

AT THE FRONT

by

Norman Thomas

This tyrannical raid of Mussolini against Abyssinia or Ethiopia admits of no defense. It is hard to see why a sane dictator should undertake this. It has been claimed that there is mineral wealth in Abyssinia worth the struggle but even that seems doubtful.



Apparently Mussolini has reached the point to which dictators so often come when the logic of his own position requires him to get prestige out of victory. He takes a weak nation which many years ago inflicted an ignominious defeat of Italian imperialist arms. The hope is that the cost if not the actual failure of this freebooting bit of imperialism on the part of Dictator Mussolini will shake his power at home to his downfall.

Of course the papers, all of which are controlled by Mussolini, report today the popularity of this war in Africa against flies, heat, disease and savage fury. One may have doubts about the popularity and still more doubts about how long it will last. We should be ready to do all in our power at the proper moment to encourage the underground forces in Italy on which we must depend for the ultimate overthrow of Fascism.

Non-Intervention

Emphatically, it is not America's business to do any military crusading in Africa. But non-intervention means non-intervention—it means specifically that we must demand that the Government absolutely stop any loans to Italy or any sales of arms or munitions of war which will help Mussolini in this piece of murder and burglary. Aside from this official act, unofficially there ought to be a popular boycott of Italian goods.

To these bits of moral and economic pressure, James Graham, president of the Montana Federation of Labor and member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, added a third recommendation, namely, that the U. S. Government put pressure on Italy for the payment of the war debt that it cannot afford to pay in spite of its being able to afford this African venture. The NEC adopted the suggestion in the full knowledge that if the popular American boycott against Italy is effective it will almost be impossible for Italy to pay her war debts, never-the-less to be reminded of it will do no harm and may do good.

All of this moral and economic pressure would be more effective if the suggestion of some American peace lovers could be carried on. That suggestion is that the United States institute a conference of the nations to find ways to abandon imperialism throughout the world. Such practitioners of imperialism as Great Britain, yes, and the United States, are not in the best position to lecture Mussolini.

The NEC Decision

What the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and the nine members of the

(Continued on page twelve)

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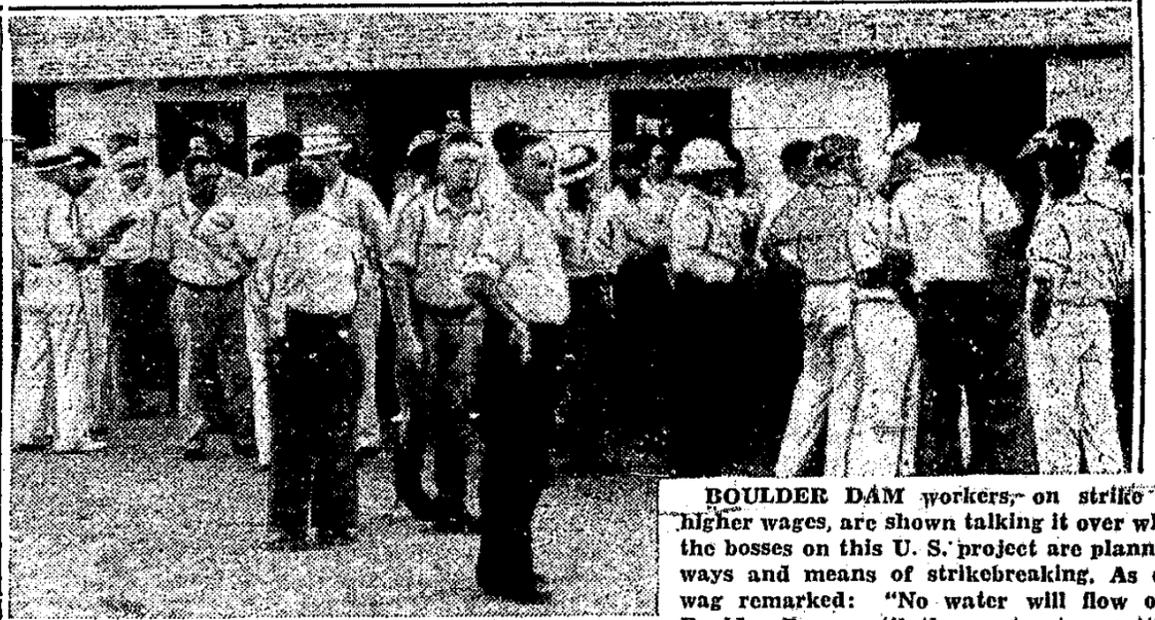
LABOR FIGHTS U. S. PLAN TO CURB STRIKES

Story On Page 2



REBELARTS FOTO: VICTOR SIDNEY BYKOFSKY

CRIMINAL ANARCHY was the charge leveled against this Young Socialist soap-boxer in the Bronx, New York.



BOULDER DAM workers, on strike for higher wages, are shown talking it over while the bosses on this U. S. project are planning ways and means of strikebreaking. As one wag remarked: "No water will flow over Boulder Dam until the contractors settle."



SOLDIER-SCABS TEAR-GAS LUMBER MEN

Hand-to-hand battles were followed by use of teargas and bayonets when militiamen in Tacoma, Wash., attacked striking lumbermen. And then—after scenes like that pictured above—the bosses and newspapers accused the strikers of using violence!

Curbing Of Strikes Is Seen As Purpose Of U.S. 'Toledo Plan'

WASHINGTON.—Labor will fight back against any attempt to limit or abridge its right to strike.

This was clearly indicated here this week when President William Green of the American Federation of Labor expressed absolute opposition to the government-sponsored "Toledo plan," aimed to stem strike waves in that city and in other awakening industrial centers of America.

Broached by Toledo open-shoppers and endorsed by high government officials, the scheme would, through a series of mediation panels, act to delay strikes long enough to ensure employer victory when called. Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward McGrady was reported among the plan's backers.

Like Labor Board
Although employers and employees would supposedly be equally represented in the panels, Green, in assailing the plan, pointed out that the labor representatives would include agents of company unions and dual unions. The plan was compared in labor circles to similar schemes of the national Automobile Labor Board which labor charged would lead to government controlled trade unions.

A second feature of the plan flayed by Green and other labor men was the long delays provided under the measure for adjudication of disputes.

Employers proposed to set up three different steps that workers would be forced to take before striking. First, they would refer disagreements to a panel consisting of employes, employers, and one representative of the federal agent as chairman. Further disagreements would be referred next to a smaller panel of one employe, one employe, and the chairman.

The dispute would then be referred to the head of the company involved and the president of the national union or "other labor organization," thus effectively cutting off any rank and file control over the whole question.

Only after all these steps had been taken would the workers be allowed to strike.

Green pointed out that such delays would play directly into employers' hands, particularly since the delays involved would completely destroy the workers' morale and would, in addition, give management an ample opportunity to build up large stocks of surplus goods in anticipation of a strike and to hire strike-breakers.

JOHN D. "UNFAIR"

SAN FRANCISCO—Organized labor is always a step ahead!

When the local oil scandal broke involving a tremendous grab on the part of Standard Oil, the Seamen's Union and the Marine Firemen and Others went along their happy way.

For Standard Oil has been on the "unfair" list of labor since the longshoremen's strike last year.

NURSES PICKET

NEW YORK — Fifteen uniformed nurses led a demonstration of more than 1,000 New York workers in a parade protesting the action of the Beth Moses Hospital in locking out 100 workers eight weeks ago for union activity.

Deflate F. D. And Huey, Too, Avers Thomas

Who's heading Norman Thomas down Louisiana way to deflate Huey Long's presidential hopes? Huey says it's Franklin D.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party made it clear to the press that Franklin D. would be as much the butt of Thomas' invasion of Louisiana as Huey himself.

Likewise the NEC pointed out that it was Huey, not Thomas, who had Roosevelt gold to wheedle votes out of the electorate.

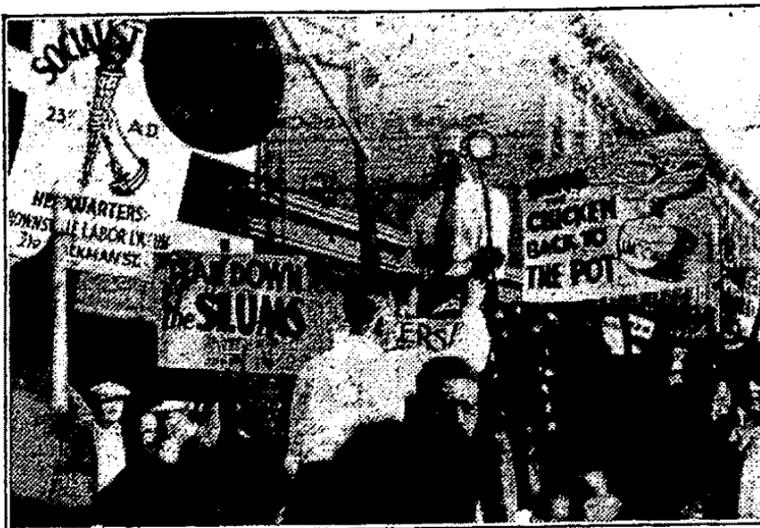
For that matter, speaking of gold, Thomas suggested, when renewing his invitation to debate Long in his own domain, that Huey furnish the sound truck. For the Kingfish has spoken, and no amount of gold will induce sound-equipment companies to rent their amplifiers to the Socialist caravan that is to travel through Louisiana.

Long's reactions to the announcement of Thomas' speaking trip indicate that he is nervous about the whole matter. If he can't keep the voters away from Thomas' meetings, it would indeed be a blow to his presidential ambitions.

But the NEC let it be known that the prime object of the Socialist caravan, which will include prominent Southern labor leaders, is neither to attack Long nor Roosevelt. Rather it is to win Louisiana workers to Socialism.

Already there are signs of dizziness from their looking first to Huey, then to Roosevelt, or both at the same time.

FIGHTING HIGH PRICES



REBELARTS FOTO: VICTOR
Lou Hay, high school director of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, addressing a Bronx demonstration against the high cost of living.

Strike Wave Answers Nazi Wage-Cutting

BERLIN.—A new wave of strikes in protest against constant wage reductions are the latest indication of working-class unrest and power, in Hitler Germany.

Government figures released here recently confirm previous unofficial reports of the decline of workers' wages. Between 1929 and 1934, the Reich's Department of Statistics has admitted, the number of workers earning more than 36 marks (about \$14) a week has dropped from 37.8 per cent to 19.6 per cent. About 25 per cent of all workers are earning weekly wages of approximately 12 marks (\$5).

Strikes—or rather "stoppages" on the job, since strikes are treason under Nazi rule—are the result. At Chemnitz, 6,000 workers in the Wanderer Motor Works recently prevented contemplated wage cuts with a successful general stoppage, and at Stuttgart, 3,000 workers at the N. S. U. Motor Works successfully fought introduction of piece rates and lengthening of hours in the same way.

Chicago Unionists Talk Labor Party

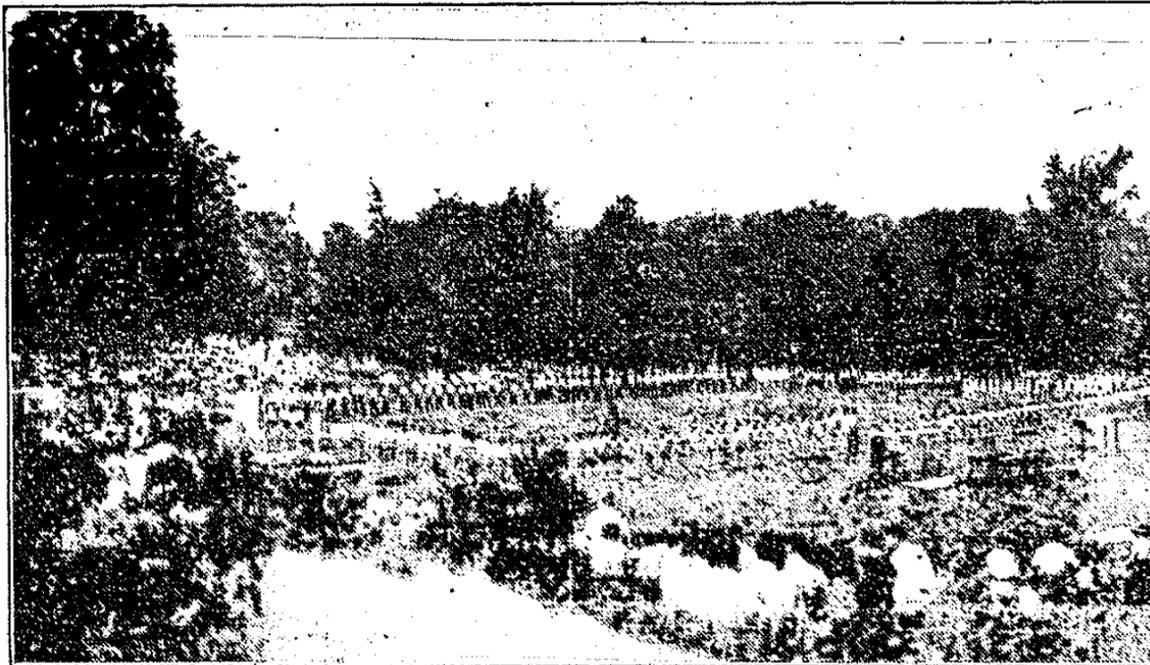
CHICAGO — Members and spokesmen of 47 unions of the Chicago Federation of Labor met in the Lathers' Union hall, Sunday, July 14, to discuss the question of a labor party. The sentiment on the part of those present was unanimously in favor of the formation of a labor party, at least for Chicago, based on the unions of the American Federation of Labor.

