

Norman Thomas

The AAA Decision

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Socialist Call

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 21, 1935, at the Post Office at New York under the Act of March 3, 1879

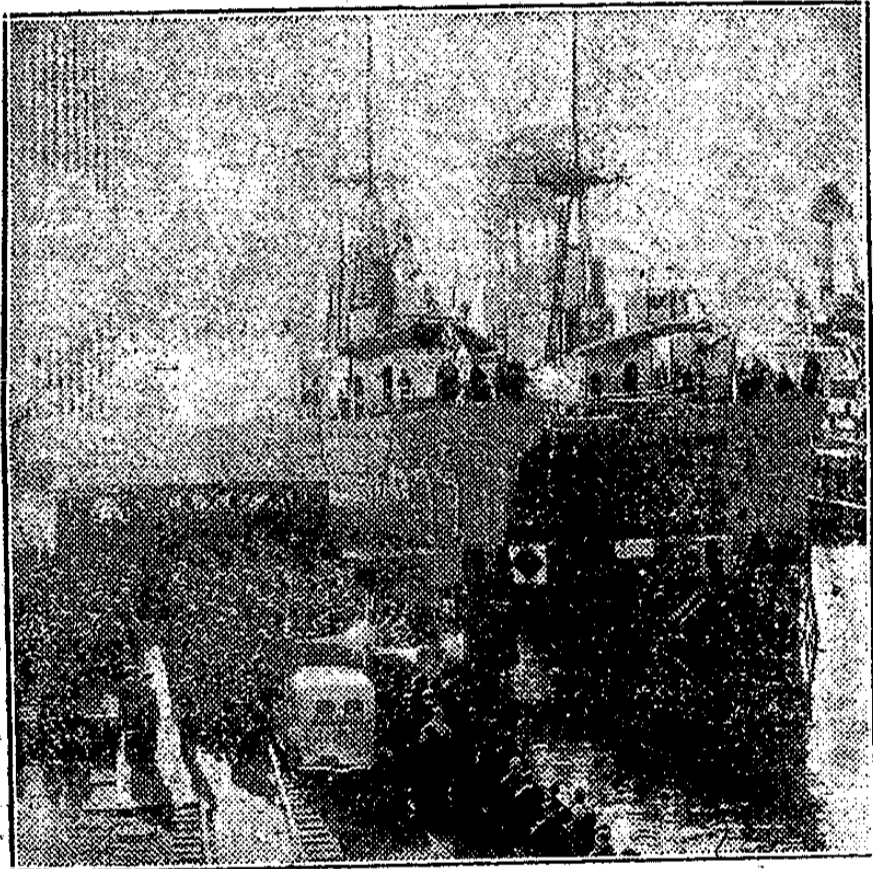
Vol. 1—No. 43

SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

SOCIALISTS MAP CONGRESS FIGHT

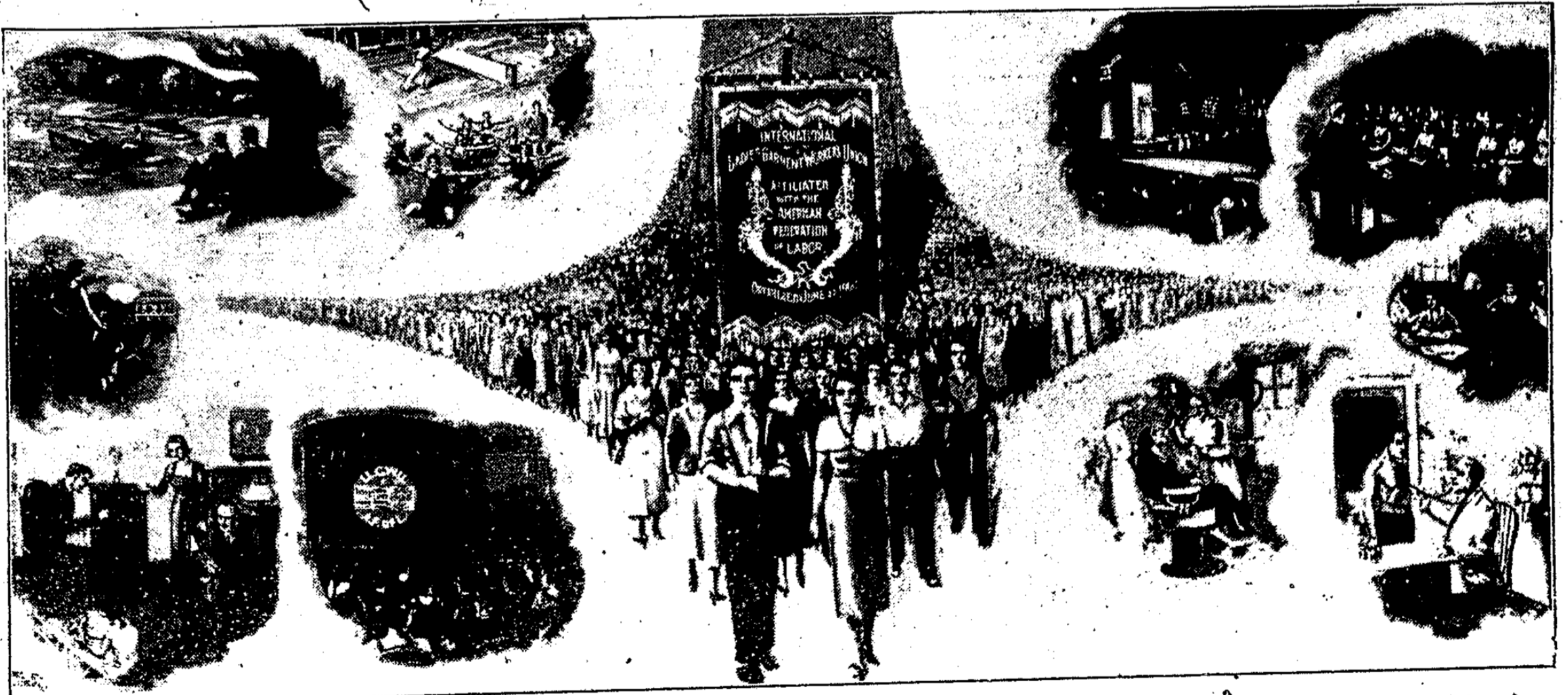
STORY ON PAGE TWO



WHILE THE PRESIDENT spoke of neutrality and peace, the United States was going ahead with its program of building battleships instead of schools. These twin destroyers, newest of the navy, were launched last week on the Pacific waterfront.



STATE MILITIA was called out in Minneapolis after angry strikers demonstrated against attempted re-opening of the Strutwear plant there. The strike is being conducted by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.



This mural on the walls of the auditorium of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in New York City portrays the many cultural and educational activities of the union. An article by Mark Starr, educational director, in this issue of *The Call*, describes these activities. See Page 7.

Socialist Party To Press Own Legislative Program

READING, Pa.—Firing their first shot in the 1936 political campaign, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, meeting here, approved a 5-point legislative program to destroy for all time the power of five men sitting on the Supreme Court bench to rule laws unconstitutional. This program will serve as a first step on the march toward the Socialist goal.

Meeting even as the Supreme Court in Washington, by a 6-3 decision declared the AAA unconstitutional in a decision which meant that these six men would not allow Congress to pass any legislation intended for the relief of the American people, the Socialists made it clear that their program could only be effected if administration were in the hands of a Workers' Democracy.

The legislative program consists of five bills. They are:

1. The Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution, drafted by the late Morris Hillquit.
2. The National Production Corporation Bill, providing for the socialization of industry.
3. The Boncel ordinance, giving local executives power to close strike-bound factories.
4. The Sharecroppers Bill, providing for farm relief through partial socialization of the land.
5. Mandatory neutrality legislation.

(The Sharecroppers Bill is printed in this issue of The CALL. The other bills will be printed in future issues).

May Change Details
The committee, in giving its approval in principle, emphasized that they expected to change many details in the bill before the final form. The committee transferred its quarterly sessions here from Philadelphia in order to attend inauguration ceremonies marking the taking of office in Reading by a Socialist administration.

The Workers' Rights Amendment which will be introduced into Congress by Congressman Vito Marcantonio of New York has already been endorsed by more than two million workers and farmers. It provides power for Congress to legislate for the benefit of workers and farmers by socialization of industry and through relief bills.

Seek Socialization
The National Production Corporation Bill, based on a similar measure introduced by Socialist legislators in the Wisconsin legislature, provides for the actual socialization of industry.

The Boncel ordinance, named after Councilman Boncel of Milwaukee will also be pushed more intensively on a nation-wide scale. It provides for the closing of industrial plants during strikes, thus preventing bloody attacks by scabs on union pickets. A similar ordinance has been passed in Superior, Wis., and others are being considered in other cities.

Ask Mandatory Embargoes
The party's neutrality legislation to be presented to Congress is more rigid than similar legislation proposed by others. Embargoes, under its provisions, are mandatory against all warring nations.

The party bill for socialization of land was endorsed by the convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union at Little Rock, Ark., last week-end.

An important feature of the committee's legislative plans is the opening of a permanent Washington office to serve as the center for the party's work in the field of public affairs. The office will be opened just as soon as funds become available.

The national executive committee also voted unanimously to add three party members from the Washington area to the public affairs committee, of which Norman Thomas is chairman. The three new members are Felix Cohen and Paul Ward, of Washington, and Dr. Broadus Mitchell, of Baltimore.

Charge FDR Responsible For Terror

NEW YORK — The Roosevelt administration was charged with direct responsibility for the anti-labor terrorism in Cuba today. The charge was made in a sharp protest to the President by leading labor organizations and prominent American Socialists and liberals.

"Were it not for the support of the American government," the protest declared, "the present regime despite its refinements on the torture chambers and concentration camps of General Weyler could no more hold power than could the 'Spanish Butcher' in the 1890's."

"This regime came into existence through the direct intervention of Ambassador Jefferson Caffery. After years of terrible oppression, the Cuban masses finally ousted Machado. But the American government refused recognition to the government of President Grau-San Martin, which granted a minimum of democratic rights."

The protest was issued by Norman Thomas, acting as chairman of the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, Joseph Wagner, secretary of the General Defense Committee, and Felix Morrow, secretary of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

A CORRECTION

Through an error the wrong photograph appeared over the caption "Philip Van Gelder" in our last week's issue. The photograph used was that of Hilliard Bernstein, national committeeman of Workers' Alliance of America.

Socialists Seek Unity Of All Anti-War Forces

CLEVELAND—The Socialist Party of the United States took an important step toward welding a firm united front of labor against war and fascism when Paul Porter, acting as official observer at the third Congress

Against War and Fascism, bespoke the desire of the SP for a broad movement based on the trade unions.

Porter, who is national labor secretary of the SP, made his announcement after conferring by wire with the national executive committee of the Party meeting in Philadelphia. At the congress with Porter as official observer was Arthur G. MacDowell, secretary of the Cook County (Chicago) Socialist Party. Andrew Biemiller, editor of The American Leader and the third observer, was unable to be present.

Porter's statement in full follows:

"The Socialist Party believes that an effective fight against war and fascism requires a broad federation of all peace and anti-fascist forces, centered about the trade unions as the basic organizations. While all possible allies are needed in this fight it must be recognized that the organized workers, especially those in the war industries and transportation, occupy the front line trenches of the peace army. Stopping war work means stopping war."

Labor Speaks

"Today, as never before large numbers of unions and farm and unemployed organizations recognize the urgent need for a concerted fight against the growing menace of war and fascism. The American Federation of Labor at its Atlantic City convention spoke clearly and vigorously against these twin dangers. Insofar as fascism in Europe is concerned the AFL and its affiliated unions have raised many thousands of dollars for the workers of Europe. But also as many unions recognize fascism must be fought at home — now, before it grows strong as in Europe."

Seeks Federation

"Inasmuch as the primary basis for the fight against war and fas-

NEW YORK — Mary Fox, executive secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, emphatically denied here this week a statement appearing in the communist press that she had sent her greetings and a pledge of support to the American League against War and Fascism meeting in Cleveland.

"I sent no communication whatever," she declared. "I am personally in favor of the resolution presented by Local 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which suggested liquidation of the League against War and Fascism and pointed to the need of a strong anti-war movement initiated by and based upon the organized labor movement."

Likewise, Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party, denied Daily Worker statements that the Socialists had gone into any united front in the League Against War and Fascism. He said that what the Socialist Party wants is an anti-war movement based on the trade unions, and this the league has not achieved.

cism depends upon the unions, the Socialist Party believes the initiative in forming a broad federation should come from them. We have reason to believe that such a step is likely in the near future and shall give it our full support. We welcome the decision of the national executive of the American League Against War and Fascism also to support a broad federation based on the unions.

"This sort of federation is as necessary to prevent war and to defeat fascism as is a Farmer-Labor Party in the political field. In both instances, we shall work for the strongest and most inclusive federation possible."

LABOR IN ACTION

More than 20 delegates from labor, unemployed and civic groups in Camden have taken steps to form a central committee for cooperative action in the interests of labor. Thomas Gallagher of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilders was named chairman of the new body's "principles" committee.

Encouraged by its success in getting two of its candidates on the Toledo city council and two others on the board of education, the Lucas County Labor Congress has decided to extend its political activities to state and national elections.

A statewide strike of Pennsylvania WPA workers looms as unemployed groups set about to remedy intolerable working conditions and carry through the program adopted by 316 delegates to the recent joint conference of unemployed and project workers held at Harrisburg.

With an appropriation of \$500,000 available for organization of the cotton dress and underwear industry, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union is planning an extensive drive in St. Louis, Chicago, Kansas City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Shamokin, Harrisburg, Reading, Scranton and other garment centers.

Four hundred members of the Workers' Alliance have voted to strike unless wages in Findlay, O., WPA projects are raised from 33c to 50c an hour.

Labor won 242 out of 273 elections held under the auspices of the National Mediation Board in the railroad industry in 1935. Company unionism, once powerful, is on its way to extinction, as the various railroad unions are pushing organization campaigns. According to the last report, 71.1 per cent of the 909,249 workers on Class I roads are covered by agreements with free unions, 24.1 per cent work under company union agreements and 4.8 per cent work as "individuals."

As the deadline date of February 1 neared, it seemed more and more certain that more than 110,000 New York garment workers would strike under the leadership of the Dressmakers' Joint Board of that city. Employers in conferences have thus far refused to accede to the union demands of contractor limitation and scale payments.

The American Newspaper Guild won another victory last week—this time from no less a person than the President. The Guild had protested to the White House against press conferences on Sunday because that meant a 7-day week for correspondents; immediately a scheduled Sunday conference was transferred to Saturday.

The National Radio and Allied Trades, federation of AFL locals in the radio industry, applied for admission into the progressive Committee for Industrial Organization after hearing a speech by Vice-President Philip Murray of the United Mine Workers of America at its recent 3-day convention. The group, which has asked for an international charter from the AFL executive council, is considering a merger with the Independent Electrical and Radio Workers' Union.

So flagrant are violations of state labor laws by Detroit employers that six "trouble-shooting" deputy labor inspectors have been sent into the city to conduct a general mop-up.

THE ART OF MASS MURDER



Here are Italian army leaders discussing the next step in the campaign to enslave Ethiopia. In the center is the new Italian commander, Marshal Pietro Badoglio. Meanwhile, reports from Paris declare that mutiny has broken out among some Italian troops.

THE NEC RESOLUTION

The following motion by Darlington Hoopes of Pennsylvania was passed by a vote of 8-2 at the last meeting of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party:

Whereas the Socialist Party of New York State is split into two nearly equal groups, and

Whereas in this emergency the regular state and local machinery has proved itself unable to preserve and build a united vigorous party, and

Whereas a clear path must be opened for a party inclusive of all Socialist elements and the restoration of party democracy:

Therefore, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party of the United States hereby suspends the charter of the present Socialist Party of New York and appoints a temporary state committee of fifteen, and provides for the reorganization of the Party in New York State, New York City and Buffalo in accordance with the following stipulations:

1. That the NEC, in order to safeguard party democracy in New York state, shall immediately establish a non-factional supervisory committee of three charged with the responsibility of carrying out the following provisions:

(a) All red-card holders to be admitted without question to the reorganized Party provided they signify their desire for inclusion prior to February 7.

(b) All outstanding applications to be passed upon before February 7; all future applications to be acted upon within 30 days of their signature, by the applicant; each application rejected by a local branch to be filed immediately upon its rejection with the supervisory committee, which shall have full power to order acceptance of such applicants in accordance with the provisions of Section 2 below.

(c) Arrangements to be made to guarantee fair election of delegates to the national convention immediately following February 7.

(d) Elections, to be under rules guaranteeing just rights of all members, for the New York city central committee within the month following February 7.

(e) Provision to be made for equitable and proportional representation as a basis of representation in the New York city central and city executive committees.

(f) A new and representative state convention to be held prior to June 30, 1936 at a date fixed by the supervisory committee.

(g) The state committee to take steps following February 7 to see that all its sub-committees are fairly representative of different groups in the state.

(h) The NEC will fill any vacancies in the state committee during the period of reorganization.

2. Finally, and most important of all, the NEC directs that the state committee see that:

(a) There be no additions to or subtractions from the provisions of the national constitution for membership in the Party.

(b) There be no "purgings," no heresy-hunting, but an enforcement of loyalty in act to the constitution, platform and declaration of principles.

(c) The democratic right of discussion within the Party of its policies be protected in every instance.

Socialist NEC Lifts Charter In N. Y. State

PHILADELPHIA—Acting for the restoration of Socialist democracy and discipline within the Party, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party in a dramatic two-day session here voted by an overwhelming majority to suspend the charter of the state organization in New York and appointed a temporary state committee of 15 to reorganize the party.

The resolution, moved by Darlington Hoopes of Pennsylvania after consultation with Albert Sprague Coolidge of Massachusetts, passed 8-2. It also provides for a sub-committee of the NEC to supervise the reorganization and appoints Devere Allen of Connecticut, Leo Krzycki of Wisconsin and Coolidge as the committee.

The resolution was a compromise which guarantees full party democracy to all groups and full membership rights to all members within the state. It is printed in full on this page.

Members of the temporary state committee, to serve only until a new state convention can be held, are:

Lewi Tonks, Schenectady, chairman; Warren Atkinson, Rochester; Leo Brushingham, Olean; Emily Lovett Eaton, Syracuse; Carlotta Kinsley, Oneida; George Dimmick, Rome; Newton Jones, Utica; William G. Perry, Elmira; Harold Raitt, Buffalo; and Murray Baron, Joseph Baskin, Frank Crosswaith, Winston Daniels, Max Delson, Charles Garfinkel, Adolph Held, Abraham Miller, Simon Berlin, William Bohn, Murray Gross, and Joseph Stein, all of New York.

