

**Norman Thomas**

*on*  
**The Miners and the AFL**

SEE PAGE 12

# Socialist Call

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# LABOR CONGRESS MEETS IN APRIL

## To Amend Constitution

STORY ON PAGE 2



SENATOR BORAH



GOVERNOR LANDON

### *Roosevelt, Borah, Talmadge, Landon, Hoover— And a Dead Negro!*

AN EDITORIAL

In the political campaign that will mark 1936, the American people will hear a great deal about states' rights. Today, months before the national conventions of the major capitalist parties, the various candidates for the presidential nominations have begun the clamor.

But there will be one aspect of states' rights that no candidate will comment on—except to join with his fellows in condemning any violation of "the constitutional right" of the American Bourbons to lynch and murder without penalty. We refer to the federal anti-lynching bill.

Above is an interesting picture. It shows the lynched body of Rubin Stacy, a Negro murdered at Fort Lauderdale. Stacy was not accused of murder. He was not accused of stealing. He was not accused of criminally assaulting a white woman. He was a hungry man begging for food and a nervous housewife claimed that he frightened her. For this he was lynched.

Notice the little white children in the picture gazing up at the handiwork of the mob. Would you want your son or daughter to have been one of these children, so easily impressed in their tender years?

But what is the answer of Roosevelt, Borah, Talmadge, Landon, Hoover? The administrations of Hoover and Roosevelt gave no encouragement to a bill that would stop lynching. It was Borah's filibuster that destroyed any hope that such a bill would pass the last Congress. Talmadge is notorious for his anti-Negro bias. Landon talks piously of states' rights while in his own state of Kansas Negroes are jim-crowed.

The Republicans and Democrats will do nothing to stop lynching. In the meantime, as things go in America, once every 15 days a body will hang from the limbs of a tree—mute testimony to our spirit of fair play.

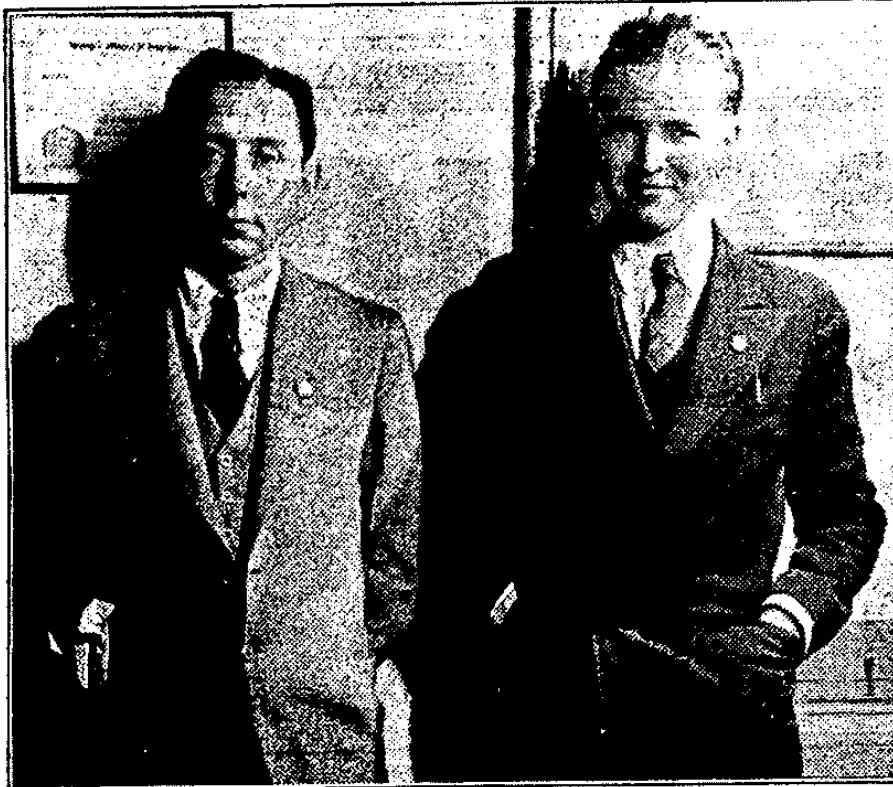
# CALL LABOR CONGRESS TO MEET AT CAPITAL

WASHINGTON—The month of April will find two Congresses meeting in Washington. One, meeting on Capitol Hill will be the Congress of big business, the Congress of capitalist America. The other will be a Farmers' and Workers' Rights Congress, meeting to plan legislation for the welfare of the people.

Thousands of delegates, representing in turn millions of Americans organized in labor and farm unions, will meet in Washington in April to raise a mighty voice for legislation that will protect and benefit the interests of the many—tremendous protest against the other Congress that functions only to heed the behest of Wall Street.

This Congress of farmers and workers, comparable only to the Continental Congress of 1787, was definitely decided upon last week.

## CALL LABOR CONGRESS



Here are David Lasser (left), chairman, and Paul Rasmussen, secretary of the Workers' Alliance of America. The WAA, nation-wide unemployed and relief workers' union, has taken the lead in calling for a huge Workers' Rights Congress in Washington.

**MA. HESTER, N. H.**—The Woolen and Worsted Workers Department of the United Textile Workers of America, representing more than 10,000 workers, endorsed the Workers' Rights Amendment at their annual convention here last week.

when the national executive board of the Workers' Alliance of America, meeting in New York, voted to call upon trade unions and farmers groups to proclaim such a congress. Its chief task will be to prepare a legislative program demanding a Workers' Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution, federal unemployment relief and insurance, action on threats of war and of fascism and the improvement of the condition of agriculture.

The impetus given to the move by the WAA, powerful organization of the unemployed and relief workers with affiliates in 38 states,

is expected to have quick response from progressive international unions, thousand of local unions and labor political organizations such as the Socialist Party. It was learned here this week that members of the "liberal bloc" in the House and Senate were considering endorsement of the Congress.

Foremost on the agenda of the conference will be the Workers' Rights Amendment, first drafted by the late Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party until his death. This amendment, made the basis of an extended campaign by Socialists and unionists last year, has already been endorsed by organizations representing more than 2,000,000 workers.

Some of the chief organizations which have endorsed the amendment are:

The national convention of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

The Connecticut, Idaho, Minnesota, Montana, Ohio, Rhode Island and Wisconsin Federations of Labor.

Central labor bodies in more than thirty cities, including Chicago, Detroit and Milwaukee.

Hundreds of local unions, ranging from locals of 40,000 members down.

Two state legislatures, in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

### Maritime Employers Begin Anti-Union Drive on Coast

PORTLAND, Ore. — Maritime employers of the Pacific declared their intention of making another drive against union labor when they adopted a resolution at the recent Northwest Rivers and Harbors Congress calling for deportation of alien unionists "carrying on subversive work" and the appointment of a labor mediator "for the purpose of maintaining proper relations between labor shipping, industrial and business interests."

The resolution was later endorsed by chambers of commerce in every large city on the coast. What the employers seek is compulsory mediation by a mediator who will be subservient to their interests.

**A NEW PAMPHLET**  
CHICAGO—"Abraham Lincoln A Real American" by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee has just been published by the Socialist Party in honor of Lincoln's birthday. It is a 16-page pamphlet which sells for 10 cents.



"Working his way up from the bottom" was a flop for John Jacob Astor, III, who couldn't stand the lone hour as a \$25-a-week clerk. He took a yacht trip instead.

## Jobless Ask Six Billion Relief Fund

NEW YORK CITY — Plans for an intensive drive upon Congress to secure a six billion dollar appropriation to carry on direct and work relief for next year, was announced last week by the national executive board of the Workers Alliance of America after a four-day session in New York City. The plans include a drive to have the affiliated groups of the Workers Alliance in 38 states send 1,000,000 postcards in a petition to the Congressmen and Senators demanding action on the program. The national executive board placed as the main planks in its platform of its legislative drive the passage of a Federal Relief Standard Act to insure adequate standards for direct and work relief, and for the passage of the Frazier-Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill introduced recently into the national Congress.

The Workers Alliance of America, according to David Lasser, national chairman, who presided at the sessions of the executive board, will also demand of Congress, through the postcard petitions and other actions, an open hearing on the entire relief and WPA programs.

After hearing reports from its affiliated groups, representing more than 500,000 unemployed WPA workers, the executive board issued instructions to its groups to use the weapon of strikes on WPA projects where necessary in order to remedy abuses and to achieve improvement in their conditions. Detailed instructions and guidance will be offered by the national office of the Workers Alliance.

The executive board, responding to reports of repression of civil and other rights of the unemployed and the worsening of their conditions, has advised its local bodies to quicken their activities by local demonstrations, by the picketing of the homes of relief officials and congressmen.

Washington, D. C. was selected by unanimous vote as the place of the second national convention of the Workers Alliance, with 1,000 delegates expected to attend from all parts of the country.

### 15,000 ATTEND

MILWAUKEE—More than 15,000 people braved winter blizzards to attend "union night" at the annual Socialist bazaar here which this year occupies the entire municipal auditorium. Labor leader after labor leader who spoke that evening gave credit to the Socialist Party for making it possible to organize the thousands of workers who are members of their union.

### DIG IN

CLOQUET, Minn. (FP) With the National Guard on duty at the Berst-Forster-Dixfield Co., Diamond Match subsidiary and with the breakdown of negotiations with Joseph Duffy, company officer from New York, strikers at Cloquet have dug in for a prolonged siege. The strike is receiving strong support from all unions in the region.

## LABOR IN ACTION

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids was granted a charter as an international union by the AFL executive council at its recent meeting.

Because members of the National Farmers' Union refused to buy scab-made overalls manufactured by a Birmingham overall factory, corporation officials quickly came to terms with the union committee.

Declaring that "labor has again been deserted by its political 'friends,'" 17 local union officials in Lynn, Massachusetts, and surrounding cities have placed themselves on record for the formation of a Labor Party.

A proposed Oregon sales tax supported alike by Republicans and Democrats was defeated by a 6-1 vote when labor and liberal elements succeeded in placing the proposal on the ballot through the initiative and referendum.

After two weeks of struggle in near-zero weather, dress strikers in Quakerstown, Pa., won a 40-hour week, wage increases and a closed shop. The strike was supported by the Central Trades Council.

Two thousand dollars was donated to the American Newspaper Guild by the United Mine Workers of America, following an offer of aid to the Guild by President John L. Lewis during his recent visit to New York to address a general meeting of the Guild there.

After three weeks of the strike of 1,750 San Francisco shipyard workers under the leadership of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, all work still remains at a standstill. There are about 250 members of the International Association of Machinists also involved in the strike.

Future officeholders in the International Garment Workers Union will probably first have to take a training-for-trade-union-service course, according to plans being evolved. One such course, now under way, includes organizing in new fields, administering union accounts, running conventions, strikes, negotiations and enforcement of agreements.

A Virginia workers' education conference, called by trade unions and the Affiliated Schools for Workers, will be held at Tidewater, February 8. It will deal with organizing the unorganized, state social security legislation, planned workers' education, labor in the 1936 elections, work among youth in industry, interracial problems, danger of war and protection of civil liberties.

The WPA Workers' Union of Toledo, affiliated with the Lucas County Unemployed League, is demanding a federal investigation into the death of Alonzo Walker. Walker died of exposure while working on the Prairie Ditch project.

### DISMISS CHARGES

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla. (FP) Federal charges of conspiracy to obstruct justice filed against Marshall Lakey, Oklahoma City sculptor, and 13 others, have been dismissed by Federal Judge Edgar Vaught.

The "crime" had been the sending of postcards and telegrams to a judge last spring urging release of 14 jobless arrested at a relief demonstration in the city, May, 1934.

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

## THE HILLQUIT AMENDMENT

The following amendment to the Constitution of the United States last week by Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York City. CALL readers are urged to introduce resolutions in their trade unions and fraternal organizations endorsing this amendment.

**ARTICLE XXII. Section 1.** The Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws throughout the United States to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age; to limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage earners; to provide for the relief of aged, invalid, sick and unemployed wage earners and employees in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation or indemnities from the public treasury, from contributions of employers, or other such sources; to establish and take over natural resources, properties and enterprises in manufacturing, mining, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities and other business to be owned and operated by the Government of the United States or agencies thereof for the benefit of the people, and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers, farmers and consumers.

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



# N.Y. Subway Steal Is Hit By Socialists

NEW YORK—Attacking the LaGuardia transit unification system as a "fraud," which will kill the 5c subway fare and give a gift of more than \$200,000,000 to private interests, New York Socialists filed suit Wednesday for an injunction to restrain the LaGuardia administration from completing its plans.