A continuation committee of 15 was appointed to draft a call to all Chicago labor unions for a Chicago trade union conference on a labor party. Two active Socialist trade unionists, George Meade of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, and Morris Seskind, president of the Jewish Federation of Trade Unions, are serving on the committee.

ASK AFL NEGRO PROBE

WASHINGTON.—Recommendations for regional hearings on the position of negroes in the A. F. of L. will be made at the next meeting of the executive council by the special committee appointed to study the subject by President William Green in pursuance of the instructions of the last AFL convention.

PREPARE FOR WORKERS OLYMPIAD



Here are some of the thousands of worker-athletes who are preparing for the Workers' Sport Olympiad, to be held in Cleveland in 1936.

Courtesy AMERICAN LABOR NEWS
European workers sports groups are sending teams to Cleveland in a boycott of the Hitler Olympics

LABOR IN ACTION

By JOHN HERLING

In the state of Washington the Bremerton Metal Trades Council of the A. F. of L. representing government Navy Yard workers have urged in a resolution the elimination of private profit in munitions manufacturing, "which will remove the incentive of war profiteers to provoke or aggravate war."

Six hundred striking hosiery workers of Fort Wayne, Indiana, swear not to return to the Wayne Knitting mills until the management signs an agreement with their organization, the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. Three federal conciliators have failed to bring about negotiations. The management threatens not to reopen the mills.

Three hundred women garment workers in Dallas walked out of their shop, the Haggart Mfg. Co. in protest against sweatshop conditions which resulted in twelve women workers fainting from extreme heat unrelieved by fans. The thermometer had been playing around 100 degrees. When the workers protested, Mr. Haggart replied wittily: "You don't have fans in the cotton patch."

In Minneapolis, workers at four metal plants walked out on strike, tying up factories completely. The wages of the workers, members of the International Association of Machinists, have been cut to 30 cents an hour. They demand a forty-hour week, increase in wages, time and a half for overtime, and recognition of shop committees.

The speedup in the auto industry which has resulted in greater production of cars than at any time in the last five years is expected to result in a practically complete shutdown for a month beginning the middle of August. Working conditions in the Detroit auto plants have worsened considerably.

Four hundred carpenters and steel workers walked out of the huge Boulder Dam project demanding pay for time spent in traveling eight miles from the dam to Boulder City, Nevada, where the men must live. The shutdown would have been complete, but the truck drivers refused to join the strike. Police and sheriff's deputies patrolled the streets.

Truce between the International Longshoremen's Association Texas ports and Lake Charles, Louisiana, has been extended to July 31, a further extension of fifteen days. Steamship companies refuse to grant increases in pay.

The New Orleans local of the International Association of Oil Field Gas Well & Refinery Workers has been organized.

Fifteen hundred union men of the Eastern Massachusetts Railway Company have won wage increases of 3 cents an hour, after turning down a previous offer of a penny an hour increase. The new wage is retroactive to June 1 of this year.

Threaten Huge Textile Strike For Labor Bill

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The immediate passing of the textile workers minimum wage bill or a nation-wide strike of 300,000 textile workers were the alternatives offered to the administration at the twenty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, held here last week.

The threat followed an enthusiastic reception to the proposal that labor form its own political party to represent its interests.

The keynote of the convention was struck by Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers, parent organization of the Hosiery workers union, in the opening speech. He warned of an impending general strike unless Congress approved minimum wage and maximum hour legislation for the industry.

Federation President Emil Rieve vigorously pleaded for support of the Hillquit bill as a means of overcoming judicial reaction, declaring:

"If the people find they are stopped by the Supreme Court from making any logical reforms, we must find ways to speed up amendments to our Constitution. We must amend it to give to Congress the power to regulate industry for the benefit of labor."

Backing up sentiments expressed in speeches by Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party, and Max Karitsky, president of the Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers' International Union, Rieve also asked rapid formation of a national labor party.

Krzycki advised every worker to "cut off his affiliations with the rotten politicians and help us organize and create our own party," while Zaritsky urged a new political slogan for AFL unions: "We Don't Want Friends in Congress, We Want Representatives."

Hirsam Hires Scabs, Breaks Its Contract

HAVERSTRAW, N. Y.—After having kept the entire community in a state of agitation for over a week, Samuel Hirsch, president of the Hirsam Knit Sportswear Company, carried his campaign against union working conditions one step further when he announced that he would start operations with non-union help this week.

Despite statements of President Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union that the union would be glad to have local workers employed under union conditions, Hirsch has been busy convincing local workers that the union is out to replace them by out-of-town labor. Hirsch's actions are seen here as confirming the unions' charge that Hirsch moved his company here last November solely to evade the conditions of a union contract he had signed in New York.

2-YEAR STRIKE STILL ON

NEW YORK—The International Bakers and Confectionery Workers Union and the Amalgamated Food Workers Union are carrying on a joint strike against Shapiro's Bakery at Bryant and Howe Streets, in the Bronx. Circle 11, Junior and Senior, are aiding the strikers in their two-year-old strike.

Camden, N. J., Shipbuilders marched in one body to the city hall to demand a 50% raise in relief payments. The company, working on government contracts, refuses to pay decent wages. Story on this page.



"Secret" Boss Shipyard Poll Is 100% Flop

By PHILIP VAN GELDER
CAMDEN, N. J.—In final, desperate efforts to break the two-months-old strike of 4,600 shipyard workers here, the New York Shipbuilding Corporation is trying vainly to conduct a "secret poll" among the strikers.

Foiled in his attempt to get university students to make a house-to-house canvass of the strikers last week, Major Henry F. Holthusen, New York attorney for the corporation, inaugurated a mail vote of the strikers on company proposals for a return to work. Union demands were not recognized.

A unanimous "yes" vote resulted, but no one entered the shipyards, because the union had instructed its members so to vote, in order to avoid blacklisting.

Enlist Legion
The major's latest move has been to enlist the aid of American Legion officials to conduct an "impartial" poll on the company's proposals, but this scheme was also frustrated when the union announced its intention to throw a mass picket line around the voting place to prevent balloting.

Union officials declare that no vote will be held "until the company makes an offer worth voting on" and that any vote will be taken inside the union hall.

Labor Fights To Hold 40-Hour Week

TOLEDO, Ohio—Toledo's labor movement sees another battle with the bosses just around the corner—and is getting ready for the fight.

Word has reached the city that Detroit automobile manufacturers have agreed that not a dollar's worth of business will be placed in Toledo's parts plants until the 40-hour week, won by long struggles in the past, is snatched back by the bosses.

The first test may come in the Spicer Manufacturing Co., where the present agreement expires August 1. President Danna of the company has notified shop committees that he'll fight to lengthen working hours to 48 and workers told him they'd fight just as hard to hold the present basis. One owner of a small parts plant has stated that the bosses intend to make Spicer the opening wedge in their drive.

Acquitted After 8 Months In Jail

NEW YORK—Although Harold Robins and Andrea Gras have been jailed for more than eight months, the indictment against them was dismissed last week by Judge Bohan of General Sessions. The two, who are members of the Amalgamated Food Workers' Union, had previously been convicted of an alleged assault upon a scab chef in the hotel strike, and were given sentences ranging from one to four years.

The case was appealed by Abraham Abramovitz of the Socialist Lawyers' Association and Louis Glickhouse to Judge Bohan, after an application to Judge Valente for a certificate of reasonable doubt was denied on August 9, 1934. A special committee created by the Provisional Committee for non-partisan labor defense and supported by the labor unions was instrumental in raising funds to carry on the work of the appeal.

Montana Labor Hits Roosevelt Relief Wages

Special to the CALL
BUTTE, Mont.—Vigorously protesting Roosevelt relief policies, the Montana Federation of Labor at its annual convention at Deer Lodge near here voted to demand prevailing wage rates on all relief jobs. Any projects which do not pay prevailing union rates will be branded as "unfair" and will be picketed by unionists and the unemployed, it was decided.

The convention, attended by nearly 200, also went on record for the nationalization and democratic management of all industries and in favor of the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment. James D. Graham, veteran Socialist and trade unionist, was re-elected president of the state federation by a three to one vote.

In an attempt to override a bill passed by the state legislature which would set up a state constabulary, the federation inaugurated a campaign for 60,000 signatures to a petition to place the question on the ballot for a referendum vote of the people at general elections to be held next year.

NOT SO POPULAR

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Trade unionists here are not quite so enthusiastic about the newly-elected Farmer-Labor administration in Minneapolis as are liberals and others in the East.

Flaying Mayor Thomas Latimer for alleged anti-labor appointments, the Minnesota Union Advocate, official organ of the St. Paul Central Labor Union, succinctly declares:

"It's the same old hokum."
Latimer, contrary to published reports, is not a member of the Socialist Party.

EAT HEARTY, BOYS!

WASHINGTON.—Harry L. Hopkins, national relief administrator, declared here that present relief diets "meet all known nutritional requirements with a slight margin of safety."

Banned!
The CALL has been refused admission to San Quentin Prison in California by order of the Warden.
The CALL was being sent to Norman Mini, one of the eight unionists convicted in the Sacramento criminal syndicate trial, whose case was supported by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Socialist Party.

Relief "Economy" Helps Bosses' Wage-Cut Policy

By LEN DE CAUX

WASHINGTON — (FP).—Employers' complaints against relief for the unemployed are not actuated merely by concern for "economy" and keeping taxes down. They want cheap labor, so stunted on relief that it will accept the lowest wages and the worst conditions in preference.

The relief authorities have again and again been accused of playing the bosses' game in this regard—by cutting the jobless off relief in advance of the beet harvest, for instance, so that they will have to work on any terms.

In the Hammonton area of New Jersey, however, the opposite charge was also made—that those on relief were refusing berry-picking jobs. An FERA investigation has been made, with illuminating results.

Cut Relief
Miserably low wages and atrocious housing conditions are revealed. But instead of the authorities keeping unemployed on relief until standards were raised to a level of ordinary decency at least, they actually cut them off wholesale so that they must either accept such conditions or starve.
"No case is known of an adult

relief client in the Hammonton area refusing to accept a job," the FERA report states. "All single able-bodied men were removed from the relief rolls several weeks ago and about 90 family cases, representing nearly 400 persons, were closed in June."

Help to Bosses
The relief administration even offered to supply the growers with labor by enlisting men from transient camps and among the heads of relief households in outlying parts of the county. But the growers refused the offer, saying they wanted whole families to work for them. But here the relief administration finally drew the line, apparently, saying that to recruit families for the growers "would have meant forcing child labor into the berry fields."

The wages at which the relief people were expected to drive men, women and children to work, will not average more than \$1.70 a day, the FERA found. The most an adult can earn in 10 hours is \$2 to \$2.50, the report states, and children only from 75 cents to \$1.50. Bad picking conditions, fatigue, etc., of course, bring earnings down far below these maximums.

ITALY RUSHES MORE GUNS



As Il Duce brushed aside peace attempts and pushed war manouvers, the Italian army is rushing more guns (and more cannon fodder) to Africa. Italy is telling everybody that it is "protecting itself" against the imperialist plbits of tiny Ethiopia!

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The NEC Decision

That section of the membership of the Socialist Party in this country which adheres to the principles of international revolutionary Socialism has every right to express disappointment at the National Executive Committee's treatment of the serious inner-party situation. In the columns of The CALL this week, an objective, factual report tells the story of a National Executive Committee that preferred to be practical rather than just.

We are sorry that the NEC saw fit to act without consulting the excellent report of its own Committee on Inquiry and Mediation. Instead, they allowed an organized minority within the party to force a "contract" between the NEC and the state committee.

The agreement, although aimed at solving the party crisis, solves no basic problem of discipline. It will fail of its purpose unless the Old Guard makes a sharp about-face and abandons the disruptive tactics hitherto practiced.

