competently to handle this issue, as well as the utility problem requires a lot of hard mental sweating. I would hate to see the average Socialist speaker heckled either by a Constitutionalist who knows his history or a utility man who knows his electricity. That would be a mournful sight. When such a thing did happen not so long ago to an Old Guard over here in Jersey, he retorted that "Socialists were not concerned with issues, only with a new social order." Answers like this have put the Jersey Socialists where they are today, i. e. in the political underdog house.

Just so we won't end on a sour note, we are happy to print here Peggy Gillan's Ogden Nashy crack at those who are "cynically expectant" of the worst. Thanks, Comrade Gillan, for the following: "If it is a faux pas for us to express surprise at any villainy committed by the bourgeoisie, 'But merely to say 'Tut, tut, don't you know that under capitalism such things will always be?' 'If we are to be cynically expectant most of the time and blisteringly indignant only when we are out haranguing the toilers of the nation, 'How can we keep exercised and in good working order our very necessary glands controlling indignation?'"

Join The Socialist Party

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

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Wings Over Washington

As the greatest peacetime appropriation for war ever made in the United States was reported to the House, Sen. Key Pittman (D., Nev.), chairman of the Senate foreign affairs committee, and Sen. J. Hamilton Lewis (D., Ill.), denounced peace workers as being inspired by Japanese and Russian propaganda in speeches heatedly attacking the Japanese.

\$120,444,000 Jump

The war department is granted \$120,444,000 over last year's appropriation by the bill. Principal provisions are the increase of the enlisted force from 140,000 to 150,000 men, provision for the purchase of 565 new planes, increase of the national guard to a strength of 200,000, expenditure of \$8,500,000 for West Coast, Hawaii and Panama Canal Zone armaments, and expenditure of about \$7,500,000 for mechanization and modernization.

Military activities are granted \$366,374,808 which is \$8,650,702 in excess of the budget recommendations while non-military activities are accorded \$168,359,985 which is \$29,313,810 less than budget recommendations.

Because it seeks to write into government contracts provisions regarding wages and conditions of labor, the Walsh bill is denounced by the National Association of Manufacturers as a "subterfuge" and "an instrument of boycott, oppression and discrimination."

43% Cut Wages

The manufacturers' statement was issued following study by a House sub-committee of the number of firms adhering to NRA standards of labor conditions. Data supplied to the committee, which announced hearings on the Walsh bill will be held shortly, showed that of 3,507 firms filling government contracts, 43% reduced wages and 37% have increased hours since outlawing of the NRA. Of those reducing wages, 19% installed cuts of over 10%, the committee was told.

Washington rejoices. The dog of the wife of the treasurer of the Democratic national committee has been acquitted of the charge of being vicious. Corporation counsel defended the dog. Appeal of the case to the Supreme Court has not been announced.

Picket Convicted Of 'Libel' When He Attacks Relief

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — Jess Bradford, unemployed Workers' Alliance member, will appear in Circuit Court here this week to appeal a conviction of "libel," of which he was found guilty when he picketed a relief station bearing a sign "Chief Pitcock is trying to drive us out to starve."

After having received relief for 18 months, Bradford's hope of being able to support himself and his family by working in the cotton fields, was dashed to the ground when the weather became so bad his crop spoiled, and he could not complete his "share-crop." Relief officials then told him that funds were exhausted, and suggested he go to Little Rock. There the County Jail was his answer when he asked for bread.

After having been refused relief Bradford picketed the relief station with his wife and chil-

CORA D. SLUDER

The Morningside Heights Branch expresses its deep sorrow at the sudden death, on February 10, 1936, of its faithful and loyal comrade, Cora D. Sluder.

Program Discussion:

Practical Problems

By Charles R. Rogers, Indianapolis, Ind.

The Draft Program acclaims a workers' and farmers' state which would make an immediate transition to a workers' republic. This is echoed in David Paul's statement in his column: a couple of weeks back that we do not have time to conquer the capitalist class step by step, through housing reforms, etc. Now, to be realistic, I want to ask how the mayor of Bridgeport, Reading, or Milwaukee could follow out the Draft Program, or, let us go a step further, let us place McLevy, Stump, and Hoan in the governor's offices in their respective states—what could they do to follow out the program?

Not a thing, and every revolutionary Socialist knows it. They could go very far toward state ownership of industry and the organization of mass support to make state courts play ball. But setting up a workers' and farmers' state government is an utter impossibility.

How Near Is Revolution?

Of course the revolutionary swears that his trump is a genuine revolution and that the masses can be prepared for it. In the same breath he denies that as long as political action is possible will he make resort to revolutionary weapons—unless the masses become ready for revolutionary action.

The profound faith which he exhibits in this possibility is as interesting as it is tragic. He overlooks the fate of the wobblies, the debacle of the communists, the capitalistic environment and ideals of the union and farmer organizations on which he stakes his hopes.

