

Norman Thomas

on
Political Prospects
for 1936

See Page 6

Socialist Call

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

Vol. I—No. 42

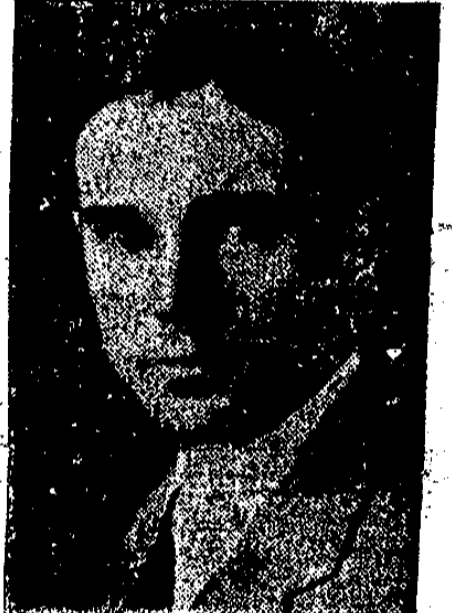
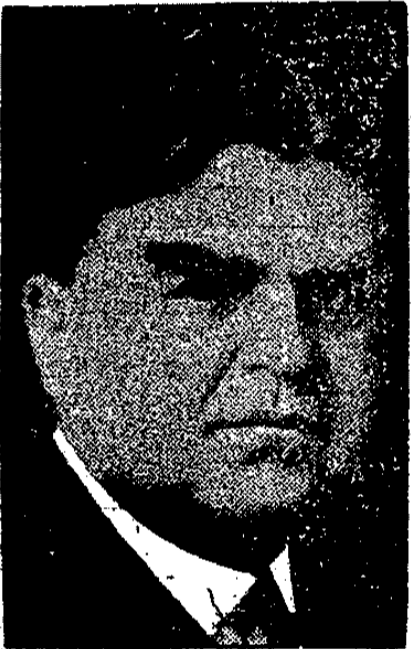
SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

HIGH COURT CURB FACES CONGRESS

Story on Page Two

THESE MEN LED THE FORCES OF LABOR IN 1935



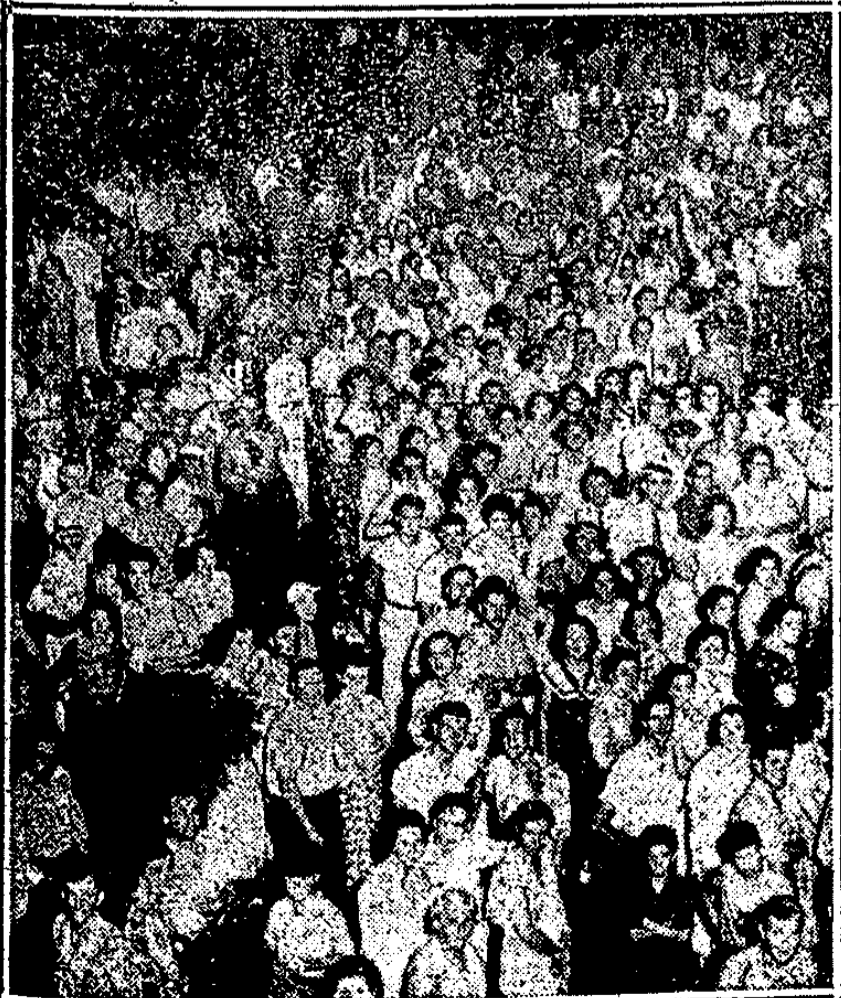
JOHN L. LEWIS, fiery president of the United Mine Workers of America, led the successful strike of 400,000 coal-miners during 1935. He also led in the formation of the Committee for Industrial Unionism, AFL progressive group.

PHILIP VAN GELDER, fighting leader of the Camden shipyard strikers, independent industrial union, led an inspired union to victory against the financial giant, the New York Shipbuilding Company. After a 6-month fight, the workers won wage raises and better conditions in the shop.

DAVID LASSER, president of the Workers' Alliance of America, who cemented fraternal relationship between the national unemployment group, which he heads, and the American Federation of Labor during the year. 1935 also saw the appearance of The Workers Alliance, unemployed newspaper.

JULIUS HOCHMAN, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and head of the New York Joint Board, is preparing labor forces for the general strike of 100,000 dressmakers which will take place in February, 1936, unless the employers concede to the union demands.

POWERS HAPGOOD, militant Socialist leader, was in the forefront of the most spectacular labor battle of the year when he led Socialist and labor defiance of military rule in Terre Haute. Terre Haute labor sponsored a 40-hour general strike against *U.S. Militarism*.



TERRE HAUTE pickets massed by the thousands during the general strike in July. Here is part of the crowd gathered outside the Columbian Stamping Company, focal point of the strike.



MINNEAPOLIS displaced Toledo as the "hot spot" of the country in 1935. Strong unions fought and won many struggles in that city as the bosses banded together in a futile attempt to break the power of organized labor. Above is a street scene as pickets were routed by tear gas during the iron workers' strike.

How Labor Fought in 1935—The Past Year in Pictures

SEE BACK PAGE

Demands of Labor Hit Administration Evasion of Issues

WASHINGTON (Special).—As Senators and Congressmen gathered here this week for the opening of Congress Friday, it became increasingly apparent that President Roosevelt and his New Deal are going "on the spot" as never before in the coming sessions of the legislative body.

The session will be a crucial one for the great masses of the American people, but the chief efforts of old party leaders will be directed at holding things in line as effectively as possible. They fear most of all the embarrassment of concrete stands on the eve of a great national election.

For example, right in the forefront of the problems facing Congress, is that of constitutional revision to end the dictatorship of the Supreme Court over all laws intended to relieve the workers and farmers. It is an issue, however, that the administration does not want to touch with a ten-foot pole. Roosevelt and those who will do his bidding in the House and Senate hope to be able to dodge the issue right up until the presidential campaign.

Must Take Stand

If they can succeed in this aim, they believe, thousands of voters will be willing to vote for them merely on the basis of their supposed "good intentions." If the issue should be forced to a vote not only the President but dozens of Democratic and "liberal" legislators would be forced to take a definite stand. They fear to do so, because they want to keep in with their potential critics, both from the left and the right.

The issue will, however, not be easy to dodge. Already, a federal court judge in Kansas has declared the important Labor Disputes Bill, in which the American Federation of Labor leadership put so much faith, "unconstitutional." The Supreme Court will soon be in session, and on its docket are many cases involving major farm and labor relief legislation. A series of court vetoes of important laws may well force the administration's hand.

Demand Action

Moreover, the workers and the farmers themselves are demanding action, not gestures. The Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution, originally drafted by Morris Hillquit and introduced in the last session by Congressman Vito Marcantonio, will be re-introduced with slight modifications in the coming session. Behind that bill is already organized the mighty voice of nearly 2,000,000 working men and farmers who have demanded its quick passage.

Despite Administrative and congressional reluctance to touch the hot potato, the demand for action on the bill has already been renewed. Regardless of official wishes, if the labor pressure becomes strong enough and particularly if labor should threaten to embark on independent political action, judiciary committee members will be forced to report the bill for a vote on the floor.

The stand-patters and the issue-dodgers will also face pressure from other sources. Although passage of the so-called Social Security legislation has taken the teeth out of agitation for a social insurance, the issue will again be on the order of business, as in fact it must inevitably be until a genuine social insurance bill is passed. Mass pressure from working-class organizations brought the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance bill, introduced by Representative Ernest Lundeen, to a vote in the lower house last year. This year a revised and improved bill will go into the legislative hopper over the signature of Senator Lynn

ON THE SPOT



Congressman William Bankhead of Alabama, House Democratic leader, is on the spot as labor presses for elementary rights. Neither Bankhead nor Roosevelt like the idea of facing the issue openly.

Frazier. It is hoped that the bill will come to a vote in both houses.

Townsend Plan

There will also be the matter of the Townsend plan. Here again so great is the need of the aged people of the country for genuine pension relief and so great has been the official indifference to the need that thousands have flocked to the banner of the Los Angeles doctor as to a messiah. Townsend himself claims 1,500,000 members in his Old Age Revolving Pensions organizations.

Undoubtedly he exaggerates, but undoubtedly, too, there is

strength behind his movement. Many of the Senators and Representatives are afraid of the whole issue, of course, but many of them also think that a vote for the plan, which Townsend himself admitted to them last year to be impractical of fulfillment, may be the easiest way out.

Certainly it is the easiest way out that is being sought all around. It in part explains the possibility of a soldiers' bonus bill again passing both houses. Congressional leaders well know the genuine need of the unemployed and partly unemployed people in their constituencies. But at the moment the pressure bloc for the bonus is stronger than for genuine social insurance — the gentlemen on Capitol Hill would rather vote for the latter anyway — so the bonus may again be thrown out as a sop to those in need.

Whether it will prove an effective sop or not is of course another question.

Prepare for War

Regardless of what is done for the boys who went overseas in the last war, one thing is certain: plenty of energy will be put into the task of preparing to send more boys overseas in a new war. The huge appropriations last session for naval purposes are most certainly to be matched by even greater appropriations for the air force this year, if the administration has its way.

The way the wind is blowing is indicated by several significant happenings right on the eve of the session's opening:

1. The provocative jingo speeches made by Senator Key Pittman and other important legislative diplomats.
2. A direct demand, probably White House inspired, for strengthening of Pacific "air defenses" voiced last week by Speaker Byrns.
3. The proposal of Chairman McSwain of the House Military

(Continued on Page Six)

JINGO



Senator Key Pittman, Democrat, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, did not help the cause of peace when he indulged in a bitter attack on Japan. Washington observers fear war unless the jingoes are quieted.

LABOR IN ACTION

Spontaneous strikes up and down the Pacific coast by steam schooner crews, with activity centered in San Francisco, are breaking out as means of forcing coastwise shippers to sign union contracts by "job action." The strikes are led by the International Seamen's Union.

All members of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, including all maritime unions on the coast, called a half-hour stoppage last week in protest against the trial of four members of the Ship Scafers Union for murder arising from a fight at the union hall. The four were acquitted.

Forces working for a Farmer-Labor Party will open a national information office in the near future, Vice-President Francis J. Gorman of the United Textile Workers of America told a New Haven audience last week. Gorman lashed the New Deal and charged that the federal and state governments are in the hands of "the most powerful representatives of corporate interests."

After being held in jail incommunicado two weeks by military authorities for visiting Terre Haute in the interests of a WPA strike in surrounding counties, Hoot Rasmussen, Workers' Alliance organizer, was released last week. Joseph Jacobs, Labor and Socialist Defense Committee attorney, threatened "to rip the Terre Haute case wide open again" unless Rasmussen was freed.

William Randolph Hearst's Washington Times, evening paper, has been placed on the unfair list by the Washington Newspaper Guild after 10 staff members were fired for union activity. The Guild has launched an inquiry into conditions on the Herald, also a Hearst paper, and has appealed for support from labor in its fight.

A drive to organize Boston's white collar workers received support of the Central Labor Union when it voted to send speakers to an open mass meeting called by the Women's Trade Union League of Boston.

A scab who said he would "walk barefoot from Chicago to San Francisco to help break a strike for Mackay" testified in the hearing before the National Labor Relations Board of the Mackay Radio Company, charged with interfering with the right of their employes to organize. The strike-breaker, Richard White, did not have to walk, however, barefoot or otherwise; he was sent out by the company in a plane and his pay was increased from \$155 to \$180 a month.

Sixty union shipwrights in three shipyards won big gains in their 5-week strike at Tacoma. Pay was boosted 20 per cent, hours were reduced to 40 a week and a closed shop was won.

Reinstatement with back pay of 18 aircraft workers is recommended in an intermediate report to the National Labor Relations Board in the case of the United Aircraft Manufacturers Corporation of East Hartford, Conn.

Don't forget to send news of labor activity for use in this column to John Herling, Socialist Call, 21 East 17th Street, New York.