The suit, filed by the 6th Assembly District, Brooklyn, branch of the Socialist Party, was filed in the New York Supreme Court and is directed against Mayor LaGuardia, Samuel Seabury, special counsel on transit unification for the board of estimate, Adolph A. Berle, Roosevelt brain-truster and New York city chamberlain, all members of the board of estimate and all members of the transit commission.

The unification plan is attacked by Leonard Lazarus, Socialist and labor attorney who filed suit, as drawn "with intent to favor private transit interests." The facts on which the court action against the \$200,000,000 grab is based were gathered by expert statisticians working under the direction of Harry W. Laidler, city chairman of the Socialist Party and executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy.

# Labor Polls Worry Nazis

LEIPZIG (CS)—The all powerful German Labor Front has just held its annual congress in this city. Attended by more than 4,000 labor officials from all over Germany and surrounded by the usual Nazi pomp, the congress was a brilliant show, but nothing else. Lengthy speeches by Dr. Ley and other labor and economic leaders were delivered but none was permitted to touch upon the vital problems facing the laboring masses, as wages, working conditions, employment, and so on.

With the German people under the thumb of Dr. Schacht and a handful of German capitalists, the leaders of the Nazi Labor Front were compelled to admit that the "hard facts around them" collided with their best wishes and desires. The speeches were deliberately vague and non-committal. The situation was summed up in the apt remarks of an old observer: "the speakers do not know what they want, but they want it very badly."

### First Public Test

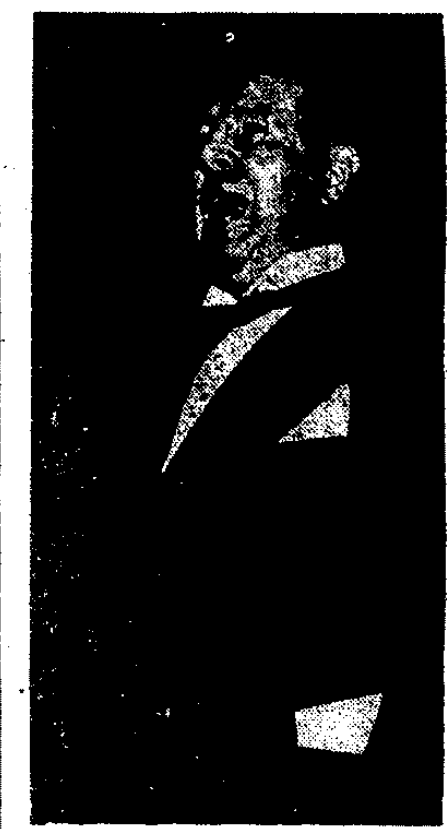
There are, however, a great many questions that are causing considerable unrest in the ranks of the labor hierarchy of Germany. Nation-wide shop council elections are scheduled for April 3rd and 4th, and as the experience of the last two years has proven, an ever-increasing vote of considerable proportions will be cast against the Nazis. The workers are restless as never before and since no test of public opinion in Naziland was made since August 1934, these coming workers' elections take on an added significance.

It is precisely for these reasons that the Nazis are unwilling to face a smashing defeat. According to semi-official announcements the election will take place, but its results will be made known publicly only, when and if circumstances permit it, and will mainly serve as a "guidance for the Nazi regime in its future labor policy."

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

# Defy AFL High Council

## BLAH-BLAH



Here is Colonel Frank Knox, wealthy Chicago publisher and candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, throwing the well-known bull in his speaking campaign.

**NOTICE**  
There will be a membership meeting of the CALL Publishing Association at 21 East 17th Street, Sunday evening, February 15. Officers for the ensuing year will be elected.

# Win Sit-Down Akron Strike

By RALPH M. HOLLAND

AKRON—Unionization of Akron rubber workers has received an impetus from the prestige acquired by United Rubber Workers' locals in leading "sit down" strikes at the Firestone and Goodyear plants. The stoppages were dramatic and instructive exhibitions of the strength of organized protest. Firestone tire builders are about 80 per cent organized, union officials say.

Back of the 58-hour "sit down" strike of 1,200 workers on the Firestone conveyor line was gathering discontent against a cut in the piecework rate, which led tire builders to refuse to speed up production enough to earn the basic guarantee. A non-union pacemaker, put on the job to tell the others how to do it, started a fight with Clayton Dicks, active unionist, who was then suspended.

As a result of the stoppage, Dicks was reinstated and the strikers received half pay for the time they spent playing checkers, talking and lying on benches. Clogged conveyors soon forced other departments, employing 1,900 workers, to cease operations.

"Our families will soon find out where we are," the strikers reassured company officials who were sure their families must be worried to death. They continued their checkers and ate lunches donated by workers from other departments. The heat was turned off in an attempt to freeze them out, but it soon came back, supposedly as a result of the fraternal gesture of a union engineer who jammed the valve to prevent another shut-off. The strike was followed by a brief "sit down" protest in the core pits at the Goodyear plant, where a 10 per cent cut also went into effect recently.

### CALL OHIO CONVENTION

AKRON O. The state convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio will be held here April 4, it was announced here this week. Arrangements will be handled by Lewis Akron and Kenmore.

# Miners' Parley Demands Industrial Organization

WASHINGTON (Special)—The thirty-fourth biennial convention of the United Mine Workers of America, the largest union in the American Federation of Labor, began its deliberations last Tuesday in the large auditorium of Constitutional Hall here. More than 1,700 delegates representing 540,000 organized miners were present.

## Dress Bosses Balk, Workers To Strike

NEW YORK—February 1—the deadline date on which more than 200,000 New York workers were expected to strike, passed quietly here as bosses began to capitulate to union demands. Frightened by the solidarity of New York labor, hitherto recalcitrant employers associations renewed arbitration efforts by offering considerable concessions. Union leaders warned their men, however, to stand in readiness for last-minute strike orders in case further negotiations proved fruitless.

### Dress Strike Scheduled

The walkout of 105,000 dressmakers, members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, though temporarily postponed, seemed scheduled nevertheless to take place. February 1 had been the deadline but when negotiations between union and boss representatives failed, a mass meeting of the union members was called for Friday in Madison Square Garden. It is expected that the thousands of New York's dressmakers will vote an immediate strike as their response to the bosses. Either the manufacturers will capitulate before that day, or the workers will leave their machines idle.

At the same time, while 1,000 police officers patrolled Wall Street and midtown garment centers, and strikebreaking agencies had their reserves on call, President James J. Bambrick of Building Service Employees Union Local 32B announced that surprise strike calls for some 20,000 elevator operators and building maintenance men would be delayed several days, pending the outcome of further discussions with real estate owners. His decision came after Mayor LaGuardia and Regional Director Ben Golden of the National Labor Relations Board had appealed for more time for negotiations. A score of cops, armed with nightsticks, patrolled the lobby of Al Smith's Empire State Building in anticipation of the strike.

### Fur Workers Sign

A tentative agreement between the New York Joint Council of the National Fur Workers Union and the Associated Fur Coat Manufacturers, due for ratification vote, averted a walkout in that industry. Slight concessions offered by the manufacturers had been refused by the workers, whose new contracts are expected to give them considerable gains.

### "Stoppage" Walkouts Directed at 400 Members of the Eastern Women's Headwear Association

who have neglected to renew contracts expired Jan. 31 will be called by 20,000 workers in the United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers Union. The call came from President Max Zaritsky following the breakdown of negotiations just prior to the deadline. Because many bosses wish to see the union enforce its demands uniformly on all employers, union leaders feel their effort will be entirely successful.

### Strike Action Threatened by the Fur Floor Boys & Shipping Clerks Union, and by 3,000 Silk Workers affiliated with the Textile House Workers Union is believed to hinge on the final decisions of the furriers and the dressmakers.

### Machine Problem In Pretzel Shops

READING, Pa. (FP)—Enter the pretzel-bending machine—and with it technological unemployment for pretzel workers!

There have been skits and jests galore about hypothetical pretzel-bending machines, if only because it seemed fantastic that machine methods would ever take over from skilled journeymen the intricate manipulations which fashion a genuine pretzel.

But it is no longer a laughing matter. It has happened. Weep in your beer about it, if you will, but nevertheless three men tending machines can turn out 13 tons of pretzels a week, displacing 40 hand workers.

Installation of pretzel-twisting machinery is just the latest maneuver of the Bachman Pretzel Co., subsidiary of the American Cane & Pretzel Co., according to Pretzel Workers Union Local 168 of Reading, affiliated with the Bakery & Confectionery Workers Intl. Union. The union charges the company with repeated violations of an agreement, discrimination against active unionists promoting a company union and attempting a lockout of union members.

While recognizing that machinery is here to stay, Reading unionists are seeking the support of workers elsewhere to get union conditions from American Cane & Pretzel.

Although the question of the industrial-craft union dispute in the AFL overshadowed other problems before the miners, important items on the convention's agenda were the question of democratic election of union officials, the union's relation to politics and its stand on various public labor issues.

Beginning its sessions even as the sessions of the craft-dominated executive council of the AFL adjourned, the miners in unmistakable terms endorsed the Committee for Industrial Organization and the union's affiliation with it. The tremendous hall rang with cheers as John L. Lewis, president of the union and chairman of the committee, issued his denunciation of the AFL executive in stentorian tones:

"If this convention should instruct me not to dissolve the Committee for Industrial Organization, all the members of the executive council will be wearing asbestos suits in Hell before that committee is dissolved."

### Hillman Pledges Support

Similar sentiments were echoed by other officers and by many delegates. Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, another organization affiliated with the CIO, pledged his support to the fight for industrial unionism.

That the industrial-craft union battle may lead to serious and dangerous consequences was indicated here when the convention unanimously gave power to international officials to withhold per capita payments to the AFL if they felt it necessary. This action followed vigorous speeches by Vice-President Phillip Murray and Secretary-Treasurer Thomas J. Kennedy. Murray at one point declared:

"If they (the AFL executive) will not accept the principle of organizing the unorganized through industrial unionism, (Continued on Page Twelve)

## AT UMWA PARLEY



Here is John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, snapped with Josephine Roche, assistant secretary of the treasury, after her pro-Roosevelt speech at the UMWA convention in Washington.

# THE SOCIALIST CALL

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## Lewis Fights Back

The decision of the executive council of the AFL condemning the industrial union bloc was an attempt to preserve "horse-and-buggy" unionism in the locomotive age. It was a decision that showed a fight-to-the-finish frame of mind, and it was to be expected that John L. Lewis would pull no punches in replying. He answered with sledge-hammer blows.

No one can deny the vigor and aggressiveness that make John L. Lewis outstanding, whether in defying coal operators, in crushing rebellion in his own union or in fighting craft unionism. It is undoubtedly the hard fighter in Lewis that has led the United Mine Workers to threaten disaffiliation from the federation over the industrial union issue.

The decision of the UMWA is clearly the result of the drive that the craft unionists have waged relentlessly against the Committee for Industrial Organization which has hitherto scrupulously abstained from any action of a dualist character. The craftists have not hesitated at all to take steps that might split the AFL wide open.

The action of the miners has about it the atmosphere of desperation which constitutes its explanation. Observers of recent events can easily understand why unionists may look with despair on the situation, realizing that the executive council's decision is not just a resolution but is accompanied by decisive moves against existing unions which cannot submit to a fate of ineffectiveness and futility such as necessarily follows from craft organization. That same desperation is overwhelming unorganized millions outside of the AFL who looked to it hopefully.

To threaten secession from the federation as a tactic in the good fight for industrial unionism can have the dangerous effect of weakening the cause of industrial unionism and strengthening the hold of the craft unionists on millions in the AFL.

In spite of the aggressive policies of the conservatives, in spite of the craft raids on existing unions, in spite of threatened charter revocations and the dissolution of federal locals and perhaps internationals, the fight for industrial unionism will go on. And it should go on inside the American Federation of Labor.

## Clearing the Air

When Norman Thomas delivered his brilliant radio address on "Smith, Roosevelt and Socialism," he brushed aside the mists with which politicians have attempted to obscure the real issues.

It is now plain that in the 1936 presidential campaign the masses in America will have to choose between Hunger, wearing the masks of Smiths and Roosevelts, and Socialism, so powerfully portrayed last Sunday night by Norman Thomas to a nation wide audience.

