

Norman Thomas

on
**THE SITUATION
IN THE PARTY**
See Page 12

Socialist Call

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

Vol. 1.—No. 39.

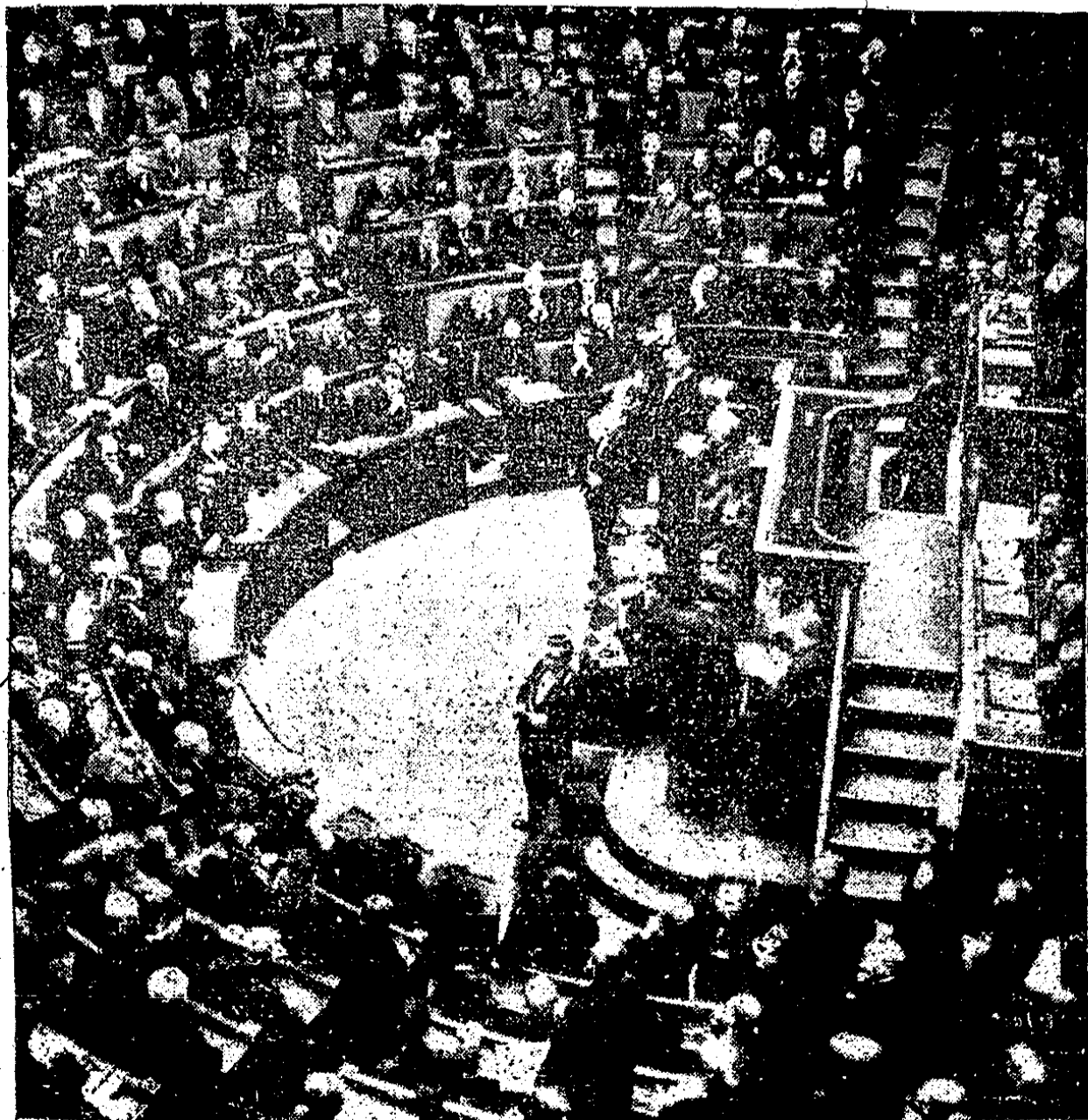
(In 2 Sections)

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1935.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

THOMAS ASKS U.S. PROBE AS TAMPA MOB VICTIM DIES

STORY ON PAGE THREE



THE PEOPLES' FRONT began the opening session of the French chamber of-deputies (picture above) with a fierce attack upon Premier Laval for allowing the continued existence of armed Fascist groups like the Croix de Feu. Laval, faced with the dissolution of his cabinet and a new general election, surrendered to the labor forces and ordered the dissolution—but the Fascist groups defied him.



BRAZIL government troops completely wrecked the headquarters of the army cadets in Rio de Janeiro when the cadets united with labor and progressive elements in a short-lived rebellion for a more democratic government and social reforms. Here are two soldiers guarding the wreckage.

Socialists Reject N. Y. Old Guard; Map Party Drive

NEW YORK—The Socialist Party of New York City was reborn last week to function once more in the spirit of Socialist democracy.

The rebirth was conceived by 48 delegates representing 36 branches of the Socialist Party in every part of the city. It was affirmed by overwhelming votes of the Bronx and

BULLETIN

Louis Waldman, Algernon Lee, Charles Solomon and Alexander Kahn, the latter the Forward attorney, were repudiated by their own branches as the Socialist Party in New York rolled up a resounding majority for the new Central Committee. Of 22 branches that voted Monday and Tuesday, 16 declared their loyalty to the Socialist Party.

The branches that pledged loyalty included: MANHATTAN, Village, Kaickerbocker, Washington Heights; BROOKLYN, Downtown, East Flatbush, 6 AD, Boro Park, 21 AD, 22 AD, 23 AD; BRONX, 2 AD, 3 AD, 5 AD; QUEENS, Astoria, Sunnyside; STATEN ISLAND, North Shore. Against loyalty: MANHATTAN, Chelsea, 6 AD; BROOKLYN, 4-14, Brighton, Midwood; BRONX, 7 AD.

Queens County Committees. The Greater New York Federation of the Young People's Socialist League endorsed the action and pledged loyalty. And more than 1,500 party members gathered Sunday night at Irving Plaza Hall to roar their approval by dedicating

themselves once more to the Socialist cause and the Socialist idea.

State Conference Called

One of the first actions of the city central committee of the revived party was to call a conference of all locals in New York State to meet in Utica, December 28-29. The state conference will be attended by an official committee of the Socialist national executive committee, consisting of Norman Thomas, Leo Krzycki, national chairman; Clarence Senior, national secretary; James Oneal, and Darlington Hoopes of Pennsylvania.

Endorsement of the action of the city central committee came from all parts of the state with official acceptance of invitations to the Utica meeting from five branches in Westchester County and Local Schenectady. Harold Seigel, traveling in New York State, wired reports that the Utica meeting will be attended by

the representatives of a majority of out-state locals.

The national executive committee also set as the date for its next meeting January 4 in Philadelphia. They will then listen to the report of their official committee on the Utica conference.

Offices Moved

The offices of the Socialist Party were moved to 21 East 17th Street. The city central committee elected Charles Garfinkel, former Socialist assemblyman in the New York legislature, temporary chairman and Jack Altman, business manager of The CALL, temporary secretary. The next meeting of the committee will be held at the new headquarters Thursday evening, December 19.

The process of rebirth and revival was made necessary by the action of a small, autocratic faction within the party which tried to set aside Socialist principles that it might keep the party

(Continued on Page Twelve)

'ME AND HEARST'



Comptroller-General McCarl began his candidacy for the Republican nomination for the presidency by causing every school teacher, school janitor and truant officer in the District of Columbia to solemnly swear that he or she did not "teach communism" before getting paid.

Ovation Greet Thomas In Socialist Milwaukee

By ANDREW J. BIEMILLER

MILWAUKEE—Norman Thomas received one of the greatest ovations of his life when he addressed the Socialist Forum here last Sunday night. A crowd that filled every seat in Plankinton Hall in the Auditorium rose to its feet and cheered for several minutes when Thomas appeared on the platform.

City Attorney Max Raskin was chairman of the meeting. He introduced Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, who in turn introduced Thomas to the audience.

Hoan praised Thomas for his untiring devotion to the Socialist movement and hailed him as "our candidate for President in 1936 as well as in '28 and '32 and, we hope, the next President of the United States."

Attacks Coughlin

Thomas received round upon round of applause as he hurled one brilliant sally after another at the profit system and its defenders. Fakers like Father Cough-

lin and the late Huey Long came in for special attention.

The Socialist leader described Coughlin as "Heaven's richest blessing to the telegraph companies." He said that the radio priest's influence over the people is on the wane.

He characterized Hearst as "an exploiter extraordinary and a fomenter of trouble who can think of nothing better to worry about in a world of pain and suffering than the lack of American flags in Madison Square Garden."

Agrees with Roosevelt

The President was described as "a capitalist with a good radio voice, a kind smile and a warm heart, and an experimental frame of mind." Of all things President Roosevelt has been accused of being, he is not a Socialist, Thomas asserted.

"That's the one thing on which both the President and I agree," he said. "It is true he has helped himself to parts of our platform, but after handing the principles to the brain trust and Jim Farley, we Socialists couldn't even recognize them."

Thomas attacked the New Deal housing program as being "just a lot of talk."

"Roosevelt got together a few museum pieces and called that a housing program," he said. "How can we have an effective slum clearance campaign if the people don't own the property?"

Bolsters Capitalism

"Why can't we use government credit to build houses without increasing the profit to the private banks?"

The President accepted capitalism, and at best made it a form of liberal state capitalism, Thomas stated. He described the NIRA as basically "a scheme by which business could keep up the prices."

The Socialist leader said that the AAA program to help the farmers was the "best capitalism could do."

"It is a scheme whereby we pay a tax in prices," he explained. "This tax goes to pay the farmer not to produce. This will keep the farmers from producing more from the production of more work. Then the worker has to do more work and get less money to buy the things he

LABOR IN ACTION

By JOHN HERLING

In Michigan, social workers are waging a battle for the right to have their own union and to speak freely on controversial questions. Representatives of the Michigan Federation of Labor case workers and many others are appealing to the state WPA and ERA administrations at Lansing, the state capital, against the demotion and discharge of two workers by the Washtenaw county relief authorities. The workers were guilty only of attending a case workers' social science forum. Relief authorities issued a ban on independent organization activity and the discussion of controversial subjects even after working hours.

The twenty Walgreen drug stores of Minneapolis and St. Paul locked out their card writers and window dressers when they refused to give up their union. Aided by trade unionists of both cities the locked-out workers are picketing the establishments of the same Mr. Walgreen who last year was going to disinfect the University of Chicago against all dangerous doctrine.

The Newark Newspaper Guild won a belated victory eight months after the arbitration agreement was signed closing the Newark Ledger strike. The arbitration committee finally rendered the opinion that eight former Newark Ledger newspapermen were discharged for guild activity. The workers win reinstatement and a partial payment of salary. But one of the eight discharged died while the decision was pending.

