

Norman Thomas

on  
How Shall We Socialize?

SEE PAGE 12

# Socialist Call

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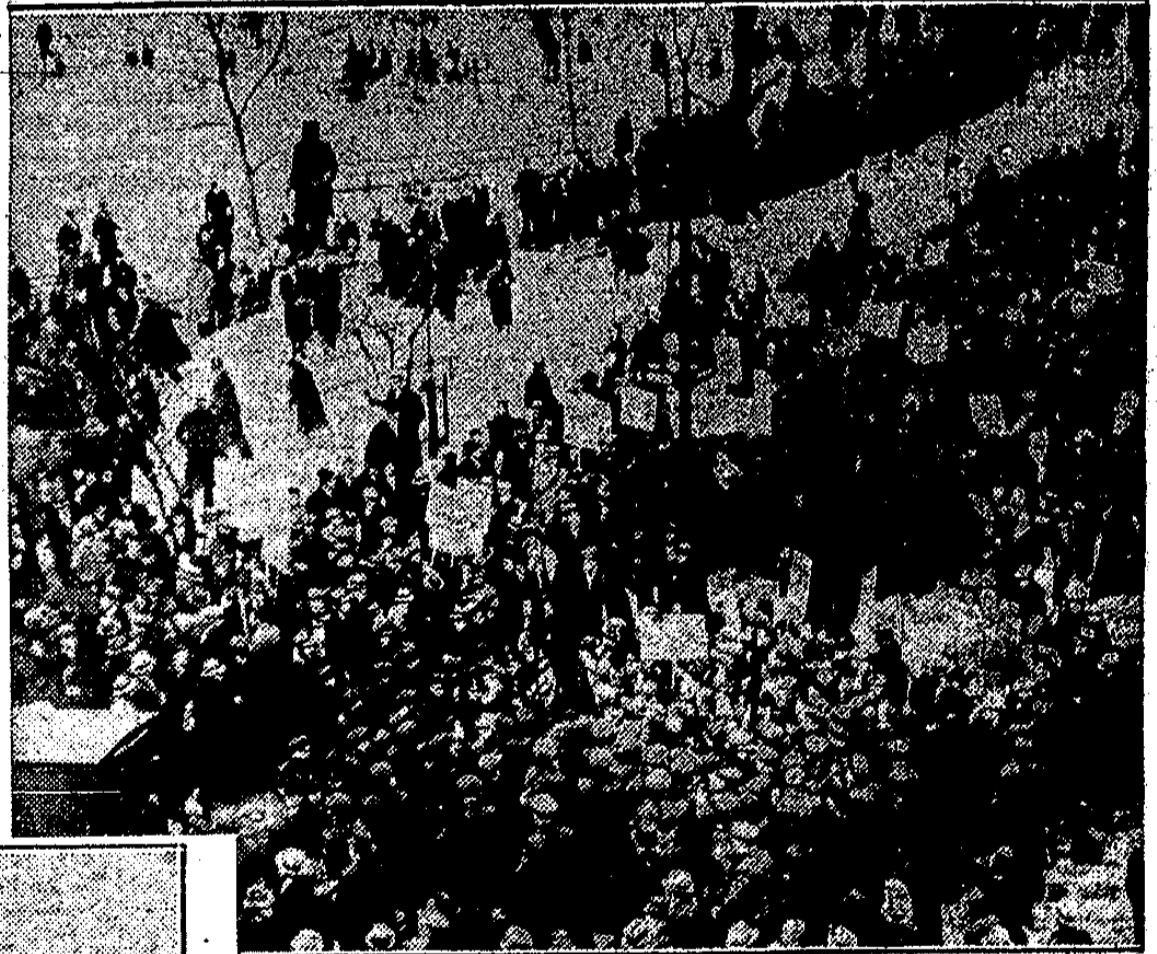
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# SOCIALIST ARMIES READY TO DEFEND SPANISH VICTORY

STORY ON PAGE 2



## Two Solutions

FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC, America's jobless are being given the run-around. Above is a scene in New York's Madison Square where that famed "liberal," Mayor LaGuardia, offered his solution of the unemployment problem. Unemployed and relief workers were slugged and beaten and their leaders arrested when they attempted to hold a protest parade. Another scene at the riot, the worst seen in New York since 1930, is shown at the upper left, revealing the cops tearing down the "Don't Tread on Me" banner of the City Projects Council, WPA union.

The picture at the lower left shows how California is helping solve the unemployment problem. "Not Wanted Here" is the slogan to itinerant unemployed as they wander into the state "where life is better." Police stationed at the state border arrest them and ship them eastward on the next freight.

# Dressmakers Win Victory, Hail Union

NEW YORK.—The Dressmakers' Union has won its strike without striking. 105,000 organized dressmakers declared a half-holiday in the industry Monday to ratify a new collective agreement with the five boss associations.

Madison Square Garden, scene of the ratification meeting, was jammed with 24,000 dressmakers, while thousands heard the proceedings in the streets over an amplification system. In other halls in the city, Westchester, Long Island, Connecticut and New Jersey, dressmakers gathered to tune in on the meeting over the radio.

All major demands were won before union leaders agreed to abandon the threatened strike, which would have been the largest in New York's history.

Only two weeks ago, dress workers gathered in Madison Square Garden and voted to strike unless their employers conceded union demands. That threat plus skillful negotiating, led by Julius Hochman and David Dubinsky, plus favorable publicity, brought results—quick results. The main factor in bringing the employers to terms, however, was the knowledge that the dressmakers, 100% organized and with a strong war chest, would shut down the industry at the start of the spring season.

### Madison Square Garden Meeting

The Garden was gaily decorated for the meeting. It was an enthusiastic gathering, with the dressmakers' chorus leading the audience in the "Internationale," while a band played and sports teams from the four dress locals cheered.

Those who addressed the meeting included Julius Hochman, general manager, and Philip Kapp, treasurer, of the Dressmakers' Joint Board; David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; managers of the dress locals—Antonini, Zimmerman, Cohen and Perlmutter—Mayor La Guardia, and William Green, who spoke by wire from AFL headquarters in Washington.

### Demands Won

For the first time since 1909, dressmakers have won a major victory without a strike. The chief points won by the union include:

Making the jobber responsible for labor conditions in his contracting shops, where 80% of the workers are employed. Previous agreements set minimum wages for workers, and on each new style they settled prices with their contractors. Now workers, through their committees, will settle with the jobbers directly. The jobber will no longer be able to beat down wages by playing one contractor against another.

Limitation of the number of contractors a jobber may employ to those actually needed to produce his garments. In the past, jobbers have hired and fired contractors at will, forcing 23,000 workers to lose their jobs each year.

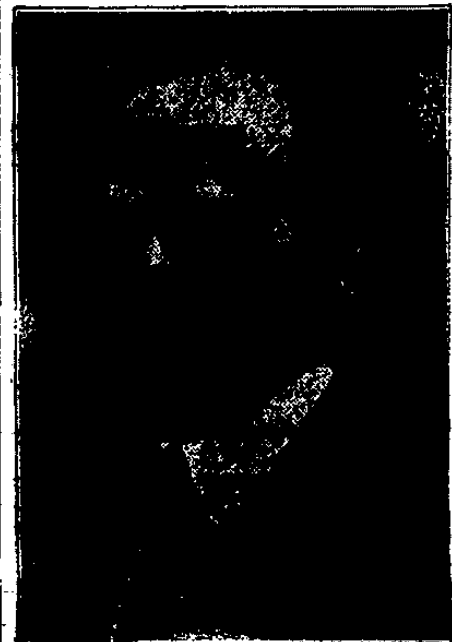
Lower paid workers receive 7% wage increase; no employer may move his shop further than the 5c fare zone; the 35-hour week is maintained, and employers are to be fined for any violations.

All workers must be union members, and no boss may hire through private employment agencies, many of which are rackets. Child labor is abolished—18 years is the age minimum. A host of other demands were also won, including provision for control of new machinery, so that workers will not suffer undue hardships.

## Reading Slate Is Nominated

READING, Pa.—In an enthusiastic caucus attended by more than 500 party members, Berks county Socialists, started their 1936 campaign by nominating a strong ticket for the state and national legislatures.

Darlington Hoopes, Socialist national executive committee member who has served three terms in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives,



HOOPES

representatives will run for re-election from the Reading district with Miles Williams as his running mate in place of Mrs. Lilith Wilson, who is too ill to make the campaign. The assembly candidates from rural Berks districts will be Ralph Shaner, Paul Garsart, and Cleve Long.

George M. Rhodes, president of the Reading Federated Trades Council, was nominated for State Assembly from the Berks district and Raymond Hofses, editor of the Labor Advocate, for U. S. Congress.

Two victories in the fall election are almost certain, the return of Hoopes and the election of Williams to the state assembly. Williams is very popular in Reading, and was defeated for state senator from Berks county only

## Automobile Unions Form Joint Strike Committee

By JOSEPH BROWN

DETROIT (FP)—Events are once again moving rapidly in the long-drawn-out Detroit Motor Products Co. strike which started Nov. 15.

After months of disjointed action, the United Automobile Workers of America (AFL) and the independent Mechanics Educational Society of America have officially joined hands to attempt to win the strike. Almost simultaneously, Vice-Pres. Homer Martin of the autoworkers' union announced that Leo Krzycki of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and other organizers from unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization will come here to organize autoworkers.

The inter-union rivalry which had aided the bosses during the first months of the strike ended

## ON A FISH DIET



The city of London went on a diet of fish and vegetables when butcher-workers struck, tying up all meat supplies. Here are some of the busy wharves overloaded with orders for fish.

## Police Attack Demonstration Of 25,000 New York Jobless

NEW YORK—Mayor LaGuardia showed his teeth to the unemployed last Saturday when his police department was let loose on a demonstration of 25,000 jobless and relief workers.

Under the Eternal Light in Madison Square Park, the police set upon members of the Workers Alliance of America, the Unemployed Councils, Emergency Relief Bureau employees and other participants in the demonstration. Leaders of the unemployed were given a taste of the coming fascism when they were taken into "protective custody" under orders of LaGuardia's Police Commissioner Valentine after having been punched, kicked and thrown into police wagons.

### Arrest Congressman

Leaders of the demonstration who were mauled and then dragged off to the police station to be held for a few hours included

by a narrow margin four years ago. The election of Hofses to Congress is also a possibility as Socialist strength outside of Reading is increasing. His opponent will be William Richardson, conservative Democrat who was elected two years ago with Republican support. A victory for Hofses would probably bring with it increased representation in the State Assembly and the election of Rhodes to the senate.

NEW YORK—It was revealed here this week that the Police Manual on Procedure had been amended February 17 to provide that the names of all WPA workers arrested at demonstrations be forwarded to the WPA administrator. David Lasser of the Workers' Alliance attacked the provision as one designed to intimidate the organized unemployed.

David Lasser, head of the Workers' Alliance and Congressman Vito Marcantonio. They had demanded increased relief for the unemployed.

The police broke out in riot under instructions from the Police Commissioner. In spite of the fact that permits had been granted for the holding of two mass meetings, when the demonstrators started to move from one to the other, taking to the sidewalks, the police attacked.

Responsibility for the lawless conduct of the police lay squarely at the doorstep of the city hall, since Mayor LaGuardia had deliberately refused to grant a permit for the parade though permits for the two meetings had been granted.

### Conspiracy Charged

Marcantonio, who had been closely associated with LaGuardia, in the past, bitterly assailed the Mayor. David Lasser charged that the "liberal" mayor had utilized the police in his effort to maintain "a conspiracy of silence" about relief conditions in this city.

The establishment of the principle of "protective custody" whereby leaders are to be seized and held by the police without any charges being filed against them has been introduced by the LaGuardia administration through its police commissioner. It is an innovation in police methods and is modeled after the pattern which Hitler has found so useful in Germany for the suppression of labor's rights. Commissioner Valentine has not hesitated to conceal his fascist action, but has bluntly used even the fascist terminology, "protective custody."

## LABOR IN ACTION

Plant No. 2 of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company in Akron was closed by a solid cordon of pickets, through which not even police could penetrate. The workers, members of the United Rubber Workers of America, have shut down the plant because of layoffs.

The first strike of the American Newspaper Guild against a major daily newspaper took place in Milwaukee this week when 29 of the 35 editorial workers on the Hearst-controlled Wisconsin News in Milwaukee walked out in protest against the publisher's refusal to bargain collectively with a Guild committee. Reporters were paid as low as \$15 a week, the union charges.

