

Norman Thomas

*An Open Letter
To The Legion*

SEE PAGE 12.

Socialist Call

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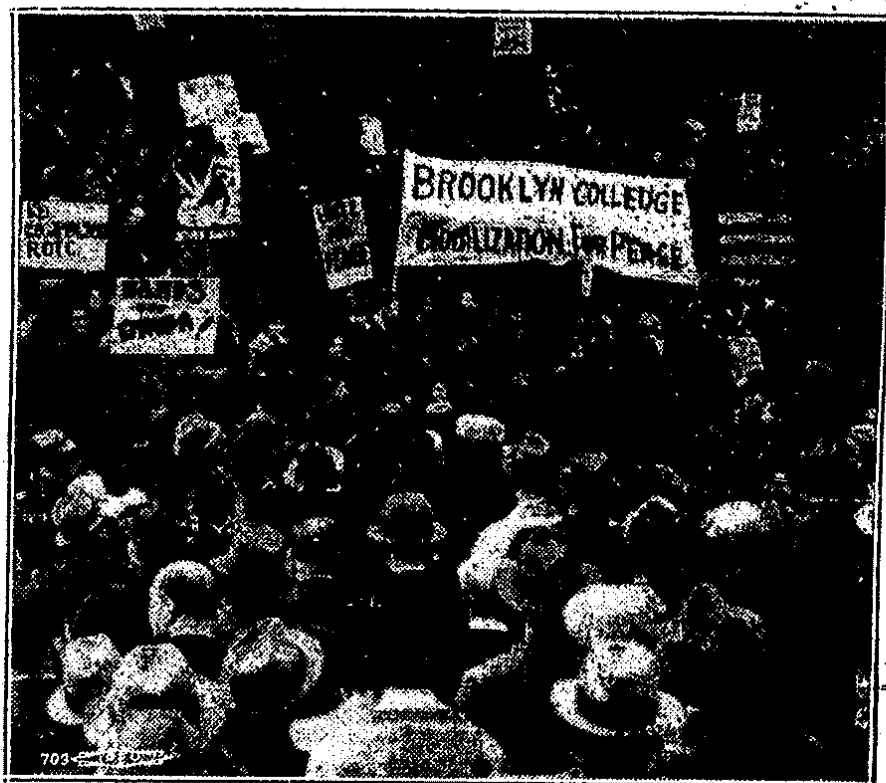
Vol. 1.—No. 35.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1935.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

ATLANTIC, PACIFIC LONGSHOREMEN AID GULF DOCK STRIKE

—STORE ON PAGE TWO



5,000 OF 200,000 STUDENTS who took a solemn pledge not to support "the United States Government in any war it may conduct." Here's the Brooklyn College mass meeting. It was just one of many meetings sponsored by representative organizations of American youth on Armistice Day this year. (Story on Page 12).

Youth Gets Ready For the Showdown

While American college students demonstrated and protested against war, these London youth were trying on gas masks as they marched through the streets. Thousands of British students have joined their American fellows, however, in taking a firm stand against imperialist war.

All around the world youth is beginning to realize that it is they who will serve as capitalism's cannon fodder. And that is why, in increasing numbers, they are rallying in a firm demand for "No more War!"



These armored trucks in Vienna are being held in readiness for an expected workers' revolt against the brutal Fascist dictatorship. More than 1,000 Socialists were arrested last week in a futile attempt by police to smash the underground movement.

BIG DOCK WALK-OUT SPREADING

NEW ORLEANS (Special).—As supporting union boycotts at Atlantic and Pacific ports slowly became effective, striking dock-workers here and at Lake Charles continued their battle for higher pay and recognition, in the face of federal court injunctions and mass arrests.

At Lake Charles, where the union has waged one of its stiffest fights, U. S. marshals, armed with guns and with a federal order restraining unionists from interfering with ship loadings, opened the port for strike-breakers. Union officials announced however, that they would fight the injunction in the courts.

On the docks here, police suddenly swooped down upon union pickets and arrested several score of the strikers without warning. Acting under instructions of Police Superintendent Reyer, the cops permitted only eight pickets at each dock, thus allowing wholesale strike-breaking.

Seamen on half a dozen ships in the harbor here have gone on strike, however, in protest against scab loading of the vessels.

N. Y. Ban Confusing

NEW YORK.—Although orders have gone out from headquarters of the International Longshoremen's Association that no scab-loaded ships from gulf ports are to be worked by New York dock workers, the orders were not effective during the first week of the boycott. Other cities, however, reported that scab-loaded ships were not being unloaded.

Chief blame for ineffectiveness of the New York ban was laid on the shoulders of John F. Ryan and other ILA officials, who ordered the dock workers to unload certain ships and not to unload certain others, apparently with little real reason for the discrimination.

New Dock Fights Loom

SAN FRANCISCO (Special).—New labor battles threatened to shake the west coast waterfronts, as the issue of unloading "hot" or scab cargo ships again jumped to the fore, this time in connection with the strike of longshoremen at gulf ports.

The first shown-down on the issue was at San Pedro, harbor of Los Angeles, where longshoremen refused to work the Katrina Luckenbach, loaded with scab labor at Lake Charles, La.

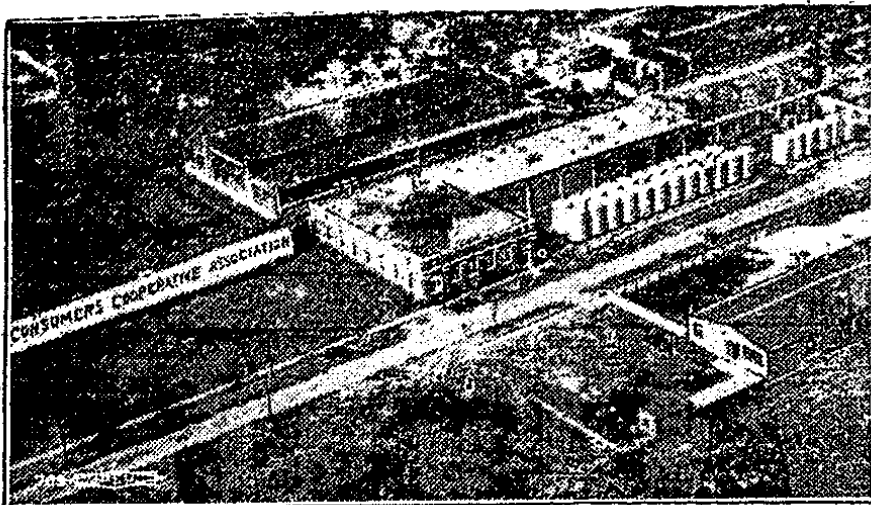
When District President William J. Lewis of the International Longshoremen's Association notified steamship companies owning gulf ships that cargo from struck ports would not be handled by ILA men, the employers quickly shot back at him a charge that this is in violation of the agreement recently effected with the unions after arbitration.

Meanwhile, a sensation was created by The San Francisco Chronicle, a conservative daily paper, when it charged that shipping owners are threatening a boycott of the paper because it will not color its news to suit the employers' fancies. The boycott move, declared the Chronicle, was made at a meeting of the policy committee of the Waterfront Employers' Association.

WAGES DOWN ON THE FARM

WASHINGTON.—The average wage of farm laborers in America is \$20.57 a month with board and \$30.38 without board, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics reports.

CO-OP SEES PROSPERITY



The Consumers' Cooperative Association in North Kansas, Mo., has been doing pretty well since it bought this oil compounding plant from a bankrupt capitalist company. Now 16 more co-op oil associations throughout Iowa have joined the 284 local retail cooperatives doing business with the CC—so it looks like prosperity ahead.

'FREE BY XMAS' HARLAN DRIVE

By JOHN BEFFEL

NEW YORK.—Launching of a "Pardon the Harlan Miners by Christmas" campaign was announced here by the Kentucky Miners' Defense Committee, a specially organized section of the General Defense Committee.

Funds will be raised and publicity issued by the committee in preparation for the sending of a delegation to Frankfort, Ky., to intercede with Governor Ruby Laffoon before he leaves office in December, for the release of the seven Harlan County coal miners who were sent to prison for life for defending their lives against company gunmen at Evarts on May 5, 1931.

The delegation will include wives and children of the prisoners, well known Kentucky clergymen, and various labor union representatives.

Announcement of the campaign was made by Herbert Mahler, secretary-treasurer of the Miners' Defense Committee.

Mahler was in Kentucky in August, when he visited the prisoners at the penitentiary in Frankfort, and the scene of the battle in Evarts. At that time he obtained the affidavit from the widow of Big Jim Daniels, chief of the Black Mountain Coal Company gunmen, attesting her belief that the seven convicted men are innocent.

Wisconsin Unions Rap Armories Plan

KENOSHA, Wis.—Demanding that relief funds be used for homes, schools and hospital, not for guns, the Kenosha Trades and Labor Council voted unanimously here last week to oppose vigorously the proposed expenditure of \$1,100,000 of WPA money to build national guard armories in the state of Wisconsin.

Following receipt of a letter from the Terre Haute (Ind.) Central Labor Union describing the terror against labor prevailing under military rule in that city, the local trade unionists expressed fears that the proposed armories would be used to train troops to break strikes or to shoot hungry, unemployed men whose economic plight is made more gloomy by the waste of public money on armories.

The resolution opposing the armories was introduced by Gilbert E. Fehner, CIO secretary.

Seven AFL Internationals Unite In Progressive Bloc

WASHINGTON.—Directly challenging the forces of craft unionism within the American Federation of Labor, representatives of seven powerful international unions have solidified their ranks in a "Committee for Industrial Organization," formed at a meeting here last week-end.

The committee's purposes were officially listed after the meeting as:

1. "To work for the principles and policies enunciated by these (sponsoring) organizations at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor"; and
2. "To encourage and promote organization of the workers in the mass production and unorganized industries of the nation and their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor."

Unions represented at the conference here included some of the largest within the federation. They were the United Mine Workers, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Typographical Union, United Textile Workers; Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers; United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers' International Union; and International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

'Left' Bloc Welded

The uniting of all these internationals in a compact unit was seen as corroborating reports first published in the CALL of the welding of a solid "left" bloc within the AFL which will fight for industrial unionism and other progressive policies rejected by the recent Atlantic City convention.

This was further indicated when John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, an outstanding opponent of the old-line craft leaders at the convention, was elected president of the committee. John Brophy, also of the UMW, was named as director, and Charles P. Howard, president of the Typos, was chosen secretary.

Will Add To Ranks

Other committee members elected at the organization meeting were David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU; Sidney Hillman, president of the ACW; Max Zaritsky, of the Hatters; Thomas E. McMahon, president of the UTW; Harvey C. Fleming, president of the Oil Workers, and Thomas H. Brown, president of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

Indications that the group would seek to recruit greater strength to its ranks was seen in the announcement that "other organizations interested in advancing organization work along the

BROPHY SCORES JIM-GROW RULE

WASHINGTON.—Charging that work of the American Federation of Labor committee on the Negro problem has been sabotaged and that its recommendations have been suppressed, John Brophy, secretary of the committee, has handed in his resignation to President William Green of the Federation.

Brophy's action reflects the sharp dissatisfaction with the executive council's handling of the issue of discrimination against Negroes in trade unions, which was expressed in the closing hours of the AFL convention at Atlantic City by President A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Brophy declares that the San Francisco motion provided that his committee "report to the next convention." Green and the executive council, he says, "denied us the right to so report to the 55th annual convention held recently in Atlantic City. Even our formal recommendations to the convention were suppressed in the supplemental report of the executive council on this subject."

Auto, Oil Report Huge Profit Gains

NEW YORK (FP).—Auto and oil companies are slithering upward into new depression profit levels.

General Motors reported profits of \$30,753,088 for the third quarter of 1935, more than 35 per cent over the same period in 1934. In the first nine months of the year, the giant motor trust collected \$114,482,926 in profits, about 12 per cent on its net sales.

Shell Union Oil Corp., too, announced big gains for its shareholders. Its \$3,882,914 profit for the third quarter of the year was more than 100 per cent of that for the same time in 1934. Net earnings of Tide Water Oil Co. for the July-September stretch were more than \$1,000,000 higher than in 1934.

Lines of industrial unionism will be invited to participate in the activities of the committee and name representatives to join in its work.

LABOR IN ACTION

By JOHN HERLING

This week in Alabama, where the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company and numerous smaller mining companies wage war against the United Mine Workers, nine men, many of them officials of mining companies, are charged with first-degree murder of Virgil Thomas, union organizer. At the same time six of the organizer's fellow-members were seriously wounded when their automobile was attacked from ambush by machine gun fire. Organized labor has its eyes on Governor Bibb Graves who is being urged to find a special prosecutor uncontrolled by mine owners.

The women of Philadelphia organized a consumers' committee to support the strike of 1,200 underwear workers of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. Manufacturers had instituted injunction proceedings against the workers who object to an \$8 to \$18 wage level. Under the code, the rate was \$21 to \$40. Hours were raised from 37½ to 45 and 54 per week. Ninety per cent of the underwear workers answered the call of the ILGWU, which is carrying on the campaign to unionize the city's 25 underwear shops.

The Graysville Hosiery Mills in Graysville, Tenn., failed to open when 100 men and women workers walked out when the management announced a cut in piece-work rates.