Recently our blonde Adonis, Governor McNutt, sent troops against the women shirtmakers of Jeffersonville. What could the Socialist organizations do under the circumstances except protest and arouse public opposition? What could the Sinn Fein in Ireland have done in a similar case? Genuine revolutionists operating underground could have done plenty!

You cannot operate a legal political party on a revolutionary basis. You can pretend—but the pretence fools no one, least of all, the enemy.

Any legal political party, workingclass or capitalist, must play the game, must capitalize its enemies' mistakes, must be opportunist enough to seize its opportunities. The Indiana state committee, for example, injects our people into the Terre Haute martial law situation to make the Socialist Party a living, vital workingclass force in that community.

The Socialist Party, independently, or federated in a larger workingclass party, has a long fight ahead to secure its aims. It must have room to maneuver so that the struggles of the masses for better conditions may be con-

verted into Socialist education. For, sad though it is, the bulk of the workers still are hoping for better wages, or grants of bonuses or pensions, as the solution of their problems. They have a long road to travel before they will accept "production for use" as the way out.

The solicitude of the revolutionary for the trade unions and the sharecroppers, their willingness to take the picket line for the tiny demands of the organized workers is a tender tribute to reformist tactics. However it is to their credit that they ask no guaranties from the unions as to ultimate goals, and are content to give assistance simply because they are workingclass organizations at grip with the enemy.

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We Need Plain Talk

Wouldn't it be a good thing for all of us to stop worrying about the "road to Socialism" and replace this gabbling about tactics with an attempt to express the desires of the masses? They are the ultimate court of appeal. Certainly, present day trade-union and farmer bodies, as a rule, are far from dependable in halting fascism. Here in Indiana one of the "big shots" in the Indiana farmers federation is Lieutenant-Governor to Dictator McNutt, and his heir-apparent. On the other hand the officials of the State Federation of Labor are up to their eyes in Democratic politics and have done everything possible to prevent criticism of the Governor. Isn't the same thing true of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and so on?

By no stretch of imagination or strategy can we circumvent the hard grind of organization and training necessary to overcome capitalism. Developing the skeleton of a party organization is not a process of magic. Nor is there any balm in the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party. I ran for a state office on a Farmer-Labor ticket in 1920 sponsored by the Indiana Federation of Labor. We got less votes than the Socialists. The masses weren't sold on the project. They aren't yet.

If we'll work, take advantage of the breaks, unceasingly point out the short-comings of capitalist economy and politics, and build up workingclass auxiliaries, in a comparatively short time we'll again have influence.

I do not mean that the menace of fascism should be discounted. We should work earnestly to arouse the country to its danger.

NEXT WEEK!

The CALL will begin to publish the resolutions considered by the conference held last week in New York on party program and organization.

Socialists Are Active On Three-Fold Front

By JACK ALTMAN Executive Secretary, Local New York

Party activity goes on from day to day, gaining momentum constantly. The work involved in getting signatures for the primary petitions is practically done and the canvassers report an overwhelming sentiment of loyalty for the Socialist Party of the United States among the enrolled Socialist voters. Constructive campaign work is the order of the day for New York Socialists.

While the branches in their localities run regular meetings and forums, large public events on a city-wide scale loom on the horizon. The first of these is a huge mass meeting on the subject of the Soviet Union, with Meta Berger, wife of the late Socialist Congressman; Reinhold Niebuhr, of Union Theological Seminary; and Joseph Breslaw, vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, as the principal speakers. The meeting will be held on March 18.

A theatre party has also been arranged by the city organization, to run for three nights, March 26-27-28. The enthusiasm of the party membership is brimming over so that a one-night theatre party is not sufficient. For the first time in party history, three successive dates have been taken. Large audiences will see "Sons of Rome," the new play to be put on by the Theatre Union.

May Day Dinner In addition to the May Day demonstration, May 1 will be celebrated by a party dinner at the Manhattan Odd Fellows Hall, with \$1.00 as the cost per plate. The May Day Dinner will be the occasion for the award of a large red banner to the party branch which wins the membership drive contest. Competition is hot and furious and new membership applications are pouring in from the branches.

With all committees functioning smoothly party influence is being

But we should not let this spectre frighten us so much that we abandon normal development of the party.

revived in the city as a force in the labor movement, in unemployed work and as an educational power. Space does not permit a detailed report such as a sixteen-page New York edition of the CALL will soon make possible.

Party members must bear in mind the three dates: (1) the Meta Berger-Reinhold Niebuhr-Joseph Breslaw symposium on Russia on March 18; (2) the Theatre Party on March 26-7-8; and (3) the May Day Dinner.

Socialists Keep Out Of New Spanish Gov't

MADRID — After leading the Spanish Peoples' Front to an electoral victory over the reactionary forces, the Socialist Party refrained from entering the Azana government, preferring to remain free to pursue its own policies. Spanish Socialists do not intend to enter the government until they can take control and bring about a Socialist revolution.