The strike at the Columbian Enameling Works in Terre Haute, Ind., focal point of the general strike there last summer, was pronounced justified and strikes ordered reinstated by a decision of the National Labor Relations Board last week.

Millmen affiliated with the carpenters' union in Portland, Ore., have succeeded in negotiating their first signed contract with mills of that city. About 375 men are covered by the contract, which provides for wage increases. An outstanding feature of the agreement is that the mills will use the union label.

The Tom Mooney habeas corpus hearing in San Francisco, recessed for two months, was reopened last week. Funds to prepare a 15,000-page transcript of hearing proceedings for the U. S. Supreme Court are desperately needed by the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, Box 1475, San Francisco.

Trial of Bill Howard, one of 10 streetcar strikers arrested in Omaha on an 8-month-old charge of dynamiting, conspiracy and criminal syndicalism, began Monday. The charges are part of an attempt to smash the union and make Omaha an open-shop town.

Local 306 of the Moving Pictures Operators Union in New York won its long battle with the "Allied" union when State Supreme Court Judge Frank Adel ruled the latter "was at all times and still is" a company union. The decision climaxes a 3-year campaign against the Allied by the AFL union.

If Beaver Dam, Wisc., employers' gangsters do not cease their terrorism against union officials, the town will lose the July convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, President Henry H. Ohl declared.

Lining them up with sub-machine guns, police drove more than 100 WPA men back to work on a sewer project in Dover, O., after they had quit to protest the discharge of a member of the Project Workers Union.

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# SOCIALISTS SWEEP SPAIN

## Nine Judges Uphold TVA; See War Aims

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Supreme Court, which pretended to keep its gaze on the Constitution, had one eye on public sentiment when it passed on the legality of the Tennessee Valley Authority. By a vote of 8 to 1, it sustained the giant electric power project.

The TVA escaped nullification, but not on the ground that it will prove of benefit to the American people. The court sustained the government's contention that "the Wilson Dam was constructed, and the power plant connected with it was installed, in the exercise by the Congress of its war and commerce powers, that is, for the purposes of National defense and the improvement of navigation."

The sale of electric power by the government is permitted only because it is a disposal of surplus current, according to the Court's view. "The government is not using the water power at the Wilson dam to establish any industry or business."

Announcement of the court's decision sent utility stocks staggering as traders were surprised by the judges' departure from their usual role. Public sentiment against the cut-throat treatment of legislation by the Nine Old Men has temporarily stayed the hand of at least eight of them. The other, Justice McReynolds, stuck to his guns and fired away at the principles of social legislation in a dissenting opinion.

The decision on the great power project had been long delayed. The judges finally took the easiest way out by sustaining the particular contract involved, but indicated that "the pronouncements, policies and program of the Tennessee Valley Authority and its directors, their motives and desires, did not give rise to a justiciable controversy" except as they found expression in concrete acts. Thus the court is left free to decide each future act of the TVA as it arises.

The temporary retreat of the Supreme Court, however, does not put an end to the fight against the Court's power over labor and social welfare legislation. The TVA decision contains the threat of future assaults on TVA itself and other legislation.

## VICTOR



Largo Caballero, revolutionary leader of the Spanish Socialists, who was re-elected to his seat in the Leftist election sweep.

## Jail Thomas In N.Y. Strike

BROOKLYN, N. Y. — Norman Thomas celebrated the birthday of the Great Emancipator by being arrested on a picket-line in the strike of the May Department Store employees.

Leading a peaceful picket-line after a meeting in local Socialist Party headquarters, Norman Thomas in the company of some forty strikers was stopped by police. When Thomas insisted on the right of strikers to picket, he was arrested. Protests from pickets led to the arrest of eight others.

Bail of \$500 was set by a Police Lieutenant who questioned Thomas as to his political views. In the magistrate's court the next day, Judge Sabbatino, whose removal had been demanded by Thomas some years ago, postponed the trial until March 23, a complaint of disorderly conduct having been drawn against all the defendants.

The attorney for the department store owners insisted that Thomas had violated the law because "the police are the bosses of the sidewalks." Thomas replied that "the police are not the bosses of the sidewalks; the police are the servants of the people."

Thomas' arrest is part of the drive that has been conducted in Brooklyn against strikers. Pickets are continually terrorized by the police, and the office of the District Attorney is frequently in-

# Labor Armies Defend Spain From Reaction

Special to The CALL by Deferred Cable

MADRID — Ready to guard the victory of the Socialist bloc at the Spanish polls against a reactionary coup d'etat, disciplined Socialist troops were mustered in all parts of Spain by their leaders. Anticipating any eventuality, Socialist leaders were frank in declaring that any reactionary move against the leftist victory was doomed to defeat.

Meanwhile sunny Spain basks in the warmth of the anti-fascist victory.

Though the reactionaries continued with their predictions of triumph even until after the votes were all in, it soon became apparent that the united radical front of Socialists, Republicans, communists, and even the non-political syndicalists, had achieved a sweeping triumph.

### Into the Streets

The masses poured into the streets with joy, prepared to repeat the heroic struggle of October 1934 if necessary. The determination of labor forces to protect the gains made at the polls was evidenced by the aggressive mass action of the people as jails now harboring heroes of the October revolution were stormed.

The left coalition, headed by the Socialist leader Largo Caballero and the Republican, Manuel Azana, is assured of a majority of the 473 seats in the Cortes. Run-off elections to be held on March 1 will assure the Socialist-Republican bloc of a safe majority.

### Ask Amnesty

Among the demands made by the Socialists in the campaign was an immediate amnesty for the 30,000 working-class political prisoners now in the Spanish cells. The electoral victory found the masses impatient and the local bastilles were threatened by spontaneous marches reminiscent of scenes in the French revolution. Political prisoners received the glad news behind bars and fervently broke into rebellion. In many cases, order could be restored and lives protected only by the intervention of Socialist candidates who rushed to the scenes.

Many of the successful candidates in the elections on Sunday celebrated their triumph behind prison walls. Luis Companys, radical Catalonian president, who had been sentenced to thirty years imprisonment because of his activities in the October, 1934, revolution, received news of his election while a thousand of his cellmates in the Cartagena penitentiary attempted mass escapes.

The trade unions, the membership of which is entirely Socialist or in some cases syndicalist, held themselves in readiness to start the well-oiled machinery of a general strike. In localities where police have attempted to interfere with demonstrations of victory, orders for general strike have already been issued as in Saragossa.

Caballero, leader of the Spanish Socialist movement, who was recently acquitted after trial on charges growing out of the 1934 uprising, had predicted the victory. In no uncertain terms he had made it plain that the Socialists would not tolerate the continuation of the regime that was holding 30,000 political prisoners in jail. "We are ready to fight to the last man," said Caballero, "and this time there will be no defeat."

## Hit Back at Fascist Attack on Leon Blum

NEW YORK — American Socialists joined with their French comrades this week in expressing their solidarity with Leon Blum, French Socialist leader, who escaped with his life in an attack on him by French royalist-fascist elements.

Norman Thomas, American member of the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International, sent the following cablegram to Blum:

"American Socialists deplore attack on you. Rejoice in your escape. Hope popular reaction will strengthen fight against Fascism and terror."

News of the attack on the Socialist leader brought spontaneous mobilization of Socialist forces, ready to resist any blow that fascists might attempt to strike.

The French masses rallied in a great demonstration of anti-Fas-



BLUM

cist solidarity as an answer to the brutal assault on the Socialist veteran. The greatest political outpouring of Frenchmen that Paris has ever seen served as an answer to the fascist terrorists. A parade of 200,000 men and women, including Socialists, Radical Socialists, communists and other members of the People's Front, marched through the streets of Paris behind the French tricolor and the red flag of international Socialism in spite of the ban on red flags.

The attack on Blum was due to his leadership of the anti-fascist forces. The Socialist leader is noted for his personal courage. On the turbulent night of February 6, 1934, when the fascists were besieging the Chamber of Deputies, timid members were pleading for adjournment. Many deputies were surreptitiously slinking out of side doors. With the clamor outside increasing, Blum rose and delivered a stirring challenge in the name of the Socialists, paraphrasing the slogan, They shall not pass. "La réaction fasciste ne passera pas!" he said.

As the leader of the French Socialists, Blum urged the united front between all forces opposed to Fascism and played a great part in the formation of the People's Front which turned out the tremendous throngs in this week's anti-Fascist demonstration.

### CAMPAIGN IN RICHMOND

RICHMOND, Va. — Following an enthusiastic mass meeting in the local High School auditorium which endorsed the candidacy of H. R. Ansell, Socialist nominee for mayor, Local Richmond published 10,000 copies of the platform in a special edition of the Richmond News Leader.

## THE BOSSES' UNITED FRONT



Monterey, Mexico, saw an unusual sight when factory owners and capitalists paraded to protest the government's labor laws. President Cardenas told them that if they wanted to give up their plants, the government would be glad to step in and run them.

# World Socialism

## THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN FRANCE

By HERBERT ZAM

IF ONE weren't dealing with such a serious matter as the People's Front of France, one would be tempted to say of its recently adopted Program (American Socialist Monthly, March issue), "The mountain labored and gave birth to a mouse." For after all the hopes which the formation of the People's Front raised, after the splendid anti-fascist demonstrations which it organized, after inspiring the unification of the trade union movement in France, after laying a basis for cooperation between Communists and Socialists, between workers and petty bourgeois, the program of the People's Front is the most disappointing document that has appeared in the international labor movement in many years.

It should endear the People's Front to the hearts of all the reformists, who have heretofore shied away from any favorable mention of this movement. As yet the activities of the People's Front are far better than its program, emphasizing the militant character of the rank and file of its supporters. But if the program becomes the guide for its activities, and if the revolutionary movement is to be confined to the limits of the program, then the entire movement can only lead the French proletariat into a blind alley, can only serve to disillusion them and make them ready victims for fascist demagoguery.

That this program is no ordinary document, but has particular significance is seen from the fact that Leon Blum, leader of the Socialist Party, describes it as the "program for the second ballot, the common program of the future majority, the program of the government." In other words, should the People's Front secure a majority, or close to a majority in the coming elections in France, an eventuality which seems very likely, it will organize a government and operate on the basis of this program. The communists tell us that a people's front government can serve as a transition to a pure proletarian or Socialist government. This program must therefore be looked upon as a transition to Socialism. Let us see:

In the first section, entitled "Political Demands" the most extreme point is the demand for the "recognition of women's right to work"! Even such a purely bourgeois democratic demand as the suffrage for women, one of the traditional demands of the Socialist Party, has been, for some strange reason, omitted. The only other political demand dealing with labor is the right to belong to trade unions (in which connection why no mention of the right to strike, to picket, to organize boycotts?)

The colonies receive attention: There is provision for the "setting up of a Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry into the political, economic and moral conditions in French territories overseas, and in particular in French North Africa and Indo-China!" This proposal is seriously offered for the support of the French Socialist proletariat, which for many years has been insisting upon the complete liberation of the colonies. The inhabitants of the French colonies are to slave happily, knowing that in the near future it will be a People's Front commission which will "inquire" into their welfare.

The second half of the program is even more depressing than the first half, if that is possible. One looks in vain for even the word

"Socialism." One looks in vain for any mention of socialization of industries, of mines, of banks. The Bank of France is to be placed under government control, but its private ownership is to be retained. Actually two-thirds of this section deals with proposals for financial reforms, reforms so dear to the heart of the constantly scheming petty bourgeoisie.

In this connection we may point to a very significant section entitled: "Against the spoliation of those who save. For a better organization of credit." This is obviously intended for the consumption of the petty bourgeoisie, for what "savings" can the working class possibly have in the sixth year of the economic crisis?

There is a further demand for the "democratic reform (whatever that may mean—HZ) of the system of taxation along the lines of a reduction of taxes to give a stimulus to trade." Now what earthly interest can the proletariat have in the reduction of taxes in order to stimulate trade? Even the reformists in the past have insisted that they intended to gradually socialize industries by means of increasing taxation, but here we are told of the need for reducing taxation. An element of unconscious humor is provided by the demand "Regulations for the exercise of the profession of a banker." We are going to move forward to Socialism by prescribing rules for the conduct of bankers!