In Putnam, Conn., workers of the M. Salzburg silk mill returned to work when the owners agreed to take back 200 strikers after a seven-week struggle. The mill promised to operate at full capacity for the next seven or eight months with a satisfactory wage scale.

John Gillis, secretary of the Woodsawyers' Union of Portland, Ore., who has just been sentenced to a 20-year prison term, will be supported by organized labor in the fight against his conviction. Gillis was framed with the charge of hiring thugs to shoot a non-union sawyer during a recent strike. Anti-union forces in the city are threatening to file charges against Gillis's lawyer for defending his client. In this city, union taxicab drivers have won a one-week strike, increased wages and reduction of hours.

Members and sympathizers of the warehouse employees' local union of St. Louis are picketing the 300 Kroger chain stores and the Kroger warehouse. The workers are on strike for an increase in wages, full seniority rights to prevent discrimination against union members and a closed shop. The organized unemployed are aiding in the picketing in response to an appeal for help.

Joseph Padway of Milwaukee, attorney for the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, will be associate defense counsel in the so-called Barron "riot" cases, to be heard late this month. The defendants include Gerhardt Sorenson, secretary-treasurer of the Barron County Farmers' Holiday Association, and John Harkness, past president, who were granted retrials following conviction for "inciting to riot" in connection with an attempted foreclosure proceeding against Andrew Harkness, a farmer.

SOCIALISTS SCORE BIG GAINS

Jobless Organizer Jailed As Vagrant By Indiana Militia

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—Hoot Rasmussen, organizer for the Workers' Alliance of America, was arrested and held for three days on a charge of vagrancy by local and military authorities.

He was on his way to a convention of the Vigo County Federation of the Workers' Alliance in West Terre Haute when a squad car made him pull over. He was questioned and his car searched before he was taken to the police station where he was photographed as a criminal and a record made of his fingerprints.

One of the military men who questioned him said, "All you do is go around creating dissatisfaction." Rasmussen answered, "No, economic conditions have already done that."

He was released through the efforts of Max Schafer, vice-president of the Vigo County Federation of Labor.

Hapgood Trial Postponed

TERRE HAUTE, Ind. (Special).—Cases of three Socialists who were arrested here two months ago on charges of "vagrancy" and "interfering with the police" may never come to trial.

This was indicated here last Friday, when the cases, which arose out of attempts by the three defendants to break martial law imposed by Governor Paul V. McNutt, were postponed indefinitely in city court. It was the third delay of the trial thus far.

The defendants were Powers Hapgood, Socialist national executive committeeman; Leo Vernon, party organizer, and Aron S. Gilmartin, national secretary of the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee.

MOONEY 'TRIAL' RECESS CALLED

SAN FRANCISCO.—With the case for Tom Mooney virtually completed, hearings on his plea for a writ of habeas corpus have been adjourned until November 18 to allow the state to prepare its case.

After that date, Mooney's counsel will present what little evidence remains to be given to complete the vindication of the heroic labor martyr. The state will then go into action, and as soon as all testimony is in on both sides, attorneys for the petitioner and the respondent will present their final arguments, bringing the hearings to a close.

Public interest is focused on what will happen when former District Attorney Fickert, who directed the original Mooney frame-up, takes the stand for the state. Because of the biased attitude of the referee which would have hampered direct examination of Fickert, Frank P. Walsh, Mooney attorney, announced that he will not call Fickert himself, but will rely on getting the truth from him through cross-examination when he is called by the state.

When the hearings were adjourned, Fickert was in court and was told to return on November 18.

PARTY MAKES RECORD GAINS IN CITY POLLS

Coming from all parts of the nation, final returns on elections held in scores of cities last week gave the Socialist Party its greatest vote gains of history.

In Bridgeport, Conn., and Reading, Pa., full city tickets were swept into office by record pluralities; in Olean, N. Y., the Socialists ran a strong second, losing several aldermanic seats by only a few votes; and in city after city Socialist candidates were either elected or made sharp gains at the polls.

Taylor Wins in Toledo

TOLEDO, Ohio—Running on a Labor ticket sponsored by the Central Labor Union, John C. Taylor and Theodore Zbinden were elected to the Board of Education in non-partisan elections here. Taylor is a veteran newspaper man and a well-known Socialist.

Tim McCormick, active Socialist nominated by Labor for council, is in 15th place among a field of 56 with the victors as yet undetermined. The nine councilmen will not be definitely known until next week.

Win Seat in Jeanette, Pa.

JEANETTE, Pa.—The first Socialist ever to be elected in this industrial community of 16,000 people, Earl Englehart was chosen City Councilman from the Sixth Ward here last week.

Englehart had 303 votes to the 271 polled by his closest old party opponent. The party also ran strong in other wards, presaging a sweep of the entire city at the next city election.

Gain In Buffalo

BUFFALO.—Robert A. Hoffman, Socialist candidate for president of the city council, polled 5,429 votes. The previous high Socialist vote for that office was 4,761. The straight party vote increased about 20 per cent.

66,000 in New York City

NEW YORK.—The total vote for Socialist candidates for assembly in New York City was 66,165, compared with a vote of 62,450 votes polled by Charles Solomon for mayor on the Socialist ticket in 1933.

Communists polled 51,336 votes in the city.

Gain in Nutmeg Cities

NEW HAVEN.—In addition to the Socialist sweep in Bridgeport, the Socialist Party showed considerable gains in elections in other Connecticut cities last week.

In New Haven Harold B. Hunting, candidate for mayor, polled 2,381 votes, a gain of more than 600 over the party vote in the last municipal election. Other Socialists received from 2,357 to 2,388 votes.

In Hartford Abraham Perlestein polled 729 votes in the mayoralty elections. This represented a gain of 200 over the last city election total.

Sharp Rise in Worcester WORCESTER, Mass.—Sharp gains in the Socialist vote featured the municipal elections held here

BREAKS IN



Berks County, Pa., has hitherto been known as the "Gibraltar of the Democratic Party." But Amos Leshner, Socialist, made a big crack in "Gibraltar" when he was elected county commissioner of Berks last week.

last week, with the Socialists increasing their strength approximately 80 per cent.

William A. Ahern, candidate for Mayor, received 929 votes, compared with 521 two years ago. Louis Epstein, running for alderman-at-large, topped the ticket with 1,354 votes.

Rural Vote Jumps

ITHACA, N. Y.—The Socialist vote in Tompkins County increased from 346 in the last off-year election to 477 this year. The increase was especially great in the rural townships, where considerable work was done by the Socialists.

Monroe M. Sweetland was the Socialist candidate for assemblyman.

SCOTCH LABOR GAINS

LONDON — In elections for members of municipal councils held in Scotland last week the Labor Party gained eight seats in Dundee and two in Hamilton, and added four more seats to its representation in Glasgow, under Labor rule for the past two years.

READING PLANS GIANT VICTORY MEET NOV. 21

READING, Pa. (Special)—In celebration of the greatest gains ever recorded by the Socialist Party at any one time the Socialist mayors of Milwaukee and Bridgeport, Conn., will join with Mayor-elect J. Henry Stump, Socialist, in a giant victory rally here November 21.

Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, chief executive of the city of Milwaukee for the past 19 years, and Jasper McLevy, just re-elected mayor of Bridgeport, will both come here then to help mark the widespread Socialist gains in all parts of the country and the election of the full city ticket in Reading.

The jubilee celebration will be an affair of national importance, to which Socialists from all over the country have been invited. A giant parade, to include all labor unions and unemployed organizations in the county, will march through the city to a mass meeting at the largest theatre in town.

In an attempt to help finance the Socialist national campaign of 1936, tickets are being sold at 25c each.

Stump was elected mayor last Tuesday by a plurality of over 8,000 and missed an absolute majority over both his opponents by only 59 votes. The final figures were:

Stump, Socialist	20,733
Brumtrout, Democrat	12,534
Stauffer, Republican	8,258

A big crack was also made in the "Gibraltar of the Democratic Party," Berks county, where the Socialists for the first time in history carried three county offices. Darlington Hoopes, now serving his third term as state representative from Reading, polled 29,438 votes for county judge, falling of election only through a fusion of the two old parties against him.

Socialists carried every major office in Reading with the vote for the rest of the state ranging from 17,000 to 19,000.

Laureldale, smallest community in Berks County, elected a complete Socialist administration, polling more votes than both old parties combined.

Send Million Thankless Thanksgiving Postcards

NEW YORK—A campaign to send 1,000,000 "Thanksgiving" postcards to President Roosevelt has been launched by the Workers Alliance of America nationwide organization of unemployed and WPA workers, according to David Lasher, national chairman. The postcards in the form of a petition, will protest the cutting of federal aid to the jobless and advance a "Thanksgiving program" of demands supported by the unemployed and organized labor.

A delegation of several hundred representatives of the Workers Alliance from 33 states will pay a Thanksgiving visit to Washington on November 26 and present their program to the White House and to Harry Hopkins, WPA Administrator.

The postcards read as follows: "President Franklin D. Roosevelt, White House, Washington, D. C. "Dear Mr. President: "Greetings to you on the seventh Thank-

giving Day of the depression. I would have something to be thankful for had you supported the program of the WORKERS ALLIANCE OF AMERICA for:

"1. A real works program providing decent wages at trade union rates instead of the miserable 'security' wages.

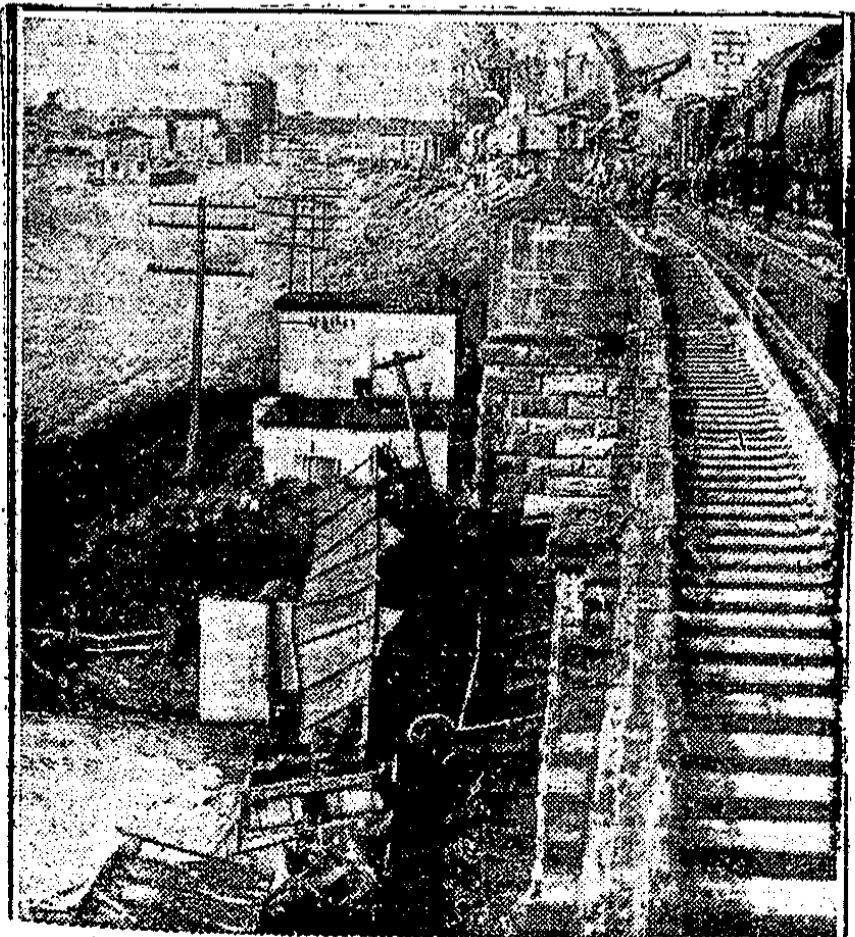
"2. A standard of relief on which the unemployed could live in decency. (It is hard to be thankful with federal relief being cut off December 1.)

"3. Passage of a 36-hour week law for industry with no reduction in pay. Passage of the Luncheon Unemployment Insurance Bill.

"4. The adoption of the Workers Right Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. "As it is, I have little to be thankful for on Thanksgiving Day, 1935.

"Very truly yours, (Signed)"

LOSE LIVES IN CRASH



When part of this freight train jumped the tracks and fell into a river 60 feet below, Maryland railroad officials busied themselves salvaging the goods. But, although it was estimated that a dozen transient workers were catching free rides, no search was made for their bodies.

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Looking Forward—And Backward

"Offyear" elections are important, not so much in themselves, as in indicating political trends. The 1935 elections were no exceptions—and, along with every other political prognosticator, we venture the following conclusions:

1. The Socialist victories in Reading and Bridgeport and Socialist election gains in many other cities are more than a sign of vague dissatisfaction with the Roosevelt administration—they betoken a significant political awakening of the workers.

2. With proper Socialist work (and plenty of it), 1936 should see the election of at least three Congressmen and a Presidential vote well above the two million mark.

3. The breaking of large portions of the working-class with both the Republican and Democratic parties of capitalist rule will not result automatically in a labor party; the base must be laid in important AFL unions.

