

We Have Lost A Battle; We Shall Win The War

Norman Thomas

DISCUSSES
The Roosevelt Victory

ON PAGE 12

Socialist Call

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Enthusiastic Garden Rally Ends Drive

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, New York City—Fifteen thousand people who crowded into this huge arena shouted themselves hoarse here Sunday afternoon as Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President of the United States, ended his campaign with a vigorous plea for support of the Socialist ticket as "our deliverance from war, tyranny and poverty."

Thomas' speech, which was broadcast over a national NBC network, marked his final appeal before the polls opened Tuesday morning, except for a 15-minute broadcast Monday evening.

In an inspiring analysis of present-day America, Thomas condemned Republicans, Democrats Lemke-ites alike for having failed to offer a constructive program for the rehabilitation of the nation. While the immense crowd listened in an impressive silence, Thomas ridiculed the claims of the old parties and sounded the Socialist campaign slogan:

"Socialism is the issue!"

The audience also heard Harry W. Laidler, candidate for governor, Frank R. Crosswaith, candidate for Congressman-at-large, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee and George A. Nelson of Wisconsin, Socialist vice-presidential candidate. Hoan and Nelson spoke from Chicago over a radio hookup which brought their voices into the huge amphitheatre.

Against War

As the strident tones of Mayor Hoan declared that "a vote for Thomas and Nelson is a vote against war and war appropriations," the audience burst into spontaneous applause despite the fact that the speaker was a thousand miles away. They cheered, too, the closing words of Nelson's broadcast, in which he pleaded for a continuation of "the pioneering spirit of our forefathers."

Thomas received a stirring ovation as he entered the hall. As he walked down the center aisle, followed by 100 pretty young women dressed in blue shirts and red kerchiefs proudly carrying red flags, the audience thundered its welcome to the man who carried the banner of Socialism through the campaign.

Rising to their feet with many of them, young and old, standing on their chairs, they began a great shout that lasted for nearly ten minutes and was quieted only by the insistence of those on the platform for silence because of time limitations imposed by the radio. The entire Garden seemed one sea of red as, waving huge clusters of bright-red streamers, the audience began to sing "The Internationale!"

Stirring Ovation

The chorus of that song, heard wherever men and women gather

AT GARDEN RALLY

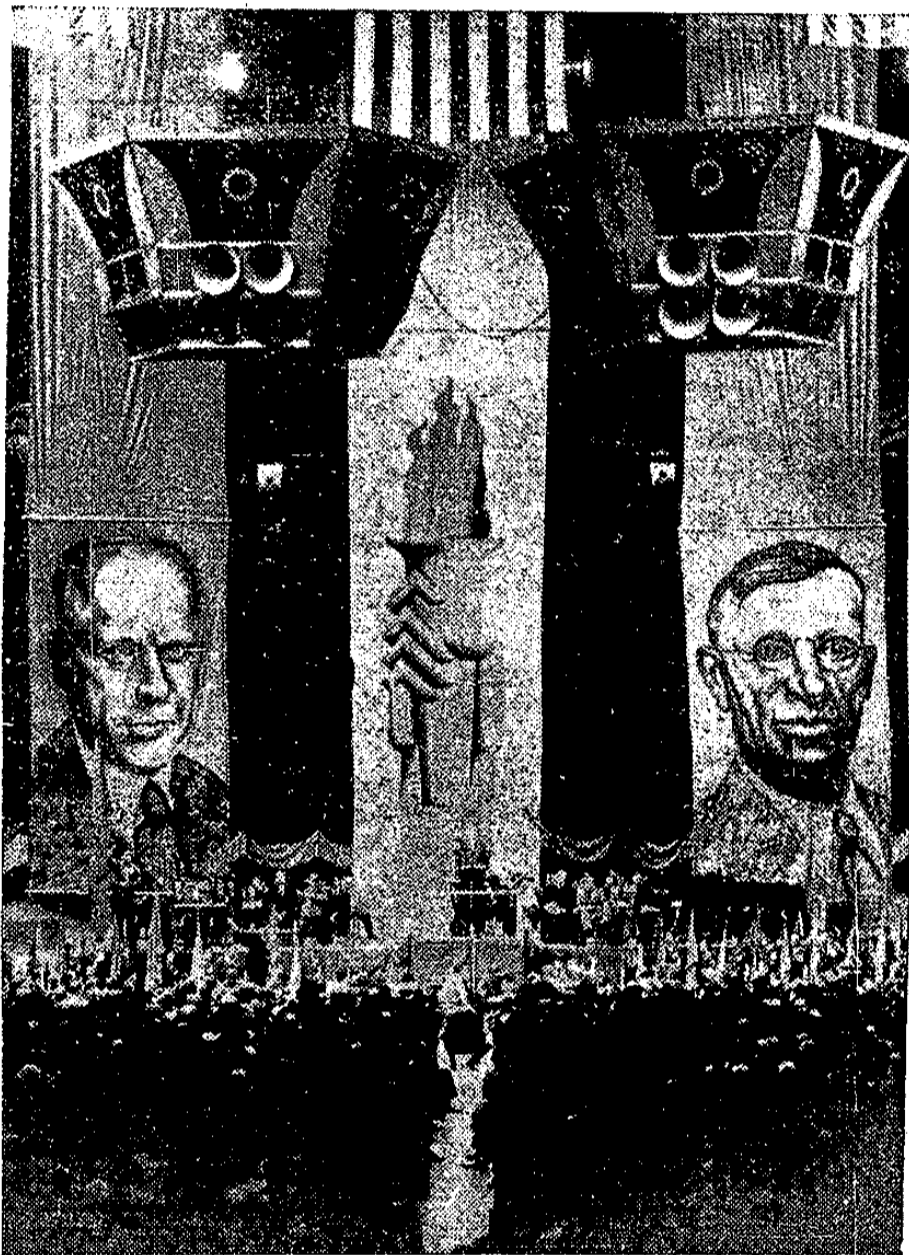


Photo by Merrill

Some of the thousands in Madison Square Garden last Sunday at the Socialist campaign rally there. Huge pictures of Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson flanked a 40-foot arm-and-torch on the platform.

for further struggle in the great cause of the emancipation of labor, marked the climax of a demonstration that will be long remembered in the hearts of New Yorkers. With three huge red flags bearing the design of three arrows waving in the center, with the women's color guard holding aloft the myriad of scarlet banners, while the audience to a man clenched their fists and held them aloft in the international salute of working-class solidarity — there were tears of joy shed by many as they sang:

"The international Party shall be the human race."

Thomas received no overlong introduction by Edna Mitchell Blue of Syracuse, N. Y., Socialist candidate for Congressman-at-large from New York state and chairman of the meeting. It took only simple words to start the demonstration.

"I have the high honor of introducing to you Norman Thomas . . ." she began — but the rest of her introduction was lost in the tumult as the crowd began. More than a thousand members of the Young People's Socialist League, carrying the red streamers, began a snake dance through the aisles of the arena a dance in which they were joined by gray-haired veterans of the labor movement.

Shouting, cheering—it seemed as if it were never to end until platform officials succeeded in introducing order.

Baron Hits Tammany

The tone of the meeting was set by Murray Baron, city chairman of the Socialist Party and candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen. Mincing no words as he accused Roosevelt of aligning himself with the most reactionary political forces in America, especially Tammany Hall, he declared:

"We have not campaigned against the Republicans and Democrats—we have campaigned against a one-party system which has allied itself against the working people of America. We have conducted this campaign in the tradition of our gallant leaders, Eugene Victor Debs, Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit."

The spirited audience, on learning that money was needed for the Monday night broadcast, contributed \$2,700 in response to an appeal by executive-secretary Jack Artiga.

A feature of the rally was the presence of tea leaders of the American labor and progressive movement who made 1-minute speeches for the candidates of Thomas and Nelson.

Among those who spoke were

Radical Vote Hit In FDR Landslide

While returns from the various states are still too scattered to afford any real basis for computing the Socialist vote in the 1936 elections, it is clear that the Democratic Party strategy of luring the workers' votes into its

column through Labor's Non-Partisan League has proven successful in injuring the radical vote. The damage, however, has not been as great as was anticipated in political circles.

The basic straight party vote, by which test the strength of the Socialist Party is judged, has not been seriously affected if the early fragmentary returns are representative. The pro-Roosevelt forces have had their effect only in swinging the loose, shifting body of votes known as the "protest vote" into the Democratic column. That the Socialists were not the only ones hit by the Democratic sweep was indicated by the total of but little more than 300,000 for Lemke, who was given one to five million by political forecasters.

At the next meeting of the Socialist national executive committee, leading Socialists of various states will be invited to consider changes in structure in the Party owing to the possibility of new alignments in American politics, and to begin planning for 1940.

39,413 In N. Y. C.

NEW YORK — Fighting back against the extraordinary tactic of Roosevelt supporters organizing a labor party, Socialist voters in New York gave Norman Thomas 39,413 votes, a substantial lead over Earl Browder, communist. Incomplete returns point to a state-wide vote of more

than 50,000 for the Socialist presidential ticket. The American Labor Party, pro-Roosevelt union organization, polled more than 237,000 votes in the city, cutting heavily into the vote of all radical parties. Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate for governor, ran considerably ahead of the national ticket, polling more than 70,000 votes in the state. He polled 47,984 in the city. The Socialist vote for assembly candidates in the city suffered a slight loss, the candidates polling 60,170 this year as against 65,569 in 1935. The losses were suffered in the counties of Bronx and Kings, all other districts showing an increased vote over last year, Queens County being outstanding in that its vote this year was double that of 1935. Though the Communist Party last year had run ahead of the Socialist candidates in Manhattan, Browder and his gubernatorial running-mate fell behind the Socialist vote in Tuesday's balloting. Because of the more stringent and reactionary legislation recently enacted, it is feared that the Communist Party may lose its standing on the ballot.

EARLY RETURNS

MILWAUKEE — Incomplete returns gave Norman Thomas 5,421 votes in Milwaukee County. Paul Gauer and Emil Dietz, Socialists running on the Progressive Farmer Labor Federation ticket were defeated for congress by a small margin.

2,091 in Bridgeport

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—Norman Thomas polled nearly 4 per cent of the vote here, receiving 2,091 out of 52,902, complete returns showed. Thomas edged out Lemke for third place, the Union Party candidate receiving 2,066. Bridgeport's two senators, who left the Socialist Party, were defeated. Thomas received 3,484 votes in Fairfield County.

Hold Vote In St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, Mo. — Results from 5 per cent of St. Louis precincts show that the tremendous swing to Roosevelt has not seriously affected the Socialist vote. There has been no evidence so far that the predicted heavy Lemke vote would materialize.

Gain In Maine

BRADFORD, Me. — Norman Thomas received 20 votes here, compared to but five in 1932. Republicans received 163 and Democrats 49.

The Rebel Arts chorus and Arturo de Filippi, noted Italian tenor, sang Labor songs.

Leaders Summon Spanish Masses To Rout Fascists

MADRID—The struggle of the Spanish masses against the foreign-manned Fascist hordes of General Franco is now in its decisive stages. With new enthusiasm sweeping through the ranks of the workers' militia because of the arrival of ammunition, airplanes and modern weapons of warfare, the people of Madrid are girding themselves for the drive that will turn back the Fascists.

Premier Caballero, pointing to advances made by government forces and the successful bombing of Fascist airports housing planes provided by the German and Italian governments to the rebels, has said: "The advance of our troops must and can be turned into a rout for the enemy."

Alarmed by the possibility that Madrid is in a position not only to withstand the Fascist siege but to destroy the rebels altogether, General Franco ordered the bombing of Madrid, killing women and even children at play with a savagery that is typical of Fascism throughout the world.

The major problem of the government thus far has been to whip its enthusiastic but untrained recruits into shape to act as a disciplined army, capable of meeting the highly skilled troops of Franco.

'Discipline Needed'

Claridad, Prime Minister Caballero's Socialist newspaper, declares:

"The chief military rule is discipline and blind obedience to officers. Without discipline and obedience there is no army, nor is victory possible against an enemy such as we are facing.

"Let this be well understood by the workers who are fighting the Fascist danger. Without discipline and obedience to officers we shall be beaten.

"Our resistance may last somewhat longer and we may inflict on the enemy still more losses, but in the long run we shall be beaten. Only a thoroughly organized army can defeat an equally organized army

"Even Soviet Russia did not triumph until she was able to organize a disciplined army—and that after the death penalty had been resorted to."

While even the loss of Madrid would not necessarily mean the defeat of the government, the loyalists are determined to hold on to the capital. It is known that the seizure of this city by the troops of Franco would result in the prompt recognition of a Fascist government by Fascist Germany and Italy.

Raise Funds

NEW YORK—Charles J. Hendley, president of the Teachers Union and prominent New York Socialist, announced this week that the union had collected the sum of \$2,000 for the purchase of food, clothing and medicines for the fighting Spanish workers, and that it expects to continue its fund-raising indefinitely.

The union had been attacked for its support of the Spanish masses in their anti-Fascist struggle. Hendley declared that the raising of money for food, clothing and medicines was the union's answer to its critics.

"Can any one with any passion for freedom," he asked, "remain neutral in such a struggle?"

DENIED HALL

WOONSOCKET, R. I. Socialists were denied use of Liberty Hall for a political forum here last week. Robert L. Warner, field organizer for the Woonsocket Socialist Party, declared that he had been told the hall was refused by police authority.

For Rights Bill

SPRINGFIELD, Ohio.—(LSP)—Among the recent decisions of the Ohio State Federation of Labor convention was the re-endorsement of the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment giving congress the right to legislate for the general welfare without the interference of the supreme court.

The amendment, which was written into the Socialist 1936 platform, has been endorsed by labor organizations representing more than two million workers.