The radical bloc of Socialists, republicans, communists, and syndicalists have won a majority of the seats in the Cortes and have brought about the prompt release of the political prisoners who were jailed as a result of the October 1934 uprising and earlier activities. Great rejoicing on the part of the people followed the opening of the prison gates.

Manuel Azana, republican leader, has selected his cabinet, which has already ordered the reinstatement of workers discharged from their positions because of their participation in the October revolt. More than half a million Spanish workers are involved. In line with the platform of the radical bloc, they are to receive six months back pay.

The election victory is still arousing wild demonstrations of enthusiasm among the masses. Socialist headquarters closed down by the reactionary government are being reopened with great celebrations.

In announcing the refusal of the Socialists to enter the Azana cabinet, Francisco Largo Caballero and other party leaders made it plain that they were not going to repeat the errors of other Socialist parties.

STARS AND STRIPES



American Olympic team marching at opening ceremonies, bearing Stars and Stripes aloft (See

Letters, Page 6) in Nazi-land. Attempts in U. S. to boycott winter olympics failed, but

enough fights developed in the sports contests to make the affair look like international war.

Primary Frauds Fail To Block Socialists

NEW YORK.—With almost all of the primary petitions filled in support of the party designations for the county and state committees and national convention delegates, canvassers report that a campaign of misrepresentation and fraud has been waged in New York against the Socialist Party of the United States.

A group now outside the Socialist Party, commonly known as the Old Guard, has attempted to gain control of the party designations by misrepresenting the facts. Hired canvassers used by this group have indulged in three types of fraudulent representations.

First, they have told enrolled Socialists that the signing of petitions has nothing to do with party control. Voters who wished to support the Socialist Party of the United States were told that their signatures were merely a formality to assure the party's place on the ballot.

Second, they have used Norman Thomas' name to induce voters to sign their petitions, stating that they represented the Socialist Party of the United States of which Norman Thomas is a member.

Third, they have used the names of prominent party members as their candidates for county committee but have designated persons opposed to the party for the more important state committee and national convention delegates. Willing to sacrifice county committee designations, they have thus attempted to delude persons into signing their other petitions.

Record Clear

In addition, a member of that group, Herbert Merrill, sent a letter to the various boards of election officials, including Harry W. Laidler, Lewi Tonks and Jack Altman, have no standing and are "not entitled to any consideration from your Board."

In spite of the frauds, the enrolled voters have been vigilant



META BERGER

Mrs. Victor L. Berger, of Milwaukee, who will address New York Socialists on March 18 at a symposium on Soviet Russia. Mrs. Berger returned recently from a trip to the Soviet Union.

and have kept the record clear by supporting the designees of the party. The only way now open to the Old Guard to keep the Socialist designees off the primary ballot will be by a court fight in which they cannot hope to succeed, having no official standing in the party, being a minority of the membership, in addition to the fact that the enrolled voters have demonstrated by their signatures their support of the Party's candidates.

Party Stronger

The Party will emerge from the primaries stronger than in any other year. In New York City every congressional and assembly district has its requisite number of signatures already for state committee and national convention delegates. Almost all of the petitions for the county committee delegates are filled. In up-state New York, the party will have candidates for the state committee in districts where none have ever been run before due to the neglect of the Old Guard administration. Real organization, carried out by the new state committee appointed by the national executive committee, has brought results already.

The sentiment of the voters is overwhelmingly for the party. The party membership has been active and vigorous in the preliminary primary campaign. New enthusiasm among party members and Socialist sympathizers has been the result of the national executive committee's decisive settlement of the party situation. The primary elections on April 2 will be a victory for the revitalized Socialist party of New York.

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COMING EVENTS

Friday, February 28

Norman Thomas, interviewed by Book-Carter over Columbia Broadcasting System (WABC) on "Broadcasting and the American Public" at 10:45 p. m.
Ludwig Lore on "The Decline of Fascism" at the Forum, Hotel Newton, 2523 Broadway, between 94-95th Streets, at 8:30 p. m. Auspices Upper West Side and 11 A. D. branches.

Debate, "Is Mussolini Right?" Affirmative, U. Tarangelo; Negative, Paul Ramier. Auspices Bellamy League, 107 McDougal Street, at 8:30 p. m.

Social of Jackson Heights branch. Motion pictures and refreshments. At 92-44 52nd Avenue, Elmhurst, at 8 p. m.

Saturday, February 29

Package party and dance of 4-14 A. P. Branch, Kings, at 106 Marcy Avenue Brooklyn. Admission 25 cents.

Leap-year card party and social of Village Branch, 107 MacDougal Street, Admission 25 cents.

Leap-year dinner of 21 A. D. Kings at 966 Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn. Al Levy, master of ceremonies. See Gwen Lurie for details. Admission 49 cents.