FASCIST PROSPERITY

ROME—The average neat consumption in Fascist Italy has decreased from 41 kilo per person in 1924 to 37 kilo in 1924.

Troops Patrol Hosiery Plant In Flour City

MINNEAPOLIS—For the second time in two years armed troops paraded through the streets of the metropolis of Minnesota this week in connection with a labor dispute here.

As the strike of 1,100 workers in the Strutwear Knitting Company neared its fifth month of militant struggle, Governor Floyd S. Olson ordered National Guard soldiers into the strike area to "keep people from being killed or injured."

Assailed by Many

Although Olson did not follow the procedure he used in the 1934 truckers' strike by ordering martial law, he was again accused by many labor leaders of using the state's armed forces against, rather than for, the workers who elected him.

Arrest of three men on a charge of contempt of court for violating a strike-smashing writ of replevin last week brought the strikers new determination to win their strike. When cops, acting under orders of Police Chief Frank Forestal, attempted to break through their picket lines to deliver goods, the pickets fought bitterly.

Resent Boss Unity

The troop call is seen here as a move to crush the resentment of the workers against the united front which they have seen forged between their employer and the courts, acting now in apparent unison with the police.

Since the troops moved in on the struck plant all picketing has been strictly barred in the area several blocks around.

Lasser Hits WPA Policy At Ft. Peck

NEW YORK — Sharp protest over governmental policies at the Fort Peck, Mont., dam site were sent to WPA Administrator Harry Hopkins, by David Lasser, national chairman of the Workers' Alliance of America, this week.

More than 1,000 families, stranded at the dam site when their bread-winners were suddenly laid off, are now in destitute circumstances, Lasser declared. The families have all applied for relief, but the county authorities have refused on the grounds that, having come there only a month ago to work on the dam, they are not residents. Although they are unable to move from the county because they have no money, they have also been refused work of any kind on the WPA.

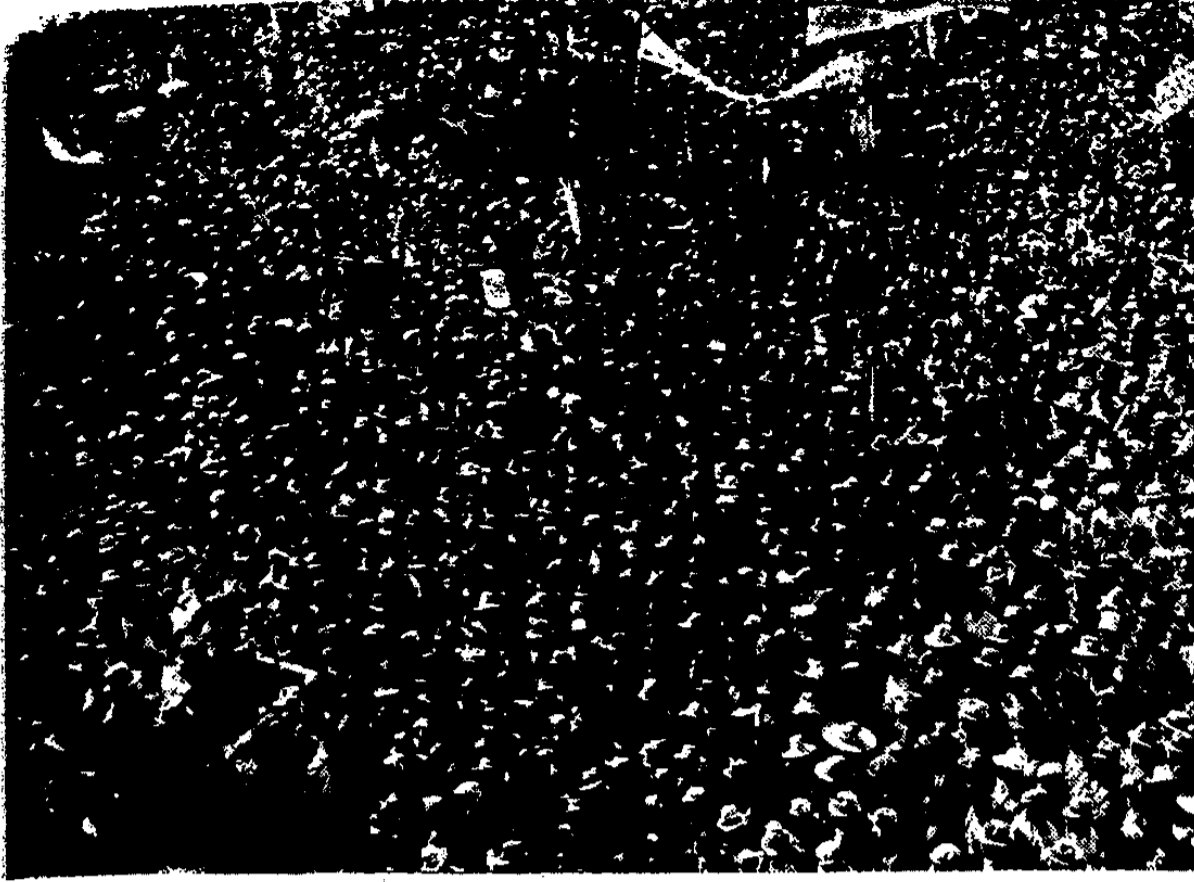
The problem, Lasser said, is "squarely up to the federal government," particularly since the project is a U. S. Army job.

WIN NEWS STRIKE



The Newspaper Guild of New York won a smashing victory after a long strike at Amsterdam News, Harlem weekly. Here is Milton Kaufman (seated) executive secretary of the Guild, while the exuberant staff members crowd around to read the contract.

THE MEXICANS SAY 'SCRAM'



Here is the "welcome" that General Plutarco Calles received when more than 100,000 Mexican workers demanded that he be exiled from the country he once ran with an iron hand. Mexican labor has charged that Calles is in league with American imperialists.

TAMPA POLITICS REVEAL POLICE LINK TO KLAN

By RUSSELL GRAY

TAMPA, Fla.—Who is behind the murder of Joseph Shoemaker and the kidnapping and torturing of E. F. Poulnot and S. J. Rogers?

That is the question people here are asking as it becomes increasingly obvious that the six policemen and two members of the Ku Klux Klan who have been arrested for the murder and kidnappings acted on instructions from higher up.

Chief of Police R. C. Tittsworth resigned last week under fire. His excuse that he quit in order to conduct an independent investigation of the crime is not taken seriously here.

One of the policemen charged with the murder was appointed to the police force a day after the crime. The can which held the tar used to torture the Socialists was traced to the police commissary. The Tampa Morning Tribune has stated that "from the beginning, officially and unofficially, the clues have led to the doors of the police station."

Thomas Indicts Officials

Norman Thomas, who was the first to charge that the Ku Klux Klan was implicated in the crime, stated to the press that "the real responsibility lies pretty high up."

Pat Whitaker, chief counsel for the defendant, is closely related to Mayor R. E. L. Chancey, and Mayor Chancey took over the police department after the resignation of Tittsworth. Joseph Shoemaker was chairman of the Modern Democrats, which was the only party opposed to the election of Mayor Chancey and which charges that Chancey was elected only through fraud. One of the major planks in the Modern Democrats' platform was a declaration of war on the gambling dens which rule Tampa, and from which, it is charged, Mayor Chancey draws a considerable income.

Gambling houses mysteriously closed their doors two weeks ago when investigations into the murder began. Private investigations indicate that at least two public officials were connected with the kidnappings.

Citizens Skeptical

Given this set-up, people in Tampa can hardly be blamed for being skeptical that an honest and vigorous attempt will be made to fully punish the murderers, or that the real criminals behind these men will ever be brought to justice.

Only the tremendous pressure of the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party, and numerous church and liberal groups through-

out the country has forced the officials to act at all.

Meanwhile, the eight arrested for the murder have been released on \$7,500 bail each.

Cop Tortured Lawyer

During the week it was discovered that one of the arrested policemen has also been involved in another kidnaping. F. W. Switzer, city policeman, was recognized by Robert F. Cargell, St. Petersburg lawyer, as one of the gang which kidnaped him, tortured and mutilated him last March. A former deputy sheriff of Tampa, A. L. Peacock, was charged with the kidnaping shortly after the crime was committed, but died while he was out on bail.

The two Klansmen charged with the murder of Shoemaker, Arlie F. Gillian and Ed Spivey, were also at one time part of the local police force. They were employed as special police deputies during the primary election at ten dollars a day and were supplied with a police car and weapons.

To Send Investigator

NEW YORK.—The Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa announces that it is sending a special investigator and attorney to Tampa to make an independent investigation of the case. Funds to defray expenses are urgently needed. Send funds to the committee at 112 East 19th Street, New York City. Norman Thomas is chairman of the committee and Mary Fox is treasurer.

TRANSFER McNAMARA

SAN QUENTIN, Cal. (FP)—J. B. McNamara, who has served more time behind the bars than any other political prisoner, has been secretly transferred from San Quentin to the "tougher" Folsom prison at Repra, Cal. McNamara's radical views and his influence on young criminal-syndicalism victims recently sent to San Quentin are said to have placed him in the bad graces of prison authorities.

Strike Leader Appeals Fine

POTOSI, Mo.—Joe Morris, one of the leaders of the famous tiff miners' strike this summer, was fined \$50 for "contempt of court." He is appealing the case to the state Supreme Court in order not to make this case a precedent for other convictions.

He was not accused of actually violating any court injunctions but merely for criticizing the judge who issued the injunction even before the strike began. Morris, who is also a member of the Socialist Party, is insisting on a jury trial.

The 18-day strike in August ended with the miners receiving an increase from \$3.50 to \$5.00 a ton.

In an editorial, the "St. Louis Star and Times" recently declared "the rights and liberties of every citizen of Missouri" are involved in the case and asserted:

"If Joe Morris can be sent to jail by Judge Dearing for saying that the judge should be impeached, the constitutional right of free speech is worthless, the constitutional guarantee of a jury trial in all criminal cases means nothing, and the people of Missouri are living, not in a democracy, but in a judicial oligarchy."

The case against Morris has attracted wide interest in labor organizations, which felt that if a judge may issue a contempt citation against a labor leader for remarks not made in the presence of the court, employers will have a powerful weapon, sufficient to break strikes by depriving labor of its leadership.

Kantorovitch-Katz Debate on January 5

NEW YORK—Haim Kantorovitch, editor of the American Socialist Quarterly and of the Sozialistische Shtime, will debate M. Katz, a co-editor of the Freiheit, communist Jewish daily, Sunday afternoon, Jan. 5, at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place. The subject of the debate will be: "Is the Time Ripe for a United Front?"

The debate is sponsored by the Debs Club of New York, composed of Jewish revolutionary Socialists. Tickets at 49c are at sale at the Debs Club, 21 East 17th Street.

Kantorovitch is one of the leading theoreticians of the international Socialist movement whose series of articles in "The CALL" during the summer, "The Problems of Revolutionary Socialism," caused wide comment.

YPSL Spurns Bid In YCL 'New Line'

CHICAGO — The new line of the Young Communist League has evoked a speedy response from the National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League of America.

Not waiting for a formal proposal, the YPSL has turned down the Young Communist League's public offer that the two organizations dissolve and create a united youth league, unaffiliated with a political party, adhering to a program for a new social order and to the class struggle, and providing educational, recreational and cultural life for youth.

"Not in a nebulous union of 'non-Fascist' youth lies the hopes of American youth. Only a movement of young people working in close co-operation with a revolutionary party of the working class can combat war and Fascism!" This is the crux of the reply of the Young Socialists.

Kisses Come High In Nazi Germany

BERLIN—Even love is now taboo in Nazi Germany!

"Because he kissed an 'Aryan' girl, a Jewish war veteran in Hildesheim has been sentenced to thirty days in prison. The girl testified at the trial that she hadn't objected to being kissed, but the court augustly declared that "by kissing an Aryan girl," the Jew insulted not only the girl, but the entire German nation."

In Cologne, another Jew has been sentenced to one year in prison for refusing to separate from his "Aryan" wife. The couple had been happily married since 1932.

FILE SUITS

ASTORIA, Ore. (FP) — Faced with the loss of their livelihood, Columbia River Fishermen's Union is filing suits against large industrial concerns along the Columbia and Willamette rivers who are polluting the river and killing fish by dumping waste products. The union is seeking injunctions against a dozen firms. Pulp, paper and sawmills are among the worst offenders. The waste is making it impossible for fish to breed and live in the rivers, the union claims.

14,000,000 JOBLESS

NEW YORK — Unemployment jumped over the 14,000,000 mark again in November, according to the preliminary estimate of the National Research League, released this week. Unemployment increased 300,000 during the month ending November 15, to a total of 14,175,000.