MADRID'S DEFENDERS



These untrained, raw troops provide the backbone of the splendid labor army defending the Spanish capital against the Fascist barbarian hordes. What they lack in military skill, they make up in enthusiasm and a grim determination to keep Spain free. Above are members of the Karl Marx Mobile Unit No. 1 at the Karl Marx barracks in the city.

U. S. District Attorney in Arkansas Hits Sharecroppers, Workers' Defense League

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—A vicious attack on the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and the Workers Defense League, its official defense organization, was let loose this week by United States District Attorney Fred S. Isgrig, of Little Rock, Ark., as an answer to the drive begun by the STFU and the WDL to "End Peonage in Arkansas." Isgrig himself is a prominent Pulaski County planter.

The defense organization had sent out an appeal for funds over the signatures of Reinhold Niebuhr, Joseph Schlossberg, general secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and Aron S. Gilmartin, secretary of the WDL. Isgrig denounced the act as criminal and threatened prosecution. The funds are needed to aid the legal defense of sharecroppers victimized by the planters' tyranny and to push the prosecution of Paul Peachers, a planter indicted on charges of



peonage after Socialists had brought pressure to bear on the federal government.

The letter sent out by the Workers Defense League stated that "a fund of \$8,000 for defense and bail must be raised immediately if we are to aid in the struggle against slavery carried on so valiantly by the Southern Tenant

Farmer's Union. Rockwell Kent has contributed to this fund a beautiful stamp urging that we commemorate Arkansas' Centennial by ending peonage." The letter pointed out that the disposition of the Peachers case might be decisive in the fight against peonage in Arkansas.

Union officials wired Attorney General Cummings asking if Isgrig's threats represent the official attitude of the Department of Justice.

Describing condition in Arkansas cotton fields, the Workers Defense League declared:

"The hundredth year of Arkansas Statehood has been blackened by a reign of terror directed against sharecroppers and agricultural workers on the cotton plantations. In spite of overwhelming difficulties, the workers have formed and maintained their union, and have dared to present their demands for justice through it. A strike last Spring resulted in the arrests for one charge or another—'vagrancy,' 'interference with labor,' 'assault with intent to kill'—of many members of the union. In some of these cases we have succeeded in gaining the freedom of the workers; a large number still remain to be tried. In some communities the law officer and the planter are often the same person. Under the Arkansas laws men found guilty of 'vagrancy' may serve out their sentences on local plantations at the order of the court."

Contributions should be sent to David Clendenin, treasurer, Workers Defense League, 112 E. 19th Street, N. Y. C.

Gilmartin Flays Dismissal Of Jerome Davis From Yale

NEW YORK—The Workers Defense League, in a sharp letter signed by Aron S. Gilmartin, its secretary, and addressed to President Angell of Yale University, condemned the dismissal of Dr. Jerome Davis, president of the American Federation of Teachers, from the faculty.

The Yale authorities had refused to re-appoint Dr. Davis to his post in the divinity school because of his known pro-labor sentiments. Dr. Davis was one of the leading members of the Independent Committee for Norman Thomas and George Nelson and is a member of the national committee of the Workers Defense League.

Gilmartin's letter says:

"There can be little doubt in the minds of those who have followed his career at Yale and his activities outside the University in the interest of labor that this decision to drop Professor Davis comes as a result of sharp objection to and disagreement with (to say nothing of prejudice against) these activities.

"It is a known fact that Professor Davis, by these activities and by the publication of his excellent book, 'Capitalism and Its Culture,' has greatly displeased the larger financial interests of the University, very much to the embarrassment of the Administration."

Widespread protest has been aroused throughout the country by Yale's violation of academic

freedom. The American Federation of Teachers has gone on record condemning the reactionary conduct of the university's officials.

Teachers at Columbia University, New York University, Long Island University, Sarah Lawrence College, and at the three colleges of the City of New York called upon the Yale Corporation to reconsider its action and reappoint Professor Davis.

Oklahoma Socialist Buried Alive by Terrorist Society

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla. (LSP)—The existence of a new terror society operating in Oklahoma City was disclosed when Jack Bays, prominent Oklahoma Socialist, was kidnaped recently and buried alive for several hours.

Bays was enticed into joining the organization which professed to work for "Christian brotherhood" but after several months he found that they believed in fascism. He objected to this and the higher-ups decided to discipline him.

Under false pretenses he was lured to an appointment and after being blindfolded was driven to a strange building where he was put on trial for his life. He

was "convicted" and sentenced to death by being buried alive. He was tied, nailed in a coffin and lowered into a grave and then covered with sand. After a while he lost consciousness and was finally aroused by the sound of scraping shovels. He was brought again into the fresh air, placed in a car and driven to a place near his home. He was threatened with death if he told what happened.

CIO Parley To Receive Steel Data

PITTSBURGH—The meeting of the Committee for Industrial Organization, scheduled for this week-end, will hear detailed reports of the progress made by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee which has been enlisting steel workers into the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

According to John Brophy, director of the CIO, the session will consider charges that representatives of the SWOC have been attacked by company thugs and that state and local officials have deliberately ignored the violation of the rights of union men.

"This will be one of the most important labor conferences held in many years," Brophy said. Besides the question of the steel drive, the whole problem of the conflict between the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and the CIO will be on the agenda.

The SWOC has set up a "Fraternal Orders Committee" consisting of fraternal organizations sympathetic to labor to cooperate in the steel drive.

REPORT PROGRESS

Considerable progress has been reported by the SWOC among company union members who are beginning to realize that their only hope is genuine unionism. An open confession that the company union plan is a failure, for example, was put on record in the minutes of the Chicago District Council of the American Steel & Wire Co., a U. S. Steel subsidiary.

At a meeting in Waukegan, attended by eight company union representatives from the four mills in the district, the minutes of the meeting read in part:

"In discussing the progress made by the Employe Representation Plan (company union) since its inception, the members of this Committee expressed the opinion that it is very evident, in view of futile efforts to obtain a wage adjustment, also the fact that we have had no voice in such matters as time and one-half for overtime and regulating the hours per week, that we have reached a crucial point in our development."

COMPANY UNION 'INEFFECTIVE'

The committee then declared that their company union methods had proven to be "ineffective."

It then points out: "The principal argument of the organizers for the CIO in favor of their proposed union is the lack of means in our present set-up for presenting a united front on matters of corporation interest."

PLAN ANNIVERSARY

CHICAGO—November 11, 1937, the fiftieth anniversary of the Haymarket tragedy for which leaders of organized labor were legally murdered, will be celebrated throughout the nation with extensive commemoration ceremonies, according to plans of the Provisional Committee for the Commemoration. The committee is located at 188 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

WATCH THE WRAPPER

on your copy of the Socialist Call. If the number on the lower left of this notice, or any number less than this number appears on your wrapper it means that your subscription has expired. Renew immediately.

86 RENEW NOW!

Labor in Action

ST. LOUIS—Twelve members of the Federal Writers' Project were arrested last week while picketing WPA offices here in an effort to bring about the reinstatement of Wayne Barker, fired for activity in the St. Louis Writers Union.

TRENTON, N. J.—The strike of local doll workers against the Regal Doll Corp. has been settled by an agreement providing wage increases and other union conditions. The union insisted on the same type of agreement as was won in New York.

SALT LAKE CITY—The strike of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers for compliance with the 8-hour law and a 50c-a-day wage increase has brought to a virtual standstill all gold, silver, lead, zinc and copper mining in Utah.

LOS ANGELES—The Western Mechanics Industrial Union has voted in favor of affiliation with the United Automobile Workers of America. The first vote was 95 per cent in favor of affiliation, after which it was made unanimous.

PITTSBURGH—Some 8,000 flat glass workers have walked out of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., paralyzing production, because of the company's refusal to meet union demands for rate adjustments, wage increases and a union shop.

CLEVELAND—Following three weeks of negotiations, the Otis Steel Co. has granted its 300 warehousemen wage increases. Some men got as much as a 50 per cent raise. Activities of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in the area are credited with the victory.

PHILADELPHIA—Following negotiations over a period of several weeks a new agreement was entered into between Local Union No. 90, Metal Polishers' International Union, and the employers for a 100 per cent union shop in the Philadelphia district.

MINNEAPOLIS—The contract between the grocery and chain store employers and the fighting Local 544, now made public, is a complete victory for the drivers' union. Wages are not less than 60c an hour for drivers, and not less than 50c for helpers and inside workers.

CHICAGO—The United Shoe and Leather Workers Union, Local 48, has succeeded in reversing the decision of a lower court, granting an injunction restraining the union from picketing, congregating and "soliciting persons not to enter" the shop.

AKRON, O.—The Goodyear Rubber Company has locked out 15,000 workers, closing its plant, as a result of a sit-down strike initiated by 3,500 workers because of the violation of seniority rights of four men in Plant Two.

RACINE, Wisc.—When the J. I. Case Co. fired 500 workers for joining the automobile workers' union, the other 1,600 workers "sat down" on the job, stopping production in the three Case plants here. The "sit-down" became a strike, however, after the company retaliated by locking out the workers.

80,000 Out In Marine Strike; Atlantic, Gulf Aid West Coast

A strike of more than 80,000 American seamen, provoked by the attempt of big shipowners to break the strong Maritime Federation of the Pacific, made labor history last week as, beginning on Pacific Coast docks, it slowly paralyzed all U. S. shipping. Other thousands of workers will

Rank and File 'Sit-Down' in Eastern Ports

Thousands of seamen on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts "sat-down" last week in a series of dramatic strikes to emphasize their solidarity with their brothers in Pacific ports. Although the movement was confined in the beginning to "sit-downs" during which the men reported for work but refused to put the ship to sea, it threatened to result in regular strikes as shipowners prepared to use armed force to smash the unity move.

The situation was complicated as a result of attempts by discredited union officials to supply scabs with the excuse of a "contract" signed by these officials but never approved by the men themselves. The men voted to strike at regular meetings of the union and at a ratification meeting held by the Seamen's Defense Committee.

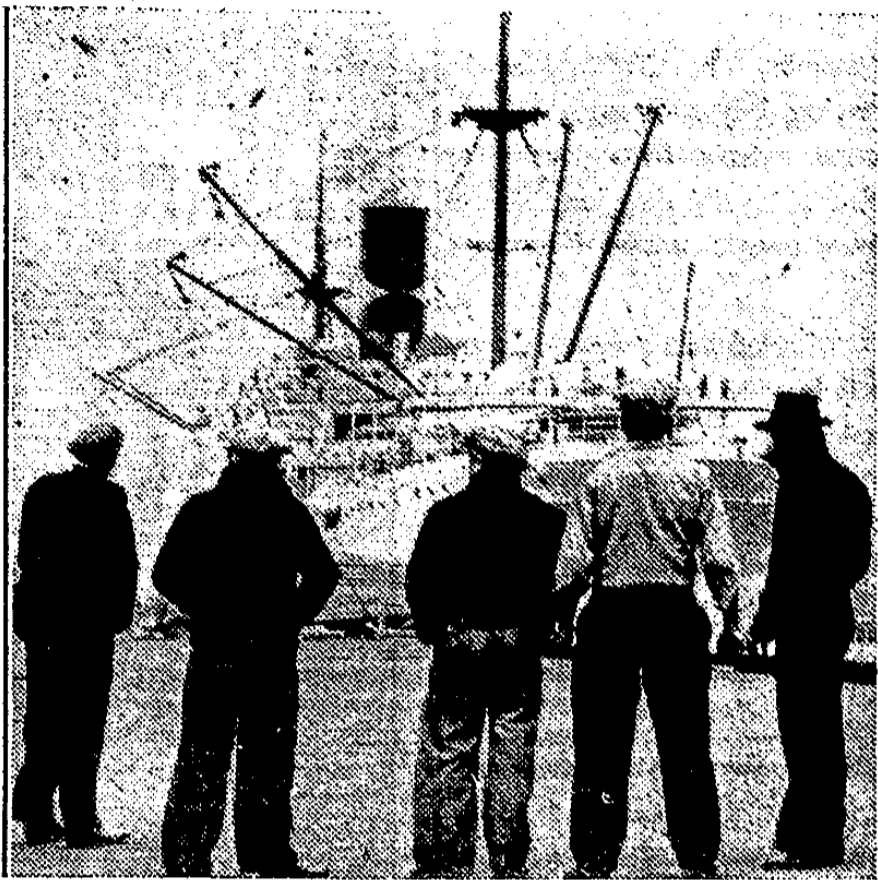
The latter organization was formed during the strikes on the Atlantic coast several months ago and is captained by Joseph Curran, militant rank-and-file leader. Under its sponsorship, seamen tied up the port during the last series of strikes to protest the illegal nature of the "contract" signed by officials they had repudiated at regular elections.

"Liberal" Mayor

In Philadelphia, Mayor S. Davis Wilson, elected as a liberal, arbitrarily declared the strike illegal and ordered police to arrest all pickets. He later modified his order so as to hit only the longshoremen, the seamen and the pilots—the three most important unions on strike. Wilson, an ardent New Dealer, showed his true colors of yellow the moment the election was declared safe for Roosevelt.

The "sit-down" strikes, which began in the port of New York, spread quickly to Baltimore, Boston, New Orleans, Charleston, Houston, and other important shipping centers. More than 158 ships were tied up on the Atlantic and Gulf, Curran reported, in addition to more than 180 ships on the Pacific. More than 12,000 seamen are sitting-down, he estimated.

FRISCO PICKETS



Striking seamen pickets, making sure that government threats to aid shipowners in strike-breaking would remain mere words, saw the greatest maritime strike in American history last week. Pacific shipping was paralyzed and the strike was spreading rapidly among rank-and-file seamen on the Atlantic and Gulf ports.

Lettuce Strike Ends After Brutal Terror

SALINAS, Calif.—The strike of the lettuce workers is over. The Fruit and Vegetable Workers' Union has voted by 613 to 342 to return to work. Preferential hiring, the main demand of the strikers, has not been won.