Of the twelve New Yorkers on the committee three, Delson, Baron and Gross, have been identified with the "militant" group; five, Baskin, Held, Miller, Berlin and Bohn, are closely connected with either the Rand school or the Jewish Daily Forward Association. The NEC also provided alternates in case any of the above should refuse to serve.

Allen Withdraws Motion
Prior to the final action, Devere Allen, one of those who later voted for the compromise, introduced a resolution specifically recognizing the state committee elected by the emergency state convention recently held at Utica. Declaring that he did so in the interests of harmony and unity in the party, Allen subsequently withdrew his motion and supported the Hoopes-Coolidge resolution.

After two days of thorough discussion of the situation which all members of the committee agreed had brought "chaos, disruption and disintegration" into the Socialist ranks, the NEC voted as follows:

For the motion: National Chairman Krzycki, Allen, Coolidge, and Hoopes; Franz Daniels, Pennsylvania; Powers Hapgood, Indiana; Maynard C. Kreuger, Illinois, and Norman Thomas, New York.

Against the motion: James Oneal, New York, and James Graham, Montana.

Oneal Denounces NEC
Throughout the hearing Oneal insisted that any compromise action by the NEC at that time was a "betrayal" and "a surrender." After the vote he attacked the decision, but he did not mention the name of the party.

Although Thomas and Daniels of the Utica state committee had announced their willingness to go

along on any proposal that would guarantee complete democracy in the New York state party, the deposed "Old Guard" state committee, headed by Louis Waldman, answered the NEC's invitation to appear before it only by a letter of refusal.

Oneal offered an alternative motion intended to postpone all action for at least one month, but he and Graham were its only supporters. The motion would have given the deposed committee one month more in which to reply to charges in writing.

Continues Jurisdiction
"Constitutionality" was Oneal's defense throughout the meeting. The question of the jurisdiction of the committee was settled even before the hearings on the New York matter opened. George Goebel, a suspended right-wing Socialist from New Jersey, came before the committee to appeal from what he termed "a matter of vital importance to the party, the question of his status as a member."

On motion of Thomas, the NEC appointed a sub-committee of three to mediate and to protect all democracy and individual rights in the case. The motion was passed with only Oneal dissenting.

When the NEC began its hearings on the New York situation, Oneal again argued that the case was "out of order," except on 30 days notice. Pointing out that the matter had been continuously before the committee for "many 30 days," and that an emergency now faced the party, Thomas moved "that the NEC continue jurisdiction of the entire New York state situation, that due notice has been given, and that all matters in New York are therefore properly before us."

With Thomas pointing out that Oneal himself had set the precedent for the committee's action when in 1919 he moved to revoke the charter of the Massachusetts state committee for communist tendencies in that state, the motion was carried, 7-1. Hoopes explained that he voted for the motion because "an emergency requires it. For the NEC to ignore it would be a crime."

Refuse to Appear
At the request of Oneal, Max Lewis, acting as messenger for the Waldman committee then read that committee's answer to the invitation by the national executive committee of the party to appear before the meeting here. In its letter the deposed New York committee pleaded that it was not aware of the NEC's decision to act in the situation, characterized the whole procedure as a "trick," and declared that it would "stand upon its rights" by (Continued on Page Four)

Socialized Land OK'ed By Farmers

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—"To the Disinherited Belongs the Future."

"The Land Is the Common Heritage of the People."

With these inspiring slogans guiding their endeavors, 120 delegates representing more than 25,000 southwestern sharecroppers met in convention this week to plan for another year's activity of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

The biggest problem before the convention was its decision on the Sharecroppers Relief Bill, drawn up by the Socialist Party. The bill was accepted with only minor changes. The bill provides for partial socialization of farm lands.

In his report to the convention, Secretary H. L. Mitchell, veteran Socialist, traced the growth of the STFU from 2,500 members in 25 locals in February, 1935, to its present strength of 25,000 members in more than 200 locals. Mitchell told of the gains achieved in the recent tri-state strike in the face of a brutal terrorism on the part of the planters and the police.

The convention greeted with cheers a message of greetings received from Norman Thomas' visit to Arkansas in March, in support of the STFU, aroused much interest in the plight of the sharecropper. Other messages of greetings were received from David L. Lewis of the Workers' Institute, and many Socialists and labor leaders.

Among those who spoke at the convention were W. H. Green, former member of the Arkansas House of Representatives, I. J. Jones, former member of the United States House of Representatives, and J. L. Lewis, former member of the United States House of Representatives. It was pointed out that the bill would give the sharecropper a right to the land he has worked for years.

Krzycki Lauds NEC Decision

READING, Pa.—At the final session of the meeting of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party after the committee attended the inauguration of the Socialist administration in Reading, Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party, issued the statement below:

"I think I speak for most of the members of the Socialist Party in the country when I say that the decision arrived at by the national executive committee of the party at its meeting in Philadelphia on Jan. 6 in regard to the unfortunate situation we have in New York is the only fair one possible. "It has been said often—and truly said—that a house divided cannot stand."

"For almost two years now we have had in effect two Socialist Party organizations in New York city and state. This cannot be tolerated in any organization and certainly not in the Socialist Party. Something had to be done. And we did it.

"Instead of dealing with organized factions within the party—each claiming to be the majority—we have decided to deal with

the membership directly. Each member will be asked to register with our appointed state committee and signify his loyalty to the Socialist Party of the U. S. A. by declaring his willingness to abide by the constitution of the party, the declaration of principles, and the decision arrived at by a majority. We would fail in our duty if we asked for anything less.

"After each member has had a chance to declare himself, elections supervised by us will be held. This will insure fair, honest, and democratically elected officials of the party.

"Of course, any member of the party who will not avail himself of these opportunities to express himself or who refuses to remain loyal will then automatically read himself out of the party. I hope that no party member will shirk in his duty to the cause of Socialism. If any member or group of members refuse to accept the decisions reached by and officials elected by a majority, then their place is not in the Socialist Party. This method we have decided upon gives a fair chance to both the so-called 'old guard' and the so-called 'left wing.'

"I have full confidence in the intelligence of the sincere Socialists to settle this problem peacefully and speedily."

Union Leader Charges RFC Lends to Anti-Labor Firms

PHILADELPHIA—The charge that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, per its executive director, has been lending money to anti-labor firms was made last week by John W. Edelman, research director of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. Edelman made the charge in a letter to Jesse Jones, head of the RFC.

Edelman said "The fact that the RFC has been lending money to anti-labor firms is a serious matter. It is a betrayal of the trust placed in the RFC by the people. It is a betrayal of the trust placed in the RFC by the workers. It is a betrayal of the trust placed in the RFC by the nation. It is a betrayal of the trust placed in the RFC by the world."

NEC Suspends New York Party Charter

(Continued from Page Three)

refusing to send any representative to appear before the NEC. Hapgood, however, charged that "the committee has not shown up, because they have no case."

Reporting on the Utica conference, Senior listed 17 locals, in addition to the New York City Local, as voting to set up a new state committee. With three other locals present but not voting because their representatives were without authority, he said, the membership represented was about 500 out of a total of 700 in the up-state area. Since the Utica conference, one of the three locals not voting endorsed the Utica committee. Two other locals not represented at Utica sent letters approving the conference.

Appearing before the committee "by virtue of a resolution of a state convention more representative than the 1934 convention of the party in New York state," Max Delson, state chairman chosen at Utica, introduced as his first witness Dr. Louis Sadoff of New York. Sadoff declared the issue to be: "Are we to have a Socialist Party in New York State? It is our contention that the other committee, the Waldman committee, has forfeited its right to represent the Socialist Party in that state."

Berenberg Presents Case

To prove this, David P. Berenberg of Brooklyn, then read the official memorandum of the case of the Utica state committee. Declaring the party to be faced with its gravest crisis since 1919, the statement said in part:

"The Old Guard in New York has precipitated an emergency in which only the vigorous action of New York comrades has saved the party from being shattered into fragments. As a result of a threatened purge under the guise of reorganization, which would have left the party stripped of all its vital elements, a revolt of the party membership has resulted in the establishment of new party apparatus. On behalf of the new state committee of New York and the city central committee of Local New York, we request that the national executive committee shall recognize the emergency which now exists and the fact that the old committees by their illegal, unsocialist, and undemocratic acts of usurpation have forfeited their charters.

"Because of the conditions prevailing in the state which had become more chaotic than ever before as a result of the administration's acts of omission and commission, a conference of party locals was held in Utica on December 28 and 29. The conference included official representatives from almost every existing and functioning local in the state. Without a negative vote but with the delegates of three locals abstaining for lack of authority, the body voted to meet the crisis existing in the state organization by assuming the responsibilities of an emergency state convention and by electing a state committee, pledged to carry out Socialist organization work in New York, in harmony and cooperation with the national organization.

"Truly Representative"

"The Utica convention was truly representative of the organized Socialists of this state, surely more representative of the organized Socialists of this state than the old state committee, which it replaced by a committee which will function for Socialism. We ask the national executive committee to give full force and effect to the statement by the New York comrades to place the party in this hour of crisis.

"Because of the fact that the old state committee has violated

the national constitution and its own state constitution, and has permitted local by-laws to be violated, the New York party membership has acted to restore discipline and democracy. As the state committee elected by the Utica convention which is representative of the wishes of the party membership, we ask the NEC to recognize us as the official body authorized to conduct the business of the Socialist Party of New York.

"We believe that in spite of the damage that has been done to the party in the past year and a half by the old committees, the situation is still hopeful for the growth of the movement. To save the party with all its rich potentialities, the national executive committee must recognize the Utica convention and its state committee which pledges to the national organization its whole-hearted support."

No Purge Wanted

Denying that the Utica committee wished in any way to emulate the old state committee in its attitude toward party democracy, Sadoff explained:

"We are not here to ask you to expel anyone in New York. We say that all those who subscribe to the party's constitution and declaration of principles and abide by majority decisions have a right in the party."

Reiteration of the same pledge was made by Jack Altman, executive secretary of the New York local, when he said, "We are asking no one to purge the party. We come to ask you to save the party."

Describes Purge

An explanation of the inclusive party for which the new committee was asking came dramatically from the lips of Harold Raitt, president of the Buffalo carpenters' union.

After describing the purge conducted by Robert Hoffman and Oneal in expelling without trial 24 members of the party in that city, Raitt asked for recognition of the newly formed local with which he is identified.

"Give us a chance, and we'll build you a Socialist Party, not a lot of paper locals."

Graham asked: "If you are given this chance to build the party, will you take in Hoffman?"

"We'll take in all the members of the old organization," Raitt answered. "We'll even take in Hoffman, and make a Socialist of him."

'Peace' Plans Presented

On Sunday morning representatives of two groups in New York came before the committee with plans for "unity and harmony," one from the Forward Association, represented by Held, and the other from a centrist group, headed by Sam Friedman, formerly labor editor of the New Leader. Both Held and Friedman presented substantially the same plan, new elections or a referendum in the state on the basis of proportional representation for all groups.

Admitting that he spoke only for his committee and not for the Forward, Held stated:

"There is very little difference in the party on the question of armed insurrection and the united front. That is not the issue. A number of organizational problems have come to the front and require solution."

Held said he was not familiar with all the details of the problem, but suggested negotiations with the "Old Guard." Norman L. Mack, he said, had never blockaded in any way and did not

SUPERVISOR



Devere Allen, of Connecticut, a member of the Socialist national executive committee, who will act as one of a supervisory committee of three to re-organize the New York state organization.

he debated Earl Browder in Madison Square Garden last month.

Opposes Referendum

Pressed to express himself on the Held proposals, Oneal again appealed to constitutionality and declared angrily: "I can not commit the state organization to any proposal. I can not tell what the reaction would be. Personally, I think there is no reason for a referendum in the state of New York."

Peace Offer Or a Threat?

Joseph Bearak of Boston, claiming to represent the state committee of that state, demanded that the NEC drop the whole matter and turn it over to an Eastern States Conference to which he said, nine state organizations in the East had been invited to send delegates. When Bearak had finished, Hoopes remarked drily: "You say you want peace in the party. We had difficulty in telling whether you were making a peace proposal or a threat."

Outlining the "frustration, chaos, and disintegration in the Socialist Party because this fight has been going on," Sam Friedman declared he was "disappointed" in Oneal's unwillingness to meet Held's proposals, and went on:

"If the Old Guard leaves the party, the responsibility will be theirs."

Again pressed for an opinion on the "peace" proposals Oneal closed the door to the referendum idea by declaring: "The proposal implies a flaunting of the constitution of the Socialist Party. My reaction is that I am very doubtful that it would be accepted by the State Committee."

In an "appeal to maintain unity and the public integrity of the Socialist Party," Sarah Limbach, state secretary of the Pennsylvania party, suggested that charges be made formal and that the state committee be asked to appeal to answer the charges. Chairman Krzycki was forced to announce once more, however, that "the state of New York apparently does not desire to appear at this time."

Garfunkel Speaks

Again resuming the case for the Utica committee, Delson introduced Charles Garfunkel, former Socialist assemblyman and temporary chairman of the newly reorganized local in New York. Dealing with the issue of "constitutionality" Garfunkel declared that "any group which waits until it is executed is crazy, or at any rate immature. If you of the NEC

do not act, you will be responsible for a party split."

At this juncture written evidence of the strength and virility of the newly reorganized local in New York was presented by Lou Hay, party organizer, who showed the NEC signed registration cards of party members, who have formally declared their allegiance to the Socialist city central committee at 21 East 17th Street. In addition he presented over 300 signed application cards received during the last four weeks. Hay, also brought the signed records of the branch voting in New York City, constituting a devastating indictment of "figures" previously issued by the Old Guard.

Oneal Says 'War Is On!'

With this evidence before it, the committee began its deliberations. Oneal was the first to speak, occupying an hour and fifteen minutes to renew his plea of unconstitutionality, to charge "incompetency of those (Thomas and others) who claim they know how to build the party," and to repeat his claim of armed insurrectionists in the Party.

"Your organization will have to go underground," he charged, "The war is on! We are at the parting of the ways. You can not get the heart and soul of the organized workers; but we can."

Allen Replies

Answering the issues raised by Oneal, Allen, who headed an investigation committee on the question of "armed insurrection" last year, declared:

"I saw no evidence that any reliable member of the party endorsed armed insurrection. The endorsement of armed insurrection is repugnant to me personally. I have spent over 20 years fighting it myself. I utterly repudiate the issue of armed insurrection as a central issue. I know it is irrelevant. There is but one question, the question of democracy in the Socialist ranks."

Proposing "a drastic but helpful act, surrounded by safeguards which would guarantee that an inclusive party emerge," Allen then moved his resolution to "recognize as the official state committee of New York, the state committee organized by the Socialist convention at Utica." The resolution differed in several other respects from the one finally adopted, providing in general the same safeguards of party democracy, but definitely charging the old state organization with "continued disloyalty," "violation of the peace pact agreed upon with the national executive committee last July," and "usurpation of power."

Graham Asks Mediation

The Allen motion was opposed by Graham, who instead suggested that a joint committee of militants and Old Guardists, with an NEC member as chairman, be set up to mediate the fight. "Possibly if I had been a militant I would have walked out of the city central committee myself, but the militants have not exhausted every constitutional means," he said.

Coolidge Offers Substitute

Charging that in handing over the prize to the militants, "we would wave a red flag in the face of the Old Guard," Coolidge then offered a substitute, embodying substantially the terms of the Hoopes motion later adopted. Coolidge refused to recognize the Utica committee as the state committee of New York.

Hapgood supported the Allen motion, and charged that the only reason the Old Guard refused to

appear before the NEC was "the hope that they would simply wear out the patience of the younger members and of the NEC."

"For many months, he said, "there has been deliberate sabotage of the national organization by the New York state committee. I support the Allen motion because I do not think the amendment will take care of the situation. The time has come for action by the NEC."

"We can all agree," answered Hoopes, "that the situation is difficult. Things can not go on as they have been going on. Technically there is a case that we haven't the case properly before us; also, it is true that the NEC must act."

"I believe Coolidge's amendment provides a possible method of settlement. If it fails we will fight it out in the national convention."

Kreuger Raps Job Machine

Terming the old organization in New York a "Tammanyized job machine unknown anywhere else in the Socialist Party in this country," Kreuger spoke in support of the Allen motion.

"It is my opinion that the charter has been forfeited by the state committee's own acts. For two years we put up with the saturation with military action that is partly responsible for the situation today. The thing has gone far enough. The NEC must step in and recognize the only group that are the hope for building the Socialist Party in New York state and in the nation. We have the honor of being the NEC that 'cleans up that New York situation!'"

After a vote on Oneal's motion had been defeated, 7 to 2, with only Oneal and Graham supporting it, Hoopes introduced the final motion, which was accepted by Allen "in the interests of harmony and unity." With Allen's motion withdrawn, the Hoopes motion became the only motion before the NEC.

Before the vote was taken, however, Chairman Krzycki summed up the reasons making action necessary.

"The position taken by the comrades on 15th Street (the Rand School) has gone very far in setting up a destructive paralysis in the Socialist Party. First the Declaration of Principles was made an issue and kept alive for months. When that issue was finally disposed of in a referendum, a new issue was created, the united front with communists.

"Yes, I agree with those comrades who say that large numbers of party members have been kept from doing their work to build the party by these tactics. I hope in this resolution we will find sufficient material to hammer out effectively functioning machinery for building the party in New York state."

As soon as the Hoopes motion had been approved, Coolidge presented nominations for the new temporary committee of fifteen. (Six more were added at a later session.) Oneal then read the statement which he explained he had "prepared in advance." After denouncing the action taken as "unconstitutional" and "arbitrary," he announced that he would "refuse to participate in the farce of these sessions," and immediately withdrew from the meeting room.

Near midnight Sunday, the NEC closed its sessions in this city, after naming the committee of three. All sessions were held before a crowd of nearly 300 party members from all parts of the country who jammed the meeting hall at the Philadelphia Labor Institute to overflow.

Thomas at Tampa Meet January 16

By RUSSELL GRAY

TAMPA, Fla.—Norman Thomas will address a huge mass meeting here Sunday, January 16, called in protest against the brutal murder of Joseph Shoemaker, Socialist and unemployed leader, by local police and members of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Socialist leader was the first to publicly accuse the Klan of being involved in the murder of Shoemaker and the kidnaping and torture of two other Socialists, E. F. Poulnot and S. J. Rogers.