Green Avoids Charter Plea

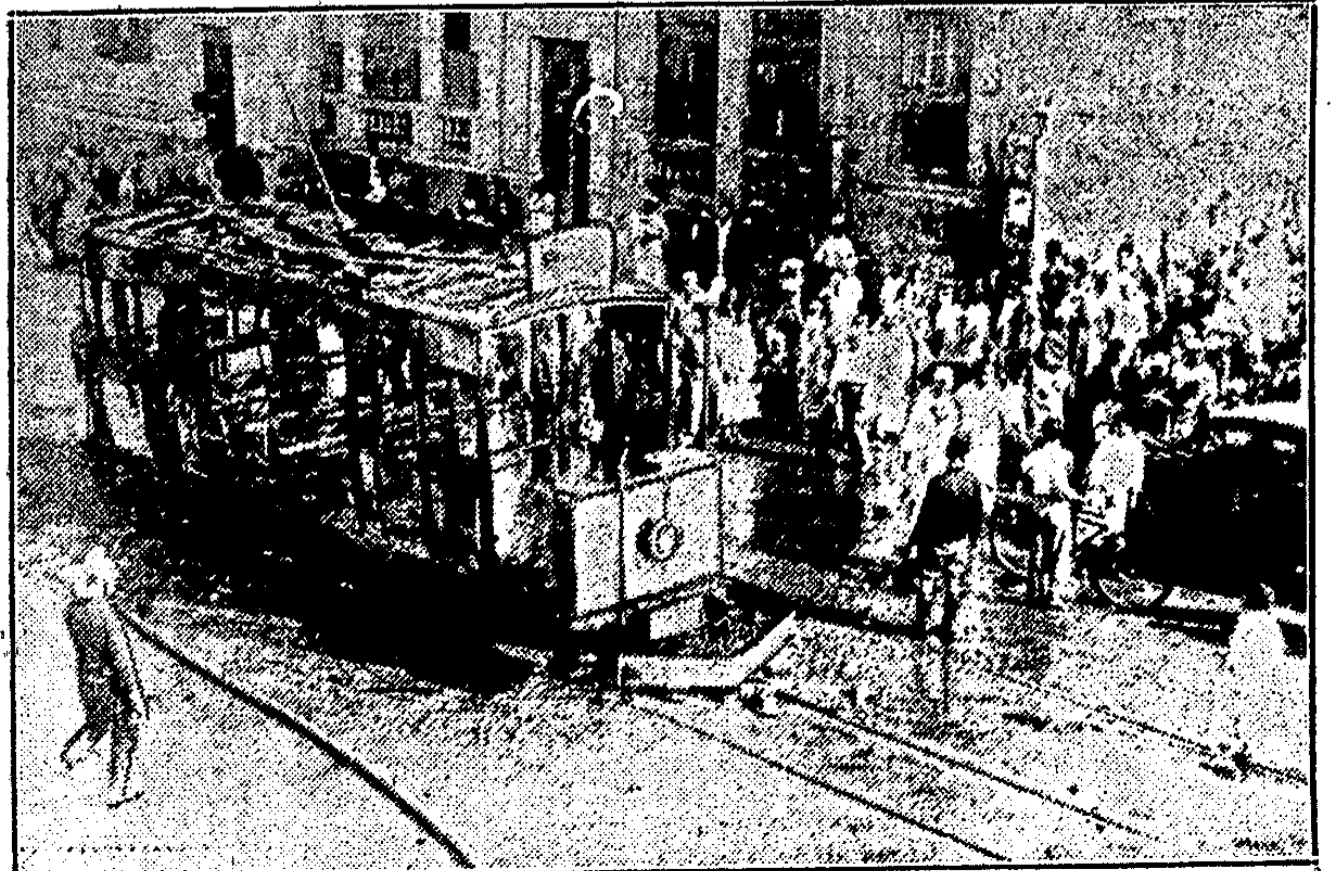
PITTSBURGH.—Another group of workers ran smack up against the craft union policies of the conservative American Federation of Labor leadership here this week, as the Radio Workers and Allied Trades Union tried in vain for clarification of its jurisdictional status.

In a convention representing a total of 50,000 workers in the radio and refrigerator industries, the union's representatives again asked President William Green of the AFL for a definite answer as to whether or not the union would be granted the international charter it has been seeking without success for many months.

Green's only reply was a telegram saying that the charter demand would be "considered" by the federation's executive council meeting in Miami next month.

The convention represented federal locals of radio and allied trades workers in many plants which have been trying to band together in an industrial union to organize their industry. Their attempts to organize have been countered, however, by jurisdictional claims of dozens of craft internationals, each of them claiming charter right to organize small groups of workers within the industry.

THE BRITISH LION ROARS



British constables in Cairo, Egypt, fired without warning into a crowd of students demonstrating against British imperialism, killing one boy and wounding several girls. The students retaliated by fighting back and wrecking British-owned street-cars, as pictured above.

THE SOCIALIST CALL

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

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

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

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Vol. I Saturday, January 4, 1936 No. 42

Greetings of the Season

And a Happy New Year to you!

Oh yeah?

In New York relief officials rush 45,000 checks to the needy so they will have food in their home on New Year's.

In a New Jersey town, the town the Lindbergh's fled, a hundred families are feeding off garbage dumps.

And in Chicago—

A man jailed because he couldn't pay alimony was freed last week. After tramping the streets for days, unable to find work, halfstarved, he begged the judge to return him to his cell.

The judge took pity on him, bought him cigarettes, sent him to jail for another six months.

"If anyone offers you a job during that time, I'll sign your release," the judge said.

This is America leaving 1935, entering 1936.

America, where the Republicans and Liberty Leaguers are preparing to return us to the middle ages.

America, where business profits rose in 1935, but 11 millions were still unemployed.

America, the home of the brave—where more than thirty men and women gave their lives on picket lines, in labor struggles during 1935.

America, where blue-blooded Caleb Milne, too lazy to work, kidnaps himself to extort money from his aged grandpop.

America, our country.

And what of the rest of the world?

South America—over-run with uprisings.

Asia and Africa—greedy Japan and insane

Mussolini grabbing juicy hunks of land to "civilize" backward China and Ethiopia.

Europe—powder-keg, fearing the spark of a new world war.

Thus does the world enter 1936.

Happy New Year?

Is it so happy, fellow-Americans, we who live in the land of the free, the land where—

Ku Klux Klan riders and city police falsely arrest, then kidnap, whip, tar, feather, burn, beat, torture three unemployed leaders in Tampa.

One of them, Joseph Shoemaker, dies, his only crime that he believed in a cooperative commonwealth;

That he wanted the people of America to democratically decide whether they wanted production for use instead of profit.

1935 . . . a year which increased terror in America, but a year which will not have been in vain if we remember—yes, remember and do something to bring to life, to bring to America that for which our Tampa comrade died.

1936 . . . election year in which labor can determine, if it will, its emancipation from the chains of capitalist slavery by building for victory a strong and powerful Socialist and union movement.

"Every dollar collected in the United States to finance the American Olympic team for Berlin is spent to support the rearmament of Nazi Germany. Every American who gives any contribution to this cause is practically financing the next war."—Gerhart Seger, former Socialist member of the Reichstag.

Prosperity by 1942—Maybe!

If the trend of industrial recovery continues its present pace, the depression will be over—in 1942.

1936 will be a year whose "volume of business discussion will reach unprecedented heights, while physical production and new enterprise will be restricted to modest progress."

Setting forth these cheery predictions, the Cleveland Trust Co.'s December Business Bulletin paints a picture of only slight recovery from the depths of the depression—a picture at variance with those carried on the business pages of the nation's newspapers.

If the physical volume of goods produced in pre-depression years amounted to 10 units per person, the survey shows, it had fallen to only 6.5 in 1932 and rallied to only 7.7 in 1935. At that rate, it will take six years to reach "normal."

The German state of Thuringia, in the interest of "national welfare," has taken over a concern producing armaments and baby carriages. It ought to be a thriving business—getting the Germans coming and going.

ENTERING THE NEW YEAR



A Defense of the League of Nations

To The Editor:

The CALL disclaims no responsibility for opinions other than those appearing in the Letter Column. And so I assume that opinion expressed in "What Does It Mean" has its nihil obstat.

Belief in reality of public opinion is a mark of a naive soul. I confess my naiveness and beg to be enlightened. What institution has ever existed, beneficial or harmful, that has not had support of public opinion? What institution has long survived the loss of that support? What other way has Socialism of overthrowing harmful institutions than at first weakening the popular support given to them?

An overwhelming majority of that naive people, the English, in a poll of opinion expressed their adherence to the League of Nations. Assuming that that institution is purely a plunderbund, what other way of overthrowing it than at first depriving it of its moral support?

Some peoples have discovered that there are worse things than "bogus" democracy. Is there not a remote possibility that the League of Nations might be succeeded by something worse? Should we not take that remote possibility in thoughtful consideration?

The League has not prevented the old skin game. May it not have deprived it, however, of the

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

moral support it has formerly enjoyed? The League will not prevent Ethiopia from being fleeced. May not this imperialist victory be a pyrrhic one, an exchange of Ethiopia for a large bloc of moral support?

One question, in closing. Why publish The CALL if public opinion is not a reality?

FRANK D. SLOCUM.
New York City.

A LETTER TO THE NEW LEADER

To The Editor:

I have sent the following letter to the Editor of the New Leader. I believe that in fairness to myself and the comrades associated with me, it should come to the attention of the membership. The letter follows:

Dear Comrade Editor:
Your last issue, in a context of precedents for Comrade Solomon's acceptance of a magistracy from Mayor La Guardia, makes reference to me as follows:

"The only party member who accepted appointment from a

non-Socialist administration without asking permission of the party is Jack Karro. He accepted an appointment in the NRA administration in Washington. Like Weinfeld, he is a 'militant'."

Flattering as it is thus to be held out as a model for aspirants to judicial heights, I am impelled by a respect for facts to decline the honor.

The facts are that I am not an appointee of the NRA but a humble under-library-assistant in a government library; that I did not "accept appointment from a non-Socialist administration" but was certified to my position by the Civil Service Commission upon the results of a competitive examination; that my job pays some \$8500 less than the post you see fit to compare it with; and that my services make no pretensions to a dignity higher than clerical. Nevertheless, if the judicial robe will rest any the more gracefully about His Honor's Socialist shoulders for the thought that Jack Karro accepted a \$1,440 job as a government clerk, he is welcome to muse upon it and I shall deem it my little contribution to the revolutionary cause.

To Article III Section 4 of the national constitution I comradely refer you. You will learn therein that no member may hold appointive public office without the consent of the SEC. "Teachers and civil positions excepted." A more frequent perusal of the provisions of that document would do much to increase the accuracy of your columns.

On one point and on an important one your above quoted paragraph most conspicuously reaches the level of accuracy. I am a militant.

JACOB I. KARRO.
Washington, D. C.

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ADDRESS

CITY STATE

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

1935 is gone. Let us look at the balance sheet. Where is the great "recovery" that the year was to bring? Roosevelt jimmied five billion dollars out of a reluctant congress to put to work, he said all those still capable of working. The year is over. The five billion are all spent. There are still twelve million on relief and the end is not yet.

Meantime, the "right-wing" of capitalism has launched its counter-attack. For the Morgans, the Fords and their like, and for poor Al Smith, the Roosevelt panaceas smell too much of "red revolution." So the Supreme Court killed the NRA. Lower court decisions menace the Wagner Bill. The Guffey Bill comes next. A vicious attack has been launched against the New-Deal. The Literary Digest poll registers the effectiveness of this onslaught. "On to Fascism" seems to be the slogan of the Wall Street boys, with the Liberty League seconding the motion.

Utopian Hokum

1935 was a banner year for the vendors of utopian hokum. In Alberta, the Social Credit simpletons get themselves elected—and now they don't know what to do with their victory. In the United States, the Townsend plan begins to loom up in huge proportions. It is just plausible enough to take in the economic illiterates. Epic is still on the map. Huey Long got himself shot, so Father Coughlin is thinking of hitching up with the Townsends. Watch the utopians in 1936! A strong fascist wind may blow from these quarters.

1935 saw Hitler arm. It saw Mussolini go to war with Ethiopia. It saw the moribund League of Nations come to life under the adrenalin treatment administered by England and France. Like a Frankenstein monster, the League changed from a harmless debating society into a dangerous weapon in the hands of imperialist powers. 1936 may yet see a world war hatched by the League.

In 1935, John Lewis lighted a time-fuse under Bill Green's chair. It ought to explode by 1936—1937 at the latest. For those to whom this language is too cryptic, let me explain that President John Llewellyn Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America has begun a vigorous campaign for industrial unionism and that the AFL is in for a fight to the finish on this issue.

In 1935, The Comintern met — and inspired Nathan and Levy to write their masterpiece "Our line's been changed again." Ever since the Stalinites have been drifting further and further to the right. By 1936 they may land in the arms of Roosevelt. So far, at least, they have been content to advise American workers to join the army in case of a war in which the United States is "allied" with the Soviet Union.

1935 witnessed the great Browder-Thomas debate which influenced no one except the great political strategists of 7 East 15th Street. Under the impact of the debate they devised a masterpiece of political acumen—which successfully took them out of the Socialist Party. During their retreat, Charlie Solomon accepted a job as magistrate from La Guardia. It was in 1935, too, that Judge Panken invented the cruel and inhuman punishment of making juvenile offenders read More's Utopia.

1935 saw a fierce renewal of open class warfare. In Terre Haute, the Socialist Party forced a temporary withdrawal of martial law. In Tampa, Shoemaker was killed in the course of organizing the unemployed. In places too numerous to list, strikers were beaten and jailed, and strikes were broken by methods legal and illegal.

The Rattle of Death

What does it all mean? It means that "the old order passeth, giving place to the new." A dying capitalism is struggling to maintain its power. In this country, it is still, trying self-regulation and self-limitation. Elsewhere it is resorting to fascism and to imperialist war to crush labor and to restore its power.