The walk-out commanded the attention of the nation for weeks. Armed vigilantes, led by "law-enforcement" agents unleashed brutality and violence against the workers in the streets of Salinas that shocked the whole country.

For the past two years, the wage scale has been 75 cents an hour for packers and 55 cents an hour for trimmers. The crate-makers and teamsters, after observing the violence perpetrated on the packers, walked out too.

The California State Federation of Labor, which recently turned its attention to the organization of agricultural workers and connected industries, co-operated with the strikers, providing funds and organizational assistance.

Throughout the strike, the regular weapons of the California employers—frame-ups as well as beatings—were used against the strikers. Bombs were planted by company agents in places where no harm could be done to the property of the owners, and then the strikers were charged with the bombings. Arrests were made by the hundreds and the prisoners confined in barbed wire stockades when the jails overflowed. Union headquarters were attacked and the furniture smashed.

In spite of the failure to win the basic demands in the strike, the lettuce pickers have their eye to the future. They are confident that ultimately through organization they will win.

become involved, it was predicted, as workers in other industries on the western coast rally to the aid of their fellow unionists.

It was a similar seamen's strike in 1934 that resulted in the historic San Francisco general strike. Then 127,000 workers, backed by some 160 unions, tied up the entire San Francisco Bay region for more than two days in a tremendous demonstration of their solidarity with striking seamen and longshoremen. The general strike was finally broken through a united front of the Industrial Association, the Hearst papers and Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, acting for President Roosevelt.

TO IMPORT "GOONS"

Although in the first days of the strike, employers dared not even talk of trying to move the ships, rumors of imported "goons" (as strikebreakers are called on the docks) became prevalent. Government forces again lined up with shipowners against the workers, using the excuse of "safety crews" to threaten to place enlisted Navy sailors on the ships.

Earlier, the unions had intimated that they would supply such "safety crews" if employers would stop the practice of "black-listing" licensed officers who walked off in sympathy with the seamen.

Complete cooperation was given the striking seamen. Longshoremen and other marine labor unions, who had previously refused bribes of union contracts to split the united ranks of the Maritime Federation, walked off in sympathy. More than 70,000 members of the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union in the northwest assessed themselves \$1 each to aid the maritime strike fund.

HEARINGS A FAILURE

Meanwhile, attempts by the U. S. Maritime Commission, appointed by President Roosevelt and headed by Admiral Harry G. Hamlet, to "settle" the strike ended in disaster when union officials walked out after Hamlet had attempted to make the fact-finding commission turn into an arbitration body. The Commission is acting slowly and delicately because of the fact that one of America's greatest bankers and shipping head, Amadeo Giannini, is a strong Roosevelt supporter. Hearings may be resumed later, it was believed.

The general strike of 1934, although broken, resulted in several important concessions for the waterfront workers. As the time drew near for the expiration of the contract, on October 1, it became evident that the shipowners had decided to reject union demands and to recapture control of the hiring halls, focal point of union struggles on the docks. Control of hiring halls, and thus actually job control, implies union recognition and a closed shop.

BOSSES REJECTED NEGOTIATIONS

Despite the employers' evident recalcitrance, the maritime union offered to continue working under the 1934 contract while negotiations toward the signing of a new contract proceeded. The owners rejected this offer and instead, by offering substantial acceptance of union demands to the longshoremen, a component part of the Maritime Federation, attempted to destroy the waterfront unity. This splitting proposal was overwhelmingly rejected by the men.

THE STRIKE SCORE BOARD




Here is the score board of the shipping strike as it affected New York—with the lists of ships kept from sailing growing longer every hour. The New York strike was a spontaneous sit-down drama in solidarity with Pacific workers.

THE SOCIALIST CALL

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THANK YOU

In the course of the past few months, The CALL, like the Socialist Party which it has been serving, has made many friends in all parts of the country. We cannot refrain from pausing to thank them for the splendid exhibition of loyalty they have shown toward the ideals for which we have sought to speak in these troubled times.

During these past months, we have directed many appeals to you for funds to aid not only The CALL but the various propaganda agencies of the Socialist Party. Readers of The CALL—many of whom, we know, are not members of the party—responded gallantly, sending sums of money that made it possible to put the flaming hope of Socialism into leaflets and in soul-stirring radio broadcasts.

Your generosity has meant much to the Socialist movement and we thank you for it.

But even as we express our gratitude, we dare not avoid the reminder that your hours of service are not at an end. A battle is more than a skirmish and a war is more than a battle. For Socialists, the fight for a better world cannot end until the old world is destroyed and the foundations for the new are laid.

You have your part to play. The Socialist Party needs you. More important than your vote, more important than your contributions is yourself! Ours is not a movement of impersonal votes; ours is an army of men and women whose unity of purpose is mightier than the statistics of election day tally clerks.

The Democratic and Republican politicians have already folded their tents and stolen away to the back-rooms from which their orders will issue. They will reappear with the coming of another election when they will remember the necessity of addressing themselves to the masses again. But the Socialist Party is different. It is not just an electoral machine which faces the people only in November and the few months preceding. It is an organization which functions all year round—serving the workers everywhere in their struggles, continuing ceaselessly its propaganda for Socialism.

It needs you! Its success is your responsibility—a responsibility which you can meet only by joining its ranks, participating in its deliberations, sharing in its organization work and contributing to its growth. Join the Socialist Party!

Gratefully, we thank you for the help you have given in the past. Confidently we thank you for the co-operation we anticipate in the future.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRESS

The Supreme Court has agreed to hear arguments on the constitutionality of the Wagner Labor Relations act. Before many months pass, we may expect a decision holding that measure unconstitutional.

In itself that will be small loss. The measure is so poorly drawn that the court, if it so desired, could hold it constitutional, and by interpretation make it practically valueless to labor.

What is important, however, is that the right of Congress to legislate on social and economic questions be established. With a court as reactionary as the present one, this will have to be done by constitutional amendment. Of the various amendments thus far proposed, the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment (S.J.R. 249) is by far the best.

It is also important that labor learn to draft effective legislation. There is no excuse for presenting to Congress such loosely-drawn measures as the Wagner act.

In the past labor has typically waited for some liberal legislator to draft a bill, and then it has given uncritical support. This explains why so many measures, enthusiastically hailed by labor, turn out to be of little value.

Labor will never make legislative progress until it learns to draft its own measures, using its own technical staff for that purpose.—By Joel Seidman.

LET THIS BE LABOR'S REPLY



A Letter From Mrs. Thomas

To the Editor:

I want to thank the national office, and through it the party membership, for the opportunity to travel with Comrade Thomas as his campaign secretary. I have appreciated more than I can say this chance to know the comrades all over the country and I wish there were some way I could personally thank all of them for the hospitality and welcome they gave me.

I realize more than ever the loyalty and enthusiasm for Socialism that we found everywhere and it is an honor for a few weeks to have felt myself one of the staff workers.

VIOLET THOMAS
New York City.

Tom Mooney Asks Your Help

To the Editor:

The hearings on my application for a writ of habeas corpus, lasting for more than one year in which there were one hundred and thirty-five court days, amassed a tremendous record of 15,000 typewritten pages of transcript of testimony and six hundred odd exhibits, before a Referee appointed by and sitting for the California State Supreme Court. We closed the actual rec-

ord of this hearing on August 31, 1936.

For the first time in twenty years, we were able to present all the facts developed subsequent to my frame-up trial and conviction, more than amply proving my three specific charges against the State of California: first, the use of perjury to convict me; second, knowledge on the part of California officials of the perjury so used; third, suppression of material evidence by the California authorities that would have established my unquestioned innocence.

Then began the real task in this long, desperate struggle, of preparing for the Referee and the Justices of the California Supreme Court the following documents from the above record:

1. Findings of fact;
2. Abstract of the record;
3. Exceptions to the Referee's findings;
4. Brief of the entire evidence.

The cost of legal assistance required in marshaling the facts from this tremendous record and the clerical help, printing and binding of same, staggers our imagination, but in spite of it all, it must be done and we are now doing it. At least \$10,000.00 will be required to accomplish this great task. Our funds were com-

pletely exhausted in the year-long hearing.

Now, as never before, I need generous, continued financial support. Without it we are lost. With it there is hope of real ultimate victory. I plead most urgently and fervently from the depths of my heart for this continued, immediate, additional assistance. I cannot urge too strongly the immediate need for a quick, generous response to this appeal.

Again, from the depths of this fighting, proletarian heart goes my warmest regards with grateful thanks and fraternal greetings. I am, with every good wish to you and yours,

TOM MOONEY.
Box 1475,
San Francisco, Calif.

Funds Needed For Defense

To The Editor:

We hope that our defense of union loggers in Idaho and our appeal of the conviction of Mike Lindway to the Supreme Court of the United States, both pending and typical of the work of the General Defense Committee, will be aided with funds by your readers.

On our success in defending the Idaho cases very largely depends the opportunity for labor to improve the living conditions for workers in this important section of the lumber industry. Our expenses have been heavy in this work, and those who formerly contributed have recently been on a long strike. We must ask others to do their utmost to carry these pending cases to completion.

Funds should be sent immediately to the General Defense Committee, 2422 N. Halstead Street, Chicago, Ill.

FRED W. THOMPSON,
Chicago, Ill.

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A TALE OF 5 MEN

By Pete Hawks

MEMBERS of the Industrial Workers of the World tell an interesting story. Among the passengers on an ocean liner were a lumberjack, a banker, a cook, a hunter, and a carpenter. Misfortune befell them and the ship was wrecked. In the midst of the excitement, being practical men, they remembered to snatch up the tools of their trades—the lumberjack his saw and axe, the banker his bags of gold, the carpenter his hammer and saw, the cook his pots and pans and the hunter his guns and traps.

Eventually, after being tossed by the waves in their lifeboat, they landed on a desert island. Immediately the banker cleared his throat and said: "Ahem! I am the only one with money, so you can all work for me."

Everybody felt happy that they had such a good citizen with them. "What a noble character," they said. "He is ready to put us all to work."

The carpenter and lumberjack built houses, the hunter caught wild beasts, the cook prepared the meals. At the end of the week, the banker called them together and said: "Ahem! What would be the use of my giving you cash? There's no place to spend it here. Since I'm a banker, I'll open an account for each of you, charge you board and rent and put the balance to your credit."

Everybody Was Happy

They all agreed and were very happy because at last they had prosperity and bank accounts.

One day the banker said to them: "Ahem! You have all earned a rest. We have all the houses we need, and all the work's done. Take a vacation."

Of course, the cook had to stay on the job, but the other workers all lent a hand with the result that they all spent most of the day enjoying the ocean breezes, swimming and loafing.

But one day the banker came to the cook and told him: "Ahem! Just put two plates on the table today. The other boys have used up their bank balances, and of course, I can't go on feeding and housing them for nothing."

At first, the hunter, the lumberjack and the carpenter, though feeling sad about the situation, felt that the banker was right. So they slept on the beach instead of in the houses and tightened their belts, praying that matters would improve. They would stand at a distance and watch the banker have his lunch and then sneak up and nibble at the crumbs that he left. But finally, one of them called the others together and said:

"Listen here, boys. There's enough on this island for all of us to eat. Over there are the houses that we built and the beds are waiting for us to sleep in them no matter what the banker has to say about our accounts. We did the work and we're entitled to have them." They talked it over with the cook and he felt the same way about it.

The next day things looked a lot different on the island. Each of them returned to his work. They paid no attention to the banker, doing their own work and satisfying their common needs.

It was not many hours before the banker came running up, looking very pale. This time he didn't begin his speech with a dignified, "Ahem!" On the contrary, he whined:

"Listen, fellows," he said. "Come on back to work for me. I'll credit you with higher sums in my banking books; I'll even give you cash—gold if you want it. Only stop this silly business and repair the roof of my house and catch food for me and cook it so that I can eat."

'Nothing Doing!'

But the others refused to listen. "Nothing doing!" they said. "If you want your house repaired and if you want to eat, you'll have to start doing some work yourself."

The next day found the banker washing dishes. And in the weeks, months and years that passed, everybody had food, clothing and shelter, as well as leisure and comfort.

Millions of us are in the same fix in which those shipwrecked voyagers found themselves. We've got to do the same thing they did—reorganize the method of doing things; see to it that nobody else claims the rewards of our labor.

At the present time, the bankers and the factory-owners claim the right to sit by while we work and produce goods of which they promptly take possession. They do that because they claim the ownership of the factories and demand the right to control credit and finance.

Actually we do not need them. They contribute nothing useful to society, as the workers do. We must sweep away their false claims and build the kind of a world in which the workers will cooperate in producing and controlling wealth. We can do that by socializing the industries, making them the property of the masses of the working-people, running them not for the benefit of bankers and industrialists but for the benefit of the producers. And that's Socialism.

'MADRID WILL WIN'



"We Will Win" was the message Fernando de los Rios, noted Socialist and Spanish ambassador to the United States, transmitted to the American people when he spoke at the National Press Club in Washington, D. C. He is shown above (left) with George Simpson, president of the club.

Communists, Lovestonites Reject Progressive Unity

Sam Baron, president of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union of New York, who achieved national repute as a labor leader because of his valiant fight for progressive policies at the Atlantic City convention of the

American Federation of Labor in 1935, has been defeated in the recent elections as a result of a last-minute deal between the communists and the Lovestonites. He received a total of 40 per cent of the vote out of a total of some 1,200 ballots cast.

Baron had earned the hatred of conservative AFL leaders because of his vigorous fight against the amendment to the AFL constitution which would have barred communists from holding office in affiliated bodies under penalty of charter revocations. He has been the leader in the fight for industrial unionism among the federal locals and served as the secretary of the group of international unions and federal locals which sponsored the resolution for independent political action in the convention.

Soon after the drive against Baron was announced, the communist politicians began to negotiate terms, based on the plan to retain Baron as a "front" while they took control of the union's administrative machinery. Baron refused.