The action of the NEC is a turn to the right, away from the spirit of the Detroit convention. This episode, however, cannot for any length of time hamper the progress of revolutionary socialism. Revolutionary socialists must continue their work to transform the party into a disciplined organization for the achievement of socialism.

Difference of opinion on questions of theory and tactics are inevitable in a party composed of an intelligent, thinking membership. But such differences need not give rise to abusive or dictatorial practices. Our work to educate the membership to the principles of Marx will continue on the highest level and in a dignified manner. We are concerned with issues and not with personalities. And in all our work there can be no question of the loyalty of revolutionary socialists to the Socialist Party of the United States.

Now, when the tendencies toward war and Fascism are becoming increasingly pronounced, there can be, above all, no neglect in the primary task—that of building the party organization among the workers and farmers of America.

Judicial Hitlerism

This time it's merely a Federal court of appeals.

In Boston, the Federal Court there threw out the expensive AAA program of the Roosevelt administration. Entirely aside from the merits of the AAA (Socialists have consistently opposed it as subsidizing starvation) the decision has profound implications for the organized workers' movement.

First: it definitely places the farmer in the same boat with the worker insofar as Government aid from Washington is concerned.

Second: the wording of the decision gives frank warning that the Wagner Labor Disputes Act (as well as other acts like the Guffey bill) will probably be declared unconstitutional.

There can only be one answer to this dictatorship of the judiciary. The answer has already been given by hundreds of labor organizations including the Montana State Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation of Labor and other important sections of organized labor. It is:

PASS THE HILLQUITT WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT!

PLOWING UNDER—HUMANITY



Mr. Hearst Has His Headaches

To the Editor:

The red baiting of William Randolph Hearst has reached a point where he is making himself so stupid as to be funny. Poor Hearst. He is being rattled at every turn.

First his prize editor, Emile Gauvreau, writes a book praising Soviet Russia, contrary to all his boss has told him to say. Next the prize journalist, writing a series of exposes of Russia is himself exposed as a charlatan and a faker.

Everywhere people are realizing that the statements in his papers are made without rhyme or reason. I see where students in some Southern college boycotted the Hearst newsreels. The proceeding gives me hope for the youth of America.

Every effort should be made to get these enterprising youngsters to join the Party. They are worth it.
E. A. ALLEN.
Cleveland.

The letters appearing in this column do not necessarily express the point of view of the SOCIALIST CALL. This column is intended to present a cross-section of the opinions of Socialists and sympathizers.

On War

To The Editor:

Criticism of the Franco-Soviet military alliance is too inadequate a presentation of the Socialist position on war to satisfy a Socialist in search of knowledge. What does it matter if we can count one more inconsistency in the communist procedure. That attitude might do for an organization maintained to disturb the peace of the deities on the communist firmament.

On the face of it, the Bolsheviks have the better of the argument. Their diplomatic moves seem more realistic. They refuse to rely on something which is an

unknown quantity, the co-operation of the working class to undo the schemes of the exploiters. By comparison our own theoretical conclusion to change an imperialist war into a civil war appears utopian and pathetic. While an inspiring ideal it recalls to mind the unfortunate stand of the German communists during the declining years of the Weimar Republic, the stand based on the belief that they would be able to ride the wind unleashed by the Hitler hordes.

Frankly, I am puzzled by the very thing which is supposed to be an important part in my catechism. I realize that in order to rise to the status of a principle the thesis must be equally applicable to all Socialist Parties. Can this much be said about our position on war? Is a Checostorkian comrade to allow the forces of Austrian Fascism to overrun his land while he is busy stabbing the internal enemy? Should French Socialists take advantage of a German attack to get even with the government representing a majority of Frenchmen? Does it really make no difference to labor whether governed by a covered of open capitalist dictatorship? Do revolutions—and changing to civil war is revolution—appear of time to save the day?

JAY STEIN,

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Join the Socialist Party

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

Name
Address
City..... State.....

TURN TO THE LEFT

By S. A. De Witt

Nobody loves a life insurance agent. Nobody, except the fellow who has a bad heart and cannot get enough insurance.

And all because the lad who buttonholes you, as you are about to sit down to the lunch box anxious for a nibble at the edge of the swiss-cheese sandwich, persists in peppering up your appetite, by coy reminders about the insecurity of life, the danger besetting your loved ones in case you pop off suddenly, etc.

For this knowledge you are required to pay annually, semi-annually, or quarterly, at so much per thousand dollars, and if you live twenty years, you get so much, and if you don't survive, your widow gets so much and so much.

You choke down the last corner of the sandwich, gulp the last mouthful of coffee, and get up mighty glad that the steamwhistle gives you an excuse to cut loose from the agent's grappling gab.

Supposing, however, I tell you, that a Socialist is also a great deal of a life insurance promoter, who has a policy to sell to every worker and farmer, and even to little business men, in which you get all the benefits while you live and work, and nothing and nobody are left to worry about after you kick off. Would it spoil your lunch to get an earful about this proposition?

Imagine then, someone wearing a badge of the United States Life Insurance Division walks in on you and declaims as follows:

"Mr. Jones, you are a citizen of our country. The nation insists on keeping everyone of its able-bodied men and women happy at work, doing the useful and necessary chores of a prosperous national life. Toward that end, the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth of these United States issues this insurance policy:

"Whereas, Mr. Worker Jones, a citizen of these United States of the American SCC desires security against accident, loss of health, and gainful employment, and desires security for his widow in case of his sudden or untimely death, and also desires educational advantages for his children until their maturity including full college and post graduate professional courses, as they may elect, and also wishes to secure unto himself and his household, medical, dental and professional services as he and they may require these services, be it resolved:

"That for and in consideration of . . . EIGHT HOURS PER DAY, THREE DAYS PER WEEK, for THIRTY WEEKS PER ANNUM, of work faithfully performed by Mr. Worker Jones in his capacity as bench hand in the shops of the STEEL WORKS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST C. C., any and all of the above enumerated benefits shall accrue to him as a matter of right and credit without reserve or question of any kind whatsoever.

"And also be it resolved, that none of these specific benefits shall in any way, when received by said Citizen Worker Jones, be held as deductible from his constitutional requisition and supply of food, clothing and shelter . . .

"Toward this agreement, and its fulfillment the Socialist Co-operative of the United States of America pledges its honor and solemn oath for full performance."

"Some policy, eh, what . . . sign here on the dotted line, Citizen Jones, and remember, no commission to agents, fat salaries and dividends and travv for the big shots on the inside . . ."

And honestly, this isn't one-tenth as impossible of reality as it might appear to a downtrodden, browbeating and beaten seller of death reminders

PARENTS STILL GRIEVE



Mr. and Mrs. Fierro, parents of Anthony Fierro, killed last year by Fascists.

A MARTYR'S STORY; DID FIERRO DIE IN VAIN?

In the smoke-filled, ill-lighted tiny auditorium in the New York headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World some 100 workers and their wives gathered. They had come together in silent memorial to hear once more the story of the murder of their comrade, Anthony Fierro, by Fascist Khaki Shirts on Long Island last year.

As they heard Norman Thomas and Herbert Mahler tell the story of the murder these workers listened quietly. And, without ado, they made a silent solemn vow to dedicate their lives to the struggle against world Fascism.

Here is the story they told: Anthony Fierro was young, and as most young men he had ideals. High among these ideals was love for liberty. Fierro had been born in Italy—and he had seen his native land transformed from a constitutional monarchy to the black rule of Mussolini. It was a black and brutal rule—one that did not hesitate at murder. Even the murder of a parliamentary deputy, the Socialist Giacomo Matteotti, was not too gruesome for the thugs and gangsters of Mussolini.

Fierro ran away from Fascism—he came to America. But here, too, he began to see the beginnings of that industrial feudalism that treads under the iron heel those who dare to disagree. Even in his own community he saw the work of Art Smith and the Khaki Shirts—bent on the fascization of America.

Young Fierro knew that this must not occur in the adopted land he loved. He resolved to fight this tendency—with his life if need be. So when the Khaki Shirts announced a propaganda meeting in Astoria, L. I., he resolved to go

there and make public the bare truth about the Italy that Art Smith lauded so highly.

He went to the Khaki Shirt meeting with his dear friend, Athos Terzani. At the meeting the Fascists there provoked a fist fight which quickly grew into a small riot. In the melee Frank Moffer, a Khaki Shirt, shot and killed Fierro.

The police came. Moffer was pointed out to them as the killer. But they did not want the killer. They made no investigation. They did not even question Moffer, much less hold him. They even did not take the fingerprints on the revolver.

They only asked one question. They asked Art Smith—the Fascist leader, the question: Who killed this anti-Fascist?

And Smith pointed to Athos Terzani. He accused of Athos Terzani of killing his dearest friend.

But the frame-up did not work. A strong workers' united front, led by Norman Thomas, fought the case of Terzani. When the district attorney (now a respected judge) refused to look for the real killer, the defense spent hundreds of dollars to determine the facts.

At the trial the defense presented eye-witness testimony which declared Moffer the murderer. They forced the prosecution to bring forth fingerprints on the revolver, which were Moffer's.

The defense case was so airtight that Terzani was acquitted. Still the district attorney refused to act. He refused to bring Moffer to trial. And again the united front went into action. This time they forced the trial and the conviction of Moffer.

With the conviction of Moffer came the conviction of Art Smith, Fascist leader, on the charge of perjury.

WE WANT A COMMITTEE

By McAlister Coleman

I have had an idea for some time back which I want to test out here in the nature of a trial balloon, as it were.

The idea is that we get us a committee.

That seems to be the crying need-of-our party.

The committee I have in mind would be The Committee to Confer with the Committee of Conference, a sub-committee of the Committee on Ways and Means of Stalling, Backing and Filling.

The idea came to me the other day when I had to make a decision. A man had busted me in the nose, trampled me in the mud, called me every foul-name he could think of and then wiped his feet on my prostrate form. While I was having my skull sewed up, my nose straightened, my teeth put back in place and my black eye painted, some of my friends came to my bedside and said:

"Don't you think you ought to do something about this?"

I thought and thought about it, and finally I decided to do something. I called a meeting of my friends and told them what had happened and they went into a huddle and after a while, they came back and said: "We are going to put it up to this bird that stepped on you to come through with an apology inside of six days or else—"

So they wrote my assailant a pretty nasty letter and told him, by God, he'd better apologize or else. And he got a good laugh out of this letter and wrote one back saying that his only regret was that he had somehow forgotten to break my left leg.

When we got this letter, we went into another huddle and voted to send a committee to this fresh feller and ask him what he meant. This committee had quite a number of meetings and finally at the end of three or four weeks, went around and asked him what he meant. He told the committee, quite explicitly, just what he meant. He told them that he meant that I was a no good goneff, a traitor to the working-classes and an all-around burner-down of orphan asylums. They made a note of what he said and came back and reported to me.

They said not to worry, that they would appoint a sub-committee to confer with the man and would report back just what he said. While this sub-committee was in session, the man caught my little cousin on a dark side-street and beat what daylight there was out of him.

This second assault was entered on the minutes of the sub-committee, so that made that all right and legal. When they read the minutes out loud to my little cousin in the hospital, he was quite ungrateful about the whole business. But everyone forgave him, because, after all, youth is impatient by nature.

A Story With A Moral

By JAMES WELLINGTON

In Dallas, Texas, the county relief administrator proudly boasted to the press that 5,000 persons were removed from the relief rolls during June.

On the same day, two tots under the age of three living in the Roosevelt Flats (formerly Hooverville) became ill. The county health officer called to treat them said that they did not need medicine, only some food.

Write your own moral!

World Socialism

POLAND, FRANCE, RUSSIA

By HERBERT ZAM

The series of one-day general strikes in Poland called by the Socialist Party, the "Bund" (Jewish Socialists) and the trade unions as a protest against the new electoral laws, have been highly successful. A majority of the workers in Poland struck for periods varying from one to 24 hours. It was a significant act of labor solidarity against reaction and fascism.

In Warsaw a majority of the workers struck. The strike was complete among the metal, textile, chemical and building workers. In the munitions factories the strike lasted one or two hours. A large number of the tramway workers also struck. The strike was 100 per cent effective among the Jewish workers, the result of the influence of the Bund.

In Lodz, Byalstok, and other industrial centers and in many agrarian communities the strike was also effective, a conclusive demonstration by the working class, peasantry and national minorities of their opposition to the new "election" laws.

More to Left

The strike further indicated the strength and influence of the Socialist Party. At its last convention the Party moved definitely to the left, replaced the extreme right wing leadership with a more left leadership and adopted a series of left resolutions. Since then it has ceased all collaboration with the government and has become the outstanding opposition party in the Sejm (parliament).