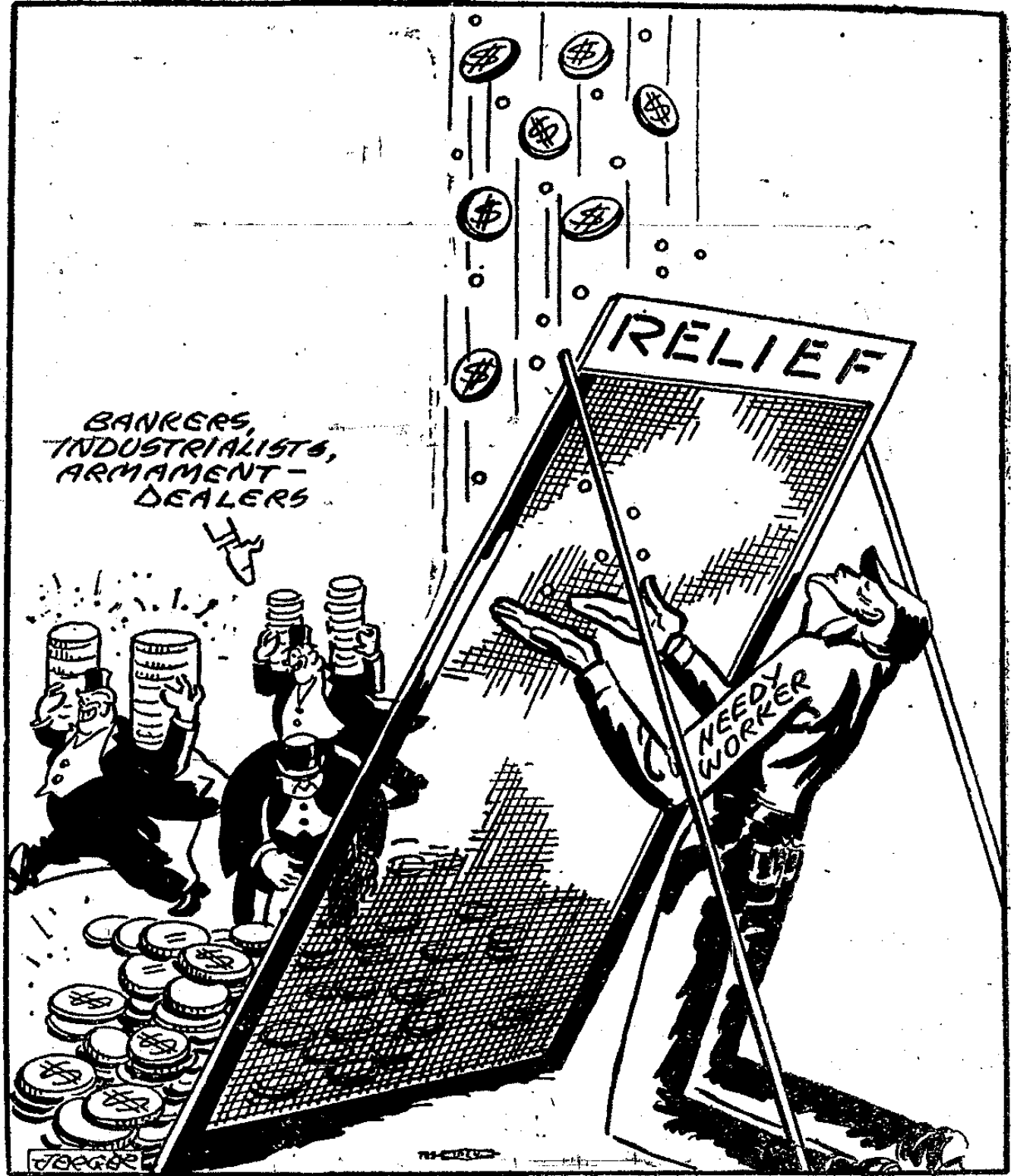
## Still Slandering

The Daily Worker won't apologize to Trotzky, as we suggested, for having slanderously linked the exiled revolutionist to the unspeakable Hearst. Because Hearst has stolen some of Trotzky's critical articles and reprinted them, the Stalinists believe that he falls into the category of a Lang who voluntarily sold his articles to the American fascist. The difference is too obvious to need comment.

The Daily Worker uses an "old line" device when it distorts our view that the issue involved in Hearst's latest larceny is not the truth of Trotzky's charges but the right of a revolutionist to speak his honest opinion in a workers' organ. That is all Trotzky did. If Hearst used the material without the author's consent, he has merely done the same thing that southern textile bosses did in the general strike two years ago when they took articles from the Daily Worker and reprinted them for distribution among strikers to break their faith in the union leaders. Were the communists then in alliance with the bosses?

The only point involved is the right to criticize the Soviet Union. The Communist Party may fear such criticism, but real friends of Russia, especially when it commits serious errors

## 'THIS BUSINESS OF RELIEF?'



FP Cartoon by Jeger

## Advice to Investors Under Capitalism

To the Editor:

I think CALL readers will be interested in the following advice given to clients of Babson's, the big brokerage information house. In one of his letters, this prophet of capitalism lays down the three basic rules of investment in 1936:

- (a) Invest in industries which have a very small proportion of "labor cost."
- (b) Invest in companies which are not ruled by organized labor.
- (c) Invest in companies making labor-saving machinery.

Certainly, the above rules are a fine tribute to the growing strength of the organized labor movement. We must work forward to the day when it will be impossible for a coupon-clipper to follow rule B.

B. R.

Boston, Mass.

### Can the Townsend Plan Really Work?

To the Editor:

If the Townsend old-age pension plan would work with justice to the mass of producers, I would favor it. But there is ample evidence that the plan will not work.

For instance, the City of Montreal effected a two per cent sales tax last May 15 to help care for its 168,000 unemployed. (This two per cent tax is the amount set by Dr. Townsend to raise \$200 monthly for the aged.) The 1,000,000 people of metropolitan

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.

Montreal turned \$400,000 from this tax into the city treasury from May 14 to June 15. If you divide \$400,000 by \$200, the monthly pension under the Townsend plan, you will get 2,000. In other words, a two per cent sales tax in Montreal would provide for only 2,000 aged people under the Townsend Plan.

It is estimated, however, that in Montreal there would be at least 50,000 aged people eligible for pensions under the Townsend Plan. It is obvious, therefore, that a two per cent sales tax would care for only four per cent of the aged. It would require at least a fifty per cent sales tax to make the Townsend Plan effective. Such a tax, of course, would be unjust to the consumer and would cause a consumer's strike.

CECIL J. HARRIBINE, Newport, Maine.

### The Story Of Minneapolis

To the Editor:

Only yesterday the Chamber of Commerce boasted that Minneapolis was an open-shop city. Today it is almost completely un-

ionized, and is inspiring similar unionization of the whole Northwest. What has produced the change?

The answer can be read in the headlines of the past year and a half. Minneapolis labor has fought for its right to live; it has carried through a series of strikes unrivalled in their militancy and their success.

JAMES RORTY, New York City.

### No Oompah For the Ladies

To the Editor:

The patriotic ladies who are ready to lay down your life for J. P. Morgan & Country, have been deeply offended.

They got together in Washington the other day in a Conference on National Defense at which the Marine Band was scheduled to play a few oompahs for them.

But because dear old Bainbridge Colby, one of Wilson's secretaries of state, was scheduled to call President Roosevelt an old meanie, they packed up their tubas and bass-drums and went home, rather than have their "Anchors Aweigh" sandwiched in between attacks on their Commander-in-Chief.

Result: one dreffful political storm, and the navy is getting hell for "humiliating these good ladies."

Nevertheless in spite of the fact that the Marine Band heaved-ho, the good ladies showed the sturdy spirit of their pioneer ancestors, folded their silk skirts over their bony knees and listened to peas for the defense of capitalism against its enemy Socialism.

And this is politics!  
DISGUSTED  
Washington, D. C.

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

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# WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

**T**HE HAPPY WARRIOR is now the Busted Wooden Soldier. Or, if you like, Al Smith of the Brown Derby and the "Sidewalks of New York" is now Alfred Emanuel Smith, the prisoner of the duPonts, Wall Street and the Empire State Building. "Just for a handful of silver he left us," may well be the burden of the complaint of those who once believed in him; who thought him the champion of the masses, the finest product of American democracy.

New York Socialists have no need to cry out their astonishment at the "great betrayal." They have had good reason to know Al Smith—the good in him and the bad. One thing about him that has not been stressed in the recent discussion of his Liberty League speech is his lack of true independence of thought. When he posed as a liberal, when he rode to the governorship in 1920 on the crest of the wave of protest against the Lusk laws and all they stood for, he was only the puppet of forces like Anna Moskowitz.

## Tammany Background

Al Smith of the Fulton Fish Market, of Tammany Hall, Charlie Murphy's protege, posing as an "advanced liberal" would have been enough to bring tears to the eyes of the Sphinx; but his settlement-house friends made the label stick. When Joe Robinson quoted: "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau," he spoke more truly than he knew.

The voice, in the balmy twenties was the voice of Al Smith, but the words were not his. All that was his was the conviction that it was "good politics" to accept the liberal pose. It was good politics in those days to treat the Socialist Party program of immediate demands as a "green bay tree," to be robbed of those of its fruits that seemed ripe.

Perhaps it is only coincidence that the death of Mrs. Moskowitz also marks the disappearance of Al Smith, liberal, and his metamorphosis into "Silk Hat" Alfred, now of the Liberty League. Perhaps the change has been wrought by arterial sclerosis, or by too close association with Raskob and the duPonts.

Now (however mistakenly!) he is convinced that the "liberal" pose is played out. Now it is "good politics" to be a "sound money man," to echo Hearst, and to bluster about the Constitution and the American flag.

His Liberty League speech was a charge that Roosevelt had ignored the Democratic Party platform of 1932. That is a matter that need not concern us. But it is a matter of grave concern to us when a man so widely reputed as a "liberal" uses his prestige to further the aims of fascism. That is precisely what Smith did. He will deny it. It will be denied by his backers. But it is on the record.

## Ungrateful Capital

The Democratic Party platform of 1932 was a dead letter on March 4, 1933. Roosevelt knew it. Smith knew it. Roosevelt, for sound capitalist reasons, scrapped the platform and launched the New Deal. The New Deal resurrected capital and raised the capitalists out of the mud. Roosevelt knows that. Smith knows it. But the time has come when capital thinks it can go on alone. It raises the cry, "Let us alone! Hands off! Laissez faire! Reduce taxes. Back to the Constitution."

Capital knows no gratitude. It knows no restraint, no morality, no law! Ruthlessly it now asserts its power and threatens to crush all whom it cannot browbeat and bully into silence! Smith knows this. When, therefore, he lends his voice, his presence, his prestige to the enemies of the class from which he sprang, what is he but a traitor to those masses?

Smith knows that the cry "Back to the Constitution" is a cloak for an attack on labor, on its standard of living, on its powers to resist aggression. He knows that it is an attack on the farmers, a defense of privilege, a denial of progress. He knows that the men of the Liberty League are concerned for the Constitution only when it protects their property rights, but that it is a jest to them when freedom of speech and other rights of the workers are involved.

"Back to the Constitution" will be the slogan of American fascism.

## Fool or Knave?

I have said "Smith knows" what capital is. Maybe I am wrong in this. Perhaps the man who once boasted he had never read any book but "The Life and Battles of John L. Sullivan" does not know. Perhaps he is the Tammany ignoramus after all. Perhaps all his reputation is based on other men's thoughts and words. Perhaps he is only a blunt fool who has never understood anything.

Whether knave or fool, his day is done. His legend is destroyed. He remains a stuffed shirt among stuffed shirts, echoing sound and fury, signifying nothing.

# 'LEST WE FORGET'



Wide World Photo  
A co-operative store in the suburbs of Vienna where the Socialist army put up a fierce resistance to the Fascist coup d'etat in February, 1934. Although temporarily crushed, Socialists have developed a strong underground organization in Austria; ready to battle once more for freedom and workers' democracy.

## Workers of Vienna

By HILDE ABEL

Not your names do we know, Comrades  
Anonymous,  
Nor your faces.  
Nor on what last longing your eyes closed,  
On what last anguish.  
—the wife widowed, the child orphaned—

The final dignity of grief at your graves  
We could not offer—  
Comrades Anonymous.  
Workers' blood drenching the frozen soil  
Is nameless blood.

But the earth turns.  
The frozen soil melts at your rich hot blood.  
Seeing in spring the blood-browned fertile fields,  
We shall know our time for sowing.  
You tilled, we sow, they shall harvest—  
Comrades Anonymous.