Political Move

In spite of Baron's defense of their rights as union workers, the communist caucus, intent on asserting political control of the BSAU, launched an attack on the administration. Confessing that it had no disagreement with the policies of the administration which had raised the membership of the union from 700 to 2,300, which had led for the first time in the history of the union a series of successful strikes, the communist group launched a sudden campaign two weeks before election.

Until that time, the Lovestonites had been part of the progressive group and had representation in the executive board. The communists had behaved angelically toward the administration, until the liquidation of the dual Office Workers Union and the admission of its members into the BSAU had been successfully effected by the administration. Setting forth no new program for the union but demanding control as a political movement, the communists commenced the drive to oust the administration merely because of political questions unrelated to union problems.

Tortuous as communist policy in general has become of late, there are still some who can wonder at the amazing new turns that are taken. The New York labor movement has been shocked to learn

that communists can find a basis for unity with Max Pincus in Local 302 of the Cafeteria Workers Union, recently indicted under charges of racketeering. They can unite with right wing ex-Socialists in the Furriers and the Painters Unions whom they had long denounced. They can unite with Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers Union against Emil Rieve of the Hosiery Workers Union, one of the most progressive labor leaders in the U. T. W. In notoriously reactionary and corrupt unions, where the workers are desperately engaged in cleaning house, they have liquidated their opposition.

They have now added to their degrading record a refusal to work out a basis for unity with the progressive group in the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union.

The Lovestonites record, too, deserves attention. From the old role of fighting communist dual unionism, they have now turned, in the few unions in which they have groups, to the accomplishment of the dirty work which the communists do not dare to attempt in the open. The Furriers, the Teachers, the Textile Workers, and the Bookkeepers Unions reveal the Lovestonites as pawns playing the communist party game, seemingly outside the party but pulling its chestnuts out of the fire.

The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hand is the hand of Esau!

Progressive trade unionists, revolted by the spectacle, will not surrender in their fight for clean, intelligent unionism on the basis of the unity of all who want to build militant organization through which the workers can advance in their struggle for better conditions. They will not permit the unions to be victimized by the breeding of disunity for purposes of political advantage.

Militant, clean, progressive unionism, will win in the end.

ERBER LECTURE POSTPONED

The lecture on the subject of "Spain: Key to Europe's Future" by Ernest Erber, national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League has been temporarily postponed.

Erber has been traveling extensively through Spain and Western Europe. He is now on his way back to the United States.

AMERICAN DILEMMA

By McAlister Coleman

THIS is written two days before election, in that "retreat" I told you all about last week. From the front windows of Ye Olde Nuthatch where I am doing penance for my sins, the end of the old-party campaign looks as sublimely ridiculous as its start at the national conventions that nominated Roosevelt and Landon. Naturally neither outfit has had the guts to tackle the fundamentals of the American Dilemma and as a result the majority of the unterrified electorate are voting blind again. "Sound and fury signifying nothing" bring the whole smear to a banal ending and that's that.

What about us?—We have come triumphantly through a major crisis in the Party's history, with Socialist colors flying high, wide and handsome. Like Garrison, Thomas has been "harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice" throughout his gallant campaign. He has not wavered in his eloquent insistence that the only issue that confronts the American worker is the Socialist issue of the abolition of capitalism and the building of the cooperative commonwealth. It would have been easy to have pulled his punches, to have held aloft a clinched left hand while with his right he waved his followers onto the Roosevelt band-wagon.

Back Into the Struggle

I for one, have been thrilled as rarely before in my years of Socialist service by this campaign, despite the fact that I played so small a part in it. Never have I been so proud to be a Socialist. And if I ever get all the answers right and the psychiatrists let me loose again, I am going back into the struggle with an enthusiasm that I have not known for some years.

Good work, Norman. You held aloft the torch in the dark hours and showed the world once more of what stuff true Socialists are made.

Just back from a rousing game of croquet which is supposed to quiet the nerves of us neurotics. Of all nerve-wracking, irritating pastimes! In a pent-up community such as this, where the peccadillos of institutional life take on the importance of major issues a croquet wicket can become a matter of high tragedy and the old inferiority complex swings into instant action after a miserable flinch shot. Never going much for games, I find myself mooching through the whole dreary range from Cowboy Pool to Badminton and it is a toss-up at which of all the games I am urged to play I am the poorest. When I get back in the world again, just come up and ask me to play checkers or five hundred or something and see what happens. Just ask me.

Broadway Yearnings

Before I got cooped up, I was going to pieces, as Alex Woolcott put it, on Broadway, reviewing three or four shows a week and considerably bored with the job. "I got so that I couldn't sit through more than one act of some of the terrible flops that my stooge got tickets for. Today, by golly, I could see the "Golden Journey" again and like it. I never dreamed that a few weeks of exile could make Broadway so attractive. I have been told since my youth that a man's environment makes no difference provided the man has the stuff inside him; "stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage." That's blah. I evidently haven't the right make-up because I can't take an environment of barriers and restraints and still come alive. And any psychiatrist will tell you (God, God, how he will tell you) that this shows that you are maladjusted and that "rational" beings know how to adapt themselves to their environment and make the best of it. If that's true, I want to lead a loud cheer for the irrationals, long may they psyche.

For if acceptance of whatever environment one finds oneself in is proof of rationality, why did we ever come down from the trees where all our granddaddy primates were having such a happy time picking off one another's fleas? Be irrational, my son, and let who will adjust. The contribution of rational beings to the happiness of mankind has been precious small compared to the mighty gifts of the rebellious, the maladjusted, the irrational.

Join The Socialist Party

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

Name

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Pacific Coast Waterfront Battle May Decide the Future of All Maritime Unions

AFTER a month's delay while the bosses threatened and government officials cajoled, 40,000 maritime workers of the Pacific coast again established picket lines around the docks to begin another glorious chapter in the history of American labor. In 1934 when the seamen had walked down the gangplanks to band together with their fellow-workers on the docks for decent conditions, they had been ignored by American journalism. But in 1936, their walk-out commands front-page headlines in every newspaper in the nation. For today it is recognized everywhere that a maritime strike is no isolated demonstration of protest by the forces of labor. In 1934, it led to the historic San Francisco general strike. Where will it lead in 1936?

In contrast to previous years, when the bosses were able to weaken labor's fight by conceding to some groups better agreements than by others and thus splitting the ranks, the workers are united in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, a rallying ground for progressive unionism. Today, labor is prepared to meet the employers, its ranks united and militant—unhindered by the yoke of either reactionary officialdom or craft separatism.

Solidarity Necessary

Solidarity of all maritime unions is a vital necessity—for the shipowners are highly organized into one of the most vicious, labor-hating organizations that exist in the country—the Industrial Association of San Francisco. The Association is the spearhead for the other employer groups formed for more limited purposes. As the critical point in negotiations was reached, the employers, through the controlled daily press, revived their anti-red, anti-union hysteria. The recent charges in the so-called "murder plot" in which the district attorney implicated four union members, two of them officials, were well calculated to throw an unfavorable spot-light upon waterfront unionism. With no evidence against these men, the papers are already brazenly branding them unqualifiedly as "murderers." A shipowners' weekly-bulletin shrieks with brutal determination: "Keep them in jail!"

But against employer solidarity, the workers have evolved labor solidarity—solidarity that has passed through the test of baptismal fire. Since the 1934 strike, the waterfront unions have developed a new body for unifying their purposes and consolidating their strength in struggle—the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. It was established one year after the strike—the fruition of a long and militant struggle for unity among maritime transport workers, the fourth federation of its kind in the history of the coast.

Establish Own Paper

Against the libels of the vicious capitalist press—Hearst and liberal alike—the waterfront workers have established a new organ, the "Voice of the Federation," dedicated to and controlled by rank-and-file interests. Today, the "Voice" stands ready to give effective and accurate publicity to labor's side in the present crisis.

Overshadowed by the great waterfront strike but still of vital importance to maritime workers have been two other issues having nationwide significance: (1) the fight against the Copeland "continuous discharge book" passed by the last Congress, and (2) the struggle of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific to regain their charter on terms acceptable to a self-respecting rank-and-file. The latter has demonstrated the ability of progressive unionism to win the day. Now after a long and bitter struggle which began with the revocation of its charter, the SUP has behind it the entire Pacific maritime labor movement and stands out as an effective and militant section of the movement.

Despite the efforts of shipowners, of government officials and of reactionary officials to make the "discharge book" palatable to the seamen, originally isolated cries of protest have grown into a powerful, unanimous demonstration of labor sentiment against the book. They now understand it to be nothing more nor less than a thinly-disguised blacklisting book directed against the more militant workers daring to protest intolerable conditions. Today, up and down the coasts, one sees the conspicuous white buttons captioned in black letters: "As An American Seaman, I Refuse the Copeland Pink Book!"

The Pacific Coast maritime workers have inspired and led the workers on the Atlantic Coast, the Gulf and the Great Lakes. The Maritime Federation of the Pacific has demonstrated its worth. The membership in the other districts are eager to establish their own federation. A National Maritime Federation is a not far distant goal. The success or failure of the Pacific strike will mean much in the march of American labor toward its goal of jobs and freedom.

For Plenty, For Peace, For Freedom

The text of Norman Thomas' speech at the great Madison Square Garden Rally in New York last Sunday follows:

The skies over Europe and Eastern Asia are black with the clouds of war. No one knows when they may break in floods of devastation, or what will be the consequences to America of this fresh carnival of death. Yet the discussion in this political campaign has scarcely touched the issue of peace except in terms of platitudinous generalities.

President Roosevelt has given us the greatest appropriations for the army and navy in the whole world. An administration which has not been able even to begin building homes for the third of our people who live in shacks and slums has dotted the country with its armories and spread the seas with its navies.

Part of its vast expenditure has been in the name of giving relief to the unemployed and all of it has been in the name of defense. Yet neither Mr. Roosevelt nor his Republican rival, who has not challenged this expenditure, has given us any definition of what we are defending. Both of them have accepted our anomalous position in the Philippines with the stake that that position gives us in the quarrels of the Far East.

Neither of them has given any clear definition of genuine neutrality, nor told us plainly how we shall take the profit not only out of war, but preparation for war, and still keep the capitalist system. There has indeed been talk of universal conscription of men and wealth in the next war, but the threat of it will not of itself prevent new war and, in the event of that quarrel, conscription of wealth under a capitalist government will be lenient. But the farmer at his plow, the worker at his bench, as well as the soldier in the trenches, will be bound in absolute slavery to the war machine.

The Crisis of Our Times

Our political leaders, Mr. Roosevelt in particular, have talked much about our amiable intentions and what the President calls our program of "good neighborliness." That has not prevented our ambassadors in Cuba from open support of reactionary tyranny, nor has it led to any constructive suggestions for the solution of the problems of a world in which nations as well as men are divided inexorably into the House of Have and Have-Not.

It is only we Socialists who have urged American leadership in disarmament, the complete denunciation of imperialism, genuine neutrality, and a program for taking profit out of war and preparation for war. The program does not require the conscription of men but of wealth. It cannot, however, be made too clear that we want to socialize America to make peace glorious, not to conscript America for purposes of war and Fascism.

Our general policy may be summed up in the phrase "cooperation in what makes for peace, isolation in what makes for war." We do not believe that a capitalist America can be trusted to apply military sanctions for ideal ends, or that it should go to war to enforce peace. The sanctions in which alone is hope are workers' sanctions.

The crisis of our times involves not only peace but freedom. We have steadily lost ground during the past few years in our understanding and practice of civil liberty. I have only to recite the melancholy catalogue: the silly but dangerous epidemic of loyalty oaths for teachers; the private armies and arsenals which great corporations have gathered for industrial warfare; the rise of the abominable Black Legion in Michigan and Ohio, and the

We Have Just Begun to Fight—

This message is addressed to those thousands who cheered Norman Thomas in the great demonstration at Madison Square Garden last week, to those millions who heard his clarion call for plenty, peace and freedom over the radio.

The campaign is not ended—it has just begun! Before us lies the great and glorious mission of labor, to build the cooperative commonwealth of mankind in place of a society of greed and hatred and disorder. It is not a task for shirkers—it commands the faith and loyalty of every class-conscious worker, of every civilized individual.

The next four years will spell America's fate—will this great nation be steered into the dark barbarism of a horrible Fascism or will we go forward

toward Workers' Democracy—a society of hope and of freedom?

There is no middle road. You must choose today! To sit back and do nothing is to give comfort and aid to the enemies of the working people—to the black forces of reaction.

Join with us in this great struggle! A great and historic campaign has been waged, but the real fight has just begun. Only by building the foundations of a strong and powerful Socialist and labor movement can we insure a forward march to the dawn of a new day with security and freedom for the common people.

There is a Socialist Party branch in your community. Join it.

revival of the Ku Klux Klan, especially in Florida; Governor McNutt's military law in Indiana, a form of Hoosier Hitlerism likely to be contagious in other States; vigilantes in California; flogging, kidnapping and murder in Florida and Alabama; the extraordinary infamy and terrorism of the plantation system in Eastern Arkansas, protected and defended by the President's friend, Senator Joe Robinson; the repeated denials of the right of speech and assemblage to minority groups.

Against these crimes, many of them in Democratic States, President Roosevelt has not used his immense power and influence, nor has Governor Landon spoken out save in terms of cautious general advocacy of tolerance and criticism of loyalty oaths. President Roosevelt never won for us an anti-lynching bill with teeth in it when he could have won it; and Governor Landon has not specifically endorsed an adequate measure.

Poverty in Midst of Plenty

We Socialists are committed to the preservation and increase of civil liberty, to the absolute vindication of the right of workers, employed and unemployed, to organize and bargain collectively in the cotton fields as well as in great industries. We are committed to Federal anti-lynching legislation, and to an end of racial discrimination in respect to relief, work, education and justice. But we do not believe that liberty can be made secure until we end the tyranny implicit in the control of the few over the resources and the jobs necessary to the life of us all.