Dutch Supper and Dance of 18 A. D. Branch 1 at 1140 E. Parkway. Admission 29 cents.

Housewarming party of East Side Branch at 133 Second Avenue. Refreshments and Dancing. Admission 25 cents; Yipsels 15 cents.

Leap-year dance of Circle 3 Sr. Kings at 2027-71st Street, Brooklyn. Admission 15 cents.

Sunday, March 1

Antonio Reina on "Fascism Defeated—The Story of the Spanish Socialist Party" at the Village Forum of the Village Branch, 107 McDougal Street at 8:30 p. m.

Sunday, March 1

Max Nomad on "Revolution by Slander" at Modern Monthly, 47 E. 21st Street, at 3 p. m. Dancing and refreshments. Admission 25 cents.

Wednesday, March 4

Mass meeting to celebrate Spanish victory, arranged by Spanish Branch and other organizations, at Park Palace, 110th Street and 5th Avenue, with Spanish and English speakers, at 8 p. m.

Socialists Meet, Condemn Foes

(Continued from Page Two)

fight for Socialism and we will be content with nothing less."

Communications from various branches and party units that could not send representatives were received, including one from Local Rochester, N. Y., which the Old Guard New Leader claims is disloyal to the Socialist Party of the United States. Actually, as the letter revealed, out of sixty-odd members on the local's books only four had left the Party to go with the Old Guard.

Various party units throughout the rest of the country also passed resolutions supporting the action of the national executive committee. These included among others the Ohio state executive committee; Local Glasgow, Montana; the Paterson, N. J., Central Branch; the Hartford, Conn., Local; Italian Socialist Branch, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Local Marlboro, Mass.; the Germantown, Pa., Branch; North Philadelphia, Pa., Branch; and the Cumberland County, Portland, Maine, Local.

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Hochman to Address First CALL Dinner

NEW YORK—Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dressmakers' Joint Board, will be one of the featured speakers at the First Anniversary Dinner



JULIUS HOCHMAN

of the Socialist Call on Sunday evening March 22.

Already a large number of reservations have been received for the banquet, which will be held at the Central Plaza, 111 Second Avenue. The topic of the evening, which Hochman and the other speakers will discuss, is: "American Labor Faces the Future."

Hochman, as a Socialist and labor leader, is well qualified to discuss this topic. As head of 105,000 dressmakers, Hochman led his Union to victory last week when it won its major demands from employer associations under threat of a strike.

AFL Delegate

Hochman is a vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and was a delegate to the 1935 Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor. At the convention he was one of the leaders of the progressive forces and introduced the resolution calling for Federal investigation and outlawing of strikebreaking detective agencies.

After the convention, Hochman wrote an article for the Nation, entitled "High Tide at Atlantic City," in which he stated that the future of the American labor movement belongs to the industrial union forces provided they continue to increase their strength as rapidly as they have done in the past two years.

The other speakers will be announced in forthcoming issues.

The committee arranging the dinner has announced that it will start promptly and that the service will be of the best. The committee urges all groups and individuals to reserve tables now and avoid the rush. Tickets are \$1.50 per plate.

YPSL REBEL DANCE

The 23rd annual Rebel Dance of the Greater New York Federation of the YPSL takes place at the Hotel Deland on Saturday, March 7th. From all indications this year's event promises to be the most outstanding affair, with a string of top notch entertainers on the program.

Featured for the evening are the irresistible clowns of Mirth, McNathan and O'Levy, in a style all by themselves, Rebel Arts Drama Group in a sidesplitting presentation, as well as some outstanding Broadway personalities. Tickets which sell at only 49c are available at the YPSL office, 21 E. 17th Street.

RED FALCONS

A training course for Socialists interested in children's work will be given by the Call Institute in conjunction with the Red Falcons. The classes will meet every Thursday evening for two hours, beginning March 5.

Lou Hay and Agnes Martocci will give courses that include child psychology and problems of Falcon guides. Special lectures will be heard on story-telling, dramatics, posters, woodcraft and other children's activities. Persons interested should register at once.

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BOOKS, by Bruno Fischer

Foods and Drugs— Another Boss Racket

"American Chamber of Horrors," by Ruth deForest Lamb (Farrar & Rinehart, \$2.50), is the latest expose of how the public is poisoned, deluded and robbed by manufacturers of foods and drugs. Except that this book has something of an official government aura about it; for Miss Lamb was Chief Educational Officer of the Food and Drug Administration, and she is less concerned with warning consumers of poisons than with making out a case for a strong food and drug act to replace the present weak and ineffectual one. She makes out an excellent case.

"Chamber of Horrors" was the name given to the exhibit set up

by the Bureau of Chemistry of nostrums and poisons against which the Food and Drug Administration is powerless to move. Here was shown Koremlu, a poisonous depilatory selling for \$10 a jar which caused blindness to users; Lash-Lure, an eye-lash dye which made users blind; Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, which, containing 18 per cent alcohol, has its largest sale in the dry state of Kansas and is good for nothing so much as overcoming a state of sobriety; Bromo-Seltzer, a habit-forming dope; Fleischmann's Yeast, one of the major rackets.