4. Wherever labor and radical sects by a "hocus-pocus" set up a labor slate of "labor party" without basing itself upon the organized labor movement, its vote was negligible. The only exception to this rule was in Detroit where Maurice Sugar polled the substantial vote of 53,000 in the race for council.

5. Sugar's high vote is to be regretted rather than hailed; it is basically a tribute to Sugar's personal popularity and can only serve to perpetuate the "good man" theory of government.

6. Wherever the "labor slate" was supported by the organized labor movement (as in Toledo) the election of officials and high vote polled clearly shows the political power for the organized working-class.

7. The disappointing Socialist vote in New York City was due to:

(a) The absence of an energetic central campaign;
(b) The failure to recruit widely during the past year, due to the inner-party situation, and the weakening of the party forces;

(c) The failure to enlist the powerful needle-trades unions into support for the Socialist position;

(d) The Lang and Nemser episodes which seriously hurt the Party, particularly among the trade unions.

8. The equally small communist vote proves that the way toward the mobilization of the masses lies not in the shouting of empty slogans which ignore the class war nor in popular reformism.

In any case—the masses are ready. Are we?
The answer was given by John G. Cooper whose campaign established the Socialist Party as the second party in Olean, N. Y. In a statement to the CALL, an hour after the election returns became known, he declared:
"Our campaign begins tomorrow!"

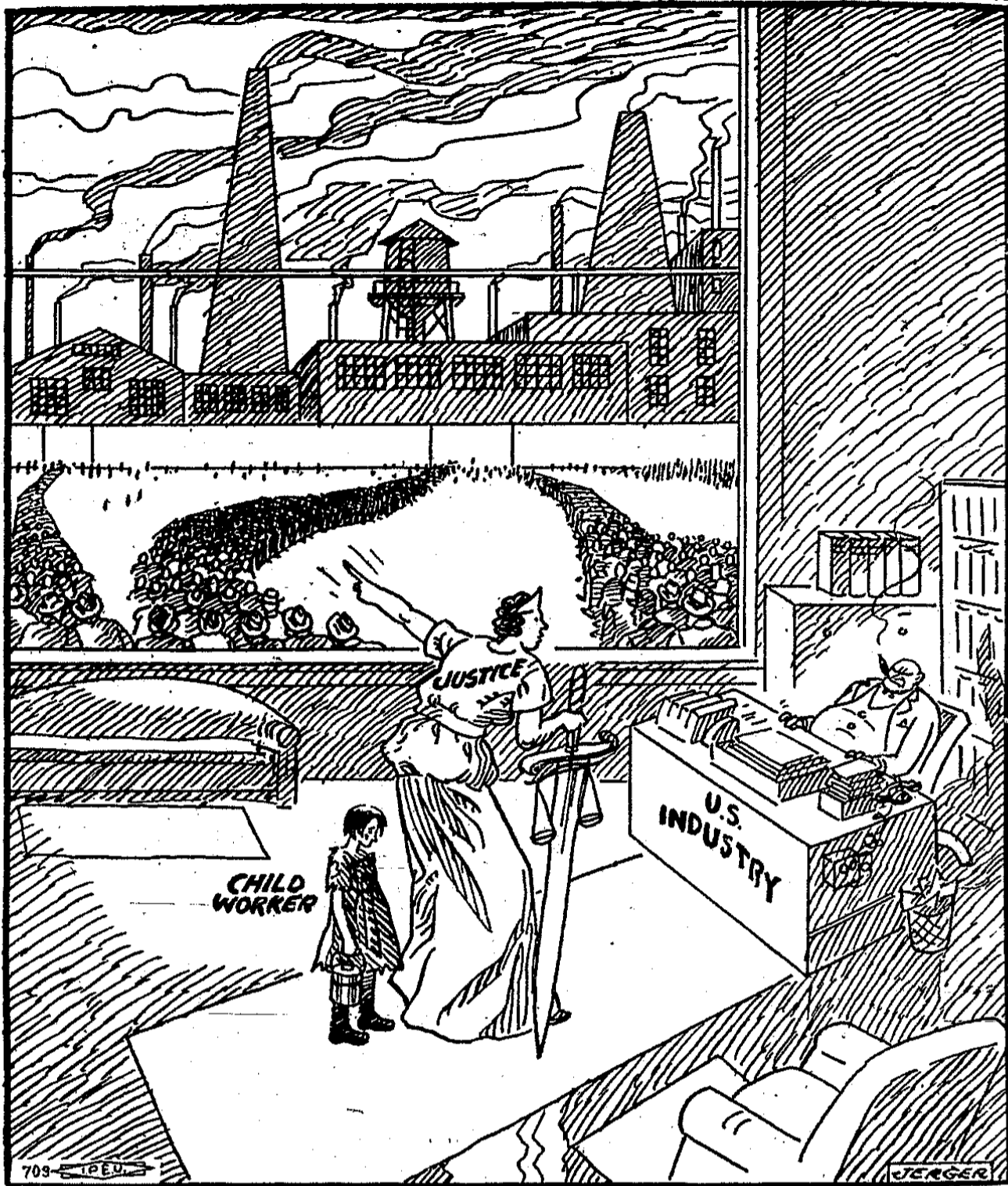
The Road to Recovery—At Lower Wages!

The greatest danger that confronts the American worker at this moment is an attack on his level of living. The Brookings Institute has issued a statement to the effect that the way to "recovery" lies through increased production at LOWER PRICES. It seeks to cover up the fine meaning of this phrase by arguing that the improvement of machinery should make this possible.

The truth is that "increased production at lower prices," so long as capitalism continues, can only mean lower wages for the working class as a whole. While a few, in favored industries, can make a little more than they did, by working at top-speed, most of the workers will suffer through the speed-up, through the elimination of jobs, through the instability of the market.

"Greater production at lower prices" has always been a possible way out of the depression. The present administration thought it could avoid this drastic step. Now that illusions on that point are ended, Roosevelt or his successor may well resort to it.

JUSTICE—EMPLOYERS' STYLE



JUSTICE: "Why is this child compelled to work when millions of adults are jobless?"
CAPITALISM: "Well, madam, if you must know, there's more profit in kids!"

The United Front On The Left Bank

To the Editor:

Because there does not even seem to be a united approach toward the problem of a united front of Socialists and communists, may we make a suggestion to clarify one point?

There are two kinds of communists: workers who are engaged in the labor struggle, who are class conscious and who work for Socialism—and literary snipers. Socialists must show their class solidarity with the former. The latter are pecksniffy playboys fresh from Dadaism and Rejuvenation, who devote themselves to the ritual of setting up literary barricades in defense of sectarianism in arty little hyper-left magazines which circulate as far as Rahway, N. J. Unfortunately, it is this latter group which here in New York has tended to set the type, undermining the fight for a united front while giving editorial apoplexy to our ideologically prophylactic proponents of sewer socialism.

My suggestion is that we ex-

The letters appearing in this column do not necessarily express the point of view of the CALL. Letters should not be more than 200 words long. All letters must be signed, although the name will be omitted if requested.

tend our hand to the workers and kick the artists over the left bank.
MORRIS SCHOENFELD,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE ARTICLE ON THE CAMDEN STRIKE

To the Editor:

Please ask Van Gelder to rewrite his article on the Camden strike for widespread distribution as a propaganda leaflet. I think that the Glasgow Trades and Labor Council and the Glasgow Socialist local would want two or three thousand of them.

Please pass this on to Van Gelder. In all the good things The CALL has brought us—and we think it is the best thing that has happened in the revolutionary movement since God knows when

—I am inclined to give Van Gelder's article first place.

More power to The CALL.
HAVEN P. PERKINS
Glasgow, Mont.

SOCIALISTS AND THE REVOLUTION

To the Editor:

The awakening which followed the catastrophe that overtook our Austrian comrades has forced all Socialists to re-examine the effectiveness of Social Democracy as the leader of those who seek to accomplish the socialization of the means of production. And rightly so. Fascism a la Mussolini was a surprise move on the part of capitalism; fascism a la Hitler was a determined displacement of a decrepit and strife-torn labor movement. Our Austrian Party knew of the reactionary designs. It enjoyed the implicit faith of the workers: it made provisions to oppose force with force, it eventually did fight—but fascism won. This last experience slung us to the quick.

The relationship between Socialism and democracy remains among the unsolved phases of the Sphinx. The explanations and formulae opened to date by the theoretically-minded comrades resemble the shades of the rainbow. Many more, it seems, will be evolved before the overwhelming majority of Socialists will recognize the missing link.

We are indeed fortunate that the problem is of theoretical value only. This fact allows for a cautious discussion.
Brooklyn, N. Y. JAY STEIN,

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WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

Consider the British Labor Party. For years it has been held up as a model for American Socialists to admire and to imitate. We have been told that if ever Socialism is to make progress in this country, it will inevitably be along the lines now followed, indeed, made sacred, by the Labor Party. Its lack of "sectarian dogmatism," its "sane" and practical program, its ability to make terms with the weaknesses and the foibles of the British electorate were praised as sources of strength. We here were futile, we were told, because we had not even launched a labor party. We would forever remain "futile" until we had a party identical with the labor movement, and devoted to the realization of a political labor program.

There had been movements when, no matter how insistent the advocates of such a labor party, some of us had our doubts. We were not certain that it was wise to take responsibility without power. We were not sure that anything had been accomplished by the first labor movement in 1924. We were rather more than certain, in 1931, that MacDonald's pathetic failure and futile defection were the outcome, not only of his personal weaknesses, but were as much the consequences of the nature of the party itself.

B. L. P. Recovers

Then we heard that the Labor Party was recovering from the blow that MacDonald dealt it. It had adopted sounder resolutions. Never again would it take responsibility without power. It was growing again. It was winning by-elections. In the municipal elections of a year ago it swept the country. It was headed for a tremendous victory. It might even capture a majority of Parliament in the next general elections. And then—ah, and then. Then it would, so we were told, proceed to realize a truly Socialist program. There were still skeptics who doubted. But the optimists were more numerous, and much more vocal, just wait and see. British Labor was coming into its own.

Now consider its position.

The British Labor Party is opposed to war. One of its major virtues in the eyes of the working class is precisely its pacifism. It has always been able to appeal from the government to the people on matters pertaining to armaments, foreign relations, sabre-rattling and the like, and has always been assured of a large following. As a corollary to its anti-war position it has been wholeheartedly for the League of Nations. It gave to the League at least two of its luminaries, MacDonald and Henderson.

Now the British government, in its eager search for weapons with which to smite the up-and-coming Mussolini, who dared to hope for an empire that would rival proud Britannia's, discovered such an implement in the League of Nations. For a dozen years the League had languished, without power and prestige, a debating society, he mock and butt of all the world's wits. Now, under the skillful hands of Hoare and Anthony Eden it blossomed forth like a green bay tree. It sprouted power and vigor—and sanctions.

The Present Situation

At this point in the comedy the Conservative government in power called the long-awaited general elections. They are to be held on November 14. There is the government, a conservative, anti-labor government, asking the approval of the masses for its policies. Its major policy is approval of the League of Nations—and of sanctions. And there is the Labor Party asking that the government be ousted, and that it be put into power. For what? To back the League of Nations—and sanctions! Was ever a revolutionary party in a more ridiculous, a more desperate situation?

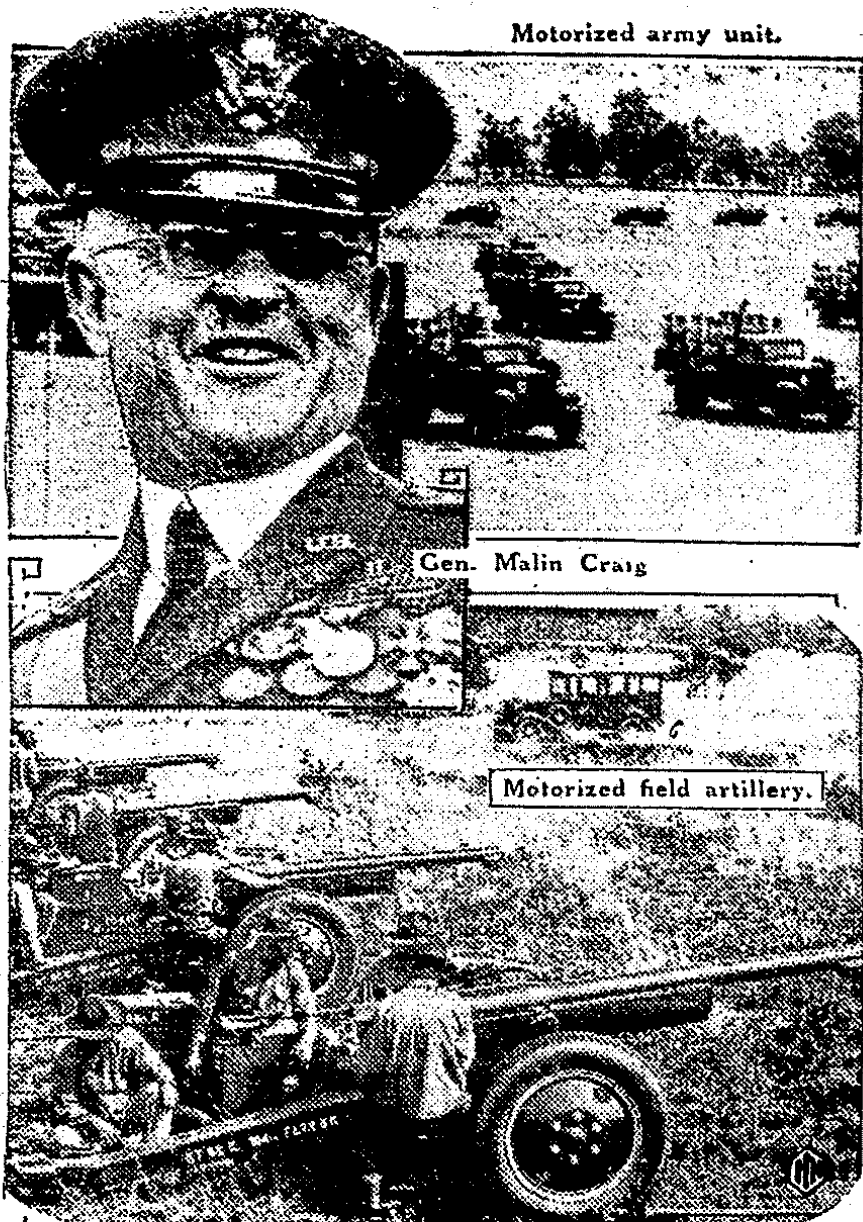
To be sure, the Labor Party can argue for its domestic program. More—it will! To be sure, it can and will attack the many shortcomings of the present government. To be sure, it will assert that in its hands English foreign policy will be far more safely pacifist. All this will fall on deaf ears.