For poverty in the midst of potential plenty, the profit system is even more obviously responsible than for war and tyranny. It is the amazing truth that in this campaign there has been no discussion of the conditions of true abundance from either of the major parties. Both Mr. Landon and Mr. Roosevelt explicitly express their devotion to the profit system. Mr. Landon believes that New-Deal policies have retarded a process of "recovery" somehow miraculously inherent in the system. Mr. Roosevelt believes that he has rescued from stormy seas the nice old gentleman, capitalism, all except his silk hat. In general, Mr. Landon wants to do the impossible and restore the epoch of Coolidge plus a few vague bribes to farmers and the aged, as the price of their votes.

A child, who knows addition and subtraction (multiplication and division are unnecessary)

would know that it is not possible to fulfill the Republican promises to balance the budget, reduce taxes, take the government out of business, and at the same time maintain relief through local agencies, but with Federal aid; through artificial subsidies give the farmers better prices than the New Deal has given them; and pay better pensions to the aged over 65 than the New Deal has offered them!

The Republican campaign has been on an incredibly low level of sincerity and intelligence. Even when its speakers have been right or half right in some of their criticisms, they have destroyed the effect by exaggeration and utter

lack of a constructive program. If I refrain from further criticism of the Republican case it is because I am so firmly convinced that its ticket will be defeated by a large majority on Tuesday.

The Menace of Fascism

It is fortunately unnecessary to discuss at length the program of the Lemke-Coughlin Union party. For various reasons, it and the curious combination of political messiahs and discredited politicians who lead it have been steadily losing ground since about the first of September, but the conditions, economic and psychological, which gave rise to it still continue and from them, unless we can show to the people a more excellent way, a Fascist and fair division of the great national income which Socialism makes possible.

Certain it is that the nearest approach to the Lemke-Coughlin program, with its promises of good wages to workers, good profits to farmers and little business men, all within the confines of the capitalist system, is to be found in the economic planks of the basic Nazi platform of 1920 in Germany.

The significant fact is the stampede to Roosevelt—a stampede which, for very different reasons, has been shared in or supported by such diverse groups as the Pendergast machine of Missouri, the Hague machine of New Jersey, Tammany Hall of New York—Jimmy Walker got the ovation here last night—the Kelly-Nash outfit of Chicago, Joe Robinson of Arkansas, Governor McNutt of Indiana, bankers like Giannini of California and even some members of the House of Morgan, the editors of The New York Times, and most of the American Federation of Labor, both followers of John L. Lewis and of William Green. Even the Communists have given indirect support by their opportunistic program, their misleading slogan of democracy versus fascism and their concentration of attack on only one capitalist party.

Quite obviously some of these people are going to be disappointed. But Mr. Roosevelt permits them all to think it will be the other fellow until after the election. His last night's rhetorical speech in this hall answered no specific questions. The constitutional crisis is serious. It is a question whether there is any power, Federal or State, which can act in another emergency to assert power over our economic processes. Mr. Roosevelt has discussed no plans for dealing with the situation.

"I am a Socialist because I cannot be anything else. I cannot accept the ugly world of capitalism, with its brutal struggles and needless suffering, its archaic and irrational economic structure, its cruel social contrasts, its moral callousness and spiritual degradation.

"If there were no organized Socialist movement or Socialist Party, if I were alone, all alone in the whole country and the whole world, I could not help opposing capitalism and pleading for a better and saner order, pleading for Socialism.

"To me the Socialist movement, with its enthusiasm and idealism, its comradeship and struggles, its hopes and disappointments, its victories and defeats, has been the best that life had to offer."

The Hope of Mankind

By no such victory shall we escape the fate of Italy or Germany when new war or catastrophe comes upon us. It is not the difference between Roosevelt and Landon that can save, any more than did the difference between Wilson and Hughes in 1916. It is not a few leaders but a system which has failed, the profit system to which Roosevelt professes allegiance. By its very nature it breeds strife. It rests on human exploitation and requires relative scarcity to maintain its price levels.

Our deliverance from war, tyranny and poverty demand the loyalties and institutions of a cooperative commonwealth. There are specific Socialist plans which I have repeatedly discussed, for Constitutional revision, housing, genuine relief, aid to education, help for young and old and deliverance for the farmers. But our hope is not in these; it is in the production and fair division of the great national income which Socialism makes possible.

The immediate demand of Socialists is for Socialism, and in education and organization for Socialism lies our only hope of giving vision, and purpose, and direction, to those who seek the new day. It is this positive fight for Socialism in which lies security against war and fascism. We want a society in which engineers work for us and the satisfaction of our wants, not for the profit of absentee owners. And this is possible only when we own socially the great means of production and distribution.

You say that we shall not win? Probably not this year. But the best evidence that the people are awakening will be found in the size of the Socialist vote, and by it, as by no other yardstick the victors will measure the demand of the people for plenty, for peace and for freedom.

There is a greater argument than that. It is that the size of the Socialist vote and the enthusiasm for Socialist organization will serve to rally the hosts of the workers of hand and brain to win through their unions, their consumers' cooperatives and their party, the victory of a federation of cooperative commonwealths, wherein power-driven machinery shall be the only slave, and the great human family shall be released at last from the prison house of war, insecurity, exploitation and needless poverty. It is to help bring this day that I ask you to vote the Socialist ticket.

Vote it on the ballot, write it in in Ohio and other States where the right has been unconditionally denied; but vote Socialist, for plenty, peace, freedom and the brotherhood of man.

DEBS LABOR SCHOOL

'An Educated Proletariat' Is Goal of New Socialist School in New York City

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER once tremblingly remarked: "An educated proletariat is a constant source of disturbance and danger in any nation."

The Debs Labor School, which has just begun its sessions in New York City, at 21 East 17th Street, is founded on the premise that America needs an "educated proletariat." Any nation resting on the slavish exploitation of a working class must face "a constant source of disturbance and danger."

With the close of the political campaign which has demonstrated the need for basic working-class education, the Debs Labor School has gotten under way. Its high school, with regular Sunday sessions, has attracted scores of young people to its crowded classrooms; its series of lectures for adults are about to open; Socialist education goes right on, laying the foundation for the future.

To educate, the working class, to provide it with leaders, to equip it for practical work—to disturb and endanger the profit system and its savants—is the purpose of the school.

For a New Social Order

Education for a new social order is not new with Socialists. The subject has been placed upon the day's agenda by the pressure of events. Volumes have been written on the contents and form of such creative education. But between the theory of these volumes and the class-room practice there stands an obstacle: those who want the old social order will not lend the schools they control to the cause of education for a new social order.

What does even the tamest education for a new society mean to the men of wealth? Harold J. Laski summarizes it swiftly:

"When the business men translate this request (for progressive education) into concrete terms, what does it mean? Radicals in the schools? Textbooks that will tell the truth about the public utilities? Men like Debs, organizations like the Knights of Labor, represented in the teaching of history as more worthy of respect than Mr. Mellon and the chambers of commerce? The right of private property brought into question? The affiliations of boss rule, the futility of company unions, the impact of economic power upon the decisions of the Supreme Court, the true significance of the Russian Revolution, the real reasons for America's entrance into the war of 1914?"

"I do not think I err on the side of over-emphasis when I suspect that its inauguration by the business man, even with his implicit consent, would be a miracle indeed."

The Debs Labor School expects no miracle. It is building a school, resting not upon the consent of the business men but on the unstinting support of broad masses. Socialists do not have dozens of Mellons and Goulds, but there are hundreds and thousands of Johns and Jones, Jimmie Higgins, unnamed workers, students, and progressive folk who have the will and the courage to challenge the education of capitalism with their own school, a school for Socialism.

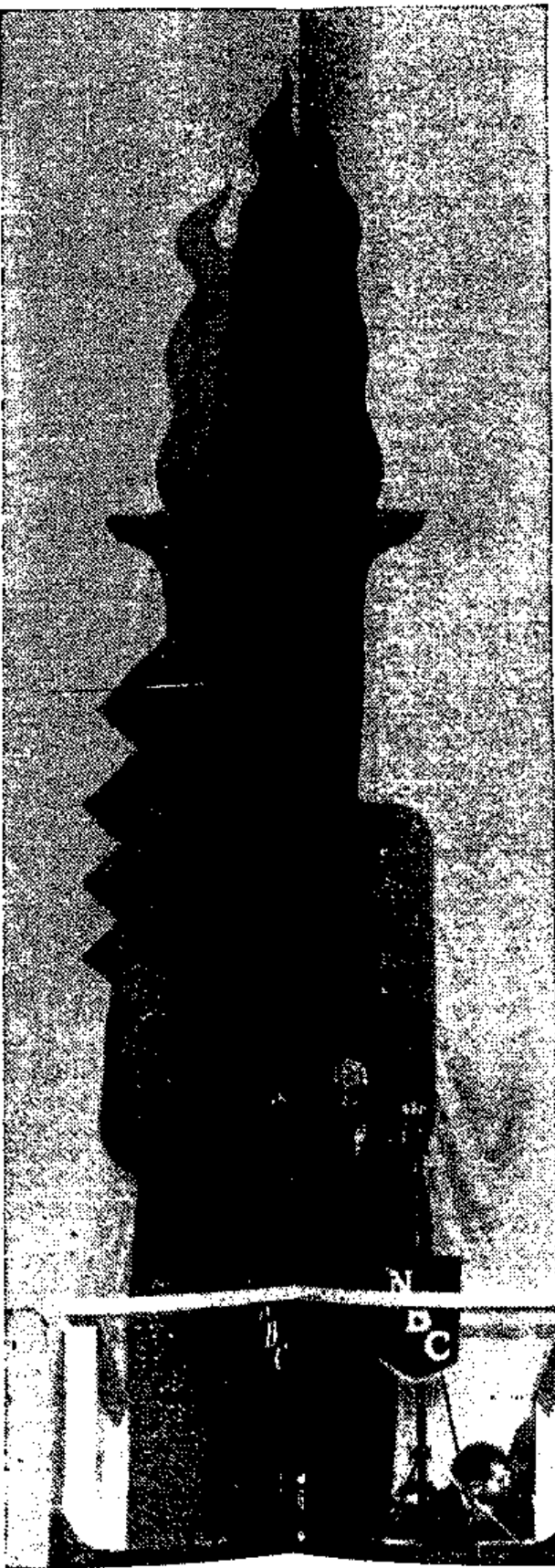
School for Action

What is the curriculum of the Debs Labor School? Harold J. Laski has written it above. It is the outlaw syllabi of capitalism's higher learning.

The Debs Labor School, however, is not a refrigerator of learning, containing cold cuts of thought to be served up to dilettantes. It is a training school for action. It gives training for the struggle.

The school has announced the opening of a lecture series entitled "A Portrait of America," to be held in the Young Circle League Auditorium in New York, at 22 East 15th Street. The first lecture will be delivered by Lewis Corey, author of "The Decline of American Capitalism," and "Revolt of the Middle Class," on Friday evening, November 6. On November 13, Norman Thomas will analyze the election results. The following week Louis Budenz, author of "Theoretical System of Karl Marx" and "Government by Judiciary" will lecture on "The Constitution and the Courts." The fourth lecture of the series will deal with the cooperative movement, with Harry W. Laidler, John Edelman, James Rorty and Wallace Campbell speaking.

With the slogan, Keep the Spirit of Debs Alive, New York's labor school has gotten off to a fine start. The Socialist torch burns brightly.

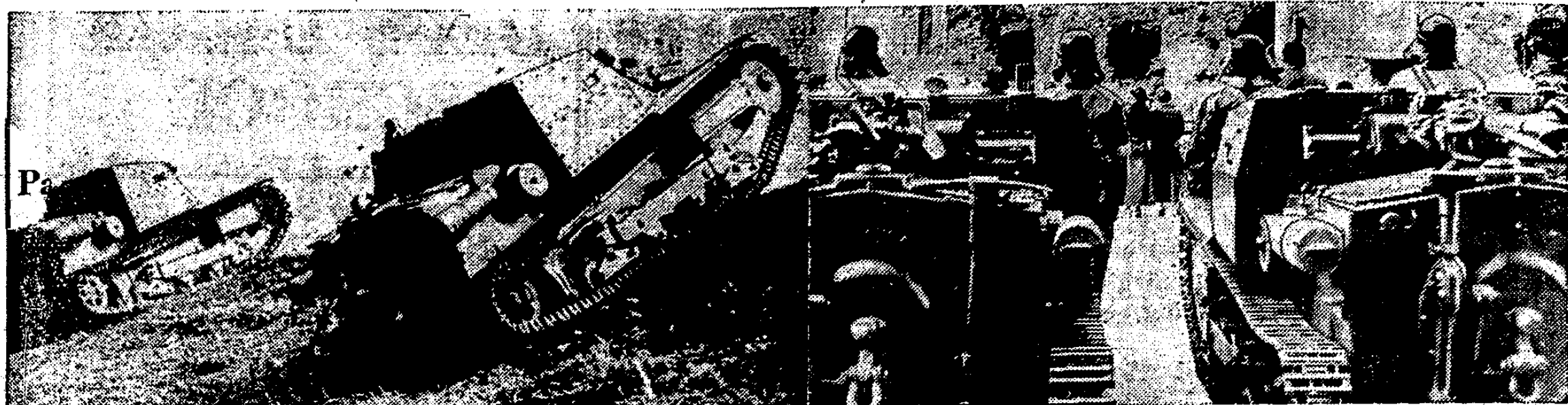


The arm holding aloft the torch of light—the symbol of Socialist organization and education—was pictured in this huge display, 40 feet high, draped down the center of the platform at Madison Square Garden during the Socialist rally here.

"I expect to get the nationwide Socialist returns by the covered wagon route. Judging from past experience, our final total will probably be a little larger than early estimates indicate. But we ourselves have as yet no basis for accurate prediction.