78 Inspectors

The list is endless, and the government leaves its hands tied. The present act, which Dr. Harvey W. Wiley managed to force through Congress nearly three decades ago, is concerned only with fraudulent labeling of packages and does not even pretend to exercise control over claims made in advertisements. Innocuous drugs like Vapo-Rub or Listerine, for example, may claim all the curative powers in the world and get away with it as long as they are not stated on the package or jar.

Only 78 food inspectors must supervise the entire country to see that the apples you eat are not covered with sufficient arsenic residues—sprayed on trees by the planters to kill insects, but seriously undermining your health or killing you; to attempt to keep the cream from which butter is made free of rats, worms, filth, and anything else nasty you can think of; to ascertain if the products you buy approximate what you have paid good money for. Their efforts have not been, and under the circumstances cannot be, very successful.

Pressure Groups

The Tugwell Bill, introduced nearly three years ago by Senator Royal S. Copeland, has not yet passed. If it does, which seems unlikely, it will be so emasculated by amendments as to be practically useless. The pressure against the bill from quack medicine societies, manufacturers, advertising agencies, newspapers, women's

BOOKS RECEIVED

SWEDEN—THE MIDDLE WAY OUT, by Marquis W. Childs, Yale University Press, \$2.50.
THE BANANA EMPIRE, by Charles D. Kepner, Jr., and Jay H. Southill, Vanguard, \$2.50.
WHAT IS COMMUNISM, by Earl Browder, Vanguard, \$2.50.
AGE BEFORE BOOTY, by Morgan J. Dorman, G. B. Putnam's Sons, \$1.00.
RULERS OF AMERICA, by Anna Rochester, International (Book Union selection), \$2.50.

magazines, has been tremendous—sufficient to put off action on the bill from year to year.

And this, remember, is only the "Tugwell Bill," at best inadequate and sponsored by a Senator who himself is something of a medical quack!

It seems to be pretty obvious that the consumer can't get a break under capitalism any more than can the producer:

The clearest and most definitive statement of the Socialist position on war is Gus Tyler's pamphlet, "Youth Fights War!" published by the Young People's Socialist League (21 E. 17th St., N. Y. C., 5c). Gus Tyler writes in his usual logical and brilliant manner. I wish this pamphlet could reach the millions of young people, and people not so young.

Another first issue of a publication to reach my desk is the "Progressive Unionist," which is published by the Council of the Needle Trades Progressive Groups (37 E. 18th St., NYC). It is an eight-page paper, half in English and half in Yiddish. The leading article, which deals with how the dressmakers organized through a series of militant general strikes, is by Murray Gross of Local 22, ILGWU, and labor secretary of Local New York of the Socialist Party. The eighteen-point program of the council, which is printed on the first page, is one with which every Socialist ought to be wholeheartedly in accord.

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put to work on the same jobs at 30c an hour."

Because synthetic enamel is now used instead of duco, the fender, hood and radiator department of the Plymouth plant has closed down. Twelve men now do the work formerly done by approximately 225 workers. Speed-up and wage cuts are creating tension that will inevitably result in bigger and better strikes.

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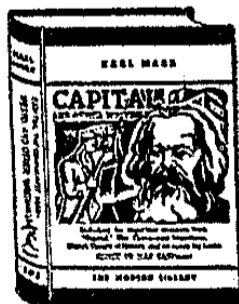
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WRITE FOR CATALOGUE

Scene from 'Sons of Rome'

Local New York of the Socialist Party, has taken the three pre-opening night performances, March 26-27-28 of the forthcoming Theatre Union's production "Sons of Rome" by Victor Wolfson, based on the anti-fascist novel "Fontamara" by Ignazio Silone. Much of the charm and simplicity of Silone's book has been captured by Wolfson in his stage adaptation. We give here a scene from the first act.

(The peasants of Fontamara have been tricked into attending a meeting to greet Il Duce on the pretext that they would have their lands returned, taxes reduced and water rights restored.)

Trooper: Here! Don't move! Stand right there! Don't make a step. (They stand bewildered. The trooper goes up to them) What is this? Do you think this a carnival? Where are you from?

Berardo: Fontamara.

A farmer from Sulmona: Hello, Berardo.

Berardo: Hello, Papasisto. (There is a moment of general greeting between Sulmonans and Fontamarans.)

Trooper: Here! Stop this! Stop this at once! (The Fontamarans stand quietly.)

What's that thing you're carrying?

Zompa: That? They told us to carry a banner. This is the Fontamara banner. We took it from our church. It's the banner of San Rocco.

Trooper: Oh, it is. Where have you blockheads been living anyway? You're as bad as those Sulmonans there! Take it away from them.