The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union won a long strike with the Forest City Mfg. Company of St. Louis when that dress house signed a two-year agreement providing for union recognition, a machinery for settlement of grievances and a ban on strikes and lockouts for the two-year period. The victory has been celebrated by the opening of a new organizational drive on unorganized shops.

In Philadelphia, 532 workers of the Consolidated Cigar Company terminated a seven week strike with an agreement which provided for the reinstatement of all strikers, equal distribution of work among those of one year standing, continuation of present wage scale and the right to have representatives of their own choosing.

The striking marble workers of the Proctor Quarries of Vermont received help from an unexpected source when Dartmouth College students came through with food, clothing and money for the strikers and their families. A relief committee set up headquarters in a Hanover, N. H., church. Prominent citizens of the college community are cooperating with the students, for whom the strike was brought closer home by a story in the Dartmouth Daily, the undergraduate paper, which featured the strike.

ISSUE BOYCOTT

IN THE DEFENSE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

THIS CHECK IS IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT AND THE PAYEE ACCEPTS IT AS SUCH. NO OTHER RECEIPT REQUIRED.		CALL PRESS INC. No. 327	
DATE: 11/30/35		21 EAST 17TH STREET	
Garden Collection		NEW YORK November 30 1935	
(Thomas - Browder)		for Debate	
Pay to the order of		Labor & Socialist Defense Committee	
Five Hundred Ten and 00/100		\$ 510.00	
DOLLARS		CALL PRESS INC.	
THE AMALGAMATED BANK OF NEW YORK		Max Dillon	
		Jack Altman	

THIS CHECK IS IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT AND THE PAYEE ACCEPTS IT AS SUCH. NO OTHER RECEIPT REQUIRED.		CALL PRESS INC. No. 328	
DATE: 11/30/35		21 EAST 17TH STREET	
Collection		NEW YORK November 30th 1935	
Madison Square Garden		for Debate	
(Thomas - Browder)			
Pay to the order of		Joint Committee to Aid Herndon Defense	
Five Hundred Ten and 00/100		\$ 510.00	
DOLLARS		CALL PRESS INC.	
THE AMALGAMATED BANK OF NEW YORK		Max Dillon	
		Jack Altman	

These two checks, made up of the collection at the CALL Madison Square Garden meeting, were sent to the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee and the Joint Committee to Aid Angelo Herndon.

FLORIDA LYNCH VICTIM DIES

LABOR FORCES WIN FREEDOM FOR HERNDON

NEW YORK—Given his freedom largely through the workers' might, organized in a united committee of which the Socialist Party was a part, Angelo Herndon, young Negro unemployed organizer, returned here this week a free man.

Sentenced to a chain gang in Georgia on a charge of "insurrection" arising out of his efforts to organize the unemployed three years ago, Herndon was granted his freedom through a ruling of Superior Court Judge Hugh M. Dorsey at Atlanta last Saturday.

Dorsey held that the law under which Herndon was convicted violates the due process clauses of the Federal and State constitutions. The law was passed back in 1866 and has been used only once before Herndon's twenty-year-chain gang sentence.

Indiana Cases Closed

TERRE HAUTE, Ind. — After numberless postponements, charges against Powers Hapgood, Socialist national executive committee; Aron Gilmartin, secretary of the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee; and Leo Vernon, party organizer, have been formally dismissed by the state, it became known here this week. The charges grew out of the fight led by Hapgood against Governor Paul V. McNutt's proclamation of martial law following the general strike here several months ago.

Three Miners Freed

FRANKFORT, Ky. — Initial success in the recently launched "Pardon-the-Harlan-Miners - by-Christmas" campaign was achieved here last week-end when three of the seven miners serving life terms in Frankfort prison were freed by order of Governor Ruby Laffoon.

First granted commutations to time served and then pardoned by the governor, William Hightower, William Hudson, and Elzie Phillips are now free, and the four other men, convicted on charges of "murder" in connection with the battle of Evarts in 1931, look for favorable action on their appeals soon.

The cases were handled by the Kentucky Miners' Defense Committee.

THEY CANNOT WHITEWASH MURDER



U.S. ASKED TO INVESTIGATE MOB MURDER

NEW YORK—Norman Thomas, representing the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, telegraphed Attorney-General Homer S. Cummings in Washington this week, demanding a United States investigation into the murder of a Socialist unemployed organizer in Tampa, Fla. He charged that the police and State officials were preparing to whitewash the kidnapers, some of whom had been identified as local policemen.

TAMPA, Fla. (Special)—Joseph Shoemaker died here Monday night, a victim of a sadistic mob led by local policemen in an effort to stop him and other Socialists from organizing the jobless. But even as Shoemaker's comrades were proceeding with plans for a mass funeral for him Thursday afternoon, Sheriff McLeod and the State Attorney were mixing a whitewash for the perpetrators of the South's reversion to barbarism.

Labor, liberal and church organizations united in New York in a Joint Committee for the Defense of Civil Liberties in Tampa. The committee, which has sent Murray Baron of the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee and James Myers of the Federal Council of Churches to Florida to investigate conditions, have issued an appeal for relief funds. These should be sent to Mary Fox, treasurer, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

David Lasser in New York, national president of the Workers' Alliance of America, announced that organized labor would unite with Socialists and the unemployed in demanding that the guilty be punished. He cited a telegram received from President William Green of the American Federation of Labor which declared that the "outrageous treatment" of unemployed organizers "deserves universal condemnation." Green declared that he was having the president of the Florida Federation of Labor investigate and report to him.

In Hospital
Even as he struggled for life, Shoemaker tried to overcome a nearly complete paralysis to shout aloud the names of the murderers. But the police did nothing—although it was admitted that in a moment of consciousness Shoemaker had talked. The Socialist had been beaten terribly and then burning tar had been rubbed into his wounds by the torturers.

Hospital attendants declared that doctors had amputated Shoemaker's leg in an unsuccessful attempt to save his life.

Shoemaker, along with Sam C. Rogers and E. F. Poulnot, active Socialists, were seized by the mob after they were released by police who had arrested them on "investigation" charges in order to prevent a mass meeting. Despite their screams as they saw the plot, no one in the crowded City Hall interfered. They were taken to Brandon, 14 miles from Tampa and there severely beaten, then given a horrible treatment of burning tar. Rogers identified several of the mob as city policemen.

AFL Industrial Unionists Launch Attack On Green

WASHINGTON.—With its organizers already actively at work in the field, the Committee for Industrial Organization has definitely taken the offensive against William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and his craft union allies.

In a half-ironic, half-threatening letter addressed to Green last Saturday, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America and chairman of the committee, formally called upon Green to surrender his present leadership of the federation and accept a new job that would be "as permanent" as the presidency.

In a highly sarcastic mood, Lewis offered Green the chairmanship of the industrial union organization and hinted that that position, admittedly a temporary one, would provide at least as much security of tenure as the increasingly unsteady seat of the AFL presidency.

Green, of course, promptly refused the "offer" but in doing so he was quite obviously placed on the defensive. From now on, not only will the craft unionists demand his undivided support for their policies, but the new committee will, at the same time, undoubtedly make him the target of frequent attacks similar to that implied in the letter of last Saturday.

That the labor movement is in any real sense split asunder by the

present hot fight over policies was indicated, however, by the patching up of the schism that has developed within the building trades unions during the past 18 months.

ILGWU Backs Lewis Group
CLEVELAND.—The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will lend its full support to the Committee for Industrial Organization "as long as it adheres to the purposes originally

HAPGOOD ON UMW STAFF
INDIANAPOLIS—Powers Hapgood, Socialist national executive committee member, has been appointed an organizer for the United Mine Workers of America. He will work in southern Indiana.

outlined by it," the union's general executive board decided here.

UTW Denies Split Aim
NEW YORK—Categorically denying all rumors that the union intends leaving the American Federation of Labor, the executive council of the United Textile Workers of America endorsed the program and policies of the Committee for Industrial Unionism, of which Thomas F. McMahon, the textile workers' president, is a member.

Thomas, Germer Aid Auto Union Peace In Detroit

DETROIT.—Peace-making efforts in which Norman Thomas and Adolph Germer, former national secretary of the Socialist Party, took a leading part, drew warring auto unions nearer to an understanding here this week than at any time in recent months.

Entering the local situation after hostility between the United Automobile Workers' Union, an American Federation of Labor international, and the Independent Automobile and Metal Workers' Union seriously threatened the success of the three-weeks-old strike at the Motor Products plant, Thomas and Germer moved swiftly to ease the troubled labor front. Their efforts fast took effect, as the unions

made new peace overtures to each other this week.

The strike, the first called by the independent group since its recent formation, has been endangered for days by the refusal of the AFL group to call a strike in the plant along with the other union.

Tear gas attacks and the frequent wielding of clubs by police have featured the struggle on the picket lines. Some 3,500 workers are affected.

Thomas-Browder Debate Text 10c

NEW YORK—A reduction in prices on the full text of the debate between Norman Thomas, Socialist, and Earl Browder, Communist, was announced this week by the Socialist Call, which sponsored the meeting and is publishing the text in pamphlet form.

The new price is 10 cents each. On quantity orders the price is 7 cents each for 10 or more and 6 cents each for 25 or more.

The pamphlet, now on the press, will be available for distribution early next week. Orders should be placed at once.

The Spanish Revolution Lives!

The following article on "The Spanish Revolution Lives!" was written for The CALL by A. Reina, editor of the Spanish edition of Justice, official organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Reina, who was American-correspondent for the Madrid daily, El Socialista, before the Spanish reactionaries forbade its publication, was active in the Spanish movement and was at one time secretary of the Party in Malaga, Spain.

By A. REINA

Reviewing the Spanish situation after one year since the October uprising in 1934, we can say that the forces of the Socialist Party and General Union of Workers remain intact—indeed, they have grown! The repression headed by Lerroux and Gil Robles until recently and later supplanted by one of the lieutenants of the radical Republican Party, Chapaprieta and Gil Robles, cannot wipe out the Socialist, communist, syndicalist and labor organizations in Spain.

The proclamation of the Socialist Party of Spain on October 4, 1934, as a challenge to the President—that all power belongs to the working class—remains in the hearts of the Spanish people to the present time. It is true that the workers in Spain today have no full civil rights or freedom of the press; and the many People's Houses and Workers' Centers are still closed, but the Spanish sentiments are more strong today against the tyranny of the church and the Right Republicans than ever before. The fight is concentrated between the two forces—all the conservative parties from the Right Republican to Clerical against the workers, led by the Socialist Party and General Union of Workers. The middle class of small farmers do not take much interest in the struggle, as they always follow the party in power. This means that the country will continue as before to be dominated by the wealthy, or will turn, by a strong revolution, into the hands of labor.