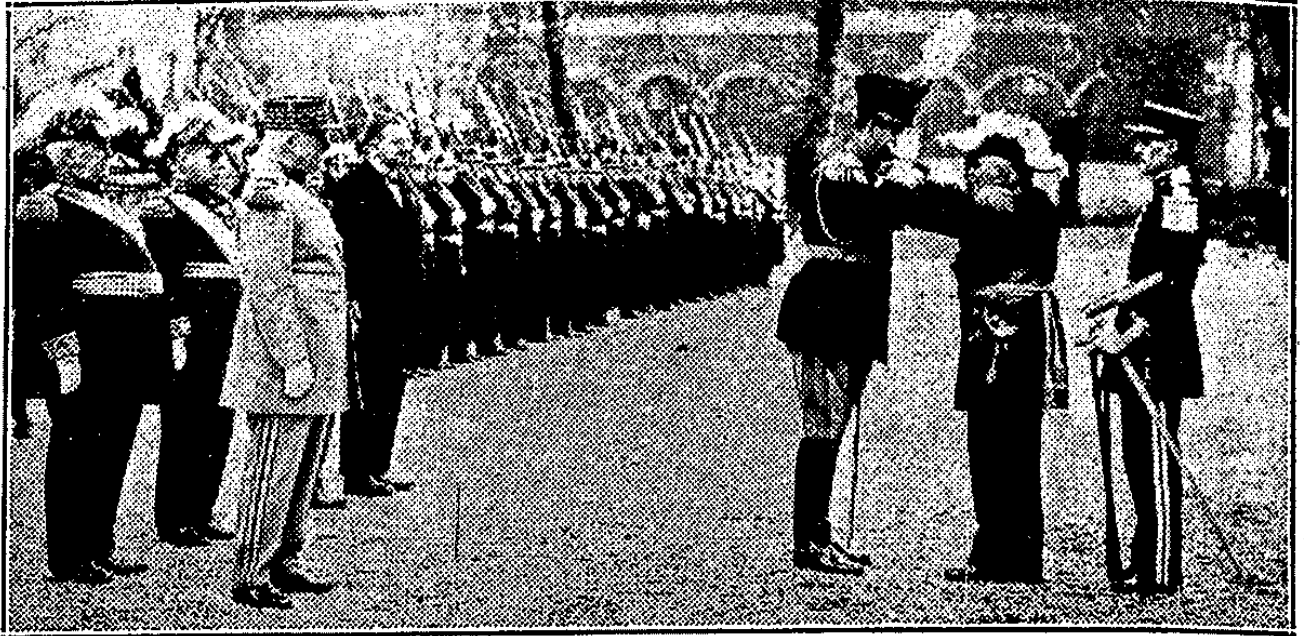
What has happened? How is it possible that two working class parties can adopt such a thoroughly bourgeois-minded program? The answer is not far to seek. This is the program of the Radicals, of Daladier, of Herriot, of Cot. From the moment the Radicals entered the People's Front, there began a gradual watering down of the proletarian character of its program. In order to keep the Radicals in, it was necessary to make more and more concessions to them, until nothing was left but the demands of the Radical Party. The People's Front, in reality, has become a parliamentary machine for carrying out the program of the Radical Party.

A government organized on the basis of this program, no matter how many Socialists and communists are in the cabinet, will be a Radical government, with the difference that the failure of such a government to accomplish anything substantial for the masses of the workers, and fail it must, as all petty bourgeois programs must fail in this era of finance imperialism, will weigh heavily on the shoulders of the proletarian parties, the Socialists and communists. The German proletariat had considerable experience with programs of this type, beginning with Hilferding's clever financial reforms and ending with Bruening's emergency financial decrees. The result of the accumulation of these programs, and the disillusionment of the working class with them was—Hitler.

We are not here discussing language or words. It is possible to have a program which is in essence a good Socialist program and not mention the term "Socialism." But it must point toward Socialism. It must take some basic measures on the road to Socialism. It must begin the work of reorganizing society. This program does not do so. It envisages nothing but some minor changes in the superficial features

of the capitalist system, leaving the basic structure of capitalism unchanged. Such a program is not and cannot be a transition toward Socialism. It is a substitute for Socialism.

# IS THIS 1913 OR 1936?



The old stories of secret military treaties and international alliances are being told, once more as the capitalist world rearms. Chief among these alliances is the one between France and Rumania—sealed when General Maurin, French minister of war, pinned a military medal on King Carol of Rumania.

# 'New Leader' or 'New Dealer'?

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Norman Thomas' radio attack on Smith and Roosevelt has been answered. Here is the answer:

"The great mass of workers, farmers and middle class people who toil for a living in one way or another will judge the Roosevelt administration not on the basis of Thomas' theories concerning fascism and the collapse of capitalism, but on the basis of their own experiences and observations. It was on this basis that the convention of the United Mine Workers has just indorsed Roosevelt's New Deal and condemned the Liberty League. Thomas may assert a thousand times that Roosevelt's New Deal is fascism, but the miners know that the Guffey Bill has saved their union and averted a strike that might have been disastrous for their organization. The same may be said about the feeling of millions of farmers who were saved from bankruptcy by the legislation of the New Deal, and of millions of unemployed who have been taken out of the bread lines and soup kitchens by the New Deal's relief measures, however inadequate they seem to a Socialist. All these elements judge the New Deal on the basis of their own experience, not on somebody's theories."

With these words, a former Socialist newspaper, the New Leader, tosses its hat in the air for the Roosevelt administration. The United States, says the author, Harry Rogoff, in the New Leader of February 15, is "in a much sounder condition, from a general economic point of view, than they were a year or two ago." And indeed, "the New Deal has diminished the numbers of the hungry and the homeless, of the desperate and the impoverished, of the ruined and the embittered."

The only step that remains for the New Leader and the ex-Socialists of the Old Guard is to print up their leaflets with the slogan, "Vote for the New Deal." They have begun their chorus of "Roosevelt is our leader."

In all fairness, it should be added that the Old Guard thinks that Roosevelt should be pushed "further to the left." Says Rogoff: "We want to widen the gulf between Roosevelt and Smith, between the New Deal and the Liberty League."

The New Leader becomes New Dealer!

defends the starvation relief program of a capitalist politician, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In the interest of protecting Roosevelt from the sound Socialist attack unleashed by Norman Thomas, the New Leader's writer distorts Thomas' views and attempts to make it seem that Socialists charge the Roosevelt regime with being fascist. On the contrary, Thomas himself made it plain that the New Deal is not fascism, but that seeds of fascism exist in America and that only conscious labor organization can stop its ultimate triumph.

"We want to separate Roosevelt and his loyal followers from the reactionary groups in their party," says the New Leader. "We want to defeat Roosevelt and his party," say Socialists, "because they are enemies of the Socialist program, because they do not want a workers' world but seek to maintain the power of private profit."

Socialists throughout the country may have been incredulous when it was charged that the Old Guard is disloyal to the basic concepts with which the Socialist Party has been identified. They have now surrendered the last element of Socialist character.

Much in the fight that has been going on within the party now becomes clear. The fight against Norman Thomas and the national executive committee of the party now becomes more understandable. It is a fight to prevent the Socialist Party from putting up a campaign against Roosevelt.

Rogoff's blatantly anti-Socialist article gives further justification to the charge made by Jack Altman, executive secretary of the New York City Socialist Party, in a statement issued to the press on December 13, in reply to a pronouncement by Louis Waldman. Altman said:

"It is quite true that old guard leaders oppose Mr. Thomas for the presidential nomination, but their opposition to Mr. Thomas as a candidate seems to be part of a general opposition to the running of any candidate against Roosevelt.

"It will be remembered that Abraham Cahan, one of Mr. Waldman's closest colleagues in his factional fight, declared that Roosevelt should be a member of the Socialist party. In view of this uncontradicted statement it is reasonable to assume that the old guard does not desire to carry on a fight against Roosevelt and the policies he represents. Apparently, they want to leave the field to Roosevelt and are now seeking to eliminate Norman Thomas.

"They will not succeed. The Socialists of this city and of the nation are opposed to the Roosevelt regime." The New Leader article defending Roosevelt against Thomas' ra-

dio attack proves the charge against the Old Guard to the hilt. Socialist Party members should be grateful for the frankness of the New Leader in at last revealing the true intent of the Old Guard.

This puts an end to the internal party fight. No Socialist can tolerate a group who seek the reelection of Roosevelt—author of the greatest peace-time war budget, relief-slasher and protector of American capitalism. There is no doubt that the Old Guard is not merely out of the Socialist Party; it is out of the Socialist movement as well.

Socialist sympathizers can now understand the situation, the issue having been so clearly drawn by the very words of the Old Guard. In primary fights which the Old Guard will undertake in order to block a Socialist opponent for Roosevelt, Socialist voters will remain loyal to the movement which offers hope for the future. They will support the candidate of the Socialist Party in 1936.

Brush aside the debris of the Old Guard. On with the work of building for Socialism!

## Thomas Tours Six States in 7 Days

CHICAGO — Norman Thomas will address nine meetings in six states in a 7-day tour through the Middle West, it was announced here. His schedule follows: Thursday, February 20, Forum at Michigan City; Friday at Ann Arbor, Mich.; Sunday at Viking

### THOMAS ON RADIO

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

Temple, 3257 Sheffield avenue, Chicago, at 2:30 p. m.; Monday at University of Kansas, Lawrence in the morning; Emporia in the evening; Tuesday at the Municipal auditorium in St. Louis; and Wednesday at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio in the morning; and at the Ohio State University, Columbus, in the evening.

### PUSH AMENDMENT

NEW YORK—A drive to secure New York ratifications of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution has been decided upon by the local Women's Trade Union League.

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

The Ghost on the Soap-Box:

# A Father to his Children

(Editor's Comment: During the political discussions now raging in the country, the Democratic and Republican orators have been appealing to the shades of Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln. For a long time, we have felt it was decidedly unfair for all the ghosts to be on the other side. We therefore went out shopping for a good ghost ourselves, and whom should we get but the spirit of the father of our country, George Washington? Since we could not afford the expense of putting him on the air, as stylish spooks are being treated nowadays, we've had to be satisfied with putting the hero of Valley Forge on a soap box. Comrades and fellow-workers, we now introduce to you one of the first American revolutionists, George Washington.)

My countrymen, I have been a ghost a long time; but think not that I have been out of touch with the things that have been happening to my posterity. As the father of this country, I am very much perturbed about the state of my children.

If, as you now look upon my countenance, you find that my face is paler than a ghost's, be assured it has been occasioned by the fact that I discover on my return the existence of nine kings ruling this land in the place of the one king whom I and my comrades overthrew in 1776. These nine kings, calling themselves a supreme court—more powerful than the court of St. James—attempt to justify their authority in the name of that Constitution which we wrote and adopted in 1789. This is a wanton usurpation that free men should not tolerate.