Berardo: Why?

Trooper: Shut up! Take that rag away from here.

Berardo: Wait a minute now. (The Fontamarans mass together to protect their flag, the Troopers stand confused.)

Trooper: (Screaming) Do you hear me? Take it away from them.

(The troopers approach the Fontamarans timidly. There is a feeble tussle. The other farmers in the square cheer. Suddenly Father Don Abbachio appears.)

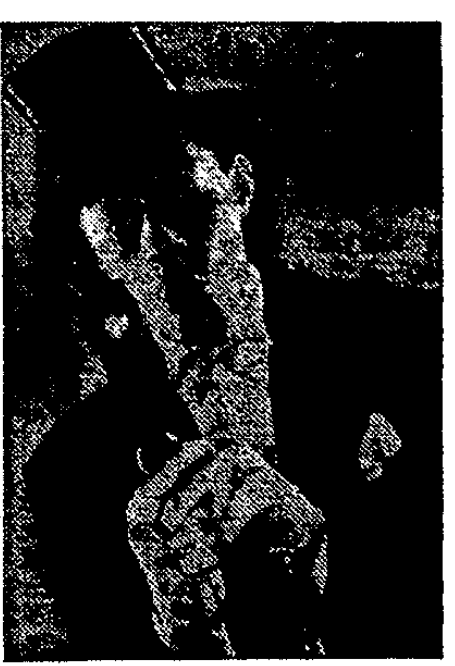
Don Abbachio: What is this? You can be heard clear across the square. Stop it. Stop it at once. What are you Fontamarans doing anyway? How do you expect us to reach an agreement between Church and State if you carry on this way?

Teofilo: It's our church banner, Father Abbachio, they want to take it from us.

Don Abbachio: Let them.

Teofilo: Let them take away our banner?

Don Abbachio: Can't you hear?



CAB CALLOWAY

Cab Calloway and his Cotton Club orchestra will appear at St. Nicholas Palace April 18 for the benefit dance of the People's Bookshop.

CALL BOARD

The Theatre of Action brings Crime to the Civic Rep. for a one-night stand March 1—A new one-acter by Paul Peters The Little Green Bundle will be on the same program... Samuel Schwartz will play Mendelssohn's Concerto in E Minor at the IWO Concert... Searching for the Sun closed last Saturday much to the regret of this column. This was one show dealing with "the unpossessed and disinherited" that merited better lines from the critics.

"Rif Raff's" scheduled for Loew's Kings in Brooklyn. The Flatbush Socialist Branch is organizing a picket line for Friday night—All out on the line...

Teofilo: As sexton of our church, Father Abbachio, I must protect the property—

Don Abbachio: (to the troopers) Take it away, I say. Don't stand there like stuffed birds. (The troopers take away the banner.) Now get them the official flag. (They are handed a small black flag of skull and crossbones.) When will you Fontamarans ever learn. When?

(An official speeds across the stage on a bicycle. He stops suddenly, whispers in the trooper's ear and goes off. The band starts blaring.)

Trooper: (shouting) All right! Everybody! Attention! Sing the anthem! Ready.

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"Don't Get Personal"

DON'T GET PERSONAL, with James Dunn and Sally Eilers. Directed by William Nigh. A Universal Picture. At the Roxy.

Credit is given for the story of "Don't Get Personal" to William Thiele and Edmund Hartmann; the screen play is ascribed to George Wagner, Marx and Houston Banc. Why the five gentlemen are so honored, this deponent declares not.

It is one of those pictures that Hollywood is able to turn out by the dozen—and does! It concerns the adventures of James Dunn, a poor but honest young college graduate, and how he fell in love with Sally Eilers, who is the daughter of the very wealthy Van Ranesealer family but is none the less human. Strangely enough, although Miss Eilers is affianced to Freddie (George Meeker), who is somewhat of a sneaky villain, she reciprocates Mr. Dunn's affections.

But because they come from different sets, they are determined not to tell each other of their love and so they fight like anything. But about halfway through the picture, they nearly succumb. From then on, it's a merry-go-round until the last reel, which pictures Miss Eilers getting married out of spite to Freddie. But, "like young Lochinvar out of the west," (the line is actually used in the picture!) Mr. Dunn sweeps aside all obstacles in one fell swoop and carries the bride off.

The dialogue is witty, now and then; the acting is what you might expect; and conscious comic relief is supplied by "Pinky" Tomlin, whose previous claim to fame was composing "The Object of My Affection."

—J. W.

CALL ILLINOIS CONVENTION
BLOOMINGTON, Ill. — Illinois State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meeting here on February 1st issued the call for the Illinois State Nominating Convention for April 3, 4 and 5 in Peoria. Branches were instructed to make their nominations for the 14 Illinois delegates to the national convention by February 29.

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MURDERER



All bribes failed when Meyer Luckman and two others were convicted in Brooklyn of garage murder of Samuel Druksman.