Not Reformist

For nearly two and one-half years the Socialist collaboration with the government brought them to the realization that no Socialism can be established without the complete overthrow of the capitalist system and all the political parties who are their

servants. Our enemies never can swallow any Socialist measure which depletes the power of the oppressors and restrains the exploitation of the masses. The many laws which were passed during the period the three Socialists were holding posts in the Azana Cabinet were almost nullified when they reached the local governors in the various provinces. This proves that the Socialists never can expect anything from cooperation with the capitalist parties, who always are ready to block any progressive advance promulgated for the benefit of the entire country.

The October Revolution was the first warning to the conservative parties headed by Lerroux and the Clerical Party that fascism cannot be established in Spain. The thousands of workers who died in the fight in Asturias and other provinces brought home clearly to the Spanish bourgeoisie that no matter how long they continued in power, such dictatorships as exist in Germany, Italy and Austria could never take root in Spain. That conclusion, brought out by all the workers' organizations of all denominations, barred the desperate efforts of the church to bring about a fascist dictatorship. The "Workers' Alliance," which for some time before the uprising, tried to be organized in all the provinces, certainly did not give the results that were expected, because the movement was spontaneous and without previous preparation. The entire protest was conducted by the Socialist Party and the General Union of Workers alone, except in Asturias, where the Socialist uprising was followed by communists and syndicalists, after the mine region was entirely in the hands of the Socialist revolutionary committee in control of Asturias for three days.

MOVEMENT FOR LABOR UNITY

The labor organizations in Spain are composed mainly of three forces; the General Union of Workers, the Anarcho-Syndicalists and Communists, but not all of them took part directly in the "Arise." The fight was directed principally by the Socialist forces, whose influence is very strong in the General Union of Workers, the most powerful national union the workers have.

During the time that the workers in Asturias were fighting so bravely, the Anarcho-Syndicalists in other parts of the country, as in Barcelona, did not arise, but they made demonstrations against the regional government of Catalonia: The "Left" Republican parties, divided into many political factions, did not answer to the call of the revolution to support a movement that can restore the freedom which was initiated by the Republic which was inaugurated on April 14, 1931. They, like any other conservative party, adhere to the doctrine of the sacredness of private property, and they are very much afraid of any revolution which can really give full power to labor. The regional government in Catalonia was very well

prepared to fight successfully for their independence against the Central government headed by Lerroux at that time. More than 60,000 machine guns and rifles already prepared to fight for Catalan independence were not used, and they capitulated without a struggle. That was because they, like the other capitalists of the country, were afraid that the revolution would be so far advanced that it would not only carry Catalonia, but would win throughout the entire country. They feared so greatly that this would happen that they submitted without any resistance, and their President, Luis Companys, was arrested like a coward.

Two Extremes

The Spanish political viewpoint is displayed in two extremes—left wing and right wing. On the side of the right wingers are aligned all the political parties from Republican to fascist, and on the other side the workers, led by the Socialists. The Socialist Party is not an organization that is easy to destroy in Spain. When the Peoples' Houses and Workers' Centers began to be closed down by the government and the legal functioning of the

IS FREED



Largo Caballero, 63-year-old leader of the Spanish Socialists, who was freed last week of a charge of "insurrection."

organization was declared unconstitutional, many secretariats were opened underground and the activities of the labor unions and Social Party continued, carrying on the fight for the protection of the membership and for the 30,000 victims of the "Arise," suffering in jail to this day.

The strong solidarity of labor which lives in the hearts of the Spanish workers cannot be destroyed by any human force. A report given out recently by the National Relief Committee for the People in Jail states that over 3,000,000 pesetas (\$700,000) has been collected during the current year; but that is not enough, the report states, to cover all the necessities of the workers in jail.

THE "ASTURIAS COMMUNE" LIVES

The "Asturias Commune," which has so much in common with the Paris Commune, left in its wake many victims and prisoners, and also an equally great lesson to the workers of the world. The enemy is always ready for revenge—and the workers in the Asturias were not shot down by hundreds as in the Paris Commune, only because they had a sufficiently powerful organization to back them and the government was afraid to do so; nevertheless, the Spanish uprising has brought about wide discussion among Socialist and labor organizations the world over.

The Spanish daily papers, El Socialista and Avance, are not published at this time, but hundreds of weekly papers are being published by the Socialist groups and branch organizations. They cannot be called official organs of the party, but they carry Socialist propaganda on an even more vast scale than ever before. It is the general belief in Spain that when the government discontinues the "State alarm" (national censorship) the labor organizations of all denominations and the Socialist Party will unite to carry on the fight for the establishment of a workers' government. Now that the decision of the Communist International has changed its policy so that it will be possible to establish a "united

front" with the Socialists, not as they said before only "with the masses but not with the leaders," we believe that the real "united front" will work out in Spain under the direction of the Workers' Alliance, which is now forming in every part of Spain.

Predicts Unity

What the Workers' Alliance can accomplish in the future in Spain we cannot predict at this time, but we can anticipate that it is the beginning of a real "united front" of all the workers' organizations to advance the cause of the social revolution. "Fellow-workers—Unite in the Workers' Alliance" is the new slogan today.

The conciliatory attitude of the syndicalists in Spain today and the good will of the communists to cooperate with the Socialist Party to fight together for common weal of the working class is a good sign that the next "Arise" will be so strongly organized that no government forces can resist their advance.

Left or Right?

In the meantime, the Socialist Party is faced with the problem

of the interpretation of Marx. The majority of the members of the party led by Caballero, chairman of the party, felt with the national executive committee that the workers can only gain power by revolutionary action, and never by collaboration with the capitalist parties. The small group led by Besteiro-Saborit believe with Kautsky that the immaturity of the proletarians leads to dictatorship and their maturity brings them, unquestionably to "democracy" and peace, and easily to Socialism.

The answer to that utopian Marxist theory was given by Hitler in 1933 and Dolfuss in 1934 when they swept away "democracy" in one wave, and Karl Kautsky is now, himself a victim of his own theory, in exile in Vienna.

However, the Spanish Socialists will take this situation in hand at the next convention of the party, and will outline definite policies for the future course of action. We are sure that this decision will be final and every one, left or right, will submit to the general policy of the party.

SPANISH REVOLUTION CONTINUES

The Spanish revolution continues. The Socialist Party of Spain is not on the defensive, but on the offensive. Their forces are ready to attack vigorously should anybody try to destroy their fundamental rights. The 61 Socialist deputies who are members of Congress were not expelled from their posts, but they declared a boycott of the government and are not attending the sessions of Congress as a protest against the state of repression which the government has conducted against the Socialist Party and the labor unions. This is not what had happened in Germany, Austria and Italy.

400,000 Attend

Recently a mass meeting held in Madrid, the first one to be permitted by the government in that city after the October uprising, was a magnificent demonstration of the spirit which is now prevalent in the hearts of the country. Four hundred thousand workers attended this meeting, and with their hands raised in

salute to revolution proved conclusively that the end of the repression is not far away.

The Socialist Party in Spain has done a wonderful job during the 49 years of its existence. The Socialist Party has a membership of over 100,000 at the present time and the General Federation of Workers 1,500,000 members.

The Socialist Party of Spain does not fight for shorter hours and increase in salary—the fight is against the power of the church, for the abolition of the government of the capitalist class and for the establishment of a working class government, which will end all privileges maintained by a regime based on injustice and starvation.

To quote Caballero, whom the government tried unsuccessfully to condemn to 30 years in prison (Caballero is now 65 years of age): "The political and trade union organization of the workers is as strong as ever. Neither our faith nor our hopes have been imprisoned."

Party Activity

California

SOCIALIST CALL, American Leader, and New Leader were endorsed by the state executive committee at its last meeting.

Massachusetts

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, after thoroughly discussing the critical internal crisis within the Socialist Party in New York State, decided at its meeting in New Bedford December 1, to call a conference of representatives from party organizations of the Eastern states to convene in January with the purpose of trying to bring about peace.

New Jersey

NEWARK Branch 1 will hear Roy Burt, national organizer, Saturday, December 21, at 1085 Broad Street.

Ohio

"LABOR ACTION AGAINST

WAR" movement sponsored by the Socialist Party has called its first conference, at Cleveland, December 21. The call has gone out to all trade unions in the city.

CLEVELAND Socialists are sponsoring a debate between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party on "What Road Shall Be Followed in Opposing War," at the Slovenian Auditorium, 6417 St. Clair Avenue, Sunday, December 15, at 3. Speakers will be August Tyler, New York Socialist, and John Williamson, state organizer of the Communist Party.

Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA at its annual convention recommended that the Pennsylvania state executive not participate in the Interstate Conference called by the New York state executive. A resolution was passed ordering a bundle of The CALL along with the New Leader and offering to each new member a 25¢ subscription to either paper.

Labor Notes In New York

Queens County faces a strike of all electric light and power workers unless three officers of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees, fired for union activity, are reinstated.

Mass picket lines still circle the May Department Store on Fulton Street, Brooklyn, with mass mobilizations every afternoon at 42 Smith Street. Strike headquarters of Local 1250 of the Retail Clerks are at 581 Fulton Street.

Fur workers of all trades are meeting in membership meetings all week to hear the report of the joint council and prepare for renewal of the agreement which will expire in January. They will demand higher wages and a 30-hour week.

More than 2,500 members of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union met last week to hear plans for the coming struggle which will occur upon expiration of the present agreement. They unanimously approved a tax on the membership to create a war chest.

Walter White, A. Philip Randolph and Frank Crosswaith will speak on a radio program over WEVD December 15 at 10 p. m. The program will be called "Negro Labor and the Cry for Justice." The radio broadcast will climax the exercises in connection with the dedication of the Harlem Labor Center, 312 West 125th Street.

A general stoppage of all members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was called last week while Abraham Rosenberg, former international president, was being buried. Rosenberg piloted the union through the dress strikes of 1909, 1910, 1913.

Classified Directory

AMPLIFIERS TO RENT

DANCE or symphonic music for your affairs. World's finest recorded music. High fidelity equipment. Also public address systems. \$5.00 per evening. WHITE, 141 W. 72nd St., SUsquahanna 7-0207.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY

COMRADE would like to invest money in business, partnership or other suitable arrangement. Send particulars. Write to Box 7, Socialist Call, 21 E. 17th St., N. Y. C.

PHARMACIST

J. RUTES, Pharmacist Chemist
411 Howard Ave.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

SODA FOUNTAIN

DEBEST DRINKS—27 Union Sq. (next to the Ritz) Soda fountain—Orange & Pineapple drinks. Cigars, cigarettes, candy.

UPHOLSTERER

JOHN F. CARSTENS, 517 Coney Island Ave., Brooklyn, Upholstery slip covers, furniture repaired, refinished. IN. 2-6345.

WANTED

A TYPEWRITER for the "American Socialist Quarterly." Will some comrade who can loan or donate a typewriter please communicate with Anna Bercowitz, American Socialist Quarterly, 21 E. 17 St., N. Y. C.

TO LEAD STRIKE



David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who voiced the strike threat made by the general executive board of the union.