February 12, 1934

## Notes From England:

# Socialist League in Britain Hits Political 'Death Truce'

By JOHN CRIPPS

**LONDON**—The death of King George V has been the signal for a temporary political truce in Britain. Bye-election campaigns have been brought to a standstill. The Labor Party has taken the lead by cancelling all public engagements until after the funeral on Tuesday next. The Socialist League on the other hand has refused to interrupt its plans. This week-end is to see the launching of a great national campaign by the League with mass-meetings and delegate conferences representative of all sections of the Labor Movement.

### Seek Independence

The change that has come over the Socialist League is well summed up in the current issue of "the Socialist," the official paper of the League. "Up to now," writes the secretary, "the League has been more of a Socialist propaganda appendage to the Labor Party than an independent organization. When using the word 'independent' I do not want anyone to get the idea that there is the slightest notion in the head of anyone belonging to the League of leaving the Labor Party. What I do mean is that the League has to function more as an affiliated organization of the Party than as an organization of individuals diffusing Socialist League ideas within the Party."

The reason for this change is not far to seek. Since the elections last November there has been a considerable reaction in the Labor Party towards new forms of "gradualism" in order to win over the vote of the Liberals. But Socialist Leaguers believe that we lost the election not because of our "extremism" but because of our lack of aggressiveness; not because of our failure to enlist the support of large sections of the middle class, but because of our failure to get the working-class vote solid behind our program.

At the same time the Socialist League has been separated from the Labor Party in its attitude to the League of Nations and the part that the National Government has played in it.

# DOMESTIC DELIGHTS

By McAlister Coleman

**"A** COLUMNIST, even an amateur like yourself," writes a courteous correspondent, "should get around more. You are evidently in a rut as deep as New Jersey mud in Spring. Why don't you go out and look around the country a bit like Broun and Archer Winsten and the rest?"

Ah, why not indeed? In view of the fact that it costs one buck to get from my Jersey estate to The CALL office and back, some bright boy or girl may figure it out why this columnist doesn't go in for extensive travel.

## In Enemy Territory

Further, it is my fault, not that of my environment, if this column seems to grow duller and duller. For I am magnificently situated so far as material is concerned. Here I am in the very heart of the enemy's stronghold, Bergen County. A county with every representative at the legislature a Republican, voting solidly for a Republican Governor, filled with cockroach capitalist commuters who are dizzy from their rapid proletarianization, rife with small-time corruption, refuge for petty gangsters, dump heap for the New York riff raff that comes across the George Washington Bridge.

This is the county that boasts of one of the richest suburbs nereabouts, Englewood, home of the Dwight Morrors and other big shots where homeless, workless workers have been fighting with cats and dogs around the garbage heaps of the rich for bits of meat. Distressed by such unseemly scenes, the city fathers recently decided to end them for good—by burning the garbage in a city incinerator. This is a rich county full of poor people who have been kicked around so long that they are punch drunk and have no fighting legs under them.

Down the road, over the bridge by the dye-plant, stand the stacks of the Paterson mills. There, since the time Alexander Hamilton planned for an industrial capitol of the United States around the falling waters of the Passaic River, workers in textiles, silk, locomotive shops and aeroplane factories have been ruthlessly exploited to the full extent of the Hamiltonian vision which was that "there women and children of tender years can be profitably employed."

No wonder the grateful operators put up a statue of Hamilton in front of their City Hall. No wonder, too, that Paterson has been and may yet again be, the battle-ground for some of the most bitter strikes in the history of American labor.

Unlike the Bergen workers the Paterson rank and file still has fighting spirit. And right now it is busy forging a new weapon for itself in the shape of a militant, cooperative labor paper, The Paterson Press. Under the intelligent and courageous editorship of young Alexander Crosby, there is coming out of Paterson every week a full-rounded newspaper for workers that from front page to last is crammed with lively writing, interesting pictures, significant features.

Just to show you how within a few short weeks the Press has made itself felt in the community I have to report that after an exposure of corruption on the part of the Mayor of Hawthorne, a small working-class town near Paterson, thugs invaded the Press office and slugged the young editor while he was sitting at his desk unable to defend himself. Paterson businessmen refused to let long standing vacant space for the Press plant. The boys had to set up shop on a remote side street.

The two Paterson scab papers who locked their printers out two years ago are so alarmed over the success of The Press that they have started a boycott campaign against the sheet among dealers. But still the paper comes out, each issue better than the last and before long, if all hands pitch in, it will be a daily with a potential audience of class conscious workers all through the Passaic Valley.

## Red-Hot Copy

There is plenty to write about in this American Ruhr, tucked away behind the Fallasdes. Plenty of work to be done here in the day-to-day struggle against the most vicious sort of sweat-shops, home work, intolerable conditions. Operators, seeking an alibi for running away, are blaming the unions for all the ills that Paterson is heir to. The Press shows point by point just how the operators have fouled their own nests and how the only bulwark between the workers and sheer starvation has been the union.

So, my friend, who writes me about going 'round and around, it doesn't look as though your aging Uncle-Mac needs go far for red-hot copy. Not that a trip wouldn't do me a lot of good. They say Bermuda is lovely at this time of year and I've always wanted to go back and have another look at Mexico and the West Indies. If you want to start the Coleman Travel Fund, you have my blessing. But until then, I'll have to content myself with reports from this front from time to time, so far as environmental chattering goes.

# World Socialism

## ORGANIC UNITY AND REALISM

By HERBERT ZAM

Not so long ago we were taken severely to task by the Lovestonites because we criticized their opposition to the movement for organic unity. Now they have issued a lengthy appeal addressed to the Socialist and Communist Parties asking for organic unity. Well, better late than ever! Even a weak push may be of value if applied at the right point in the right direction.

Nevertheless, some comments are called for. The Lovestonites have always condemned the Comintern method of changing policies without any explanations and without declaring the former policy to have been wrong. But is this

procedure any sweeter because it hails from some other camp? What changes in the objective situation have taken place in the last three or four months to justify this change by the Lovestonites? If they are serious in giving as the first reason for their new policy that an "overwhelming desire for class unity is sweeping the ranks of the workers throughout the world today," why do they not admit that they were shortsighted for not noticing this desire two years ago; that they were wrong when they condemned as opportunists those who did notice it; that they committed a blunder when they tried to check this "overwhelming desire for unity?"

An innocent reader might conclude from the appeal that the Lovestonites are the originators of the idea of organic unity and are now trying to convert other to this idea. But do not the Lovestonites know that some of the most important labor organizations throughout the world have endorsed the idea of organic unity without the benefit of the advice of the Lovestone group? Or are such organizations as the French Socialist Party, the British Independent Labor, The Revolutionary Socialists of Austria, the Norwegian Labor Party, the Communist International, to mention only a few, noth worthy of the notice of the Lovestone group? Should not a group which wants to reform the entire labor movement set an example by practicing some of the proletarian virtues which it so ardently advocates?

The brightness of the appeal is still further dimmed by an examination of the conditions which are proposed as the basis for unity. For a careful comparison shows that they are virtually the same adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. a- the conditions for organic unity. Here they are:

LOVESTONITE CONDITIONS	COMINTERN CONDITIONS
"class independence of the proletariat. The rejection of any form of collaboration with the bourgeoisie."	"complete independence from the bourgeoisie and the complete severance of the bloc between social democracy and the bourgeoisie."
"rejection of every form of class peace or support of our own imperialist bourgeoisie, direct or indirect, in any war it may wage."	"support of one's own bourgeoisie in imperialist war be rejected."
"practical recognition of the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in the form of workers councils."	"revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets."
"democratic centralism as the basis of party organization."	"the party be constructed on the basis of democratic centralism."

The Lovestone group had a fifth point, "recognition of the proletarian class character of the Soviet government as a workers' state engaging in the construction of Socialism," but Manuilsky specifically explained the Comintern did not add this demand because "a sincere recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets" also de-

termines their position and relation to the Soviet Union."

Thus we see the Lovestone group has only borrowed the decisions of the Seventh Comintern

### Its Proposals Inadequate

Congress and wants to make itself a sort of marriage broker by championing these decisions vehemently. Having failed to take the lead at a time when a lead was badly wanted, the group is now trying to make up for lost time. Again we might say, better late than never, were it not that the Lovestone group fails to contribute anything positive toward solving this problem, and merely repeats inadequate proposals of the Comintern. If these points really constitute a basis for unity, we might ask the Lovestone group why it still finds it impossible to unite with the Comintern, since both accept these points? Obviously, therefore, the mere statement of a set of proposals which on the face of them might look good enough, is not sufficient. The Lovestone group, in enumerating those changes made by the Comintern which facilitate the movement for organic unity (abandonment of the ultra-left course) fails to condemn in their appeal those policies of the Comintern which are most objectionable at least to revolutionary Socialists. Are the revolutionary Socialists waging a tireless war against social-patriotic and reformist policies in their own organizations only to permit their re-introduction through the Comintern?

Both the Comintern and the Lovestone group want the united party to be based upon "democratic centralism," but presumably to be a "monolithic" party.

### Basis of Democracy

We have had ample demonstration of the true meaning of both these terms in the practice of the communist organizations. It will be necessary to be a little more explicit before such terms can be accepted for application. And if a united party is to be a result of the "overwhelming desire of the workers for unity" is it not clear that it cannot be a monolithic party? For the moment that all those who do not agree with the principles of the united party are ousted, or told politely that there is no room for them, they will promptly form a new organization and restore the old situation which organic unity is supposed to remedy. Then presumably there will begin a new drive for unity. Such a prospect is not only discouraging; it is futile.

If real unity is ever achieved, it can only be on the basis of the mutual toleration of majority and minority. If the revolutionists are in the majority, they will have to tolerate those who do not agree with the revolutionary point of view. If the revolutionists are in the minority, they will have to continue working for their views until they have won a majority by the processes of party democracy.

And while waiting for complete unity to be achieved is it not the wisest course to be in the working class party which is inclusive, which practices toleration, which bans no ideas, which does operate on the basis of inter-na. democracy, that is, in the Socialist Party? Any group which tries to stand outside and direct the bigger movement hoping to make factional gain thereby will not get very far.

## MAKING GOOD HIS PROMISE



Because President Plutarco Elias Calles of Mexico had reneged on his campaign promises to abolish large estates, 200 women peasants (some of whom are shown above) installed themselves in his Santa Barbara hacienda and declared that they would divide up his estate themselves.

## TRUE STORIES FROM LIFE

By THE BYSTANDER

Gray dawn stalked the park, etching the gaunt sleepers on the benches. They stirred quietly, moaning, fumbling for disarranged newspaper coverings. One by one they began to rise, stretching cold, benumbed limbs. Soon the policeman would be along, tapping the soles of late risers with night sticks.

For the forty-first time Frank Wiley arose from one of the dew-soaked, green "back-breakers." As he searched for his lone nickel in his pockets, he thought absently that it would soon begin to rain.

Then he started on the four-mile walk to Bowery Joe's, where his nickel would buy him three stale buns and a bowl of weak coffee, and it was raining.

Looking for Work He trudged along, hardly aware of the rhythmic monotony of the patter on his hat brim. From habit, he glanced at every restaurant window he passed for the slim possibility of a "dish washer wanted" sign.

He had made this trip and walked dozens of additional miles each day of the entire six weeks he had been in New York, and now he was down to his last nickel. If he could not find work today there would be nothing left but the municipal "flop house" for transients, Frank remembered bitterly.

He had come to the city after having been fired from a relief job

back home for attempting to organize his fellow-workers. He wondered now whether it would not have been wiser to have "minded his own business" and ignored the organizer who had come to him and had urged him to organize. His friends had warned him that the few conces-

sions he would win for his fellow workers were not worth the price he would have to pay.

Paid His Price

"And boy, I've paid a price all right," he thought aloud.

And then he stopped suddenly and was reading a card in a window:

**"BILL PASSERS WANTED Inquire Upstairs"**

With something akin to joy in his heart Frank bounded up the stairs after the job.

\*\*\*

Four mornings later Frank Wiley rose for the forty-second time from a dew soaked, green "back-breaker" in the park.

He had been fired for trying to organize his fellow bill passers.