Third Klansman Caught

Since then three members of the Klan have been arrested for the murder, as well as six members of the local police force. The latest Klansman to be arrested is James Dean, who like the two others arrested had served as a special police officer in the Tampa primary of September 3.

All nine accused men are out on \$7,500 bail each, the bail having been supplied by local anti-union cigar manufacturers.

Meanwhile Tampa continues to be a powder keg, with the lid threatening to blow off any day as the trail of the murder and kidnaping leads more and more closely to the doors of high public officials.

Interest Is Great

The announcement of the Thomas mass meeting has aroused a great deal of interest throughout the state. The newspapers are playing it up on their front pages. Labor, liberal, church, and college leaders have accepted positions on the arrangements committee. Among them are George Googe, regional organizer for the American Federation of Labor; Dr. Hamilton Holt, president of Rollins College; Ludd M. Spivey, president of Southern College; the Rt. Rev. John D. Wing, bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Florida; Rev. Walter D. Metcalf, local minister who is one of the leaders of the fight against reaction in Tampa.

SOCIALIST OFFICIALS



Here are some of the Socialist officials of Reading, Pa., who took office this week. Sitting are: (left to right) Mayor Henry Stump and Councilmen Howard McDonough and Charles Sands; standing are Councilman Stewart Tomlinson and Treasurer William G. Hoverter.

Reading Socialists Cheered As They Re-Enter City Hall

READING, Pa.—For the second time in its history, this city, third industrial city of Pennsylvania, is being governed by a Socialist administration.

With the inauguration of Mayor Henry Stump and five other city officials, all Socialists, Reading for the second time saw the power in labor. Thousands of workers crowded the City Hall auditorium, where the ceremonies were held, to cheer and applaud the new Socialist administration.

Stump was greeted by congratulations from Socialist and labor leaders in all parts of the nation. In the audience watching the ceremonies were Norman Thomas and Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party of the United States. Other members of the na-

tional executive committee also attended the ceremonies.

Among the congratulations received by Mayor Stump was a telegram from The CALL. It read:

"Socialist Call sends you its sincerest and most comradely congratulations on your splendid opportunity to serve the working class of Reading and of the nation. We pledge our undivided support for a united vigorous party to carry out the Socialist program of workers' democracy."

Socialists Win

The inauguration ceremonies marked the first time in more than half a century a mayor of Reading has been in office for the second time. Stump, first elected in 1928, was defeated in 1932 when Republicans and Democrats united in Fusion to defeat the Socialists. November, however, saw a tremendous outpouring of labor to the polls, electing the entire Socialist administration by a vote which was nearly equal to the combined vote polled by the capitalist parties.

Reading is one of the strongest organized cities in Pennsylvania for the cause of labor. The Federated Trades Council, officered by Socialists, has shown leadership for many years in leading the fight of Pennsylvania organized labor for improved conditions. Darlington Hoops, a member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, shares with Edith Wilson, another Socialist, the seats allotted Berks County in the state legislature.

Ceremonies Simple

The inauguration ceremonies were simple. After Stump was given the oath by James Roslyn, Socialist alderman, the mayor gave the oath to Charles Sands, Howard McDonough and Stewart Tomlinson, councilmen; Walter Hollinger, comptroller, and William Hoverter, treasurer.

The first act of the new council was to begin a program of thorough house-cleaning of administrative offices in the City Hall, a house-cleaning made necessary after the corruption of Fusion.

Hoan Again In Race For Re-Election

MILWAUKEE—Mayor Daniel W. Hoan and City Attorney Max Raskin formally opened their campaigns for re-election this week when city-wide circulation of nomination papers was instituted. The petitions will be circulated by the Socialist Party.

Hoan will complete his twentieth year as mayor of Milwaukee this year. Elected to the position of chief city executive in 1916 after serving as city attorney for a brief period, Hoan has been re-elected for each term by greater and greater majorities as his record of service to Milwaukee labor becomes more evident. The opposition furnished to Hoan by the capitalist newspapers and open-shop bosses is not expected to be powerful enough to unseat him.

During his period as mayor of

Milwaukee, Hoan has seen Milwaukee earn the title of "America's best-governed city." Although always the target of vicious attack on the part of employers' agencies, organized labor has always rallied to his support.

Raskin, one of the youngest city attorneys in the country, is president of the national association of city attorneys. He is well known as a strategist and has many times used the power of his office for the benefit of labor.

Hoan and Raskin will be supported by a Socialist slate of nominees who will contest every office on the ballot, Herman O. Kent, county secretary announced. Nominations for other offices will be announced on completion of a party referendum on affiliating the SP with the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation.

Name Glenn Turner

MILWAUKEE—Glenn P. Turner has been selected as the Socialist candidate for supreme court justice in the coming election, according to an announcement made by Al Benson, secretary of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin.

Turner ran against the incumbent Judge George H. Nelson, former Kohler appointee, in the last election, polling the largest vote ever received by a candidate on the Socialist state ticket, receiving 218,000 votes.

Turner has also been active in many farmers' groups. He was an organizer for the non-partisan league during the heyday of that organization. In more recent years he has aided the Farm Holiday Assn. in its work of preventing mortgage foreclosures.

European Socialist Arrives in America

NEW YORK—Among the recent arrivals to this country is Angella Balabanoff, prominent European Socialist. Miss Balabanoff, who is 63 years old, is in this country for a six-month lecture tour.

Formerly a co-editor with Mussolini of the Socialist newspaper, Avanti, Miss Balabanoff has dedicated the remaining years of her life to exposing the murderous Mussolini regime in Italy and the fight against fascism. She will address audiences in this country in eight languages, all of which she speaks fluently.

Miss Balabanoff is at present editor of Avanti, Italian Socialist newspaper in Paris. During the World War she was associated with the Zimmerwald group and was the first secretary of the Third International.

WIN STRIKE

CENTRALIA, Wash.—A strike which tied up operations of the Eastern Railway and Lumber Company for a month ended when workers won increased wages, shorter working hours and prohibition of discrimination. About 620 men were on strike.

16 Jailed in Omaha Strike

OMAHA, Neb.—A new wave of terror against the valiant street-car strikers of this city broke last week when 16 strikers were arrested charged with "conspiracy to commit felony by dynamiting." Among those arrested was J. C. Perkins, chairman of the strike committee and a Socialist sympathizer.

The charge is a hangover from an unsuccessful attempt to frame the strikers late in June, when several cases of unexploded dynamite in the city. At that time, strikers were found in several places and arrested but police were compelled to release them after they admitted that there was no evidence connecting Local 1002 of the Amalgamated Association of Street Car Railwaymen with the dynamite. The local has been conducting the strike since its inception April 20.

The sixteen arrested were held without bail for many hours, finally five being released on \$1,000 bail and a sixth on a personal bond. Ten others were kept imprisoned without bail.

The Socialist Party has offered its assistance to the local union and is attempting to raise funds and arrange for proper legal defense. James Harris of the Party state executive committee, who is also a member of the executive committee of the union, and Harry Lerner have been representing the Party. They have asked the Central Labor Union to organize a defense committee for the strikers.

HEADS WRA COMMITTEE

CHICAGO—Elizabeth Gilman of Baltimore has been appointed chairman of the national women's committee for the Workers' Rights Amendment, with offices at 721 Moxley Building, this city.

NEW SOLON



Elmer A. Benson, Farmer-Laborite, was appointed United States Senator by the governor of Minnesota. Benson pledged himself for labor legislation.

CAPITALIST HOUSING



Here is an example of capitalist housing—this is all that remains of a four-story tenement in Buffalo, N. Y., in which five persons were killed after a fire. And university professors tell us that "capitalists take all the risks!"

THE SOCIALIST CALL

Published every Saturday by The Call Press, Inc. Address all communications to The Socialist Call, 21 East 17th St., New York City. Telephone: GRamercy 5-8779.

By subscription: \$1.50 a year; \$1 for six months. Foreign, \$2 a year. Special rates for bundle orders and club subscriptions.

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the States of ARKANSAS, ILLINOIS, KANSAS, MISSOURI, NEW YORK, OHIO and WEST VIRGINIA. Endorsed by the Socialist Party of the States of CALIFORNIA, INDIANA, MASSACHUSETTS and MICHIGAN, and by the YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

EDITORIAL BOARD: Murray Baron, David P. Berenberg, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Robert Nelson, David Felix, Ben Gitlow, Aaron Levenstein, Saul Parker, Abraham Perlstein, Glen Trimble, August Tyler, Herman Wolf, Herbert Zam.

Business Manager: Jack Altman Managing Editor: Samuel Romer

Vol. I Saturday, January 11, 1936 No. 43

The Philadelphia Decision

The Philadelphia meeting of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party was a historic and memorable one. While the NEC did not recognize the state committee elected by the Utica Convention, it faced squarely the problem created by the Old Guard in New York and took action. The committee, which had demonstrated almost unbelievable restraint in the face of continued breaches of discipline and ethics by the Old Guard and had closed its eyes to the long train of abuses in the hope of maintaining unity, was finally compelled to act in an effort to preserve the integrity of the party. Still intent upon keeping the party unified, it adopted the Hoopes-Coolidge compromise motion which makes it plain that the NEC does not intend to permit the desecration of party democracy but does not administer to the Old Guard the purge that the Old Guard had undertaken against the New York membership.

The NEC recognized the fact that the issue which has torn the party was one of discipline and democracy. Its discussions made clear that communism, armed insurrection and the united front were not involved in the controversy but were smoke-screens. Adolph Held, appearing as the spokesman of the Jewish Daily Forward was himself very blunt in so declaring, making it clear, for example, that in the matter of the Thomas-Browder debate no one could possibly charge that the debate was a united front. The issue was simply whether or not the party would live as a disciplined, democratic organization.

The NEC met that issue. It may not have acted as decisively as the party membership had a right to expect. It refused to recognize the claims of the only group in New York that actually represented the party membership in this state. After listening to evidence that showed that the Utica convention represented at least 500 out of the 700 up-state party members; after examining the files and records offered by Local New York which showed how decisively the membership was supporting the new Central Committee; the national executive committee refused to give recognition to the new state committee.

Nevertheless, comrades will rejoice in the fact that by virtue of the decision to suspend the New York charter and to set up a temporary state committee well surrounded by guarantees of democratic process, the NEC has succeeded in saving the party from the inevitable disintegration that follows the abandonment of democracy and has preserved the Socialist all-inclusiveness which alone can keep the party from dwindling into a mere sect. No comrade need have fear any longer of such wholesale purges as were undertaken by the Old Guard.

Loyal party members of all complexions—right and left—accept this decision. From stories in the capitalist press and from the fact of James Oneal's withdrawal from the NEC meeting, it seems that the Waldman clique alone will hold out. The die-hards, it seems, will fight to the very brink of the grave and will suffer a lonely death.

This much at least the NEC has done: it has made it possible for the party membership to go forward without fear of obstructionism and sabotage. Throughout the country, comrades will by resolution and act express their support for the national organization and its decisions and will plunge with renewed vigor into the constructive work of Socialist propaganda.

The Students and War

The creation of an American Student Union is an encouraging sign; it is a step forward in the development of a progressive student movement which can be developed into a powerful ally of the labor movement.

The CALL greets the firm anti-war stand taken by the Union and commends the aggressive position of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the Young People's Socialist League at the student convention in Columbus which made possible the adoption of a correct programmatic statement of opposition to any war conducted by the United States government.

It is unfortunate that the Student Union at its initial convention saw fit to defeat a resolution definitely stating that the ASU would not support the United States government in war even if it was aligned with the Soviet Union because such support would not be a genuine means of defense of the Soviet Union.

The declaration by M. Henderson, national student secretary of the Y.P.S.L., that the Socialist youth of America will carry on a determined campaign with the labor movement for the abolition of the war is a step forward. The Socialist youth of America will play a leading role in the development of the ASU. The ASU will be a powerful ally of the labor movement.

A Program for Liberty

To offset the drive against organized labor and to block the "red scare" promoted by "professional patriots," the American Civil Liberties Union has announced a New Year's legislative program of "bills of rights for enactment by Congress." The Union in presenting the program to congressional leaders and to supporters throughout the country asserted that "the preservation of democracy depends upon the right to carry on freely any agitation concerning the present economic and political system."

The bills supported by the Union include: The Scott "Freedom of the Air" bills to assure equal radio facilities for two sides of controversial issues, to set aside daily free periods for uncensored discussion of public issues, to clear radio stations from legal responsibility for what is said on such programs, to require open records of stations' actions on requests for time, and finally to establish a broadcasting research commission for a thorough investigation of radio control and operation.

The Zioncheck Bill to guarantee a jury trial for all matter held non-mailable by the Postmaster General as "obscene" or "seditious."

Importing Strikebreakers

The Byrnes Bill to make it a crime to transport strike-breakers from state to state, which is now in the Senate.

The Connery Resolution to cut off federal supplies from the National Guard when it is used in strike duty.

Amendments to the AAA to protect the right of farm workers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers, to organize and to bargain collectively. These amendments have not yet been introduced.

The Amle Resolution for an investigation of the lot of tenant farmers and sharecroppers with particular emphasis on violations of their civil rights.

The Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching Bill authorizing the federal government to act in lynching cases as it does in kidnappings.

Other bills in the Union's program would establish the right of asylum for aliens, give the Secretary of Labor power to stay deportations in certain cases; admit alien pacifists to citizenship; legalize the transmission of birth control material through the mails; make military drill optional in landgrant colleges.

Plan Campaign

As an essential part of its 1936 "greater freedom" drive, the Union called for defeat of the McCormack-Tydings Military Disaffection Bill and the Kramer Seditious Bill. Frederick A. Ballard, an attorney, is the Union's legislative representative in Washington and will direct the campaign in Congress.

Among the organizations cooperating with the Union in its campaign are the League for Industrial Democracy, the Committee on Militarism in Education, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Authors' League of America, and various women's organization, union, labor and student groups.

Political Appointments 'Without Implications'

To The Editor:

A word or two apropos of La Guardia's appointments of Socialists to places on the bench as discussed by Gus Tyler in a recent issue.

When Judge Panken was appointed, the Waldman state committee approved the appointment as having "no political implications." Since then events have proven the Panken appointment to have had very serious political implications.

La Guardia threatens to man the skyscraper elevators with city policemen and firemen in the advent of a strike by the building service workers' union. Does Judge Panken raise his voice in either condemnation or protest?

La Guardia inflicts the sales tax on the unemployed and the workers generally. Does Judge Panken resign in protest against the imposition of this hardship?

La Guardia gives aid and comfort to Fascism at a huge promotional demonstration in Madison Square Garden. And where are Judge Panken's protests and his hysterical crescendo?

Judge Panken bestows the classics on juvenile delinquents amid much publicity; and La Guardia makes another appointment—also, no doubt, without "political implications."

Meanwhile working-class politi-

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.

cal realists give confiding Socialists the merry ha-ha
JUSTUS EBERT.
New York City.

'BEST LABOR PAPER IN FIELD TODAY'

To The Editor:

I think the CALL is the best labor paper in the field today and hope it will continue the good work. In fact, words can't express how much I like the CALL. If I attend the state convention of the SP in the Spring, I intend to put a motion that the CALL be officially endorsed by the Socialist Party of Texas.

CHARLES D. GRAHAM.
Dallas, Tex.

FROM THE NEGRO LABOR COMMITTEE

To The Editor:

This is to acknowledge with thanks receipt of your recent contribution to the work of the Negro Labor Committee.

You will be pleased to learn that your generous contribution has encouraged us greatly to go forward in our determination to

win the unorganized Negro workers to the cause of trade unionism. We are confident that the constructive work we will do for labor generally will redound with credit to all who have aided us.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH.
WINIFRED GITTENS.
New York City.

SOCIALISM IN WISCONSIN

To The Editor:

In 1924 the Socialist Party in its desire to draw labor elements closer to the Socialist movement threw its support to the elder LaFollette. The result was an exchange by the Socialist Party of its class basis for a LaFollette sentimentalism and reform.

In 1933 the New York Socialists, mindful of the 1924 lesson, rejected coalition with Fusion. They refused to become part of an amorphous, liberal-progressive reform movement, preferring to retain their class basis and outlook.

Now, however, an important Socialist organization is again opening the door to a repetition of 1924. In Wisconsin the Socialists are on the point of affiliating with the Progressive Party. Like a blushing bride, the Wisconsin Socialists give up their name on the state ballot, in return for which they receive the doubtful privilege of reforming the Progressive groom.

Thus a class basis is exchanged for a political union with Roosevelt brain-trusters under the impression that a great step toward a Labor Party is being taken.

HARRY LERNER.
Omaha, Neb.

ASKS FOR DOCUMENTS

To The Editor:

I am planning an American labor encyclopedia to include all available documents such as constitutions, programs and declarations of principles of labor and railroad organizations, as well as biographical data on leaders in this movement. I will be glad to hear from persons who can contribute relevant material (out-of-print books, pamphlets, periodicals, etc. concerning the labor movement; photographs and intimate sketches of pioneers of all social movements) as well as persons who assist in carrying out of this projected work. Full details will be cheerfully given and material, if desired, returned on request.

MICHAEL P. ...
70 Wyona Street,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

'Fair Play in Sports'

James MacDonald, high commissioner of the League of Nations appointed to deal with refugees from Hitlerland, has thrown up his hands in despair. He has resigned. In resigning he charged that the persecution of Jews, Catholics and Protestants, of Socialists and Communists—in fact, of the whole German people—is greater now than it was three years ago. There is nothing that the League can do about it. The League will go on trying to bail out the sea with a bucket.

In the meantime, the Nazi athletic authorities have issued a pamphlet defining their ideas of fair play in sport. They repeat all the old attacks on all concepts of justice and liberty. As if in answer to Avery Bramble and General Sherrill, they say that of course sport in Germany is Nazi propaganda.

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WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

AT THE Utica Convention a little more than a week ago, Haim Kantorovitch, speaking of the conflict within the Socialist Party, pointed out that two concepts of Socialism were involved in the struggle. Both the Old Guard and the Militants, he said, wanted Socialism. The difference lay in this: that the Old Guard thought of Socialism as something that would inevitably come about at some vague future time, whereas the Militants thought of Socialism as a goal to be achieved only by active struggle.

This puts the case neatly and completely. The Old Guard has sought to brand the Militants as "communists" and "armed insurrectionists." It does not matter how often the charge is denied. It does not matter that we have stated over and over again that we favor no *putsch*, no hopeless sacrifice of workers' lives. It does not matter to the Old Guard that we have stated over and over again that we advocate the use of democratic procedure as long as they remain available to us and that we shall fight to preserve them.