ANTI-FASCIST RALLY TO BE HELD DEC. 14

NEW YORK—In a demonstration protesting the spread of Italian fascist propaganda in this country, thousands of New York workers are expected to gather outside Madison Square Garden here Saturday night, December 14, at 7.

Inside the garden at that hour, a fascist demonstration in support of Italy's present war in Ethiopia will be convening, with high Italian diplomatic officials and leading old-party politicians as the featured speakers.

The fascists have announced their meeting in the Italian Tammany newspaper, Il Progresso Italo-Americano, as "a warning to those who want to deny Italy her holy and sacred right to live." The purpose of the meeting, Il Progresso declared, is "to demonstrate that each and every national who resides in this Motherland of adoption is ready to give all within his power to help Italy...write another epic page of glory in the history of civilization."

Prominent among the speakers at this fascist rally will be Supreme Court Justices Ferdinand Pecora and Salvatore Cotillo and General Sessions Justice John Freschi.

The counter-demonstration outside the amphitheatre is sponsored by the Italian-American Committee against War and Fascism and is endorsed by the Socialist Party of New York City.

LOST: TWELVE DOLLARS

WASHINGTON—For ten principal foods used by a "typical American family," the consumer pays \$22.64 a month—of which the farmer receives just \$10.12.

Yorkville Printery

RHinelander 4-9761
206 EAST 85th STREET

UNION PRINTERS

Special Rates to Organizations
Printing of Every Description

105,000 Garment Workers Threaten General Walk-out

NEW YORK.—The first of February will see 105,000 garment workers massed in picket lines on the streets once more in another of "the strikes that make history," unless the employers decide before then to accede to the demands of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

Such was the ultimatum sent out from the Cleveland meeting of the general executive board of the union. Unless, it declared, employers would come through with a new contract which would include contractor limitations, settlement of prices on the jobbers' premises and price-fixing, January 31 would find strike plans complete and the workers ready to strike on the next day.

Dubinsky Spikes Claims

Although employers met the ultimatum with their usual tears about the demands of the union being "prohibitive," many observers felt the union would win because of its strength. David Dubinsky, international president of the union, spiked the employers' claims by pointing out that the union would not consider so important an affair as a general strike merely "to place additional burdens upon the consuming public."

"Our union has never sought nor is it now seeking to plunge the dress industry into a war for the mere fun of striking. We shall leave nothing undone at the forthcoming conference peacefully to effect a contract with our employers. If it should come to a strike, it will be for enforcement of wages guaranteed in our collective agreements. It will be a strike to dispense for all time in the dress industry with that aggravating type of generosity on the part of the employers, who agree to all things at the conference table but fail signally to carry them out during the life of the agreements in their factories."

FORUM POSTPONED

NEW YORK.—Circumstances beyond the control of the arrangements committee have forced

WPA MEETING SATURDAY

NEW YORK.—All Socialists on WPA or on home relief and all Socialist members of the Workers' Alliance of New York have been requested to attend on WPA or on home relief and a meeting at 44 East 21st St.

Grand Celebration

of the
First Jubilee of the election of the
Government of the Autonomous Jewish
Territory

WED., DEC. 18, 8 P. M.
CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE
67th Street and 3rd Avenue

The following artists will participate in the program: Maxim Brodin, Van Grana, Z. Zlatin, Anna Malk, A. Packer, Shirley Cantor, L. Caplan, M. Rubin.

Adm. 25c, Reserved seats 50c
Tickets to be obtained at Icor, 799 Broadway, Room 514.

Labor Broadcasts Begin Next Month

NEW YORK—"Labor Speaks" will be the title of a new nationwide radio broadcast series to be launched on the National Broadcasting Company chain in January, according to an announcement here this week.

Prominent labor spokesmen who have already accepted invitations to serve on the Labor Advisory Council for the broadcasts include:

Julius Hochman and Charles Zimmerman of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Joseph Schlossberg of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; David Lasser of the Workers' Alliance of America; Murray Baron of the Suitcase, Bag, and Portfolio Makers' Union; and Mary Fox of the League for Industrial Democracy.

The program will be arranged by Irving Salert, director of the trade union department of the forum and radio division of the New York Board of Education.

postponement of the Socialist Call forum, originally scheduled to begin this month. The opening date will be announced soon.

ON TO UTICA!

A large number of New York City comrades will want to attend the Utica conference on December 28-29, which will see a re-birth of the Socialist Party in the Empire State. Comrades who have automobiles and can make them available for the trip should communicate with the City Office at 21 East 17th Street by notifying Jack Altman, temporary secretary.

ORGANIZATIONS

Get estimates on your printing jobs from
CHELSEA PRESS
UNION PRINTERS
8 WEST 19th STREET
Chelsea 2-6964-6965

Next Week At The Call Institute

Mon., Dec. 16—7 P. M.
GEORGE STREATOR
Organizer of Amalgamated, former editor of "The Crisis."
"The Negro and Organized Labor"
Wed., Dec. 18—8:30 P. M.
HERBERT ZAM
"Marxian Conception of the State"
Thurs., Dec. 19—8:30 P. M.
PHIL HELLER
"United Front and Unity" (continued)
Fri., Dec. 20—7:00 P. M.
AUGUST TYLER
"Strategy of the Movement"
VINCENZO VACIRCA
"Rise and Decay of Fascism"
Postponed indefinitely because of unavoidable circumstances.
ADMISSION 25c

WANTED . . .

OFFICE FURNITURE, FILES,
DESKS, CHAIRS, ETC.

Communicate With

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW YORK

21 East 17th Street, N. Y. C. :: GR. 5-8779

FREE

TO
Branches
Y. P. S. L.
Falcons
Fraternal Organizations

THE Socialist Call Basketball Team is now prepared to engage in contests with church teams, "Y" teams, club teams, etc. If your branch can arrange a game or a dance with a neighborhood team the Call squad, composed of former college stars, will be glad to give its services. All proceeds will go to the branch arranging the game.
Games may be booked in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island.

For particulars write to Joseph G. Glass, Box 103, Socialist Call, 21 East 17th Street, N. Y. C.

Practice is held every Saturday at 1:00 P. M. sharp, Judson Memorial Gym, 55 Washington Square. All comrades welcome.

—SOCIALIST CALL—

ANNOUNCES
FIRST ANNUAL DANCE

Tickets: \$1.00; 75c in advance — Order Now — 21 East 17th St.

DEC. 21 SAT. 9:00 P. M.

HOTEL DELANO
108 West 43rd Street
N. Y. C.

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, MISSOURI, OHIO and WEST VIRGINIA. Endorsed by the Socialist Party of the states of CALIFORNIA, INDIANA, MASSACHUSETTS and MICHIGAN, and by the YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

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

Business Manager: Jack Altman. Managing Editor: Samuel Romer.

Vol. I Saturday, December 14, 1935. No. 39.

The Job That Lies Ahead

The long struggle is over.

The reactionary elements that thought they could suppress freedom of thought and of expression within the Socialist Party have read themselves out of party control. Now that the air has been cleared, the Socialist Party in New York can at last begin to function. The party can proceed with the work in hand—that is, with winning the working masses to Socialism.

The action of the Old Guard in insisting on the so-called "reorganization" of the Party forced the issue. No self-respecting Socialist could have submitted to the high-handed dictatorship usurped by the Old Guard executive committee of Local New York. No self-respecting Socialist did submit. When by a vote of 48 to 44, the Central Committee refused to reconsider the ousting of Norman Thomas and of the left-wing elements—and, make no mistake, the contemplated "reorganization" meant expulsion!—the self-respecting Socialists, of all shades of opinion, walked out of the meeting.

It was not a minority that walked out. The 44 delegates who were the minority in the Central Committee represent a decisive majority of the active membership of the party. They represent the will of the Socialist Party in New York. They and the mass of the membership that enthusiastically endorsed their action are the Socialist Party.

And so opens a new era of Socialist activity. Now the party in New York will carry out the policies of the national executive committee. Now young people will be admitted when they are eligible. Now there will be a positive policy of Socialist activity in the unions. Now there will be true democracy within the party. Now there will be no heresy-hunting and witch-burning.

It was left-wing elements who for years carried on the fight for democracy and revolutionary Socialism within Local New York. Recent developments leave them largely in control of the situation. This will inevitably be reflected in a renewed emphasis on Socialism as distinguished from the reformist tendencies of the Old Guard. We wish to state emphatically, however, that the Socialist Party in New York will set up no test for membership other than that required by the SPUSA. Militants, centrists, right-wingers—all who wish to work with the party will now be assured of a place in it. More than ever will their rights to their opinions be respected.

A Socialist Program

The program of the rejuvenated party will be Socialist, and not communist. Our differences with communism and with the communists and the splinter groups remain as sharp as before. We reject the wavering line dictated by the Comintern. As before, we shall continue to emphasize a workers' democracy instead of the communist version of the proletarian dictatorship. If this is small comfort to the Old Guard leaders, or to the communists who hoped to fish in the troubled waters of the Socialist Party dissension, they have only themselves to blame for wilfully misunderstanding our position.

Full steam ahead then, toward the Socialist goal! Party dissension is a thing of the past. Now those who have been repelled by the ugliness and the bitterness of the struggle will join us. Now all the energies that have of necessity been drained off into the struggle to keep the Socialist Party from destruction can be released for the real work of the party.

All who wish to work with the party will now be assured of a place in it. More than ever will their rights to their opinions be respected. Let us get going!

A EUROPEAN UNITED FRONT



An Appeal For Toys For Christmas Day

To the Editor:

Again Pioneer Youth appeals to your readers to dig into their closets for toys, books, dolls, games and serviceable clothing for the miners' children in West Virginia.

We no longer give away presents indiscriminately at mass Christmas parties. Our club children now fix up and repair the toys. A few days before Christmas they run a toy sale for the townspeople. Nothing costs over 25c. Many things are cheaper. Miners and their wives can pick out presents their children want. It's more self-respecting and the clubs make a little money.

Please send things quickly to the Christmas Party Committee, Pioneer Youth, East Bank, Kanawha County, West Virginia. AGNES SAILER, East Bank, W. Va.

KURT ROSENFELD ASKS FOR UNITY

To the Editor: Strongly impressed by the great debate between Thomas and Browder which was held in so friendly a fashion in Madison Square Garden and which was intensely followed and applauded in the same spirit by the crowd which filled the great hall I feel in duty bound to thank you sincerely as the sponsors.

As a member since 1923 of the then only Socialist Party of Germany and from an experience of almost 10 years in the country whose Socialist movement was to develop a party to the Socialist

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.

tages of a labor movement which would comprehend all Marxist tendencies and I have also come to know, especially in recent times, the disadvantages of a disunited labor movement. Therefore I can particularly appreciate the great gain which unity in this time of threatening fascism signifies. I see the beginning of such a locked phalanx in the mighty demonstration in Madison Square Garden. As a Socialist who fought in vain in Germany for the united front and who saw meetings intended for a similar purpose end in fraternal battle, I feel obliged to express my feeling that those who by this assembly removed some obstacles from the path of a united front in the United States have rendered a great service to the labor movement.