"I want to thank the gallant Socialists who have done so good a job in this campaign in behalf of a philosophy and a program far more significant to the workers than anything manifest in the Roosevelt stampede. Never was our Socialist message more necessary than today. We shall hold our ranks and build for the future, but we shall gladly cooperate with those who aggressively seek plenty, peace and freedom in America."

—Norman Thomas



Fascism Attacks Spain:

Europe Moves Closer To War

Much more hangs in the balance in Spain than the future of that country. The struggle between fascism and constitutional government in Spain may well decide the fate of the whole of Europe.

Around the events in Spain, the nations are beginning to weave the fabric for Europe's and perhaps the world's dark shroud. Fascist nationalism and the profit-lust of the bourgeois democracies are alike at work, planning and scheming, preparing for the hour when the grasping fingers of international greed will be clenched in the fist of war.

Europe's paper shield, the League of Nations, which has already been pierced several times by rapacious assaults, looks flatter than ever. Bluntly, bloody Mussolini this week told the world that he was going to "clear the table of all illusions, of all conventional falsehoods and the lies that still constitute the relics of the great shipwreck of Wilsonian ideology." The Italian war-maker, whose nation was allied in the war to "make the world safe for democracy," announces the Fascist aim of "armed peace." Boldly, he clamors for a re-division of the spoils of the last war, calling for new injustices in place of the old. The House of Have Not turns again to war with the House of Have.

Such is a glimpse of one part of the general background of Europe as the seeds of new war begin to sprout, already casting their poisonous weeds over the soil of Spain. For on the Iberian peninsula, the European war is already raging in the clash of the people of Spain, struggling against foreign invaders who are backed by Fascist nations.

THE SPREAD OF FASCISM

A Fascist victory in Spain would, for one thing, be a tremendous encouragement to French Fascism, lifting to power a new, intense nationalism on the continent. The people's front government, in spite of reforms that it has succeeded in introducing,

has not destroyed the peril of Fascist victory.

The weakness of the Blum government lies in the fact that it rests upon a purely defensive alliance against Fascism. Its parliamentary majority depends upon the so-called Radical-Socialists, the party of the middle class which looks for the preservation of capitalism. The inescapable result is that the offensive tactics of the working class are confined by the limits set down by the middle class.

This crippling of working class aggressiveness appears both in the domestic as well as the foreign policy of the people's front government. So far the government has not dared to go beyond the tactics of Rooseveltian, middle-class liberalism, though the nationalization of the armament industry is clearly further to the left than anything the Roosevelt program has undertaken. The weakness of the Blum program is identical with that implicit in Roosevelt's—it is an attempt to prime the pump through a spending program by increasing the national debt, while leaving all the elements of capitalist economy that provoke new crises.

THE INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE

The same capitalist forces that hold Blum in their grip at home harrass him in his international policy. While Spain—which has every claim to the sympathy of the people's front government of France in its struggle with Italian and German Fascism—calls for aid, the brake of the French middle class holds back the rescue that Blum could give.

At the same time, the Soviet Government hesitates, caught like the French people's front in a refusal to face the issue of the class struggle on the international scene.

The Fascist nations, on the

FASCIST UNITY



Germany and Italy bless their military alliance by exchanging war corps. Above is Undersecretary of the Reich, General Milch, shown with members of the German air force, who flew to Rome to greet Mussolini's air butchers.

other hand, have pressed forward in that very class struggle, pushing for new advantages. Understanding what will follow from a triumph of the Fascist hordes, Hitler and Mussolini have poured airplanes, munitions and men into the struggle. A Fascist victory in Spain, they see clearly, would extend the power and prestige of the Fascist bloc in the European balance of power.

That the "democratic" nations of Europe have shown no resolution in facing the menace of Fascism speaks volumes about their inherent character. How little the workers can rely on their capitalist governments to withstand the pressure of the Fascist tyrannies is demonstrated by the role played by England, the great "democracy," the "mother of parliaments," the proud creator of the institutions to the destruction of which Fascism is dedicated.

Britain's position now as before the last world war is equivocal. The nation of tradesmen is not concerned about the character of its customers. It does not hesitate to block the granting of such aid as the Spanish government is entitled to receive by every canon of international law. It pulls the strings which dictate the policy of Portugal, which today is the base from which international Fascism is directing its attack on the Spanish masses. There has not even been a pretense on the part of Britain to

conceal the part it is playing in the violation of Spain.

ENGLISH DIPLOMACY

A review of recent European history shows England as the nation most responsible for the advance of the Fascist power. Most of the triumphs of German diplomacy in the past two years have been gained because the Germans guessed rightly that Britain would be more or less acquiescent toward their aggression. The London diplomats have stood resolutely in the way of any action that might have stopped Hitler's persistent repudiation of treaties which, though originally unjust, were nevertheless treaties to which England had placed its signature. Though Germany is not at all sure that Britain might not be arrayed against them in a final conflict, it is fairly certain that it can extend its influence in central Europe without encountering much British opposition. In fact, it has relied largely on the fact that the English would block other nations in the attempts to stop aggressive Nazi moves.

Recently, British liberals and radicals have become more and more apprehensive that the Tories will go even further than they have dared thus far. They might possibly decide to come to an agreement with Fascist Germany against other governments of Europe, even the neighboring people's front government of

France. Such a decision of course would mean the triumph of Fascism in Europe for decades to come.

Considering the proximity of Malta to Spain, British diplomacy will be particularly liable to be influenced by the outcome of the Spanish struggle. The victory of the Spanish government and the suppression of the Fascist uprising would cause the British politicians to hesitate about aligning themselves with Fascist aggression. A victory for the constitutional government in Spain would be at least a strong deterrent against a possible Anglo-German alliance.

IS CRUCIAL POINT

The Spanish situation has thus suddenly become the crucial point in the whole desperate European anarchy. Italy and Germany are openly backing the rebels; France and Russia, though fearful of open support for the government, are of course sympathetic to the cause of the Spanish masses. England, however, occupies the ambiguous position, playing its crafty game, dictated by its own commercial bourgeois interests. The whole picture is proof positive of the fact that international attitudes are being determined by class attitudes. It reveals to what degree the international conflict in Europe is everywhere subsidiary to the class struggle in each nation.

Europe has literally become a battle ground between the owning classes and the advancing workers. The fact that the battle is confused by an infinite variety of strategies is due to the ambiguous position of the lower middle classes and the peasants in this struggle. While the workers must make every effort to apply the tragic lessons involved in the defeats suffered in Germany and not permit these classes to fall prey to capitalist blandishments—in doing that they must avoid new perils. They must not devote themselves to winning the solidarity of these groups by abandoning their own philosophy. Rather it is their task to win the oppressed middle class and peasant population to an acceptance of the Socialist philosophy as their only escape from the catastrophes of Fascism and war that capitalism brings.

Europe faces chaos. If that chaos descends upon Europe, it will not be confined to that continent but will reach out to the rest of the world. Only the building of a strong working class, conscious of its Socialist goal and driving in that direction, will save Europe. Simultaneously on this side of the ocean, there must be built an American class-conscious movement of workers that will serve to guide the exploited out of the perils into which American capitalism would lead them.

Thomas, Nye Speak At Armistice Meet

Norman Thomas will be one of the featured speakers at the Armistice Day program at Madison Square Garden, Wednesday evening, Nov. 11. Other speakers include Senator Gerald P. Nye and Luigi Antonini, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. The meeting is sponsored by the Emergency Peace campaign.

A feature of the program will be the Brookwood Theatre Group in an anti-war pageant, "11-11-36-like," written and staged by Nicholas Ray. This will be the initial performance of the new Brookwood professional group which is working intensively at Katonah in preparation for a spring tour throughout the mid-west and south.

Race Bias Barred In Socialist Daily

MILWAUKEE, Wis. (LSP) In reply to a letter from Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Leo Wolfsohn, managing editor of the "Milwaukee Leader," labor and Socialist daily, wrote: "The 'Milwaukee Leader' for as long as I have been here, which is more than 20 years, has had a standing order not to designate the nationality or color of any person figuring in a news story unless that is absolutely necessary to the proper understanding of that story.

"On the other hand, we have made it a point always to mention the race or nationality of a person figuring in the news when there is a special reason to his people to have it mentioned."

Unions Will Clean House Themselves, Dewey Told

NEW YORK—With the indictment of thirteen persons connected with the cafeteria industry, including Max Pincus, president of Local 302 and international vice-president of the Delicatessen Countermen and Cafeteria Workers Union as well as others...

...charges of racketeering were brought into the city by Special Prosecutor Thomas Dewey's investigation into the general subject of racketeering in New York industries.

Labor forces, while holding no brief for the conduct of Pincus and his associates, have very definitely taken the position that labor must clean its own house, and the problem of establishing decent unionism is one for the workers and not the agents of capitalism who are more interested in destroying the unions than in giving them the strength that flows from health.

Socialists and progressives within Local 302 and Local 16, officers of which organization also have been indicted, have been conducting a fight to restore union democracy and to set the organizations to functioning in line with the fine traditions of the labor movement and in the interests of the workers. They had been hampered by the fact that the communists, whose Food Workers Industrial Union had merged with the cafeteria locals, were more intent on making political deals with the Pincus forces than building the union as an aggressive agency of the workers.

Communist Hindrance
Failure of the progressive forces to overcome the reactionary group in the last election, in which the communists threw their support to the reactionary officials, blocked the house-cleaning that was so vital and caused a persistence of the conditions which made it possible for the Dewey investigators to intervene. The charges against the defendants include the embezzlement of funds from the two restaurant workers' unions and the extortion of money from restaurant owners.

Progressive unionists are not

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QUESTIONS DISCUSSION

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
WED. NOV. 11
8:15 P. M.

IN LUMBER STRIKE



Courtesy, Washington News

The Senate Committee on Civil Liberties has been asked to investigate the attempted murder of union pickets at Omak, Wash., during the lumber strike there. While the strikers slept inside the picket shack (above), gasoline was poured on the roof and a lighted torch thrown on it. Fortunately, the pickets awoke in time to put the fire out with no loss of life.

Lawless Cops Invade Union

NEW YORK—The labor movement of this city was outraged this week by news of a raid carried out by Mayor LaGuardia's Police Commissioner Valentine on the headquarters of the Movie Operators Union, Local 308. Thirty-two union men and seven women were arrested, bundled into four patrol wagons, and the union offices were searched by

content with the thought of non-labor agencies engaging in attempts to affect union affairs. They believe that the workers themselves must establish machinery for solving the problems raised by corrupt officials and the seizure of union machinery by scheming racketeers. Far-sighted unionists, recognizing the danger in permitting inherently anti-labor prosecutors like Dewey to lay hands on trade union organizations, are suggesting an independent investigation by a labor committee of responsible and trusted unionists like David Dubinsky, Julius Hochman and others connected with progressive organizations.

the raiders and records carried off.

With a complete disregard for the law, the raid was carried out by Valentine without a warrant, the action being taken on charges that theatres had been stench-bombed. It followed close on the heels of a statement by LaGuardia that he would investigate the alleged bombings.

Under the law, before such steps may be taken by the police, a search warrant or a warrant for arrest is required. Demands that the papers of the union be returned have been ignored.

The union people arrested were not immediately arraigned or told of any particular charges against them. The women were immediately released at police headquarters after being questioned by Commissioner Valentine and others. The men were held.

The new anti-labor drive of Commissioner Valentine, aimed at the movie operators, was met by officials of the union with the statement that it welcomes any investigation into its affairs. At the present time it is engaged in a fight with a company union organized by theatre owners. New York labor unions, shocked by the launching of this anti-union drive, are making their protests heard.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Hotel Delano has changed its name to Center Hotel. We have redecorated, repainted and refurnished the banquet and meeting halls.

Dates are now available for short bookings for all functions. Reservations for New Year's Eve in the grand ball room now being accepted.

J. S. SALTZMAN, Director

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BRyant 9-2488

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

Horace M. Kallen, addressing the recent Cooperative Congress, asserted that "today, three faiths have forced the older religions of our world into the background and confront each other as bitter rivals for the allegiance of the human spirit. Each offers itself as the surest guarantee that we shall attain our heart's desire, each calls upon us to surrender our body and mind entirely to its salvation and live happily ever after. The first of the three is Capitalism. The second is Communism. The third is Fascism."

I don't want to discuss any aspect of this statement except the confusion which may arise from his failure to differentiate between Socialism and Communism. By failing to list Socialism as a distinct alternative, Kallen implies that it is included in the term Communism.

Kallen is not the first cooperator to confuse the two. Not so long ago the Cooperative League distributed a pamphlet called "Consumers Cooperation—America's Answer" in which four alternatives are presented: Capitalism, Communism, Corporatism (Fascism) and Cooperation. There, too, the implication was that Socialism and Communism are one.

SOCIALISM IS DEMOCRATIC

Lumping Socialism and Communism together into one category is unfair and misleading, and especially so when Communism is attacked as a dictatorship of the left. Cooperators have criticized Fascism and Communism as dictatorial and have proclaimed Cooperation as essentially democratic. The result of this policy is to leave the impression that Socialism is dictatorial, to be included in the dictatorship of the left.

Nothing is further from the truth. Historically, Socialism has always been the champion of democracy, real democracy—not the fake democracy we have under capitalism. The philosophy of Socialism has as its foundation the acceptance of the principles of democracy. The principles and organization of the Socialist Party today, as always, are based upon democracy. The goal toward which Socialists aspire is the co-

Pa. Frame-Up To Be Fought

WILKES-BARRE, Pa.—In what may well become another Mooney case, Emerson P. Jennings and Charles Harris face jail terms of from five to ten years with \$1,000 fine for an alleged bombing.

Jennings, active in the unemployed movement and a leader in reform causes, was arrested last year on testimony supplied by Harris who now declares that he was induced to frame Jennings by county detectives. The case will be appealed to a higher court by Arthur Garfield Hays, representing the American Civil Liberties Union.