As a result of this new position, the Party has been rapidly growing and gaining in influence and prestige among the workers. The Bund (Jewish Socialists) is also a left wing organization, and has a great influence among the Jewish workers and middle class.

The tremendous opposition to the new electoral laws generated among the population has been reflected in parliament, where the government had expected the adoption to be a mere formality. Instead the opposition is fighting every inch of the way and is effectively exposing the government's plans. At times the debate became very turbulent, and several deputies, particularly Communists, were expelled. The Socialist substitute (for free popular elections and proportional representation) was defeated; but the vote is very interesting. There were 70 votes for it, 216 against it, 124 absentions and 34 ballots were void!

Without Majority

On the final vote the government project carried, receiving 211 votes. Only 89 voted against, 7 ballots were void and some 140 deputies did not vote at all. Thus, the "democratic" revision of the constitution was achieved. Even without a majority, the government enforces its will upon parliament.

During the debates the Socialist deputy Chapinski created a sensation by showing that the report of the government on the electrical laws was taken verbatim from a book written in 1896 by Pobledonosteff, arch reactionary, right hand man of Alexander III and bitter enemy of Poland.

Chapinski concluded amid awed silence. "The Russian Tsar had his Pobledonosteff, and now Pobledonosteff has his Polish Tsar." The Socialists will continue the

fight against the government in and out of Parliament.

According to the new election laws, only some 300,000 people will be eligible to elect the Senate, which will have enormous power. Some 10,000,000 people will be eligible to vote for deputies to the Sejm. The Communist Party has addressed a proposal for a united front and a joint ticket to the Socialists, Bund and peasant parties. As a number of parties have already indicated their intention of boycotting the elections, the question of a united front is held in abeyance until it is decided whether to participate in, or to boycott, the elections.

France

The enormous outpouring of the French masses on Bastille Day in demonstration against fascism show conclusively the effectiveness and value of the United Front. All

Greetings of solidarity were cabled the French Socialist Party on Bastille Day by the national executive committee of the Socialist Party of the United States.

those who were gloomily predicting that the united front would drive the middle class into the arms of fascism received a decisive answer in the adherence of the Radical Socialists liberals to the anti-fascist front after a good deal of vacillation. Had there been no powerful united working class center to attract the middle class, the fascist elements would have been victorious among the Radical Socialists.

The success of the united front in France will go a long way toward eliminating the Communist phobia from which many Socialists are still suffering and which was so ruinous in Germany. The victory of fascism is assured unless the forces of the workers can unite. And the Socialists must take the lead in this work of unification.

Further results of the united front in France are the negotiations which have begun for the re-establishment of trade union unity. Representatives of the CGT (Socialist led) and the CGTU (Communist led) are already meeting in Paris, and while there are many differences, it is almost certain that the negotiations will end successfully. It is interesting to remember that when the united front in France first began, the Socialist trade union leaders had great misgivings, and hung back. Now they have swung into the movement completely.

Russia

Following upon the semi-liquidation of the Young Communist League, which in the future becomes a purely cultural organization, the Society of Former Political Prisoners was also liquidated. The formal reason was that it no longer had any functions, as the mutual assistance it had provided was being well taken care of by the government. The real reason, however, was indicated in an article in the "Bolshevik," official organ of the Communist Party, which accused the Society of glorifying the former fighters against czarism, especially the Narodniki.



By HARRY HERZOG

Germany's Public Enemy No. 2

By ALICE HANSON

Bread costs more; pay envelopes are slimmer; dissatisfaction with the government grows apace. This happens to be Germany, and the dissatisfaction is not limited to the working people whose sons have just been called to a year's compulsory military service on top of a half year's labor service. Dissatisfaction is spreading to industrialists as well.

A few months back, industrialists were urged, with the usual ballyhoo, to contribute a "voluntary assessment" to a billion-mark pool to be used to finance the export of German goods abroad in return for which raw materials needed for armaments could be purchased. But those manufacturers who could see in this only an attempt to cut their profits by selling manufactured goods at low prices, so as to benefit the heavy industries and the munitions makers, were slow in coming across with the assessments.

Compulsory

The usual method of dictators was resorted to. The government issued a decree making the assessment compulsory.

But German manufacturers have felt the burden of the dictatorship in a thousand other ways. Exports have been cut until they are now only 13 per cent of total production, as compared with 40 per cent in 1931 (150,000 fewer workers are employed in export industries as a consequence).

Finance Controller Schaacht has refused to pay even private foreign debts except in German goods, which means that for many

manufacturers the foreign market is practically closed. And then, arbitrarily, Schacht closes the import of basic raw materials, as he did of raw cotton last year, for an indefinite period, while he limits the production of cotton goods for an even longer time.

The outside world and the working class movement, particularly interpret all of these happenings as signs of weakness in the dictatorship. That is correct. *The dictatorship, and especially Hitler, have never been weaker than at present.*

After Hitler—What?

The important question for us is who will take advantage of this weakness. *After Hitler, what?*

Last Christmas Hitler called a conference in Berlin of party leaders and the world knew later that in response to heavy pressure from the Reichswehr, the Storm Troops had been practically disbanded, leaving the Reichswehr unquestionably the supreme army of Germany. But this meant that Hitler was in the power of the Reichswehr; not the other way round.

Not only the workers have been asking, "After Hitler, what?" The Reichswehr have asked themselves—and answered—the same question. And so has the Finance Minister, Herr Hjalmar Schacht, Finance Minister, Director of the Reichsbank, Dictator of Economic Policy and Controller of Foreign Trade, is heading for the dictatorship of Germany, with the help of the Reichswehr.

His method is simple: first make

Hitler unpopular with the powerful forces in the Fascist State—this means not only among the workers who have been stripped of their power, and are therefore at the moment, not very dangerous, but chiefly with the industrialists. Do this by choking off foreign trade; restricting imports, even when it is not necessary to do so; thus raise prices of goods to manufacturers and cut profits. And do all this under the protection of the army which does not love Hitler either.

Then at the critical moment, refuse the Hitler government credit which it needs to live; do this if necessary under the protection of the Reichswehr and the trick is turned.

After Hitler, the next step is a military dictatorship—martial law; and then a stabilization with the darling of the army in power—Schacht instead of Hitler.

For the worker, of course, this is, if anything, a worse choice than Hitler. For Hitler is a stupid economist and a demagogic politician. But Schacht is a cold-blooded king of finance, without ideals other than those of the money kings. Love of country which is Hitler's passion is replaced in Schacht by a cold-blooded money lust, and an aristocrat's disregard of everything and everybody which does not contribute to the wealth and power of the upper crust.

Events in Germany point to a shift in power, but not to the left. Schacht is Germany's public enemy number 2.

YPSL OPENS 1935 CONVENTION

Winston Dancis Sees Socialist Hope In Youth

By WINSTON DANCIS
National Secretary, YPSL

The YPSL is correctly considered the hope of the Socialist movement. This hope is based on the belief that youth will control the future.



DANCIS

The outlook and actions of human beings are determined to a great extent by the training and development they receive in their youth. The continuation of the economic depression and the uncertainty of life and happiness due to the moves toward world war are acting as strong forces in compelling increasing numbers to be dissatisfied with their lot, and to seek some way out.

The important organization problems that confront the Young Socialists relate mainly to improvement in our methods and activities in order to increase our ranks and build a real powerful League.

The training of our members in a systematic way on questions of principles and organization must be made very much more thorough and universal. Week-end seminars, regular classes, further literature, outlines and handbooks, will all play their part in this, besides summer, and later all year round training schools.

We must increase the number of full time local or district organizers in order to have a much more competent, active, available leadership. We need more "pro-

FIGHTING HEARST MOVIES



YIPSELS IN ACTION.—Members of the Young People's Socialist League on picket duty—this time in the fight against Hearst movies.

REBELARTS FOTO: VICTOR

fessional revolutionists," besides installing and carrying out a higher system of discipline of all of our League members.

We look forward to this convention playing an important part in shaping our policies and methods in winning the support of millions of young workers and students for the Socialist program.

YPSL FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS



REBELARTS FOTO: VICTOR

Pledging the YPSL to the fight for the Hillquit Amendment, Aaron Levenstein, New York Young Socialist leader and author of the "Make Freedom Constitutional" pamphlet, is shown addressing the NEC mass meeting in New York. At the extreme left is a Socialist Guard, holding aloft the Socialist banner.

Socialist Leaders Address Mass Youth Rally to Open YPSL Pittsburgh Parley

PITTSBURGH — Marking the end of two banner years of activ-

ity, the Young People's Socialist League of America opens its eighth national convention at International Socialist Lyceum here over the week-end.

YPSL "Red" Drives Boost Hillquit Bill

NEW YORK.—Enthusiastic support greeted the drive of the Greater New York Federation of the Young People's Socialist League in behalf of the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment, which got under way here with a series of "red nights" and "noons."

Nearly 250 members of the League gave the drive a big send-off at the first "red night" mobilization in the East Bronx last Friday, when more than a dozen meetings were held, and on Tuesday a crowd of 500 heard Norman Thomas, Aaron Levenstein, and William Gomberg speak at the first "red noon" in the heart of New York's garment district.

Encouraged by their initial efforts, young Socialists prepared for two mobilizations next Friday. A meeting will be addressed by Henry Jäger, former Socialist state assemblyman, in the garment district at noon-time and a "red night" will follow in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn the same evening.

As hundreds of enthusiastic young Socialist delegates, alternates, and visitors arrived by car, bus, and "hitch-hike," league officers declared their belief that the conclave will be the most successful ever held by the YPSL in this country.

New York delegates were expected to arrive in chartered buses, and Chicagoans will come in three or four special cars.

Following the organization conferences Friday morning and afternoon, a mass youth rally to be addressed by prominent Socialists including Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party; Arthur G. McDowell, national chairman of the YPSL, and Winston Dancis, national secretary of the YPSL, will officially open the convention.

Regular "business" sessions, at which plans for extending the League's influence among the youth of the nation will be considered and a new national executive committee elected, will begin Saturday morning and continue through Sunday afternoon. There will be a convention social Saturday night, and sessions will close with a banquet Sunday evening.

Task of 1935 Convention Is to Utilize Youth Fervor

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL
National Chairman, YPSL

If I could at this moment propose a slogan for the work of the 1935 Convention of the Young People's Socialist League of America, it would be along the lines of proposing that we insist that the program hammered out at Pittsburgh shall be one that proposes first to utilize the truly revolutionary enthusiasm and devotion of youth for the advancement of the Socialist movement, rather than merely to reflect those youthful qualities in our version of the Socialist program.

One of the basic reasons prompting many of us to insist on admission of YPSL members to the Party at 18 at the time the 1934 Detroit Convention of the Party took up the Party constitution, was to correct the tendency of the YPSL to become a youth Party. There is no reason to alter the action taken at Detroit, we should be prepared now to insist that in the interests of the entire movement the Party constitution in this case as in all others be enforced.

As an example of what I believe should be a shift in tactics of the YPSL from attempting to duplicate all the work of the Party within the age range of our section of the movement to concentrating on those things which will

most strongly and soundly swing youth to Socialism I will cite industrial or trade union work.

The industrial department of



ARTHUR McDOWELL

the YPSL was established at the time when the Party had nothing to duplicate it. Today that is no longer true. The Party has now faced towards the trade union movement and mass alignments of industrial workers, and YPSL work should be done directly in connection with the Party rather

Urge Date Change In Anti-War Strike

NEW YORK — The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, in session here last week, suggested to youth organizations that hereafter student anti-war strikes take place on April 6, the anniversary of America's entry into the war.

April 6 has been celebrated by Socialists for some years with demonstrations against war. The student strikes this year were held on April 13.

than through its own separate agency.

The youth front is a highly specialized one, particularly conditioned by mass unemployment and denial of work experience. Trade union work for the YPSL will therefore be highly of a propaganda and educational nature, seeking to short-circuit fascist anti-labor tendencies, concentrating in our actual organizational work on young people in schools and colleges and CCC, and other government sponsored employment projects for youth.

Let us find out where and how American youth is living and then with sturdy revolutionary purpose and independent self-respect set out to win it for Socialism in Our Time.

Socialist NEC Approves 'Harmony' Committee Report

The compromise agreement arrived at between a sub-committee of the Socialist national executive committee and the state committee of New York was based upon the nine points laid down by the NEC at its Buffalo meeting in March. Among other things, it provides for the reinstatement of the New York YPSL without the rescinding of the YPSL statement on the New Leader, and for the admission of Yipsels into the party upon reaching the constitutional age of 18 years.