Most men are not philosophers. They will not grasp subtle distinctions. To them it will seem as if Labor and Conservatives had formed a united front against fascism—even to the point of war with Italy. They will see no reason to change from Conservatives to Labor. Labor is hoist with its own petard. And if the English communists follow the new lines as meticulously as their American brothers, they will be in this very broad united front as well.

In all this there is a lesson for the Socialist who has the sense to see it.

In the meantime, consider again the plight of the British Labor Party.

CHIEF SMILES—NEW GUNS



General Malin Craig, the army's new chief of staff, is all smiles—and why not? The war babies are getting more and more guns as the President bolsters his "neutrality" program by the biggest military appropriations in peace time.

TRUE STORIES FROM LIFE

By THE BYSTANDER

WHAT PRICE SCABBING

The investigator had gone, but the pleasant aura of sunshine that only a trained social worker can leave still lingered in the room.

Matt looked at his wife sadly. She hung her head. She felt guilty. The reduced food check was all her fault. The investigator had said so. She had spent forty-six cents of their last meager food check for two undershirts for the baby. The investigator had been very angry and consequently had reduced their food allowance.

Matt's conscience wasn't so easy either. Last week he had earned \$4.00 fixing someone's car and now their rent payment would be skipped for a month. He wondered where he would get the money to pay the landlord.

That evening their neighbor, Mrs. Jones, dropped in. She seemed very cheerful. Jones had gotten a job.

"Why don't Matt go down and take a job there? They still need men. They pay \$3.00 a day," she said.

"Where?" Matt looked up. "The new bridge. The job'll last a year." Mrs. Jones spoke with great emphasis.

Not a Scab

"Scabbin'! Not me." Matt almost spat the words. He hated a scab. "Belly-robbers," he called them.

Mrs. Jones left, muttering darkly, something about scabbin' bein' better than starvin'.

The next day Matt decided to go down to the bridge just to see what was going on.

When he neared the bridge he saw a few steel uprights and the partly finished ramp. A few laborers were moving about. A bridge was being built. The

tall spires of steel, the smell of new cement, inspired him.

"Progress," he thought aloud. "Work and progress. Oh, I want work, I'm sick of relief. I'm sick of barely enough to eat. I'm sick of investigators with their snooping. I want my children to have real food and real milk, instead of canned white wash. I'm going to work. Scabbing or no, I'm going to work!"

He quickened his step. Then he heard the noon whistle. The men stopped work and started for lunch.

He saw his friend Jones coming across the street toward him. He raised his hand and called:

"Hi, Jones."

The Price You Pay

Jones looked up, started to return the greeting, and then he stopped. He turned and shuffled off in another direction. Such a look of shame came over his face that Matt stood there staring after him for a long time.

"So that's the price you pay for work. I'll stay on relief."

PROSPERITY NOTE?

NEW HAVEN.—It was fat feeding for the big-wigs of the Democratic Party when they gathered here last Saturday for a state party banquet in honor of National Chairman James A. Farley and Attorney General Homer S. Cummings.

The dinner cost just \$25 a plate!

DEBATES AND DRAMA

By McAlister Coleman

In our new function as dramatic critic we have a hunch that we shall witness nothing more dramatic this season than the conflict to be waged this coming Sunday evening at New York's Mecca Temple on West 55th Street.

There we shall participate in the exciting clash of ideas held by two outstanding leaders of American thought. When Norman Thomas and Upton Sinclair come to grips on the subject, "Production for Use—Can It Be Established Under Capitalism?" we'll have an evening a heap sight more stirring than those we have been spending of late watching noble proletarians being shot up by wicked bosses or contemplating the difficulties involved in getting two young persons into bed. Both



COLEMAN

protagonists count their followers by the hundreds of thousands. Both come straight from the field of struggle, close and vital contact with the realities of the political and industrial life of the country. To miss this debate will be to miss the dramatic event of the season. See you at the Mecca Temple Sunday evening!

Let us now consider the state of the nation, a subject dear to the hearts of public speakers who have nothing to speak about, Nicholas Murray Butler, and columnists devoid of ideas.

We have just gone through the motions of an election. Out our way we have gone solemnly to the polls to decide by our ballots a crucial issue which divided the local electorate into two hostile camps. It revolves around a road-scraper purchased for our borough last summer by a Republican Council. A number of middle-aged Republicans who didn't get in on the passing out of the contract gravy went suddenly Bolshevik prior to the election and formed themselves into the Young Republicans. They went about hollering that the price paid by the Old Guard Council for the road-scraper was out of all proportions and they hinted darkly that the bird who sold the road-scraper to the borough had come through with not only gravy but an entire gravy boat and ladle as well.

Instantly the lines were drawn. The Old Guard Republicans accused the Young Republicans of sinister designs upon the solidarity of the party. It was alleged that they (the Young Republicans) had been holding secret caucuses in the back of the bowling-alley and that they were being financed by a mysterious cabal into which the Democrats had been quietly boring. It must be understood here that in the section of New Jersey which we decorate, a Democrat is as rare as an honest banker. Little children are taught to walk on the other side of the street when they see a naughty Democrat approaching. For, you see, my dear, these Democrats are almost as bad as radicals. They say terrible things about the Supreme Court and did not vote for our beloved Harold G. Hoffman for governor, the old meanies.

Incidentally I might explain our community's attitude towards Socialists. We are in a category of our own, like Aadvarks, Gnus and other strange fauna. We are regarded as mildly but not dangerously insane and allowed to exist as interesting specimens of the results of political aberrations. So it's the Democrats in our borough who wear the haunted looks of harassed heretics.

The Rank and File Arise

To get back to the road-scraper rebellion. The Young Republicans got under full steam in an amazingly short time. The Old Guard contented itself with issuing indignant denials that they had made one red penny out of the road-scraper sale. The Old Guard, alarmed by the steadily increasing strength of the Y. R.'s, began a party purge and proceeded to toss out the few members of the organization who were not suffering from hardening of the arteries. To no avail. Up to the last minute the Old Guard refused staunchly to surrender. But when the votes were counted they died all over the borough. An indignant populace arose and swept the Young Republicans into office.

Oh, sure, we have unemployment, starvation, wages in our local works, the usual suffering and heart-breaks and unnecessary agonies that follow in the wake of the system. But to hell with all that. The question we decided was who got the road-scraper gravy?

'Three To Go!' Killers Tell Kansas City Cops

KANSAS CITY (Special).— Three more active Socialists are on the list to follow William N. Polley, murdered Socialist and union leader—but the local police are doing nothing about it.

It was revealed here this week that some time after Polley was brutally murdered by hired gangsters, the police received a letter which declared "there were three to go." Police, however, are continuing their "investigation" which, according to local reporters, will become another of Kansas City's unsolved labor murders. Polley, a business agent of the teamsters and truck drivers' union, was shot as he was going home from a negotiations conference with employers. At that conference, he had spurned further offers of delay and had walked out after delivering a strike ultimatum. He was killed less than an hour afterward.

Raise \$15,000

The organized labor movement, represented by the Central Labor Council of Kansas City, Missouri, has raised \$15,000 to be used in an effort to bring the murderers to trial. Five thousand dollars has been set aside as a reward for information leading to the conviction of the gangsters and the other \$10,000 will be used for independent investigation.

The Socialist Party labor committee has also hired an independent investigator. Little dependence is placed on the police because of the political power of the north side gangster element, suspected of the murder.

Is Fourth Murder

Polley's murder marks the fourth killing of a unionist in five years. The first was Peter McKay, a union carpenter, who was shot to death in June, 1930. On January 16, 1935, J. M. Stubblefield, a leader in the carpenters' union, was ambushed at the union hall and killed. He was followed by Ray Fixley, a brother of Robert P. Fixley, active unionist, in February, 1934.

None of these murders were ever solved.

Thousands turned out to the

Polley funeral, one of the largest ever held in the Southwest. The building trades department of the AFL issued a call for a one-day "holiday" to allow union workers to attend.

"HONEST" ELECTIONS

JERSEY CITY, N. J. (Special).— Here are the votes cast for ten assemblymen running on the notorious "Boss" Hague slate:

117,432	117,442
117,446	117,452
117,453	117,452
117,458	117,458
117,460	117,461

We wonder what the examination of the ballots would reveal?

Labor Sport Groups Lay Olympiad Plans

CLEVELAND.—H. Heufer was elected chairman and P. Bordou was chosen secretary of the Middle States District of the Workers' Sports League of America at an organization meeting held here.

Definite plans for the World Labor Olympiad to be held here next July were discussed by the delegates, and it was announced that Finnish and German sports groups will prepare special gymnastic numbers for the occasion and that the Young People's Socialist League will enter a complete track team.

Hy Fish, editor of the Labor and Socialist Press Service and former national executive committeeman of the YPSL, represented the Socialist Party at the meeting.

PLAN THEATRE PARTY

NEW YORK.—The night after Christmas, Thursday, December 26, is the date for the American Socialist Quarterly theatre party, it was announced this week. It will be held at the Civic Repertory Theatre, on 14th street, where the Theatre Union's production of Maxim Gorki's "Mother" will be shown.

JAILED FOR 'CONSPIRACY'



These four pretty salesgirls at the May Department Store in Brooklyn, N. Y., face jail terms for "conspiracy to interfere with business." It seems that they struck against low wages and picketed the store.

Maniac Bomber Becomes 'Red Terrorist' To Hearst

By CARL HAESSLER

CHICAGO (FP).—The handling by Wm. Randolph Hearst's newspapers of the Milwaukee maniac who terrorized that city for eight days is a farcically sinister proof of the Hearst system of falsehood and mob incitement. Hearst's Chicago Herald and Examiner is typical of entire string of his chain of papers.

The streamer, headline on the Herald and Examiner Saturday, Nov. 2 was: BOMB TERROR BY MILWAUKEE REDS!

The only statement in the story to support the headline was the sentence: "Police believe the terrorists are maniacal reds," without quoting any police official or giving any other proof.

On Monday the streamer head-

line was: MILWAUKEE BOMBERS DIE IN BLAST.

The "reds" were out of the headline because the Hearst paper had to admit, far down in its page one story on Frank (Idzi) Rutkowski, the bomber, that "his communistic affiliations, if any, were not learned at once."

Nor were they learned later in the story, which spread over to page two.

But on Tuesday the Herald and Examiner had again forgotten its temporary frankness and came back with a three-column story on page one: BOY BOMBER'S FRIENDS SEIZED; MILWAUKEE FEARS NEW BLASTS; TERRORIST REVEALED AS RED. This was accompanied by a cartoon on page two and a boldfaced editorial "Communism in Action," on the same page.

No Jobs Here

Though police found no evidence of communist affiliations or communist literature in the dead Rutkowski's home or elsewhere in connection with him, a probation officer is made by the Hearst paper to say that Rutkowski was bitter because of unemployment and that he had heard that there was no unemployment in the Soviet Union.

The Milwaukee Journal said editorially, after Rutkowski was accidentally blown up by his own bomb: "This youth was apparently of no organization or connections."

Terrorist Supported Roosevelt

The "Milwaukee Leader," Socialist daily, in a front page editorial, said, "But what are facts to the Hearst publications here or anywhere? What are decency and idealism and protest to papers of that type? This reporting of the bombing outrage is only the most recent exhibit of the Hearst method and manner." At the same time, no sane, sober citizen can help feel the menace of that kind of journalism in his community. The poor bomber is gone, Hearst's employees, upon orders, can say

\$2.25 A Week Is Plenty For Food For Working Girl

NEW YORK (FP).—A New York City working girl can live on \$2.25 a week for food, according to Miss Lucy H. Gillett, nutrition bureau director of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, whose salary does not require her to economize to that extent.