The cross-currents within the labor movement, the conflicts between-communists and Socialists, between right and left tendencies within the labor movement, the "more-or-less silly Utopias that live for a few days—these are evidences of life. A new world is in the making, a world that will be ruled by workers. It is only natural that, as the forces of this new world evolve, there will be many claims to prophecy of what it will be like and how it will function. All claims will have their adherents.

1936 will see even more startling developments. One does not have to gaze into a crystal to see the possibilities of war and fascism, to see the possible shifts of political power that 1936 may produce. It may see the passing of Roosevelt and the beginnings of fascism. It may see a revolt of the farmers, the formation of industrial unions, the formation of a Labor Party, a sudden swing to the left on the part of the disillusioned workers. In any case, it means that the Socialist has his work cut out for him. And it is a big job, too!

UNITY IN MEXICO



Peon and laborer united in Mexico to demand the forced exile of General Calles. Here are some of the demonstrators. (Another picture on Page 3.)

A TRUMPET CALL TO REACTION

By LEN DE CAUX

There is nothing obscure about the decision of Judge Merrill E. Otis against the Wagner labor relations act. Some legal documents are so elaborately and ingeniously worded as to conceal the opinions of their authors. They guard the sacred mysteries of the law from popular curiosity. With their incomprehensible rigmarole they create a semi-religious atmosphere of aloofness from human passions and from the clash of rival social interests. Judge Otis has scorned all such mumbo-jumbo. He has written a clear-cut anti-labor manifesto, with a fruity Republican campaign flavor and a number of catchy slogans.

Starting off with some snappy sarcasms about the act still permitting a father to bargain individually with his sons, the judge delivers himself of the following smashing opinion: "The individual employe is dealt with by the act as an incompetent. The government must protect him even from himself. He is the ward of the United States to be cared for by his guardian even as if he were a member of an uncivilized tribe of Indians or a recently emancipated slave."

Looks Into Future

The judge's ardent partisanship bursts through the bars of judicial reserve, like a dicky-bird that finds a cage-door ajar — or to do more justice to his forcefulness, like a mule that kicks through the stable wall. Horrified by the idea he himself advances that if Congress may legislate for collective bargaining, it might also legislate concerning use of machinery, "to the end that production may not be lessened," Judge Otis looks nervously into the future. Not content with interpreting the present constitution, he essays also to interpret a possibly amended constitution.

Hits Labor Amendment

The judge refers to an amendment pending in Congress which would give Congress the power "to regulate commerce, business, industry, finance, banking, insurance, manufacturers, transportation, agriculture and the production of natural resources." If this should be adopted, he says, "what yet remains of the sovereignty of the states will cease to be and the 'citizen' will have become a 'subject.'" Some of us may not be able to share Otis' elevated alarm about a possible future in which the American people might be permitted to regulate all of their national affairs. Others may not be lifted to the same frenzy by the thought of legislating to keep factories open, rather than legislating to restrict production or permitting private employers to close them down. Yet others may not be depressed by the thought of union perils lurking in the way of the individualistic, unemployed worker who insists on his right to strike a private bargain with a million-dollar corporation.



JUDGE OTIS

Not Impartial

But all of us can applaud the refreshing frankness of Judge Otis. He is no pussyfooting professor of impartiality, who conceals his class favoritism behind high-falutin' abracadabra. He steps out just as boldly to battle for the bosses in this case, as when he defied the hard-driven Missouri farmers to mob him. The farmers then had organized to prevent one of their number being driven from his farm at Plattsburg. Judge Otis would not let them get away with it. Workers now are organizing to protect their jobs and wages and to insist on collective bargaining. Judge Otis has trumpeted a call to all the forces of reaction to prevent them.

THE LABOR THEATRE

By McAlister Coleman

For one reason or another, I haven't been on my job as theatre reviewer for The CALL for several weeks. (Do I hear loud cheers from happy readers?) During my absence I have had time to ponder the hazards, heartbreaks and opportunities of such a job in its relations to the theatre of The Left.

As the labor or proletarian play has unquestionably arrived as a force to be reckoned with, not only within the narrow confines of the "legitimate theatre" but as a weapon for all who are intent on a new social order, a glance at the function of the labor paper critic may not be out of place here.

My good comrade and friend, David Paul, has recently written in The CALL that while I may be "a noble character," to quote from a favorite expression of my own, I am no good as a dramatic critic. Of course I am not a noble character and will gladly fight anyone who calls me that, but gosh darn I do know a good play when I see it. And the play which occasioned Comrade David Paul's remarks was no good, no matter how you looked at it. It was "Mother," the Theatre Union's ill-advised attempt to talk baby-talk to the workers. "Now be a good mama and eat up all the nice Marxist economics." That sort of thing.

Dave gave away his own case when he said that the workers ought to see this play. It is this infuriatingly parochial attitude on the part of Left producers, playwrights and critics which in my opinion, is doing more harm to the growth of the proletarian drama in America than columns of adverse criticism from the typewriters of The Right.

Labor, Right or Wrong

The attitude seems to be this, that any play, irrespective of its merits, which deals with the lives of the workers from a sympathetic viewpoint must necessarily be good—and good for the workers to see. No matter that the play is a ghastly bore from the curtain's rise on, no matter that it has about it an incredibly amateur air reminiscent of charades in the back parlor in the old days, no matter that for the sake of propaganda it resorts to rank-distortion and, at times, plain lying, it must be supported by labor sympathizers. Labor right or wrong. "Comes the Revolution and you got to like strawberries and cream."

This coddling of all the eager, intense, young men afire with their discovery of Marx, who are writing one standardized script after another about noble workingmen and wicked capitalists shames the integrity of the critic and stunts the growth of the playwright. If it has not already happened, very soon now, any worker with brains enough to follow a three-act play will sniff with justifiable suspicion at reviews of labor plays that hail the authors as greater than Ibsen, Shaw and O'Neill put together. When he is told that it is his duty to whoop it up for "Red Dawn Over Astoria" or whatever the next is to be called, because here is a play that comes to grips with life's grim realities and won't let his and his friends buy a block of tickets, he will hie him to the nearest movie, even as you and I.

Jumbo vs. Labor

Only the other day an unfortunate woman of my acquaintance, who has been sitting for months in the gloom of propaganda theatres applauding dutifully as weird actors from the Village disguised as members of the embattled Catfish Catchers Union told her that she had nothing to lose but her chains, said to me tearfully, "For the love of Karl Marx, can't we sneak over and see Jumbo tonight?"

When a paper moderately radical such as "The Nation" does print the honest and forthright criticism of such an authoritative man of the theatre as Joseph Wood Krutch (notably his recent devastating review of "Paradise Lost"), all hands write windy letters to the critic and his paper in which they consign both to the fires of a proletarian hell.

The answer is, of course, they can't take it, these sensitive plants who are trying to be so hard-boiled behind the footlights. To change the simile they have to be bucked up by a Leftist shot in the arm. To my mind that isn't the cure for their revolutionary infantism. What they need is the catharsis of just such criticism as Krutch provides. If they insist on parading their naive conceptions of the American labor movement before people who pay good money for their seats, they ought to submit to the discipline of thoughtful criticism. The labor movement has enough burdens to support as it is without adding to them the cruel and unnecessary punishments inflicted by the bulk of our proletarian dramas.

AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

All this ballyhoo about returning prosperity which fills the papers at the turn of the year has political significance. Both Republicans and Democrats are basing their campaign hopes on it. The Democrats are saying, and are going to say louder and louder, that the New Deal made this prosperity. The Republicans are saying, and are going on saying louder and louder that the New Deal delayed and still delays this prosperity. Both parties base their hopes on its continuance and both parties try to shut their eyes and ears as far as possible to the plight of the unemployed.

The outlook for the unemployed is dreadful. All hopes of balancing the budget are at cost to the unemployed. There is no sign that a continuance or increase of the present "prosperity" will greatly reduce the number of the unemployed. If we have a few relatively prosperous years without war, they will not be prosperous at all for a standing army of between eight and eleven million unemployed. For them the President's Security Law is a bad joke. Transients are almost cut off from relief. WPA wages, especially in the South, are an outrage. Around Tampa, Florida, they run \$6 a week. City after city is weeks behind in paying these miserable wages. All capitalist programs are based on finding the lowest possible amount to keep this standing army of the unemployed from rioting or dying of starvation. As in the days of the Roman Empire one of the principal preoccupations of "statesmen" is to find out how few crusts and what sort of circuses will buy domestic peace.

Let the papers headline returning prosperity as they may, it is

FDR Afraid of Congress Test

(Continued from Page Two)
Affairs Committee, that the United States draft 15,000 youth annually to train as soldiers in the air force.

4. The appointment of Brigadier-General Frank M. Andrews as commander of the General Headquarters Air Force and the simultaneous announcement of a campaign to triple the strength of the force and to bring the nation's fleet of deadly airplanes to 2,000.

Outlook "Rosy"
All these moves, quite accidentally, of course, coincide with a newspaper poll of the "man in the street" which was made to show a "popular" demand for more planes in the Army and Navy. All in all it is no wonder one air officer was able to tell newsmen here this week:

"It is the rosiest outlook this air corps has had since we learned to fly. Watch us go places!"

All this is in sharp contrast to the dove-like gestures that accompany talk about "strengthening the neutrality bill." It is quite possible, however, that if the munitions investigation should unearth enough "dirt" about the duplicity of the Wilson administration in the "neutrality" days of 1916 and 1917, public indignation may force actual strengthening of neutrality legislation as a temporary weight in the balance toward peace.

How weak the American Federation of Labor's legislative lobbying and non-partisan political policy really is may be illustrated when the question of relief wages comes up again. It is another question that Mr. Roosevelt would like to dodge. He can't, however, dodge the growing wave of strikes against his security wage.

insecure and cannot last. The weight of debt the artificial nature of prosperity achieved by subsidizing scarcity, the lag of re-employment, behind the increase of industrial production, and the lag of payrolls behind both—these things condemn us in a few years at most to new and deeper depression. The only alternative to such depression is the horrible alternative of war prosperity. In either event, of war or new economic collapse, the answer of a dying order will be a Fascist dictatorship or series of dictatorships. Only a Socialism strong enough to keep the country out of war and to capture power to substitute production for use for the relative scarcity of the profit system can save us. Such a Socialism can and must have immediate demands of a sort that most of us know by heart. It can and must cooperate with a farmer-labor movement on both the political and economic field. But unless that Socialism can rapidly carry such a movement beyond immediate demands, obtainable under capitalism, and beyond such organization as failed in Germany, we shall not be saved from Fascism. The Socialism we want is something that has to be fought for. It will not come automatically and imperceptibly by winning one immediate demand after another. It will never come at all if the party, like the Old Guard in New York, will spring into action only if it imagines it is menaced from the left while it is insensible to perils from the right.

WAR DANGER IN 1936

War in 1936 may yet come to Europe as a result of Mussolini's raid on Ethiopia and the failure of sanctions administered by greedy, jealous, capitalist nationalist states to function effectively for peace. Or possibly, perhaps probably, aided by a little luck, Europe may

muddle through without European war just yet. If Europe blunders into war it will be hard though not impossible for the United States to keep out. To keep out will require a more effective neutrality program than we now have. No program against either war or Fascism is good which sees us, like other nations, increasing our trade with Mussolini in oil and scrap iron. The proposed neutrality law suggested by the National Peace Conference is not perfect, but it suggests an advance. It adopts neutrality as a national program and yet provides for a solemn act under which the United States might under some circumstances depart from its national policy for aid to a victim of outrageous aggression. In defining war goods it gives, it seems to me too much leeway to the President.

There is a danger of war for the United States which does not arise out of European conflict. It arises out of our own interests, real or alleged, in the Far East. I hold no brief for the Japanese military clique in power when I say that if I were a Japanese I could make out an alarming case against the United States. Why does the United States spend more on its navy than any power in the world? Why is it establishing fortified air bases for airplanes around its frontiers in Alaska and Hawaii? Why is there so much talk that maybe Philippine Independence is after all a mistake? Why are the Aleutian Islands which reach far out towards Japan closed to civilian airplanes? Why is the United States so slow in putting any curb on the profits of munition makers? When Americans talk about defensive war only, what are they defending, their trade or their home territory?

The worst of it is that according to one of these straw votes, the majority of those polled favor a larger army and navy. One turns in relief from such straw

votes to the action of the college students who set up the American Student Union in reiterating their adherence to the so-called Oxford Pledge, an affirmation that the younger generation will not permit itself to be dragooned into the war into which its capitalist imperialist government may stumble.

THE PLIGHT OF CHINA

A really impressive interview which I was privileged to have with a distinguished Chinese vividly reminded me how serious is the plight of China and how difficult it is to talk of peace so long as we persist in giving our highest loyalty to the nationalist state. So long as American, Japanese, Chinese, Italian, workers with hand and brain are made to feel that the real enemy is not exploitation, but foreign exploitation, we cannot build a secure peace for the world. The failure to realize in fact the unity of the workers of the world for peace only emphasizes the necessity for that unity if peace is to be won.