### NORMAN THOMAS speaks ON TACTICS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA

Brownsville Labor Lyceum ADMISSION 25c in advance 35c at Door

229 Sackman St., Brooklyn, N. Y. Friday Eve., Feb. 7 at 8:15 P. M. Tickets on sale: Brownsville Labor Lyceum, S. P. 23rd A. D.; Jewish National Workers Alliance, 404-4th Ave.; Embassy Stationery, 98 Osborn St.; Ambassador Barber Shop, 787 Saratoga Ave.; August Stationery Store, 935 Blake Ave.; Poale Zion Center, 1700 Pitkin Ave.; Auto's Drug Store, 444 Howard Ave.; Lo-patin Jewelry Store, 375 Stone Ave.; Goldstein's Bookshop, 363 Sutter Ave. AUS.: The Jewish National Workers Alliance of America, Branch 33

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COMING EVENTS



Thursday, February 6

Norman Thomas speaks at Local 22, I.G.W.U. Forum, at 6 p. m.
Norman Thomas, Frank Crosswaith and Corinne Thal on "Building a Socialist America," at Woodside Labor Temple, Roosevelt Avenue and 58th Street, at 8:15 p. m.
Haim Kantorovitch speaks on "Communism at the Crossroads" in Yiddish at 8:30 p. m. in the cafeteria of the Shalom Aleichem House, 238th street and 23d-wick avenue, Bronx. Admission 15 cents.

Friday, February 7

Norman Thomas on "Tactics in the struggle against Fascism in America" at Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, at 8 p. m.
Jewish National Workers Alliance, Admission, 25c in advance; 35c at the door.
Norman Thomas, Frank Crosswaith and others on "What Socialism Means to You" at 42 Smith Street, Brooklyn, at 8 p. m.
A. G. Alexeff speaks on "Socialism and the Soviet Union," 106 Marcy avenue, Brooklyn, at 8:30 p. m.
Debate on Socialism vs. Liberal Capitalism between H. Katz and Joseph I. Wallace at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th street, at 8:30 p. m.
Auspices: Wilmer Youth, Branch 607, Workmen's Circle.

Saturday February 8

Spaghetti and Wine Orgy at East Bronx Labor Centre, 892 Prospect Avenue, Spaghetti and wine free. Dancing, entertainment. Admission 50c.
Rebel Arts Rent Party and Dance, games and entertainment, at 44 East 21st street. Admission 35 cents.
Social of Circle 6, Sr. Kings, at 187 Tompkins avenue. Admission 25 cents.
Amateur Show and Dance at the East Flatbush Branch, 863 Saratoga avenue, Brooklyn. Admission 17 cents.
Social and Dance at Bellamy League, 107 McDougal street, at 9 p. m. Games and entertainment. Admission 25 cents.

Sunday February 9

Norman Thomas speaks on "Tactics in the Bronx Free Fellowship Forum at 8 p. m.
at the Bronx Free Fellowship at 8 p. m.

Tuesday, February 11

Third Annual Ball of Upper West Side Branch. Dancing, refreshments, entertainment. Half of proceeds to Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Admission 40 cents.
Arturo Giovannitti, famous labor poet, and others in poetry recital at Bellamy League, 107 McDougal street, at 8:30 p. m. Dancing and refreshments. Admission 15 cents.

PARTY & MUSICAL: All proceeds for Tampa Case held at 117 Tappan St. near Sutter Ave., Brooklyn on Sat. Eve., Feb. 8, at 8:30 P. M. Under Ausp. ERNEST THALMAN BR., I. L. D.

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Party Activity in New York

By JACK ALTMAN

Executive Secretary, Local New York

Since the NEC's decision at Philadelphia, party activity has been revived in New York.

The first task was the registration of the members which has gone on speedily, with more than one-half of the membership as of December already registered, exclusive of the hundreds of new applicants who have been admitted since. Only one week remains for registration and the wind-up drive is on. Unless comrades mail their registration before midnight of Friday, February 7, they will have to make out new applications for membership in the Socialist Party of New York.

Under the able direction of Jimmy Lipsig, the primary petitions are being circulated and enrolled Socialists canvassed to put the Socialist Party in control of the "legal" committees. On April 2, the enrolled voters will choose County and State Committee and National Convention delegates. We are confident that the enthusiasm and vigor of the party members will give the Socialist Party a substantial majority on Primary Day.

Crowd Meetings

During the last week, New Yorkers have attended a large number of crowded Socialist meetings. The Bensonhurst Branch jammed 500 people into the Savoy Mansion on Tuesday, with other crowds filling the Premier Palace in East New York, Jamaica and Flatbush. At the Brownsville Labor Lyceum and in Lower Williamsburg, large audiences heard Poulnot and Rogers at party rallies. Thursday night saw tremendous successes in the Bronx, with 1,200 in the Grand Plaza located in the East Bronx and more than 600 at Burnside Manor on the west side under the auspices of the reorganized 8th A. D., and a similar meeting at Textile High School on Saturday.

The mass meetings continue this week, and the speakers, headed by Norman Thomas, continue to hammer away on the Workers Rights Amendment, the fight against war and fascism, municipal and state problems. Leaflets

on these subjects are being prepared for mass distribution.

The educational committee, headed by Jack Barbash with Neil Russell as secretary, has organized a speakers bureau which feeds the fifty-odd branch meetings with lecturers. Public forums are being run by the branches as well as by the educational committee which has just announced a debate to be held Friday, February 7th, at Stuyvesant Casino on "Labor Party or Third Party" between Ben Gitlow and Alfred Bingham. A series of internal party discussions begins February 23 with the subject "A Draft Program for the Socialist Party." The educational committee is planning to launch a school that will provide real workers education for New Yorkers.

Organization Committees

An excellent committee on organization and propaganda, chair-manned by Lou Hay with the aid of Sam Verne, indefatigable field organizer, is supervising the functioning of more than fifty branches in the sixty-three assembly districts of New York. More party branch headquarters exist now than existed on December 4, and by the end of the month we hope to see every branch housed in its meet regularly and punctually own quarters. Branch organizers every Monday night between six and seven to work out common problems and to coordinate party activities.

The labor committee, under the chairmanship of Murray Gross of Local 22 and the secretaryship of Gerald Coleman, is busily engaged in organizing various Socialist groups in the unions. These groups are collecting contributions for the party from their fellow-workers and enrolling them into the party. Strike aid is being supplied. Many unions have come to us for speakers and for advice.

Committees are already func-

tioning for work on specialized problems: unemployment, youth, women, Negroes, war and fascism, work among cooperatives and on the cultural field. Limitations of space prevent a proper account of the activities. The Public Affairs Committee is preparing to appear, under the chairmanship of Harry W. Laidler, at the Board of Estimate to press the party point of view.

Meanwhile, the Jewish comrades are busy. Five Jewish branches are functioning and five are in the process of organization. The "Socialist Voice", is published regularly every month in Yiddish and is distributed to the Jewish voters. Work goes on under the full-time secretary of the Jewish branches, Harry Kaplan, who is doing a fine job.

Then there's the problem of money. The Finance and Budget Committee, with Harry Davis as chairman, aided by So: Perrin and Seymour Goodman, has launched a drive for a Ten Thousand Dollar Fund and contribution lists have already been printed. A sustaining fund of \$250 a month has already been raised. A dinner planned for May 1 and a theatre party will help to raise funds.

Because of the great activity of the party members, we cannot tell the whole story. When we get that 16-page New York edition of the CALL, for which the party branches are working like beavers, we'll be able to tell of the humming Socialist machine that is functioning from 21 East 17th Street and turning out Socialist propaganda. We need larger headquarters for all our activities and steps are already being taken to rent a five-story building as a temporary Socialist City Hall until we sweep the town in elections. Keep up the good work, comrades; you will make Socialists throughout the country proud of the New York party!

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Rand School Fires David P. Berenberg

NEW YORK—David P. Berenberg, noted educator and Socialist propagandist, has been discharged from his post as a teacher in the Rand School of Social Sciences.

It was conceded by the officials of the school that Berenberg was discharged because of political activities outside of the school and not because of any incident arising in the course of his duties as a teacher. He was fired because he had appeared before the recent meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party concerning the situation in the New York organization.

The discharged teacher is the author of a number of Socialist text-books and pamphlets, published by the Rand School, including "Socialist Fundamentals," "America at the Crossroads," and "A Workers World." He is also one of the editors of the American Socialist Monthly.

Freeman Progressive Painters' Candidate

NEW YORK — All progressive forces in District Council No. 18 of the Painters Union have rallied around Sam Freeman, candidate for Secretary-Treasurer of the council.

Freeman is running on a platform that pledges him to "transform our organization into a union of the workers, for the workers, with full democracy and no discrimination because of race, creed or political belief."

MEET YCLA

NEW YORK—The CALL basketball team will meet the YCLA five in what is expected to be an exciting game Saturday afternoon, February 8, at the Stuyvesant High School gymnasium. Admission is free.

AND NOW! A New Superior Ophthalmic Service Inquire at Cooperative Opticians 1 Union Sq. W. (cor. 14th St.) Room 806, GR. 7-3347 Official Opticians to A. F. of L. Unions, Health and Fraternal Organizations. Union Shop. A Complete Eye Service At Less Than Clinical Prices Write, Phone or Call in Person for Appointment. OFFICE HOURS: 9 A. M. TO 7:30 P. M.



*"An idea for which so many men fight and die must be great and noble. It cannot and will not die out. The bloody sacrifices of the February days shall not have been made in vain. On the contrary, they will give new moral strength to those who war for the liberation of the working class.*

*"We cherish the confidence that the bloody events of those days will serve coming generations as a symbol; that they will be a shining symbol of faithfulness to duty for the youth of the working class. When in later days a happier generation shall walk the earth in the light of freedom, the dead of February, 1934, will be held in honor.*

*"But we who live in these days of transition, in this time of battle, we do not think of giving up the fight. We have been beaten, but we are not subdued. In us lives the will to remake the world. That is the task we must perform. That is the admonition of the dead to the living.*

*"The dead of February—they have not died. They will live again."*

*—Julius Deutsch, Commander of the Austrian Republican Guard.*

# Red Vienna Still Lives!

*"He stood at the post, with his back against it. Spitzer, the hangman, went up the steps, with his white gloves and his black hat; he tied the end of the rope over the crosspiece; he put the noose around Wallisch's neck. And then Wallisch shouted: 'Es lebe die Sozial Demokratie; hoch! Freiheit!' But the last syllable of the last word—Freiheit—was choked out of him."*

This was how Koman Wallisch, a leader of the fighting Austrian Socialists, died two years ago at the hands of the Fascists who had triumphed for the moment. While thousands of his



**JULIUS DEUTSCH**  
Commander of the Republican Corps.

comrades who had fought by his side were being dragged to prison cells and to hastily-reared gallows, his own last breath was a prophecy of immortal life for the Austrian Socialist movement.

In the two years that have gone by since February 1934, Wallisch's comrades have kept alive the flames of revolution. They have kept his grave fragrant with red roses and his memory fresh with their own revolutionary deeds.

Day after day, Socialist work goes on in spite of the government's espionage. Though Dollfuss now molds in a grave (from which unknown hands have stolen the monument erected to his bloody memory), new fascists grind the face of the workers into the dust of Austria.

The history of Socialist activity in Austria during the years of 1934 and 1935 have filled the records of the international labor movement with new stories of working-class heroism.

Immediately after the February black days, Socialist groups began to function again, taking for their first task the punishment of traitors. Fascist spies who had crept into their ranks and had become known as a result of their testimony against Socialists were sought out. Vengeance came speedily as workers dealt out justice to the criminals. The betrayers of Koman Wallisch were found dead in a forest. Heimwepmen who had made them-

selves notorious by their cruelty to Socialist prisoners were discovered floating in the rivers.

Then came the period of renewed agitation and education from underground sources. Bauer and Deutsch, from beyond the borders, continued to publish the Arbeiter-Zeitung, which passed from hand to hand and kept alive the spirit of the workers. As occasion required, leaflets were distributed. With no halls available for workers' gatherings, the forests became a Socialist auditorium where workers could meet to discuss, to plan and to organize. Though many arrests took place they served only to testify to the vigor of Socialist underground agitation.

While the government keeps issuing announcements of amnesties and fair treatment for political prisoners, brutality continues to be exercised against the workers, but they still have the courage to go on. Even boys and girls, as young as 14 years of age, are herded with their elders in fascist prison-cells for distributing copies of the Arbeiter-Zeitung.

Every occasion for workers to gather and show their Socialist solidarity is utilized. Last July, at the funeral of Dr. Otto Gloeckel, famous educator, enormous crowds attended; and in spite of arrests of mourners, lifted their voices in a public out-cry for "Revenge!"