Powers Hapgood of Indiana, Franz Daniel of Pennsylvania, Maynard Krueger of Illinois and Devere Allen cast "No" votes on the agreement, while the other members of the NEC voted "Yes." Each of the members present at the time of the vote (Leo Krzycki and Daniel Hoan had left after instructing the secretary to cast "Yes" ballots) issued a statement explaining his vote.

The statements in part follow:

ALLEN: Although I voted no, I consider that this report does embody some concessions. Assuming good faith is to be found, I will try to build on this for party unity without bitterness. **VOTED NO.**

COOLIDGE: This is not my idea of how justice is to be done but it is the first chance in a year to move toward justice. **VOTED YES.**

DANIEL: I have no faith or confidence in a document which does not embody fundamental justice. **VOTED NO.**

GRAHAM: I have faith in the Socialist Party and know the members will live up to the prom-

ises in the report. **VOTED YES.**
HAPGOOD: This report has paved the way for any large section of the Socialist Party or any group with any power simply to defy the Socialist Party constitution and get away with it. On the other hand, any small leftwing local or individual violating the constitution is immediately disciplined. **VOTED NO.**

HOOPES: I do not consider this report ideal. But I am willing to accept my share of responsibility to enforce it. **VOTED YES.**

ONEAL: I am confident that this is the first step taken thus far in the direction of stabilization of the Party not only in New York but throughout the country. **VOTED YES.**

THOMAS: On the term justice which has been used, the report does fall short. Criticism could be made stronger. But I do not think a political party can be run on the basis of pure justice... It is for that reason I voted yes, not without hesitation on a report which to me is inadequate and decidedly less than just. **VOTED YES.**

The complete majority and minority reports follow:

MAJORITY

The nine undersigned members, being a majority of the New York State Committee, want peace and a cessation of the present unhappy differences and to that end will recommend and pledge themselves to vote for in said committee for the adoption and enforcement in good faith of the following statement and program:

The conference of the sub-committee of the National Executive Committee consisting of Comrades Hoopes, Coolidge, Hoan, Krzycki, and nine members of the New York State Committee and Executive Committee (forming a majority of both) agree to the following on the nine points submitted by the NEC at the Buffalo meeting:

MINORITY

The present unhappy division in the Socialist Party, caused by the refusal of some sections of the Party to carry out the decisions of the Detroit convention and of resolutions of the N. E. C. has been further aggravated by the failure of the New York State Committee to comply substantially with the nine points laid down by the N. E. C. at its Buffalo meeting March 1935.

Nevertheless, the N. E. C.'s obligations to the Party membership require it to make every effort to ensure peace and harmony in the Party. With this end in view, we adopt the following measures which, if carried out in good faith by all Party members, will restore unity and effectiveness to the Party.

POINT ONE

"The adherence to the resolution of the NEC providing the intelligibility of advocates of violence and communism in the party."—Buffalo Nine Points.

Hapgood, who proposed the minority substitute, declared that the majority proposal was a reversal of the position taken in Detroit, that it was vague and could be interpreted for factional reasons, and that it was not a clear or intelligent definition of Communism. HAPGOOD, DANIEL and KRUEGER VOTED FOR THE MINORITY, the others for the majority.

MAJORITY

This shall be interpreted as applying to persons who practice or advocate:
1. Violent insurrection.
2. Dictatorship or abandonment of democracy either as a fact within the party or as an ideal method of achieving Socialism.
3. Subjection of the party to a bureaucratic, mechanical discipline from abroad such as that imposed by the Third International.
4. The use of deceitful or underground tactics even as a means to a worthy end.

MINORITY

This must not be interpreted by any State or local as permission to conduct a heresy hunt. The interpretation of this point was provided for in the Allen report, which was adopted by the N. E. C. at the Buffalo meeting. This report very clearly indicated that no retroactive disciplinary action shall be taken. Therefore, the Buffalo comrades who were expelled on these grounds shall be immediately reinstated.

POINT TWO

"That the State Committee of New York prepare and issue a statement setting forth its view that, while holding to the right of Socialists to advocate changes in the Declaration of Principles, the same must be accepted as the duly and legally adopted Declaration of Principles as provided for in the National Constitution."—Buffalo Nine Points.

Allen, who proposed the minority substitute, attacked the majority point as a concession to the right only. He declared he could not see how the right-wing could possibly object to the minority proposal. ALLEN, DANIEL, HAPGOOD AND KRUEGER FOR MINORITY.

MAJORITY

The undersigned submit the following statement: The NEC at the Buffalo meeting requested that the N. Y. State Committee prepare and issue a statement

MINORITY

The New York State Committee has since acknowledged that the declaration of principles was duly adopted by a national referendum. In view of the State Com-

(Continued on last column)

LEFT-WINGER



Maynard Krueger, left-wing member of the Socialist national executive committee, was one of the four who voted against the "compromise agreement" between the NEC and the N. Y. state committee.

Plan Campaign For Prisoners Of Class War

NEW YORK.—In a 3-day session devoted mostly to the inner-party situation, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party spent a limited time upon other matters.

The report of the labor committee emphasized the work to be done in labor defense and unemployed organizations. Among cases in which the party is interested and has been appealed to for aid have been Tom Mooney, Angelo Herndon, Ward H. Rogers, the Morganfield, Ky., prisoners, the Scottsboro boys, the Italian anarchists, Sacramento prisoners and the Harlan County, Ky. miners.

Vote Herndon Petitions

The NEC voted to distribute mass petitions for the Herndon defense but not to participate in joint demonstrations or other activities with the Communists.

Senior reported that the Workers' Alliance of America was ready to launch a national unemployed newspaper and was "gaining" in territory where little or no organization of the unemployed had existed before." The NEC authorized a letter to the American Workers' Union declaring that the party had officially endorsed the WAA and suggested that the two groups get together.

July 27 has been named by the WAA as "National Unemployed Day." Siegfried Lipschitz was named permanent representative of the NEC on preparation for the Workers Sport Olympiad in 1936 at Cleveland.

Criticize Ludlow

The NEC adopted Devere Allen's criticism of the war referendum plan proposed by Congressman Ludlow of Indiana. Allen pointed out that the Ludlow plan gave Congress the right to first declare a war and then ask for sanction. Allen also called the plan a proposal for a propaganda race between government sources and labor groups.

A resolution was adopted favoring the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill, but calling attention to possible dangers within it

Orders New York Party To Admit YPSL Members

(Continued from first column)

setting forth its view that, while holding to the right of Socialists to advocate changes in the Declaration of Principles, the same must be accepted as the duly and legally adopted Declaration of Principles as provided for in the National Constitution. As an evidence that we have complied with the national constitution we point to the fact that we have required all new members to sign the usual application that they accept and will be guided by the Declaration of Principles and the party constitution. The N. Y. State Committee has done both. It has acknowledged that the Declaration of Principles was duly and legally adopted and that it intends to exercise the right it has to criticize the existing document and to point out what constitutes in the opinion of the critics its shortcomings; otherwise the right to advocate changes can not be effectively exercised.

The NEC realizes that considerable leeway must be given those who advocate changes. We cannot restrict them in their criticism without establishing a censorship. It would be better to trust to their loyalty to the Socialist Party than to compel any obedience to any censorship that could be devised. We shall urge all comrades in carrying on their campaign to have the Declaration of Principles revised to conduct the discussion on a plane that will be consistent with Socialist ethics. If that is done the membership at the next national convention will be able to consider more intelligently any revision in the Declaration of Principles that may be offered.

mittee's previous public repudiation of the declaration, this acknowledgment does not indicate an acceptance of the Declaration of Principles.

The right to advocate changes implies the right to criticize the existing document and to point out what constitutes, in the opinion of the critics, its shortcomings; otherwise the right to advocate changes can not be effectively exercised. This applies not only to those who consider the declaration of principles too radical, but also to those who consider it too conservative.

The N. E. C. realized that considerable leeway must be given those who advocate changes. We cannot restrict them in their criticism without establishing a censorship. It would be better to trust to their loyalty to the Socialist Party than to compel any obedience to any censorship that could be devised. We shall urge all comrades in carrying on their campaign to have the declaration of principles revised to conduct the discussion on a plane that will be consistent with Socialist ethics. If that is done the membership at the next national convention will be able to consider more intelligently any revision in the declaration of principles that may be offered.

POINT THREE

"That the local, state and national constitution shall be rigidly enforced."—Buffalo Nine Points.

The minority substitute was introduced by Daniel, who pointed out that the majority did not take into consideration the inquiry committee's report. He pointed to the fact that the New York State Committee had not carried out the decisions and orders of the NEC in the past and that consequently a stronger and more precise statement was needed. ALLEN, DANIEL, HAPGOOD AND KRUEGER FOR MINORITY.

MAJORITY

On this point the N. Y. State Committee admits that there had been some technical violations resulting out of the unusual circumstances existing: for instance, there was no convention called in April, as required, but for years the custom has been to call such conventions when needed. Furthermore, there was no demand by any branch for such convention; there had been requests for a membership meeting to consider the Draper case which had already been passed by the SEC so that Local New York had no jurisdiction, and, furthermore, a membership meeting has only advisory powers. The dissolution of the branches was clearly within the power of the City Executive Committee as provided in the Local's constitution.

One position is that the constitutional procedure should and must be enforced. But we call attention to the fact that much misinformation and difficulty has arisen because of the failure of branches or members aggrieved by the Local's action to file charges or to appeal to the State Committee. If this procedure is followed we are confident that all in our power will be done to enforce any and all constitutional procedure.

MINORITY

There was presented to the committee a great deal of evidence in support of the charge that the City Executive Committee and the City Central Committee violated the national constitution and the constitution of local New York in certain matters, as follows:

- (a) They refused to call a city convention in the month of April.
 - (b) They refused to admit YPSL members over 18 years of age in the Party.
 - (c) They refused to call a membership meeting.
 - (d) Branch organizations were formed and dissolved contrary to by-laws.
 - (e) They unseated fraternal delegate of the YPSL at the City Central Committee.
- "We found that the New York S. E. C. has done nothing to correct the abuses above referred to. We also found that most of these matters were never brought to the attention of the New York Executive Committee in any proper or adequate manner.

"This, of course, could legally explain the failure of the New York S. E. C. to take action on these matters, but we conclude that the S. E. C. could have taken cognizance of, and corrected, some, if not all of the matters outlined in the complaints, even though these matters were not legally brought before it."

It has since come to our attention that these violations were brought to the attention of the State Committee, on March 31, 1935, on charges preferred by a number of comrades against Local New York. According to the ninth point laid down in Buffalo, these matters were to be disposed of in six weeks. The State Committee did not take any action within the required six weeks but set a date for the hearing for July 14, fourteen weeks after the N. E. C. decision.

The State Committee shall immediately correct all constitutional abuses as reported above.

POINT FOUR

"That the State Committee rescind the resolution which forbids locals from accepting to membership members of the YPSL who are qualified within the National Constitution and resolutions."—Buffalo Nine Points.

Krueger, in introducing the substitute, declared that the majority carried no guarantee that YPSL members would be admitted into the party. Past experience, he declared, showed the necessity of such a guarantee. DANIEL, HAPGOOD AND KRUEGER FOR THE MINORITY.

MAJORITY

The N. Y. State Committee shall rescind the motion instructing locals not to accept to membership applicants less than 21 years of age. All applicants shall be accepted or rejected according to the rules and regulations provided by Local, State and National Constitutions.

Thomas Amendment: That Yipsels be credited with admission as of date when applications were made.

MINORITY

The N. Y. State Committee shall rescind the motion instructing locals not to accept to membership applicants less than 21 years of age. The State Committee shall instruct all locals to automatically accept all members of the YPSL who have been members for two years and who are eighteen years of age or over, and who apply for membership, as stated in the National Constitution.

Members of the YPSL who have fulfilled the above requirements for admission into the Party and whose applications are pending shall be immediately accepted and have full membership rights as of the application.

(Continued on page nine)

Attacks On Party Must Cease, Committee Declares

(Continued from page eight)

POINT FIVE

"That every party member, all party committees, and papers published by Socialists shall be forbidden from making or issuing statements attacking the integrity of the comrades, the party itself, or its duly constituted committees. Provision must be made for disciplinary action to enforce this."—Buffalo Nine Points.

This substitute was introduced by Hapgood who again called attention to the inquiry committee's report and said that because previous warning had been given by the NEC, drastic action was necessary. DANIEL, HAPGOOD AND KRUEGER FOR MINORITY.

MAJORITY

Provision must be made for disciplinary action to enforce this. It has been the practice in the Socialist Party not to discuss internal party affairs in the non-Socialist press. Under ordinary conditions this practice was observed, although here have been cases in which party members departed from it. When normal conditions prevailed in the party those exceptions were not regarded as of sufficient importance to create an issue or division within the ranks of the party. Since the Detroit convention the exceptions have been more numerous. Each time a departure from this practice has not been confined to just one side in the present controversy.