THE UTICA CONFERENCE

That Utica Conference of New York State Socialists, which was turned into an emergency convention for the salvation of Socialism, was a tremendously heartening affair. More up-state delegates were present and more up-state branches were represented than at the last State Convention of the Party, which was a complete fiasco as far as building the party was concerned. This convention wants an inclusive party. It applauded my statement that we wanted no black list or pogrom (I noticed at least one paper which reported me as saying that we wanted no Socialist program, which is a commentary on my writing or pronunciation, or

something!) But the Convention does mean business. Let Socialists outside New York State recognize that and give the Utica Convention the recognition to which it is entitled by reason of its answer to the Fascist usurpation practiced by the old State Committee, and Socialism in America can go ahead with New York Socialists taking care of their own problems.

Consumers' Cooperation

By Benjamin H. Wolf

Now that the Dewey investigation, in the manner of the mountain, has labored and given birth to a mouse in the form of convictions of a number of loan shark racketeers, considerable discussion is current about the next racket to be "cleaned up." Socialists, however, have no illusions about cleaning up such rackets. Conviction and imprisonment of these gangsters and racketeers will not destroy a racket so lucrative that it nets millions of dollars annually by interest charges ranging from 360 to 1040 per cent. Like the many headed Hydra, new heads will appear to replace those lopped off by Prosecutor Dewey. As long as the system exists which makes emergency loans necessary there will be usurers to prey on the unfortunates whose economic insecurity forces them to borrow for accidents, illness, childbirth and death. As long as workers are exploited there will be money lenders to drive them deeper and deeper into the morass of want and poverty.

The Cooperative Answer
Until the system is changed, what can we do to help workers through critical periods of personal financial stress? How can we make it unnecessary for them to be forced to go to vampirish usurers for quick, easily accessible loans? What program can we advocate until such time as general economic security is at hand?

Once more, the answer lies in our own backyard. The working class must look to itself. It must make itself independent of its ruling class by self-help, by collective, cooperative action.
The Cooperative Movement offers a program. It suggests cooperative credit unions—where workers can pool their meagre savings on a small scale to provide their own credit needs to meet emergencies or to avoid the "legal" usury of installment purchasing, which runs anywhere from 18 to 50 per cent and up.

4,000 Credit Unions
Already in America there are over 4,000 credit unions with over 800,000 members and is growing at the rate of 6,000 new members a week. Last year credit unions provided to their members loans in excess of \$40,000,000. Since the passage in 1934 of the Federal Credit Union Act, credit unions have been springing up in the United States at the rate of four a day. Credit unions have been organized in factories, offices, labor unions, farm organizations and church parishes. They can be organized in Socialist Party branches, community clubs and fraternal organizations. Most cooperatives have their own credit unions.

Not only does the credit union provide the borrower with emergency loans at extremely low interest rates, but it also provides a safe depository for small savings. Its safety is vouched for by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, which reports losses of only 24-100 of 1 per cent of loans made by credit unions in 1933.

Militant Auto Labor in 1935

By JOSEPH BROWN
DETROIT (FP) — Will the closed shop in the automobile industry become an accomplished fact during 1936?

This is the question which moves to the fore, as auto labor reviews the spirited battles of 1935 and the trends, still confused but none the less certain, which emerge from the events of the year.

During 1935 definite progress was made toward the goal of one union in America's premier open shop industry. Automobile labor became more aggressive and militant, less inclined "to take things lying down." Notable victories were won.

Auto labor started 1935 still divided into a multiplicity of unions. Their discontent flared up in one strike after another. Experience gained in the strikes is resulting in strong rank-and-file sentiment for the amalgamation of all auto unions into one aggressive industrial union, unfettered by jurisdictional handcuffs.

This goal seemed within hailing distance late in 1935 as independent unions merged into the Automobile & Metal Workers Industrial Union. There were some gestures for unity between this organization and the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America, AFL affiliate, particularly as a result of the confusion resulting from the interest of both unions in personnel at the Motor Products plant,

where independent unionists are on strike.

A calendar of the bigger events of the year will look about as follows:

Jan. 21—Four hundred workers at the Truscon Steel Co., Cleveland, struck, 10 days later gaining wage increases.

Jan. 31—Wet sanders at Fisher Body, Lansing, struck, winning some concessions. Murray Body machine repairmen struck.

March 17—Workers at Steel & Tube Co., Elyria, O., walked out on strike destined to last 13 weeks.

April 5—One thousand workers at Hupp Motor struck for recognition and other conditions, shortly afterward winning their demands.

April 23—At Toledo 2,400 Chevrolet workers walked out, catching General Motors unawares.

May 1—Stoppage of materials from Toledo had caused shutdowns of G. M. plants at Norwood, O., Atlanta, Cleveland, Tarrytown, Cincinnati, and Jamesville, Wis. Toledo workers won wage increases and other conditions as a result of one of the most effective strikes in the history of the industry. Plant officials were not permitted to enter the plant without a permit issued by the strike committee.

May 15—Packard production workers at Detroit struck against discrimination.

May 21—Fairmount Tool & Forging Co. workers, Cleveland,

struck and won better conditions. In the same city, 2,500 White Motor Co. workers staged a 100 per cent walkout.

Sept. 10—Strike began at Defiance Pressed Steel Co., Elyria, O.; won two days later.

Oct. 3—At Toledo, 500 City Auto Stamping Co. workers struck, winning signed agreement, time-and-a-half for overtime, etc. The Wall Street Journal said: "Executives in other auto parts plants here viewed the settlement with pessimism, as it marked nearly a score of instances during the last two years in which the union has won pay increases and other important concessions."

Nov. 1 — Mathers Spring strike, Toledo, began. The strike is still on and the plant shut down.

Nov. 15 — Motor Products strike, Detroit, began at key plant which makes parts for practically every make of American car. Still on, it is an epic struggle, characterized by inter-union strife, police brutality, killing of a striker by a scab, pitched battles with the police and grim militancy. Concessions and bonuses at other plants testify to the apprehension it has inspired among the owners of the industry.

"NOT GUILTY"

JUNEAU, Alaska (FP)—"Not guilty" was the speedy verdict handed 25 union miners charged by the Alaska-Juneau Gold Mining Co. with rioting.

LABOR NOTES IN NEW YORK

Manufacturers were deadlocked with the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union officials on the question of contractors limitation with no solution in sight. During the negotiations, the union is proceeding "full steam ahead" in preparation for a general strike February 1.

Thomas J. Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, and Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers of America, will be the featured speakers at a luncheon celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of Brookwood Labor College to be held in New York, Saturday, January 18.

The Brownsville Local of the Workers' Alliance is actively assisting a rent strike at 178 Amboy Street, Brooklyn. Irving Ostrowsky was elected chairman of the Alliance local at a meeting held last week.

The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union, Local 50, received the support of the League of Women Shoppers last week in its strike against the Cushman and Purity Bakeries.

Socialists working on a WPA teachers' project led a spirited protest last week against "red tape" in the administration which meant that checks for 45 teachers had been mislaid.

Sixteen organizations, with a membership of 5,200, will support a Consumers' Labor Parade and Rally Saturday afternoon, January 4, at Boro Park in support of the Rothstein strikers.

The strike of bushelmen at the Wanamaker Department Store entered its fifth week with the workers determined to win. Norman Thomas and the Central Trades and Labor Council have pledged their support to the strike.

New Year's Eve may see a general strike of hotel workers after delegates representing 27 locals of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union decided on the move unless union conditions are granted. If called, the strike will affect 75,000 workers in 600 hotels.

A report to the National Labor Relations Board filed this week charged the Atlas Bag and Burlap Company of Brooklyn with forming a company union and coercion of its employees.

A city-wide strike of New York cab drivers looms as 22,000 members of the Taxi Chauffeurs' Union declared their readiness to follow the lead of the union's executive board.

Party Heads Confer Over 1936 Parley

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Detailed preparations for the Socialist national convention to be held in Cleveland the latter part of May will be a feature of the quarterly meeting of the party's national executive committee in this city January 4, 5, and 6.

Other problems before the committee at its session here will be the situation in New York State, where the vast majority of the party members have rejected the rule of the Old Guard group formerly in control of the state organization; the drive for the Workers' Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution, and the campaign against war.

The struggle now going on within the American Federation of Labor for industrial unionism and the question of defending civil rights in Tampa, Terre Haute, and other centers also occupy a prominent place on the committee's agenda.

Members of the committee plan to address a number of mass meetings and trade union meetings here and in Camden over the week-end. They will also attend the inaugural ceremonies of the new Socialist administration in Reading, Pa., January 6.

NEW YORK.—A special bus to Philadelphia has been chartered by the CALL for the convenience of those who wish to attend the sessions of the NEC in that city.

Reservations for the bus, which will leave from the CALL office Saturday morning at nine A. M., are \$2.50. They may be had by telephoning GRamercy 5-8779.

Socialist Leaders Address Meeting

NEW YORK.—In connection with the meeting of the national executive committee to be held in Philadelphia this weekend, January 4 and 5, a large public mass meeting has been arranged for Friday night, January 3rd, at which members of the NEC are to speak.

The subject of the meeting will be "The Truth about the Socialist Party." The speakers will be Norman Thomas, Powers Hapgood, Devere Allen, Max Delson, Jack Altman, Frank Crosswaith and Maynard Krueger. The rally will be held in the huge Central Opera House, 67th Street and Third Avenue. General admission is free but reserved seats may be had for twenty-five cents.

SEEKS APPEAL

CINCINNATI (FP)—The Fruehlf Trailer Co. of Detroit, recently found guilty by the National Labor Relations Board of spying and unfair labor practices, has applied for an injunction in the U. S. Court of Appeals at Cincinnati to set aside the labor board's ruling.

Co-Op Leader



Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, Japanese co-operative leader, was the principal speaker at the Co-operative Congress in Indianapolis December 30 and 31. Appeals to Washington brought reversal of a decision by immigration authorities that threatened to bar this Japanese labor leader because of an eye disease.

7 Nations Join Labor Games

CLEVELAND — Already the World Labor Olympiad, to be held here July 3, 4, and 5, has attracted such wide-spread support that its effectiveness as an answer to the Hitler Olympics can no longer be doubted.

If the present plans of the committee succeed, teams from workers teams from seven nations will participate. Already hundreds of American athletes have signified their intention of competing for the games. This week the Labor Gymnastic Union of Czechoslovakia announced that it will send a team of 24. Invitations have also been extended through the Labor and Socialist Sports International to worker-athletes in Belgium, France, Holland, Switzerland, and England.

Outstanding figures in the international labor movement will also attend the games. Those who have already accepted the committee's invitation include Dr. Franz Soukup, president of the Czechoslovakian Senate; Rudolph Siliba, secretary of the Labor Sports International; Vojtech Benes, leader of the Czechoslovakian Social-Democratic Party; and Joseph Martinek, former editor of the American Labor News and now an editor of a labor newspaper in Prague.

The program of the Olympiad will include apparatus competition, a track and mass calisthenic meet in which hundreds of gymnasts ranging in age from six to sixty will take part. Rebel Arts, American labor cultural organization, will present its first national cultural festival at the games.

The Olympiad headquarters are located at 4732 Broadway, this city.

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MECCA TEMPLE JANUARY 8
133 W. 55th STREET WEDNESDAY, 8:30 P. M.

21 New York Locals Vote To Form New State Organization

By DAVID P. BERENBERG

UTICA—The Utica conference of the Socialist Party of New York, in response to an overwhelming sentiment, voted without dissent to assume the responsibilities of an Emergency Convention of the Party.

That the conference was representative of the locals in the state became apparent when the credentials committee reported that there were 14 more up-state delegates and 6 more up-state locals in attendance than were present at the 1934 state convention in New York City.

Twenty up-state locals in addition to Local New York, were represented with 93 delegates attending. Without a dissenting vote, the locals adopted the resolution calling for the establishment of a new state committee with the representatives of three locals abstaining from voting on the ground that they had not been given authority to do so. One of the non-voting delegates, Reichert of Local Rome, announced that he had supported the resolution in the Resolutions Committee.

Elect Committee

The Emergency Convention then proceeded to elect a new state committee, and made the CALL the official organ of the Party in New York State.

The new State Committee consists of Edward Marks, of Nassau; Harold Raitt of Buffalo; William G. Perry of Elmira; Jacob Jay of Westchester; Lewi Tonks of Schenectady; Emily Lovett Eaton of Syracuse; Leo M. Brushingham of Olean; Carlotta Kinsley, of Oneida; Richard Briggs, of Rochester; Frank R. Crosswaith, Jack Altman, Charles B. Garfinkel, Max Delson, David P. Berenberg, and Murray Baron of New York.

Alternates are Samuel A. DeWitt, Aaron Levenstein and Murray Gross, all of New York; Herman Hahn of Buffalo and can B. Maxwell of Syracuse.

The state committee was instructed to appear before the national executive committee at Philadelphia on January 4 and 5 to ask recognition as the Socialist Party in New York State.

These developments climax the struggle between Socialists and the Old Guard that has been going on ever since the adoption of the Detroit Declaration of Principles

in 1934. The Utica Convention registered the determination of the rank and file of the membership that the Socialist Party shall be Socialist in fact as well as in name, and that democratic procedure within the party shall not be denied by any self-constituted autocracy.

Tonks Is Chairman

Lewi Tonks of Schenectady was elected chairman of the conference. Jack Altman, executive secretary of Local New York, made a statement in which he outlined the steps leading up to the convening of the locals. He recited the grievances of the membership against Old Guard tyranny and the failure of the many efforts to achieve harmony.