Last Christmas the government piously proclaimed an amnesty, but concealed the fact that it ap-

## ON THE MARCH



Here are some of the spirited youngsters of Austrian Socialism on the march in Vienna before the fascist regime crushed the trade unions and the Socialist Party. But despite terror, Red Vienna Still Lives!

plied only to persons who had been seized in February, 1934. Socialists subsequently arrested are still in jail. The amnesty does not cover those who, on account of a single Socialist leaflet or underground newspaper are now behind bars for terms as long as ten years at penal servitude. But the Socialists still fight.

The new conditions imposed upon the workers by the dictatorship have required the development of new methods of propaganda work. With extraordinary humor and ingenuity, the Socialists have used the government it-

self to distribute their revolutionary leaflets by sending them through the mails printed on very thin paper. Bulky packages are carefully inspected by the post-censors who have been frequently punished when they opened packages liberally sprinkled with sneezing powder.

Socialist propagandists have frequently hoaxed the government by issuing leaflets, signed by the authorities, that carry bogus messages. This month such an announcement carried the news that on a given date Vice Chancellor Starhemberg would proclaim him-

## Picket Consulate

**NEW YORK**—Members of the Young People's Socialist League here will picket the offices of the Austrian consulate on February 12, anniversary of the revolution. Pickets will demand complete amnesty for Socialist prisoners in Austrian jails and abolition of the Fascist dictatorship.

self Regent of Austria. Containing minute and ludicrous instructions on how the event was to be observed by the populace, it declared that members of the Fatherland Front, fascist organization, would dole out goods and hotel accommodations to persons attending celebrations in Vienna. As a final touch, there was a warning against the wicked revolutionary Socialists. Simple-minded followers of the fascists—and most of them are—who took the leaflets seriously brought confusion into Vienna by following the instructions.

But propaganda is not the sole task that the Austrian movement is carrying out. Organization is being achieved to prepare the workers for the new conflict that must take place. Though the labor unions have been ordered dissolved and can have no surface existence, they are known to have real memberships still functioning. A few months ago, the police began an investigation and rounded up some 1,000 street car workers on a charge of maintaining their union which, during the uprising, had put a halt to trolley traffic in the general strike.

At the same time, the Republican Defense League continues to keep ranks. Large stores of ammunition are known to be in their hands awaiting use at the proper moment. Though the government still searches for arms and on occasion turns up a store-room and even a secret wireless station, the authorities are in dread of the future. The forests are vast armories in which Schutzbund regiments are known to drill. In Vienna alone, 8,000 specially trained men, disciplined and determined form the backbone of the Socialist army. The ranks of the fascist Heimwehr and the army are used to drill workers who will carry weapons for a Socialist triumph.

Through all of Austria runs the spirit of Socialism, giving hope to the masses who watch their strength growing as they prepare themselves for the next battle. They will never forget the memories of February 1934, when Socialists stood up against the Fascist hordes and gave their lives for the great hope which they know will triumph. In those months, they heard from the lip of Otto Bauer who had fought beside them at the barricades: "We have lost a battle; we shall win a war."

They face the future with confidence. Red Vienna still lives! A Socialist Austria lies in the womb of time!

## THE HEROES OF LABOR



A scene in Vienna during the February days of 1934. Socialists put up a heroic resistance to the fascist government for days before the superior force of howitzer-cannons forced them to surrender. Today they await another opportunity—this time for victory.



# 'God' Attacks the Unions

## Father Divine's Fight Against the Harlem Unions—A Story of a 'United Front' in Action

By GUS TYLER

New York's Harlem, for the last few years, has been a seething cauldron of dark discontent. The Negroes have been caught in the vise-like grip of the economic crisis, on one side, and racial discrimination, on the other. And they squirm desperately for a way out.

Thanks to a vigorous campaign of successful organization by the unions of New York City, during the last few years, the ideals of trade unionism have begun to permeate Harlem. The needle trades have taken a brilliant leadership in this great task. The message of organized labor is being passed from lip to lip in New York's Negro center.

In Harlem, there has begun to develop a corps of trade unionists who are a credit both to the labor movement and to their people. By their actions they have shattered the prejudiced myth that labor in black skin is scab labor. These "brothers and sisters," pioneers of their time, are doing yeoman work not only as loyal and disciplined trade unionists and as courageous pickets, but also as members of their union's executive boards, as organizers, as labor leaders.

### THE DIVINE SCAB HERDER

Developing almost parallel with this Negro trade union consciousness there has grown up another figure in Harlem—a self-appointed God, dubbed Father Divine.

Father Divine is also a product of the Negro's despair. He also proposes a way out.

I do not intend in this article to examine Father's numerous petty rackets. He has developed techniques for mulcting his followers which are ingenious and novel. How he has honeyed his pills of extortion with sweet spiritual phrases is sufficiently interesting to be a story in itself.

Fortunately for those who wished to rip the sanctimonious garb off Father Divine, however, to reveal him for what he really is, we need no longer depend upon an expose of his various rackets but have a self-stated program of purpose.

In the final session of the "International Righteous Government" convention of the Father Divine Peace Mission held on January 11 and 12, 1936, a program on trade unionism was adopted. For a long time, Father has been pursuing a course of demagogic vacillation on this question, the most important determinant of whether the Negro of New York would be able to become part and parcel of a strong and united labor movement, championing his economic rights and privileges. Now, at long last, he lets us know where he stands.

The preamble to the program begins with such phrases as:

"Why should the unions try to control people and put them into slavery . . ."

"We are going to have work with or without the unions, and if the unions interfere, we will withdraw from the unions."

These statements, involving a basic scab attitude toward the unions, are even less dangerous, however, than the specific proposals Father Divine offers for his followers who are in the unions. With an ingenious cunning, he proceeds to raise demagogic demands, which are very apt to catch fire among backward elements in the unions and endanger

the labor movement wherever these sly proposals are offered.

### 'PROTECTING' NEGRO RIGHTS

Under the guise of protecting Negro rights in unions, he proposes: "Legislation establishing a minimum fee for all labor union memberships, causing them to accept all qualified applicants and give them equal privileges regardless of race, creed, color or classification."

This means government interference in trade unions, the first step in reducing the trade unions to an appendage of the capitalist state. It is no accident that this proposal follows on the heels of a policy calling the unions "slave" institutions. This legislative proposal is a direct attack upon the free trade union movement.

This first proposal is followed by a second one, calling for further legislation providing: "that any labor union which limits the hours and days of work per week must guarantee at least that much work per week to its members." In other words, a union may not strike to have a forty-eight hour week replaced by a forty hour week unless it can provide all its members with "at least" forty hours of work a week.

As ridiculous as this proposal appears, it has a shrewd demagogic appeal to those workers who, when the season is on, wish to violate union rules limiting the hours of work. And since the union can not guarantee a full week's work for the slow season, these workers will, under the Divine aegis, claim the right to work limitless hours.

And then comes a third proposal, calling for further legislation stating that if the union "calls a strike, it pay its members, while they are out of work, the full amount they are demanding from the employers."

This is, by far, the most appealing of all the demagogic demands and, by far, the simplest and quickest way of bankrupting and destroying a union.

Father Divine's influence is great. These demands and this philosophy, directed squarely against the unions, are spreading like wild fire in certain Harlem circles.

### UNION WRECKING

Thanks to Father, the work that the New York trade unions have been carrying on among the Negroes of this city may be completely destroyed. Up to now many wondered where Father Divine got all his money from. Mulcting his followers seemed a shallow source. One look at Father Divine's union-wrecking policy tells us more than a protracted detective investigation as to where Father's backing comes from.

If the influence of Father Divine is permitted to grow it will be a real danger to the Negro and general labor movement. Father Divine is today a subtle scab herder. He must be exposed for what he is, so that the honest Negro may be forewarned against him.

Father Divine is doubly dangerous because he exploits the painful suppression of the Negroes as a race to push his scab policy. He is, of course, opposed to segregation, wage differentials based on color, lynching, educational discrimination, etc. These demands for Negro equality, together with

## Program Discussion:

# CRITICISMS OF THE DRAFT

By DAVID MARTIN, Detroit, Mich.

I am in fundamental agreement with the Draft Program. It can however be criticized from the point of view of unclear thinking and imperfect writing. I submit a few suggestions as to how it may gain in clarity and composition.

The second paragraph of the section on "Capitalism Outworn," dealing with the Socialist Party should be placed after the second paragraph of the preamble. The sections on "Capitalism Outworn," (page 3), and "Capitalism in Decay," (page 7), should be combined to form a new section on "The Growth and Decline of Capitalism." This should be followed by the section on "The Decline of Capitalism in the United States."

As the draft stands now, the first paragraph of the section on "Capitalism Outworn" states that capitalist society has outlived its usefulness. The second talks about the Socialist Party. The third talks about the development of capitalism. After discussing several other subjects, a section on "Capitalism in Decay" appears, after which fascism is discussed, and then appears the section "Decline of Capitalism in the United States."

This does not lend itself toward clarity. The changes I have suggested above will provide a more logical analysis of the growth and decline of capitalist society.

The section on "The Nature of Capitalist Society," as it now stands, is a muddled hodge-podge of emotional and economic statements. The natural reaction to its first paragraph would be to join Huey Long's "Share-the-Wealth" army—for "let's divide it up and we'll all be rich!" This section should begin with an economic analysis and end with the social implications of the analysis.

Its emphasis should be on the failure of capitalism to operate our developed industries at capacity rather than on the exploitative nature of capitalism. This latter, while an essential social fact in American capitalism as

a religious poo-bah, are the sugar coating for the anti-union pill.

Father Divine can not be handled with silk gloves. His movement and his influence must be destroyed. He is a cancer among the Negro workers.

In this fight, we do not stand alone. The Negro who understands trade unionism looks upon Father Divine with unconcealed contempt. It has been my pleasure to speak with Negro rank and file trade unionists, who know from their own experiences what Father Divine is. These Negroes have no use for the Father's hocus-pocus. They know him to be and they call him a racketeer, an exploiter, and a union enemy. These wide-awake Negro elements, the cream of Harlem's class conscious proletariat, will stand shoulder to shoulder with us in a fight against Divine's movement.

In this fight against Divine we may expect no aid from the communists. They have become Father, Divine's most devoted boot-lickers.

At the same meeting, where this scab program was adopted, the two most popular speakers were James W. Ford and Robert Minor, communist leaders. The Daily Worker report does not carry a word of criticism from the speeches of Ford or Minor on this program.

Any self-respecting working class leader at such a meeting would have found an excuse not to speak or, better spared words in tearing apart this scab program and this scab herder. They would have, to use an old

### CALL Conference On Party Program

In view of the forthcoming national convention, the Socialist CALL is arranging a conference to be held in New York to stimulate further pre-convention discussion, such as has been going on in these columns. Socialist Party members will have the opportunity to get together to discuss matters of party program and organization that will be on the agenda of the convention.

The CALL invites party branches throughout the country to send representatives who will bring back reports on the discussion to the members, thus helping to bring clarity in the movement on various problems.

The conference will be held in New York on the week-end of Washington's birthday (February 22). Notify the CALL if you are attending or if your branch has designated a representative.

well as in more primitive industrial society, is not the primary economic factor in our present crisis. Our poverty is not so much due to the five billions or so our big corporations are netting, as it is to the fifty or seventy-five billions which we are failing to produce every year. The essential economic fact in American capitalism is our tremendous loss of wealth owing to failure to produce in turn due to the falling rate of profit in an advanced capitalist society.

The section on Fascism lacks a concrete definition. What is Fascism? To say that it "is an expression of capitalist society in decay," or that "it is an agency of the ruling financial oligarchy" may be adequate in future historical writings or for describing conditions across the seas—but it is too indefinite. If you want to develop a theoretical definition by which to guide our future actions in resisting the growth of an American fascism, we must be more definitive.

To illustrate what I mean, I would define Fascism as the rule of a national dictator who uses the armed forces of the state to wipe out all working-class rights and organizations. I would also define the portents of Fascism as the development of a national figure who through demagogic appeal arouses a militant support among large sections of the working and lower middle classes, and who develops an extensive supporting organization through the financial backing of wealthy interests.

Adhering to this definition (or some perfection of it), we can ourselves distinguish and teach others to distinguish between the normal repressive acts of our ruling-class element and the portents of a developing fascist movement. I believe that this is a matter of great importance.

For instance, The CALL was strongly criticized by Party mem-

bers for characterizing the Terre Haute situation as "Fascism." The questions arise: "Isn't this at least a good beginning for Fascism?" If we are in the declining period of capitalism, will not the Terre Haute action be copied in other sections of the country? Will it be copied to such an extent that there will finally result a complete suppression of civil liberties and democratic rights from coast to coast?"