The bombing took place during a strike at the Glen Alden collieries near here last March. The only damage done was to an automobile owned by Judge W. A. Valentine. Jennings was a vigorous opponent of Valentine, whose injunctions were a major factor in breaking the strike.

operative commonwealth in which democracy will find its highest development.

TREATMENT UNFAIR

To imply that Socialism is dictatorial is to indulge in the kind of red-baiting we expect from reactionaries and Fascists. We certainly should not receive such treatment at the hand of a progressive movement like Cooperation, in which Socialists are playing an important part, and in which the Socialist Party has a host of sympathizers. Even some of those cooperators who are quite friendly towards the aspirations of the Socialist Party have been guilty of making such confusing statements. We should expect from our cooperative comrades at least the same fraternal regard and respect as that which we give to them, a sympathetic presentation of their point of view even though we cannot wholly agree with some of the claims Cooperation makes for itself.

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With The Party

"Now that Nov. 3 has passed the Republican and Democratic parties will probably fold up their tents until the next election," Clarence Senior, executive secretary of the Socialist Party of the U. S. A., said, "but not Socialists.

The elections are only an incident in our year-around campaign to spread the message of Socialism, build the Socialist Party and cooperate with labor in its struggles for higher wages and better conditions."

Starting Nov. 5, the birth date of Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist party launched an extensive organizational and educational drive. A special Debs stamp has been issued to finance the drive...

The state executive committee of the Connecticut party has appointed a distinguished educational committee of party members which includes Van Wyck Brooks, noted critic and author, Howard Brubaker, short story writer and contributor to the "New Yorker," Stanley P. Young, playwright, Colin McIntyre, labor leader, John McChesney, instructor at the Hotchkiss School, and other prominent Socialists. The first meeting of the committee will take place soon...

A committee on unemployed work has been selected by the Pennsylvania state organization. On the day preceding the Workers' Alliance meeting, which is planned for the middle of November in Harrisburg, there is to be a state conference of Socialists on unemployed work... The Western Federation of the Socialist Party is making plans for a steady stream of speakers for a grand circuit tour of the entire area and for lesser circuits in the various regional divisions of the west...

RALLY INSPIRES N. Y. SOCIALISTS

Inspired by the enthusiastic meeting in Madison Square Garden, New York Socialists are preparing for new activities. Prominent among those who helped make the meeting a success are Mary Fox, Mary Hillyer, Sidney Hertzberg, Helen Trager, Harry

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HELP WANTED

DO you want to help The CALL increase its advertising? If you are interested, please write or visit Advertising Dept., Socialist Call, 21 East 17th St., N. Y.

Be A Friendly Neighbor— Give Him A CALL

Hal Siegel, the business manager of The CALL, is engaged on a Socialist "Pilgrim's Progress," touring the country in a drive to rally greater support for the voice of Socialism in America. From week to week, we will bring you news of his journey.

His trip has already proved conclusively that there are hundreds of thousands who want a paper like The CALL but are not getting it because obstacles are put in their way. Foremost among such obstacles is the fact that it is kept out of their reach by the neglect of some of our friends to bring it to their attention.

Socialist branches visited by Siegel have been amazed by demonstrations of how easy it is to sell The CALL. For example, at a symposium at which he spoke, he merely read from a copy of the paper which he spread out before the audience. Without any further ado, he waited for the reaction—and it came. Members of the audience came up to him, and asked for more information about The CALL. Several subscribed on the spot.

Accompanied by local Socialists, Siegel visited the homes of persons who had indicated an interest in the Socialist movement. In every case, without any exertion, he succeeded in getting subscriptions—from workers, farmers, teachers and ministers. All responded.

Remember the simple fact that nobody will buy what he has not seen. Show The CALL and you'll build its circulation, and along with it a Socialist organization as well as a large Socialist following.

What can be done is demonstrated by the action of the Jewish Branch of Pittsburgh, which bought \$25 worth of prepaid subscription cards and 1,000 CALLS. Although every branch member already subscribes to The CALL, they are buying the cards for resale to individual contacts and

Wynn, Joseph G. Glass, David Sussman, Louis and Al Glazer, Sam Berg, Harry Davis, Sam Verne, Victoria Halkim, Isabelle Shapiro, Gwen Doloboff and Executive Secretary Jack Altman... The beautiful decorations for the hall, some of which are reproduced in this issue of The CALL, were planned and executed by Alex Haberstroh, Harry Herzog, John Lovinger, Al Lehrer, Julius Kaplan and Helen Traeger of Rebel Arts...

Felix Morrow, author of "Civil War in Spain," will speak at three mass meetings in Massachusetts in behalf of the Spanish workers. He will be in Lynn, Friday, Nov. 6; Boston, Saturday, Nov. 7; New Bedford, Sunday, Nov. 8...

Shtime Banquet

The Socialist Shtime, organ of the Central Bureau of Jewish Socialist Branches, announces a banquet to be held on Saturday, November 14, at the Cafe Le Bourget, 137 W. 34th Street, New York City. Tickets may be obtained at the office of the Central Bureau, 21 East 17th Street, New York, or by telephoning ALgonquin 4-8262

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SUBSCRIPTIONS

The total number of subscriptions this week was 147. Local Buffalo sent in 10. The following sub-getters are aiming at winning for themselves some of the book premiums being awarded by The CALL:

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Joe Lakomnik	3
Sam Schwimer	2
W. W. Wyer	2
Jack Kay	1
H. Fromowitz	1
Ernest Doerfler	1

DONATIONS

The CALL needs your contributions. Here are some who are answering the appeal:

J. B. Wheelwright	\$29.00
Fairfield Porter	9.00
Human Sussman	1.00
Jane P. Morgan	1.00

plan to make this a permanent revolving fund. Every week, the report of the specially elected CALL agent is on the order of business. All branches should do likewise.

This is the time to do it. The iron of public interest is hot. Tell your friends who voted for Roosevelt that they owe it to themselves to spend the next four years studying what they voted to get. And the best way to do that is to read The CALL.

The campaign isn't over. Workers in Spain still fight on in their struggle; we must carry on in ours. There is no time to waste. Build The CALL now and you are throwing up your breastworks for the coming battles. Gather in the subscriptions and the donations. Make it possible for The CALL to remain on the job—facing the enemy and firing away with both barrels.

ARREST 7 STUDENTS

CHICAGO — Seven University of Chicago students were arrested here last week for passing out Socialist leaflets appealing to Negro voters to vote for Norman Thomas. One of the students, Donald O'Neill, was assaulted by Democratic ward-healers.

The Debs Labor School

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ANNOUNCES
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Books

Trotsky and Russia

By BRUNO FISCHER

In the days of the World Socialist Federation, when Stalin will be only an incident in the history of the march of Russian workers toward Socialism, Leon Trotsky's "The History of the Russian Revolution" (Simon & Schuster, \$2.98), will still be widely read. It is not, of course, by any means a definite account of the Russian Revolution and one could hardly expect it to be a strictly objective historical work. Its importance lies not only in the fact that it is history written by a man who did much to make it; but that it is incisive, brilliant, and, more important, written from the point of view of the men who were responsible for the revolution.

The publishers have reprinted the original three volumes in one attractive volume of 1,400 pages at a price which is within the reach of many persons who could not afford the three books. No Marxian library is, of course, complete without it. Nobody can fully understand the Russian revolution unless he has read it.

While rereading "The History of the Russian Revolution," I also once again went over Trotsky's "The Third International After Lenin" (Pioneer Publishers, \$2.00). This was written shortly before Trotsky was exiled by Stalin and was the program of the Opposition to the official program adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. Much nonsense has been written by Communists about the reasons for the conflict between Trotsky and Stalin. This is a source book. It states Trotsky's position at the time and no juggling with facts by present opponents of Trotsky can alter it. Anybody who wants the air cleared of absurd charges and counter-charges must read this book in order to find out what "Trotskyism" is.

THE TROTSKY PROGRAM

One needn't agree with Trotsky

in a number of respects—I don't—to admire his keen Marxian analytical sense. The fact is that many of the things Trotsky pointed out in 1928 would happen as the result of the line adopted by the Comintern have turned out to be correct. Trotsky did not go in for prophecy. But he did point out that Stalin's insistence that Socialism be built exclusively in one country would produce inevitable results; chiefly that it would mean the collapse of the Comintern as an organization of international Socialism. The mission of the various communist parties would be, he said, "to protect the USSR from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power."

Trotsky was right. Today the sections of the Communist International are to a large extent pacifist organizations and little more. And any betrayal of true internationalism by communist parties is today always excused on the ground that the welfare of the USSR demands such actions.

The point, needless to say, is not that the welfare of Soviet Russia should not receive major consideration, but that Russia cannot really protect itself through reliance on capitalist governments. The fate of the working class, in Russia as well as elsewhere, is tied up in a forthright international revolutionary position.

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LOBBY AND AISLE

IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE, as produced in the Adelphi Theatre as one of some 21 simultaneous productions throughout the nation, has all the faults of Sinclair Lewis' book of the same title (on which it is based) and few of its virtues.

But, despite everything, it is a play your neighbor should see for its propaganda is anti-Fascist and it does show, it can happen here—that an American tradition which produced Ku Klux Klanism, legal murder of labor leaders and lynching of Negroes can assimilate a brutal Fascism with too much ease for happy, dreamless slumber.

It is a play your neighbor should see (if you're a regular reader of THE CALL, you won't learn anything new). And be sure to have him over to supper the next night to tell him what the play doesn't—that the way to defeat Fascism is by building a strong powerful labor movement. Tell him—as the play forgets to—that Fascism will not be defeated by crying "Wolf! Wolf!" but rather by concentration on the task of developing a strong, forward-looking labor movement which will answer the Fascist threat with constructive Socialist ideas.

The play doesn't follow the book

CALL BOARD

Elizabeth Bergner will be seen at the Radio City Music Hall in Shakespeare's AS YOU LIKE IT beginning Thursday . . . Meanwhile THE BIG BROADCAST OF 1937 continues to pack them in at the N. Y. Paramount . . . Joe E. Brown appears in the new picture at the New Criterion . . . It is called POLO JOE and includes George E. Stone and Skeets Gallagher . . . Jay C. Flippen appears in an amusing "short" . . . The BALLET RUSSE de Monte Carlo will definitely end its New York engagement on November 8 . . . TAMIRIS and her group will give their first recital of the season at the Guild Theatre this Sunday night . . . Her program will feature a new composition "Momentum" . . . This will be the first in a series of dance recitals sponsored by the NEW DANCE LEAGUE . . . In its first four weeks at the Center Theatre the WHITE HORSE INN took in \$215,931.66 . . . Since Oct. 1, 91,259 persons have seen the production . . . Another HAMLET will invade Broadway on Nov. 10 . . . This time in the person of Leslie Howard who also produced this Shakesperian drama . . . It will be housed at the Imperial Theatre . . . THE COS-SACKS ARE COMING . . . That is: the DON COSSACK CHORUS will be heard in songs of Russia at the Town Hall, Nov. 30 . . . Organized in 1923 in a prison camp near Constantinople these Don Cos-sacks have made history as the greatest singing organization in the world . . . The STUDENTS' DANCE RECITALS will present Fowler, Tamara, Charles Weidman, Tamiris, Martha Graham, Hans Wiener, Doris Humphrey and their groups at the Washington Irving High School beginning Nov. 28 and continuing until March 13 . . . Incidentally the subscription price is so low that everyone can see these brilliant dancers.

IN OPERA



Maru Castagna, brilliant contralto appearing with the N. Y. Hippodrome Opera Company, of which Maestro Alfredo Salmaggi is director.

in too much detail—liberties taken with several characters have destroyed much that was enjoyable in its reading. It centers its action around the early part of the book—the rise of "Buzz" Windrip to power and the regimentation of America into a goose-stepping, neck-bending nation of cowards. It doesn't spend too much time on an important part of the book—the development of The Underground, a secret movement dedicated to the overthrow of Windrip and his gang. Nor does it mention several delightful by-plays which, in the book, made for real interest.

The WPA cast is more than adequate to the bare details of the play; George Henry Trader, as the corner groceryman who is killed by the Fascists for his loyalty to the middle-class tradition, is particularly effective. Seth Arnold makes a very satisfactory small city liberal in Doremus Jessup; Frederic Tozere and Edwin Cooper do valiantly as Fascist bureaucrats.—S. R.

Noel Coward Scores Again

By J. HERBERT GROSS

BOSTON—From the Between-the-Act cigarette conversations in the Lobby of the Colonial Theatre here, one gathers that Noel Coward, tragedian, playwright, producer, songwriter, comedian, dancer, singer and all around man of the theatre, has become the adopted son of the Boston "Blues"—even if it be only for a fortnight.

Their claim to this genius of the stage and screen may not be justifiable, but their appreciation is—for Coward has concocted a rather amusing set of nine one-act plays consisting mainly of genuine enjoyable comedy in his typical manner.

Three of the repertoire are presented at each performance, usually two comedies sandwiching a more serious play dealing with and delving into human emotions. One of these, "The Astonished Heart"—a play in six scenes—was particularly effective in its staging and presentation.

Emphasized praise goes to the lovely Gertrude Lawrence, whose versatile support is almost equal to the homo sapiens of the theatre himself. Without doubt she is Coward's best leading lady in all his stage career.

Festival

The Rebel Arts Dance and Festival will be held Saturday night, Nov. 14, at the Young Circle League Hall, 15th Street at Union Square. Admission is 50c in advance, 75c at door.

ON THE SCREEN

By ALLAN GEORGE

A little more than a year ago, Darryl Zanuck (collaborating at the present with Hearst's H. R. Knickerbocker in a film glorifying the Spanish Fascists) called, together handsome Frederic March and lip-quivering Charles Laughton. The result was Hollywood's version of Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables." Our memory is pretty fair, but all we can remember of that effort is the vivid performance of Laughton as Javert, the ever-present Inspector.