He pointed out that the Old Guard "reorganization" move in New York meant the execution of the CALL, and expulsion from the party of everyone connected with the paper. Norman Thomas and all connected with the Thomas-Browder debate were also slated for expulsion.

Following Altman's keynote speech, the first session heard short statements from a large number of up-state delegates. They were unanimous in their complaint that the Old Guard state committee had completely neglected the organizational affairs of New York State. It was largely their experience with Old Guard neglect and suppression that caused them to welcome the calling of the Utica convention.

93 Delegates

A credentials committee consisting of Harold Siegel, New York; Leonard Bright, Westchester; George Dimmick, Rome; Ted Berkowitz, Utica, and Merrill Wil-

(Continued on Page Eight)

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Editor Amer. Socialist Quarterly vs. Co-Editor Freiheit
Socialistische Stimme
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World Socialism

THE FORWARD MARCH OF UNITY

By HERBERT ZAM

At its last session held November 16-18, the national executive committee of the Norwegian Labor Party decided to withdraw from the "International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Parties."

This decision has little organizational importance since the Norwegian Party did not participate in any of the activities of the "Bureau" for some time. It has very great political significance, however, as it may prove a death blow to the "Fourth International" tendency in the revolutionary movement which for a short while appeared to be playing a significant role. Simultaneously comes the news that the Austrian adherent of the "Bureau," the organization that calls itself "Red Front," has decided to rejoin the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

In its decision, the Norwegian Labor Party declares that it had originally entered the "Bureau" in order to work for the unity of the two existing Internationals, but the "Bureau" has gradually tended to become an international organization itself with its own program, directives and structure. This statement really hits at the crux of the matter. Without sufficient strength really to be able to drive the existing Internationals along its road, the "Bureau," if it is to continue its existence, must become in practice a new International — the International of the splinter groups.

Large Parties Refuse

This is what the Trotskyites demanded at the time the "Bureau" was established; but the large parties in it, the Norwegian Labor Party, the British ILP and the Swedish (Independent) Socialist Party refused to accede to this plan and so caused the withdrawal of the Trotskyites. The position of the Trotsky group was completely wrong but consistent; the parties which rejected the implication of the Trotskyite position did not oppose it with a consistently correct one. Their rejection of the demand for the immediate formation of a new International was correct, but the line they did adopt led directly toward the very thing they wanted to avoid.

The central fallacy of the Trotskyite position (aside from all other considerations) is that it ignores the instinctive desire of the working-class for unity, a desire which followed a series of defeats to which disunity was a strong contributing factor. The Trotskyite remedy for the present situation is the formation of new parties and a new International—that is, new splits on a national and international scale. But this remedy flies in the face of the desires and the interests of the workers, including the advanced workers in the Socialist and communist parties.

The Trotskyite Position

The Trotskyites cannot be anything but small isolated groups even in cases where they decide to join the Socialist Parties. For so long as they continue to advocate the formation of a new International, their tenure in the Socialist Parties is temporary—until such time as they have won sufficient support to split and set up their own party. It then becomes a matter of members with them. But even if they are highly successful, their success cannot make any substantial change. From unsuccessful sects, they will become "successful" sects—nothing more.

The ILP, rejecting this development, finds itself in a quandary, however. Continuing to exist as an independent revolutionary party, it objectively encourages the "Fourth International" tendency. It loses membership and influence in all directions. Encouraged into leaving the Labor Party and making a bloc with the CP, it is left stranded by the decision of the CP to try to become affiliated to

the Labor Party. The ILP may therefore find itself the occupant of the place the CP had warmed during the madness of the "third period"—on the outside looking in.

If the ILP wants to follow consistently its policy of International unity, it can do nothing better than follow the example of the Polish Bund and return to the LSI where, like the Bund, it can continue working for further unity. No abandonment of principle is involved. If it is principled to unite with both internationals, it is obviously just as principled to unite with one of them, especially if that one not only does not insist upon abandonment of principles but even permits agitation for different ones. The same logic demands that the ILP frankly admits its organizational break with the Labor Party and that it unite with the Socialist League, with which it agrees on all important current issues. Such a course might give an entirely new line of development for the British movement.

Working for Unity

It is futile to shout "unity" and stand aside waiting for some miraculous kind of unity to appear. It is necessary to begin at the starting-point, and the starting-point is the immediate unification of the compatible organizations. If this means the liquidation of the smaller into the larger, we must not shrink from such a course out of a false sense of pride, possession, or organizational patriotism. True that in some countries, matters are not so simple. For example, in Sweden. But even here the problem of unity is only more complicated, not impossible. But, everywhere a real will to unity can overcome difficulties and complications.

Needless to say, genuine unity presupposes genuine democracy inside the organization and freedom of expression of opinion rather than uniformity of belief. Without democracy, unity is a farce and a trap. In the long run, those are genuinely for unity who will profit by it. Those who try to use unity as a manoeuvre, who are intolerant and dictatorial, who put the interests of a faction above the interests of the entire movement, will find themselves isolated and alone—whether they are on the extreme right, on the extreme left or somewhere in between.

Negroes in Army Do Menial Work

NEW YORK—The famous Negro 10th Cavalry, with an illustrious record running back to 1866, is no longer being used in military maneuvers. Its members are assigned to service as grooms for private polo ponies of white officers and other menial tasks, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charges.

Three years ago the historic 10th was broken into three units, which were then assigned to Ft. Leavenworth, Kans., Ft. Myer, Va., and West Point, N. Y. Replying to an inquiry from the association, the adjutant-general's office of the war department states that it is "an honor" to care for horses used by the army war college and general staff.

BUYERS CAN'T DISTINGUISH
BERLIN — The organ of the powerful Hitler special guards vigorously objects to stores that display post cards of Herr Adolph side by side with those of Charlie Chaplin.

'SAUCE FOR THE GANDER'



Roumanian fascists discovered what their own medicine tasted like when Bucharest police broke up frequent riots as the fascists tried to prevent opposition parties from voting.

Formation of the ASU

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—Representatives of between 150,000 and 200,000 students met here last week-end to form the American Student Union. It adopted as part of its program the Oxford pledge against supporting any war conducted by the Government.

Despite pleas by liberals that the pledge would stamp the ASU as "radical," it was adopted by an overwhelming vote, 244 to 49, in the following form:

"The American Student Union accepts without reservation the Oxford pledge committing us against support of any war declared by the United States Government. We will endeavor to win universal support of this pledge. We regard it not merely as a statement of conviction but as a powerful deterrent of Government action.

"We believe it will become the focal point for those hundreds of thousands of students who wish to join in exerting pressure upon Government policies."

The fight against the pledge was led by those who wanted to avoid difficulty with college administrations. To quote one of the liberals:

"As a matter of expediency and practicability I appeal to you not to include the pledge but to make it optional. The president of the college has said he would disband us rather than permit the pledge to be even discussed."

Celoste Strack, who was expelled from the University of California for her part in a free speech fight, replied:

"There has come a storm of protest from those who administer institutions of education to the Oxford oath. Precisely in the attack of these people we find one of the most cherished possessions of the American Student Union."

Call Anti-War Strike

Other planks in the program of the union include an annual one-hour strike against war, a fight to end racial discrimination and the abolition of the Reserve Officers Training Corps.

The liberals succeeded in forcing through a weakened resolution on the ROTC. The platform on military training in the colleges read as follows:

"We support all legislative methods to make the ROTC optional as a step toward complete abolition of the ROTC and similar adjuncts of the War Department because they symbolize the fundamental danger confronting us: American participation in war.

"The American Student Union opposes militarism in education not only because it is and has always been a brutalizing force but because it represents the preparations of the American government for entrance into a world war."

The platform of the ASU further demanded that society provide a high school education for every person, decided on combat

SP Convention Plans Program

(Continued from Page Seven)

son, Binghamton, reported that 93 delegates had adequate credentials.

A resolutions committee consisting of John Reichert, Rome; Edward Marks, Nassau; Jacob Jay, Westchester; Leo M. Brushingham, Olean; Murray Baron, New York; Aaron Levenstein, New York; Herman Hahn, Buffalo, and David P. Berenberg, New York, was elected and reported the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS the state committee of the Socialist Party of New York has by its neglect of its duty to advance Socialism in the State of New York; by its continuing sabotage of the national party and by its wholly unconstitutional act in directing and supporting a wholesale exclusion of the most active party members in New York State, under the guise of reorganizing the party, has forfeited its legal and moral right to recognition as a state committee in New York;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we assume the responsibilities of an emergency convention of the Socialist Party of the State of New York and proceed to elect a representative state committee and take such further action as may be necessary to save the party in New York, and we instruct the state committee to appear before the NEC at its next meeting to claim recognition as the state committee of New York."

The Saturday session closed at midnight with a moving address by Frank Crosswaith calling for whole-hearted support to the new State organization.

the "Southern system" of keeping the Negro in servitude by denying him the opportunity for an education.

Three of the national officers of the ASU are Socialists. George Edwards of Dallas and a graduate of Southern Methodist University was elected national chairman of the union. Joe Lash of New York City and a graduate of Columbia University, the former national secretary of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, was elected national secretary of the ASU, and Molly Yard, former high school secretary of the SLID and a graduate of Swarthmore College, was elected treasurer.

The Sunday session was devoted exclusively to the report of the Organization Committee which consisted of Fred J. Smith, of Jamestown; Richard Briggs, of Rochester; Lewi Tonks of Schenectady, George Brickner of Buffalo, Alex Benedict of Geneva, and Harold Siegel and Brendon Sexton of New York. A comprehensive organization plan was reported out and discussed in detail. Recommendations were made to the State Committee to provide for two paid organizers up-state in addition to the State Secretary.

The state office is to be temporarily in New York until it can be moved to Albany. The State Committee is to meet once in three months, and is to supervise the functioning of regional districts in the state.

A list of the locals represented by delegates follows:

Auburn, Binghamton, Buffalo, Elmira, Geneva, Jamestown, Dunkirk, Nassau, New York, Niagara Falls, Olean, Oneida, Rochester, Rome, Saranac, Saratoga Springs, Schenectady, Syracuse, Tompkins County (Ithaca), Utica, Westchester County (Mt. Vernon, Yonkers, New Rochelle, White Plains, and Portchester).

Waverly and Glens Falls locals had elected delegates who could not attend and had endorsed the conference.

Hold Meeting

UTICA.—At the first meeting of the state committee, held after the adjournment of the State Convention, Max Delson was elected temporary state chairman and Aaron Levenstein, temporary state secretary.

The newly elected state executive committee consists of Lewi Tonks, Jacob Jay, Edward Marks, Jack Altman, Murray Baron, Charles Garfinkel and Max Delson. The office of the state secretary will be temporarily located at 21 East 17th Street, New York.

WHY SOLOMON WAS APPOINTED

By GUS TYLER

Whether or not Charles Solomon should have accepted an appointment as Magistrate from Mayor La Guardia of New York City is not a new question. It is almost as old as our movement. And the traditional answer of our International Socialist movement to the acceptance of such appointments has been: "No"

The classic statement of the case against acceptance of appointments in capitalist governments was made by Wilhelm Liebknecht, almost forty years ago, in his brilliant writing, *No Compromise—No Political Trading*. In this work he summarized the argument:

"While the bourgeois world of capitalism continues and the bourgeoisie rules, so long are all states necessarily class states and all governments class governments, serving the interests and purposes of the ruling class and destined to lead the class struggle for the bourgeoisie against the proletariat—for capitalism against Socialism. From the standpoint of the class struggle, which is the foundation of militant Socialism, that is a truth which has been raised by the logic of thought and of facts beyond the possibility of doubt. A Socialist who goes into a bourgeois government either goes over to the enemy or else puts himself in the power of the enemy. In any case, the Socialist who becomes a member of a bourgeois government separates himself from us, the militant Socialists. He may claim to be a Socialist but he is no longer such. He may be convinced of his own sincerity, but in that case he has not comprehended the nature of the class struggle—does not understand that the class struggle is the basis of Socialism.

'No Illusions'

"In these days, under the rule of capitalism, a govern-

ment even if it is full of philanthropy and animated by the best of intentions, can do nothing of real value to our cause. One must keep free from illusions. Decades ago I said, 'If the way to hell is paved with good intentions, the way to defeat is paved with illusions.' In the present society a non-capitalist government is an impossibility. The unfortunate Socialist who casts his lot with such a government if he will not betray his class only condemns himself to impotence. The English bourgeoisie offers the best example of weakening the opposition by permitting them to participate in the government. It has become the traditional policy of all parties in England that the most radical member of the opposition who is naive enough to be taken in should be given a place in the government. This man serves as a shield to the government and disarms his friends who can not shoot at him—just as in battle one may not shoot at the hostages that the enemy has placed in front of itself."

It is an interesting coincidence that Liebknecht, forty years ago, told us that the Socialist who accepts the post from the capitalist government "separates himself from us, the militant Socialists." Even in those days, apparently, there were Socialists—and Socialists.

But as convincing as Liebknecht's argument may be and as authoritative as his name should be among all serious Socialists, we do not intend to rest the case with a quotation.

Let us examine the case on its own merits:

Charles Solomon, former candidate for governor on the Socialist ticket in New York, was recently appointed a city magistrate by Mayor Fiorella LaGuardia. The Socialist Party of New York City condemned Solomon's acceptance of the appointment at that time. In the following article, written by Gus Tyler, a member of The CALL'S Editorial Board, the general question of accepting appointments from capitalist politicians is discussed.