If we think so, then the Terre Haute situation was incipient Fascism and The CALL was right. If we do not think so—and I for one do not—then we should at least state what we regard as Fascism.

To me, the essential distinguishing feature of the Fascist movement is not the financial support of big business behind a dictatorial personality, but rather the militant mass support behind a dictatorial personality. Sooner or later, this personality recognizes the need for financial support and extensive propaganda to continue his climb to power. At the same time, the upper middle-class recognizes the need for control of this personality and through him his organization. The two join forces and we have a Fascist movement: money and propaganda support from above and mass support from below.

There are three essential steps in this development:

1. Tremendous mass discontent unsatisfied by existing radical organizations;
2. Development of militant mass support behind an aggressive political personality; and
3. Cooperation between the upper middle class and this personality.

This may all be put rather crudely and mechanically, but it contains the essential and distinguishing features of a Fascist movement.

The section on "War" (page 22) utilizes a cliché of the ruling class when it says "It can find no reason why the workers of a capitalist nation should support their government in a war." We perpetuate the phrase "their government?" It is precisely because a capitalist government is not their government that we urge the workers not to support it in war. This should be emphasized because it distinguishes the radical viewpoint from the liberal one.

The section on the Soviet Union is unclear. It speaks of the necessity of the defense of the Soviet Union. But how? Verbally? By urging United States participation in war as an ally of the Soviet? Or by those methods which it has in its power to evoke? Clarification is necessary.

The use of the word "proletarian" in the draft should be supplanted by "workers" or "wage workers." The word "middle class" or "professionals, etc." should be used instead of "bourgeois." I urge this because, after all, the draft is written for the Socialist Party of the United States.

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SOCIALIST CALL 21 EAST 17th STREET

(Continued on Page Ten)

# 'God' Attacks the Unions

(Continued from Page Nine)  
Communist word, "exposed him to the masses."

But Minor and Ford apparently preferred to maintain friendship.

## WRIST SLAPPING

The Daily Worker article on the program of Divine is a study in honeyed wrist slapping. "On this issue," says the Daily, "Father Divine will have to 'come again'—correctly and clearly. And the apologetic headline reads: "Father Divine Policy Progressive Despite Confusion on Unions."

The progressive policy consists of the planks wherein Negroes are opposed to Negro discrimination. Does the Daily Worker expect this Negro demagogue to favor Negro discrimination?

Ever since Father Divine honored the Communist Party with his presence and speech from their platform in Union Square last May Day, they have been fawning all over this sanctimonious fakir. Their apologies for Divine in the present situation is turning the stomach of every decent, class conscious worker, especially among the Negroes.

We do not wish to mince words any longer. If the communists intend to get the Negro masses by refusing to launch a frontal attack upon Father Divine's union wrecking policy and by joining in the procession of foot-kissers, we are compelled to tell the Communist Party that their opportunist policy has dragged them down to the most spineless scab level. As for us, the Socialists, we want no peace with Father Divine or his policy, even though he tells us, "It is truly wonderful." We stand with the class conscious workers of Harlem, for a strong labor movement, uniting white and black workers, in a common struggle for economic liberation and human equality.

## REPORT GAINS

PORTLAND, Ore.—Local labor showed increased strength and growth during 1935, according to the report of Gus Anderson, secretary of Labor Council. At the end of the year there were 92 unions affiliated with Labor Council, compared with 80 the year previous, and 67 at the end of 1933. Membership is estimated at 30,000, which is more than double what it was ten years ago.

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## BOOKS

# The Story of Labor In the United States

HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. Macmillan Co. Vol. III.—WORKING CONDITIONS AND LABOR LEGISLATION, by D. D. Lescobier and Elizabeth Brandels. 738 pps. \$4.50. Vol. IV.—LABOR MOVEMENTS, by Selig Perlman and Philip Taft. 683 pps. \$4.00.

These two volumes continue Commons' "History of Labor," which is by now accepted as the standard work on the subject. Beginning with the year 1896, they present a detailed history of labor in this country right up to the beginning of the "New Deal." While in thoroughness and accuracy, in painstaking presentation of a detailed picture and in an objective but sympathetic attitude, these volumes rank very high, they are not quite up to the standard set by the Commons work.

The first volume begins with a study of the growth and composition of the population since 1896, and of the industrial workers. It then follows the development of living conditions, wages and hours, unemployment and relief of various kinds and discusses the policy of employers during the period.

### Labor Legislation

The second half of the volume presents a history of labor legislation in this country from its beginnings to 1932. Undoubtedly the most comprehensive work on this subject available, all the various types of labor legislation—child labor, hours, minimum wages, compensation, old age pensions, unemployment insurance—are treated separately. There is also a section dealing with the decisions of the courts, including the Supreme Court, on labor legislation, which should prove extremely timely in view of the struggle today over the constitutionality of similar legislation.

The main shortcoming of the volume is its apparent adoption of the philanthropic standpoint toward labor legislation, which is pictured as the result of good people and good government rather than of the struggle of the workers and the labor movement. Furthermore, the powerful resistance of the employers and the government to all types of labor legislation is glossed over.

**BOOKS RECEIVED**  
Introduction to Dialectical Materialism, by August Thalheimer; Cyclic-Freide \$2.00. To be reviewed.  
Never-Say-Die by John Paton (autobiography); Longman \$2.50. To be reviewed.  
Tampa—Tar and Terror (Pamphlet); Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, Room 505 112 E 28th St. Price 2 cents.

The second volume, dealing with history of the labor movement directly, is superior. One is impressed with the obvious grasp of the subject matter. The development of the labor movement from the upswing during the McKinley-Roosevelt period to the set-back during the era of "boom prosperity" is fully sketched with the in-

teral differences and struggles receiving adequate treatment.

## APEX

"War is the apex of human development."—Col. Gen. von Seeckt in the official Nazi war ministry bulletin.

Nevertheless, here too there is a tendency toward superficiality in analysis rather than a probe of the more fundamental aspects of the movement. The intimation that labor developments in this country followed a non-Marxian pattern shows only how much the authors have yet to learn about Marxism; the explanation of why the American trade unions were not revolutionary smacks more of an apology than an analysis; the analysis of the Socialist movement leaves much to be desired.

### Superficial Trends

Probably the worst chapter is the one devoted to "boring from within," which presents a distorted picture of the internal union struggles of the post-war period and makes the struggles almost incomprehensible. The book ends on a very pessimistic "struggling against decline" note mirroring the swamp in which the

AFL was largely sinking during the Coolidge-Hoover era.

### Invaluable Aid

In spite of these shortcomings, the two volumes will prove invaluable to students of labor history and the labor movement in the United States. They are well-indexed, references to sources are all indicated by footnotes, and they contain comprehensive bibliographies.—H. S. TORIAN.

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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12th, 7 P. M.

at 94 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Tickets \$1.00, Including Tip

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# Broadway, Hollywood Unions Seek Closed Shop

## Demand National Recognition

HOLLYWOOD (FP)—With all studio and film-theater technicians now under a closed shop ruling, film and stage writers and actors are beginning a fight which will be as thrilling as any in American labor history. These intellectual workers, who have only recently come to realize their problems are the same as those of the manual workers, are beginning a drive which they hope will result in closed shop for all forms of writing and acting all over the U. S.

The battle will be conducted on several fronts: first of all, immediately, in Hollywood, where the Writers' and Actors' Guilds will combat the current move of the company union, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, which seeks recognition by all studios on contracts for writers and actors. The Actors' Guild is already in the American Federation of Labor, and the Writers' Guild will doubtless affiliate in short order. Backed by the already-recognized craft unions, these two will demand, and probably get, recognition of the producers before the end of spring.

**AFL May Accept**  
The viewpoint of the AFL on affiliation of writers is still uncertain. But it is doubtful whether the federation would now turn down the Dramatists' Guild, as it once did. Reason then was that many authors were also producers. In the Screen Writers' Guild, however, writers who are also producers become inactive members for duration of their production work.

The fight goes on nationally in the following manner: an effort to weld more securely together the Screen Writers' Guild, Dramatists' Guild and Authors' Guild, through the Authors' League of America. While at present the three bodies within the league are autonomous, the Screen Guild now seeks a new arrangement whereby the other two guilds would pledge not to scab on the screen writers, should Hollywood have a strike. One manner of achieving this is to reduce the number of Broadway plays financed by Hollywood studios.

**Work Together**  
In this task, the Screen Writers' Guild is being helped by its fellow body, the Dramatists' Guild.

### Going To The Theatre?

Why not consult the Call's special THEATRE BUREAU for expert advice on matters pertaining to the theatre. Choice seats obtained.

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GRamercy 5-8779

## 'CALL IT A DAY'



Gladys Cooper and Philip Merivale in "Call It A Day," at the Morosco.

The latter outfit has a basic agreement with producers, which expires at the end of February. This agreement will not be renewed unless: 1. producers agree to give up any claim to sharing in film rights of plays produced by them, or at least reduce their percentage from the present 50 per cent; 2. price for film rights is set before the play opens, thereby saving Hollywood money by keeping bids down on successful plays, and guaranteeing playwrights an option payment on a play regardless of its success; 3. authors retain all film rights, should a play not be taken up after the option expires; 4. Hollywood producers, who now finance a majority of Broadway plays, do so in the future under their own names and not through intermediaries.

The problems of Broadway and Hollywood writers are so intermingled that one cannot be solved without the other. It is felt that, should the dramatists win their demands on Broadway, producers in Hollywood would no longer have the slightest reason for refusing recognition of the Screen Writers' Guild.

## CALL BOARD

The Theatre Union is giving its annual dinner Tuesday evening, Feb. 18, at the Aldine Club, with Heywood Brown acting as chairman... Feb. 11 for the Ritz Theatre—a new comedy, "CO-RESPONDENT UNKNOWN" "LET FREEDOM RING" is in its last three weeks scheduled for closing Feb. 22... ANYTHING GOES opened this week at the Paramount, movie version of the musical success including Bing Crosby...

Starting Feb. 6 at the Rivoli—Charlie Chaplin in MODERN TIMES will be reviewed next week... KAMERADSHAFT and SNIPER will be at the Acme starting Feb. 5th for one week... The Composers Collective is using the New School Feb. 23 for its first concert of the year...

CHALK DUST will be the Federal Experimental Theatre's first production—Feb. 21 at Daly's 63rd

AUSPICES: WORKERS' TRAINING SCHOOLS

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WITH THE SCINTILLATING MELODIES OF  
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AND HIS ORCHESTRA

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## in hollywood

By JOHN R. CHAPLIN  
Federated Press

HOLLYWOOD — Something to be thankful for in a world of turmoil — that cows eat mustard greens!

A London dispatch tells us that Dr. C. E. R. Mees has proved to the Royal Institute of Sciences that cows are responsible for our motion pictures (many of us had suspected it for a long time, but hadn't dared to express the thought).

"If a photograph is examined under a microscope," Dr. Mees said, "it will be found to consist of small grains of metallic silver imbedded in gelatin. This grain structure of the image is derived from the structure of the original emulsion in which the light-sensitive units consist of very tiny crystals of silver bromide.

"These crystals are all in regular shapes, and there are as many of them on a piece of film the size of a fingernail as there are people in the entire world.

"It is now believed that the reason gelatin makes photographic materials so very sensitive is that it contains a trace of sulphur derived from mustard oil. Gelatin is made of calfskins, so that if cows did not like mustard we should not have any movies."

Taking a few minutes out from red-baiting and trying to bolster the circulation of his many so-called newspapers, William Randolph Hearst is now doing a little

St. Theatre... "RIFF RAFF" (Anti Labor picture) is still not receiving the attention necessary to keep it out of neighborhood theatres as happened to "RED SALUTE."

worrying over friend Marion Davies' new film, "Hearts Divided." In production for the past 10 days, it has to be rewritten, and Hearst is frantically hiring writer after writer, including Marion's nephew, Charles Lederer.

## Rebel Arts Gives Camera Schedule

NEW YORK—The new schedule announced this week for Rebel Arts Camera Groups is as follows:  
Advanced class, every Sunday at 7 p. m. at the studio of Arnold Eagle, 564 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn.

Beginners class every Sunday afternoon at 12:30 at the top floor of Rebel Arts headquarters, 44 East 21st Street.