If it is shown that any party member or members hereafter directly or indirectly applies for publication in the capitalist press statements attacking the party or its committees it shall be regarded and treated as conduct unworthy of a Socialist and deserving of proper and adequate disciplinary action. Discussions or statements in the Socialist press shall not be restricted in criticism of party policies. We do say that such statements should be tempered in language so as not to bring other party members, its committees or the party itself, into disrepute or which will result in questioning their integrity or motives. We hold that the same standards shall apply in the use of letters, circulars or pamphlets. We shall use our utmost influence to enforce this rule and will take all necessary disciplinary action to enforce it.

MINORITY

The committee of inquiry and mediation reported:

"As to this matter your committee reports that neither the New York State Executive Committee nor the City Central Committee have taken any steps whatsoever to stop attacks upon party members and the N. E. C., in either the party press or the capitalist press. This is evidenced by the continued printing of the offending articles, of which quite a number of specimens are included in the records and are on file for your perusal.

"Although not printed in any capitalist newspaper or party paper, a letter written by the S. E. C. of New York and a letter written by the City Central Committee of Local New York, containing attacks upon the N. E. C. members were printed together in pamphlet form and mailed to many Socialist Party members and also some non-Socialists. This letter was mailed AFTER the Buffalo meeting of the N. E. C. Copies of it are contained in the record. While this is not strictly a part of the motion as outlined, we feel it incumbent upon us to call the attention of the N. E. C. to it.

"The course of attacks on Socialist Party members and the N. E. C. is so serious that drastic action to stop it must be taken."

Since adequate warning was previously given by the N. E. C. at the Boston and Buffalo meetings, therefore the New York State Committee shall:

- (1) Censure Louis Waldman and remove him as state chairman; and
- (2) Take full disciplinary action against Joseph Shaplen.

The N. E. C. further censures the New York State Committee and Local New York Executive Committee for the circulation of the letter referred to in the report of the committee on inquiry and mediation.

The matter of the New Leader is disposed of in point 8.

POINT SIX

"The New York local and State Committee shall promptly dispose of all questions of membership and organization in dispute in a democratic and constitutional manner."—Buffalo Nine Points.

Allen, in introducing the substitute, declared that the majority action carried no guarantee. If the right wing honestly believe that it is entitled to a majority in Local New York, he declared, it would want to lay the nation-wide rumor of undemocratic procedure in New York by new elections. ALLEN, DANIEL, HAPGOOD, KRUEGER and THOMAS FOR MINORITY.

MAJORITY

There is no convincing evidence of intentional delay in the disposition of all questions of membership, etc., and it is agreed that in the future every effort will be made to improve the machinery and procedure for prompt and effective disposition of such matters in a democratic and constitutional manner.

MINORITY

In view of the fact that the New York State Committee failed to carry out the instructions of the Buffalo meeting on the above point, the State Committee shall immediately place the following into effect:

In order to restore democratic procedure in Local New York, new elections to the Central Committee shall be called. These elections and the organization of the new Central Committee shall be under the supervision of a Committee consisting of one representative of each side of the dispute with Harry W. Laidler as chairman.

POINT SEVEN

"That the YPSL of New York be promptly reinstated upon the basis that it shall conform to the decisions of the local, but it shall not be required to support any Socialist paper that engages in factional warfare."—Buffalo Nine Points.

Kruger introduced the substitute. He declared that the report does not completely exonerate the YPSL as the Buffalo point did. He demanded stronger guarantees that the YPSL must be treated fairly. ALLEN, DANIEL, HAPGOOD AND KRUEGER FOR MINORITY.

MAJORITY

The N. Y. State Committee has already instructed Local New York to reinstate the YPSL and to dissolve the Young Socialist Alliance as soon as the Young People's Socialist League agrees to conform to the decisions of the Local and to rescind its formal statement against the New Leader, provided that no disciplinary action shall be taken by the YPSL against members of the YSA, and that all members and circles be reinstated with all rights and privileges. Local New York has formally declared its readiness to carry out this instruction immediately upon compliance with conditions named and has explicitly declared that it does not demand that the YPSL actively support

MINORITY

The committee on mediation and inquiry reported:

"We found that to all intents and purposes, the YPSL of the city of New York have been expelled from the local organization and are prevented from functioning as a part of the local."

"The action of the City Central Committee on this matter was hasty and ill-considered. The manner of the expelling of the entire YPSL of Local New York was undoubtedly a violation of the constitution of the Socialist Party.

"In December, 1933, the City Central Committee of Local New York ruled that two cents of every dues stamp sold by the Party was to go to the YPSL. Since

(Continued on last column)

Party Activity

California

The women of the International Club of the San Francisco Socialist Party will hold an open air peace demonstration at South Park on Saturday, August 10th at 1 P. M. Prominent speakers will address the meeting.

Colorado

The Western States Summer School which was to have held a part of its sessions in Pine, Colo., will be held in Goldfield instead, according to an announcement made this week by Mrs. Marjorie McCormick, secretary of the Socialist Party of Colorado.

The school will open Friday evening, July 19, at the party's headquarters in Denver, and will continue to meet here through Sunday, July 21. The Denver sessions will close with a mass meeting to be held in the Civic Center Sunday evening.

The entire school will then move to Goldfield where the final week's work will be carried on. Roy Burt, Socialist national organizer, will head the teaching staff.

Connecticut

NORWALK—New officers of the Connecticut Socialist organization, elected in a referendum vote just completed, are as follows:

- State Secretary—Arnold E. Freese of Norwalk
- State Organizer—Martin F. Plunkett of Wallingford.
- Committeemen-at-Large—Devere Allen of Wilton, Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Carl M. Rhodin of Meriden.
- Committeeman, 1st Dist.—Harry Rosen of Hartford.
- Committeeman, 2nd Dist.—Kenneth Thurlow of East Lyme.
- Committeeman, 3rd Dist.—Walter E. Davis of Hamden.
- Committeeman, 4th Dist.—George Murgatroyd of Bridgeport.
- Committeeman, 5th Dist.—Philip Brainard of Waterbury.

BRIDGEPORT—Bridgeport Socialists will hold their annual picnic at Voight's Grove, Sylvan Avenue, Sunday, July 21.

Massachusetts

BOSTON — In order to put a complete Socialist ticket in the field in the coming election this fall, in which a city council and members of the school committee will be elected, the City Central Committee of Boston is calling a general membership meeting for Monday, August 5th, at 8 P. M. at the Bradford Hotel. All members of local Boston are urged to take note of the meeting and attend.

Plans were also made by the committee to start a campaign to support the Hillquit Workers' Rights amendment to the Constitution and other social legislation for the benefit of the workers. Unions, Workers' Circle branches, churches, and progressive organizations will be contacted and a conference will be called soon to mobilize the forces for the constitutional change.

Lena Morrow Lewis has been working for the party in Boston for the past week and has addressed a number of open-air meetings.

New York

BROOKLYN—At an enthusiastic meeting of the 4th-14th A. D. branch of the Socialist Party, the following were nominated for office:

- 4th A. D., For Assembly—Sidney Goldstein. For Alderman—Jacob Dubro.
- 14th A. D., For Assembly—Hyman Sussman. For Alderman—Harry Schachner.

Minority Demands More Guarantees Of Enforcement

(Continued from first column)

the New Leader. Without reproach for any past occurrences, the NEC declares that it is improper and beyond the function of the YPSL, or any sub-division of the party or auxiliary organization, publicly to attack or repudiate any recognized party paper. It welcomes the assurance now received, however, that neither the State Executive Committee, the State Committee or Local New York will insist upon the YPSL formally rescinding its past resolution against the New Leader and will drop all charges and will institute no disciplinary action on account of matters arising out of the dispute between the party and the YPSL.

January, 1935, the League has received no money from this fund.

"The City Executive Committee of Local New York has established and is supporting a young people's organization called the Young Socialist Alliance, and has voted a salary of \$15.00 a week to a secretary for it. This Young Socialist Alliance is not a reorganization of the YPSL but a dual organization in truth and in fact."

The State committee shall immediately instruct Local New York to the following effect:

- (1) That the YPSL shall be immediately reinstated without being required to rescind its statement on the New Leader.
- (2) That the Young Socialist Alliance be immediately dissolved.
- (3) That all money due to the YPSL shall be transferred to it.

POINT EIGHT

"If the New Leader will restore its former constitution, cease to be a factional organ, and so organize the Association and Board of Directors as to be representative of the entire party membership in New York, we urge that the Socialist Call be discontinued."—Buffalo Nine Points.

Daniel introduced the substitute. He declared that the New Leader had done irreparable harm to the party by its attempting to discredit the party leadership. The NEC, he declared, cannot let itself be abused by a Socialist paper. (In a later motion, the accredited list was abolished, when Daniel again demanded that the New Leader be removed from the accredited list).

MAJORITY

We feel that the problems suggested in Point Eight will disappear upon solution of factional differences.

MINORITY

The Committee of Inquiry and Mediation reported:

"As to this matter, your committee reports that the New Leader Association has changed its rule that all members of the Association must be members of THE Socialist Party and adopted a new rule that all members of the Association must be members of A social-democratic party approved by the Association, not necessarily the Socialist Party.

"The explanation given for this change was that the members of the Association feared the New York State charter would be revoked which would make them automatically lose their membership in the New Leader Association under the old ruling.

"The New Leader was, up to and including the last meeting of your committee, definitely and wholeheartedly a partisan and factional publication. It is impossible for the Socialist Party to tolerate an official or any state party which continues its attacks upon the Socialist Party members and the N. E. C."

All disputed matters arising out of the previous election to the Central Committee shall be settled by this supervisory committee

baa-baa, black wool have you any sheep?

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The SOCIALIST CALL

presents the logic that will help to smash the present order of things . . . the CALL is a weapon for the workers . . . you who have been reading the CALL know this . . . but in order for the CALL to be an effective weapon it must be put in the hands of millions of workers in every community . . . in every state . . .

Call Boosters

We are calling upon every reader of the CALL to get behind the drive for new subscriptions . . . show the paper to every person you know . . . it will be easy enough to get a quarter for a two-month trial sub . . . or 50c for a six-month sub. If you feel as we do about the CALL you'll start doing this . . . now!

Problems Of Revolutionary Socialism

By Haim Kantorovitch

Social Reformism And Orthodox Marxism

In a nut shell, the following is the theory of social reformism: Democracy offers a wide field for the fight for reforms; having no limits, it affords an opportunity for those who want to reform present day society most radically, the Socialists, to achieve their goal in the most peaceful, legal and democratic way. According to this theory, Socialism is the result of the numerical accumulation of reforms. In the pre-war, social democratic movement this view was known as "Revisionism." Social democrats fought bitterly against it. A national congress of the German Social Democratic Party, as well as an international Socialist congress, officially condemned revisionism. It is worth while reminding the self-appointed heirs of social democracy that the leaders in the fight against revisionism were Karl Kautsky and George Plekhanov.

Reform or Abolition

What were their arguments against revisionism? Briefly, they may be summed up in the following words: That existing democracy offers great opportunities for the workers to fight for immediate gains, no one doubts. That the workers must use existing democracy to their advantage is beyond question, but that this reform activity has no limit is not true. Its limit is capitalism. The fight for reforms can be peaceful, legal, democratic as long as it is a fight to reform capitalism. It changes its character when it becomes a fight to abolish capitalism. All reforms within a given social order are to reform that order, not to abolish it. There is only one way to predict the future, and that is by learning from the past. History knows of no instance where a ruling class has given up, or allowed itself to be abolished peacefully, without fighting for its life. That it has always lost is, of course, true. This is inevitable, because the life and death struggle between the old and the new never seriously begins before the old has not only outlived its usefulness, but has become an impediment rather than a help to society. The ruling class of today can of course learn from history and submit to its fate. But to hope so, would be naive. The desire to live is so great that it usually blinds the most far seeing.

Capitalism's Zenith

Capitalism, Marxists believe, must reach a point when no further development is possible. When it reaches its zenith it must begin to decline. Having reached its limit, all real reforms in favor of the toiling masses will also have reached their limit. At that stage reforms are possible, but these reforms are intended only to stay the decline of capitalism. That these reforms may in a certain sense benefit the masses is true, but, according to their nature these reforms can not endure, because the decline of capitalism can not be artificially stopped. Economists, politicians and statesmen, not necessarily socialist or radical, seem to be agreed, the pleas of the right wing socialists notwithstanding, that capitalism has entered its period of decline.