They want us to say that we will resort to democratic procedures even when they cease to exist. In other words, they want us to repeat the fatal error of the German Social Democrats, and to yield to fascism, with its enslavement of labor and its suppression of liberty in a submissive, slavish spirit. If we are not ready to say this; if we say with Thomas Jefferson that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance; if we say, as did the Austrian Socialists, that death in the fight for liberty is preferable to shameful submission—then, in the eyes of the Old Guard, we are "armed insurrectionists."

The Road to Socialism

No! It is not our alleged advocacy of "armed insurrection" that marks us off from the Old Guard. What separates us is the different concepts of the road to Socialism.

The Old Guard was meeting in New York while the Socialist Party met at Utica. As a sort of challenge, it adopted a program of action. This, it seemed to say with a fine show of defiance, is what we stand for, whereas the Militants stand for "communism" and "armed insurrection." The program consisted of the old set of social reform measures repeated again and again in Socialist programs: housing, a "real" social security program, relief, help for the unemployed, etc. Now, there is nothing wrong with this program. There is nothing in it that the Militants will not, do not include in their program. But there is something missing in it. Something important.

What is missing is the realization that we live in a rapidly changing world. We have no centuries before us in which to pass from municipal housing to municipal factories and finally to socialized industry, by slow and imperceptible changes.

Capitalism is reorganizing itself. It is getting ready for a life and death struggle, for the "final conflict." It must enslave Labor. Labor, and not only revolutionary labor but merely labor, fighting for decent wages and hours, must be reduced to impotence. It must be robbed of its power to fight back. And this must be done soon if the capitalist rate of profit is to remain.

The Need of Vision

It is utopian with a vengeance to imagine that the gradualism which seemed valid while capitalism was on the up-grade is valid now. What is needed more than ever is a slogan that will inspire the workers to act. They must be stirred to fight for what they have: their wages, their political and civil liberties. They must be aroused to enthusiasm by a vision of a new world; the Workers' World.

No mere program calling for municipal housing and for more social insurance will so inspire them. Today, more than ever, the need is for ultimates, for prophetic vision, for a picture of the new world to substitute for that which is passing.

It is precisely this which is lacking in the Old Guard program. The Old Guard cannot see that to the worker there is no difference between their program and Roosevelt's. It does not understand that when the workers swing away from Roosevelt, it will be to some Fascist leader with a fantastic scheme like the Townsend plan or worse, unless Socialism offers them something better. Something sounder.

Calling meetings attended by "our people" and talking to ourselves will never achieve so much. Accepting judgments from petty politicians will retard rather than aid the advent of Socialism. Sitting back and spitting at those who want action, sneering at them as "armed insurrectionists," adopting programs that were going in 1935; being respectable—these things will never build the Workers' World.

We have something sounder than utopian plans or than dull reform programs. Why hide it under a bushel basket? Let us inscribe Socialism, our final goal, on our banners and call the workers to rally to its support.

'FOR FASCIST GLORY'



Here is Il Duce posing for the camera again—this time holding up a war helmet filled with wedding rings contributed by the wives of Italy. Not satisfied with taking their husbands and children to certain death, fascism insists upon their wedding rings too.

Labor Culture:

We Are The Builders

The following article describes the remarkable achievements of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in labor education and sport. Mark Starr, a well-known Socialist, is educational director of the union.

By MARK STARR.

With 9,000 students enrolled in 274 weekly classes and sports groups, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union is sponsoring a large-scale workers' education job as it strives to further the movement to build a workers' culture with a kick.

At the same time, its activity is serving as a spur to other unions, and with growing frequency it is called on for suggestions in evolving workers' education programs.

There was a time when garment workers were thought to be pale, sickly-looking victims of the sweatshop with spindly shanks and back bowed down with constant stooping over their work.

Today, however, there is something wrong with this picture, because the ILGWU is leading the movement toward the development of workers' sport in the United States. Coupled with this, there is a wide development of cultural and educational work.

The 274 groups shown in the report presented to the recent quarterly meeting of the union's general executive board are run by locals in all towns where the union has considerable membership and also at seven special social and educational centers in New York City.

They include 116 study classes with attendance ranging from 10 to 190 students; 39 athletic groups, including base ball, basketball and soccer teams; 28 gym groups; 34 choral and instrumental music groups; and even in St. Louis a drill team.

Boards that, there is mass attendance at special educational meetings. Boards are arranged to see labor plays such as *Mother*. There are weekly visits and trips to places of interest arranged for children and adults. While much of the work is concentrated in greater New York, the union now has educational directors in cities as widely separated as Houston, Toronto, San Francisco and Boston.

Just now, the seven girls' basketball teams are beginning to

play off for the Dubinsky trophy which was won last year by the girls of Local 150, South River, N. J. The seven men's teams are beginning to compete for the Hochman trophy, and nearly every Saturday evening there is a double-header run by the athletics division of the educational department. Soccer is growing in popularity, and the men's locals now have six competing teams.

The activity of the ILGWU is arousing the interest of other unions. Attractive posters prepared by the department, as well as its publications, are in wide demand by other unions undertaking educational activity.

Because the international quadrupled its membership by exploiting the opportunity provided by the NRA in 1933, it has its own special educational job of turning recruits into reliable and trained members of the union army. Many of the classes deal with shop problems and the ABC of trade unionism. Others study the story of the union and of the labor movement. Starting in January there will be a central class in training-for-trade-union-service for shop chairmen, officers and would-be officers of the union. This will deal with all phases of organizing and administering a union.

In the social and educational part of there is a balanced program of recreation and study. The union appeals to its members to play, dance, sing, act and study with the union. After repeated appearances at union demonstrations, meetings and festivals, the united choir (150 voices), the mandolin orchestra of over 100 instruments and the dramatics group are actively preparing for a big public concert in New York.

PREPARING FOR 1936

By McAlister Coleman

NOW that the civilized nations have consumed their holiday portions of ginger-ale, gin and good-will and can all go back to hating and cheating their neighbors, thinking up new ways of exploiting backward peoples and declaring war on one another, we go bang into a new Presidential campaign.

Judging from the hard-boiled tenor of the President's recent address to Congress at the opening of that great-deliberative body, this is going to be a honey of a campaign. We are sure to learn a lot of interesting truths about the inside workings of both old parties. With the munitions and utility inquiries on their way again, with the Liberty League sounding off for every Monday morning paper, with the moot question of how fast a neutral nation can get involved in war—with all the matters tied up with unemployment, to boot—the 1936 campaign should show some pretty good fireworks displays.

Socialist Gains

Labor and Socialist forces should be able to gain in national and local strength and significance, as is always the case when the two old parties put on a real fight. There are some who think that Roosevelt's appeal to the liberals will weaken our cause. Woodrow Wilson, in his first campaign was farther to the left than Roosevelt, more specific, with a program aimed squarely at the heart of monopoly. And yet in that year, when a lot of soothsayers were prophesying the wiping out of the SP because of mass movements towards Wilson and his pink philosophies, the highest vote ever cast for a Socialist candidate for President was cast for Eugene Victor Debs.

We should—all of us, I believe, be at work now sharpening up our weapons for the fight ahead. We have spent so much time of late arguing among ourselves, reviewing our general underlying principles, debating long-time policies and demands, that we are in need right now of reports on the state of the Union, that will be reports and not propaganda.

How many of our speakers in the coming campaign, for example, will have at hand the facts about the present state of industrial development in America? Our fact-finders and researchers must put into the hands of our field workers, concrete data that will stand up under heckling. We must in short have a general overhauling of our funds of information, since those are the funds in which we are notoriously the richest. It will no longer do just to stand up and denounce Fascism, in vague, if heated terms. Who are the men who would bring about this indigenous American Fascism? What progress have they already made? What are their plans for the future?

President Roosevelt was vague enough about it in his opening speech. He talked of "entrenched greed," but did not name either the location of the trenches or the men who are manning those trenches. He talked of "autocracy at home," but never named a single autocrat.

The New Oratory

In the old days it was considered sufficient for a Socialist speaker to get up, damn the capitalist system, tell about the benefits of the coming co-operative system and go on his way. That won't do any longer for us. If we are going to talk about the socialization of public utilities, for instance, we must have at least an idea of what a holding company is, of costs in relation to rate bases, etc., of how we would run electricity and gas. If we are talking about coal, we must have in mind some pretty definite idea of the nature of the industry, its peculiar problems and the sensible Socialist solutions. And the same goes for rails and oil. And as for agriculture, well, let's not expose in public all we don't know right now about the farm problem.

I know how overworked and underpaid our few real researchers are, and the difficulties in getting a truthful and comprehensive picture of the new Leviathans. But if I may make a humble suggestion, it would be to divide some of the time and energy that we have been putting in on inter-racial rows to this sort of genuine, long-view Socialist engineering. Norman Thomas has often and truly said that all too many Socialist orators are too lazy to work up an informed speech. They always trust to plain hollering and sweating in public, to get by. I figure our people want something more than that in this new year. Let's resolve to give it to them.

World Socialism

SOCIALISM, NEUTRALITY AND WAR

By HERBERT ZAM

With the opening of Congress, a new crop of neutrality resolutions has again sprouted with the competing for first-place honors in international relations and the growing consciousness of the American people of the danger of war, there is a tremendous interest in all proposals dealing with the question of war and peace. It is therefore essential that we have a correct attitude toward all such measures in order that we may be in a position to give a proper lead to the working-class.

Remembering that wars are organically bound up with the very existence of the capitalist system and are inevitable under capitalism, it becomes quite obvious that real neutrality as a policy throughout the world is impossible today—quite as much as the elimination of exploitation is impossible under capitalism. The basic fallacy of pacifism is that it attempts to abolish war and maintain capitalism. (Of course pacifist Socialists also want to abolish capitalism but advocate pacifism as a method of fighting both war and capitalism. In the final analysis, this is Ghandism with a Socialist goal.) This attempt has always been derided by Marxists, who insist that a genuine struggle against war presupposes a struggle against the roots of war, i.e., against capitalism. Thus, the slogan "Against War" is by itself incomplete and even misleading. It must be accompanied by the slogan, "Against Capitalism." And the slogan "For Peace" must be tied up with the slogan "For Socialism." Of course in the specific anti-war agitation, it is not essential that these slogans should be used in pairs in every leaflet and in every speech, but their political connection must be maintained.

IS NEUTRALITY POSSIBLE TODAY?

The danger of advocating a policy of neutrality is not so much that "we" are not neutral, or that people will think that we are mere pacifists. The real danger is that the advocacy of such a policy or of pacifism as such will create the illusion that neutrality is really possible under capitalism. The real struggle against war and the war danger therefore will be paralyzed because the masses will depend upon capitalist forces to maintain "peace" or "neutrality." It was no accident that this country was swept into the World War as the aftermath of a presidential campaign in which the main stock-in-trade of the successful candidate was "He kept us out of war." The Wilsonian myth served the purpose of diverting the anti-war masses from a real (proletarian) anti-war movement.

Of course, pacifists cannot be classed with jingoes. Pacifists (at least the sincere pacifists) desire peace and abhor war, but the course they advocate will make it easier for the jingoes to declare war because it will disarm the workers and prevent a really effective struggle against war. So that while pacifism may be considered as a step in advance of jingoism, it is many steps behind Socialism. For Socialists to give up their advanced position and move backwards towards pacifism would be a damaging blow to the cause of the working class, to the anti-war struggle. We must be interested in helping the pacifists move forward in their anti-war position and only the most merciless criticism of their fallacious position can accomplish this objective.

THE QUARRELS OF 'OTHER NATIONS'

One of the main reasons of the neutrality proposals is the application that wars are always started by some other parties and peace

any specific country can be preserved by keeping away from "other nations" quarrels. Obviously this point of view not only ignores the interdependence of the entire imperialist world but is not even superficially reasonable if applied to more than one country; for every country in the world, war then becomes a matter beyond its own role and interests—a curse of God.

Assuming that American neutrality can be maintained in the conflict between Italy and Ethiopia, for instance, can American neutrality also be maintained in the conflict between the U. S. and Japan? It is obviously nonsensical even to pose the question in this manner. And yet that is how all neutrality proposals appear. They ignore the imperialist interests of the U. S. proper and confine themselves to talk of "neutrality in other conflicts." But for the American masses, the real danger of war lies in the rivalry between American imperialists and other imperialist powers. And this rivalry no neutrality bills can affect so long as capitalism lives.

It must be further remembered that almost all neutrality proposals are greatly dependent upon the League of Nations, which does not include the U. S., Japan, Germany, China and most of Latin America; or upon an obscure juridical definition of an "aggressor." All this approaches countries as units and ignores class relations. And yet for us as a class movement, as an international class movement, it is the class relations that are most important. For example, India rises in rebellion against England and the rebellion becomes a war between the two. The juridical analysis or the League statutes may stamp India as the "aggressor," but as Socialists our sympathies will certainly be with India's struggle for independence. Would we be bound by abstractions about the "aggressor" in such a case?

Some people, including the communists, advocate neutrality as a general policy, but insist upon exceptions in specific cases, such as a war between the Soviet Union and Japan. This must be realized. In any specific existing war, even a war involving the Soviet Union, we must fight bitterly to prevent U. S. entry.

A SOCIALIST POSITION

The Socialist position toward war and peace must be a positive one, however. We should have a Socialist neutrality position which must include, both in everyday propaganda form and in legislative form, the following demands:

Liberation of all American colonies and possessions; withdrawal of American troops from all Latin-American countries, China, etc.; abolition of the standing army and scrapping of the fleet; no interference by the American government or by private citizens in internal affairs of other countries, particularly Mexico and Latin America; prohibition of the manufacture, transportation or sale of war materials and munitions; no government loans to other countries for war purposes; no government backing to loans to other countries for any purpose; abolition of all tariff walls, and, establishment of a system of free trade.

Only if these things are done can neutrality be assured. But these things cannot be done by a capitalist government in a capitalist country. Only a worker and farmer government, backing for Socialism, can ensure peace to a country and to the world.

A DICTATOR DIES



General Eustaquio Gomez was shot and killed during riots in Venezuela after his cousin, the dictator, died. The dead dictator was supposed to have ruled "with love and pity"; here's the answer!

TRUE STORIES FROM LIFE

By THE BYSTANDER

John Bates was leaving prison eagerly, anxious to be out in the sun again after two years of gray desolation. He could hardly wait to be discharged, to be given his \$5.00 and be sent off.

Mary would be sitting in the car at the prison gate impatient now, he thought as he was leaving the warden's office. Then he was outside, the iron gate closed behind him, a little blinded by the sunlight. He looked about for the car, for his wife, but there was nothing there, just the empty street and the sunlight.

He was surprised and not a little disappointed. He had lived the entire two years since his incarceration for this moment, when he felt certain his wife and his children would be there to greet him happily.

Framed In Strike

John Bates had gone to prison for a crime that he had not committed. He had been charged with assault against a scab who had gotten his job when he together with the other workers in his shop had gone out on strike. John had been the leader of the strike and the bosses had had him framed to get him out of the way and he had gone to prison.

Aboard a bus bound for his home, John wondered why Mary had not met him. He wondered what she was doing, how she had been getting along these two years. She had written him regularly, cheerful letters always, about the children, about the neighbors, friends, but nothing about herself, how she was getting along, how she was living. She had written him some time before that she had moved. He wondered what sort of a place this was she was living in.

Later John had trouble finding the squad little two-room flat. Arrived there he found only the children. Mary was out. The children didn't know him at first. "Mommy's working," Junior, the eldest, told him. "She thought you were coming home."

The Struggle to Live

In the evening when his wife came home, he finally extracted from her reluctant lips the story of her struggles during his ab-

sence. She had been unable to find work and had been forced to sell their car, and after months of scrimping and pinching, she had finally been forced to go on relief and move from their pleasant flat to these two cold dark rooms where they now lived. Recently she had found a job and was trying to keep alive with their children on the \$10.00 a week she earned.

Bitterly John Bates surveyed his prospects. What could he do? He couldn't stay here and be an added burden to his wife and her pitiful \$10.00 a week. He would have to leave, to look for work, a job, any kind of a job.

"I'll find work, Mary. Some kind of work, somehow, somewhere, and then I'll come back," he told her.

She begged and pleaded and the children cried, but John remained firm, and the next day he left. He left, not knowing where, nor for how long.

Three weeks later John Bates was on his way back to jail for stealing a loaf of bread.

NO HOT CARGO

SAN FRANCISCO (FP)—For the first time such a clause has ever appeared in a railroad agreement, the contract signed between the Bargemen's Union, affiliated with the International Longshoremen's Assn. and the Petaluma & Santa Rosa Railroad, provides that the workers will not be asked to handle hot cargo.

PICKET MILL

VANCOUVER, Wash. (FP)—Unionists are picketing the Wash-bogal Textile Mill, 10 miles east of Vancouver, with his hanged union officials who had protested against the operation of two mills by each spinner. About 120 workers are out. The management had refused to discuss the

Consumers' Cooperation

By Benjamin H. Wolf

Several items of particular importance to Socialists interested in the consumers' cooperative movement have occurred during the past week or two. At the Utica convention of the party in New York, the report of the organization committee, which was adopted without a dissenting vote, contained an important recommendation on the consumers' cooperative movement. Among the plans suggested was a permanent committee on cooperation to coordinate the work of the cooperative movement with the Socialist Party. It is intended that as soon as funds are available there be a full time organizer in charge of this work.

Local New York, not to be outstripped by the State, has also formed a committee to take over Socialist work in the metropolitan cooperative movement. As soon as these committees are set up and functioning, it will be possible to throw the full disciplined support of the state-wide Socialist Party behind the cooperatives. It is to be expected that the same attitude will be adopted by Socialists in their work in the cooperatives, as the attitude which has been adopted in trade unions. Socialists will help organize and run them, and will seek by the logic of the entire Socialist program to make the cooperative movement an integral part of the workers' struggle.

In Indianapolis the portents of a nation-wide church movement protest against the profit system, which we have been noticing during the past year, has come to a head in a seminar held last week by the Federal Council of Churches. A resolution was passed asking church leaders to supply a "dynamic motivation for this promising movement."

The guest of honor at the seminar was the famous Japanese Christian, Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, who denounced the present system, saying, "under the profit system ye have made my Father's house a den of thieves."