A sample lunch or supper on the suggested budget consists of milk, an apple and bread. Half a pound of chopped meat, a quarter of a pound of beef liver and one lamb chop make up the meat allowance for a week. On meatless days, the tired working girl may journey to her light housekeeping room on a crowded subway after a round of hard labor and rebuild her energy for another day of toil by splurging on a meal having for its piece de resistance a scalloped potato with yellow turnips.

Miss Gillett offers to do her part in improving the condition of the poor working girl by giving free lessons to all comers. So far less than a dozen have responded, and the nutrition director expresses dismay at the lack of enthusiasm.

WLW Censors News Of War Shipments

CINCINNATI (Special).—News of how American manufacturers are making American "neutrality" a mockery, driving this country rapidly toward war, will not reach the American public—not if powerful radio station WLW, "the nation's station," has its way.

Recently a program called "Washington Merry-Go-Rounders" hinted at local manufacture of giant lathes for shipment to Italy. The lathes, 28 in number, are being made by the LeBlond Machine Tool Company for use in manufacturing shells; they will be shipped to the Fiat Motor Company in Italy at a cost of \$30,000 to \$50,000 each.

But when that fact went out over the air, the local station promptly canceled the program, despite a written contract. After a storm of protest, the station finally agreed to continue the program, only to cancel it again a week later.

Democrat Politician Turns Scab-Herder

CRANSTON, R. I. (Special).—"We'll remember this on election day!" was the cry of more than 500 pickets massed in front of the Imperial Flashing Company here, as they watched Michael Ruggesi, Democratic councilman, carrying scabs into the strike plant last week.

Scab-herding by Ruggesi, police, and company officials was unsuccessful. However, as only 50 of the 520 employees of the firm braved the picket lines to go to work.

anything they want about him to the commendation of the agent master in California. Against this will stand the word of the bereaved mother and the bereaved sister: "Idzy was an enthusiastic supporter of President Roosevelt." Hearst's momentary and partial honesty in his Monday edition, that communistic affiliation, if any, were not learned at once, would seem to be the final word on his attempt to breed fascist propaganda out of an embezzled youth for whom capitalists could find no job in the richest country in the world.

'TRUE AND LOYAL EMPLOYEES'



This choice collection of plug-uglies are the "nobles" of the strikebreaking racket. Edward Levinson a member of the CALL Board of Directors, exposes the strikebreaking racket in the new book, "I Break Strikes!" which tells how these underworld recruits help break strikes of union labor.

Labor Notes In New York

A fund of \$25,000 has been put in reserve to carry on a city-wide Jewish butchers' strike which will be called November 16. The strike call will be issued since the New Deal Butcher Bosses Association has "by its policies created friction rather than harmony in the industry," Joseph Belsky, secretary of Local 234 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers, declared.

More than 1,200 inside bakery workers have responded to the strike call issued by Local 50 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union. Against them are aligned huge chains such as the Gordon Baking Company, Cushman and Sons and the Purity Baking Company. They have appealed to the public for support.

Efforts of employers in children's dress shops to increase hours to 40 a week and reduce wages have been answered by a vote authorizing officers of Local 91, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, to call out 8,000 workers on the picket line, if negotiations fail.

Picketing charges against 10 members and sympathizers of the Retail Clerks Local 1250 have been continued for a week. The union is striking May's Department Store in Brooklyn.

A check of \$300 was sent to Consumers' Research strikers by President William Green for the American Federation of Labor. The CR management, headed by F. J. Schlink and J. B. Matthews, still refuse to arbitrate.

Police arrested 25 pickets in front of the Amsterdam News, Harlem weekly, where the American Newspaper Guild answered a lockout with strike action. One of the pickets was charged with the heinous crime of calling a scab a "rat!"

Negotiations are due to begin between the United Textile Workers and the manufacturers in the two-week strike at Paterson, N. J. The 8,000 silk workers have shut the town tight.

R. E. Denise, long a storm center in the Retail Clerks, will be removed from the Eastern area, it was announced last week by Samuel Rivin of Montana, an international vice-president. Rivin had been conducting an investigation for more than a month.

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THOMAS TO DEBATE SINCLAIR

CUBAN LABOR HEAD JAILED; FACES DEATH

NEW YORK.—Cesar Vilar, secretary of the National Federation of Labor of Cuba, with either be framed on a charge of attempted assassination or shot in the back "while attempting to escape," Joaquin Ordoqui, American representative of the NFL, told The CALL. The Cuban authorities, led by President Mendieta and General Batista, virtual dictators, have been conducting a campaign of terror against the trade unions there. Pointing to American domination of Cuba, Norman Thomas last week issued a strong statement asking that protests against Vilar's imprisonment be sent not only to Havana but also to Washington.

With White House Approval "The new military despotism, in control in Cuba," Thomas declared. "has arrested Vilar without warrant and without formal charges. This arrest is one in a long series of acts of brutality and oppression. The government responsible for them has the blessing and approval of President Roosevelt's representative (Jefferson Caffrey), the American Ambassador to Cuba."

The Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, of which Thomas is chairman, has protested to both Havana and Washington against the arrest of Vilar and the sentencing to six months in prison of eight of the leading trade unionists in Cuba, including Salle, secretary of the Havana Federation of Labor. The LSDC also sent its warmest fraternal greetings to the Cuban National Committee for Amnesty for Social and Political Prisoners, a joint group representing 31 political and labor organizations in Cuba.

The eight labor leaders were arrested while conferring on proposals for joint action between the National Federation and the Havana Federation. According to information received by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, they are being tortured daily in the dreaded El Principe fortress-prison.

Bookkeepers Picket Fur Workers Union

NEW YORK.—Because Michael Hadyma, manager of Local 85 of the International Fur Workers' Union, refused to abide by the decision of an informal "arbitration committee" to reinstate a fired office worker, officials of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union announced that union headquarters would be picketed by BS & AU members.

The office worker was fired after the election of a new union administration. When the BS & AU protested it was decided to let Pietro Lucchi, president of the international union, and William Collins, New York representative of the AFL, arbitrate their dispute. Despite their decision in favor of the BS & AU, however, Local 85 officials refused to rehire the girl.

MEET EDITOR PORTER
KENOSHA, Wis.—Paul Porter, former national labor secretary of the Socialist Party, is editor of Kenosha Labor, new weekly organ of the Kenosha Trades and Labor Council.

NOTICE

All members of the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League must come to the membership meeting of Local New York to discuss the bringing of charges against ten active party members including Norman Thomas and those connected with the CALL.

NORMAN THOMAS, FRANK CROSS-WAITH, MAX DELSON, MURRAY BARON will address the meeting. It will be held Sunday, November 17, at 2:30 p. m. at the Stuyvesant Casino, Second Avenue and Ninth Street.

Admission will be by membership card only.

CALENDAR

There is a 1-cent per word charge for all notices appearing in the calendar—minimum charge, 25 cents. All items must be in by Saturday of week previous to publication.

Saturday, November 16

Benefit Dance for La Parola (Socialist Italian weekly) at 107 McDougal Street (Greenwich Village). Auspices: Bellamy League (Italian-American Anti-Fascist Club). Admission: Gentlemen, 50c, Ladies, 35c.

Rebel Arts Camera Group at 2:30 p. m. at Rebel Arts Headquarters. Election of officers; class in picture taking. All invited.

Sunday, November 17

Debate between Norman Thomas and Upton Sinclair at Mecca Temple, 55th Street between 6th and 7th Avenues.

Wednesday, November 27

Debate between Norman Thomas and Earl Browder at Madison Square Garden. Auspices: Socialist Call.

Antonini Predicts

Fascist Overthrow

NEW YORK.—"Fascism in Italy will be crushed in three months if the Italo-Ethiopian war continues," Luigi Antonini, manager of Local 89 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and an international vice-president, told The CALL when he returned to New York after attending the united front Italian congress in Brussels. He was greeted by an anti-fascist demonstration of more than 3,000.

The congress was composed of representatives of republican, Socialist and communist Italians from 52 nations. Antonini represented Italo-American workers.

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'Can Production For Use Exist Under Capitalism' Is Debate Subject Sunday

NEW YORK.—Two of America's outstanding political figures will clash here Sunday night, November 17, in a debate which is expected to be one of the outstanding forsenic contests held in New York within recent years.

The two men, who will meet here for the second time since the 1934 elections, are Norman Thomas, twice the candidate of the Socialist Party for President of the United States, and Upton Sinclair, who led the EPIC movement to seek nomination and election as Governor of California on the Democratic ticket.

Baldwin To Chair

Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, will act as chairman of the debate, which is scheduled for 8 p. m. at Mecca Temple, 55th Street, between Sixth and Seventh Avenues.

Insisting that only by the establishment of socialism can real progress be made by the American people, Thomas will take the negative on the subject: "Production for Use—Can It Be Established Under Capitalism?"

Sinclair, however, who has recently put his entire hope in capturing of the "liberal" Democratic Party for his EPIC plan, will assert that production for use, the keystone of his program, is possible within the framework of the capitalist system.

Puts Faith In FDR

Repudiating his former faith in

the co-operative commonwealth, the EPIC leader has recently again declared himself as emphatically in favor of President Franklin D. Roosevelt as the bulwark against fascism in America.

If Roosevelt should be defeated in the 1936 elections, he declared, "it would cause riots and attempts at insurrection, and we should have civil war followed by fascism."

The debate here is sponsored jointly by the Socialist Call and the New York Forum. All seats are reserved, with prices at 55c, 83c, \$1.10, and \$1.85. They can be secured from the CALL, 21 East 17th Street, at bookshops throughout the city and at Mecca Temple the night of the debate.

PUBLISH UNION PAPER

NEW YORK.—After an interval of several years, the International Pocketbook Workers' Union has resumed publication of its official magazine, the International Pocketbook Worker, to appear twice monthly from now on.

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World Socialism

THE LIQUIDATION OF THE YCI

By HERBERT ZAM

The Young Communist International will be liquidated. That obviously is the sole decision of its last congress which requires any comment. The first inkling of this decision was contained in an "interview" with Gil Green, the permanent secretary of the American Y. C. I. and published in the Daily Worker of Nov. 2. The policy was further elaborated in a similar "interview" in the Young Worker dated Nov. 12. And now final confirmation of the universal character of this "new turn" is provided by a dispatch from Moscow dated Nov. 9 in which it is reported that the decision to liquidate the Young Communist International was contained in the resolution adopted at its Sixth Congress.

What is the purpose of this liquidation and what forms will it adopt? The Young Workers "interview" contains all the necessary information.

Q.—In your interview with the Daily Worker, you also speak of reconstructing the Y. C. I. into a 'non-Party' mass youth organization. Can you elaborate on this statement?"

A.—The Y. C. I. Congress called for the broadening of the youth leagues in all capitalist countries into youth organizations which unite all youth who wish to stand on a working class program, who wish to work for the transformation of society. The organizational structure of the League should be broadened to include any group of youth who wish to join such an organization.

Q.—Does the non-Party character of the League imply no connection with the Communist Party?"

A.—It implies that the League will not be a youth section of the Communist Party or any other party for that matter.

There is little reason to shed tears over the liquidation of the Young Communist International, which has done sufficient damage to the youth movement in the last seven years. But it is important for the revolutionary movement to stand guard against the ideology which is expressed in this liquidation:

Must Stress Class

The struggle for the youth is now more important than ever. Fascism has made big inroads among the youth. The new generation, which is unacquainted with the horrors of war, and to whom war is still being presented as a romantic and glorious adventure can, however, be won to the side of the working class only by a firm and clear-cut proletarian organization, not by an amorphous, colorless, "non-Party youth organization" in which will be found all "non-fascists." If anything is to be learned from the events in Europe, it is the futility of relying upon "non-partisan" organizations either among the youth, or among the workers in general. They either blow up at the first fascist onslaught, or go over to fascism. In order to fight fascism, the working class needs a strong, revolutionary class organization which can place itself at the head of all the exploited masses. It needs a similar organization among the youth.

This talk of a "non-Party" youth organization is worse than nonsense. It is extremely dangerous. The revolutionary Party cannot deprive itself of its arm among the youth, any more than it can give up its own existence. What is needed is to destroy the ideology of the youth as a uniform group, and bring the class

Matthew Cerda of 3517-23rd Avenue, Astoria, Long Island, New York, is taking subscriptions from this country for Claridad, weekly organ of the Socialist Party of Spain. Subscription is \$1.75 a year, 5¢ a copy.

struggle into its ranks. There can be salvation for the youth only through participation in the class struggle, not through aloofness from it. And aloofness will be the inevitable result from a "non-Party" mass organization, for in order to retain its "non-Party" character, it will have to abstain from all action having a "Party" character, in the long run from all action having a class character.

Must Have Autonomy

It is true that various excesses have been committed from time to time in relation to the youth movement. There is a general tendency on the part of the adult organization to limit the freedom and organizational independence of the youth movement. Against such attempts the youth have fought fiercely, and justifiably so. The revolutionary youth movement has a bigger task than to distribute leaflets for the Party and to carry the platform in election campaigns, important as this work is. It has the task of winning the working class youth to the side of the revolutionary proletariat, and to accomplish this task, it must have organizational autonomy, the right to elect its own leaders, the right to decide on its own structure and methods of work. But this organizational autonomy is of value only so long as it is politically tied up with the revolutionary Party, so that there is a guarantee against departing from its class basis. This is the type of relationship we should strive to establish in the Socialist movement.