For those who reject the Marxian concepts of a capitalist state and of capitalist parties it is consistent to differentiate between accepting gifts from employers and accepting gifts from an employers' state. But it is the height of inconsistency for a Socialist to make such strange differentiations.

If the Old Guard could only see the followers of the Socialist Party as workers in a shop and see La Guardia as the employer, they would understand why militant Socialists object to accepting appointments such as that of Solomon.

Let Us Be Practical!

I have the profoundest respect for people who are really practical. But being practical does not consist of forgetting principles but taking realistic measures to further principles.

Those who consider themselves most practical in the party today are those who insist that our main job today is to build a strong Socialist Party, with a large membership and a large voting public.

Very well, then, let us apply this most practical measure to Solomon's appointment. Will it build the party?

Some comrades say, yes. Solomon's fine actions in the court will win sympathy for the Socialist cause. People will see how a Socialist acts, with what humanity and sympathy for the workers he makes his decisions. They will come to the Socialist standard.

After these comrades are through describing the numerous benefits that will come to the party in terms of prestige and following from Solomon's appointment, one is almost compelled to ask: "Why the devil did La Guardia appoint Solomon? Was it to build the party?"

Those comrades who see in the appointment of Solomon a great build up for the Socialist Party think that La Guardia is as naive as they make themselves out to be.

In our opinion La Guardia is a very experienced and skillful politician, a little wiser than the Socialist wiseacres who see in La Guardia's appointment a great step forward in the growth of the Socialist Party.

Votes for La Guardia

Speaking plainly, La Guardia appointed Solomon because it means votes for La Guardia. And it does not mean former Tammany votes or capitalist votes either. It means liberal, or Socialist, or working-class votes for La Guardia. It is just another instance of the teacher appointing the bad boy monitor, the most naive political stunt in the bag of every peanut politician.

Time and again the Socialist Party has accused La Guardia of being a trained demagogue with as many faces as is necessary to show to his many-tasted audience. He has a different mask for every occasion. One for his Fascist friends in Madison Square Garden. Another for his labor friends in the unions. He needs these num-

erous fronts because of his attempts to hold on to power by a circus-like wire walking stunt. Solomon's appointment is just the creation of another front. And Solomon should know it.

Let the trade unions come to La Guardia and complain about his attendance at the Fascist affair. La Guardia will parry the thrust with the Solomon shield. "What is a speech at Madison Square," he will answer. "Didn't I give you a labor judge to go easy on your pickets?" Solomon on the bench will serve, in the words of Liebknecht, "as a shield to the government, as a hostage that the enemy places in front of itself."

Will Not Build Party

I do not doubt for a moment that Solomon will do many fine things on the bench. But how will the liberal and trade union element react to these things. Will they say, or are they saying, Solo-

mon is a fine man, doing fine things, hence let us support the Socialist Party? Of course not! What they are saying is: Solomon is a good judge, a pro-labor judge. Hence let us support La Guardia in the next election and get more judges like him.

All this La Guardia understands better than anyone else. And if one is anxious to build the La Guardia machine it is consistent to accept the appointment. But anyone who knows even the ABC of politics should realize that this will NEVER build the Socialist Party.

If we are interested in building the Socialist Party, to accept is not only poor principles but even rotten practical politics. If we believe, of course, that we should work to build up the Fusion Party at the expense of the Socialist Party then it is correct in principle as well as practice to accept.

WORKING-CLASS POLITICS

It will no doubt be objected to the line of argument I have offered above that it is altogether too sectarian. I seem to be too anxious to build the Socialist Party and forget that it is also the duty of every Socialist to do

every little bit to help the day by day fight of the workers and that a Socialist on the bench, even if his presence there did weaken the party, would at least help some unfortunate pickets and strikers.

I will begin by conceding that if I were arrested as a picket I would rather face Solomon than any magistrate in this country, although I have no illusions about the power of a magistrate who is greatly hampered by the law and by superior courts.

Having granted that Solomon is a better judge, is it also not true that in almost any election there are running for various offices many men who although in capitalist parties are more or less sympathetic to labor. And is it not true that the election of the friend of labor will help labor a little? And is not a little better than nothing?

The Socialist Answer

But once we accept this logic, how in the world does a Socialist, who advocates the creation of a working class party, differ from the pure and simple trade unionist, who is opposed to a working

class party and prefers instead, to reward his friends and punish his enemies?

The Socialist argument against the non-partisan trade unionist is that it is not, in the long run, worthwhile to surrender the power that lies in independent action of the working class for a few little favors from capitalist politicians. If we believe that it is correct to weaken the party of the working class in exchange for a few minor advantages, then we belong in the ranks of the pure and simple trade unionists, the advocates of non-partisan political action, whom the Socialists have differed with for so many years.

As Socialists we believe in creating and strengthening the political party of the working class. In the long run, this will win us more both in terms of immediate concessions and ultimate social changes. To emphasize the class character of our party and the class character of our liberal enemies is our primary political task. Those who do not believe this have their place, of course; but not in the Socialist Party.

SOCIALISM AND REFORMS

The Socialist has always taken pains to differentiate himself sharply from the municipal reformer. The central issue in the debates between Socialists and clean government fanatics is the nature of government.

The good government leaguer maintains that governments are good or bad depending upon whether honest and wise men or dishonest and wicked men run them. The Socialist maintains that the fundamental question in municipal campaigns, as in all other campaigns, is as to what class, the capitalist class or the working class, shall control the government.

The intelligent non-Socialist reformer, if he is elected, immediately tries to make the Socialist eat his own words by appointing some leading Socialists to more or less innocuous positions. He does it in line with his philosophy. He does it to strengthen the force of his argument that government is not a class proposition but a non-class, non-partisan affair, drawing talent from all classes and all parties. It should be needless to point out to informed Socialists that this sort of political juggling does not in any way whatsoever erase the class character of the state. But it is a good stunt just the same.

Political Suicide

For the Socialist to cooperate in this campaign of non-demonizing the government is just plain suicide. If this is not a class government there is no need for a class party. To accept an appointment from a Fusion government is to concur in the Fusion philosophy of a non-party government.

No matter how we approach this question of accepting an appointment we come to the same conclusion. It is poor politics; it means the dissolution of the Socialist Party; it means the end of the class struggle on the political field.

There are those, of course, who really think that the Socialist Party should be liquidated. They are entitled to their opinion and when they favor accepting appointments from La Guardia, they are consistent. But they should not insist upon calling others fools and fanatics just because these latter are still sufficiently Socialist to want an independent party of the working class.

BOSSSES BEARING GIFTS

Under the influence of the Christmas spirit which prevails at present many employers whose shops have been unionized will offer little gifts to the union delegates. It is a common practice. What should the union agent do?

The answer of the Socialist is not to accept, quite regardless of whether or not the acceptance of the gift is accompanied by an agreement to "sell out." We should not accept because of one major reason—the effect of acceptance upon the movement, upon the worker in the shop.

The worker in the shop will ask: "Why did my boss, who tries to squeeze every penny out of me, suddenly grow so good natured toward my union delegate, who is supposed to get wage increases for me?"

Regardless of the personal honesty of the union delegate, his acceptance of the employers' gift will be interpreted to mean either that the labor leader is selling out or that it is not the purpose of unions to fight employers. To accept employers' gifts is to obscure the class nature and purposes of

a trade union and to create a demoralizing distrust in the ranks.

No one knows this better than the capitalist. It is always worth his while to make a little investment in the form of a gift to his business agent. The news of the transaction will get around to the workers fast enough, you may depend upon it. The class conscious capitalist, knows what he is doing and a class conscious labor leader must be very naive not to understand it.

Politics and Industry

Someone may object, however, that while one should not accept capitalist gifts when leading the class struggle in the industrial field a different sort of logic applies in the political field. This would indeed be so if we Socialists did not make the class character of the state and of political parties one of our basic tenets.

DOES YOUR NEIGHBOR KNOW THIS FACT?

By LABOR RESEARCH FRONT

The average price of industrial stocks has increased 177% from their low point just before Roosevelt took office; but employment for the first seven months of 1935, compared with 1932, increased only 26%, and the payroll rise amounted to about 45%. Half of this payroll rise, however, is wiped out by a more than 20% increase in food prices. Railroad stocks went up 45% during the same period, but railroad employment decreased, and there was a payroll increase of 5%.

The New Deal is giving the crumbs to the workers, and a rich feast to the owners of industry.

Party Activity

ONE DAY'S PAY is being requested of all party members and sympathizers to build up a national pre-campaign fund. Contributions are to be sent to the national office, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago.

PAMPHLETS about the Herndon case can be obtained from the national office of the Socialist Party for 5 cents each or \$1.50 a hundred.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE of active Young Socialists will be held in Newark, N. J., January 10 to 13, to discuss new problems that have arisen on the international scene, in the labor movement, on the student front, and in the field of youth relief. Between 50 and 75 organizers, secretaries, and other leading members of the YPSL will participate.

YPSL national executive committee will meet in Newark next week-end. Martin Bernstein, 21 East 17th Street, New York, is raising funds for the meeting.

YPSL referendum on publications and inner-league statements has resulted in adoption of the following:

"Groups or individual members of the YPSL may issue, publish, or distribute, publications, organs, and statements, provided that such matter contains the name of the group or names of individuals responsible and contains the following words: 'The opinions expressed in this statement (organ or publication) do not necessarily express the viewpoint of the YPSL.'"

Alabama

STATE SECRETARY is now Jans Wheeler, Route 40, Box 520, Mobile.

Connecticut

WILTON YPSL circle has been formed with eighteen members.

Illinois

NEW LOCALS are being organized by Joe Brinocar, state secretary, at Glen Carbon, Maryville, West Frankfort, and Herrin.

CHICAGO Socialist Forum has announced the following schedule for its January meetings at 3400 Douglas Boulevard, Fridays, at 8:30; January 3, discussion, Socialist national convention; January 10, Morris Siskind, "The Crisis in the AFL;" January 17, Jack Rosen, "What is Workers' Democracy;" January 24, Symposium, "Sanctions and War;" January 31, Emil Estrin, "Palestine, Biro-Bidjan, and the Jewish Workers."

24th WARD (Chicago) branch meeting January 8 will hear Mordecai Shulman discuss "The Situation in the New York Party."

FRANKLIN COUNTY Socialists are entering a county state in the official primaries. They expect the largest vote in many years.

Kansas

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, at its last meeting, petitioned the national executive committee to establish a "party-owned and party-controlled national propaganda and theoretical organ"; declared the Socialist Call the official organ of the state party, "especially for propaganda work in industrial centers"; en-

dorsed the American Leader for propaganda work among farmers; and endorsed the American Socialist Quarterly.

Kentucky

SOUTH LOUISVILLE Branch has organized a Red Falcon flight of 35 girls.

Missouri

ST. LOUIS local is aiding strike of warehouse employes of Kroger Grocery and Baking Company and is conducting a boycott against all Kroger and Piggly-Wiggly stores.

New Jersey

BERGEN COUNTY local elected Leroy J. Ellis secretary and John Frang treasurer, at a membership meeting last week.

New York

SOCIALIST CALL was made the official organ of the state party organization, by vote of the state convention at Utica last week-end. New York is the seventh state so to act.

North Carolina

STATE SECRETARY is now J. C. Bowers, 124 Westdale Avenue, Winston-Salem.

Ohio

MARTINS FERRY branch has just opened new headquarters downtown.

SPRINGFIELD township branch increased the party vote 700% over the vote in 1934 in the recent elections.

Oregon

MEMBERSHIP REFERENDUM on the question of reaffiliation with the Socialist Party of the U. S. A. is now being conducted, in accordance with a decision of the state convention held at Portland recently.

Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA Socialists will hold a banquet for the members of the national executive committee at the Labor Educational Center, 415 South 19th Street, Saturday, January 4, at 7:30.

South Dakota

SIoux FALLS local has been revived by Marvin Halverson, recently appointed the party's state representative.

Virginia

RICHMOND local plans a vigorous city campaign, with candidates for mayor and councilmen. The recent legislative elections showed decided gains over two years ago.

West Virginia

WHEELING local has just been organized on a strong basis.

BOOKS

The Middle-Class— A Marxian Approach

By DAVID R. BERENBERG

THE CRISIS OF THE MIDDLE CLASS, by Lewis Corey. Covidel-Friede, \$2.50.

No problem that faces the Socialist movement is of greater significance than the question of the middle class. Mussolini and Hitler have compelled us to realize that the middle class, even though dying, still has reservoirs of power, and that these may still be mobilized in the service of reaction. It has become a truism that Fascism is not truly a middle-class movement; that it is, rather, the last resort of a perishing capitalism which makes use of middle-class masses for its own purposes. That formulation still leaves us confronted with the middle-class in motion against the revolutionary proletariat.

Lewis Corey in this book undertakes to measure the extent of this danger. He does not subscribe to the notion industriously spread by Bingham, Chase and their followers that the middle-class is not disappearing but growing. He shows quite conclusively that the middle-class is declining into the proletariat. With the passing of the small entrepreneur, with the crisis in agriculture, and the effect of the depression on the professionals, the middle class has recently lost all that was left of its economic power. It is moribund.