Kagawa is the thorn in the side of the Japanese militarists and industrialists. He organized the Japan Federation of Labor. He started the first labor school, and the first labor newspaper. But his most effective work has been in the cooperative movement. Under his militant leadership over five million Japanese have joined the cooperative movement. In the last three years he has been instrumental in founding 140 cooperative hospitals. His monthly cooperative magazine has a circulation rapidly approaching a million. He has stimulated over 90 folk schools into existence by preaching the idea. It was behind this dynamic figure that the fight for universal manhood suffrage was won by the farmers and laborers of Japan.

Kagawa is coming to New York soon. No definite plans have been made as yet, but there will undoubtedly be an opportunity for all to hear him. It will be an event none of us should miss.

At the Indianapolis seminar, Labor was represented by John Eelman, Research Secretary of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, who prophesied that "the time will arrive when workers will feel just as much elementary responsibility in organizing and joining consumers' cooperatives as they now do in organizing and joining producers' labor unions. We regard consumers' cooperation as part of the workers' movement."

LABOR NOTES IN NEW YORK

Representatives of more than 500,000 New York workers will meet Saturday afternoon January 11, when the Citizens' Conference on Unemployment reconvenes at the Union Methodist Episcopal Church, 229 West 48th Street. The program, according to Secretary David Lasser, will concern itself with home relief standards, continuation of WPA and direct Federal aid, and a tax program to supplant the LaGuardia sales tax.

As a result of the intensive drive waged during November and December by Local 802 of the Musicians' Union, more than 50 entertainment places in greater New York have signed union contracts. Among these are the Childs restaurants and many night clubs.

A strike of union electricians because of the employment of non-union workers on a wiring project at the Samuel Gompers High School, dedicated to the first president of the AFL, has halted work on 15 school projects throughout New York City. The Board of Education has refused to reconsider its action giving the electrical contract to an anti-union firm.

Heywood Brown, James J. Bambrick, William Collins and Mary Hillyer will speak at a mass meeting of office workers at the Hotel Delano, 108 West 43rd Street Thursday evening, January 9. The meeting is sponsored by the Bookkeepers, Steenographers and Accountants' Union.

The joint council of knitgoods workers has warned employers that if they attempt to move out of the city to evade union conditions of work the union will follow them relentlessly. The union denied that out-of-town competition made the move necessary.

A five-point program for evening high schools in New York is being sponsored by the Teachers' Union. Among its demands are free textbooks for students and a 5-night basis of operation.

As the strike at the Rothstein Department Store in Brooklyn entered its eighth week, the union and its sympathizers sponsored a "Consumers' Labor Parade" protesting the refusal of the employers to accede to the workers' demands.

The Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' Union, AFL, is conducting an intensive organization drive in the Bronx. It is seeking to establish the 48-hour week, a decent minimum wage and job security.

After its greatest Christmas business since 1929, Macy's Department Store laid off one thousand workers, 400 of whom were regularly employed. Pre-NRA conditions have been restored.

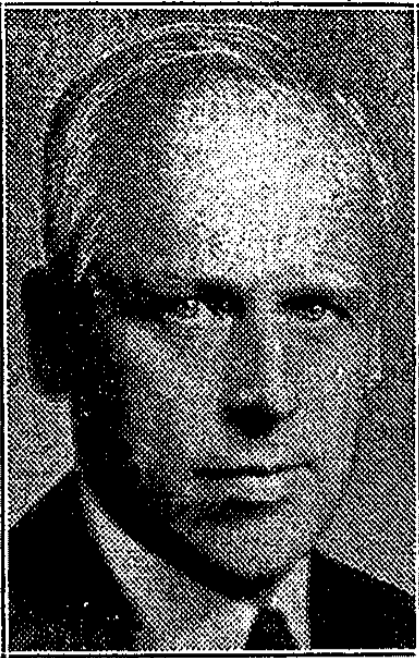
Strike Leaders Sue Cops On False Arrest Charge

MIDLAND PARK, N. J.—\$50,000 is the price two overly anxious policemen and one police chief face paying for throwing behind iron bars Warren Montross and Elmer Hamm, organizer for the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. Both men have instituted lawsuits against Police Chief Orie Van Dyke and two cops for false arrest.

Montross charged that the arrests were so arranged as to

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30 MEETINGS



Thirty meetings in two months is the task of Norman Thomas as the Socialist Party of New York swings into an anti-LaGuardia political campaign.

Cleveland and Chicago Hear Thomas Debate

CLEVELAND—The first of two debates between Norman Thomas and Earl Browder will be held here Saturday evening, January 11, at the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, 118th Street and Euclid Avenue. The subject for the debate will be: "Which Way Out for the American Working Class—Socialist or Communist?"

Thousands are expected to turn out to hear these outstanding leaders of the American Socialist and Communist movements debate the respective positions of their parties. A similar debate sponsored by The CALL attracted more than 20,000 to Madison Square Garden in New York last November.

Tickets can be obtained at the door or from the Socialist Party, Prospect-Fourth Building, Cleveland.

CHICAGO—A preliminary check revealed that the huge Ashland Auditorium here would be jammed by more than 4,000 Chicago workers to hear Norman Thomas debate Earl Browder Monday evening, Jan. 13. The auditorium is located at Ashland and Van Buren Streets.

Almost all of the 4000 tickets have been already sold and sponsors of the debate expect the hall to be crowded soon after the doors open at 7:30 P. M. Tickets, ranging in price from 40c to \$1.00 can be obtained from Socialist Party offices, 549 Randolph Street, and at various labor centers.

A large delegation is expected in from Milwaukee and surrounding Illinois and Wisconsin towns to hear the debate.

\$1,000,000,000 for War Lords in 1936

WASHINGTON, (FP)—One out of every six dollars of the taxpayers' money in 1936 will be spent by the generals and admirals, President Roosevelt's 1936 budget message reveals.

A total of over one billion dollars will go to the navy and war departments this year, representing an increase of 26 per cent over the appropriations for last year and a jump of 75 per cent over 1933.

The army will get \$443,699,505 while the navy will have \$551,368,399 of the people's money to spend. With deficiency appropriations expected from Congress the total will be swelled over the billion mark.

prevent them from addressing a mass meeting of 600 strikers at the Garden State Hosiery mill

Hear Thomas In Campaign For Members

NEW YORK — Norman Thomas will be featured at a series of more than 30 Socialist propaganda meetings to be held throughout New York City in the next two months as part of an intensive membership drive.

His first meeting will take place Thursday night, January 9, at Public School 219, Clarkson avenue and East 94th Street, Brooklyn. He will speak the following Thursday evening at 550 West 110th Street, east of Broadway, under the sponsorship of three neighborhood branches.

Beginning with January 24, he will speak nightly for a period of two weeks, reaching every section of the metropolitan area. It is expected that this campaign will strengthen the neighborhood branches and prepare them for active campaign work during the summer and fall of 1936.

Among those who will speak with Thomas during the campaign will be Amicus Most and Murray Baron of the national labor committee of the Socialist Party, and Max Delson, president of The CALL Association.

Admission will be free to all the Thomas meetings.

2,100 Cheer As Socialists Open Drive On Fusion

NEW YORK—In what the chairman described as the opening of a frontal attack on the capitalist political machines of New York, more than 2,100 New York workers gathered in the Central Opera House here to listen to a battery of Socialist leaders in city, state, and nation.

The meeting, first mass rally called by the newly reorganized Socialist local here, was held on the subject "The Truth About the Socialist Party." Throughout the meeting the huge crowd enthusiastically responded to the speakers in their criticism of the Roosevelt administration and of the "respectable" Fusion administration of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia.

The speakers included not only the recognized Socialist spokesmen of New York city and state, but three members of the national executive committee of the party, Norman Thomas, Devere Allen, and Maynard Kreuger. Other speakers included State Chairman Max Delson, Temporary City Secretary Jack Altman, State Committeemen Frank Crosswath and Lewi Tonks, Irving Barshop, executive secretary of the Greater New York Federation of the Young People's Socialist League, and David Lasser, national chairman of the Workers' Alliance.

As Murray Baron, chairman of the meeting, described the event as "the starting point of a frontal attack on Tammany Hall and the more respectable bankers' front of Fusion," the audience burst into enthusiastic applause. Other demonstrations greeted Thomas and Crosswath as they entered.

In a lashing attack on President Roosevelt for the lack of program in his speech to Congress, Thomas called the message "good theatre, good preaching and probably good politics." The President's demand for larger "defense" appropriations was sharply criticized, as Thomas insisted on a rigid neutrality policy.

Membership applications taken after the meeting brought the total received by the party here during the last month to more than 400.

MAKE RECORDS

NEW YORK—Six workers' songs have been recorded on 12-inch, double-sided records by the educational department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. They are:

The ILGW Anthem, Victory Song of the Dressmakers, Internationale, Picket Line, Soup Song and Solidarity.

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CLASS-CONSCIOUS



This society leader of Chicago is class-conscious—just as many workers aren't. She's seeking the nomination to Congress from the Gold Coast district of Chicago and her only campaign promise is to serve her class—the upper crust—faithfully and well.

MUST PAY DOCTORS

VANCOUVER, Wash.—A decision that WPA workers are not relief recipients or indigents has been handed down by WPA officials in this state.

While at first sight this decision would seem to be in favor of the workers, the real effect of the ruling is to deprive the WPA workers of free medicine, medical aid or hospital service by the county. The workers are supposed to furnish these items from their meagre WPA wages, "just the same as other wage earners do."

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The Birth Of A Student Union

By George Edwards
National Chairman of
the ASU

Nearly five hundred students returned to colleges and high schools in all parts of the United States after the first convention of the American Student Union at Columbus, Ohio, last week, determined to make the ASU the authoritative spokesman for the American student body. Representatives of the former Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League, whose overwhelming vote for merger laid a basis for the ASU, joined two hundred unaffiliated delegates from liberal clubs, student newspapers, religious groups and student councils in uniting progressive campus forces in the broadest student front ever organized in America.

Notable unity and enthusiasm marked the sessions, at which the delegates worked out the Student Union program designed to meet the immediate campus issues as well as the crucial social problems facing students today. The ASU took a stand for defense of student liberties and academic freedom, for the rapid extension of educational opportunities, against racial discrimination, for impartially administered student relief, and for basic social change essential to the remedying of unemployment and the guaranteeing of equal economic opportunities.

But its main plank was cheered lustily by the convention which, by a vote of 295 to 44, adopted the Oxford Pledge committing it against "support of any war conducted by the government of the United States" as the Union's answer to the ever-increasing threat of another world war. It pledged itself to the demilitarization of the campus and the abolition of the ROTC.

Seek Council Affiliates

With twenty-two delegates of official student councils present, the Convention recognized the necessity for providing means by which student governing bodies could affiliate with the American Student Union. The conference passed a motion from the Constitution Committee allowing affiliation of Student Councils on the basis of endorsement of the program of the ASU without commitment of every point. Local chapters which remain the basic unit of the Student Union are, however, bound by the total program. A national campaign urging Student Council membership in the ASU was decided on. It was pointed out that this in no way implies competition with the National Student Federation of America since Councils are urged to maintain their affiliation there and since the ASU seeks co-operation with the NSFA.

The program adopted by the Student Union emphasizes the need for collective action to secure the interests and the liberties of American students. The Preamble declares:

Because American students want peace:
Because they, like their forefathers, are devoted to freedom and equality;
Because they seek educational and economic security;
And because present-day society is increasingly denying them these elementary necessities, students in American high schools and colleges have formed a powerful alliance, an American Student Union.

Under the section of the program called "The Right to Education and a Job," the American ideal of universal education is compared with inadequate and constantly reduced educational facilities and the economic inability

of millions of students to attend high school and college. It speaks against retrenchment in education and answers the cries of the Tories for reduced taxes and stripped schools with the slogan "Schools, Not Battleships." Under its program the Student Union will campaign for extension of educational services, for free city schools, and for student relief which would enable students to attend.

Support Trade Unions

Recognizing that the chief problem facing students upon graduation is the inability to find employment and the defeatism arising from that fact, the program declares:

"We are not a lost generation. Unemployment is not inevitable. Our services would be utilized if more purchasing power were available to the people. An obvious step toward the realization of such an increase, and one which the union supports, is the enactment of social security legislation. We support all efforts to raise the American standard of living, essential to which is the organization of workers, manual and professional, into legitimate trade unions."

The maintenance of student liberties and academic freedom against the encroachment of financial pressure groups represented on boards of trustees was declared another of the vital tasks of the Union. The ASU condemns "the goose step education" sought by these forces, and pledges "to constitute itself as an unyielding force against the inroads of repression." The program outlines a campaign for the revitalization of the curriculum to include pressing social questions; and it states the need for the democratization of education through the inclusion of representatives of organized labor and other progressive groups on boards of trustees.

Oppose Segregation

Speaking for the ideal of human equality so often preached and so often violated in present-day America, the ASU opposes the racial discrimination which exists in our educational institutions. It strongly condemns such practices as racial quotas on college registrations, adherence to the code of social inferiority, and the vicious system of complete segregation existing in the South as a part of a social order based on subjection of the Negro race. Its program declares "that only by providing equal and adequate educational opportunities, only by providing security of employment without discrimination can any social order claim the allegiance of its younger members."

The keynote of the Student Union's stand on war is struck by this sentence:

"The ASU uncompromisingly opposes the war preparations of our own government. It undertakes to organize now the collective resistance of students against the steps that lead to war and, in the event of the outbreak of a conflict, against the war itself."

Starting with militarism on the campus, the program takes cognizance of "marching units of the ROTC" as the preparation of students for war, and urges the complete abolition of military training. Recognizing "the inefficiency of peace agencies like the League

of Nations and the Kellogg pact" whose failure is attributed to the dominance of imperialist aims on the part of controlling governments, the Union urges "the independent organization and action against war of the anti-war forces of the world, pre-eminent among which is the organized labor movement." The program cites the immediate danger of conflict between the U. S. and Japan over economic stakes in the Orient and urges a relentless fight against our entrance into this or any other war.

Okay Anti-War Strike

As symbols of its stand on war the American Student Union adopted the anti-war strike and the Oxford Pledge. The strike is accepted as "a dress rehearsal of the action we will take the moment our government seems likely to declare war." The Oxford Pledge, accepted "without reservation," commits the Union "against support of any war conducted by the United States government."

Delegates pointed out on the floor the impossibility of reconciling this stand with the support of so-called "progressive" wars or wars in defense of possible allies of the United States.

For Socialists a cloud was cast over the proceedings late during the convention when the Student LID resolution calling for opposition to warring capitalist governments which may be allied with the Soviet Union was defeated, 193-155. A pious substitute which evades the question, introduced by leaders of the National Student League, was carried.

The fact that this was a resolution, and not a part of the program, and that this does not commit a wrong policy but merely omits an adequate statement on a vital issue before the anti-war movement, made it possible for Joe Lash in the name of the Student LID to pledge support to the ASU despite this action, and for Al Hamilton in the name of the Young People's Socialist League to pledge support which will be accompanied by a determined drive to clarify this issue in the ranks and councils of the Union.

Officers Chosen

The convention adjourned after selecting its officers and executive body for the coming year. The writer, Southern Methodist University '33, former field secretary of the Student LID was elected national chairman. Joseph P. Lash, C. C. N. Y., former national secretary of the SLID, was chosen national executive secretary. Seril Garber, former national secretary of the National Student League, was elected field secretary and Celeste Strack of the NSL was chosen High School secretary. Molly Yard, Swarthmore, former High School secretary of the SLID, was named treasurer of the new organization. James Wechsler, former editor of the Columbia Spectator, was elected Director of Publications and editor of the Student Union publication, The Student Advocate.

The national executive committee elected includes in addition to the officers: Bruce Bliven, Jr., of Harvard, Jeffrey Campbell of St. Lawrence U., Lewis Cohen of Louisville U., James Cox of Virginia Union, Harold Draper of Brooklyn College, Francis Franklin of U. of Virginia, Maurice Gates of Howard, Albert Hamilton of Central Y. M. C. A., Aivaine Hollister of Antioch College, Leo Koutouzes of Central Business High School, M. R. Lewis of DePauw, Harold Librey of Temple, Katharine Meyer of Vassar, Quentin Ogden of Chicago, Walter Bels of C. C. N. Y., Dorothy Rockwell of Smith, Warner Shippee of Minnesota, Julius Jappin of Lincoln High School, Marjorie Sprake of Brooklyn College, Monroe Sweetland of Willamette Law School, Hamilton Tyler of U. of California.

The offices of The American Student Union will be at 112 E. 19th Street.

JUST AN AMATEUR



Although Jim Gordon of Chicago (above, right) won the championship of the Burlington, Wis., Liars Club, wisecracks pointed out that the contest was for amateurs—without William Randolph Hearst!

Notes From England

The Agricultural Workers

By JOHN CRIPPS

Last month the Government introduced into Parliament its bill for unemployment insurance to agricultural workers. These workers have always been excluded from the ordinary unemployment insurance scheme despite the constant pressure of the whole labor movement for their inclusion. In the recent elections the "National" Government was forced to promise some form of unemployment insurance to agricultural workers, but the new bill will serve merely to focus attention upon the whole subject of agricultural wages, rather than provide any solution to the problem of agricultural relief.

Wages of agricultural workers have always been much lower than the wages of those working in industry. The average agricultural wage for ordinary workers was only about \$7.50 a week last year and it has not risen much since that time. The low level of agricultural wages has always been used by the capitalists to support their argument that agricultural unemployment relief must be at a lower level than the very inadequate relief given out to workers in industry. The alternative of raising agricultural wages has been kept by them well in the background and it has been kept in the background also by the "National" Government, which so adequately represents the interests of the landlords and farmers.

The cost to the Government of this new relief scheme will only be about \$3,000,000 a year. And

yet last year the Government was ready to give out over \$90,000,000 in the form of subsidies to the farmers and the landlords, while it has been estimated that the latter also gained to the extent of about \$75,000,000 as a result of the restriction schemes that have been introduced by the Government. How little of the money given out in subsidies went to the agricultural workers can be seen from the fact that agricultural wages were a little below the 1932 level in 1934 and were well below the average level of 1926-30. Nor did these subsidies go to keep workers on the land. Last year the total number of agricultural workers was the lowest since the Great War.

The agricultural policy of the "National" Government during the past five years has shown more clearly than almost anything else how truly representative it is of the capitalist interests in Britain. Large-scale assistance to landlords and farmers has gone hand-in-hand with almost complete neglect of the interests of the far more numerous class of agricultural workers. And the consumer has also suffered on account of restriction policies. Food prices have risen considerably since the beginning of the present year and they continue to rise at an alarming rate. Under capitalism a prosperous agricultural industry in this country is only possible on the basis of wholesale exploitation of both the consumer and the worker on the land.