The liquidation of the YCI is important for us. The YCI is inviting the Young Peoples' Socialist League to join it in a "suicide pact." From what we know of the YPSL we are firmly convinced that their answer will be: "No, thank you." The YPSL will continue as the youth organization of the Socialist movement, trying to win the youth to Socialism and at the same time, trying to improve both itself and the Socialist Party. The exit of the YCI will leave the field clear to the YPSL, which should continue its activity with renewed vigor, and with the whole-hearted support of the entire Socialist movement. The YPSL should not hesitate to take into its ranks those members and followers of the YCI who will be left homeless and who sincerely desire to build a revolutionary youth organization in this country allied with a revolutionary Socialist Party. But it must slam the door in the faces of those who want to come into the YPSL in order to work for its liquidation.

The decision of the YCI once more serves to show how utterly dependent the contemporary Communist movement is upon everything that takes place in Soviet Russia, and how impossible it is to build an international proletarian movement upon that basis. Some time prior to the Congress of the YCI, the Russian youth organization was reorganized along the new lines. There is undoubtedly

MEN AND DOGS PREPARE FOR WAR



The warmakers aren't particular whom they kill, so even man's best friends, the dogs, are being fitted out in gas masks. This picture, taken in Japan, was snapped during practice maneuvers.

Unemployment and the New Deal

The people of the United States are entering into the seventh year of their greatest economic and social crisis in the history of this country and in fact the world. All sorts of estimates have been made of the number of unemployed. One thing is sure. The number is not getting smaller, but instead, it has become larger as each year passes by. The question no longer is, "will unemployment ever end?" but "what will happen next?"

It is plain now, after three years of Roosevelt that prosperity will not return to America by the "New Deal."

To save bankrupt private industries the "New Deal" has poured billions of dollars into banks, the railroads, insurance companies, and other big corporations. Its purpose, we are told, was "to increase the purchasing power" of the fortunate who were still employed, and in this manner return the millions of jobless to gainful employment. But instead of returning the jobless to employment in factories and workshops of the nation, this "New Deal" has made big business boom. The government itself admits that there are still more than ten million persons unemployed and that, no matter how successful its relief program, five million persons now unemployed will never again get jobs.

THE FORGOTTEN UNEMPLOYED

After a great deal of noise by Roosevelt and his "Man Friday," Hopkins of the Federal Relief Administration, about putting three and a half million jobless to work under the Work Relief Administration by November 1, we find that today, in November, only 1,000,000 men and women have been given jobs. This complete inability of the "New Deal" to fulfill its own prescription, would be enough to cause organized labor and workers to unite. But there is a greater menace arising out of this failure. The Relief Administration has ruled that on December 1, persons not employed under the

justification for such a reorganization in Russia. But can one compare the situation in Russia with that in capitalist countries? And yet, reorganization in Russia led to immediate reorganization on an international scale. This is inevitable from the present structure and methods of functioning of the Communist movement.

This article is by Jacob Mirsky, president of Local 37 of the Bricklayers' Union, and one of the leaders of the recent WPA strike in New York City.

Work Relief Projects are to be dropped from the federal relief rolls and from that time the fate of the jobless will be dependent on their respective states.

Thus the great relief program of the "New Deal" turns out to be not a measure for helping those unemployed, but to forget the unemployed.

There are few, if any of the independent states that are in a position to bear the burden of the unemployed. In the majority of states the unemployed and those dependent upon relief, equal more than half of the population. By simple mathematical deduction, the least educated person can see that under this plan half of the population that is employed will have its standards of living cut in half, in order that the needy may be kept alive. Thus begins a vicious circle which will reduce by one-half the living standards of the entire population of this country.

Yet our President still proposes that it is his aim through his "New Deal" program to enable the people to live as Americans should live; what this means is a reduction in living standards of all the people.

NOT A PROBLEM FOR THE STATES

The problem of the unemployed is not a state problem. But it is a national, in fact—an international problem. The very nature of industry is not based along state lines but national and international lines. All states, as all nations, are interdependent upon each other.

The "New Deal" having failed to attack the very cause of unemployment which Roosevelt himself in the 1932 Presidential campaign declared, "was the lack of purchasing power of the masses," would have us believe as Hoover tried for four years, that the return to prosperity is just a matter of waiting, waiting, waiting. But what labor desires to know is: waiting for what? If to end unemployment we must increase the purchasing power of the masses then, instead of waiting, there

must be action, because the purchasing power of the masses today is over one-third less than it was in 1932 when unemployment was said to be at its peak.

To increase the purchasing power of the masses, instead of the federal relief suspending appropriations, relief must be increased, wages on Work Relief Projects must be raised to the union scales both for skilled and unskilled.

The present menace to the living standards of the nation arising out of the "New Deal" relief program is a challenge which organized labor cannot permit to go unanswered. The present standard of living enjoyed by the great masses of people is the result of over fifty years of struggle and sacrifice made by the great army of organized workers. We who are organized, we who have tasted the benefits of organization, who have enjoyed the fruits of organization, must pledge ourselves in every way, financially and otherwise to support the Worker's Alliance of America, which is at present as in the past, doing wonderful work to help maintain a living standard of wages for the organized and unorganized workers in this country.

WE NEED A LABOR PARTY

Labor's struggle to protect its living standard, is a God-given right to fight for a world of plenty, peace and freedom. And to this end labor's ranks must stand united, the organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, regardless of race, creed, sex or color.

The continued breaking of promises of the so-called friends of labor, who are at present at the helm of our government, from the President down, leaves labor but one road to take, and that is to independent political action.

Labor must organize its own Party. A Labor Party through which it can fight its own battles and elect its own representatives to represent its interests in city, state and nation.

Coming

Reinhold Niebuhr will review the Fall issue of the American Socialist Quarterly for The CALL. His review will appear in a forthcoming issue.

Discussion on the Bauer-Dan War Thesis

Its Practical Consequences

By ROBERT DELSON

The thesis asserts the desirability and necessity of supporting capitalist governments both (1) to avert war, and (2) to use war to bring about the defeat of Hitler, the victory of Russia, and ultimately of international Socialism.

It is, of course, a direct departure from revolutionary Socialist theory to advocate the support of capitalist instrumentalities to avoid war, and even more so, in the event of war. The chief question, however, is not whether the authors' views are in accord with Socialist theory—but whether the practical consequences of these views are helpful to the proletarian movement.

What are these consequences?

SUPPORTING THE GOVERNMENT

1. The thesis fosters illusions as to the desire and ability of capitalist governments to avert war and, therefore, affirmatively hinders the creation of the psychology and the machinery necessary for independent working-class activity. Nothing is more essential to successful revolutionary strategy today than the re-emphasis of the Marxist doctrine that the emancipation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves, and of themselves alone. Certainly this is just as true with respect to the fight against war, as with respect to any other Socialist goal. To the extent that we teach reliance upon capitalist governments, we paralyze the growth of independent working-class action and the will to exercise it. The authors admit that in the course of events we will be forced to turn against these imperialist governments and mobilize the masses against them. Is it not obvious that we vastly increase the difficulty of so doing when we have taught them to rely upon these same governments? Even today, and without the frenzy of war, the English Socialists find it impossible to ask the workers to vote against a government whose policy they have supported.

Urge Support

The authors pay lip service to Socialist theory by scathingly denouncing the imperialist purposes of the capitalist powers and their instruments for preserving peace. Yet they urge the workers of the world to support these governments—and these instruments. They repeatedly point out the danger of illusions with respect to the aims of the governments, and yet they themselves, by their own acts, continue to foster these illusions.

If we ask the workers to support and strengthen the League because we hope its decisions will, in the immediate future, be favorable, can we expect that the masses will be easily induced to refuse to follow League policy when this policy does not concur with our views? (Of course, the authors admit that we will undoubtedly be forced to oppose League policy in the not distant future). Finally, if we support the policy of increased armament, do we not become responsible for the policy of increasing the already unbearable burdens of the workers? Do we not thus so identify ourselves with capitalist war machines that we will be unable to oppose the next war if we want to?

2. The thesis actually encourages the capitalist powers to make war by promising

them immunity from revolution and actual cooperation in the event of war. The authors end their thesis with the pious prayer that the workers should make clear their intention of creating a revolution in the event of war as the best prevention for war. In direct contradiction to this, they urge the workers to support their governments in the event of war. By the logic of their own argument, they are deliberately fostering the next war by failing to advocate the overthrow of the capitalist governments upon the outbreak of war. In the same way, they are encouraging the next war by urging reliance upon capitalist instrumentalities, since the policy results in weakening that working-class machinery which they concede to be the best guarantee against war.

NO RELIANCE UPON THE WORKERS

3. Worse than the failure of the thesis to rely solely upon independent working-class action is its failure even to consider it as a possible method of preventing war. Nowhere do the authors analyze the prospects for successfully utilizing working-class strength to make clear their intention to stop the next war, immediately before or after it begins, by widespread anti-government activity leading toward the seizure of power. They do, of course, urge the seizure of power during the course of the war).

ADVOCATING ENTRY INTO WAR

4. Perhaps the best indication of the dangers of the thesis is the fact that the authors are forced to take the position of not even attempting to stop their governments from going to war; because to do so would be to conflict with the first two of their "cardinal" objectives. The authors believe that the best method of defending Soviet Russia and defeating Hitler Germany is to bring to the aid of Russia as many capitalist powers as possible. How then can they urge capitalist governments not to enter the war?

In fact, the logic of the thesis is again in direct contradiction to its alleged belief that in neutral countries Socialists must not urge their governments to support the war. If the defense of Russia requires, as the authors claim that it does, the support by the workers of governments allied with Russia, does it not follow that Socialists in neutral countries should also urge their governments to join the war on the side of Russia? Stated in unvarnished terms, the policy of the authors would induce the Socialist parties to become the most vociferous advocates of the next slaughter, and the most effective recruiting agency for the armed forces.

REVOLUTION POSTPONED

5. The policy of the thesis would vastly intensify the danger of the defeat of the Soviet Union by increasing the difficulties of proletarian revolution in the countries allied with Russia.

The authors' belief that it is necessary to postpone working-class revolution until after the victory of Russia is dangerously unsound. In the first place, it is obvious that the capitalist govern-

The articles printed on this page have been written as comments on the thesis: "Socialism and the War Danger," which was published in the October 12 issue of *The OALL*. Other articles on this thesis will appear in forthcoming issues.—Editor.

ments will not permit the working-class to openly carry on a campaign exposing the real aim of the governments. Capitalist states can be relied upon to display more realism. They know that one is either for the war, without reservations, or against it, and treat one accordingly. Further, it is obvious as well that really effective propaganda exposing the imperialists' purposes would conflict with the avowed intention of the authors to conduct the war successfully. Most important, it will be impossible to carry out a working-class revolution at such a time, because workers will not suddenly turn against governments which they have been wholeheartedly supporting. Particularly does this task become herculean when the governments in question are flushed with victory. Whatever the difficulties of achieving a revolution at the outbreak of the war in the countries allied with Russia, certainly they are far greater than in the course of the war. The thesis demands that the workers in the fascist countries allied with Russia should support revolution first and fight for Russia afterwards. If this is even a possibility in the fascist countries, certainly it becomes a probability in the democratic countries.

In Neutral Countries

The authors correctly point out that socialism in neutral countries must not demand that these countries join the war, for "if it did, it would accept responsibility for all the bloodshed and misery of the war, and by isolating itself from the laboring masses of the people, would make itself powerless." Is this not precisely as true for socialism in the countries allied with Russia, as in the neutral countries? Even if the revolution is impossible at the very outbreak of the war, Socialists must nevertheless keep the eyes of the workers centered on the crime of capitalist war, if they are later to lead a successful revolution. They can do this only by paralyzing the conduct of the war, by keeping up a vigorous anti-war campaign, by leading strike movements, by steadily increasing the demands of the workers in industry and government, and by deliberately refusing to cooperate in any way whatsoever.

Finally, as the authors admit in one of the numerous contradictions with which the thesis is studded, war will come to a much speedier end if the workers in the countries allied with Russia take power at the beginning, and thus induce a revolution in Germany. If, as has been shown, the revolution in the democratic countries cannot be carried out after the defeat of Germany, it is obvious that the workers' support of their governments will have left the masses of both Germany and Russia exposed to greater dangers than ever. In the words of the authors, the allies of Russia will turn against it on the day after the common victory over Germany. Where will Russia be able to turn for help if Socialists have pursued the policy outlined in the thesis?

6. Because of their failure to explore the possibilities of independent working-class action,

The Need For Education

By G. M. M.

There never was a just war. There never was a necessary war. No war ever achieved anything that could not have been achieved by peaceful means, if it was worth achieving at all.

Without attempting to analyze any of the hundreds of wars since the beginning of our so-called civilization, a glance at the three major wars in which the United States has been involved will prove the truth of these statements.

"No taxation without representation" was the slogan of the Revolutionary War. That slogan and the lack of unanimity within the ranks of the English Parliament coupled with the pioneer fortitude and courage of the American soldiers were credited with winning the war for the Colonies. And immediately there was set up a system of government that taxed one-half the population without representation—i.e. the females, that fostered chattel slavery, and that adopted a constitution and that enacted laws elevating the rights of private property over human rights.