2nd WEEK  
**"Builders of Socialism"**  
Premier Tues Eve., Feb. 11th—  
"THREE WOMAN"  
CAMEO 42nd St. E. of Bway.  
5:30 to 1 p.m. weekdays

WORLD PREMIERE  
BEG. SAT. MORN. at 9:30  
**PAUL MUNI**  
in 'The STORY of LOUIS PASTEUR'  
The thrilling life story of the man who braved a thousand deaths that countless millions might live!  
**STRAND • 25c**  
Midnite Shows, Bway & 47th. to 1 P.M.

Of The  
**1ST THEATRE UNION'S SUNDAY NIGHTS**

John Wexley's New Play  
**"RUNNING DOGS"**

Rebel Art Players in "Picket Line"  
**LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT**  
Songs and Mass Chant by PAUL PETERS, GEORGE SKLAR and JERRY MOROSS

ANNA SOKOLOV and Group in  
"Strange American Funeral"  
Miss Sokolow also appears in Solo numbers

Last 2 Weeks! **"Let Freedom Ring"**

**FEB. 16**  
AT 8:40  
**CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE**  
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**SUNDAY, MARCH 22, 7:00 P. M.**

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**SOCIALIST CALL**  
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Central Plaza,  
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New York City

# AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

**T**HE BIG JOB before the American labor movement is to organize the unorganized and especially to capture the strategic heavy industries which are now virtually unorganized. Ideally we want one united labor movement marching under the banners of the AFL. We do not want a split, though a split might be better than paralysis. It ought to be still possible to avoid a split on terms consistent with clean, aggressive industrial unionism. But the enthusiastic action of the delegates to the United Mine Workers Convention shows that a split will not be avoided by docile submission to the reactionary decisions of the Council. It is to be hoped that Lewis will keep his head and force no hasty action. Two things stand out clearly from those decisions:

(1) The steps taken in the various disputes connected with the organization of the automobile workers practically, as anyone who knows the field will admit, makes the building of one strong inclusive union in that all important field an impossibility.

(2) It is neither democratic nor intelligent to condemn a grouping within the AFL of unions desiring to work for a certain principle of organization as subversive or disloyal to the main body. If the AFL council means its warning against the Committee on Industrial Organization to be an ultimatum, then the heavy responsibility of a split will fall upon the Council rather than upon the Committee. It is to be hoped that the next convention of the AFL will prove itself wiser, more constructive, more alive to the task of organizing the unorganized than was the Council.

## BUILDING A LABOR PARTY

Undoubtedly the future of democratic political action in the United States and the hope of using it as a weapon to beat off the coming of Fascism depends upon a mass political movement of farmers and workers with hand and brain in the field which is now so largely occupied by the two capitalist political parties, neither of which has a consistent program. Nevertheless we cannot build a farmer-labor party just by wanting it. If we are to do a good job we must face facts realistically and understand them. It will delay and not hasten the coming of a real farmer-labor party if a few of us prematurely call ourselves the farmer-labor party. We don't want to imitate the twelve tailors of Tooley Street who began their proclamation: "We, the people of England."

In this connection two recent events are worth careful consideration. The first and most important was the overwhelming support the United Mine Workers convention offered to President Roosevelt. Edward McGrady, spokesman for the Administration, got an ovation. This is the more significant because of the fact that McGrady, formerly a vigorous and eloquent spokesman for labor, has been the Administration's best trouble shooter, the best adjuster of disputes in the very automobile and steel fields which the miners want to organize, and McGrady's settlements have not been on the side of aggressive unionism. Yet he got this ovation.

Why in the face of the record would Roosevelt and his administration be so popular? There are two answers. The first is that the miners have been the most workers, the most organized and militant group in the country for fifteen years.

especially in its early days, then as a result of the Guffey bill and the Administration's fairly active pressure in their behalf.

Second, the miners, like other workers, have been greatly impressed by the bitter class solidarity and hate expressed by the owning class, voiced most recently by Al Smith before the Liberty League. Besides this, perhaps Lewis may have hopes of Administration support in the AFL struggle.

These two facts in greater or less degree will influence the feeling of great numbers of aggressive farmers and workers.

## TO THE RIGHT OF ROOSEVELT

A second thing which the last week has made plain is that there is a section of the American labor movement to the right of Roosevelt. Its most recent spokesman is Matthew Woll who in the pages of Liberty Magazine argues that Roosevelt has carried out Socialist policies, jumps together all collectivism, fascist, Rooseveltian, Socialist and communist, condemns all of it indiscriminately in terms almost worthy of Al Smith, and then appeals to employers and business men to get together with labor to save America from the States! Matt Woll is still a Vice-President of the AFL and may be the spokesman on this matter of the extreme anti-Lewis men. What can we hope, or rather what must we fear, from this sort of leadership in this time of crisis?

## THE DANGER OF ILLUSIONS

One may understand the reasons for the United Mine Workers' endorsement of Roosevelt and still recognize the extraordinary dan-

gers in this policy. Once more labor, this time in America, is thinging in purely defensive terms. So it was in Germany, where the defensive struggle of the labor unions and the Social Democratic Party to keep the very substantial things which they had won resulted in rout before the forces of Hitler. In 1916 we voted for Wilson because he kept us out of war. We got into war; the same sort of war with probably much the same sort of peace as if we had voted for Hughes.

To vote for Roosevelt in 1936 because he kept us out of reaction or Fascism will prove equally futile. Labor can never free itself from its house of bondage while it is so content with as little as the Roosevelt Administration has done. Look at its record with regard to the organization of the heavy industries. Look at the relief standards it has set up. Look at its utter failure to consider the plight of sharecroppers and other agricultural workers who furnish a reservoir of potential strike breakers in industry.

Look at the plain fact that in spite of the outcries of the Chamber of Commerce it has been the Roosevelt Administration which temporarily at least has prolonged the capitalist system.

Whichever of the major parties wins in 1936 the determining factor in the writing of the history of the next four years will not be primarily the individual merits or demerits of the President. They will be great economic forces operating under capitalism. They will be the drift toward war, toward new depression and toward the Fascism which will arise out of war or new depression. Neither Roosevelt nor any Republican has a program to avert this.

The difference of more or less between Roosevelt and a Repub-

lican administration is far less significant than the prompt organization of labor into a vigorous party of its own. Before that party comes to power it can put a pressure upon even a Republican administration which will accomplish more than it can win by favors and concessions from a Roosevelt so tied up with Democratic reactionaries that so far he has been afraid to declare openly and explicitly for the Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution or any equivalent for it!

## THE TASK OF EDUCATION

Clearly it will be the great task of the Socialist Party, especially in a campaign year, to carry on the basic education necessary for any mighty mass movement on the field of political action. That basic education can be better carried on by a vigorous Socialist campaign with such allies as we can win for that campaign than by a premature effort after a farmer-labor party or a farmer-labor movement.

It is too early to be dogmatic as to just what will happen. We must, however, face facts and face them realistically and yet keep our courage and our enthusiasm for the revolutionary task that is ours. There are many forces making for a mass movement of farmers and workers in the political field. They may not come to a head until after the next campaign. They will not come to a head satisfactorily at all unless we Socialists do our job. And that, mind you, is a revolutionary job.

Our insistence is that while there are certain things like the Workers' Rights Amendment, proper unemployment insurance, and neutrality legislation which are extraordinarily important, nothing can save us except a new social order. There can be no planned production for abundance save on Socialist terms of social ownership.

## THE CASE OF NORMAN MINI

An attempt is under way to carry the case of Norman Mini, one of those involved in the Sacramento criminal anti-syndicalist cases, to the Supreme Court. An appeal has gone out to labor unions. Paul Scharrenberg, secretary of the California Federation of Labor, writing in a capitalist paper, *The Sacramento Bee*, denounces this plea on the ground that the convicted prisoners and their friends have been "actively antagonistic to the AFL organizations."

Supposing that this was true without important qualification—as it is not. It is the blindest sort of folly for the reactionary Scharrenberg to imagine that any aggressive labor union can be safe in California if the Sacramento convictions are to remain unchallenged as a precedent for clapping aggressive labor folks in jail.

We do not appeal to any idealism or sense of labor solidarity in Scharrenberg and people like him but simply to enlightened self-interest. If Scharrenberg isn't enlightened enough to help the Sacramento cases, he might at least have enough enlightenment not to try to keep other people from helping. The day may come when California vigilantes or fascists won't even recognize Scharrenberg as their friend. His freedom is in danger so long as freedom is only worth fighting for in behalf of those who have always spoken well for the AFL.

## THE NYE INVESTIGATION

Because the Nye investigation has not yet proved a simple conspiracy by the House of Morgan and some leading statesmen to bring America into the World War the cry has been raised in the press, in Congress, and in historical books that it was not war trade which brought us into the conflict. Now the case for economic determinism in bringing America into the World War never depended upon proof of a kind of capitalist conspiracy in behalf of war.

As a matter of fact, what has been discovered immensely strengthens that case. It shows that at every step Wilson yielded to the wishes or demands of those who wanted no interference with their profitable trade with the Allies. Germany's submarine war itself was the inevitable answer to the American policy of accepting without effective protest all the Allies' embargoes against trade with Germany because of the rich compensations America found in trading with the Allies.

What we have consistently said is that the so-called moral propaganda in behalf of the Allies would not have been effective if we could have traded equally with both groups of powers or if we had traded in war materials with neither groups of powers. The moral propaganda would probably have gone the other way if by some miracle we could have traded with the Central European powers and not with the Allies. We should have then been mightily indignant about the British imperialism in Ireland or India or of French imperialism in some of her far-flung possessions.

## THE AUSTRIAN REVOLUTION

This is the anniversary of the gallant struggle of the Austrian workers against the clerical Fascism of Dollfuss. We remember it as an inspiration. Today Austria is under the Fascist yoke but there is a stirring of life there and hope far greater than any corresponding stirring in Germany. In the latter country both Communists and Social Democrats made such a meek submission to Hitler. To say this is not to say that a last moment stand in Berlin like the stand in Vienna would have prevented Hitler's victory. It is to say that there must be iron and courage and some aggressive vigor in the fight against Fascism. Although the Austrian struggle resulted in a temporary defeat it is still a beacon of hope for the workers.

## TRAGER AS N. Y. SECRETARY

Socialists in New York State and Socialist sympathizers are to be congratulated on obtaining Frank Trager as state secretary. He comes to this most important job at a personal sacrifice which he would be the last to want us to mention. He brings to us judgment, energy, and enthusiasm. He is young but behind him is unusually varied and valuable experience in the Socialist and labor movement in Maryland, Washington, D. C., and elsewhere. Under his leadership, we can build a real Socialist organization in the Empire State. Our greetings to him will be best expressed in action.

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

## Miners Convention Fights For Industrial Unionism

(Continued from Page Three) then the sooner we get the hell out of the AFL, the better it will be."

Will Green, president of the AFL and a member of the UMWA, was coolly received when he went before the convention to plead the cause of the AFL executive. His declaration that the executive would force dissolution of the CIO was greeted by boos.

Although the stand of the convention was not unexpected, few observers had predicted that it would be made so strongly. Many political observers voiced the opinion that Lewis was pulling a bluff in order to bring the AFL executive into line with industrial unionism, but it was admitted that Lewis could make good if his bluff were called.

"Lewis is betting sky high with a royal flush," one reporter commented, "but he hopes he won't be called."

Seek Autonomy The issue of democratic election of officers and sectional autonomy was quickly disposed of when by a viva voce vote the convention approved the continuance of strict international supervision over many districts. A roll call vote will be held later in the convention.

The question of autonomy versus full power to international officers was complicated by the presence at the convention of many of the provisional officers who had been put into office by Lewis. Proxies within the union have urged Lewis for many years on this issue which has been controversial for more than fifteen years

Lewis has used his power to revoke charters and appoint provisional district officers in many cases to smash intra-union opposition to his policies.

A blanket endorsement was given to President Roosevelt by the convention after Lewis in a 20-minute speech praised the President as "the greatest humanitarian president the United States ever had." The alignment of Lewis with the White House political machine was definitely indicated by the guest speakers at the convention: Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Josephine P. Roche and Senator Joseph Guffey, New Deal Democrat from Pennsylvania.

Old-timers recalled that Lewis had always been reactionary politically. He supported Coolidge against LaFollette, Hoover against Smith and, in 1932, Hoover against Roosevelt. His "conversion" to the Roosevelt regime was popularly supposed to have been the result of a deal between him and the White House.

Chief of the other issues confronting the convention was the question of a constitutional amendment to curb the power of the Supreme Court to nullify labor legislation. In the report to the convention by the international officers such an amendment was favored.

The endorsement of the Workers' Rights Amendment, H.R. 440, is called for in resolutions introduced by two local unions.