KURT ROSENFELD
New York City.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF SANCTIONS

To the Editor: The New Leader's policy of sanctions with all the consequences implied in their application is a war and increased armaments. It believes all Socialists who have any real conception of the war have been misled by the

conventions has thrown over that policy and has now "come out for sanctions against Italy with all the consequences implied in their application."

Of course "all the consequences implied in their application" mean bigger and better armaments and war. For sanctions may lead to war, as Mussolini has asserted and as Sir Walter Citrine, the British trade union leader, has admitted. In any case, sanctions can only be made effective by a powerful armament.

No doubt European labor would like to take a crack at the fascists in Italy and embark on another holy war for democracy against Mussolini. In fact, communists and conservatives are in agreement with this in Europe, the first united agreement on policy that they have had for many years.

While the New Leader's policy evidently approves this policy of sanctions with all the consequences implied in their application, it is a war and increased armaments. It believes all Socialists who have any real conception of the war have been misled by the

Old Guard Rejects Harmony

CHARLES GARFINKEL BLASTS NEW LEADER

STORY THAT MILITANTS DEMANDED RIGHT TO PREACH ARMED INSURRECTION AS BASIS FOR HARMONY.

By CHARLES GARFINKEL

Temporary Chairman, City Central Committee, N. Y.

The Old Guard, which has made itself notorious by its dishonest conduct in the party controversy, achieves a new low level in its report of an attempt that I made to bring unity even at this late date. In sinking to those depths, it drags with it the so-called Centrist group, headed by Matthew M. Levy, a group with which I had been co-operating for more than a year. If I have been identified with any grouping in the party at all during the storm of controversy, it was with that group.

Under the heading, "Militants Demand Right to Preach Insurrection," the New Leader of December 7 prints an utterly untrue report of a meeting between Matthew Levy, George Steinhardt and Dr. S. J. Fried, of the Centrist group; myself, Jack Altman and Max Delson, the latter two being identified with the Militants. The contents of that story, like the headline, was an utter falsification. Neither I nor the militants demand the right to preach insurrection. My proposal for harmony made that very clear.

All efforts on the part of comrades to inject reason and comradeliness into party discussion have met with a stern rebuff by the Old Guard, which seems to be dominated solely by blind fury. The Centrist group, when it was founded, alleged that its purpose was to bring harmony, but before long it made itself the women of the Old Guard. Levy, Minkoff, Maggin and Steinhardt, the four horsemen of the party's apocalypse proved to be no exception to the bitter spirit which motivated the Old Guard.

Old Guard Madness
The writer is in a position to speak from first-hand information because for a long period he has placed hope and confidence in their expressions. It is clearly manifest now that they are tainted with the madness of the Old Guard and are utterly unable to approach any group with that genuine sympathy and tolerance which peacemakers must inject into a conflict. Their entire approach has been characterized by an attitude of condemnation of the left, expressed publicly and privately in their votes and their discussions. Having failed to gain confidence, having failed to impress anybody with a Centrist position which differs from the Old Guard with whom they vote only in a shrewder display of parliamentary tactics, they have become even more vicious and bitter than the old-old guard.

Their report of our harmony conference is proof positive! They have charged, through the columns of the New Leader, that I, Altman and Delson demanded the right to preach armed insurrection and that we insist as the basis for peace on "the right of members to express any opinion, including the right to advocate violence and armed insurrection and dictatorship."

The True Facts
What are the true facts? The writer, seeking to prevent what the old guard was making inevitable, worked out what to him was an absolute minimum

NEW CHAIRMAN



Charles Garfinkel, former Socialist assemblyman in the New York legislature, who was elected chairman of the new city central committee of the Socialist Party of New York.

basis for peace and unity. He submitted it to Comrades Altman and Delson who indicated their willingness to meet with other comrades and discuss it. Thus when the meeting with Levy, Steinhardt and Fried took place the writer read the proposition to them and stated that acceptance by the Centrists would make it possible for all of us to start the ball rolling for genuine peace.

Let the reader judge for himself whether the proposal submitted is advocacy of armed insurrection.

I shall not use any space to discuss the merits of my proposal. They should be obvious to all thinking comrades. Nor will I consume further space to designate the distortions contained in the New Leader report. It should be noted, however, that the enemies of unity will even abuse proposals for peace by twisting them unrecognizably until they become new weapons of warfare to be aimed at those who seek peace.

Spurned Party Democracy

Specifically, the so-called Centrists refused to accept those clauses which provide for the right to free expression on the part of the membership within Party channels, despite emphasis in the proposal that "there must be a definite understanding, however, that no party member or group may express any opinion or advocate any approach to Socialist affairs or line of conduct outside the regular party channels or at party meetings open to the public, other than the one outlined by the party at the national convention." Only a deliberate desire to misinterpret and spread the red herring of confusion before the eyes of the comrades can explain the accu-

The material in this supplement is intended to acquaint our readers with the present grave crisis in the Socialist Party of New York. Those who wish to use The CALL for mass distribution may, of course, simply remove the entire section.

THE OLD GUARD

AN ANALYSIS OF ITS HISTORY AND OF ITS PRINCIPLES—TODAY IT HAS BEEN REPUDIATED BY ALL SOCIALISTS

By HAIM KANTOROVITCH

It was clear to anyone who studied the tactics of the Old Guard that they were seeking to cause a split sooner or later. Right after the Detroit convention, the Jewish Daily Forward, which is the ideological

and financial dictator of the Old Guard, declared that unity in the Socialist Party was impossible. The majority of the Party that accepted the Detroit Declaration of Principles were communists, Moscow agents, led and financed by Stalin himself, the Forward declared. The New Leader, which is merely a pale echo of the Forward and is its financial subsidiary, repeated this nonsense.

Prepared a Split
That the Old Guard wanted a split is evident from the way in which they prepared public opinion for it. They publicly declared in their own and in the capitalist press that the Socialist Party had been "captured" by dishonest politicians and Moscow agents; that the majority of the Party had betrayed its Socialist principles and was out to break and disrupt the trade-union movement.

The average reader, Socialist as well as non-Socialist, understood of course that no one could make such statements about his own party with any intention of remaining loyal. The campaign of lies and calumny against the Socialist Party and its leaders, the extensive campaign against Norman Thomas which went so far as to forbid him to speak at Socialist meetings—all these were clear indications that the Old

Guard was carefully preparing for a split in the Party.

What Is the Old Guard?

What is the Old Guard? What does the Old Guard stand for? We are at a disadvantage here. We cannot intelligently discuss the Old Guard program for the simple reason that it has none. While the Old Guard constantly ridicules and misquotes the program of the left wing, it has never attempted to formulate a program of its own. If one is to understand the motives behind the Old Guard's fight against the Party, one must ask not what is the Old Guard but who is the Old Guard?

The Old Guard proudly refers to itself as the "old, tried and experienced Socialists." The majority of its members are now old and tired in body and mind. All of them were at one time really active in the Party. Some of them have performed great and valuable services for the Party in the past. Some of them have even been revolutionary Socialists in the past. But that was long, long ago. They speak of that time with pride and pleasure—but also with a kind of paternalistic cynicism. That was "the folly of their youth." They do not regret it. They often admit that who none is young, and "may" indulge in such follies.

REFUSED TO ANALYZE COMMUNISM

But they are no longer young. They have already learned that dreams cannot be cashed and that revolutionary ardor brings nothing but trouble. Their attitude towards Socialism can best be illustrated by their attitude towards communism. During all of the years of the fight between Socialism and communism, no attempt was ever made on the part of the Old Guard to critically analyze communist philosophy, history or tactics. There was no use doing so—this was the answer given to this writer by one of the leading lights of the Old Guard. Leave them

alone, they'll outgrow it even as we have outgrown our youthful revolutionism. Of course, the Old Guard fought the communists bitterly—but only on practical grounds. It was a fight for "the control of our institutions" but not for the hegemony of our principles.

Learned Nothing

It is true that some of them (not all) cling obstinately to their Socialist principles, but these are "principles" that they learned 20 years ago. Despite the colossal changes in the world that have taken place during this quarter-century, despite the lessons of the World War, the Russian revolution, the advent of fascism, the experiences of the German and Austrian Socialists, our "old, tried and experienced" comrades have neither changed nor even analyzed for themselves their principles and concepts. They simply repeat mechanically what they learned 20 years ago. Their Socialism has become for them something like a religious dogma, something that one is supposed to believe in but not expected to practice.

sation by the Centrists, Levy and Steinhardt, that the "Militants Demand Right to Preach Insurrection."

The time is past when comrades can seek truth in Old Guard and Centrist sources. The truly Centrist elements in the party have no choice before them other than to align themselves with those who seek the preservation of the party on the basis of such dignity as comes from the enjoyment of the right to speak honestly on party problems.

The party must be built. Our work must go on. All comrades must join with the revitalized, revived Socialist Party of New York, the local which belongs to and recognizes the Socialist Party of the United States.

To work, comrades! We have no more time to waste.

(Continued on page four)

Is This 'Armed Insurrection?'

The following statement was submitted by Charles Garfinkel to both sides in the party controversy:

- 1—Unity, Loyalty and Discipline. No Socialist Party can grow or even maintain itself in a healthy, vigorous condition, unless it is so constituted as to:
a—Possess complete confidence in and loyalty of its membership, in its leadership and institutions.
b—Permit complete freedom of expression, within the party, of all viewpoints, and opinions as to the theories, policies and tactics which the party is to pursue.
c—Maintain the discipline of unity of all its members towards the outside world, based on the decisions and line of policy laid down at the national conventions of the party; and in so far as it applies to state affairs, by the state convention of the party (where such state policies do not conflict with the national party.)
d—Provide proper media for frank and comradely discussion of party affairs, theories, policies, tactics and tendencies, without prejudice or fear of being stigmatized as communist or of being heretic to Socialism. There must be a definite understanding, however, that no party member or group may express any opinion or advocate any approach to social affairs or line of conduct outside the regular party channels or at party meetings open to the public, other than the one outlined by the party at the last national convention.
e—Have the courage to disapprove before the world of such institutions which claim to be or are generally recognized as Socialist in character, but which do not in fact represent the policies of the Socialist Party.
2—Democracy and the Re-establishment of Confidence in the Party.
a—Displace our present executive committee and officials with a committee of comrades equally representing the Right and Left factions of the Party and who are generally recognized as above the levels of behavior, to which comrades have recently stooped.
b—This committee to take over the office and properties of Local New York and all its sections.
c—It shall sift all grievances, real and imaginary, so as to eliminate any abuses and irregularities perpetrated within the party during the factional conflict.
d—It shall reorganize the party structurally and functionally so as to provide full democracy and the greatest possible efficiency.
e—It shall immediately act on pending applications, using the conditions set forth in the National Constitution as a basis for admission—to wit:
1—Age, 18 years or over.
2—Acceptance of the principles of the class struggle.
3—Agreement to abide by the party declaration of principles and the Constitution of the party.
4—Answering all questions set forth in the official application card, and signing thereof.
f—It shall immediately and unconditionally admit to membership all YPSL members who have applied prior to July 15, 1935, dating their membership as of that date, as agreed in the NEC and state committee pact.
g—The committee shall admit all YPSL applicants who applied after July 15, 1935, in accordance with the provisions in the national constitution, except where charges are pending against such YPSL members.
The complete acceptance of the above principles and line of behavior must be the minimum base from which we can proceed to correct the other factors which have contributed to our present party demoralization, to the total liquidation of the party and the consequent loss of the party to the New York area.