To make the issue still more clear, let us cite a "new" social democrat. This social democrat counselled us, only a few years

ago, to throw Marx's "Capital" on the garbage heap of history and to stop all this nonsense about the class struggle. At that time Professor Carver made a greater appeal to him than Marx. Now, he is the outstanding leader of the newest social democrats (special American edition) and the outstanding fighter against the militant socialists. I refer to Comrade Abraham Cahan.

Social Democrat

vs.

Social Democrat

Comrade Cahan seems to distinguish between two kinds of Socialism: The old and the new. The old is that of Karl Marx. Marx, Cahan says, believed in revolution; he saw no other way to Socialism. There was, however, one thing that Marx did not foresee. Capitalist development caused the development of the labor movement. The labor movement, once developed, realized that it could not wait for the revolution; it had to fight for social legislation today, for the minimum wage, unemployment insurance, social security, the right of collective bargaining, etc. This is exactly what Roosevelt is fighting for, says Comrade Cahan, and he asks, can any one doubt the nearness of Roosevelt's ideas to Socialism?

Roosevelt and Marx

There it is! The outstanding leader of the new American social democracy is very frank. His social democracy consists in replacing Marx by Roosevelt. I am sure that some readers will exclaim: But he did not mean it seriously. How could any one seriously

This is the third of a series of four articles on Problems of Revolutionary Socialism by Haim Kantorovitch, written specially for the CALL. Kantorovitch, an editor of the American Socialist Quarterly, is one of the leading theoreticians in the international Socialist movement. The fourth article will appear next week.

maintain that Marx did not foresee the development of the labor movement when he placed all of his hopes on this development. Comrade Cahan must have been joking! No, dear readers, no matter how funny this kind of "theorizing" may sound, the author of the theory was not joking. I am quoting from a very long and very serious article, a polemic against "all kinds of anti-Roosevelt socialists" called "The Decision of the Supreme Court Seen Through Socialist Eyes" (Forward, Western Edition, June 8).

The problem that Comrade Cahan raises, aside from his special sympathies for Roosevelt, is the old problem of reform and revolution, but with only one difference. In traditional social democratic literature the problem was always one of reform and revolution. For Comrade Cahan it is reform or revolution.

Kautsky On Gradualism

The traditional and universally accepted view of reform and revolution was formulated by Karl Kautsky (before the war) in the following words:

"There are some Socialists," Kautsky wrote, "who, when an expected revolution does not come at the time set, do not draw the conclusion that industrial development may have altered the

form and character of the coming revolution from what might have been expected from the experience of previous capitalist revolutions. On the contrary, they at once conclude that, under the changed conditions, revolutions are not to be expected, are not necessary, and indeed are hurtful.

"On one side they conclude that a further extension of the achievements already gained—labor legislation, trade unions, cooperation—will suffice to drive the capitalist class out of one position after another, and to quietly expropriate it, without a political revolution, or any change in the nature of governmental power. This theory of the gradual growth into the future state is a modern form of the old anti-political utopianism and Proudhonism" (The Road to Power, p. 9-10)

Cahan and Kautsky

Compare Cahan and Kautsky, and then try to settle the question which our right wing comrades raised. Who betrayed their social-democratic principles?

"... we are not discussing the question of whether labor legislation and similar laws in the interest of the proletariat and unions and cooperatives are necessary and useful or not. There are no two opinions among us on that point. What is disputed is the view that the exploiting class that controls the power of the state, will permit such a development of these factors, as will amount to abolishing capitalist oppression, without first making such a resistance, with all the means at its disposal, that it can be abolished only through a decisive battle." p. 10-11 (I quote from a very bad and clumsy English translation. Where I find myself now, I can not get hold of the original. H. K.)

Letters Of A Socialist To His Son

This is the first of a series of eight articles by David P. Berenberg, of the CALL Editorial Board and an editor of the American Socialist Quarterly

Dear Karl:

I called you Karl when you were born, after Karl Marx, the founder of modern Socialist thought. Although I gave you his name, I did not burden you in your early youth with Socialist propaganda. I felt that you were too young to understand and that, if you mouthed phrases without understanding them, you would be in no way better than the youngster who, at the age of ten knows all about infant damnation and the mysteries of the trinity. I knew that the day would come when, of your own accord, you would come to me and ask: "What is this Socialism to which you are giving so much of your time?"

I have seen you, when you thought I was not looking, take the heavy volumes of Karl Marx from the shelf. It was only natural that they should arouse your interest. It was only to be expected that you should put them down again. You did not understand them.

When you did ask questions, as you were bound to do, I answered them fully. I have noticed with interest and with pleasure, that you did not accept my answers as revealed truth; that you probed and examined them until you were satisfied. I have noticed, too, that you subjected the statements of others of your teachers, of the newspapers, in the same skeptical manner. It is, of course, the only sensible way of approaching any controversial question.

Now you ask me, in so many

words, to tell you about Socialism. I suppose you have run across people who have been trying to convert you. Or perhaps you have met those who scoff at Socialism, and because I am a Socialist, it becomes necessary for you to know. I shall answer. But do not think that the answer can be compressed into one letter. Be prepared to find that the letters I shall write you in the next months will be essays on Socialism. Do not complain if they are. You have called them down upon yourself.

You phrase your question in a characteristic manner: "What do Socialists want?" I shall answer directly: "We want the world, and all that is in it?" Naturally, that raises the question: "Whom do you mean by 'we'?"

It must be clear to you, merely from observation of everyday life, that there are a few rich people, and many poor. You have probably learned to count yourself among the poor. When you compare your way of living with truly rich, you have a right so to class yourself. But you have never known hunger. I do not mean the hunger that you have felt after a long walk, or a day's exercise. There was always a meal for you to come home to, and a roof over your head. But there are millions who live in want; who do not know where their next meal is to come from; millions who live in constant fear of starvation.

These poor are by far the majority of all men. The very rich

are a small group. At most they number two in every hundred—if that many. The poor, the really poor number sixty-five in each hundred. The thirty-three in between were once well-to-do. The depression has destroyed their security and their comfortable lives. It has consumed their savings. If the depression is not soon over there will be ninety-eight poor people in every hundred.

Now you may tell me that if a man is rich it is because he has great ability, because he is industrious, because he is thrifty. On the other hand, the poor man is poor because he is lazy, thriftless and stupid.

This is, of course, nonsense. Only a fool could seriously argue in that fashion in these days of unemployment, when millions eager and able to work, can find nothing to do. Money can be inherited; it can be stolen; it can be acquired by fraud. Even when it is "honestly" acquired, it is gained from the labor of other men. No man ever got rich through his labor alone.

What do we Socialists want? We want to wipe out the difference between rich and poor. We want to destroy classes. We want to create a world in which the worker shall receive the full value of what he makes; in which no man shall live on the work of another; in which there shall be true dignity in labor, because the stigma of slavery shall be removed from it. We want to end the long history of human slavery that began when the world was young.

The Essence Of Revolutionary Socialism

The essence of social revolution is the transfer of political power from one class to another. Without such a complete transfer of power no real radical transformation of society is possible. How will this transfer be accomplished? Pre Marxian revolutionaries had a very definite answer to the question: A well organized, armed revolutionary minority will make a surprise insurrection and capture the state, and the revolution will be over. Marx, Engels and all Marxists from Kautsky to Lenin have fought this view of social revolution bitterly. "We are a revolutionary party, but not a revolution making party," Kautsky declared, and this declaration has been accepted by every Marxist. For a short time the Communist International deserted this Marxian principle and accepted the principle of revolutions by minority insurrection. Karl Radek who, up to 1917, lectured the European Socialists that Europe was not yet ready for a social revolution, suddenly discovered that the obstacle to revolutions was the idea that revolutions are made by majorities. "The notion that the proletariat should undertake no revolution until it was satisfied that it had the majority of the people at its back is nonsense," explained Radek. Radek, of course expressed the dominant mood of the Communist International. It is safe, however, to say that even the communists have now given up the idea of a social revolution "made" by the insurrection of a minority. Right after the San Francisco general strike, Earl Browder and Sam Darcy, in the name of the Communist Party, published a statement from which the following excerpt is taken:

Majority Support

"Are the communists proposing to make a revolution now? Beginning in San Francisco? No, that is absurd nonsense. The communists do not propose to make a revolution until, by comradely discussion and conviction of the toiling masses, they have majority support securely behind the party. (Daily Worker, August 9, 1934).

In other words, the communists, who even now are much nearer to Blanqui than to Marx, were forced by reality to return to Marx' dictum as expressed in the Communist Manifesto: "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." (Communist Manifesto).

Gradual Revolution

Social revolutions, Marxism teaches, are not made at will. In fact they are not made at all. The social revolution is not an act; it is a process. For years it grows and gathers strength. Professor Edwards in his "Natural History of Revolution" even maintains that a thorough study of revolutions in the past shows that it is a mistake, though it may be added, a very popular and widespread mistake, to believe that "revolutions are sudden, unpredictable and exceedingly rapid in their development." His own studies of past revolutions show that

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Problems Of Revolutionary Socialism

By HAIM KANTOROVITCH
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"there is not, so far as the writer is aware, a real revolution in all human history which developed in less than three generations."

It is a mistake to identify revolution with its last and violent stages. It is historically true that revolutionary processes usually end, at least have usually ended in the past, in violent outbreaks, street fighting, uprisings. That, however, does not mean that artificially engineered armed uprisings or street battles are revolutions. Long ago Engels warned the working class that, "the rebellion of the old style, the street fight behind the barricades which up to 1848 gave the final decision, has become antiquated."

No Illusions

"Let there be no illusions about it," Engels warned, "a real victory over the military in a street battle, a victory as between two armies, belongs to the great rarities." That was written in 1895. If Engels were to write in 1935, he would certainly substitute the words "utter impossibilities" for "rarities." The ideal of insurrectionism which flares up from time to time in the hearts, rather than in the minds, of revolutionary romantics, has in our time become not only an absurd utopia, but also a real danger to the Socialist. It tends to replace the clear realistic outlook of Marxism with utopian dreams and illusions that belong to the past rather than to the present.

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Middlemen Slice Workers, Farmers

WASHINGTON—Middlemen of the country have perfected a neat little racket by which their own share of income was considerably increased between April and May. Their method is simple. They just charge higher prices to the consumer and lower prices to the farmer, and lap up the intervening gravy.

Consumer's Guide, publication of the Department of Agriculture, reports that the cost of a month's supply of 10 important foods of a typical American family increased from \$21.42 in April to \$21.67 in May. During this period the share that went to the farmer for the products used in making these foods fell from \$9.90 to \$9.63, while the spread between farm and retail values increased from \$11.52 to \$12.

BOOK NOTICES

PIERIZ by Walter Havighurst, Macmillan, \$2.00. A story of a waterfront strike on the Pacific coast by a professor of English who was once a seaman.

SODOM AND GOMORRAH by Max Knepper, Epic League, \$2.00. A "daring expose" of Hollywood by an Upton Sinclairite. Anti-Semitic.

Trimming Bosses Open Wage Attack

NEW YORK—A concerted, open attack on the wages and hours of textile trimmers in this district is charged by Local 2240 of the United Textile Workers in a statement issued here this week.

Attempting to break a union agreement which does not expire until September 1, employers organized in the Curtain, Drapery, and Upholstery Trimming Association are moving shops to out-of-town locations, instituting arbitrary wage cuts, and calling lock-outs against union workers. The union announces the initiation of an energetic counter-attack.

Robe Strike Nears

NEW YORK—On Thursday, July 18th, a meeting of bathrobe makers, called to approve demands submitted by the Executive Board of Local 91, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for the coming general strike in the industry, was held in the Rand School auditorium.

Among the workers' demands are the following: A uniform 36-hour working week, a general increase of 10 per cent in wages; time and a half pay for overtime; a minimum of \$16 for all operators, pressers, finishers, and tailors working on garments priced up to \$18 a dozen; a \$19 minimum for the same crafts working on garments priced between \$18 and \$36 a dozen; and a \$21 minimum for those working on garments priced above \$21. The floor girls in the respective categories are to get minimum of \$13, \$14, and \$15.

CALL Builders

Last week we had a few words to say about the gentleman we designated as the "complete fusser." We were under the impression that he was a fairly rare bird... one in a million or so... but we find that we were somewhat out of the way in our figures... at least if the comrades we've met at the NEC meeting in New York are any indication. For we've been tackling a lot of them about the Socialist Call and a couple of dozen or so have promised to be just that way about the drive for the 40,000 odd subs we still need to make up our quota of 50,000. Which is something to make up for the perspiration we've been experiencing... fussing about the Call.

Out in Ohio a group of Comrades have been fussing enough to put the Buckeye State in the forefront in the sub drive... and down in Pennsylvania Newman Jeffry has been sending cards back fast enough to keep us busy on the Keystone State file, with the result that Pennsylvania is in second place among the States that are putting the Call over the top.