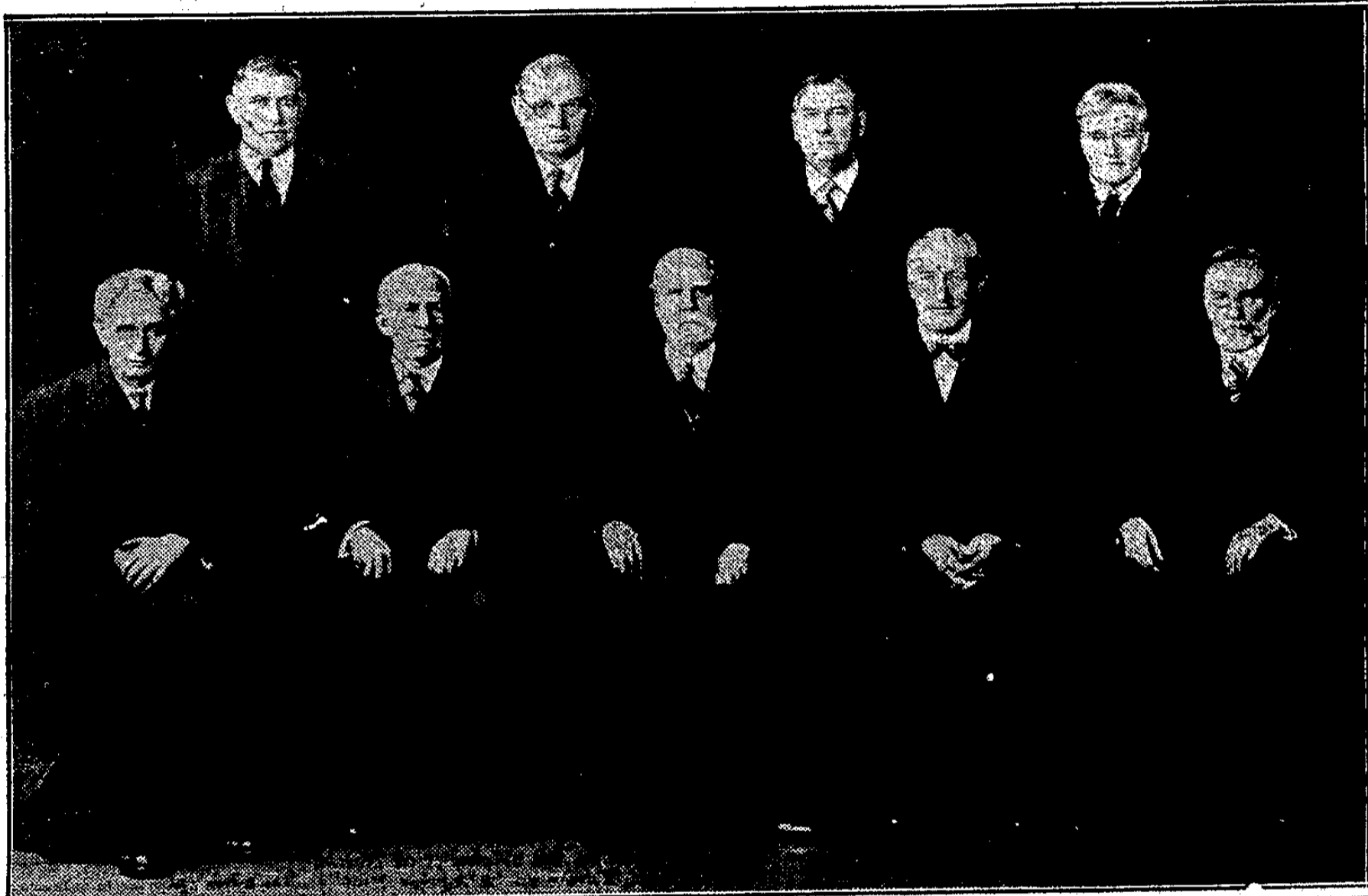
## The Tables Have Turned

You may not believe it, my friends, but the tables have been turned on me: I am a ghost who does not haunt but is haunted—haunted by the spectre of the very constitution that I helped to create. That document was written for the sake of freedom. To be sure, it was not a thorough job, and we did not mean that it should be. It ought freedom for a rising commercial class, and that was what Patrick Henry meant when he said of our constitutional convention that he "smelled a rat." Nevertheless, that commercial class was a progressive force in history at that time. But now, it is with great sadness I see the Constitution is the weapon of tyrants. It disturbs me in my sleep and causes me to rise from my grave.

In its name, poverty is hallowed. For its sake, children are forced to work in factories and mills—habitations of which we had never dreamed. Though much was good in the constitution, only the dross has been retained. The guarantees which were set down for civil liberties—I confess we were quite reluctant about them—have been buried in a grave deeper than that in which I slumber. He who dares to speak as a free man now is hunted and harried in the land, is made the victim of floggers or is thrown into the jails.

Your forefathers are not flattered by such idolatrous ancestor-worship as you indulge in. Do not look upon our constitution as the final word in government. We were only mortal men, gifted only with the sight and self-interest of mortal men. We never dreamed of a nation, feeding itself through giant railroads, dwelling in towers of brick and steel, flying through the air as only birds had done. We did not write our constitution with a wisdom that could see centuries ahead. That document was written by ordinary delegates in an ordin-

## 'THEIR MAJESTIES'—THE NINE OLD MEN



ary convention hall; it was not handed to us on the heights of Mt. Sinai.

As I look over the years that have flown by since we were laid to rest, I have learned many things about that document. Time

## How the Constitution Was Amended Since 1789

teaches much to men who can learn. What has been the value of all these years of history if they have not taught you new ways of solving new problems, instead of trying to meet the new with the old.

ty changes in a document now hoary with a century and a half?

For 147 years—and who knows how much longer?—this Constitution has tolerated poverty, starvation, child labor, social insecurity, unemployment and private ownership of things needed by all. During all these years, it has permitted nine men, wearing black robes symbolizing a blacker justice, to deny to the people the right to enact legislation that will protect them. It has permitted these nine judges of the Supreme Court to say to labor, "Thou shalt continue to live in dread of the morrow."

That very court once said, in the name of this constitution, that the black men must slave for a white master, though once we had piously declared that all men are created equal. Happily, the people had not forgotten the lessons in revolution that we had taught, and there were John Browns who rose, ready to make sacrifices for freedom.

In this past year, I have found that my long rest has been frequently disturbed—particularly on Monday mornings when the Supreme Court issues its decisions. I have observed how the nine judges, often in disagreement with each other, have said that the Constitution declares there can be no protection for labor and that its children must toil long hours in dreary places. I have seen how

those judges have told the railway workers that pensions are not to be theirs after serving years of toil, while those very judges themselves receive princely pensions on their retirement. I have seen legislation—some of it good and some of it bad—nullified by a shake of the constitutional wand.

work in their infancy; make laws against child labor possible. As workmen who create the wealth of the land, who bring its coal to the surface, who plant and harvest its wheat, who run its railroads, build its structures, make its garments, you must take over the great resources, the factories and the mines. Only thus can you escape poverty.

There is no need for you to suffer misery. You have all the elements of wealth—the raw materials, the factories and the labor power. Nothing more is needed for a sound economic life. Why should there be depression? No earthquakes have swallowed up your rich mines and oil wells; no fires have razed your work-shops to the ground; no plague has carried off your labor power.

The men who hold the property of the nation use it only to satisfy their own greed. Take it away from them and use it to reward the labors of the toiler.

These things you can do if you have the courage. Though you must amend the constitution we conceived, do not think it is all you must do. In our day, we did not content ourselves with petitions to the king, with resolutions by our assemblies. We fought. If the hour comes when Americans must fight again and risk their life's blood, be equal to the occasion. We have given you a heritage of heroic struggle. Be worthy of it.

May the outcome of your revolution be equal to the success of ours!

## Amend the Constitution!

My great-grandchildren, I do not expect you to wear such garments as we wore in our day. Why should you wear our state of mind? You are living in an age different from ours—an age of airplanes, bathtubs, Gillette razors and radio crooners. Your problems are different from ours. You have the problem of machinery. Eleven million of your people are unemployed—a thing undreamed of in our day. It is your great task to bring the Constitution we wrote up-to-date, and to correct the errors that we made. It is not a difficult task, but it is a noble one.

Amend that Constitution. Write into it a Workers' and Farmers' Rights Amendment. Assure yourselves of social security by protecting your right to unemployment-insurance, minimum wage laws, old-age pensions and the shorter work week. Know too that you are unworthy sons of ours if you compel your sons to

(Editorial Comment: At this point, the ghost of George Washington descended from the soap-box into the arms of a waiting policeman. As the hero who conquered the redcoats heard the blue-coated policeman utter the words, "You are under arrest," the ghost decided to go back where he came from, and disappeared.)

## 'OUR ARMY!'

"Blank cartridges should never be used against a mob, nor should a volley be fired over the heads of the mob even if there is little danger of hurting persons in rear."—Basic Field Manual, Vol. VII, United States War Department, page 18.

# THE SOCIALIST CALL

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Vol. I Saturday, February 22, 1936 No. 49

## Good Neighbor or Armed Thug?

The Department of War gets a swell hand-out from Uncle Sam, as President Roosevelt has his way.

Half a billion dollars will go to the Army and another half billion is on its way to the Navy.

At the same time, Colonel Charles T. Harris, director of the planning branch of the War Department, announces that in the next war, the United States will spend ten billion dollars a year.

Ten billion dollars a year!  
\$10,000,000,000 a year!

The bankers who deal in death-credits can understand what that means.

And the workers of this country must translate this high-finance of destruction into a language of broken limbs and gaping wounds that they will suffer.

As Uncle Sam passes the hat for the munition-makers, the unemployed starve in rags. Tomorrow they will be sent out to die in uniforms.

Unless—

The workers can achieve real organization against the storm of death, the clouds of which are already on the horizon. The workers can build a movement that will be able to overwhelm the war-makers.

## Unwanted Luxury

Banning child labor would be a luxury that America can't afford, said society-lady Mrs. Clark B. Allen when she convinced the City Federation of Women's Clubs that the Child Labor Amendment must be opposed.

Dame Allen should know what luxury is but hardly what child labor is like.

Her own children attend school. But, if other children "are not permitted to enter industry they will either have to be sent to school or roam the streets." And the child labor amendment "will mean an overcrowding of class-rooms."

Our economic system has produced many crazy things. Adults are unemployed and on relief and attend WPA classes; children stay away from school and work in the factories. Our world is upside down.

Let's set it right-side up. Children belong in schools, and adults at work. Child labor should be forbidden and unemployment outlawed.

But that will require the social ownership of industry. It takes a revolution to set a topsy-turvy world aright.

## Marching Forward

With the internal problem of the New York Socialist Party settled by the action of the national executive committee and the successful registration of a majority of the party membership, Socialists in that city press forward in the fight against reaction.

While they prepare for victory in the primaries as a prelude to a stirring presidential campaign, they continue to fight reaction on the local front. Their vigorous campaign against the transit steal, which has roused a host of supporters, is only one of the skirmishes in the battle they are waging.

Unlike the splinter group surrounding the "New Leader" which last week hailed the New Deal's accomplishments, they will fight capitalism all along the line—from Roosevelt down to LaGuardia. Real Socialists are not bound into the support of capitalist politicians by false promises of jobs. New York Socialists join their comrades throughout the nation in the fight for Socialism.

With the Socialist Party of the United States, New York will be a force to be reckoned with.

## JEALOUS??



## How Jim-Crow Is Kansas?

To the Editor:

Born on the sidewalks of New York, I grew up in Topeka, Kansas and for the first time in my life, last week, I felt a patriotic loyalty to the Jayhawk-Sunflower State.

In bold letters in the front page editorial of the February 8 CALL appeared this line: "Landon talks piously of states' rights while his own state of Kansas practices Jim-Crowism."

Now even the most conservative Kansan takes just pride in the part Kansas played in the Civil War; of John Brown and the underground railroads. Kansas can be rightly criticized for many sins—exploitation of Mexican, Negro and American workers alike—we tremble at the Legion and carry guns against strikers. Let Landon answer for a balanced budget at the expense of a curtailed educational budget and diminished social services. But Kansas is not a Jim Crow state.

The atmosphere that nurtured its Abolition movement may yet nurture a strong Socialist movement in the Jayhawk State, but not if the leading Socialist weekly is going to be so carelessly untruthful in its editorials.

MARY W. HILLYER,  
New York City.

(Interested only in ascertaining the truth, the editor asked C. B. Jenkins, a Harlem Socialist born

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.

in Kansas, to comment on Mary Hillyer's letter. His letter appears below.—Ed.)

To the Editor:

If Comrade Hillyer lived in Topeka, she may not know that Kansas Jim-Crows Negroes—for in Topeka, as in the rest of the state, Negroes are pariahs and social outcasts and Comrade Hillyer would never come in contact with them.

Now, let's look at a few facts. No Negro in Topeka can go into a Greek or Italian boot-black stand on Kansas Avenue and get his shoes shined. No Negro in Topeka can sit down and eat in a first-class restaurant or stop in a first-class hotel. Negroes are also sent to Jim-Crow ward schools, such as the McKinley school of which Professor Hannicutt is principal. Every school in Kansas City, Kansas, which Negroes may attend is Jim-Crow from the kindergarten to Sumner High School. For more than 30 years, since 1905, Negroes have been Jim-Crowed in all schools in Kansas City.

The University of Kansas has a 2-year Jim-Crow Junior College

in the Sumner High School, of which John A. Hodge is principal. Sherman D. Scruggs, Jr., is supervising principal of all the Jim-Crow grade schools in Kansas City. It is possible that Comrade Hillyer does not know that Kansas University, entirely supported by the taxpayers of the state, will not allow a Negro medical student to take more than two years of medicine at K. U. The last two years must be finished at some other school. Why? Because the last two years would require hospital work at the Bell Memorial Hospital in Rosedale—and not even a Negro medical student in the Sunflower Jayhawker state must ever be permitted to look upon an unclad white female.

I have the names of many of these students who were driven out of their home state to complete their education as no Negro doctor can ever attend a white woman in any state-supported institution. Missouri, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and a few of the so-called progressive Jim-Crow states pay or contribute to the tuition of Negro students who must go to other states because they are Jim-Crowed at home. Kansas does not give anything.

In Kansas City, there is no white theatre which a Negro can enter except to work as a porter or in another menial capacity. In Lawrence and some few other Kansas cities, Negroes are permitted to enter one or two theatres and sit in a Jim-Crow section called the "buzzard's roost," "peanut gallery" or "nigger heaven." We are also barred from all restaurants, bootblack parlors, all swimming pools.