Corey argues that the middle-class should be and can be reached by a Socialist appeal. Many middle-class occupations are already collective in character or can be readily collectivized. The members of the middle-class—at least the doctors, teachers, technicians and the like—ought to be susceptible to an approach based on the experience of Russia. Or if not that, they ought at least see that Socialism would eliminate waste and give wider scope to the present-day middle-class to work out their technical problems.

This is a pleasing prospect, but to those who know the middle-class, with its fears, its hesitations, its longing for security and its suspicions of the workers, this approach is utopian. Far better, even if far more difficult is the direct argument—now based on experience, that the middle class must throw in its lot with the workers, or it will go under in the general ruin that Fascism will produce.

Corey argues in a Marxist fashion.

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Consumers Are Fed Arsenic and Insects

WASHINGTON — Many food and drug manufacturers continue in their efforts to kill off some of their best customers. The U. S. Food and Drug Administration again reports seizure or thousands of cases of drugs and foods, during the month of November.

Violation of the Federal Cauterious Poison Act, the presence of "dangerous quantities of metallic contaminants—lead and copper, arsenic and lead residue, filth, mold, worms, dirt, and insect infestation in the foods and drugs are given as the reasons for some of the seizures.

OIL FOR ITALY

NEW ORLEANS (FP) — The Norwegian steamer Bonnevillie recently called in port at New Orleans to take on a cargo of 31,500 55-gallon drums of high-test aviation gasoline consigned to the Italian army in East Africa.

said about the first book apply again.—B. F.

A Political Guide To New York

THE POLITICAL CLUBS OF NEW YORK CITY, by Roy V. Peel. G. P. Putnam's Sons, \$3.00.

This is a useful handbook, complete with maps and charts, of the clubs which rule, or hope to rule, New York's body politic. Socialist Party branches and Communist Party units are given a fair amount of space, although the author does not quite understand their purpose and function. It is, of course, a mistake to view them only or primarily as political clubs. They are—or aim to be—instruments of social revolution. A handy book for political leaders as well as political students.—B. F.

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The Soviet Frontier

Nationalism Is Basis of Russian Film

FRONTIER, a Russian movie directed by Alexander Dovjenko with photography by Edward Tisse. Distributed by Amkino. At the Cameo.

It would be dangerous to draw broad generalizations about Soviet life after seeing the Dovjenko picture—for love and loyalty to the splendid social reconstruction in the U. S. S. R. would prohibit natural conclusions about nationalism and militarism. It would be best, therefore, to view "Frontier" as a movie intended primarily for domestic consumption within Russia and to temper our criticism with the crossed-fingers trick of "Maybe, we don't understand!"

The movie itself is not up to the standards we have been led to expect of exported Russian films. It is slow-moving without enough of a plot to hold any settled audience interest. The photography by Tisse, however, is uniformly excellent, especially when the panorama of the rugged beauty of the Siberian frontier is upon the screen.

We aren't going to criticize the ideology of the picture—although there are very definite drawbacks to its use as collectivist propaganda in this country. We can forgive much in the name of the international situation—such as the bringing of civilization to the Siberian peasants through military aeroplanes and machine guns and the bitter nationalistic feeling that dominates the picture, which pictures the Japanese as leering, rapacious beings who hate Russia because they are jealous of collectivist success.

It is difficult, however, to react in a friendly fashion to the attempt in the picture to connect dissatisfaction with the Soviet regime with Japanese espionage. The whole spirit is too near the "Moscow gold" of Willie Hearst. In "Frontier" the action centers about the spirited resistance of a fanatical religious sect to Soviet construction. To attempt to lay the basis of this resistance to "foreign agitation" is stupid and does nothing toward the solution of the dissatisfaction; it can only impress the Russian people with a fanatical hatred toward all anti-Stalin groups as Japanese tools and traitors to their country.

There is an obvious similarity between "Frontier" and those movie "epics" of Hollywood some years ago which pictured Indians and Mexicans as evil spirits who hated the brave pioneers of the American westward advance for their progress and their civilization. Such pictures can only intensify an unnatural and undesirable race hatred.—SR.

REMEMBER! The National Rebel Arts Festival at Cleveland in July, 1936.

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TAMING THE SHREW



Here are Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne in "The Taming of the Shrew" now appearing at the Guild Theatre.

A Political Success Story

HAUNCH, PAUNCH AND JOWL, dramatized by Khaver Fayer from the novel of the same name by Samuel Ornitz. Acted in Yiddish by the Artel Players Collective. At the Artel.

It is to the credit of Director Benno Schneider and the entire company that this play can ignore the usual dramatic necessities of conflict and climax and yet keep interest in an exciting fashion. As the story unfolds of a two-bit racketeer who ruthlessly discards friend, neighbor and relative to rise to the top of a shyster political world, there is never a moment when the plot lags.

Meyer Hirsch, whose brilliance is warped by cunning, listens well to the advice of his uncle, a cockroach capitalist, that to get ahead one must be relentless with the worms who slave in the shops. As a shyster lawyer and a "friend of labor," Hirsch understands no ethical ideals in his push forward toward a Tammany judgeship and, finally, governor. He uses prostitute and gangster—and discards them as easily—in his success.

The dramatization, as a rule, follows the novel closely and is a straight narrative. It is a pity, however, that in his effort to ignore no important incident, Fayer

has not had the time to develop his characters more fully. This is especially true of Gretel, Hirsch's mistress, and of Barney Finn, the idealistic labor leader.

M. Goldstein's portrayal of Hirsch is adequate. It is overshadowed, however, by the excellent job done by I. Welchansky as Hirsch's uncle in his role as a hard, profit-seeking sweatshop magnate.—PMW.

STRIKERS' XMAS

E. YORK, Canada (FP)—"People who don't work don't deserve to enjoy Christmas," 2,700 relief workers on strike in E. York, Toronto, were told by officials of the township's Santa Claus fund. So, in order to avoid disappointing 5,000 children in the strikers' families, the strike committee organized a Christmas celebration of its own. The E. York workers are engaged in a long and bitter struggle against the Canadian variety of WPA "security" wages.

Extra Midnight Shows
New Year's Eve.

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TRUE STORIES FROM LIFE

By THE BYSTANDER

The ambulance had come clanging to the scene and an interne rushed to kneel beside a body on the sidewalk, lying in a pool of blood. As the white-coated doctor began an emergency treatment, Henry Hale stood nearby watching. Hale was a bookkeeper in the factory and during the fight when the police had broken the picket lines with clubs and tear-gas he had prudently kept out of sight. But after the police had won and the pickets dispersed, he was on his way in when he noticed the injured man on the sidewalk.

Henry Hale did not know the wounded worker. To him he was just a name—a number for whom he had regularly made out a pay-check. Yet somehow he felt that should the man die, Henry Hale, would be tinged with the same responsibility for taking an innocent life that would fall upon the factory owners and upon the scabs who were now taking the place of these workers who had fought so valiantly. Yes, Henry Hale was as much responsible for murder as were the guards who fired the shots, the bookkeeper realized. For murder it was—the interne shaking his head.

As the dead man was being taken away in a stretcher by the matter-of-fact ambulance workers, Henry stood there, staring at his hands—the hands that had been making out pay-checks for the scabs all morning. These were the hands that had made out the check for the very scab who had killed him. He tore his gaze away from those hands that suddenly seemed so bloody and closed his eyes.

He talked to himself. He told himself that he could not help the strikers anyway, that he had nothing to do with the walkout, that he bore no blame. Even if he too had walked on strike with the machine shop, it wouldn't have helped, he told himself. But rationalization didn't work.

Even as he tried to excuse himself, he knew that his conscience was bloody.

Still, why should he take any blame? He was only doing what those others in the shop did. Why should he suddenly allow his emotions to keep him away from his work and have him lose a pay.

As the factory whistle blew, he shrugged his shoulders and entered the factory.

Two hours later, the quiet of the factory office was disturbed by a hysterical scream as Henry Hale, coatless, hatless ran out of the room, out of the building, through the gate toward his home.

For while working he had glanced toward the floor—and he saw something he knew no rationalization would remove. He saw a smear of blood on the edge of his shoe sole.

COMING EVENTS

Saturday, January 4

Basketball game, Socialist Call vs. Local 158 (Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union) at Institutional Synagogue, 37 West 116th Street, at 8.
Housewarming and dance, sponsored by 4th and 14th A. D. (Kings) branch, at 108 Marcy Avenue, Brooklyn. Refreshments and entertainment.

Sunday, January 5

Debate between Haim Kantorovitch, Socialist, and M. Katz, co-editor of the communist Freiheit, at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 16th Street, at 3 p. m.
Sam Baron speaking on "The AFL Convention in Retrospect," at Village Forum, 107 MacDougal Street, at 8:30.

Tuesday, January 7

Symposium, "Labor and War," at 12th A. D. (Manhattan) branch, 200 East 16th Street, at 8:30.

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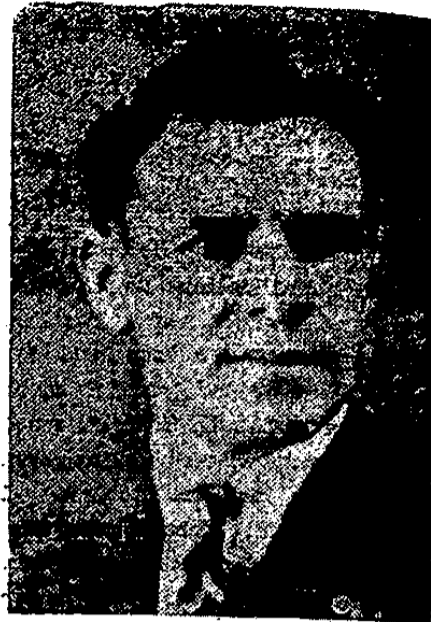
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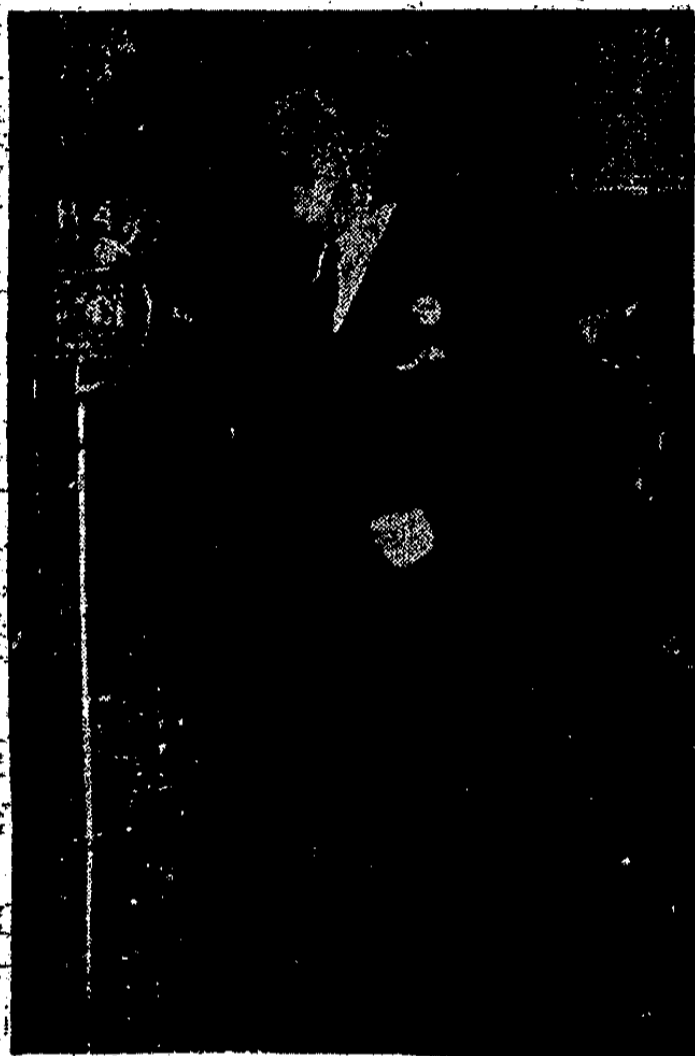
As Labor Fought In 1935



AFL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (in session above) was faced with the resignation of John L. Lewis (standing first from left), because of the council's adherence to craft unionism. Lewis led the fight in 1935 for industrial unionism.



WORKERS' RIGHTS Amendment to the Constitution was one of the chief concerns of labor during 1935. John Vaninety (above), Connecticut Socialist and trade unionist, won an endorsement of the WRA from the New Britain Central Labor Union.



ELECTION VICTORY was celebrated in Reading, Pa., by a gala demonstration of Socialist strength. Here is Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee addressing the mass meeting; seated left to right are Norman Thomas, Jim Maurer and State Representative Darlington Hoopes.



YOUTH went, on picket lines when the New York shipping clerks struck. William Gomberg, Socialist strike leader, is pictured above.



SCOTTSBORO boys lived through 1935 just a step away from the gallows—but organized labor and liberal opinion in America were firm in their decision that these Negro boys shall not die. Ruby Bates, star witness for the defense, is pictured above.



CANTON, OHIO, scene of the famous challenge to the war makers delivered by Eugene Victor Debs in 1917 for which the great Socialist leader was sentenced to Atlanta Penitentiary, was again the scene of a

Socialist meeting in June when a Debs' Pilgrimage to Canton was staged by midwestern workers. Left insert is Murray Baron, New York union leader; right insert is Joseph Coldwell of Providence, R. I., who was Debs' cellmate.