But that isn't quite enough... we're all out of sub cards... all we've had printed have been distributed and are coming in with every mail... what we want now is to get every reader of the Call to become a Call salesman... a Call sub-getter... a Call booster.

Pass It Along

It's easy enough if you'll make up your mind to go out and do it... begin by passing out this and future issues of the Call to your shop mates, your friends, your fellow-members in your union... explain what the Call is... tell them about the fight the Call is carrying for an equitable system of society... for Socialism... and if you'll do your share, it will be easy enough to get a quarter or a half dollar for a two or six-month trial subscription... use the subscription list that appears on another page of this issue and get it back to us pronto.

A word to those comrades who've taken sub cards during the past month and have failed to return them... you're falling down on the job and we're somewhat disappointed... your pocket or your desk is not the proper place for those cards... they weren't printed to lay around and gather dust... they belong in our files, each one filled in with a name and address... and if you honestly can't sell them, send them back... no hard feelings and we have plenty of people who can use them. Okay?

Last week's column promised a few more names and figures... but we haven't finished tabulating the result and we're asking you to wait another week.

Which reminds me that if you haven't as yet won a copy of Sam DeWitt's "Rhapsodies in Red" you can easily do so by sending in an even twenty 2-month trial subs or ten six-month subs... or a club of five full year subs... it's a swell book, full of inspiration for radicals and cuts pretty deep into some of the sham of the capitalist system.

And we can't get along without money... pay for your sub cards... your bundle orders... we'll appreciate it... and it will mean something else we won't have to say so much about.

Theatre of Revolt

Milwaukee Socialist Players

By BILL SHULMAN

The Milwaukee "Socialist Players" was organized in the spring of 1934 to help Party members form a Little Theatre movement "concentrating on labor plays having both an entertaining and an educational value."

This non-profit group of 35 members has appeared, before unions, unemployed organizations and Party functions. It has the distinction of being the first dramatic organization to be sponsored by a local of the Socialist Party.

Realizing the effectiveness of the drama as a social weapon, this group is doing its full share of the gigantic task of educating the masses. The members of this wandering troupe have appeared in Janesville, Madison, Wisconsin Rapids, Stevens Point, Kenosha, Racine and have canvassed the

This is the fourth of a series of articles on different labor drama groups existing throughout the country. Contributions will be welcome.

Milwaukee area thoroughly. Their program usually consists of five one-act plays with accompanying songs and runs for two hours.

The Players are in the market for plays that "have a quality of entertainment as well as dramatics—and of course, educational aspects. The plays are not to be written by one who gets a particular brainstorm, or who happens to be moved by some particular thing which he feels will make a good play—and that it is his job to set it down for posterity."

The Players are very much interested in the formation of a Play-Exchange Bureau and are in favor of founding a bona-fide Labor Drama League—"If it is a Socialist organization pure and simple."

CALENDAR

All Week

Tennis courts are available every Saturday from 9 a. m. to 1 p. m. for free use by members of the YPSL. For tickets apply in person to Frank Stern at 21 E. 17th St., New York City. The courts are at Kingston and East New York Avenues, Brooklyn.

Friday, July 19

Carlo Tresca will speak on "Mussolini Today" at 8:15 p. m. before the Bellamy League at Greenwich House, 27 Barrow St.

Saturday, July 20

The Industrial Workers of the World will commemorate their thirtieth anniversary with a supper at 7:30 P. M., at the I. W. W. Hall, 94 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. Noted speakers. Admission 50 cents.

Sunday, July 21

Bench party for the YPSL at Far Rockaway. Meet at 2397 Far Rockaway Blvd. no later than noon. Directions: Take New Lots Ave. train to last stop. Take bus at foot of station to Far Rockaway. Get off at 25th Street and walk to address. Locker charge only 10c. Bring lunch.

Friday, July 26

Protest meeting for support of Ferrero and Sallitto, San Francisco anti-fascists who face deportation; in Union Square in the evening.

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Going To The Theatre?

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Jail Kentucky Socialist For Organizing Jobless

BULLETIN: Harvey Renfrew was admitted to bail Monday.

By J. CLARK WALDRON
MORGANFIELD, Ky.—The unemployed began to organize in Union County, Kentucky, this Spring. By May Day they had formed an air-tight organization and became insistent in their demands for higher relief work pay. The relief authorities and politicians became worried, and with simple directness, issued ultimatums. Leaders of the unemployed were arrested; ten went to jail.

J. Harvey Renfrew, 23, Socialist, who had helped organize unemployed into the Illinois Workers Alliance, was called in. He led the unemployed in organized

demonstrations to release the ten, and he, too, found himself in jail. I talked with Renfrew, a mild-mannered youth, as he sat on a wooden bench beneath the steel ceiling of Union County jail. A torrid sun beat down mercilessly, sending the temperature inside the ancient Civil War jail to well above 100 degrees. His cell is on the upper tier right against the blazing three-fourth-inch steel ceiling. In it, except for walks in a small ground corridor, he spends his days awaiting trial on charges of "banding and confederating to intimidate others," a felony, punishable by a long prison term.

Renfrew has been in jail for 40 days because he has not been able to raise \$1,000 bond. I was his first visitor, except for a local Presbyterian minister. And even stern law enforcement officers have begun to have a feeling of sympathy for this stoic youth. He is one of America's great army of unemployed, many of whom have graduated from universities only to find that their degrees give them no jobs, security or a chance in life.

"I rather believe that Renfrew's case is pitiful because no one has seemed interested in him," said Major Berry, commonwealth attorney, whose duty it will be to prosecute Renfrew in October.

"That fellow is a no-good Red and should be run out of town on a rail," I was told by a well-known practicing physician.

This is typical of expressions

Climb Mountain 4,000 Feet High To Hear Speech

MARION, N. C.—It takes a 4,000-foot perilous mountain climb to reach the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Little Switzerland, near here. But those who have made the ascent find both the school and the view worth while.

Among recent lecturers at the school have been Howard Kester, organizer for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union; Mark Starr, educational director of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union; Elizabeth Gilman, prominent Baltimore Socialist, and Zilla Hawes of the Highlander Folk School.

Alice Hanson, Marie Elliott and Ada Stoflet of Philadelphia are on the staff. The director is Louise Leonard McLaren.

among the conservative people who live in beautiful homes which dot Morgan Street. These houses of bankers, wealthy attorneys and retired farmers are situated some distance from "low hill," where I went with a minister to see the forgotten men—unemployed miners and other workers. I saw Sherman Stone, a cancer victim and grandfather, whose family of three gets \$1.10 a week and had been foodless for three days when Renfrew organized a committee to visit Miss Dixon, relief supervisor, who caused Renfrew's arrest.

At The Front

By Norman Thomas

Continued from Page One

state committee of New York who constitute a majority of it succeeded in accomplishing in New York over the last week-end gives the Party a chance to go forward with new energy and new devotion to constructive work. I tried to make my position plain on the subject of the agreement reached, which, like most agreements was not satisfactory from an ideal standpoint, but which does in my judgment clear up matters pretty satisfactorily in respect to the question of the YPSL, the curbing of a hurtful type of public controversy on Party issues not only in the capitalist press but in the Party press and in restoring some confidence in democratic procedure within the Party.

Undoubtedly the majority of the Party wanted the agreement and wanted the definition of Communism contained in the agreement. Emphatically that definition is not in contradiction to the Declaration of Principles. It applies to only points of distinction between Communism and Socialism and to the present tactics of the Party. It does not apply to an indefinite future or to what one may believe may have to be done in an indefinite future. It does not reverse the judgment of the Party that under no circumstances can we lie down in

front of the crisis of war or Fascism. The great thing now is that we should go forward to work for Socialism, an aggressive Socialism which thinks of the working class not as an abstraction, but as composed of individuals with democratic rights.

STRIKE REFERENDUM BEGINS

NEW YORK.—Garment shipping clerks will cast their ballots for or against an industry-wide strike at mass meetings held throughout New York this week.

The Hillquit Amendment

CALL readers are urged to introduce resolutions in their trade unions and fraternal organizations endorsing the Hillquit "Workers' Rights Amendment" to the Constitution.

The amendment reads:

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, wage earners and employees, or from one or more such sources; to establish and take over natural resources, properties and enterprises in manufacturing, mining, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities and other business to be owned and operated by the Government of the United States or agencies thereof for the benefit of the people, and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers, farmers and consumers.

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

Montana Endorses Hillquit Amendment

BULLETIN

The Montana State Federation of Labor voted at its last meeting to endorse the Hillquit Amendment. This is the first State labor federation to do so.

It also authorized its president to immediately prepare petitions to Congress to be individually signed by thousands of Montana residents.

CHICAGO.—Spurred by plans laid by the Socialist national executive committee at its last session, American labor turned again to the work of popularizing the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment to insure its passage by Congress.

Endorsements pour in by the hundreds as local unions and workers' political and fraternal group meet. But these endorsements are more than paper pledges—each is accompanied by

pledges of action in the community to agitate for the broadest possible support for the amendment.

The Chicago Painters Union (L. U. 147), with 1,800 members, pledged unanimous and enthusiastic support of the amendment. This support by the largest painters' local in the United States is significant, as it implies the strength of the amendment in the building trades unions.

Among political groups endorsing the amendment was the newly formed American Commonwealth Political Federation. There the amendment passed unanimously.

Other important labor groups to announce support of the amendment during the past week are the Chicago Federation of Labor, Machinists L. U. 271 in Birmingham, Ala.; United Textile Workers L. U. 2096 in Lakewood, Ohio, and the Lake County, Ohio, Central Labor Union. In High Point, N. C.,

MAKE FREEDOM CONSTITUTIONAL is the title of a 3-cent, 12-page pamphlet by Aaron Levenstein on the Hillquit Amendment, issued by the Young People's Socialist League of New York City. The pamphlet has a preface by Norman Thomas.

Prices on bundle orders may be secured from the YPSL, 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

the UTW local endorsed the amendment.

The Southern Tenant Farmers Union, militant organization of the the sharecroppers, went on record endorsing the amendment and began planning a concerted campaign for it.

The fight goes on! *Has Your Union Endorsed It!*

NEW YORK.—L. U. 12646 of the Bookkeepers and Stenographers endorsed the Hillquit Amendment.

What CAN I Do?

1 CALL readers are urged to introduce resolutions in their unions and organizations pledging support to the Hillquit Amendment, known as H. J. Res. No. 327.

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

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

(b) Your Congressman in Washington.

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

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

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

3 Write and agitate that the State Legislatures may memorialize Congress to adopt it.

4 Order MAKE FREEDOM CONSTITUTIONAL pamphlets from the YPSL, 21 East 17th Street, N. Y. C., write the national offices of the Socialist Party for more literature.

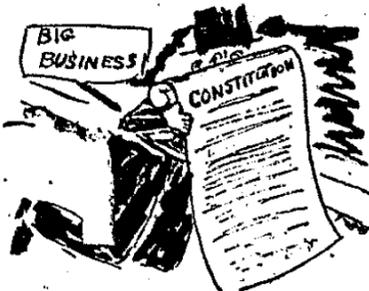
5 Talk about the amendment to your shop mates and neighbors, your friends and relatives.

DO YOUR SHARE IN BEHALF OF LIBERTY

OUR OBSOLETE CONSTITUTION

By CHARLES STEWART and SIGMUND ROTHSCHILD

1 History has a habit, in football language, of reversing its field. In 1789 and long after business men wanted Congress given as much authority as possible. Their leader, Hamilton, proposed that Congress have power to pass all laws, subject to veto. Later Marshall ruled that Congress had more power than the plain words of the Constitution seemed to give it.



2 Today most business men are glad that Congress has no more power than it has. The Constitution, as it is, has proved very useful to them—thanks to decisions of the Supreme Court. If the national government had more authority Congress could put a brake on their money-making. Whether it actually would, is another question.

3 On the other hand, most farmers and workers in 1789 and later agreed with Jefferson that Congress should be strictly limited in its powers. They thought the greatest danger to their liberty was a strong, militaristic, dictatorial government 'way off in Washington. The first ten amendments aimed to protect them from such a central government.



4 They had these views because they expected the country to remain an agricultural country, with few large cities, with few industries. They hoped to live in a simple farming country-side, with none of the evils of European industrial life. But history proved Jefferson wrong. Hamilton right. The drift toward industry was too strong to be stopped.

5 The common people of Jefferson's time sought independence by making their home State stronger than the central government. To fight for independence today in a nation overrun by a spider-web of business, workers realize that only the national government can protect them. If the workers are to use the government to protect themselves, the Hillquit Amendment is the first step.