If Comrade Hillyer chooses to challenge this letter, I shall be glad to reply with an answer of Negro suffering, police brutality and other shocking conditions which are astounding. I know the record.

C. B. JENKINS  
New York, N. Y.

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# WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

THE more the world sees of the Hitler regime as it unfolds in all its magnificence, the more admirable become some of the less celebrated features of that limited democracy that we enjoy. The more impressive, too, becomes the evidence that, even in the way of tyranny, there is nothing new under the sun.

The constitution of the United States, in a clause that few have had occasion to note since their school days, tells us that "Congress shall pass no bill of attainder." Most of us have forgotten, if we ever knew, what a "bill of attainder" was, and the constitutional protection against it seemed frivolous. Now along comes Hitler with a perfectly lifelike demonstration of what a "bill of attainder" is, and how it works.

## Good Business

In England, particularly under the Stuarts, any person so indiscreet as to be caught in the act of rebellion against the crown, or even of the more obvious forms of *lese majeste*, might be "attainted." In that case his life and his goods were forfeited to the crown. (A good business, that, for the Stuarts.) The "attainted" man's guilt did not stop with him; it extended to all his family. They, too, although to a smaller degree, were outlawed.

In the Merrie England of the Stuarts, bills of attainder were, so to speak, issued only for value received. The English were just amateurs at this game. They felt, even before Burke put the thought into words, that one could not indict a whole nation. Hitler has no such petty inhibitions. He not only can indict a whole nation,—he has done it. Nor has he stopped at the indictment. He has pronounced against this nation a broad "bill of attainder," the far-reaching effects of which no one can calculate.

In effect, this "bill of attainder" against the Jews in Germany has been in force ever since, in the spring of 1933, the Germans reverted to barbarism. It has worked as did its medieval precedents: under its terms, tacit at first, and then implicit in the Nuremberg laws, it has deprived many of the "attainted" Jews of their lives, their property and their civil rights.

When the Nazi plotter Gustloff was killed in Switzerland recently by a Jew, Hitler carried the idea a step further. He leaped to the conclusion (inevitable to the kindergarten mind) that the guilt for this deed must rest on the Jews as a whole. This is a welcome idea. As the Reichstag Fire, which beyond question the Nazis set, enabled him to crush all radical parties in Germany, so the Gustloff murder gives him the opportunity to work his will finally on the Jews. It gives him the slogan for which he has been looking. Now he can carry out the sadistic purpose which has animated him. He can issue the ukase for which his henchmen have been waiting confiscating all the property of the Jews, and expelling them all from Germany. We shall yet see re-enacted the episodes that drove Stefan Zweig to write the "Forty Days of Musa Dagh," but on a world-wide stage. The force that the Nazis have let loose on the world will not be countered, I think, by the money fears of a Schacht, or by the piddling efforts of British and American philanthropists. It will work itself out to its logical conclusion. The whole human race will pay the price.

## Engines of Destruction

Democracy, to our communist friends, was a "bourgeois superstition" until Hitler made of it a holy grail. "Bills of attainder" were museum pieces until Hitler made them effective engines of destruction. Hitler's little lessons in the meaning of the commonplace phrases of our political philosophy would be interesting, even amusing, if they were not so deeply tragic.

Look closely at what Hitler is doing. Forewarned had better be fore-armed in this case, for if America goes the Hitler way, the whole world will be launched far along on the road to a new Dark Age.

## Join The Socialist Party

For information fill out the blank and send it to the Socialist Party, 519 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

## STREET SCENE

Through New York's City Hall Park, almost in the shadow of Wall Street's lordly skyscrapers, walks this jobless, homeless man, all his belongings slung over his shoulder. Still a forgotten man, he's looking for a night's lodging in a municipal flop.



## It Can't Happen Here!

# The Granite Strike In Vermont

It is happening here. Right in the granite hills of Vermont, scene of the Sinclair Lewis novel, "It Can't Happen Here," hired thugs beat up workers, strangers have been slugged into insensibility, labor organizations are destroyed by terrorism, poverty is widespread and relief slight, and bosses prosper.

The whole fantastic story is told in an official document in the files of the Department of Labor. "It is listed as the report of Charles J. Post, federal labor conciliator, on the strike in progress at the quarries of the Vermont Marble Co., of Rutland, Vt.

Three months ago approximately 600 workers went on strike. They demanded a living wage and recognition of their unions. An election conducted by the company showed 58% of the workers favored the AFL unions concerned. Yet recognition of the unions is still withheld.

Instead deputies have been imported and paid \$6 a day, according to the official document. These deputies have been and are engaged in conducting a reign of terror in the villages of Vermont.

Post tells in his report of a mother, going to the rescue of her own child, being beaten on her own front porch by the deputized strikebreakers. He tells how deputies roam the streets, fill the saloons, invade homes of strikers and persons suspected of being strikers. He tells of one of the

women to whom he talked. She wore no stockings though the thermometer stood at 12 above. "We can get by on the food," she said talking about relief. "It ain't much but we are as well off as when working for company pay." "Poverty is apparent," the report says: "In Danby, a town of 500, over 70 children are on relief for clothes."

Post also tells of the blowing up of a section of railroad track. "The company attributes the action to the strikers, but it is proper to note that leading officials of Rutland and a number of substantial citizens in no way connected with the labor organizations are skeptical as to that conclusion."

The Vermont Marble Co. is owned by the Procter family. Ex-Governor Procter, one of the leading citizens of Vermont, is one of those pillars of respectability whose name adorns the list of trustees of such institutions as Vassar College.

Marble in the new building housing the U. S. Supreme Court was supplied by the Vermont Marble Co. Contracts with the government are so numerous, officials say, listing them would be a day's work.

And in spite of the report in the files of the Department of Labor setting forth actions of the company, the Vermont Marble Co. still sells to the government.

## TWENTY YEARS AGO TODAY

(From the New York Call)

February 22, 1916

J. A. Emery, representing the National Association of Manufacturers, protested the pending child labor bill saying the manufacturers have no objection to the purpose of the legislation but do not think it is constitutional.

Congressman Meyer London addressed two meetings on the East Side of New York today to report progress of his peace resolutions and upon the fight for social insurance. He attacked President Wilson's preparedness stand.

The Plattsburg Chamber of Commerce today protested the new intercollegiate magazine "Challenge" for its article on the upstate training camp, "The Menace of Plattsburg." A great stir has been created in college circles by the new radical student publication. Dean Gildersleeve's hostile attitude causes two students to resign from paper. Others on board defy college authorities.

## SIGNS OF THE TIMES

Copies of The Coming American Boom, written two years ago to show that prosperity was just around the corner, may now be purchased in cut-rate book stores for 19c, reduced from \$2.

# THE DAY OF A PATRIOT

By McAlister Coleman

HE STALKS, indignant, to his club to wonder what we're coming to. He curses out "those dirty Reds" until his very jowls are blue. And, white with anger, he demands they all be shipped to foreign lands.

Red, white and blue, our hero rises to save the nation in its crises.

His letters to The New York Times set forth in detail all the crimes committed by that "Congress bunch." He reads them to his friends at lunch.

The fires he breathes each afternoon while snorting fiercely at the ticker undoubtedly would burn him up, were they not promptly quenched in liquor.

The blonde who manicures his nails knows all his views on preparation. From the success he's had with her, he's sure his words must stir the nation.

He has no children of his own, but means to educate his neighbors in the fine art of bayonet drill and cleaving strikers' skulls with sabres.

High in his penthouse near the Park, the cocktail hour finds him a martyr to civic duty's "sturm und drang." (He turns to snap his cutie's garter.)

"Good God," he shouts indignantly, "where would our institutions be, if nine wise men were not at hand to save us from this alien band?"

## And Guard Our Land

(The cutie thinks "this alien band" is some jazz crew of lowly Greeks. She pats his flushed and puffing cheeks. "My ducky mustn't get upset, we'll take those nasty wasties yet.")

When dinner's done, he turns the dial to listen with a happy smile while General Disque and D. A. R.'s holler for more and bloodier wars.

At length in slumber see him lie, suffused with patriotic rye. Star-spangled son of Liberty, guardian of woman's chastity. Come lay a wreath upon his brow, without him where would we be now? Who keeps the wheels of progress turning, who sets the mighty turbines churning? Who mines the coal, who digs the ore? Who harnesses Niagara's roar? Who gives us what we need to live? Who, but this Great Executive?

"But Uncle Mac," someone may say, "what does he do to earn his pay?"

"Tut, tut, my dear, don't be an ass, he's leader of our Leisure Class. He keeps a maid. (And does he keep her!) But into that let's not go deeper. Enough for us poor slaves to know that seasons come and seasons go, that Hearst gets out his morning papers so that the Reds won't up and rape us, that patriots such as here portrayed shall lead us onward, unafraid, their war-cry filling hill and dale, 'For God, for Country and for Kale.'"

I have been thinking about money. In fact it would be difficult not to think about it what with so many of my pet creditors drawing it to my attention. And I have concluded that I am the Conspicuous Failure that I am because whenever I got hold of any money (I mean before 1929 of course) I had the fantastic idea that it was to be spent and went out and spent it. I am just a wee bit worried for fear that there may be some others in Washington like me. I mean that now that we have blown ourselves to the biggest peacetime appropriation in our history for the benefit of the army and navy, isn't it just possible that someone may say to himself:

"What's the use of buying a lot of guns and battleships and extra Generals and so on, unless we go out and use them on someone?"

## Forward March!

When you think of the army and the navy running around with a wad of 500 million dollars to spend as they see fit, you begin to figure up the cost of a one-way boat trip to the Scandinavian countries, where, while they may have armies and navies, they are certainly not filthy with jack. So far as I can find out, after they had fired off a couple of rounds the entire military establishments of those countries would find themselves in the hands of receivers. Of course I don't speak much Scandinavian and I'm getting pretty old to learn new languages and I don't know just how I could earn a living in Scandinavia. But then this last shouldn't worry me much. I don't seem to know much about earning a living in the United States.

And as I talk very little out here in Jersey anyway, there being so few people to talk to in these parts, the change of scene shouldn't really affect me much. That's why I'm practising skiing. Which reminds me that I must now ski down to the A. and P. and pick up a herring for lunch. So I'll say, "Skogjslaatterver," which as you know, is Scandinavian for, "I'll be seen' ver."

# Exploitation Of Labor In America

By A. F. ELLER

How much of what is produced by the worker is syphoned off as surplus value for the benefit of the owning class?

Uncle Sam's statisticians have just published a new study of workers in 35 selected industries, which shows that of every dollar added to the value of the finished product by manufacture, the man or woman who does the actual work gets back 39.2 cents in wages. In some industries, the robbery of labor was greater. In the cigarette industry, for example, the employer took about 90 per cent of the value added by labor. In no industry did labor's share reach as much as 70 per cent.

The study covers the following industries: eight food processing, three tobacco, 12 textile, six chemical and six metal and manufacturing, and was published in the October issue of "Monthly Labor Review" of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor. Its author, Arthur S. Beal, government statistician, sought information on "Man-Hours in Manufacturing in 1933" (the title of the article). His research covered 1,638,306 workers in 7,365 manufacturing establishments, or more than four-fifths of all workers engaged in these industries.

There was a wide variation from industry to industry in the number of hours worked, but the average for all industries was 165.1 hours per month. The highest wage paid was 65.7 cents per hour, in the malt industry. These workers average 187.1 hours each month, which meant that even their "high wages and" greater number of hours gave them the "princely" monthly wage of about \$123 for their family's support. At the other end were the commission silk throwers, with an hourly rate of 27.8 cents. They averaged only 157.7 hours per month, which gave a monthly pay envelope of less than \$44. The cotton goods worker, with a wage of 27.8 cents per hour, did better during the month, but only because he put in 174 hours. This brought his monthly compensation to about \$48.50.

How these textile workers were able to feed, clothe and house their families on these wages, let alone provide for school, recreation a bit of culture, also would seem worthy of a government study! The cigar maker had an average hourly rate of 29.9 cents, and averaged 153.7 hours a month—bringing his earnings to about \$46 per month!

But the greatest interest to Socialists will lie in the figures that prove what Socialists have always known—that modern industry exploits the worker out of most of what he has produced. In the 35 industries studied, the average worker added \$1.10 of value for every hour in which he was engaged in the manufacturing process. In return he got an average of 43.2 cents per hour. The remainder of the value went into the hands of the employer, some of it for overhead, clerical help, depreciation, but a great deal, probably the most of it, into his pockets in the form of dividends, rent or interest. The ratio of wages to the value added by manufacture was 39.2 per cent.