THE OLD GUARD

(Continued from page one)

and rationalization that could serve as a fig-leaf for their lethargy. Thus was born what is now so well known as "dead Marxism." Marxism in their hands became nothing but dead dogma, a rationalization for doing nothing. "Socialism is inevitable; it will come as a natural result of social evolution. There is nothing that can be done to hasten its realization." They made a virtue out of a tragedy and raised inactivity to a principle.

It was even worse in practice. In its fight against communism, the Party leaders of that time sought allies. The only allies they could get were the trade union leaders who had a common practical interest with them in the fight against communism. Before the split, Socialists had always been in the opposition to the official leadership of the AFL. To be sure, they were no DeLeonites. They were opposed to dual union-

ism. They were not for party control or party dictatorship in the unions. They were active in the unions and never lost an opportunity to write and speak in criticism of what was false and misleading in AFL ideology, its obsolete craft-union organization, its opposition to working-class political activities and its lack of class-conscious leadership.

After the split, all this was changed. Instead of being a Socialist opposition in the trade union movement, the Old Guard leaders became its servants. Every form of criticism was prohibited. The Socialist press became the official apologist for the AFL leadership. The theory was proclaimed that we were with labor, right or wrong. We were with the labor leaders not because they were right, but because they were leaders—and when necessary even with the leaders against the working masses.

BUT THE SOCIALIST PARTY GREW

Gradually the scene changed. At first slowly, then more rapidly, the Socialist Party began to grow again. At first dozens, then hundreds and after that thousands of new members began joining the Socialist Party. These were young, energetic Socialists who decided to devote themselves to the fight for Socialism. They were driven to Socialism by the evident decline of capitalism. They learned from the tragic experiences of the European Socialists that if we want Socialism, we will have to fight and fight hard for it. Their knowledge of American conditions convinced them that now was the time when a fighting revolutionary party could be organized.

They joined the Party because they wanted to be active, to do something. But what they got from the Party leaders was the dead Marxism of the Lees and Oneals. This told them that the best thing one could do for Socialism was to do nothing. "Socialism is inevitable," Lee repeats. "Don't make yourself a nuisance in your mind" (i. e., don't criticize), Oneal advises. "Don't keep on nagging the city officials," Louis Waldman chimes in (in the capitalist press, of course). "You can't make revolutions by holding mass meetings or mass protests or marching through the streets of New York with red flags like a bunch of irresponsible children," teaches Julius Gerber.

But what shall we do? Isn't there anything for the members of the Party to do? the newcomers asked. Oh, yes, was the answer. You must pay your dues, you must read our press and during the political campaigns distribute literature and expound our innocuous Socialism, and assure those present that they must not be afraid of the Socialist Party because it is not really revolutionary and seeks to live in peace with everybody. The result was that not only did many refuse to join the party, but new members left it. They had nothing to do.

There are deep and fundamental differences in theory and tactics between the left and right wings of the Party. It is however significant that the inner-party fight which culminated in the present situation began not as a fight for or against this or that principle, but purely as a fight between activists and quietists. It is also significant that among those

who now repudiate the Old Guard and declare themselves loyal to the newly-reorganized city central committee are many centrists as well as comrades who do not accept the ideology of the left-wing. They threw in their lot with the left-wing because the left-wing stands for a Socialist Party which is alive, democratic, active and is ready to organize and fight for Socialism.

Unbelievable as it may sound, the Old Guard leadership in New York has done everything it could to prevent new members from joining the Party, especially if the new applicants were young; they developed a positive fear of youth and activity. They even repudiated a decision of the national convention and their own promise to the national executive committee to admit YPSL members to the Party, all because they feared that these younger elements would demand aggressive Socialist activity.

When the Old Guard leaders now accuse the left wing of being communists, they know it is not true. The cry "communist" is only to serve as a smoke-screen for their disruptive activities. It is not communism they fear—it is Socialism.

Despite the machinations of the Old Guard, its violation of Party democracy, its misuse of the Party machinery which it controlled—they failed. They failed to prevent the growth of the party and consequently the growth of the left-wing. In despair they decided to resort to the most vicious, most undemocratic and really suicidal means at their disposal—namely under the guise of reorganization to expel from the Party everyone who disagreed with them.

Fortunately for the Party, the Old Guard failed. The bulk of the Party membership in New York, including the YPSL, repudiated their leadership, freed themselves from their dead weight and are ready now to begin organizing a real revolutionary Socialist organization. There is no question but that the New York Socialists will in this work meet with the full support of every Socialist in the United States.

Reprints of this section may be secured from The CALL, 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW YORK LIVES!

JOIN NOW!

In The Fight for a
Workers' Democracy

SOCIALIST PARTY

Local New York

21 East 17th Street

N. Y. C.



WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

By David Paul

I have seen the Theatre Union's production of "Mother." I went in fear and trepidation, having in mind McAllister Coleman's strictures on the play. I came away convinced that Mac may be a good columnist, and (to use one of his favorite expressions) a "noble character," but that he is not quite the most reliable of dramatic critics.

I liked the play. To be sure, much may be justly said in criticism of it, and of its production. When all the adverse criticisms are in, and the account is balanced, it is still my conviction that "Mother" is a good play, and a real contribution to the growing volume of plays dealing with the proletarian scene.

It is charged that the play is "too simple." Nonsense! It deals with a simple soul. It portrays plain and uneducated people, their reactions to their troubles, their stubborn revolutionary efforts to free themselves. Of course, they see the enemy clearly and simply. Of course, they are free of the Hamlet-like doubts that lame the half-educated. Of course, Gorki (after whose novel the play is modeled) made them speak and act simply. It would have been historically, psychologically and artistically unsound to have these workers speak as if they were characters in "Design for Living."

The Device of the Chorus

These are simple people. Their thoughts are cast in clear and simple terms. What better device for conveying these thoughts, and for conveying their increasingly painful urgency than the mass chant? The Greeks knew the dramatic value of the chorus, with its musical insistence on a few, constantly repeated facts. The German expressionists, from whom Brecht, who dramatized Gorki's book, plainly derives, saw in the chorus a way to the expression of the mass mind. No better device has been invented. It is new here, but we shall grow familiar with it in time. Those who saw Toller's "Masse mensch"; those who remember "Roger Bloomer," the Easter Parade in "The Hairy Ape" and office scenes in "Beggars on Horseback" will realize how effective mass choruses can be.

When the musical setting for the chants sung by the chorus is written by a musician of Eisler's genius, even the most exacting critic can ask for little more. Even the inadequately trained chorus of this production could not be other than impressive, so effective are Brecht's lines and Eisler's music.

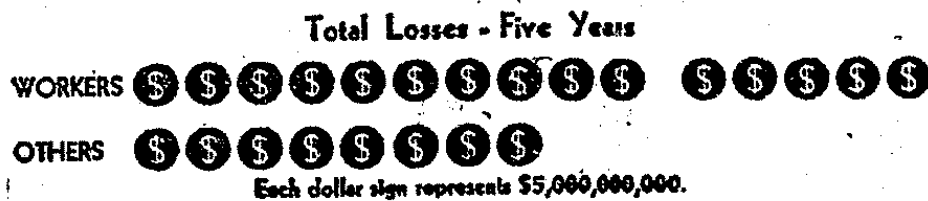
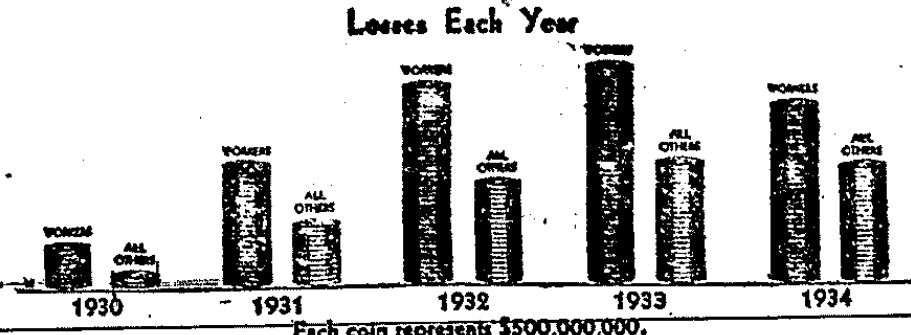
This is not perfect production. I have mentioned the inadequacy of the chorus. What has happened here is, it seems to me, plainly evident. In mass recitation it is very easy to fall into what Ruskin calls the pathetic fallacy. It is easy to become melodramatic and to "tear a passion to tatters." Mr. Wolfson, who, I understand, trained this chorus, rightly feared this trap, but in his efforts to avoid it, he fell into another error. He understates his case. He reduces even the most stirring passages to a monotone that is intended to produce the effect of restrained force. Instead it produces a flatness that defeats the emotions. Instead of being raised with these workers to a pitch of revolutionary enthusiasm, we are dismissed with a stupid lesson in history. We are not purged as great drama should purge us. The mass chorus has tremendous possibilities when we deal with proletarian subjects. It can go a long way toward raw melodrama without offending against reality or sound dramatic tastes.

A Lesson in History

The most glaring weakness in the production is the stupid and gratuitous lesson in elementary history with which Brecht or the present producers see fit to close the play. Here, where they may well leave the audience with a sense of tragic defeat that must in all other right itself in the end, they feel compelled to give the play a "happy ending" by telling the audience that the Russian Revolution did take place, and that now, after a long and hard struggle, the workers have won. This is, indeed, a lesson in history.

I understand that the Theatre Union's production of "Mother" was a success. I am glad to hear that. It is a good play, and a real contribution to the growing volume of plays dealing with the proletarian scene. I liked the play. To be sure, much may be justly said in criticism of it, and of its production. When all the adverse criticisms are in, and the account is balanced, it is still my conviction that "Mother" is a good play, and a real contribution to the growing volume of plays dealing with the proletarian scene.

WHO BEARS THE BRUNT OF DEPRESSION?



From AFL News Service

DEPRESSION BURDEN RESTS HEAVILY ON LABOR

By JOEL SEIDMAN

Prepared for Labor Research Front

The burdens of six years of depression, figures of the U. S. Department of Commerce show, have rested most heavily upon the shoulders of the working class. The loss of income to workers in 1930, 1931

and 1932 was double that suffered by all other groups in the country combined. In the five years from 1930 to 1934, inclusive, workers' income dropped a total of \$76,200,000,000 below the 1929 level. The income of all other groups, in contrast, fell only \$40,500,000,000 below that year's figure.