THE CIVIL WAR

Our "Civil War" had "free the slaves" as a slogan, and the northern mill owners and financial kings were successful in overcoming the ill-advised Southerners who thought they were defending their homes and firesides. By advertising bally-hoo, by conscription, by ministerial prayers, the Northern army was recruited. It swept into the country below the Mason and Dixon Line spreading devastation and shouting the battle cry of freedom!

Chattel slavery was abolished and the institution of wage-slavery

the authors completely overlook one very important weapon in the armory of the working-class. The thesis avows a proper concern for the vital need of defeating Hitlerism. It advocates reliance upon the capitalist governments to defeat Germany, even to the extent of urging the support of sanctions. Why does it not at least concede the possibility of the application of sanctions by the working-class itself—by the clamping down of an impenetrable boycott by the organized working-class throughout the world? After all, capitalist sanctions would mean nothing if they were not enforced by the working class. Why should not the working class even before the outbreak of war refuse to transport a single shipload or trainload of goods to Hitler Germany, and thus speed the day of the proletarian revolution in that country.

The only method which will serve to defeat Germany and defend Russia, upon analysis, is revealed to be the same method which will bring about our fundamental goal—revolution in the capitalist countries. The "defense" of Russia and defeat of Hitler can have no permanent benefit for the workers unless they come as a by-product of the achievement of Socialism itself. If we seek to obtain the subsidiary aims independently of the ultimately goal, we shall spring the trap of capitalist war, which the authors have carefully baited, and engulf the working-class in the greatest slaughter in history.

with all its concomitants of poverty and disease was preserved and fostered.

The so-called "World War" is surely too fresh in our memories to need any analyzing. We "made the world safe" for the democracy of Stalin Russia, Hitler Germany, and Mussolini Italy. We created a condition in nearly every country of Europe that propagates and nurtures the germ of war. Yet the World War was a war to end wars.

No fight ever convinced the defeated that he was wrong. Invariably his only desire is to increase his strength to put up a better fight next time.

No war ever indoctrinated a people with a new philosophy. To choose the lesser of two evils is the choice of a compromiser. To stand rigidly for a principle is evidence of courage.

Capitalism in a fascist country is but a step worse than capitalism in a democracy.

A fascist dictatorship is but a step worse than a so-called proletarian dictatorship. The defeat of a Fascist government does not necessarily mean the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth in the defeated country.

The support of the Socialists given to a victorious capitalist country does not necessarily mean a hastened overthrow of capitalism.

NEED MAJORITY

Capitalism will not be overthrown, the profit system will not be done away with, the Co-operative Commonwealth will not be established, in any country where a majority of the workers are opposed to or ignorant of Socialism. While economic developments in every capitalist country point to the ultimate end of the capitalist system, the education of the working masses along sound economic lines can hasten the overthrow of this system and the establishment of Socialism. No capitalist war will terminate in this much-desired end, whether supported by Socialists or not.

War does not necessarily mean revolution nor does revolution always spell war. Russia rid itself of the heritage of Tsardom by a revolution that did not involve mass murder.

It may be quite possible that the last stronghold of capitalism in every major country may be captured only by a resort to force. This we must face. But for the Labor and Socialist International to pledge the workers to assist either of two capitalist groups in its plans for organized slaughter would be a betrayal of all workers. To even admit that war is inevitable is an evidence of weakness.

To inspire the workers to oppose war, to wage a war against every form of militarism, should be the task of the LSI as well as of every individual Socialist. The fishermen in the leaking boat who heatedly argued the theory of the survival of the fittest might both have survived if they had thought to plug the leak. So the Labor and Socialist International arguing as to our attitude in case of war would do better to agitate, to work to prevent war—for the survival of civilization and the achievement of economic justice.

Party Activity

UNITED SOCIALIST DRIVE was closed as of November 11, with indications pointing to one of the most successful fund-raising drives ever conducted by the Socialist Party. All money collected to date should be sent to national and state offices at once.

THANKLESS THANKSGIVING CARDS to President Roosevelt telling him that there isn't much to be thankful for are available from the national offices of the Workers' Alliance, 312 West State Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

YPSL NOTES—Ernest Erber, national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League and editor of the Young Socialist Review, is touring New England during November. Robert Kanter of Detroit is organizer in the Indianapolis-Terre Haute district. The monthly organ of the YPSL has changed its name to the "Challenge of Youth" and is appearing regularly as a 12-page monthly. The December issue will be a special Workers' Rights Amendment and American Youth Act issue.

JOSEPH MARTINEK, Czechoslovak Socialist editor, will be available for speaking engagements in this country during the month of June. He speaks English fluently. His tour is under the auspices of the Bohemian Socialist Federation.

California

SAN FRANCISCO local will present Harry W. Laidler in a debate with a prominent local Democrat at Scottish Rite Hall, Friday, November 22, at 8.

Connecticut

HAMDEN local will hold a social pinochle and whist party to begin raising a campaign fund Thursday evening, November 14, at the home of Joseph Lynch, 1810 Dixwell Avenue. Roy Burt, national organizer, will speak here early in December.

Illinois

ROY BURT will make a speaking tour of the state between December 26 and 30.

CHICAGO Socialists will join in a reception for Sonja Branting, distinguished daughter of the

Norman Thomas will debate Noel Sargent of the National Manufacturers' Association in a nation-wide broadcast Thursday evening, November 14, at 9:30 o'clock. The debate, "Must We Re-organize for Recovery?" will originate in the WJZ (NBC) broadcasting studios. Verbatim copies of the debate can be had from the League for Political Education, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City, for 10 cents.

founder of the Swedish Socialist Party, at a series of meetings November 14 to 19. Her Chicago schedule follows:

Thursday, November 14, at Viking Hall, 3257 Sheffield Avenue, auspices of Swedish and sympathetic Scandinavian organizations.

Tuesday, November 19, reception and mass meeting at the Morrison Hotel.

Saturday, November 16, League for Industrial Democracy luncheon.

ROCKFORD meeting for Sonja Branting will be held Monday, November 18.

Massachusetts

YPSL WEEK-END SEMINAR Thanksgiving week-end at Saima Hall in Fitchburg. Courses: Socialist Fundamentals, Organization, History of the Socialist and Labor Movement, Co-operation, Parliamentary Law.

Registration, \$1.50 per student to cover meals. Out-of-town students must register before November 25 with Tauno Valimaki, 88 Marshall Street, Fitchburg.

Michigan

DETROIT LABOR COLLEGE symposium course offers a lecture on Origin of Slavery; Analysis of Slave Economy by Harry Riseman November 15 at 3946 Trumbull. This will be followed by a lecture on Organized Religions on November 22.

Wisconsin

MILWAUKEE SOCIALIST FORUM meeting Sunday, November 17. Speaker: Sonja Branting, daughter of Hjalmar Branting.

MILWAUKEE Socialist branches, on recommendation of the city central committee, held anti-war meetings during Armistice week.

BOOKS

Marx And Engels On The Trade Unions

By HERBERT ZAM

"MARX AND THE TRADE UNIONS," by A. Lozovsky. International Publishers. 188 pages. \$1.75.

One is pleasantly surprised to find that "Marx and the Trade Unions" is not written for the purpose of defending the dual unionist policies of the Communist International which were in force at the time (the preface is dated March, 1933). Perhaps that task was saved for the second and third volumes which are promised. In the light of the change of line of the Comintern, on this question, it is to be hoped that these two volumes, if published at all, will also deal objectively with the subject.

If Lozovsky knew how to write, this might have been an excellent work. As it is, it is a valuable manual of quotations from Marx and Engels on the trade union question, arranged in an intelligent manner. The comments in between quotations can be ignored and the book will still retain its usefulness. The fundamental Marxian conception of the labor movement in general and the trade unions in particular; the differences between Marx and the anarchists; the fight of Marx against the petty bourgeois anti-union prejudices of Proudhon; Marx's penetrating insight into the practical tasks of the labor movement in England, France, Germany and the United States—all these subjects are adequately presented.

Praise for DeLeon.

Of course, a man cannot jump out of his skin, and Lozovsky cannot prevent his "third period" training from showing through. Thus "social fascism," of recent memory, is traced back to Edouard Bernstein. Daniel DeLeon is the "greatest and most revolutionary leader of pre-war American socialism." This concept, borrowed by Lozovsky from Professor Ralsky, has since been repudiated by the Comintern. The Amsterdam Trade Union International is referred to as "flunkies of the bourgeoisie and lackeys of monopolist capital." These incidents are, however, minor features and do not detract much from the value of the book as a whole.

A more important weakness is in the form of an omission of

one of Marx's most important conceptions—that of the unity of the trade union movement, and of the need for revolutionists to work inside it at all times.

The 'Forward' And The Bund

"THE FORWARD AND THE BUND," Published by the Bund Club of New York.

This pamphlet, the third published by the Bund Club in New York, was prompted by a recent attack on the Polish Bund in the Jewish Daily Forward. Once praised and admired by the Forward, the Bund, as well as all other revolutionary parties, has now become the target of frequent attacks in the pages of that paper. The fault, the publishers say in the foreword of this pamphlet, does not lie with the Bund, but with its offenders. The Bund has not changed but they have. Their Socialism has petered out.

The most pertinent article in the pamphlet is by Heinrich Erlich, one of the acknowledged leaders of the Bund and author of "The Struggle for Revolutionary Socialism." In this article, Erlich does not take issue with individuals in the Forward, but characterizes the whole ideology of the publication, in its approach to everything decent and revolutionary, as one of hopeless vulgarism.

After refuting the absurd lies and vilifications directed against the Bund, Erlich continues regarding the Forward:

"To them it is not a question of right or left Socialism, but a specific Forward approach to

every vital problem in the labor movement. Not a single decent capitalist newspaper would dare treat news of Soviet Russia the way the Forward does."

J. KAYE.

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Herbert Zam—Historical Materialism,—Application of Dialectical Materialism to Society

Thursday, Nov. 21st—7 P. M.

David P. Berenberg—The Present Situation in the International Socialist Movement

Thursday, Nov. 21st—8:30 P. M.

Phil Heller—State and Revolution (continued)

Friday, Nov. 22nd—7 P. M.

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Fall Issue

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4. A Description of the confusion in the Ypsels by Ted Sabel. Editorials and other features.

Individual copies may be secured at 25c each from the Rand Book Shop, or by writing to Francis Hanson, Box 126, Grand Central Annex, New York City.

"Let Freedom Ring"—A Labor Play

Drama About Textiland Is Saved By Acting

By McALISTER COLEMAN

The theatrical season, after an onset of adolescent jitters, now settles into a certain maturity. You can spend interesting evenings at "Remember the Day," "On Stage," "Let Freedom Ring," yes and, though this is a belated confession, at "Winterset."

My first review of "Winterset" was altogether too casual and rather laboredly flippant. I went to the show expecting, as did a lot of the capitalist reviewers who are making similar recantations, a play more sharply etched than the dim and fuzzy thing that was presented the first week. Now I find that certain purple moments in that play haunt me. Of course, blank verse in the mouth of a bemused young man beset by gangsters must necessarily have a faintly ridiculous sound. But just the same Mr. Anderson has given us something new and often stirring in "Winterset" and for once I find myself on the side of those capitalist critics who are now revising their earlier adverse comment on this show.

'Let Freedom Ring'

LET FREEDOM RING, by Albert Bein from "To Make My Bread" a novel by Grace Lumpkin. At the Broadhurst Theatre, New York.

Here I have at last to face a long foreseen and much dreaded problem—the attitude of a reviewer on a labor paper towards a labor play. If he is not wildly enthusiastic, he finds his mail filled with dark exhortations. He is selling out the labor movement, is at heart a boy friend of Mussolini's and altogether a complete so and so.

Holding my hat firmly on place, I am here to say that "Let Freedom Ring" was in the nature of a business holiday for me. It has to do with the descent of the hill-billies from the comparative freedom (including freedom to starve) of their mountains to the hell of the Southern textile mills. Their first lot, tough as it was, was better than their second, despite the fact that every now and then they saw a pay-check. However as most of the check went back to the company for rent, etc., it didn't get them anywhere except in the mood to organize a union.

And to do this of course it was necessary for the actors to make a lot of speeches pro and con unionism. That's where I slumbered happily, having heard quite a few organizing speeches in my time. Nor can I yet get it through my thick head how the cause of unionism is furthered by displaying, as was done towards the end of "Let Freedom Ring," the bullet-riddled bodies of dead and dying union leaders. Of course the curtain goes down with a speech by the brother of the dead-union head to the effect that while the leader has been slain by the company gun-thugs the union marches on.

The night I was there high hats mingled with leather jackets in the corridor. Wearers of the former were vaguely depressed to be sure, but I still have my doubts that they could transfer the lessons from the Southern hills to the labor situation in New York. And as for the leather jackets, it was just talking to themselves. I know it is rank heresy to suggest that propaganda plays haven't yet found themselves. But if this be treason—

In all fairness it should be added that there is a real lift in the sight of these forgotten and oppressed workers finally turning against their oppressors. So vigorously do the actors throw themselves into their anything but easy parts that, in spite of the overlong speeches and the reiteration of a theme which is pretty obvious from the curtain's rise, life

does come across the footlights and at times there is genuine participation on the part of the audience. Which after all is the essence of drama, propaganda or otherwise.