DOES YOUR NEIGHBOR KNOW THIS FACT?

\$12,000 (approximately) was made by the capitalist class of the world for every soldier killed in the war.

25 per cent to 3000 per cent profits were made by leading American corporations during war years.

25,000 known millionaires reported their incomes in the United States in 1918, compared with only 7,599 in 1911.

\$337,000,000 net profits reported by 18 leading United States corporations for war period 1916-18, compared with \$74,650,000 for pre-war period, 1912-14.

Progress

Military toys were the most popular gifts in Nazi Germany this Christmas. Books were practically neglected as presents.

The Great Civilizer

"The Romans have not yet put an end to slavery in Libya, and they have done nothing to stop the export of slaves from Brittan ports."— A. F. Matthew in The Manchester Guardian.

A Bill for Agriculture

Sharecroppers Legislation Drafted By The Socialist Party of the United States

Section 1. It is decreed that all land fit for agriculture, or which may hereafter become fit for agriculture, shall become the property of the people of the United States, and shall be administered by the National Agricultural Land Authority, except as hereinafter provided.

Section 2. The following lands shall not become the property of the people of the United States, unless their owners wish to sell them:

(1) Farms of 160 acres or less, whose owners now occupy and use them. Owners of larger tracts may retain ownership of 160 acres or less, if they occupy and use these acres.

(2) Farms of any size now owned and operated by bona-fide co-operative associations of working farmers.

(3) Farms owned and operated by the governments of any of the states, or of any of the dependencies of the United States, or of any of the political subdivisions thereof, provided that their administration is carried out in general agreement with the principles herein set forth for lands controlled by the national government.

Section 3. The National Agricultural Land Authority is hereby created as a corporation which shall be an instrumentality of the United States.

To Regulate All Land

Section 4. This Authority shall have power to regulate and control all land nationalized by this act, shall set up regional and local offices, and through them shall perform the following functions:

(1) It shall appraise the value of all lands which are passing to its control, as hereafter specified.

(2) It shall issue bonds to the owners in payment for their property, as hereafter specified.

(3) It shall lease such lands to bona-fide farm families or co-operative groups, and shall collect annual rents from such lessees.

(4) It shall set up a Division of Research and Planning which shall survey the agricultural resources and needs of the nation.

(5) Through this division it shall develop production programs designed to increase agricultural products until there shall be an abundance for all, efficiently produced.

(6) To this end it shall introduce labor-saving devices and other improvements, shall determine a relocation of the farm population of the nation so that the best land shall be utilized for farming, shall establish regulations for the hours and conditions of agricultural labor, shall prohibit child labor in the fields, and shall arrange for the accumulation and storage of agricultural surpluses, to be held by the nation against the day of drouth or famine.

Section 5. The Authority shall be controlled by a board of ten directors, who shall devote their full time to its work, receiving therefor an annual salary of \$8,000. These directors shall be chosen as follows:

(1) Three members of the board shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. These appointees shall be so chosen as to represent the interests of industrial workers and consumers upon the board.

(2) Seven members of the board shall be chosen by election by farm organizations hereinafter provided for, in each of seven agricultural districts as follows: New York and New England States, Atlantic Seaboard, Cotton Belt, Lake Region, Middle West, Rocky Mountain, and Pacific Coast.

Section 6. All directors shall be appointed or elected for a period of two years. At their first meeting they shall elect a chairman from among their number. He shall hold office for one year, and may be re-elected.

Expert Directors

Section 7. All directors shall be chosen upon the basis of expert knowledge of farming methods. Those elected shall be subject to recall.

Section 8. The Authority shall have a capital stock of \$2,000,000,000 subscribed for by the President on behalf of the United States. This stock shall be taken up at the rate of \$200,000,000 a year, for ten years. The money shall be used for any purpose made necessary by the work of the Authority.

Section 9. After appraisal of lands the Authority shall issue bonds to the owners in payment therefor. The principal of these bonds shall be paid off in twenty annual installments. Each installment shall be five per cent of the total value of the bond. Interest shall be paid at the rate of two and one-half per cent per annum upon that portion of the principal which has not yet been retired. It is, however, provided:

(1) That no individual owner of farm property shall receive bonds to a value greater than \$100,000 nor a yearly income therefrom of more than \$7,500. All additional value is hereby nationalized without compensation.

(2) Where an individual owner of farm land also possesses other property (industrial or commercial) which is also being nationalized, he shall receive from all such nationalization payments not more than \$100,000 in bonds.

(3) Where farm property belongs to a corporation, life insur-



Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia is happy—because six old men sitting on the Supreme Court voided the AAA. While Talmadge was sending out Presidential rockets to find out his chances for nomination, he was willing to let Angelo Herndon be sent to the chain gang for organizing the unemployed.

ance company, or combine, the payment shall not exceed \$100,000 per individual interested in such a corporation, etc., and no individual shall be paid more than this amount when final division is made.

Section 10. Bonds in payment for lands nationalized may be issued to a total of \$10,000,000,000.

Section 11. Prices paid for lands shall be fixed by appraisal by experts of the Authority in conformity with the open market price which has prevailed during the five-year period prior to the purchase of the land, in each community. The Authority shall have the right of eminent domain, and

there shall be no appeal from the prices fixed by its land experts.

Section 12. Farm lands acquired by the Authority shall be carefully surveyed and studied by soil experts. Submarginal land shall be retired from cultivation. Virgin soil of high grade shall be opened to cultivation. Lands continued in, or brought into, cultivation, shall either:

(1) Be divided into farms adequate to support single families, and leased to such families on 99-year leases, or

(2) Be handled in large tracts as co-operative farms, either under direct supervision of the Authority, or on lease to a group of co-operating families, organized and incorporated as a local co-operative Community.

Production Programs

Section 13. In either case the lessees agree to accept the recommendations of the Division of Research and Planning with respect to production programs, accepting quotas for the production of the principal field crops, and pledging themselves to make every effort to increase production until the national quotas are filled, and adequate national surpluses accumulated.

Section 14. All lessees shall pay a yearly rent to the Authority. This rent shall not be set in terms of dollars, but shall be calculated as a fixed percentage of the crops raised each year. This percentage shall be as follows:

(1) During the first twenty years each lessee shall pay to the Authority, in cash or in kind, twenty-five per cent of the value of all crops raised. From such payments the Authority shall meet all taxes levied upon its properties by nation, state, county or city.

(2) At the conclusion of this period the rental percentage shall be reduced to such a figure that the yearly income from all lands controlled by the Authority shall meet its operating budget. If surpluses accumulate they shall be returned as dividends to the lessees.

Tools Sold On Credit

Section 15. Costs associated with the administration of lands acquired by the Authority, with the necessary relocation of farm populations, with the building of new homes and farms, and with the purchase of stock, tools, and other equipment required in the initial stages of this program shall be met from the funds annually paid to the Authority by the government of the United States as its subscription to capital stock, or from financial surpluses which may appear as the result of rental payments by lessees, after the annual carrying charges on bonds, taxes, etc., have been fully paid. This type of financing shall cease after twenty years, from which time on the Authority must be fully self-supporting from the annual rental payments of its lessees.

Section 16. Live stock and movable property such as tools, trucks, etc., supplied by the Authority in the initial stages of this program shall be sold on credit to individual farmers or cooperative communities, and shall be paid for by them in five annual installments as a percentage of their yearly crops, in addition to the rental payments above provided for. Such equipment shall become and remain the property of such individual farmers or cooperative communities. All fixed equipment, such as houses, barns, fences, etc., shall become and forever remain the property of the people of the United States, but such equipment shall be maintained by the lessees who are using it.

Section 17. All lessees shall organize themselves into local, state, and regional organizations. By popular vote these organizations in each region listed in Section 6 shall choose one director of the Authority.

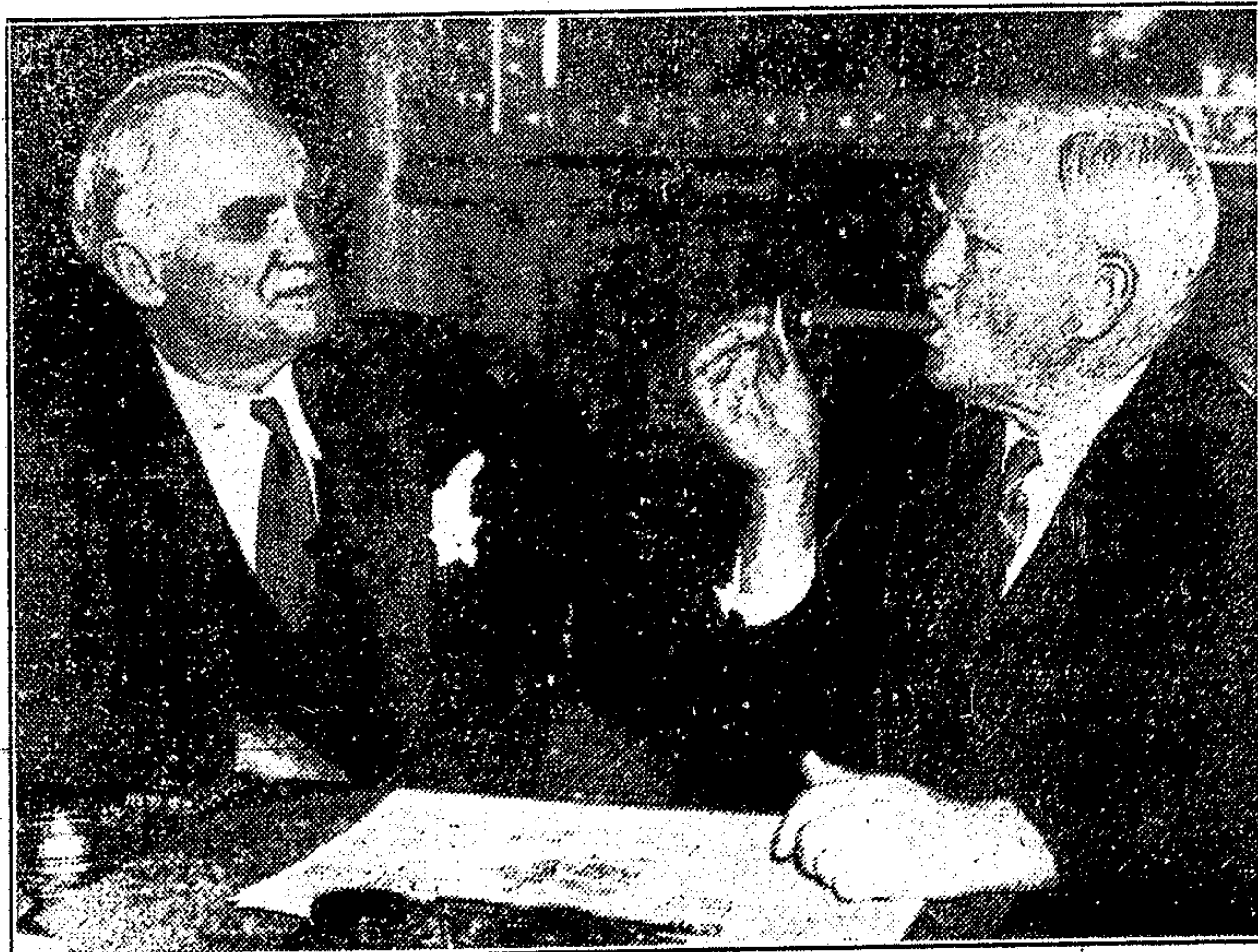
Section 18. Lands acquired by the Authority shall remain the property of the people of the United States in perpetuity, and shall never be sold, mortgaged or otherwise encumbered. They may only be leased to bona-fide farm families or cooperative groups, as above specified.

Section 19. If any lessee fails to pay the agreed percentage of the annual crop, or refuses to accept quotas assigned in the production program, or permits the fixed property on his farm to deteriorate and refuses to recon- dition it, or is in any other way unfaithful in the discharge of his obligations under his lease, said lease shall be terminated by the Authority, and he shall be disbarred from making another lease.

Section 20. Any lessee may petition for cancellation of his lease, if for any reason he finds it impossible to continue in the business of farming, and such petitions may be granted after examination of each case by the Authority, provided that all contractual obligations to date have been met.

Section 21. All lessees who have faithfully performed their obligations under their contracts shall be guaranteed in their tenure of their land for the full term of the lease, and the Authority shall have no power to modify or terminate any provision of the contract, except by mutual consent.

THE CIRCUS IN TOWN



With elections just around the corner, the annual circus provided by Republican and Democratic Congressmen began in Washington last week. Here are two of the chief clowns: Speaker of the House Joseph W. Byrns of Tennessee, left, and Vice-President John N. Garner, president of the Senate.

THE DRAFT PROGRAM

By GUS TYLER

The following article by Gus Tyler, a member of The CALL Editorial Board, is intended to serve as an introduction to a thorough discussion of The Draft Program recently issued under the auspices of The CALL. Next week, we shall publish an article and criticism of the program by Haim Kantorovitch; the columns of The CALL shall then be thrown open to criticism of the program by the membership of the Party.

Comrades interested in contributing to the discussion are requested to be as brief as possible. All discussion matter should be addressed to the Program Committee, care The CALL, 21 East 17th Street, New York City.—Editor.

The organizational tasks of our party are so great today that anyone who insists that we must take time out to consider a party program is apt to appear in the light of a closet philosopher who wishes to bury the entire organization in moth balls. Yet paradoxically, just at the present time when our organizational tasks are so Herculean, it is most necessary and most possible to consider and formulate a fairly definitive program for our party.

WHY A PROGRAM

During the last few years, quite a debate has been raging in our party. And strangely enough the debate has been not only nor even primarily between those who championed one road to Socialism as opposed to those who championed a different road, but rather between those who said we must have a clear program on the question of the road to Socialism and those who said that our only task for the present was to convince people that Socialism was desirable.

Those who oppose the writing of a program at present which shall be anything more than an embroidered election platform do it in the name of "being practical." Why, they ask, at a time when we do not have the strength to elect a single congressman shall we bother our weary heads with problems of workers' governments, proletarian forms of power, etc.? The problems of the future, they say, will be settled in the future; at present we must devote ourselves only to the problems of the present.

Although this line of argument sounds reasonable, it is neither

good revolutionary policy nor sound practical politics.

And the reason it is not sound is (to borrow a phrase of Kautsky's) that "there can be no politics without prophecy."

It may be all right for a fatalist poet like Omar Khayyam to say, "Eat, drink, and be merry. Let the morrow care for itself." But it is a mighty poor policy for a political party, no matter how practical. In fact, the more practical it is, the more thoroughly will it prepare for tomorrow, for future eventualities.

The political leader can never afford to bury himself in the routine duties of the day without now and then lifting his eyes from his well ordered files to peer into the future. Soon tomorrow will be today. And those who have been preparing for the future will be able to grapple with the new situations and crises most adequately; while those who have been trying to be "practical" by avoiding the most necessary task of political "prophecy" will find themselves at a complete loss in a changed environment. The "wise, practical politicians" will look upon the catastrophe that has be-



GUS TYLER, a member of the CALL editorial board, whose article on this page opens the discussion on the Draft Program for the Socialist Party.

fallen them as upon some visitation from an evil god rather than as the logical result of their own unwillingness to see beyond the tips of their noses.

It will be advanced, in opposition to the line of argument I have just offered, that while it is conceded a good thing to foresee future eventualities, it is, at best, just a game of guesses, since none is so wise that he can X-ray the heavy veil of mystery that separates us from the days to come.

If this objection were true, we should take the entire body of Marxist thought and sink it to the bottom of the deepest sea. If the objection were true, we have been just cheap fakirs when we insisted that modern Socialism differed from Utopian Socialism in that it is scientific.

Modern scientific Socialism differs from the Utopian brand in

that it is not based upon the mere desire for a cooperative commonwealth but upon a scientific analysis of concrete social forces not only as they are but also as they will be. If the word "scientific" means anything it means the ability to predict. It is this which differentiates science from plain guesswork.

Marxism is not a closet philosophy. It is a weapon for our struggle. It is our strongest weapon precisely because it enables us to understand not only the evils of capitalism but also the developments of capitalism, its class nature, its class state, its

crises, its dictatorial tendencies, its periodic explosions. Marxism is the prophetic crystal of the working class.

If we seem to be belaboring this point overly much it is because we want to emphasize that a party program is not a luxury, a sort of sparetime document to fill in the few leisure moments of hard pressed party workers, but that a program is a vital necessity, it is the BASIS for a party.

In presenting a program and stimulating discussion around it, the left wing of our party is doing it an inestimable service.

WHY A NEW PROGRAM

The "Draft for a Program for the Socialist Party of the United States" issued by the CALL Conferences of the left wing of our party is not merely a program, however, it is a new program. And one may well ask: "Why a new program? Are there not parties aplenty with sufficiently varied programs? It there need of still another program?"

It should be made clear to those who are about to read the Draft Program that it is in no way whatsoever an original program. It is not an attempt to discover a new passageway to the Promised Land. It is a simple restatement of fundamental Marxist principles on the major questions facing our movement. Yet, paradoxically again, this restatement of the founding principles of the Socialist movement will appear at the present time as "something new."

The program is a sort of necessary reaffirmation of the faith made compelling by the complete bankruptcies of the Social-Demo-

cratic and Stalinist revisions of Marxism. And as such, the Draft Program is not something peculiarly American, arising from the naughty bedevilmings of the left-wing in the American party, but rather the American counterpart of a great international movement toward programmatic reorientation.

Probably the only really new phrase or concept to be incorporated in a program is that of "communo-chauvinism." By this is meant the recent decision of the Communist International to support various types of capitalist wars. In the crass form in which this communo-chauvinism has exhibited itself, it is something new. And as such it places the draft program in the position of being the only program put forward for a working class party, not in the ranks of the sects, which definitely pledges itself to fight against all capitalist wars.

The new turn of the Communist International gives a new raison d'etre for the draft program.

THE ROLE OF THE PROGRAM

Four distinctive features are apparent in the draft program.

First, it is the most definitive, and hence the most superior, program, issuing from the left-wing of our party. Various attempts "toward a program" have been made by the left-wing of the party in previous years. These tentative proposals were issued as bases for discussion. During the last years, the pressure of intimate experiences and international thought has hammered these generally vague formulations into quite definite concepts. These concepts are contained in the program.