The greatest loss was therefore suffered by the group whose income was lowest to begin with. Even in 1929, at the peak of our so-called prosperity, one-sixth of the American people were living below the standard held by the federal government to be the minimum necessary for health and decency.

The sufferings of the workers during the depression years have been intensified by the loss of employment due to increased mechanization and speed-up. Between 1929 and 1934 the productivity per hour of the average worker in American factories increased 25 per cent. Our physical output is now almost 90 per cent of the 1926 level, but less than two-thirds as many man-hours of employment are required to produce this.

Machines Used Badly

Under an intelligent economic system this increased productivity would reduce hours of labor or raise living standards. Under capitalism its chief effect is to add to the number who are permanently unemployed. This explains why, despite the current optimistic talk of business recovery, the number of jobless is still in the neighborhood of 10,000,000. Industrial production rose 20 per cent in the 12 months following August, 1934, according to the Federal Reserve Board, but employment increased by only 3 per cent in that period.

Manufacturing industries in October, 1935, employed only 85 per cent as many workers as 10 years ago, and their total pay

was only three-fourths as much. They produced, however, 94 per cent as much. Low as these figures are, they represent the highest levels reached in about five years.

Rising living costs, however, have kept increased dollar income of workers from being reflected in higher living standards. In the first two years following enactment of the NIRA and the other leading "New Deal" legislation the cost of living, according to federal figures, rose 8 per cent. In the first nine months of 1934 production exceeded the same period of 1934 by one-twelfth, but workers' buying power rose less than 1 per cent.

Recovery in Profits

When we turn to profits, however, we witness an amazing recovery. The number of corporations making a net profit in 1933 increased by one-third over 1932, and their aggregate profits were 31 per cent larger. Figures on the profits of 1900 corporations, earning more than half of all the corporate profits in the United States, show an increase of 78 per cent in the last two years.

Dividends declared in November, 1935, were the largest for any month since June, 1931. A total of \$401,000,000 was distributed by 827 corporations, an increase of 16 per cent over November, 1934. Railroad net profits in October were the highest for any October since 1930.

Increased production and higher profits have meant very few additional jobs. Though industrial earnings in the third quarter of 1935 were about 40 per cent higher than in 1934, manufacturing payrolls rose only about 15 per cent in that period and employment only 5 per cent. In the automobile industry a 45 per cent increase in profits in the first nine months of 1935 has brought increases of only 8 per cent in employment and 18 per cent in payrolls.

Meanwhile stock prices continue to soar, as billions in unearned income are added to the fortunes of a few. And the way is being paved for a new crash. By 1934 the average man had lost 40 per cent of his savings. In 1935 the average man had lost 50 per cent of his savings. In 1936 the average man had lost 60 per cent of his savings. In 1937 the average man had lost 70 per cent of his savings. In 1938 the average man had lost 80 per cent of his savings. In 1939 the average man had lost 90 per cent of his savings. In 1940 the average man had lost 100 per cent of his savings.

CONGRATULATIONS

The CALL extends its most sincere and hearty congratulations to the Socialist Leader, Socialist Party, on the occasion of its 24th birthday. The Party was founded by the people of the United States.

A CURSE FOR HEARST

By Alton Levy

While McAllister Coleman, who usually occupies this space, rests among the birds and flowers that eternally make life gay in Radburn, N. J., and recovers from the after-effects of a bad cold, Alton Levy of the notorious Nathan and Levy highbinders breaks out in a poetry rash.—Editor.

Hearst in Peace—Hearst in War—Hearst in the Hearts of His Countrymen

I can make you want to fight,
Prove to you that black is white,
Show that no is really yes
Through the power of my press.
I am William Randolph Hearst.

If you join the Ku Klux Klan,
You're a good American.
If you help to break a strike,
You're the kind of guy I like.
I am William Randolph Hearst.

You all know that I despise
Men who try to organize—
I will fight with guns and gas
Those who help the working class.
I am William Randolph Hearst.

Any one who tries to build
Things like the newspaper Guild,
Really takes a chance, you see,
When he works for guys like me,
I am William Randolph Hearst.

If you'd teach a class in school,
You had better be a fool.
Any one who really thinks,
In my estimation, stinks.
I am William Randolph Hearst.

You must swear allegiance to
Anything that I may do.
You must never criticize
Nor attempt to organize.
I am William Randolph Hearst.

Almost everything I own
Would be taxed in San Simcon,
If I stayed and didn't beef
I would now be on relief.
I am William Randolph Hearst.

Allen names with ski or witz,
Make me have terrific fits;
Rally round ye Smiths and Sloans
Help me fight subversive Cohens.
I am William Randolph Hearst.

Of my senses I'm bereft
When I hear you mention left,
I'll expose you if you're not
My idea of a patriot.
I am William Randolph Hearst.

If on peace you should insist
Then you are a Socialist.
Any one who's anti-me
Is this nation's enemy.
I am William Randolph Hearst.

I have quite a motley gang,
Hitler, Mosley—even Lang—
To tell the truth it wasn't hard
To win the aid of the Old Guard,
I am William Randolph Hearst.

What if workers die in war?
I make profits from their gore.
Let the war gods dance for joy
It's human nature to destroy.
I am William Randolph Hearst.

Join The Socialist Party

For information fill out the blank and send it to the Socialist Party, 110 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

AMERICA TODAY: A COAL DIGGER TELLS ABOUT HARLAN, KENTUCKY

By ANDREW KINNEY

In Harlan County, Kentucky, I find many men who are anxiously awaiting an opportunity to become members of the United Mine Workers of America. Since the passage of the Lagner Law these persons are left as much in the dark as they ever were. They are handicapped. They live in fear of their lives or mistreatment of themselves and families. They do not trust strangers for fear the coal company has sent a snooper among them.

If a man is suspected of being favorable to organized labor he is arrested on some fake charge, searched, his money counted, then heaved into a cell with a concrete floor for his bed. The thugs, upon counting his money, know just how much he can pay as a "fine." Next, he is informed as to the "charges" against him. He is offered liberation if he will submit to the charge and pay his fine. This is the best thing he can do, and he will be held without trial until he does. After being imprisoned for three or four days by company-paid pistol-toters one is more than glad to submit to anything in order to get out.

After being liberated the prisoner is given notice to "vacate." In the next few days, regardless of whether the property the prisoner occupies is owned by the coal company or not, he is in some manner forced to move out. It is needless to say he cannot get another house in Harlan County.

I learned that one superintendent told some 150 of his employes that if they were caught going into Virginia again they would be discharged. These men had been driving, during their leisure hours, and it was reported they were members of a local union on the Virginia side and attended meetings weekly.

Small Fry

The county is governed by a pack of politicians who are paid by the coal companies to fight unionism. These politicians have a bunch of "small fries" who are permitted to prey on the miners in any way they see fit and graft their hard earned pay. In return for this privilege the "small fry" grafters do the spying, looking out for any one who might represent a labor organization.

I feel justified in saying that Harlan County has upwards of

20,000 miners at work from 10 to 14 hours a day, six or seven days a week, at a rate of \$1.50 to \$3.50 a day. If Harlan County was organized and working a 35-hour week the coal companies would have to put on from 10,000 to 15,000 more men to do the work in filling orders for coal.

"Where Yeh From?"

If you don't want trouble in Harlan County have a ready answer for anyone that asks you where you are from. "Where yeh from?" those are the words on the lips of every foreman and thug in the county.

If you tell them you come from a union field you are putting yourself in jail—unless, of course, you leave before they can get eight or ten brave heroes together to "take" you. They kept me on the dodge for three weeks. Meantime I visited most all of the mines in the county and more than 2,000 homes.

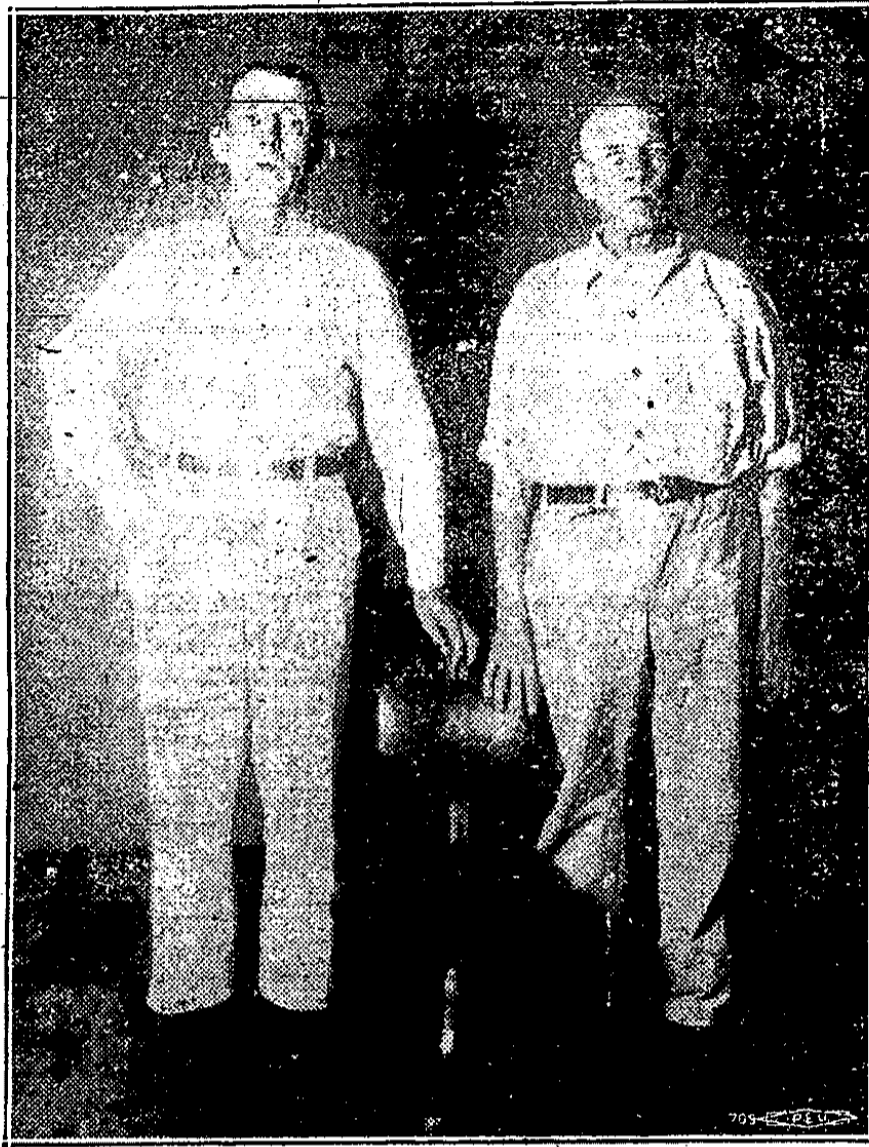
No Thanks

At least 95 per cent of the people with whom I came in contact are in favor of the United Mine Workers of America.