'Dead End'

DEAD END, by Sidney Kingsley. At the Belasco Theatre, New York.

Everyone has been so loud in praise of the realistic setting of Norman Bel Geddes for this stunning portrayal of what goes on at the dead end of a street on New York's East River, that the amazing acting of the tough Second Avenue boys is in danger of being overlooked. These kids talk the authentic language of the gutter and are tragically headed for the same doom that befalls the gangster of the play—legal murder by back-shooting G-Men.

Mr. Kingsley's social conscious-

ness is acute, his sense of drama all that could be desired. "Dead End" is a "must" play for the intelligent theatre-goer.

'New Gulliver'

"THE NEW GULLIVER," a screen-puppet show, made in the U. S. R. R. with English titles by Julian Lee and Michael Blankfort. Cameo Theatre, New York.

When your local picture house shows this name in its lights, rush right in. You will have an exciting evening. For my part, it has forever banished my abhorrence of puppet shows, which up to seeing "The New Gulliver," I had always regarded as a weak-minded exhibitionism of young Greenwich Villagers. Gulliver, admirably done by V. Konstantinov, is the only human in the show. But you forget that when you see the Lilliputian puppets in action and catch the delicious drift of the Swiftian satire of the thing. Incidentally my battered Fedora is doffed to Lee and Blankfort, who have done a masterly job with the English titles. For once the titling enhances the pleasure of an imported picture that again puts our local products to shame.



The donkey's head, worn by James Cagney (above) in his role as "Bottom" in "A Midsummer Night's Dream," at the Hollywood, can eat, weep, smile talk and roll its eyes.

Rebel Arts Begins New Dance Series

NEW YORK—Nancy McKnight of the New York Wigman School will give the first of a series of dance lecture-demonstrations at the Rebel Arts Studios, 44 East 21st Street, Friday evening, November 22, at 8:30 o'clock. Miss McKnight, who will be accompanied by Harvey Pollins, will demonstrate the theory and technique of the modern German school of dancing.

The lecture recital will be first of the third annual series sponsored by the Rebel Arts Dance groups. Among others who will appear will be Esther Junger on November 29 and Sophia Delza on December 6. Each of the lectures will be devoted to a different school of modern dancing and the series is offered as a course in modern dance theory.

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"LET FREEDOM RING"

By ALBERT BEIN

Based on the Grace Lumpkin Novel "To Make My Bread"

"His drama is indignant and fiery... and it is, I think, the best example of the forthright, class-conscious proletarian drama that has yet been presented on the New York stage."—Richard Watts, Herald Tribune.

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— By —
NORMAN THOMAS

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE LEGION

(The following letter is addressed to the national commander of the American Legion.—Ed.)

Dear Mr. Murphy:

This is Armistice Day and I've heard all but the end of your speech over the radio. It was better, less jingoistic, more responsible than some utterances by American Legion commanders. It

made me hope that if you are ever Governor of Iowa you will not imitate your predecessor, the Hoosier Hitler, Governor Paul V. McNutt of Indiana.

But some questions stick in my mind and I should like to ask you about them:

1. You promised neutrality. Do you think we have real neutrality now? Do you believe we ought to let Americans send oil and coal and iron and steel to

Mussolini? You know, don't you, that from the port of New Orleans more than eight times as much oil, crude and refined together, went to Italy in August and September, 1935, as in the corresponding months of 1934? You, know,

do you not, that the proposed League embargo on these things depends upon our putting them on our list? And surely you know that we got into that last war, the costs of which you eloquently deplored, in order to keep the war safe for American profits. How will we avoid a like fate if again we walk the same road? Are you or are you not for real neutrality?

2. You want to take the profits out of war. So do I, so does every Socialist. But what about preparation for war? What about the general race for profits in so-called peace time which leads to war? You said, truly, that the Legion proposal for universal war service was not Socialism. It is more likely to be fascism. You want to conscript dollars as well as men. I want to conscript dollars, not men, and I know that you cannot in a capitalist state conscript dollars as if they were men. The capitalist government will always be more tender of profit than of life.

3. You, like the President of the United States, want "adequate preparedness." What is "adequate preparedness"? What are we defending, our territory or our right to trade any time, anywhere? Why was it necessary to increase our army last year? Do you agree with General Serrill of the New York Chamber of Commerce that it was to keep labor quiet?

We are spending now on our navy more than any nation. Why spend more? You want us to build "up to the treaty limit." But the treaty has expired. What new limit would you set? You say that America would never attack any nation but only defend itself. Oh, yeah? Ask the Indians, the Mexicans, the Spaniards, the Haitians, the Nicaraguans — yes, the Germans. Did these people attack us? How and where?

I do not ask these questions lightly. They demand answers. The problem of peace is bound up with them. Is this capitalist-nationalist world fit for peace? Can we get it for ourselves by any strength of military preparation? No one yet has succeeded by that road. We Socialists want America to isolate herself so far as possible from all that makes for war and cooperate in all that makes for peace. We want real neutrality now. Then we want reduction of armaments, economic agreements which give less privileged nations a chance for prosperity and security—in short, we

want a federation of cooperative commonwealths.

We want not only to take the profit out of war but the profit—which rests upon relative scarcity and the exploitation of labor—out of the business of providing mankind with abundance. This is our hope; this our road to peace. To travel this road we invite the youth of America, the farmers, the workers of all useful tasks, as they love life and hope for the future. Are you with us or against us?

CAUSE FOR REJOICING

Every Socialist rejoices in the magnificent victories of our comrades in Bridgeport, Conn., and Reading, Pa. The municipal victories are good in themselves and they give us courage to go on. In Reading, Darlington Hoopes made a grand race for judge, but I, for one, am glad he's still in the legislature. At present we Socialists need good legislators more than county judges. We look now to solid Socialist achievement in Reading as in Bridgeport and Milwaukee.

In general this off year election was encouraging. I've been traveling too fast and speaking too much to be up to date, but I know we got a councilman in Jeanette, Pa.; that we ran second in Olean, N. Y., and substantially increased our vote in many Connecticut towns, in Lynn, Chelsea and Worcester, Mass., and Yonkers, N. Y. The list can be made much longer. It pays in immediate results to push the Socialist fight. That farmer-labor political movement will depend on what we do now and next year to prepare the way for it and to guide it.

ARREST 12 IN NEW MEXICO

CLOVIS, N. M. (Special).—Eleven men and one woman have been arrested for contempt of court because they signed petitions asking for a change of venue for the Gallup miners, recently framed. All those arrested are on relief and are members of either the Socialist Party, the Communist Party or the Unemployed Councils.

WIN GARMENT STRIKE

NEWARK, N. J.—A significant victory for organized labor was scored here recently with the settlement of the 9-week strike of Newark cotton dress shops. Settlement terms, which include the closed shop, a forty-hour week, and wage increases, provide the opening wedge for organization of the entire Eastern cotton garment industry by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which conducted the strike here.

UNION MEET IS ATTACKED BY GUN THUGS

By H. A. RASMUSSEN

CHICAGO—President E. M. Benjamin of the Blue Eagle Lodge of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers was seriously injured and the union meeting room was wrecked as armed thugs, acting under orders of the Republic Steel Company, let loose a barrage of terror against organized workers here.

Entering a regular meeting of the lodge, the thugs arose suddenly in the middle of the hall, took three flashlight pictures of the audience and speakers and then smashed out all the lights. As reinforcements arrived from outside, the invaders let loose with chairs, then with brass knuckles and gun butts.

Among those most seriously injured, Benjamin was taken to a hospital, where ten stitches were taken in his face. Others suffered black-eyes, torn ears, broken teeth and other injuries.

Following the attack, company officials, trying again to make good on their threat to do "everything in their power" to smash the lodge, suddenly dismissed seven of the most active union members and officers.

'Liberty League' Given Six Cases Of Civil Liberty

NEW YORK.—The American Civil Liberties Union is taking the millionaire lawyers of the American Liberty League at their word.

Six cases of the rights of "humble persons" have been submitted to the corporation attorney-counsel of the leaguers with a request that they assist in the legal defense. The cases offered by the A. C. L. U. concern abridgement of free speech and free assemblage and other civil liberties in labor cases, in courts and in schools.

WPA STRIKE MAY SPREAD

BALTIMORE (Special).—The strike of WPA workers in Allegheny County in western Maryland may spread to Baltimore. Under the joint auspices of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, the Baltimore Building Trades Council and the People's Unemployment League, the project workers are being organized through mass meetings.

JOHNSON AT BROOKWOOD

KATONAH, N. Y.—Appointment of Edward L. Johnson, former organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, to the extension staff of Brookwood, America's oldest and best known non-factional resident labor school, has been announced by Tucker P. Smith, director.

350 STRIKES IN 10 WEEKS

NEW YORK.—During the past ten weeks, the Joint Council of the International Fur Workers' Union has declared strikes at 359 fur shops and has settled 345 of the strikes, according to a report issued by the council here this week.

THE SALES TAX IN ACTION

SAN FRANCISCO (FP)—The sales tax which the California Chamber of Commerce helped foist on the workers is responsible for half of a 2.8 per cent increase in the cost of living, a survey by the same organization shows.

Milwaukee Armistice Day Proclamation Hits Jingoism

MILWAUKEE (Special).—"Let us cry out with a mighty voice against the twin plagues of war and fascism by dedicating ourselves to the noble cause of the new co-operative commonwealth," Mayor Daniel W. Hoan pleaded in an Armistice Day proclamation here.

Labor, Socialist, student and church groups united in a mass anti-war parade through the downtown district of Milwaukee. Among the speakers at an open-air mass meeting following the parade was J. F. Friedrich, organizer of the Federated Trades Council. The parade was sponsored by a group which included Martin V. Baxter, Socialist mayor of West Allis, and A. G. Piepenhagen, business agent of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Burt Speaks To 2,000

CLEVELAND (Special).—Roy Burt, national organizer for the Socialist Party, struck the only realistic note of the struggle against war in an Armistice Day mass meeting here, attended by 2,000 persons.

Burt protested against the negative program against war and fascism expressed by other speakers. "War and Fascism cannot be eliminated until the capitalist system is overturned," he declared. "We cannot trust the actions of the League of Nations, a band of capitalist governments, to maintain the status quo when it has itself produced Fascism in Italy and Germany. We cannot trust the 'neutrality proclamations' of the United States government to keep this nation out of war. Only independent working-class action can prevent war.

Other speakers, including liberals and communists, urged support of the League of Nations program of sanctions.

Pledge To Fight War

NEW YORK.—More than 200,000 students in 150 colleges and universities joined in anti-war Armistice Day mobilizations Friday, November 9, and Monday, November 11, officials of the Student League for Industrial Democracy estimated this week. Most demonstrations were carried through with cooperation of college administrations. The Oxford pledge "not to support the government of the United States in any war it may conduct" was taken.

"The mobilization was not considered by the participating students as the be-all and end-all of the anti-war struggle," Joseph P. Lash, secretary of the Committee for Student Mobilization for Peace, declared. "The Italian invasion of Ethiopia, which motivated the call for the mobilization, is understood by these students to be merely a foreshadowing of the world war that is yet to come unless the students of the United

States and of the world, together with other groups, continue their efforts for peace."

Among the few places where trouble occurred was Howard University in Washington, D. C., where, inspired by the Hearst newspapers, administration officials ordered the college gates closed. An anti-war demonstration was held there after some delay.

At the City College of New York, students took the Oxford Pledge despite attempts by President Frederick Robinson to stop the taking of the oath.

10,000 Mass In Philly

PHILADELPHIA (Special).—Ten thousand people massed in Reynburn Plaza heard Major General Smedley D. Butler denounce war as "an international racket" and cheered his determination that he would never again shoulder arms to "collect Wall Street loans."

The meeting followed a "No More War" Armistice Day parade participated in by 6,000 marchers.

TULSA, Okla. (Special).—This oil city saw a strange sight when thousands took part in a "peace parade" without flag-waving, drum-beating and other romantic war glorifications. Despite the fact that the local post of the American Legion had endorsed the "peace parade" by refusing to hold its own annual celebration, other veteran groups organized a jingo parade in opposition to the pacifists.

Labor Expose Hurts Prudential Profits

PHILADELPHIA.—Action of the Prudential Insurance Company in helping to establish and maintain a company union at a Lebanon, Pa., shirt factory is bringing a number of headaches to the insurance company's executives.

When the CALL and the Philadelphia Labor Record first printed the story of the company's role in the Lebanon situation, workers in Reading, Pa., and other big hosiery towns moved at once to hold up the large and profitable group insurance contracts covering thousands of hosiery workers in their towns.

In other centers the Prudential also suffered, according to reports reaching here, through refusal of many individual unionists to take out policies in the company. Many workers, it is also reported, have recently canceled their policies with the Prudential Company.

DOES YOUR NEIGHBOR KNOW THIS FACT?

—By Labor Research Front—

The death rate from child-birth in the United States is higher than in almost any other "civilized" country in the world. Twenty-three states have absolutely no funds whatsoever for material or child health aid.

Although forty-five states have mothers' pension laws to aid fatherless children, less than one-half of the units authorized to grant such aid are doing so today. This partly accounts for the fact that over 700,000 fatherless children are on the relief rolls in the United States.