Second, regardless of imperfections that left-wing comrades may find in sections of the program, it is the basis for building a revolutionary party. It rejects the likelihood of a peaceful and legal conquest of power and emphasizes the need for extra-parliamentary weapons both to capture and maintain political power. It conceives the birth of a workers' government arising not from the piecemeal accumulation of reforms in times of prosperity but from the cataclysmic conquest of power in times of crisis. It envisions the necessity and probability of a proletarian form of government, resting upon representative institutions of the masses. It clings tenaciously to an internationalist position of opposition to all capitalist war, refusing to be lured away by the old screechings of social-chauvinism or the more alluring songs of communo-chauvinism. These fundamental points lay a basis for a revolutionary party.

Third, the program gives the philosophy of revolutionary Socialism something more than a name. It gives it a vital reason to be. The draft program will prove its right to live by the criticism that

will be leveled at it. From the "right" it will be attacked by the old social-democrats and by the Stalinists. Both will attack the program because it refuses to compromise with the philosophy and the state machinery of the liberal bourgeoisie to combat Fascism and introduce Socialism.

The criticism of the Social-Democrats and the Stalinists will be almost identical. The left-wing sects will criticize the program because it avoids the fetishism of phrases and a super-critical puritanism. It will be vilified because it does not contain the phrases: "proletarian dictatorship, soviet power, armed insurrection, etc." It will be criticized because it does not advocate an orientation toward a new party or a new international. And it will be precisely this cross-fire which will prove better than all else that the draft program has succeeded in avoiding the dull fatalism of opportunism and the smug adventurism of sectarianism.

Lastly, the program is distinctive in that it does not deal only, or primarily, with a statement of long time perspectives but attempts to interpret these perspectives in terms of day by day actions. A party is not known by its weltanschauung but by its habits when in public. The call for "disciplined and unified Socialist work" in the trade unions; its opposition to capitalist instrumentalities to guarantee peace; its opposition to the acceptance of appointments in and from capitalist governments; its insistence that "no member (of the party) may be disciplined for any views he holds regarding the possible course of the development of the fight for Socialism; all these will give a distinctive mark to the program, as applied from day to day.

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Announces

Poster Contest

OPEN TO ALL ARTISTS

ON JULY 3, 4 and 5, 1936, the Workers' Sports Olympiad will be held in Cleveland, Ohio. This event will serve not only to bring together those who engage in working class sports but also to emphasize the fight of American labor, athletes and sports lovers against the Nazi Olympics in Berlin. Sometime during the sports festival REBEL ARTS will sponsor a Workers' Cultural Festival. The Olympiad and Festival are backed by organized labor.

In conjunction with these events REBEL ARTS is holding a poster contest. All posters submitted will be exhibited throughout the country and just prior to the decision of the judges they will be placed in a New York hall for viewing.

RULES

1. The poster is to advertise the Workers' Sports Olympiad.
2. It is to be on a card 22 by 28 inches.
3. Not more than a four-color reproduction is permissible.
4. The decision of the judges, who will be announced later, will be final.
5. Sketches must be submitted by March 10, 1936, to National Headquarters,

REBEL ARTS, 44 East 21st Street, N. Y. C.

art
to
serve
labor

What the President Might Have Said:

THE STATE OF THE UNION

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the Senate and the House of Representatives:

The Constitution provides that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union." It is for this purpose that I appear before you at this time: to discuss with you concerning political, social and economic conditions in this country and to suggest positive legislation that will serve to perpetuate capitalism.

It must be understood, of course, that the only purpose of your existence, as well as that of the existence of the executive branch of the national government, is to govern in such a way that this economic system be preserved for the benefit of those few (with whom I must include myself) who see dividends but not misery, profits but not hunger, finance but not poverty. We have this solemn duty before us; we must perform it even if it means the abrogation of the constitutional rights of free speech, freedom of assembly and free press in this country. Our goal is paramount: nothing we say, nothing we do must interfere with the flow of profits.

In November, 1932, the good people of the United States went to the polls to vote for the President of the United States. There lay before them three important choices; they could continue with the administration of the Republican Party under the leadership of Herbert Hoover—or they could vote to once and for all eliminate this system of greed and poverty and profits and starvation by electing a Socialist administration pledged to the abolition of capitalism—or they could vote the Democratic ticket which, while loyal to the basic principles of profit and capitalism, promised them a more humanitarian rule, a new deal based on social justice. As you well know, the people of the United States voted overwhelmingly for the Democrats.

I must admit I exaggerate when I say "the people;" millions in this country are denied the right of suffrage because they have been born in other countries; other millions are denied voting rights because their color is not white; thousands of transient workers are refused the privilege of the ballot; in cities like New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Kansas City and San Francisco powerful political machines have so manipulated the voting setup as to "count out" hundreds of thousands of votes they did not agree with.

However, the Democratic administration was inaugurated on March 4, 1933. In barely two months, we shall have entered the third year of my administration. It is wise to pause in our endeavors and ask ourselves: where are we today and where are we going?

Foreign Affairs

Let me first touch on the field of foreign affairs. It has been the custom of Presidents of the United States in their annual messages to the Congress to gloss over United States participation in foreign affairs, usually because the United States indulges in secret treaties with other imperialist powers which it dares not make public lest public indignation force the repudiation of these facts. Nevertheless, I consider it important that certain facts be brought to your attention.

Despite our talk of "good neighbors," the United States has continued in its role as imperialist despot of the entire western hemisphere. This is best shown by the situation in Cuba, an island wrested from Spain by force and

GOOD POLITICS—'NO PROGRAM'



After President Roosevelt delivered his message to Congress, Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, commented: "It was good politics, good preaching, good dramatics—without a program."

violence. We continue our domination of Cuba in an absolute sense although we camouflage it through a puppet government—in Cuba. It is true, however, that this puppet government is at all times at the complete service of the American minister and of the American fruit and shipping interests. Our rule of Cuba has been excellent from the point of view of these business interests; we have enslaved labor, forbidden strikes and jailed union leaders to torture and punish them. There is no free speech or free press in Cuba; we rule by the means of the gun and the whip. If any American liberals come to Cuba to investigate, they are arrested and returned to the mainland; conditions in Cuba must not be allowed to become known to the American people.

What is true of Cuba is true only in lesser respect of other South American countries. We brook no dissatisfaction with our imperialist rule; the history of American domination of Latin America is writ large in blood and sweat of our neighbors. But we are not alone in our brutality; every imperialist power in the world, too, rules its colonies in a dictatorial fashion. Remember, gentlemen, never to think of the United States as an isolated nation—it must always be regarded as the strongest imperialist power in the world today, capable of using every trick and every maneuver that has been used by the powers that be since civilization was first brought to this world with the invention of gunpowder.

'Adequate Defense'

It is from the point of view of protecting Wall Street's financial investments in Latin America and in Asia that our foreign policy must be drafted. In that instance, I want to point out that the most serious competitor to American export commerce and the most serious threat to our profits comes from Japan, that nation "which came into the banquet table" but which wishes to gorge itself with profits based upon the exploitation of colonies. Japan has colonized many sections of South America; in China, Japanese goods have hamp-

ered greatly the flow of profits to Wall Street. Therefore, we are preparing today for a war with Japan.

It does not matter, gentlemen, that the people of the United States do not want a war with Japan; the financial interests want it that Japan may be crushed and our imperialist profits may be saved. Therefore, our entire attention must be directed toward a strengthening of our naval and marine forces along the Pacific Ocean. We must mask all these pro-war maneuvers under the guise of "an adequate defense" because it would be injurious to our scheming if the American people were to discover that they were going to be driven into another war. We must therefore continue to mouth pacific phrases, all the while, however, strengthening our machinery of murder that the interests of American capitalism may not go undefended.

In this connection, it would be wise to discuss the Italo-Ethiopian situation. Our advices from Europe indicate that Italian victory over Ethiopia and consequently Italian domination of northern Africa would be fatal to American colonial interests—only one thing could be worse: proletarian revolution in Italy. Our entire efforts must be directed therefore toward the formation of a compromise solution which while stopping the Italian advance in northern Africa will not strip the Fascist dictator, Mussolini, of his prestige. The very thought of a workers' revolution against Il Duce frightens me. Such an act is certain to have repercussions in other Fascist countries; it will inspire labor throughout the world toward militant struggle against us, the present rulers. Therefore, this compromise must be effected.

New Deal Progress

But let us turn from the situation as it affects foreign policy to the domestic setup. Here, gentlemen, I can report definite and appreciable progress. Statistics inform us that during the New Deal profits have risen greatly. It does not matter much that there are as yet between fourteen and seventeen million jobless in this country; after all, our duty lies not toward these victims of the

system but rather toward the financial interests. Because of this increase in profits, I am pleased to state that the opposition to my administration from business quarters has lessened very much during the past year. There were a few capitalists who, in the beginning, did not trust me—they did not believe my solemn promises that my only purpose was to bolster this decaying economic system. Today however, more and more, the financial giants of this country are recognizing that I am their Man Friday; that they have only to command and I will fulfill.

Their only grievance today is the question of taxation. A few capitalists—who do not, I am confident, speak the true sentiments of the less articulate but more important elements that constitute real American business—have lately been conducting a campaign against the taxes we have found it necessary to impose and which have provided a bribe to keep the working-class docile. These few should realize that the great bulk of these taxes have not been imposed upon them; through the means of the sales tax the masses themselves have paid more than their share. However, my sympathies lie with my comrades who have had to pay even as little as they have through the income tax, I therefore assure this, the second session of the Seventy-Fourth Congress, that based on existing laws it is my belief that no new taxes are advisable or necessary.

On the important matter of labor opposition to our administration of government in behalf of the capitalist class, I bring cheering news. We have nothing to fear from labor, gentlemen, unless the organized trade union movement and the organized farmers unite together on the political field. Then of course those of us who sit on the thrones of power can have cause to tremble; until that time we can be confident that labor does not have the power to disturb the reign of King Capital.

Tricking Labor

We have played a clever game with labor during the past three years, gentlemen. I am glad at this time to congratulate you upon your cooperation with me in

our task of giving labor nothing while seeming to give it everything. We have done this with the aid of those nine old men on the Supreme Court bench who know their assignments in the class struggle even better than you or I. We have passed many laws which seemed to better the conditions of labor; we are confident that the Supreme Court will declare them unconstitutional. Even if they are constitutional, however, you gentlemen need not fear the wrath of your masters, the bankers and bosses. You can depend upon the executive branch of this government to sabotage and delay enforcement of these laws.

You can return, gentlemen, to your lords and masters and assure them of the truth of this. If they doubt my word, just remind them of the history of the Automobile Labor Board—there is an achievement! I can point with true pride at that board—throughout its existence it never gave a decision for union labor. It is true that it went too far when it attempted to form government-controlled company unions—but that was a mistake in tactics, not in principle. I sincerely hope our boards will be more successful in the future.

Through the medium of the Department of Labor, gentlemen, we have been fairly successful in stopping strikes and in quieting labor through evasion, dishonesty and lies. Credit in this respect lies with Edward F. McGrady, that valiant assistant secretary who has never paused as he traveled day and night throughout the country delaying labor action and through this delay weakening the forces of labor. The Department of Labor, I am happy to say, has not hesitated to use the weapon of deportation to accomplish its aim of strike-breaking.

Anti-Labor Terror

Where our efforts to stop labor action have been of no avail, this government has condoned the terror that has been used to suppress the unions. Only last month, a Socialist unemployed leader was brutally lynched in Florida. The story of Terre Haute is well-known to you. It is a story of how a Democratic governor illegally set up a military dictatorship in two counties in Indiana to suppress labor. There have been many instances of this during the three years of the New Deal.

Through it all, this administration never interfered and always gave to these acts of terror and the breaking of civil rights and liberties its moral support. As a matter of fact, we have been ready if necessary to send in federal troops to finish the jobs that the states have begun. For we have our duty plain before us: never to allow labor to make any gains that may be harmful to the capitalists.

In summary, our achievements have been many. We have spent more money on the army and navy than ever before in peacetime history. We have saved profits for the capitalists. If labor became restless and the unemployed protested, we have at first fooled them; if this trick didn't succeed, we have not hesitated to use force against labor. We remain today entrenched in power; the only dark cloud on the horizon is the possible formation of a Farmer-Labor Party.

Gentlemen! America is today a great nation. It matters not that starvation and want are bywords in this land. It matters only that we have saved the profit system. This is the record of the Democratic administration in action. Wall Street can be well satisfied with it.

Party Activity

"I DON'T READ HEARST" is the slogan on an attractive three-color sticker now available from the national office of the Socialist Party. The stamps are 50 to a sheet. One sheet costs 10 cents; 12 sheets for 50 cents; 100 sheets for \$3.50.

Alaska

SEWARD is now the site of a new Socialist local, the first and only one in Alaska. Richard Killmurray is the organizer; R. L. Rossmore, secretary; E. Bond treasurer; and James C. Maze, literature agent.

California

EAST BAY LOCAL has sponsored an initiative petition for socialized medicine and dentistry in Alameda County. New headquarters for the local have been established at 5837 San Pablo Avenue, Oakland.

NORMAN THOMAS will tour the state in April to raise funds for the national and state campaign.

Illinois

STATE ORGANIZATION work being conducted by State Secretary Joe Brinocar in southern Illinois and by Ed Adams in the northern section has borne fruit. A branch is on its feet in Farmington under the leadership of Jerry Johnson, state board member of the Illinois Workers' Alliance, and Mt. Morris Socialists have reorganized with a plan to include the whole of Ogle County in one compact organization, of which Mt. Morris is the center.

NORMAN THOMAS will speak at the Universalist Church in Elgin and at Joliet, Sunday afternoon and evening, January 12.

Indiana

STATE COMMITTEE, just elected, consists of Charles R. Rogers, chairman; Lula S. Halverson, Mary Donovan Haggood, Mario S. Tomisch, and Hugo Rasmussen.

Michigan

DETROIT Socialists will hear Roy Burt at 5946 Trumbull Avenue, Saturday evening, January 11. His address, "Are We Done With Democracy?" is open to the public; admission is free.

STATE CONVENTION will be held in Flint, Saturday and Sunday, January 25 and 26.

Missouri

JOPLIN Socialists are active in helping support the fight of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union in their fight against the Eagle Patcher Co. and other zinc mining interests.

Ohio

CUYAHOGA COUNTY Jewish branch, at its last regular meeting, adopted a resolution to "call upon the leaders of both sides (in the party controversy) and the members of the national executive committee to convene and adopt an immediate conciliatory attitude, find some common ground upon which to adjust the differences, and defer any matter of policy or grievance for determination at our next national convention in Cleveland in May, 1936."

Oklahoma

STATE CONVENTION, meet-

SPAIN

By HENRI BARBUSSE

PRICE \$2.00

Workers Book Shop

100 FIFTH AVENUE, N. Y. C.

Peoples Book Shop

10 SECOND AVENUE, N. Y. C.

New Monthly Out in February

NEW YORK—Plans are proceeding for the first issue of the American Socialist Monthly to appear early in February in accordance with the decision of the SP national executive committee to make the American Socialist Quarterly a monthly. The monthly will enable more timely analyses of political events in America and abroad, Anna Bercowitz, managing editor, declared. The February issue will contain articles on the 1936 political campaign, unemployment, foreign affairs and the situation in the Socialist Party. Among the contributors to the monthly will be Otto Bauer of Austria, G. D. H. Cole of England and Norman Thomas.

The monthly will be staffed by the same board of editors that worked on the ASQ. Subscriptions to the monthly, 12 issues for \$1.50, are now being received at the headquarters, 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

ing at Okemah, re-elected Dr. Allen C. Adams state chairman and set March 15 as the date of the 1936 nominating convention. The resolutions passed, says John M. Denney, Socialist state secretary, "show a definite trend of the Socialist Party in Oklahoma, a trend which, let us ardently hope, will not be lost sight of. The resolutions presuppose not only the continued existence of the Socialist Party, but also its continued and speedy growth into the party of first rank in this country."

Pennsylvania

BERKS COUNTY (Reading) local took in a total of 881 new members during the year 1935.

Virginia

STATE COMMITTEE will meet in Richmond, January 26. The SEC has named a legislative committee to watch legislation on election laws and a threatened sales tax.

BOOKS, by Bruno Fischer

A Novel About Workers For the Intellectual

MARCHING! MARCHING! by Clara Weatherwax. John Day Company. 256 pages. \$1.00.

What Clara Weatherwax did was to take a dramatic working-class theme and obscure it in a style reminiscent of bourgeois decadents and Paris literary dilettants. Her novel "Marching! Marching!" won the New Masses prize for a novel "dealing with working class experiences."

Well, the book deals with working-class experiences; but if it will be read at all it will be read by those schooled in the writings of James Joyce and his followers. New Masses intellectuals might understand and enjoy it. Workers, on the whole, will not.

There would be an excuse for her method if it made what she had to say more understandable or more effective. John Dos Passos' stream-of-consciousness method, for example, enhances and simplifies his writing. Clara Weatherwax's method does the opposite. It obscures character; it plays down and flattens out scenes which should make for intense feeling in the reader.

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By VALENTIN KATAYEV
author of "Squaring the Circle"
Trans. by Malamuth & Eugene Lyons
A Satirical Soviet Farce
OPENING WED., JAN. 15, 1936
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1 EAST 104th ST., N. Y.
Tickets on Sale for Jan. 15, 16, 17, 18,
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Book Stores, Rand School, New
Theatre League and Drama Book Shop.
50c, 75c, \$1.00

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45th ANNIVERSARY BANQUET
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Outstanding Program
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Symposium
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Sunday Night, Jan. 19
8 P. M.
PHILADELPHIA PEOPLE'S
FORUM
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SUBSCRIPTION 25c

HEAR! A First Hand Report of the
HISTORIC CLEVELAND CONVENTION
American League Against War and Fascism
SAMUEL R. SOLOMONICK, Trade Union Organizer of the League
ALICE BLEAKLEY - MILDRED UNGER
THURS. 8:30 29 ST. MARKS PLACE ADM.
JAN. 9 7 P. M. NEW YORK CITY 10c
Aus. Stuyvesant Branch, Amer. Lg. Against War and Fascism

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REUNION Entire Social Staff
2 Prizes Given Away
1st Prize: 2 Weeks' Vacation
2nd Prize: 1 Week Vacation
Percy Dodd and His Orchestra
Dancing Until 3 A. M.
Admission
55c in Advance 83c at Door
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Book Shops

FRIDAY, JANUARY 17
at
WEBSTER HALL
119 EAST 11th STREET

DEBATE

NORMAN THOMAS vs. EARL BROWDER
Socialism vs. Communism

EUCLID AVE. BAPTIST CHURCH
Cor. 18th Street and Euclid Avenue
Cleveland

SATURDAY, JAN. 11, AT 8 P. M.