WPA to Increase Maids for Morgan

WASHINGTON (FP)—Apparently WPA has taken the J. P. Morgan remark about families with maids and the leisure class seriously.

Announcement that household training for women on relief rolls will be started by the WPA in 21 states through an allotment of \$500,000 of federal funds was made shortly after the great financier, speaking extemporaneously here recently, told reporters that the leisure class consists of every family able to employ a maid.

The program announced by the WPA contemplates the training of approximately 7,600 girls. They will be registered in eight-week courses which will presumably fit them for work as general household employees, cooks, nurse maids, or second maids.

It is believed that the training program will alter considerably tea table talk of fashionable

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AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

WILLIAM GREEN'S letter to local and state federations against the Committee on Industrial Organization is the kind of ultimatum which means that the Executive Council of the AFL is determined upon war to the finish. Now a warning concerning the limits within which the CIO might function without being disloyal and disruptive might be in order. But no one can view the labor scene in America, especially in the heavy industry centers of the Middle West, without realizing that what CIO stands for is the one hope for organization and for vigor in the American labor movement. Simply to crush it in the interest of the power, prestige, and per capita receipts of the craft union leaders who dominate the AFL is to pass a sentence of death upon all our hopes of using a vigorous, inclusive labor movement against exploitation and for the cooperative commonwealth here in America.

JOHN L. LEWIS AND THE MINERS

Socialist loyalty to the principle of industrial unionism and the support of Socialists in the unions for the CIO is entirely consistent with constructive criticism. It certainly does not require us, because we welcome the vigorous leadership of John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers, to indulge in an exaggerated hero worship of Lewis as a demigod. Mr. Lewis is offering a very different leadership than he did a few years ago, but he is still John L. Lewis. He hurt, not helped, the cause of labor democracy, and weakened, not strengthened, himself in the struggle for the CIO when he defeated a reasonable movement for autonomy in the UMWA and kept the right to appoint district presidents.

The UMWA Convention was on the whole an encouraging affair. Its enthusiastic endorsement of Roosevelt is a fact on which we have to reckon. It is, as I have previously said, evidence of the unwisdom of trying to act at this moment to bring about a farmer-labor party. But fifty million Frenchmen can be wrong, and so can five hundred miners or their representatives. If these numbers can decide what is right New York Socialists ought to have got into Tammany Hall long ago. Socialists who have criticized some of the Old Guard for an indiscriminate and obsequious support of old line leadership don't mend matters by suddenly giving the same kind of support to John Lewis. Such support is not necessary to frank and friendly cooperation in the struggle for industrial unionism.

THE OLD PARTIES AND LABOR

Every week that passes and every state I visit make it clearer to me that psychologically the presidential campaign between Republicans and Democrats will take on the quality of a class struggle not warranted by the facts. At most what you will get will be a struggle between two points of view about the way to save capitalism and about the concessions that must be made to the farmers, the workers and the unemployed in order to save capitalism. Even this struggle will not be clear. The Republican platform will probably be a masterpiece of evasion in order to give the party a chance in the farming states of the Middle West. The Democratic platform, interpreted in the light of Democratic performance, will be about equally evasive. Roosevelt is now cutting relief to a dangerous low. He is now following a program of armament and a general attitude on foreign affairs quite as bad as any Republican. One of his staunchest supporters, Senator Key Pittman of Nevada, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, made an inexcusably jingoistic speech against Japan. He, who is one of the principal authors of the silver purchase plan which has all but ruined China, wept crocodile tears for the Chinese. Days have passed and Roosevelt neither directly nor indirectly has rebuked Mr. Pittman.

A letter from Arkansas brings the sorry news that the Roosevelt Administration has gone completely back on its half promise to do something definite and positive for the evicted, hounded, and persecuted members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. After all, they don't have the political strength of the planters and the Senators who represent them.

Under all these circumstances labor's support for Roosevelt is a sign of weakness rather than of strength. It is the action of a class which still thinks it has to

seek favors rather than demand rights. It is likely to prove to be pretty much on a plane with American support of Wilson in 1926 because he kept us out of war and German support of Hindenburg to beat Hitler. It will be interesting to see what the erstwhile Socialist New Dealers who write for Forward and the New Leader will have to say on this subject.

THE VICTORY IN SPAIN

The workers of the world are to be congratulated on the impressive victory of the left coalition in the Spanish elections. Once more it is clear that Spanish affairs since the establishment of the Republic are following a pattern of their own. The Spanish reaction fell short of well integrated and well established Fascism. It dared not refuse an election. And it lost. We wait eagerly to see the next steps. Here in the Middle West meager accounts would indicate that the only interest of the left is to burn Catholic churches. It is unfortunate that any basis at all should exist for this iniquitous misrepresentation of a fundamental struggle for the emancipation of the workers.