The malt worker, whose wage was the highest of those listed, was on the other hand among the most exploited of workers. While he received the wage of 65.7 cents per hour, he added \$3.85 of value, by manufacture to the malt product as it passed through his hands. He got back a trifle over 17 per cent of what he produced. The cigarette worker was at the very bottom of the list in proportion

## Program Discussion:

# Labor and the Colonies

(The following article, presented as part of the general discussion on the Draft Program, was written for The CALL by Reginald A. Reynolds, directing secretary of the British No More War movement. We consider it of great importance to American labor, in view of present American policy in Cuba and the Latin-American countries.—Editor.)

THE possibilities of developing a revolutionary party in this country are conditioned principally by the fact that imperialist economy divides the working masses of the world into two main groups.

One group, consisting principally of white workers in the European democracies and America, is relatively small, highly organized and in many respects privileged. It enjoys a number of political rights including those of political democracy. It has secured numerous concessions in the form of legislation to safeguard it against the worst ravages of capitalism.

## The Aristocracy Of Western Labor

Group A constitutes the aristocracy of labor. Its very prosperity and relative security (health insurance, unemployment insurance, etc.) is largely built up on the exploitation of the Colonial "Bottom Dog," with its consequent increase of national wealth and taxable capacity in the "Home" countries. Its political privileges have the same origin, for they form part of the imperialist policy of "divide and rule"—the policy of fostering race discrimination and keeping a relatively pampered and relatively contented minority on whom the system can depend to crush revolt among the submerged majority.

Group B regards Group A much as a British worker regards the lower middle class. To the politically-conscious colonial worker, the working class of the white democracies is a largely parasitic class that acts and thinks as such. As the colonial workers become socially-conscious they realize with resentment the fact that "Socialism" in the West is mainly concerned with the amelioration

## Paternalism Is Not Wanted

From the standpoint of the Colonial worker or peasant, there is no essential difference between this labor aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. The white aristocracy may plead expediency, may point to advantages which it derives from its compromises, may even be sincere in its paternal in-

ate return of his labor value. He got back in the form of wages exactly 10.2 per cent of his addition of value to the finished product. His wage was found to be 36.1 cents per hour, during which period he added \$3.53 in value by manufacturing.

The highest value of all was added by the worker in cereal preparations, whose labor was worth \$3.96 to the employer in value added to the finished product but only got back about 13 per cent of what he produced. If it had not been for his relatively high wage of 51 cents per hour, his return would have been proportionately worse than the cigarette worker.

On the whole, the food and tobacco industries, probably because these industries have been greatly mechanized, showed that high values were added in manufacture and that the workers got back a very small percentage of their labor value in wages. In the soap industry, they were robbed of all but 12.7 per cent of their product; in the meat and brewing and

Its wage rates and general standard of living are relatively high according to capitalist standards.

The other, consisting mainly of colored peasants, laborers and workers, vastly outnumbers this first group, and its numbers have been augmented by the growth of dictatorships in the Western countries, reducing many Western workers to coolie standards. Living under autocratic governments, these "under dogs" of Labor have no protection at all against oppression and exploitation. Attempts at self-organization are ruthlessly suppressed. Their standard of living is the rock-bottom of capitalist civilization.

of conditions in this semi-parasitic class. They are aware of a racial "superiority complex" in white labor, shown (for example) in the attitude of white trade unions in South Africa or the United States. They note with cynical disillusionment that the "Colonial policy" of the Social-Democratic parties is not based upon the equality of white and colored labor but upon a retention of power by which the labor aristocracy propose to do things "for the native's good" as a kind of side line in big programs devoted mainly to their own national interests.

Now all this may be natural enough, and accounted for easily enough by ignorance. But so also is the mentality and outlook of the petty bourgeoisie. And just as the bourgeois mind is none the less an obstruction to working-class progress because it can be accounted for historically, so the mentality of a labor aristocracy is not the less pernicious (objectively considered) because it has evolved naturally from circumstances.

attention to "do good" to the Colonial underdog, provided that this does not involve either relinquishing political control or the fruits of Colonial exploitation. The white aristocracy of labor may even believe that the Bottom Dog is "unfit for self-government," that liberation from imperialism

smoking tobacco industry their wages were 13.8 per cent of their production, and in flour milling, 16.6 per cent; manufactured ice, 20.4 per cent; prepared feeds, 20.5 per cent; sugar beets, 20.7 per cent; cane sugar refining, 22 per cent.

These industries for the most part are still without any effective labor unions.

No more convincing evidence of the failure of the capitalist system to return to the worker the fruits of his toil is needed than the figures quoted. It is patently impossible for the worker, with 43.2 cents in hourly wages to buy back the \$1.10 value in manufactured goods which he has produced in the same time. Perhaps President Roosevelt would do well to read the reports of his own Administration's statisticians before voicing his cheerful predictions of a return of prosperity under an economic and industrial system which is based upon robbery of those who toil by those who own the machinery of production.

means chaos, that the alternative to labor imperialism is "something worse." But there is nothing in any of these arguments that cannot be urged with equal validity by the Liberal Parties.

They are, in fact, essentially the arguments that the labor aristocracy rejected half a century ago when it began to build up its own working-class organizations in the Western countries, and (repudiating the "progressive" paternalism of middle-class reformers) based its minimum demands on universal franchises and the right to organize in trade unions in order to fight for better wages and shorter hours. The vital considerations of the labor aristocracy throughout its own struggles have been (1) the recognition that only power in their own hands—political and economic—offers the workers any real security or opportunity; and (2) the refusal to recognize the right of a ruling class to determine the fitness or unfitness of workers to govern. Yet these vital considerations are forgotten the moment the labor aristocracy turns to consider the Colonial workers, to whom they adopt the same attitude that they have challenged in their own middle-class.

The result is a clash of interest between Group A and Group B—that is to say, in the main, between white and colored labor, which will lead to fatal results if it is allowed to continue. For in revolutionary struggle of the Colonial masses, who form the great majority of the laboring classes, all who obstruct will be treated as reactionaries, no matter how sincere their motives, how morally "excusable" and explainable in view of human ignorance and social history. Just as the bourgeoisie will be swept from the path of the revolution, so if a labor aristocracy is ready (as the British Labor Party has proved itself) to operate the capitalist machine, exercising its "right" to govern hundreds of millions by an autocratic system inherited from its own middle class, it must share the fate of that middle-class.

No doubt while the labor aristocracy draws and divides among itself the dividends of imperialism and suppresses "sedition" among colored "comrades" it will assure them that self-government is on the way. But so will (and does) the bourgeoisie.

The Colonial worker is only enraged at the suggestion that he must be robbed and enslaved until his white "comrade" sees fit to

## The Revolutionary Alignment

The second alternative is the only path open to those who are genuinely concerned with the liberation of the majority rather than the privileges of the few. It does not mean the abandonment of the working class in our own country, but it does mean an indefatigable and uphill fight against reformist compromises. It means building up a small cadre of revolutionary workers in the heart of the labor aristocracy itself who can think and act as auxiliaries of the coming revolution in the colonies—indeed, of World Revolution—and not simply as nationalists seeking national salvation. It means the creation of an advance guard ready to take the lead when the decay of capitalism throws the White Aristocracy back onto the level of coolie labor from which it rose, and the last stage of imperialism itself creates the unity among workers for which the propagandist has so far toiled in vain.

Such a policy must be sharply distinguished from that of a doctrinaire group content to watch

## CALL Parley to Discuss Program

NEW YORK—The conference called by The CALL on the Draft Program takes place on the Washington's birthday week-end, Saturday and Sunday, February 22-23, in New York City. The program and Party organization will be discussed at the various sessions. The temporary agenda provides for the following:

Saturday at 2 p. m. The United Front.

Sunday morning. Labor Party.

Saturday night. War and Fascism.

Sunday afternoon. Party organization.

In view of the forthcoming national convention, it is important that such discussions be held to bring clarity on such issues. The CALL has invited party branches throughout the country to send representatives who will bring back reports on the discussions to the members, thus helping to promote the effectiveness of convention proceedings in building the party.

The sessions will be held at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street.

Those attending should notify the Socialist CALL in advance if they have not done so already.

cease from robbing and enslaving him. He sees nothing but hypocrisy in the fact that those who adopt this attitude towards a problem which affects their pockets are indignantly "democratic" when fascism threatens their own homes, and fiercely anti-imperialist when a rival imperialist (Mussolini, for example) threatens by fresh conquests to dominate their own "highways of empire."

As this clash of interest becomes more intense it must become clear even to the most elementary intelligence that no one can remain on both sides at the same time. The choice before Socialists in the Western democracies is either to abandon all thought of international Socialism and push for national prosperity ruthlessly at the expense of their less fortunate brothers in the colonies, or to stand by the rights and interests of the vast majority even where these conflict with the policies pursued by the Labor Aristocracy and with its immediate welfare.

and condemn the mistakes of a majority which it is powerless to influence. The possibilities of a sound revolutionary leadership in the final crisis of capitalism will depend upon the extent to which those who have the clearest insight into the more fundamental problems of Socialism have been able to identify themselves with the working class demands during the period of reformism and the transition to a revolutionary situation. There can be no "working class unity" between the political policy of a revolutionary party and that of a reformist party pledged to a program that would split the workers all over the world on the vital issues of imperialism and war. But the avoidance of this trap—into which the Communist Party has now fallen—must never prevent us from building working-class unity on the basis of specific demands. Accelerated by war, the capitalist crisis will itself expose the reformist leaders and the opportunism of the Comintern. Our chance then will depend upon our work today.



COMING EVENTS



**Thursday, February 20**  
 Rebel Arts membership meeting at headquarters, 44 East 21st Street at 8:30 p. m.

**Friday, February 21**  
 Harold Draper on "Can the League of Nations Contribute to Peace?" at 106 Marcy Avenue, Brooklyn, at 8:30 p. m.

**Saturday, February 22**  
 Dance and entertainment of East Flatbush YPSL at 844 Utica Avenue. Admission 25 cents.  
 Mass meeting in Yiddish on "The Truth About the Socialist Party" to be addressed by H. Sobotko, M. Motlin, and David Berklingoff, Sol Marcus (in English) at 1069 Faile Street, at 8:30 p. m.

**Sunday, February 23**  
 Ernest Sutherland Bates on "William Randolph Hearst, American—Oh Yeah!" at Modern Monthly, 47 E. 21st Street. Dancing and refreshments. Admission 25c.  
 Arthur Kallet will speak on "Poison for Profit—The Consumers' Problem" at the Village Forum, 107 McDougal Street, 8:30 p. m. Admission free.

**Saturday, February 29**  
 Package party and dance of 4-14 A. D. Branch, Kings, at 106 Marcy Avenue, Brooklyn. Admission 25 cents.  
 Leap-year card party and social of Village Branch, 107 McDougal Street. Admission 25 cents.  
 Leap-year Dinner of 21 A. D. Kings at 866 Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn. Al Levy, master of ceremonies. See Gwen Lurie for details. Admission 40 cents.

Tammany Aids Transit Grab By LaGuardia

NEW YORK—Public sentiment against the LaGuardia transit steal under the guise of unification of subway facilities grew visibly this week as Supreme Court Justice Callahan, a Tammanyite, denied the motion for a temporary injunction against the city officials, brought by New York Socialists.

The court's decision did not dispose of the complaint, leaving that for further motions or a hearing on the permanent injunction to restrain LaGuardia and his colleagues from closing the deal.

Meanwhile, the citizen's committee recently organized, selected Dr. Harry W. Laidler as its chairman, with offices at 112 East 19th street. Dr. Laidler is the city chairman of the Socialist Party.

Taking to the radio, Norman Thomas attacked the LaGuardia administration for its reactionary policies on the transit question and its failure to support labor struggles in this city. He pointed out that "the City of New York is paying the private owners, the B. M. T. and I. R. T. investors, about 200 million dollars more than the lines are worth by a fair valuation even by capitalist standards." He added: "No wonder subway securities on the market are rising in anticipation of a 'good thing' even though earnings are falling."

In the name of the citizens committee, Thomas called for a campaign to "save subway unification and social ownership from the curse of a \$200,000,000 gift to private security holders."

SPEAKER



David Lasser, national chairman of the Workers' Alliance of America, who will speak to the Socialist membership meeting about unemployed unity.

NOTICE

The CALL Association meeting of February 15, 1935 has been adjourned to Saturday, February 29th, at 2:30 p. m. for the purpose of continuing discussion on editorial policy and for final adoption of the by-laws. The meeting will be held at 21 East 17th Street, New York City. All members must attend.