NOW

CHICAGO CAN HEAR
"The Debate of the Decade"

NORMAN THOMAS
SOCIALISM
vs.
EARL BROWDER
COMMUNISM

Monday, Jan. 13th
7 P. M.

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM
CARMEN'S HALL CHICAGO, ILL.

Theatre Union Launches Drive

Asks \$15,000 To Cover Annual Loss

The Theatre Union, which now has its sixth play on the boards and is in its third season as the first professional social theatre in this country, launched a campaign this week to raise a \$15,000 sustaining fund to carry it through three more plays. The amount needed is the annual deficit.

Although Theatre Union plays cover their weekly running costs with a small profit, they are not always able to pay back the original cost of production. The necessity of maintaining its low price scale of 30 cents to \$1.50 accounts for the deficit. Even a "hit" like "Stevedore," its second offering, can make only modest profits when more than half the seats are priced at less than a dollar.

Rather than attempt to raise the price scale, which would shut out the very audience the Theatre Union was organized to reach, the campaign for a sustaining fund was planned. It includes:

1. Requests for contributions from interested friends. These have been forthcoming in past years. It is hoped this year to reach a wider number of people.
2. An intensified subscription drive.

3. A series of Sunday evening benefit performances. The first will take place January 26th, at the Civic Repertory Theatre.

4. A levy of five cents on each ticket toward a sustaining fund. This method has been used in workers' theatres abroad. It is felt that in this way many persons who cannot cooperate in the campaign in any other way might be able to share in the support of the theatre.

The Theatre Union has no endowment, no capital or sinking fund, no investors, and no large backing from single persons or motion picture concerns. It is a non-profit-making organization. Its first five plays—not including its current "Let Freedom Ring"—were seen by 523,000 persons.

IN LABOR PLAY



Paul Bauersmith, who plays a leading role in the Theater Union production of "Let Freedom Ring," now at the Civic Repertory Theater.

Blue List Catalog Of Films Issued

NEW YORK—Non-inflammable films for use by labor and fraternal organizations in halls without special fire-permits are included in the latest catalog of talkies in all languages issued by the Garrison Film Distributors. The Garrison company has long specialized in social and foreign movies for labor unions, schools and clubs.

In a new list issued this week called "The Blue List" are includ-

ed films produced in America, England, France and the U. S. S. R. The list can be secured from the Garrison company at 729 Seventh Avenue, New York City, any of its local agents in leading cities in this country.

"A MILLION TORMENTS"
NEW YORK—The Joint Board of the Dressmakers Union will hold a theatre party for The Forum Theatre's production of Kateyev's new comedy "A Million Torments" January 17.

MIDNIGHT MOVIES
"YOUTH OF MAXIM"

"PETERSBURG NIGHTS"
ELTON THEATRE
13rd St. & New Utrecht Ave.
SAT., JAN. 18 11:45
ADMISSION 25c SHARP
Au.: Better Film League, Boro Park

HEAR!
ANGELIKA BALABANOFF
(Now Editor of "Avanti," published in Paris. Former Co-Worker of Benito Mussolini.)
MUSSOLINI
WAR MANIAC OF EUROPE
FRIDAY, JAN. 10
8:30 P. M. - ADM. 25c
WEBSTER HALL
125 EAST 11th STREET, N. Y. C.
Ausp.: Proletarian Group

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in hollywood

By JOHN R. CHAPLIN

Reliance Pictures, the company which found it was not healthy to attack the thinking youth of America, as it did in its film, Red Salute, is now trying to save itself from bankruptcy by taking the other track. Reliance will now produce The Life of Jim Fisk, based on Matthew Josephson's The Robber Barons, and the studio publicity calls it an "expose of the manipulations of a group of respected American business and political leaders." . . .

Following his success as Pasteur, Paul Muni will play either Col. Goethals or Dr. Gorgas in a film to be titled Panama Canal. Josephine Hutchinson will be the heroine of a Life of Madame Curie . . . Rex Ingram will play De Lawd in the screen version of Green Pastures . . . The Screen Guilds named the following as "best" in November: Jimmy Gagney in Midsummer Night's Dream; Carole Lombard in Hands Across the Table; and Preston Foster in Last Days of Pompeii. Best screenplays: Hands Across the Table, A Night at the Opera, and Thanks a Million.

Fritz Lang, noted German director, makes his American debut by producing Mob Rule for M. G.

M. The theme of the film is lynching . . . We hear that the producer of a recent, and excellent, satirical film, was so alarmed when told the film was a satire, that he sent a letter to exhibitors saying that while the critics might call the film a satire, it was really just good entertaining comedy . . .

Censorship Expose Art Congress Issue

NEW YORK -- "Repression of Art in America" will be a major topic to be discussed from the platform of Town Hall here on February 14, when artists from all parts of the United States assemble for the opening of the First American Artists' Congress. The meeting will be open to the general public.

Reinforcing the position against war and fascism taken by members of the Congress in signing the call, cases of suppression and destruction of art works in the United States during the last two years will be cited.

AMKINO PRESENTS
"FRONTIER"
AMERICAN PREMIERE
"GRAIN" . . . MONDAY, JAN. 13
CAMEO 12 ST. E. of B'WAY
25c to 1 P. M.

"A knockout! Spectacular adventure, thrills and romance."—The MIRROR.
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"CAPT. BLOOD"
with ERROL FLYNN, OLIVIA DE HAVILLAND, Lionel Atwill, Basil Rathbone, Ross Alexander
25c to 1 p.m. STRAND B'way & 47
MIDNIGHT SHOW NIGHTLY

NEW THEATRE NIGHT
Let Freedom Ring
Actors Troupe in
"PRIVATE HIGGS"
price winning play by Albert Maltz
"HYMN to the RISING SUN"
a new play by Paul Green
"UNTO SUCH GLORY"
comedy by Paul Green
"ANGELO HERNDON"
by Elizabeth England and Joe North
Civic Repertory
103 W. 14th St.
SUNDAY JANUARY 12 at 8:30
Tickets 35c-1.50 at New Theatre, 150 W. 44th St., BR. 9-8378; New Theatre League, 55 W. 45th St., Lo. 5-9119; Bookstore: 50 E. 15th St. and 112 W. 44th St.

SAM H. HARRIS presents
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in a new comedy
"FIRST LADY"
By KATHARINE DAYTON and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN
MUSIC BOX THEATRE 46th ST. WEST OF BROADWAY
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Tremendously Moving and Extraordinarily Impressive
LET FREEDOM RING
Easily the Most Significant Play of the Season
"NO SUCH CHEERS AND BRAVOS SINCE THE SEASON BEGAN."
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WE WILL GREET ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE
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219 SACKMAN STREET, BROOKLYN
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ADMISSION . . . 25c
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ADM. 49c HOTEL DELANO, 43rd St. and 6th Ave.

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THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF
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Labor's Own School
Speakers:
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Fraternal Greetings from George Meany, David Dubinsky,
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Hilda W. Smith, George Rhodes
SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, AT 1 P. M.
FRANK'S HOFBRAU, 1680 BROADWAY
Near 52nd Street, New York City
Tickets (\$1.00) on sale at the Socialist Call office, 21 East 17th Street

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

AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

Through three years of depression the President and Congress of the United States, unquestionably representing the people, have been enacting an elaborate legislative and administrative program to deal with the depression in what they think are the interests of the people. Now six old men on the Supreme Court of the United States against three of their colleagues hand down a decision which practically destroys the constructive program which has been set up. As the New York Times puts it:

"The decision definitely forecasts the later invalidation of the cotton, potato, tobacco and other crop control laws, appeared definitely to doom the TVA, railroad pensions and Guffey coal mining regulation acts, and seemed to offer to the New Deal only the device of a constitutional amendment to legalize all its recovery methods unless a State-aid plan can be used in the case of AAA."

Add this to the earlier opinion, which was unanimous, dooming NRA, and you have a complete picture of judicial oligarchy. In the AAA case the three ablest lawyers on the Court in bitter words characterized the majority position as "a tortured construction of the Constitution."

It is not primarily a question whether the New Deal program was good. As a Socialist I have been and am its bitter and strenuous critic. But as a believer in some sort of democracy and some sort of efficiency of government; in something, in short, other than the pure hypocrisy which calls a judicial oligarchy democracy, I join with my comrades in demanding immediate and drastic action to end this judicial oligarchy.

It is possible that Socialist legislation for direct ownership could be framed and enforced under the Constitution better than regulation. But in terms of the politically probable the Supreme Court decision means that any Socialist government on taking office would be paralyzed by the power of the Court or by fear of that power. The whole hope of peace, of peaceful change; that is, real change, depends upon an end of this judicial oligarchy, this government by the dead hand of a Constitution, which is given living power by the particular political and economic doctrines of the old men on the Supreme Court bench.

Once more, as so often before, we Socialists, long in advance of Democrats, saw the danger. Also we have prepared for it. It becomes the most important single immediate task of the Party and of the entire labor movement to push the Workers Rights Amendment. It may perchance need a certain degree of verbal revision in the light of this decision, but as an Amendment it deals constructively with the problem of making democracy constitutional in the United States of America. Here is a thing for which we must fight.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The Supreme Court decision makes the President's message, dramatically delivered to Congress at night and to the entire American public over the radio, seem somewhat remote. The President, you will remember, in his message thought that no new domestic legislation of importance would be needed. The Supreme Court decision changes all that. There must be a desperate legislative effort to find some kind of substitute for AAA legislation and the other laws that are likely to be invalidated in the Supreme Court. It is not enough to say that the states which have been

have no relation to economic realities can deal with the subjects affected adversely by the Supreme Court decision. Either we act nationally or we don't act at all.

The conservatives, including some conservative economists, may hope that just as the NRA decision did not slow up the temporary and precarious degree of business recovery we have been having, so the AAA decision will not reduce the farmers to the depths of despair of 1932. They can make quite a case that under capitalism the degree of recovery the farmers have experienced—and that's not very much or very secure—can be traced to the devaluation of the dollar, or the drought, or general world recovery, or whatnot, as much or more than to AAA. It is not a case of primary interest to Socialists because we are interested in planning for abundance, not subsidizing the scarcity upon which profits depend.

But politically the farmers will make more row about the overthrow of AAA than anybody did about the overthrow of NRA. Substitute legislation will be in order. Congress is in for a hot time, not just for a "hold the fort" program such as the President outlined.

BROADCASTING THE MESSAGE

It was a bad case for a political much-ado-about-nothing when the Republicans raised such a row because the President broadcast his message to Congress. Why not? Aren't the people entitled to hear the chief executive. The President's speech as well as the way he delivered it was probably good politics. If the Supreme Court had not nullified AAA it's a bet that the Republicans wouldn't have dared to take the responsibility of introducing a bill to wipe it out. In taunting his adversaries the President was on sound ground. Nevertheless his speech showed very clearly what's the matter with any program of reform within capitalism.

It's ridiculous nonsense, from the standpoint of workers with hand and brain, to change the slogan "Workers of the World, Unite" to the slogan: "Workers,

Stockholders, little business men, unite against Wall Street." And that's what the President did. He began smugly to praise the peace of the western hemisphere as contrasted with the rest of the world.

The guns with which Brazil put down revolt are scarcely through smoking. Cuba is held under tyranny with the support of American financial interests and the American Ambassador.

The President analyzed the causes of war in moralistic terms rather than in economic and political terms. He was, of course, right so far as he went in his strongly implied condemnation of Fascism. He was right in supporting neutrality, but he should want a more absolute neutrality, not so much dependent upon Presidential choice. He was anything but right in thinking that another billion dollar appropriation for the Army and Navy of the United States will make for peace at home or abroad. Such appropriations never have brought peace in the world's history and never will.

Roosevelt had no program except a vague hope that this temporary business recovery would continue, would help him solve his budget problem and would take care of the unemployed. His only hope even when elaborated in his Budget message is not sound. The only way the budget will be balanced will be at the expense of the unemployed.

THE PARTY CONTROVERSY

It has long been my rule, so far as possible in this column, to avoid discussion of Socialist Party controversies. In the present situation, however, it is not only my right but my duty to comment on the NEC decision and the New York situation. I ask you to read that decision in full and the names of the Provisional State Committee appointed to carry it out. You will observe that elaborate care has been taken to guarantee the rights of every single Socialist. A new election such as the Forward Committee and other self-appointed mediators proposed has been ordered in New York City. Every attempt at a

Party purge or vendetta has been forbidden. An excellent committee on which the right wing is fairly represented has been set up.

What is there in this to justify Louis Waldman's wail about the unfairness of the NEC and his attempt to compare what it did with conditions in Stalin's Russia or Hitler's Germany? And by the way, Waldman seems to be as much afraid of the "one" as the other!

What the NEC has done in the name of preservation of the Party in the United States of America is to remove a State Committee which crowned a long list of sins of omission and commission against the Party by the wholly illegal attempt to expel from the Party everyone in any way connected with the Socialist Call, a publication which is the official organ of seven states and has contributed over a thousand dollars to the Party. We would not have been good Socialists if we had not acted to save the Party. We were not secessionists. The Utica Conference was not a body planning secession from the Socialist Party of America but the re-assertion of the power of that Party along Socialist lines. The Utica Conference bowed to the decision of the NEC in setting up its own committee to supervise the work in the State and new elections in New York City.

THE CASE OF THE EXTREMISTS

The legal and constitutional case of the extremists, whom I think they will prove to be few in the Party, as against the NEC is curiously like the legal and constitutional case such as the Supreme Court of the United States has laid down in the nation. It rests on a strict construction of our constitution in a narrow literalistic sense and on an exaggerated doctrine of states' right.

Some, at least, of our Old Guard extremists don't really care so much about the constitution and rules of the Party. Look at their own record. See, for instance, how calmly they violated the rule that there should be, no

united front with Communists without the formal approval of the State Executive Committee even for a single demonstration when they made a united front

in itself a good thing, with Communist splinter groups last May Day. The Old Guard has not been tender of the constitutional rights of any of us in New York City. This constitutionalism business is a cloak.

As a matter of fact, any reasonable construction of the Constitution not only permits but directs the NEC to act between Conventions to save the Party, to guarantee its efficiency, to render justice to those to whom justice is otherwise utterly denied. It did not act in the present case without notice and it merely continued jurisdiction which it had been forced to assume in New York State matters ever since its meeting more than a year ago in Boston.

In terms of any issue other than a very narrow constitutionalism and a very extreme states rights position the Waldman irreconcilables have nothing to do except to try to scare Socialists out of their wits by the communist bogey. At Philadelphia, Adolph Held, speaking for the Forward committee, admitted candidly that he had not discovered signs of communism or advocacy of armed insurrection or breach of the national rules on the subject of the united front in the groups connected with the 21 East 17th Street organization.

Jim Oneal's communist phobia, which is at least subjectively sincere but which is very extreme, only enabled him to find a very few incidents to support it. He made much of the fact that the Daily Worker which under the communist new line is getting to be a pretty fair labor paper gives sympathetic accounts of left wing positions. This he argues quite illogically must prove a united front. He can see no difference at all between the advocacy of violence and armed insurrection and the Party policy and the discussion within the party of that Road to Power which under certain circumstances might imply the necessity of armed insurrection. He made much of two disciplinary cases where the Old Guard was unable to effect expulsions; first of an individual and second of a group of Yipsels. He forgot to say that both the individual and the group had formally expressed their willingness to abide by Party discipline. He forgot to say that the individual has since been put under charges by the 21 East 17th Street organization for overt acts—not, however, as the result of witch-hunting!

In this explanation I have had to be critical of the collective action of the Old Guard. That collective action has greatly weakened the Party. It has given left-handed encouragement to secession in Indiana, to a Hearst-like denunciation of Russia, to a dozen other things wholly opposed to true Socialism. The cure for this is not expulsion. For individuals in the Old Guard I have genuine affection. A good Socialist Party must be inclusive. It needs the right wing.

Surely on a subject so important as the overwhelming majority of Socialists in America will see the NEC provision as the way for a united and aggressive party in New York and that support the NEC decision is the way to keep the New York fight out of other states and to unite us in the great fight against capitalism, Fascism and war.

WINGS OVER WASHINGTON

By **LEN DE CAUX**

WASHINGTON — A boisterous session of Congress, with plenty of party and personal politics, appeared in prospect as Senators and Representatives fitted themselves into their chairs, said their howdy-do's and eyed the galleries over.

In contrast to the disciplined if not docile seriousness of some of the worst of the crisis years, members of Congress this year are out to get themselves re-elected on their own merits, or demerits, each after his own fashion.

Roosevelt's coat-tails no longer seem to provide such roomy accommodations for riding back to office, so many Democrats are looking for other conveyances. Republicans, on the other hand, are raising their diminished heads and heaping abuse on the New Deal. Pot-like they call attention to the kettle's blackness, hoping their own political complexion will thus be overlooked.

As Congress opened the House was unusual the better place for political atmosphere. The Senate is a stifled nest and pompous. But the House is too rowdy for

subtlety or indirection. The opening gavel had hardly fallen before the Congressmen fell to, with right good humor.

Rep. Snell, Republican floor leader, set the tone, with a red-faced and apoplectic attack on Roosevelt for "breaking all precedents" by proposing to deliver his message at 9 P. M. "Will not this message stand the light of the usual midday sun?" he wanted to know.

Democrats groaned good-humoredly as Snell spoke of their "overwhelming and spineless majority," clapped ironically at times, and didn't seem to mind his referring to the change of time as a "cheap political move." The cheaper the better, they may have thought, reflecting that Snell's own move wasn't costing much to campaign funds either.

Rep. Hamilton Fish, who is furnishing the comic relief to Borah's presidential campaign, made his bid for front page space by announcing in advance that he would "boycott" the president's speech. That got a laugh too.

The Congressmen then went to work with a will, shaking their

heads and fists at each other, demanding the floor, objecting, protesting, asking unanimous consent to put into the record all sorts of extraneous matter about silver weddings, Woodrow Wilson and their letters to Whoozis and Whoozat about this, that and the other.

With due respect to the sterling qualities of some of our law-makers, it must be said that when the Democrat vs. Republican repartee gets going, the effect from the gallery is rather like that of a Punch and Judy show.

There's lots of good clean slapstick, and even when voices are raised at their shouting angriest and some Republican Punch brings his stick down mercilessly on a Democrat Judy, you still have a comfortable feeling that it's all in fun. The Congressmen may gnash their teeth, falsetto screams may rend the air, foul murder may be done in party strife. But when it's all over, the boys will roll out safe and sound to the lobby, just as surely as Punch and Judy puppets will come to life again to make their final bow.