At the Cinema de Paris on Fifth Avenue and Thirteenth Street, you can now see the French version of this tragic drama dealt with in a manner that will leave you shaken with its dramatic fervor, its straightforwardness and honesty in adhering to the immortal masterpiece of M. Hugo. The film was produced by the Franco-American Film Corporation and was admirably directed by Raymond Bernard who was not stingy in the use of film. "Les Miserables" runs two and a half hours and is divided into two parts.

HE LEAVES THE GALLEYS

The first, "A Tempest in a Brain," shows Valjean leaving the galleys to which he had been sentenced five years for stealing a loaf of bread and fifteen years more for trying to escape. It follows him through his persecution as a convict; the friendship shown him by a priest at Dijon who refuses to send Valjean back to the galleys after this downtrodden individual had stolen his silver spoons and plates. There follows the arrest of Fantine, the Champmathieu trial and the anguishing and heart-breaking episode of the awakening of a man's conscience.

THE LOVE OF LIBERTY

The second part is called "Liberty, Dear Liberty" and deals with the awakening of the love of liberty in the hearts of the people suffering under a 19th century dictatorship. The glorious days of the June, 1832 revolution, with the students fighting desperately on the barricades alongside the workers, is the most forceful scene and the highlight of the picture. Through this tumult goes Valjean, succoring wounded and aiding in the fight for freedom.

"Les Miserables" like "Crime et Chatiment" will go down as a memorable event in French film productions. What with these two and that splendid "Carnival in Flanders" (Kermesse Heroique), Hollywood should hide its head in the sunny sands of California.

Rebel Arts To Cast For New 1-Act Play

Rebel Arts Theatre Group announces the casting of a new one-act play on Tuesday, November 10th. Men and women with acting experience who would like to work with the group are asked to come to Rebel Arts, 35 East 19th Street, before 8:30 next Tuesday night.

Two one-act plays of unusual character are now in rehearsal for performance early in December. The third play will be added to the program after casting is completed.

IN NEW SOVIET FILM



V. Ivashova as Grunla in the new Soviet all-color film, "Nightingale," which had its American Premiere last week at the Cameo.

Peasants Act in New French Film

The 55th Street Playhouse this week will present the American premiere of the newest production of Marcel Pagnol, "Les Amours de Toni" (Loves of Toni), directed by Jean Renoir, son of Auguste Renoir, the great French impressionist artist. Renoir, who recently made the first important French labor film, is a prominent member of the Socialist party of France.

The story of "Les Amours de Toni" is an original one of Marcel Pagnol's creative genius, but it is based on an actual incident which occurred in the South of France a few years ago. Renoir selected his players, none of whom ever acted before a camera or on the stage, from the locale of the story—in the farm and quarry regions slightly north of Marseilles. It is the account of a "passion" crime, reflecting the strong loves and hates and the tempestuous nature of the peasants who inhabit this region.

The film is notable for its naturalistic acting and its magnificent photography. Renoir's sensitive direction presents the tragic and poignant story with a journalistic straightforwardness that is unique among motion-pictures.

There are complete English dialogue titles.

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'On Second Review!'

The Legion of Decency, which so staunchly safeguards the morals of the people, is at it again. This time, their victim is that brilliant French film which has been enjoying such a huge success at the Filmarte Theatre, "Carnival in Flanders," and which previously had had Legion approval. The Legion listing said: "On second review, we find this picture definitely objectionable because of subtle indecent dialogue and incidents. Its entire tone is unwholesome and in addition most of it is boring."

SCREEN

"Blood Brother of Potemkin"—Friedrich Wolf

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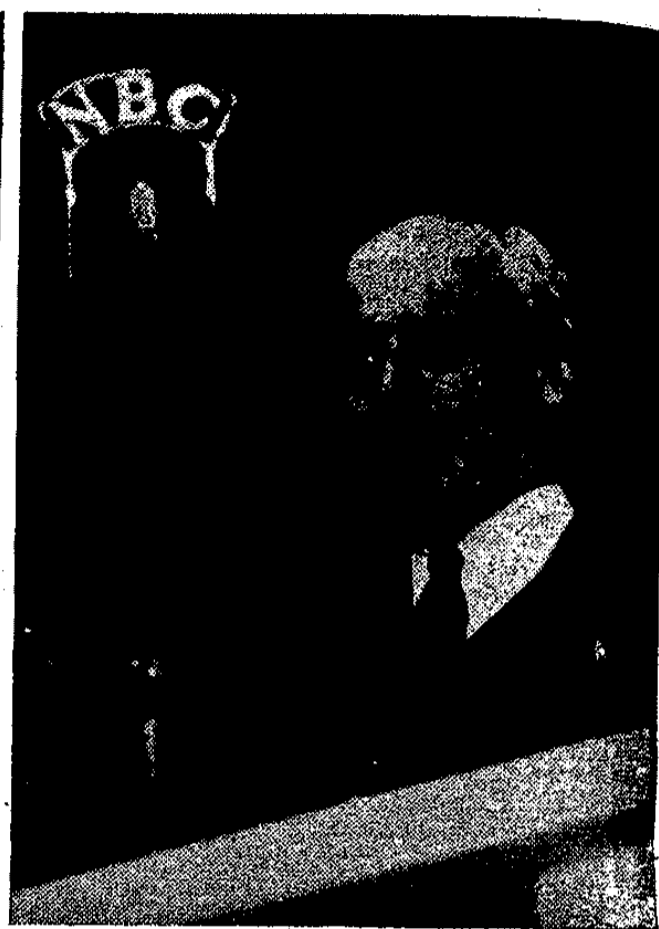
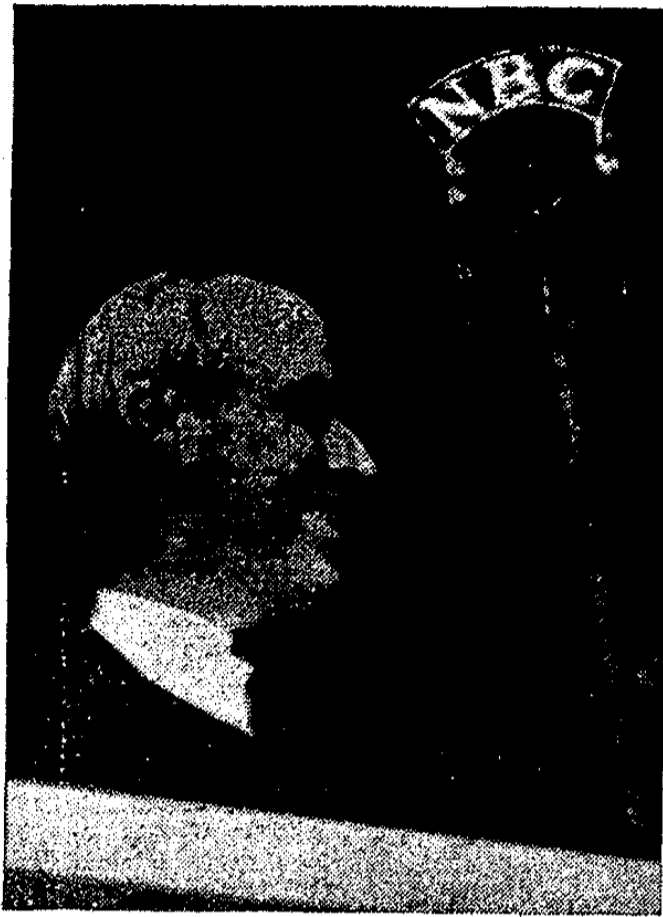
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AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**



Photos by Merrill

"... we want to socialize America to make peace glorious, not to conscript America for purposes of war and Fascism ..."

—At Madison Square Garden

"... our deliverance from war, tyranny and poverty demands the loyalties and institutions of a co-operative commonwealth ..."

—At Madison Square Garden

MR. ROOSEVELT'S election was a foregone conclusion. The apparent collapse of the Coughlin-Lemke campaign — and that's one of the good things about the election — and the extraordinarily poor quality of the Republican campaign, simply from a technical point of view, accounted for the size of the Roosevelt majority. His Administration will probably be a little more liberal, as we Americans use that word, a little more friendly to organized labor, a little more experimental than an administration by Governor Landon. He is, however, pledged to the hilt to the support of capitalism. He goes in without any mandate except that he be not Landon. He has discussed no issues save in the most general terms and is elected on his own rather rosy interpretation of recent history. A man with less tendency toward it might well develop a Messianic complex under these conditions.

His Congress probably will be inferior to the Congress we have had and harder to lead. In general it is likely that it will be somewhat more conservative and at the same time have in it more quacks who sincerely or insincerely profess allegiance to Coughlin or Townsend Plans. It is not a body likely to provide much leadership, but there is a tremendous responsibility and opportunity for a progressive bloc with more courage and philosophy than has yet been developed. Nothing that Roosevelt has done or proposed or can do or proposes as long as he maintains his allegiance to capitalism can avert new economic catastrophe, and I fear nothing he has done or is likely to do will be adequate in the event of new world war.

The Hope Of the World

What hope there is politically depends of course very largely upon the development of the right

sort of a Farmer-Labor party. I do not assume that that Farmer-Labor party will be completely Socialist except in name. We can start with something less than Socialism, but a Farmer-Labor party cannot get anywhere worth getting until it can loose from capitalist parties and stands on its own feet and gives opportunity within to organized Socialists in democratic fashion to do their educational work. We who believe that Socialism and only Socialism is the hope of the world — and I never believed that so intensely as now — must insist that the achievement of Socialism requires an organization for Socialism. A Farmer-Labor party is no substitute for it. We may cooperate with it for certain definite political ends, including the political developments of the workers themselves, or be a part of it.

But there is nothing in logic or in the tragic recent history of Europe to make anyone believe that a Farmer-Labor party which starts with a philosophy and program behind that of the German Social-Democrats or the British Labor Party will be able to save us from war and fascism or to win us plenty, peace and freedom. Our job is not only to catch up with European democracy in possession of a labor party but to get ahead of them in a bigger understanding of what must be done.

It will be the chief concern of the Socialist Party to deal with this question and I am glad that the National Executive Committee has authorized a special convention next spring. It should be a subject for constructive suggestions. We shall have to consider the matter in the light not only of the ideal but of our own strength and of the external situation. That external situation is likely to change. It is encouraging that around the country there is a lot of sentiment for a

Farmer-Labor party. It is discouraging that that sentiment was not nearly as strong as a sentiment of personal loyalty to Roosevelt, who probably does not want a Farmer-Labor party.

The failure of the American Labor Party in New York to nominate even one independent candidate was a bad omen for its future, as was its lack of any ringing statement on issues or theories. Even less was done by the Labor's Non-Partisan League for Roosevelt in most other states. I think, however, that it may come to pass that developments both within the ranks of labor and in the country may force a more clear-cut alignment of labor on the political field and give it purpose. There is no reason at all, however, to think that this will happen automatically or without work. A real labor party won't happen. Indeed, there is a real danger that an active politician like Roosevelt, especially if he would make a man like Governor Earle of Pennsylvania his crown prince, can use a vague bureaucratic Labor party as a pawn in his own political game. These are some of the factors that Socialists must keep in mind in their constructive discussions.

The Party's Vitality

It will be some time before we know our Socialist vote. But I know already how gratifying has been the loyal work of comrades in the national office and in the various states. The revival of the Party on the West Coast and its splendid efforts elsewhere show what vitality it has. I want again to express my thanks to the loyal Jimmie Higginses and my fellow candidates. Thanks above all should start with the national office. I cannot insist too strongly that the one unforgivable thing for Socialists will be if they think that there can be a de-

sirable Farmer-Labor Party without strong and well disciplined Socialist effort or that a Farmer-Labor party can completely take the place of Socialistic organization.

Barriers to Minor Parties

I shall begin to read last minute pleas by Roosevelt and Landon and other major party candidates that everybody should vote, and their last minute eulogies of democracy without a slight nausea when men like Roosevelt and Landon will do something to see to it that Americans can vote. We Socialists fought single handed to break down the barriers which keep minor parties off the ballot in Florida and Louisiana. These states are by no means the only sinners but they are, about the worst, and they are both Democratic. Socialists and communists alone have worried about Negro and white workers, completely deprived of the right to vote. Mr. Roosevelt has a chance to make good on his words. He hasn't done it yet.

The Maritime Strike

On the West Coast the issue of the strike of the Maritime Federation is clear. It is apparent to me from all that I learned in California, Oregon and Washington that there was a bitter unscrupulous attack by many of the great shipping lines upon the union. The men who work along the shore front and those who go down to the sea in ships have long been the victims of a peculiar exploitation. Their organization and the improvement in their status is one of the encouraging facts in labor history. The gains they have made must be protected for the sake of all workers. The underlying reason for the strike is

the obduracy of employers. It is unfortunate that there should be an issue within labor's own organization concerning the so-called outlaw strike in the East. This paragraph is written too early in developments to permit intelligent comment on this feature of the situation. Certainly all Socialists must pledge their loyal support to the cause of the Maritime Federation.

Another strike of more significance than most workers realize is the strike of the Remington-Rand workers. For about six months in cities as widely scattered as Middletown, Conn., Illinois, Syracuse, and Tonawanda, N. Y. the strikers have held their lines with remarkable success. They and their leaders have developed an interesting technique of appealing to the S. E. C. to block a new sale of stock by the Remington-Rand company on the ground that misleading statements concerning its condition and its labor situation have been made. If this strike, conducted against an attempt by the corporation to destroy the union altogether succeeds it will be a victory for all labor. The Remington-Rand strike must be won. Otherwise its failure will dishearten other workers.

Bookkeepers' Election

Speaking of labor unions, I was sorry to learn on my return to New York that Sam Baron and the Progressive slate in the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union have been defeated. I may later have some comment to make on the underlying situation. Now I simply want to congratulate Baron and his associates for the fine job they did in that union. For the first time they made it something like a real force among office workers. Baron himself is one of the outstanding men among the younger labor leaders from whom we hope much.