Debs High School To Open March 1

NEW YORK—As a result of the ouster of David P. Berenberg from his post as a teacher in the Rand School and the consequent resignation of Lou Hay and August Gold among others from the faculty of the Rand High School, student demands have brought about the organization of the Eugene V. Debs High School.

The school will open on Sunday, March 1, as an institution for the education of young people between the ages of 14 and 20.

Temporarily the headquarters of the Debs High School will be at 21 East 17th street, New York, pending the acquisition of a new building. The curriculum follows:

- 1st Year: Current Social Problems.
- 2nd Year: Evolution of Social and Economic Institutions. Capitalism and Its Culture. Modern European History.
- 3rd Year: American History. Labor Problems.
- 4th Year: History of Socialist Thought. Economics.

Elective courses will include Science, Social Literature, Drama, Social Science Workshop, Dancing, Basketball.

ENROLLED SOCIALISTS!

Enrolled Socialist voters who are approached for their signatures on primary petitions should examine the credentials of the canvasser. Norman Thomas's name is being fraudulently used by individuals who are seeking to oppose the official party designees.

Sign petitions only where credentials bear the letter-head, "Socialist, Party, U. S. A.," and are signed by Lewi Tonks, Harry W. Laidler and Jack Altman, officers of the Party. Norman Thomas's name is properly used only in connection with such petitions.

TEACHERS PROTEST

NEW YORK—A sharp letter of protest was sent to the principal of the James Monroe High School here by Charles J. Hendley, president of the Teachers Union, concerning the activities of the "Monroe Vigilantes," a pro-fascist group in the school.

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

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Call Socialist Parley To Hear Lasser Speak On Unity Of Jobless

NEW YORK — All Socialists in New York City interested in working with the organized unemployed were called to a meeting to be held at Rebel Arts headquarters, 44 East 21st street, Thursday evening, February 20. The call for the meeting, which will be open only to members of the Socialist Party, is addressed particularly to unemployed Socialists, to those on home relief, ERB employees and WPA workers.

The chief speaker will be David Lasser, national chairman of the Workers' Alliance of America. He will discuss the proposed amalgamation of the Unemployed Councils in the WAA and outline Socialist duties in connection with the organization of the unemployed. He will also discuss the February 15 demonstration of the

**MOPPING UP**  
 On Sunday, February 23, every single Socialist Party member in New York will be out in the Primary Clean-Up, getting signatures for the primary petitions. Be at your headquarters.

unemployed which the police tried unsuccessfully to break up.

In a statement on the demonstration, Lasser declared:

"The unemployed are faced with a lowered standard of relief, which is already 40% below that of private agencies; the WPA workers are living on a substandard wage and faced with wholesale dismissals from which there is no appeal; ERB workers are being discharged, weakening the home relief structure at a time when thousands of new applications are being received daily. It is impossible to maintain this conspiracy of silence in the relief situation in New York by police clubs or other repression.

"All we wish is a peaceful and orderly method of getting the case of the million and a half unemployed and WPA workers before the city authorities and public. It is only when other means are denied us that we parade.

"The membership of our Joint Relief Committee is more than 25,000 and represents the organized opinion of the unemployed and relief workers. We intend to continue our protests in every lawful and orderly means until the unemployed obtain a standard of living, either by work or relief on which they can live in decency."

Jury Accuses 8th Tampa Cop

TAMPA, Florida.—Manuel A. Menendez, police department stenographer, was indicted by the grand jury last week as accessory to the murder of Joseph Shoemaker. The charges were identical with those filed by the same grand jury against Chief of Police R. G. Tittsworth on January 23. This arrest brings to eleven those indicted for participating in this brutal murder. Eight of the eleven were members of the city police department.

The two surviving victims, Dr. S. J. Rogers and E. C. Poulnot, will tour the East and the Middle-West to tell the story of their being beaten and tarred at the hands of a masked mob, which resulted in the death of Shoemaker.

For available dates and further information inquiries should be addressed to the committee, 112 E. 19th St., New York City.

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Independent 'Union' Scabs on B S & A U

NEW YORK — Office workers who are members of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union are on strike against the Margon Corporation which is attempting to impose a yellow-dog contract on the pen-pushers. Eighteen strikers who picketed the home of the employer were arrested.

Appeals to the factory-workers in the company for their solidarity have proved fruitless thus far. The white collar workers last year pledged to support the manual workers in the event that they should strike. Now the factory workers' union, the communist-controlled, non-AFL Metal Workers' Union, has refused to be of assistance.

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 Mail to: Labor Research Front  
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# Wings Over Washington

By HENRY ZON

MR. JUSTICE HOLMES, late of the Supreme Court and the first of those very able jurists who insisted that the constitution must be made amenable to social changes, in his stimulating minority decisions used to speak of the "inarticulate major premise."

He was referring, of course, to the mould in which the minds of some of his colleagues had been cast. The mould which so completely framed their attitude towards the struggle between oppressed and oppressor that in spite of genuine efforts to decide the issue impartially, their decisions favored the oppressor in the majority of cases.

Something of that same "inarticulate major premise" must have been the basis of the report of the examiner of National Labor Relations Board, Alphonse G. Eberle.

## What Is Intimidation?

In his report on the Brown Shoe Co. plant at Salem, Ill., he lists evidence of the most damning nature against the company in its relations with the local of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. Yet intimidation to Eberle means apparently the president of the company coming individually to each worker with a club and saying, "If you join the union, I'll beat you with this club."

The economic club held by the president of the company, the power to say which men shall have food and clothing for themselves and their families and which men shall not is no real menace to Eberle. A spy in the plant snooping around in the guise of a candy salesman and reporting to the boss the activities and attitudes of the workers, throwing into the men and women at the workbench the most horrible fear

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# BOOKS, by Bruno Fischer Abraham Lincoln— A Real American

One of the best of recent efforts to exploit the revolutionary traditions of America for Socialist purposes is Mayor Daniel W. Hoan's pamphlet, "Abraham Lincoln: A Real American," (Socialist Party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.)

Lincoln's speeches and writings are replete with pro-working class and revolutionary phrases, and Comrade Hoan uses them to excellent advantage. Lincoln carried on considerable correspondence with Karl Marx (Republican Party, take note), and Hoan hints that he was somewhat influenced by Marx. From Lincoln the transition is easily made in the pamphlet to Gene Debs (the two men were similar in many ways), and the pamphlet concludes with a simple exposition of socialism.

The type is large, the style simple, the format attractive. The pamphlet sells for five cents (ten cents by mail); 100 copies are only \$3.50.

Another recent pamphlet of the national office of the Socialist Party is the transcript of Norman Thomas' radio reply to Al Smith on a national hook-up February 2. This is a brilliant answer to the assertion, so often heard these days, that the New Deal is Socialism. The pamphlet sells for only two cents; bundle orders can be obtained from the national office for one cent a copy. I see

of all, that of not trusting your own companions, did not constitute intimidation either.

**BOOKS RECEIVED**

OUT OF THE NIGHT by H. J. Muller, Vanguard, \$2.50. A biologist looks at the future.

BEFORE THE BRAVE by Kenneth Patchen, Random House, \$2. Poetry.

THEORY OF FLIGHT by Muriel Rukeyser, Yale University Press, \$2. Poetry.

no reason why the country should not be flooded with hundreds of thousands of copies in the next couple of months.

The first issue of "The Student Advocate" (112 E. 19th St., NYC), which is the official organ of the American Student Union, is mature, lively and interesting. The price of only five cents is remarkably low; magazines with similar formats sell for a mini-

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\* To be published February 28

mum of fifteen cents. (Voice of Mr. Hearst: "Moscow gold!")

The February issue of the Yiddish monthly, the Socialist "Shtime," maintains the high standard set by its editors. Vigorous in its support of the Socialist Party of the United States and brilliant in its clarity, the influence of the "Shtime" grows by leaps and bounds.

The current issue contains an account of recent events in Socialist Party history and makes available to Jewish workers the truth which some would hide from them. With the banner of "Socialism In Our Time" on its mast-head, it indicates the vital faith which Jewish Socialists have in their party and their program. No Socialist who comes into contact with Jewish-reading workers is doing his full duty unless he intro-

duces them to the "Shtime." In addition to discussion of internal party matters, the February issue contains an article on the subject of the German Social-Democracy and the United Front, reports of the Kantorovitch-Katz debate and the Chicago Thomas-Browder debate, an article by A. M. Morrison, "It's Swell to Be a Communist," and an article by Haim Kantorovitch in answer to N. Chanin's personal attacks. Contributors include H. Sobotko, H. Kaplan and N. Miller.

The "Shtime" is published by the Central Bureau of Jewish Socialists, with offices at 21 East 17th Street, New York City, and sells for ten cents a copy, or one dollar for a yearly subscription—AL.

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21 East 17th St., New York City Neil Russell  
Secretary

# The Chinese Revolution

## A New Play By Wexley Presented

A THEATRE UNION NIGHT, presented by The Theatre Union Studio at the Civic Repertory Theatre, Sunday evening, February 16.

It is unfortunate, perhaps, that the Theatre Union Studio presented but one act of John Wexley's new play, "Running Dogs," at its first Sunday Night. Because of the glamor which surrounds the Chinese Revolution, even though there are few events in recent times about which historians know so little, presenting only the second act can, at best, serve only as an appetizer—and a very small one, at that.

The play concerns itself with a group of soldiers in the "Running Dogs" regiment of the reactionary Kuomintang, stationed in the Chinese interior just outside Soviet territory. For nearly an hour we are treated to the usual barracks talk of army corruption, etc.—interspersed with some shouted slogans of "All Lands to the Workers and Peasants" on the part of a communist spy who has disguised himself as a peddler of fruits.

### Spy Is Caught

It would be obviously unfair to condemn the play out of hand as ineffective and boring on the basis of a single act. Perhaps due to this, the discovery of the spy and his consequent death move too quickly to be credible; certainly, however, it is no reason why one of the soldiers should become philosophic and worry about "killing our Chinese brother."

The acting is excellent; particularly praiseworthy is the performance given by Harold Johnsrud as the Soviet spy.

Outstanding among the evening's presentations was the mass chant, "A Letter to the President," by Paul Peters and George Sklar, with music by Jerome Mores. The first really effective mass chorus this reporter has yet experienced, it paints a politically powerful and effective propaganda picture of sharecropper suffering in deepest Alabama.

### Rebel Arts

It is a pleasure to record that watching the intrepid Rebel Arts Players present "Picket Line," for the fourth (or fifth time), one can still laugh as one laughed at its premiere. We still hold to our assertion that the most effective portion of the skit is the first number when it willfully succeeds in being as dull and pointless as so many labor plays are.—SR.

## 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.

Our BUREAU also arranges parties for current attractions. This service is FREE to Call readers.

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## IN '3 MEN ON A HORSE'



Here are, left to right, Sam Levene, James Lane and Shirley Booth in the 2-year hit, "Three Men on a Horse," now at the Playhouse.

## CALL BOARD

THREE WOMEN is being held over at the Cameo with music by Shostakowitch; it may be the last Soviet picture with his music... LOYALTIES starts at the Acme on the 22nd... Scottsboro Defense Ball looks like a sell-out at the Savoy Ballroom, Feb. 21... "Sons of Rome," Theatre Union's next is an adaptation of "Fontenara" the book written on Fascist Italy. Scheduled for late March or early April... Russet Mantle is adding a Thursday afternoon matinee... Lopez and Kenneth Hunter have cooperated in writing "Awake and Sing" an attempt at "proletarian jazz." It will be heard for the first time Feb. 22 at the dance at

### Plan Song Festival

CLEVELAND—More than 10 singing societies are expected to participate in the first Workers' Singing Festival contest sponsored by the Socialist Party of Cuyahoga County. The affair will be held in the Slovenian auditorium, 6417 St. Clair avenue on Sunday afternoon, March 8. The winning society is to be invited to sing at the mass meeting of the Socialist Party national convention to be held in Cleveland beginning May 23.