THE TVA DECISION

At first I rejoiced because I thought that the TVA decision not only saved TVA but proved the Socialist contention that under our Constitution it would be easier to establish effective government ownership than effective government regulation. I still hope that this may be the case. But there are two bad aspects of the Supreme Court's decision. First, it seems to be giving a false sense of security, thereby weakening the demand for a Constitutional Amendment. Second, the decision itself is a masterpiece of legal unreality. The Court held that because the Tennessee River is legally navigable—practically it is not to any considerable extent—and because Congress began operations on the Tennessee in order to provide nitrates for war, which is the legitimate business of Congress, therefore Congress can set up TVA to sell surplus power.

The general issue of government in the field of business was

not settled. This may be good legal tactics but it is ridiculous nevertheless. Everybody knows that the real business of TVA has nothing to do with navigation along the Tennessee and little to do with producing nitrates for war purposes. To deduce the power of Congress to act for the sale of surplus power from its right to control navigation is like deducing the dog from its tail. What we need is the Workers' Rights Amendment. This Amendment, be it noted, would leave untouched the power of the Court to protect human rights, as it notably did on the very day of the TVA decision by its decision reversing the verdict against certain Mississippi Negroes on the basis of confessions extorted by torture.

Consumers' Cooperation

By **BENJAMIN WOLF**

Socialists will some day acknowledge their debt to the American cooperative movement for carrying on Socialist propaganda work among the farmers and townspeople of the Middle West.

This column has, on several occasions, accused the leaders of the cooperative movement of setting up consumers cooperation as an alternative to Socialism instead of an integral part of it, thereby weakening the working class front. Fortunately, there are some cooperative leaders who see their movement from a better perspective than their fellows. If these leaders are not already Socialists they are very sympathetic, and in their newspapers we can find evidence of good Socialist propaganda and clear social thinking.

For example, Oscar Cooley, writing in the February 1 issue of the Cooperative Builder, official organ of the Northern and Central States Cooperative Leagues, discusses what he terms the "politics dragon." Although he believes the co-ops should be structurally non-political, he points out that the "cooperative movement . . . is one sector on the working-class front, the other sectors being Socialism and Trade Unionism. (Marketing cooperatives are the trade unions of the farmers). The function of the trade unions is to protect the incomes of the workers; the function of the consumers' co-ops is to protect the workers' purchasing power . . . the function of Socialism is to place the workers in democratic control of the State, repel the tyrant, and make the State a power for the good of all society, not for the enrichment of a few."

The three sectors, he maintains, remain independent but establish friendly and mutually helpful relations, the members of each be-

PICKET RIFF RAFF

NEW YORK (FP)—Pickets outside and impromptu speakers inside movie houses harried managers of units of the Loew's, Inc., chain as showings of "Riff-Raff" opened in neighborhood sections of New York.

Though cops rounded up demonstrators from some 40 unions who picketed the film for its anti-labor character, they had more trouble with members of the audience who delivered 8 and 10-minute speeches from their seats as the picture flashed on the screen. Demands by Vice-President Jacob Feinberg of Local 802, American Federation of Musicians, previous to the showings that anti-labor portions be deleted, were answered by a field manager's statement that "if you do that there won't be any picture left."

coming the members and supporters of the other two.

Cooley also hits at the blind prejudice against radicalism. "Cooperation," he says, "in itself is a radical movement, going to the very root of our social order and rebuilding it completely. No movement, economic or political, has better claim to the good word 'radical' than has cooperation."

Another example is an attempt to establish a more friendly attitude toward the Socialist Party. The *Farmers' Union Herald*, January issue, contains an editorial entitled "Socialists Win Victories" in which the writer hails the Socialist victories in Milwaukee, Bridgeport, Reading, Olean and Toledo as signs of the times, and predicts that the only third party of any consequence in 1936 will be the Socialist Party. It is entirely possible, the editorial goes on to say, that by 1940 the Socialist Party will have saved the proponents of a third party the trouble of organizing a new party. These are not isolated instances.

Many cooperative newspapers are dotted with resolutions from local co-ops denouncing war and fascism, Hearst, capitalism, the profit system, imperialism and jingo nationalism.

And when you find a farmers' paper like the *Farmers' Union Herald* editorially condemning "any program of so-called farm relief which artificially raises the price of farm products" as a "tax on consumers" and asserting the only real and lasting progress made for farm relief is the progress of the cooperatives, you cannot help feeling that Socialists will go into the cooperative movement with much of the ground work already done for them.

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 annulled by this article, but no such legislation shall conflict or be in conflict with any Act of Congress under this Article.

CABBIES HAPPY, MUSSOLINI SAD



Old-line cabbies are jubilant as Mussolini orders horse-drawn victorias to replace taxis in an effort to conserve gasoline. Altho the League of Nations is proceeding cautiously about imposing sanctions on Italy, the huge cost of war has already been felt in Rome, and Mussolini wants to be prepared for any eventuality.