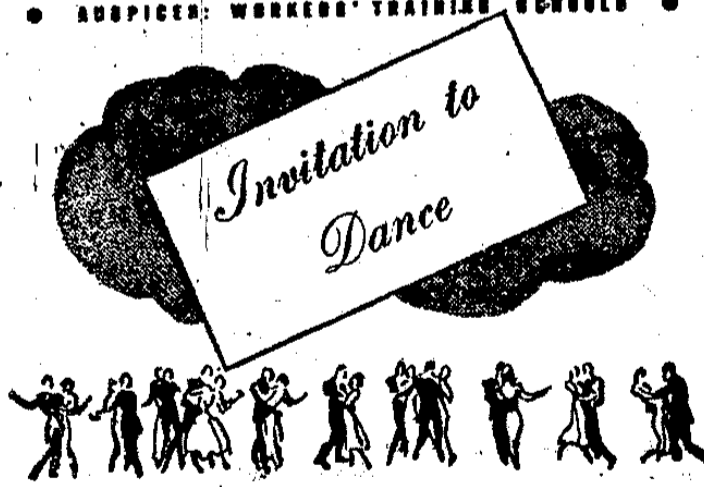
St. Nicholas Palace... Joris Ivens will lecture at showings of pictures he made in Russia, auspices New Film Alliance.

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

## SATURDAY NIGHT FEB. 22

Prominent Negro Artists Entertaining in a Unique, Exotic Revue

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## in hollywood

By JOHN R. CHAPLIN  
Federated Press

HOLLYWOOD (FP)—Ernst Lubitsch has resigned as head of Paramount production, in what seems to be the beginning of a new series of shakeups in the film world. Some are inclined to feel that Paramount is beginning a systematic weeding-out of Jews. This contention does not seem entirely without justification... Francis Lederer, celebrated exponent of world peace through international brotherly love, has become sponsor of a new Boy Scout troop organized here... Walt Disney has started his first feature cartoon, Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs...

might hurt her popularity in the deep south... At the same studio, Warner Bros., a strange situation has arisen, with the deeply-religious Negroes playing Green Pastures frowning severely on the flighty Negro dancers appearing in The Singing Kid on a neighborhood in gstage... The dancing Negroes have been barred from the Green Pastures set, lest they profane the celluloid heaven...

William Randolph Hearst has hurriedly summoned E. B. Hatrick, his movie-executive, back from New York to try to shape Marion Davies' new film, Hearts Divided, into a passable production. Hearst's doubts about the film's merits are so great, we offer as a substitute title, Hearst Divided...

Wini Shaw has turned down a role in Al Joison's The Singing Kid, because they wanted her to play a mulatto. Wini is afraid it

### BS&AU DANCE

The Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union is holding its second annual dance at the Pythian Temple, 135 West 70th St. A popular orchestra has been engaged for the evening with the dancing beginning at 8 p. m. Tickets are available at the Union office, 44 E. 23rd St., at the CALL and at Workers Bookshops.

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By DAN TOTTEROCH

A new romantic play about the wanderings of a boy and a girl amid the jungles and Hoover-villes of America.  
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Musical Score by SHOSTAKOVICH

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LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

Songs and Mass Chant by PAUL PETERS, GEORGE SKLAR and JERRY MORS

"Satires in Song" by Sklar, Peters & Mors

Benefit Theatre Union Production Fund

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SAT., MARCH 7 9:00 P. M.

23rd ANNUAL

# REBEL DANCE

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# AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

## Confiscation vs. Compensation

To the Editor:

In Norman Thomas' excellent speech on the radio on "Smith, Roosevelt and Socialism," a speech in which he correctly emphasized the fundamentals of Socialism, he made one statement that deserves discussion. He said: "We intend to make this change to social ownership in an orderly fashion. We are even willing to offer moderate compensation to those who will come along peacefully. We will accompany that compensation by taxation—by an orderly process of taxing wealth in private hands, by a graduated tax, approaching expropriation of unearned millions..."

At the 1932 convention at Milwaukee when the discussion on the topic of confiscation arose—I voted in support of Thomas' position. But the discussion was based on the use of the word "transfer" as against "confiscate." I felt that the former would have the same meaning without the possible misinterpretations that might be put upon the latter. I would never have supported a commitment to the principle of compensation.

What is the purpose of this paragraph in Thomas' speech?

Surely he does not feel that the exploiters deserve to be paid for returning stolen goods. Obviously, no Socialist can believe that the large capitalists will be fooled by this offer into giving in peacefully. Even if it did not contain the accompanying threat of a wealth tax approaching expropriation, they are not as naive as all that. The offer cannot be meant for the vast majority of the workers who own neither stocks, bonds, homes, savings accounts, or insurance policies and in many cases, not even jobs. These workers cannot be paid for property they do not have—and in fact, they would probably be antagonized by the thought that robbery is to be given a premium even by Socialism.

Then the only people who might be attracted by this offer is a small section of the lower middle class and farmer kulaks, and a still smaller section of the so-called "aristocracy of labor." But this is a small section of the population and, from the revolutionary point of view, not the most important. In a paragraph immediately preceding the one quoted, Thomas makes it clear that we are not going to take away personal

property. Socialism will offer far better forms of security than the insurance policy or savings account now offers and at less cost. Even this section of the population hates "big business" and might be antagonized by this offer to compensate J. P. Morgan—and, on the other hand, they fear "more taxes."

### The Danger of Illusions

But far overbalancing the value to the revolutionary movement of that small section of the population that might possibly be attracted by this offer is the danger that arises in creating the illusion that the capitalists can be "convinced" or inveigled into peaceful surrender. This can only serve to distract the workers from their main task of organization on the economic field and their political and other activities outside of the purely parliamentary field.

While I will agree that it is unnecessary to use belligerent words or, at this stage in the game, over-emphasize the principles of confiscation—neither is it wise to raise false hopes or advocate a theory that is impossible of achievement.

AMICUS MOST.

New York City.

ought to rely for leadership and power in the struggle for Socialism. If we can persuade them to come along peacefully; if we can lessen the confusion of transfer, it will be worth the cost of compensation. This compensation would be moderate, either in the form of a system of annuities for a limited period of years or of bonds in socialized industries which would also be of limited duration. As dozens of students have pointed out, a growing industry can easily pay off such moderate costs. Utter confusion would be more, infinitely more costly. The Civil War was about the most expensive possible way to free the slaves.

Now compensation would be totally unfair were it not coupled with the principle of taxation. That principle of taxation of wealth in private hands would apply uniformly whether the wealth was derived from the steel trust or from a chain of beauty parlors. It would amount to expropriation of unearned millions. It would be a graduated tax worked out by experts. It would of itself be a means of socialization, for the tax could be paid in money, bonds which would then be retired and so reduce the debt, or in stocks of industries which would be socialized anyway.

Practically I think that as things stand in America a program of moderate compensation plus taxation makes a far stronger appeal than an avowal of intention to confiscate. I speak from experience derived from all sorts of contacts in all sorts of meetings. You remember that renegade Socialist, Ramsay MacDonald, first won in the working class constituency which later rejected him on the false charge that his old friends of the Labor Party intended to put into effect a program which would virtually confiscate deposits in the postal savings banks of England.

It would, I think, be a very serious tactical mistake for Socialism in America to let some glib Ramsay MacDonald raise a similar but more truthful cry of "confiscation of all savings invested in key industries."

### THE CASE FOR COMPENSATION

Let me admit out of hand that the case against confiscation does not rest on absolute ethics or on an acceptance of capitalist economics. Capitalism does plenty of confiscating by inflation, deflation, and other devices. If tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock we could set up a smooth-running Socialist system, the obviously sensible thing would be to cut the whole Gordian knot of special rights and privileges in private ownership of productive capital. We could take better care of people than they could possibly take care of them-

### Consumers' Cooperation

By **BENJAMIN WOLF**

Last week, a group of former Consumers Research subscribers aided by the CR strikers set up a rival establishment by incorporating the Consumers Union of the United States. Friends of the working class, who supported the strike and denounced the reactionary, strike-breaking tactics of Consumers Research, will be interested in learning how the new organization is set up and what are its plans.

In a great many respects, the new organization is an improvement over Consumers Research. Most of the criticism levelled against Consumers Research has been met in the structure of the Consumers Union. Foremost is a clear statement recognizing its employees' right to bargain collectively, and a pledge to deal with their representative union. Such a stand was to be expected from those who participated in that courageous strike.

#### More Democratic

It is more interesting to learn that the organization will be more democratic and not a closed family affair. Each subscriber will have the right to elect eleven of the fourteen members of the board of directors, who in turn will select two others who as technical and executive directors will ex officio be members of the board. The remaining member will be a representative of the staff, who will be elected by the staff.

CU, as the organization probably will be called in the workers' alphabetized directory, contrary to the practice of CR will whenever possible report on labor conditions surrounding the manufacture and distribution of consumers goods. It will also provide a less expensive report on consumers' goods within the purchasing power of

selves through their invested savings.

The point is that it is wholly improbable that we will set up a smooth-running Socialist society so promptly. It is possible that through war or other catastrophe, we shall have a cataclysmic breakdown and Socialists will have to take charge of the ensuing chaos. In that case it is not likely that they can give much consideration to property claims or, indeed, that there will be many property claims to be considered. Did you ever consider, for instance, that the stockholders' equity in most of the banks in the United States was wiped out in March, 1933, and that the system could therefore have been taken over virtually without cost by a vigorous government?

But assuming that a Socialist

low income groups, confining its report on luxury goods to its higher priced extended service. This means workers will receive information they can use instead of having to be content with a vicarious interest in learning from CR's bulletins how the higher income groups are being cheated. Most of CR's interest centered in goods far beyond the means of the average worker.

Cooperators and Socialists should know that CU will not straddle the profit business versus non-profit business fence, by claiming to base its reports solely on scientific objective investigation. Other influences will also bear weight in its reports.

In one of its later releases, CU definitely commits itself to work with the cooperative movement. If such an attitude is sincerely followed, the cooperative movement will have a strong ally in CU. If CU becomes the central research and testing organization for the private consultation and technical guidance of cooperative organizations while at the same time exposing critically and unmercifully the shortcomings of profit as an incentive to business honesty, it will serve a socially useful purpose and gain the support of the intelligent working class consumers who rapidly and in increasing numbers are turning to the cooperative movement.

government takes control under circumstances short of a cataclysm, it is likely to begin by socializing the key industries. It will be quite a while getting around to some industries, of which, perhaps, a chain of beauty parlors is an extreme example. Such a chain might be very profitable. The government might clap on a pure cosmetics act and impose labor standards. It would scarcely begin by socializing it. It would, on the other hand, socialize things like the power industry, the steel trust, etc. The apparent discrimination between taking over the property of steel plants and not of the chain of beauty parlors would be deeply resented.

### COMPENSATION IS CHEAPER

Moreover, it happens that it is in corporations like public utilities and the steel trust in which the funds of insurance companies and savings banks are quite largely invested. These funds represent to a considerable degree the savings of the little man. Not only the little men with such savings but their friends would be made extraordinarily apprehensive by confiscation.

A great many of the American farmers have a strong general sense of ownership which would be outraged. Those who would resent this partial confiscation represent people on whom we

## What Do You Mean—Inflation?

This Is the First of a Series of Eight Articles

By **MAYNARD C. KRUEGER**  
Professor of Economics University of Chicago  
Vice-President American Federation of Teachers  
Member National Executive Committee, Socialist Party

flation, while more would be called inflation.

#### What Is Price?

Price is simply the ratio between two things. One is the money that is surrendered to the seller, and the other is the goods obtained by the buyer. If the money is great in proportion to the goods, we say the price is high.

The price level is an average of all prices. When the price level increases all prices do not go up together or in the same proportion. If the supply of a commodity can be rapidly increased at a low cost, the price of that commodity is not likely to rise very much. The prices of commodities the supply of which cannot be quickly increased, however, are likely to rise quite rapidly. The change in the price level is an average of the changes in all of the individual prices.

Of course most people are not purchasers of everything that has a price. A worker does not buy railroads or diamond-studded dog collars. When we calculate the average price of those things that

are purchased by the ordinary person, we call it the cost of living.

#### When Prices Rise

When prices increase, the value of money declines. When prices decrease, the value of money increases. When the prices of goods go up to twice what they were, the purchasing power of the dollar goes down to half what it was, because it takes two dollars to buy what one dollar previously bought. When prices go down to half what they were, the value of the dollar goes up to twice what it was, since 50 cents will buy as much as could previously be bought with a dollar.

If prices rose to ten times what they were, or 1,000 per cent, the purchasing power of money would fall to one-tenth or 10 per cent. If prices rose to almost infinite heights, the purchasing power of money would sink almost to nothing, as it did in Germany in 1923. When the American price level in 1920 rose to 250 per cent of what it was in 1913, the value of the dollar fell to 40 per cent of what it was in 1913. The 1920 dollar was worth only 40 cents in terms of 1913 money, because in 1920 \$2.50 was required to buy that which could be bought for one dollar in 1913.

(Next Week: WHAT CAUSES INFLATION?)