One night while in Verda, Ky., I was accosted by a couple of hombres who informed me that a secret union meeting was to be held at the next mine below Verda. They said I'd better go down with them and join the union while I had a chance. I figured it would be a darn poor chance for me out in the dark with a couple of armed snoopers and declined to go. Some of my friends checked up on them and their story later. They never left Verda—and there was no meeting being held.

Third Degree in High Splint I went to High Splint that night. In cruising around the next morning I learned that a

KENTUCKY MINE LEADERS



Here are W. B. Jones (left) and William M. Hightower, secretary and president respectively of the Everts (Ky.) local of the United Mine Workers of America. For their efforts to organize the Harlan miners these men received life sentences in jail.

young man had been beaten with a pistol and thrown out of a High Splint store by one of the company deputies because he would not sign a petition to reinstate Sheriff Middleton. Another man was treated in a similar manner at Coxton, and then placed in jail because he was "mistaken" for a union man.

One might wonder how I was escaping all this time. Well, by just keeping my eyes and ears open and being ready to move at any time. However, I got mine in the fourth week when I went to Cumberland the second time. I arrived there around 5 P. M. and went to the National Hotel. I went in to the bar where whiskey is sold on Sundays and all other days. About five minutes later a "uniform" walked in. He went to the opposite end of the bar from where I was standing. When the bartender went over to get the officer's order the two held a low-voiced conversation, and I could see them glancing at me through the mirror back of the bar. The conversation ended without the "law" ordering anything to drink and he walked out. I watched him through the glass front of the barroom as he joined two other men across the street and held a conversation. The three went different directions.

Pistol Toters

I registered at the hotel about 6:30 and then went out for an hour, returning about 7:30. As I reached the hotel entrance I was surrounded by pistol toters, seven or eight of them coming from behind parked autos with drawn revolvers.

"Where you from?" one asked. "From nowhere, wanted everywhere, last seen somewhere and headed anywhere," I replied. At this, one man cocked his gun

and with the muzzle in my middle said:

"Another wise crack out of you, and it'll be just too bad."

Robbed and Beaten

The "deputies" searched me for weapons, then shoved me in a car and piled in on top of me and took me to the police station. Arriving there they took me into a back room and stripped me from head to foot. They searched my clothing a half dozen times, even turning my socks inside out. When they found my union card one man remarked that that was what they were looking for. I never saw it again or my \$24.08 they got.

They kept me in a dungeon-like place three days and nights

Is There A Class Struggle?

Is there a class struggle? Socialists say yes, conservatives deny it, workers live it.

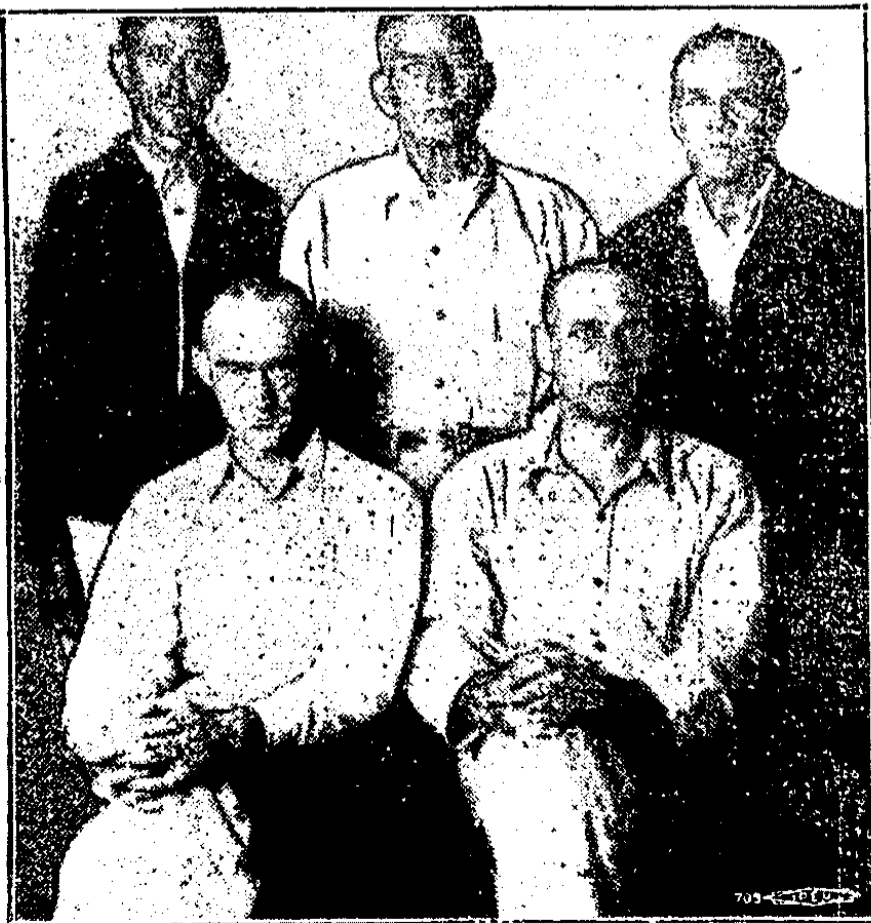
In a series of articles, The CALL presents the class struggle today, told by workers as in their day-by-day life they come face to face with the necessity for strong unions, for independent, working-class action. In this first graphic installment, Andrew Kinney, a member of the United Mine Workers' Union in Justell, Kentucky, tells of his trip into Harlan County, which ranks high in the black roll of American open shop industry. Brother Kinney wrote this article as a letter to the editor of the United Mine Workers' Journal. Are you living the class struggle? Write and tell us your experiences.

without food or water or even a lavatory, with nothing but a damp concrete floor to sleep on. They, from time to time, visited me and called me every dirty name I had ever heard of and a lot I had never heard of. Each morning some one of them would come in and tell me what charges they were going to put against me, which included breach of the peace, larceny, trespassing, bootlegging, being out late and being a criminal suspect. They informed me that if I would submit to any of the charges the "fine" would be \$24, and I would be released upon payment of it, provided I would agree to leave the county.

I refused to agree to anything up until the third day. By this time I was so weak I could hardly stand upon my feet, so I had to come through.

In one case a man was found dead one morning in the place where I was confined. No one was permitted to see him but certain ones chosen by the "law." The report on his death was that the prisoner "died of heart failure." His heart has "failed" all right, for his head had been crushed. Nice people, these Harlan County deputies.

HAIL, FREEDOM!



Here are five of the seven Harlan County, Ky., miners who were framed on a charge of "murder." Three of the men won their freedom this week.

Seated (left to right) are Chester Poore and Al Benson. Standing are Jim Reynolds, William M. Hightower, and William Hudson. Hightower and Hudson are now halting their new freedom.

TRUE STORIES

By THE BYSTANDER

Arnold Morrison left the hat store where he worked and stepped into the blowing snow. Mechanically he turned his step in the direction of the restaurant where he daily had eaten his lunch for years.

As he approached the place a flying shabby hat caught his eye. Its owner snatched it from the wind and replaced it on his head. As Morrison turned into the lunchroom he noticed that the man with the shabby hat was wearing some sort of a sign, fastened to his clothing. Somehow it seemed to him that the man had been there for days, weeks perhaps, pacing monotonously up and down. Abstractly he wondered what for.

He was seated at the table with his meal before him, when, reaching for a slice of bread, he looked up and out the window. The man was there pacing up and down, and the words "Union Label Bread" in large red letters glared at Morrison. He looked

down at his plate and suddenly the bit of bread he had placed in his mouth mechanically lost all its taste, and dropped from his mouth. He looked at the bread in his hand and there appeared before him millions of workers, strikers, and scabs, and cops, and guards, struggling fighting, in a mad chaos. He pushed his chair back, reached for his hat, and walked slowly towards the cashier's desk. He spoke to the cashier quietly. "You may call the manager if you like, I'm not going to pay for my meal. I haven't eaten it and I'll not eat in here again until those strikers out there get justice."

World Socialism

THE 'PLAN' CONGRESS IN HOLLAND

By HERBERT ZAM

SINCE the advent of the crisis a series of "plans" have been adopted by various sections of the labor and Socialist movement, aiming at regulating industry, overcoming the crisis and eliminating unemployment. The best known of these plans is the DeMan Plan of Belgium, whose adoption paved the way for a coalition government; the latest accession to the field is the Dutch Plan, adopted at a special Congress of the Socialist Party and Trade Unions of Holland the end of October.

There can be no objection to plans as such. They have great propaganda value, provided they make clear that real planning can only come with Socialism, and that Socialism can only come through the class struggle. If these plans give the impression that they will either bring Socialism without a struggle, or what is worse, that they make Socialism unnecessary, then these plans are not plans, but "schemes"; they cannot promote Socialism, but on the contrary they discredit it if linked with the Socialist movement, and in the last analysis they are used by the capitalist class as a substitute for Socialism.

Not Even Liberal

The Dutch plan suffers from every one of the indicated disadvantages. It is by far the worst and most opportunist scheme yet produced in any section of the movement. Not only has it nothing to do with Socialism, but even a Tugwell or Roosevelt, to say nothing of LaFollette or Olson, would scornfully reject it as reactionary. And it is indeed true that the platforms of the American liberals are far to the left of the Dutch Plan.

The basic feature of the Plan and its point of departure is the abandonment of the class struggle and the elaboration of a system of planned class collaboration, with the objective of overcoming crises within the limits of capitalism. This was made clear by every reporter. The chairman of the Plan Congress, Kupers, the head of the trade unions, declared that the object of the Plan was "so ordering economic life that first we emerge from chaos, and second that we are protected against fresh disorders." The reporter on the Plan as a whole, H. Vos said that "the Plan endeavors to find an economic basis for the regulation of the mutual relationships of the groups which make up the population, and strives for a just valuation of the services of all." J. W. Albarda, the leader of the Socialist parliamentary fraction declared that the appeal was not merely to the workers. "We appeal, too, to other social classes. There are, in the life of a nation, moments when the differences between the classes recede into the background and all forces are pressed into the service of a common cause. Such a cause is the Plan."

Thus, at a time when the working class is suffering from the ravages of a capitalist crisis, instead of telling the workers that capitalism is responsible and only the overthrow of capitalism can abolish crises forever, the impression is created that the crisis is a sort of natural calamity, an "act of God" for which no one is to blame, that workers and exploiters must work together like good children of God in order to save the capitalist system. The ancient dogma that workers must not take advantages of calamities to overtake capitalism,

which kept capitalism in power in Germany and Austria and paved the way for fascism, is again fished out to lull the indignation of the masses and prevent them from developing revolutionary ideas.

No Marxian Analysis

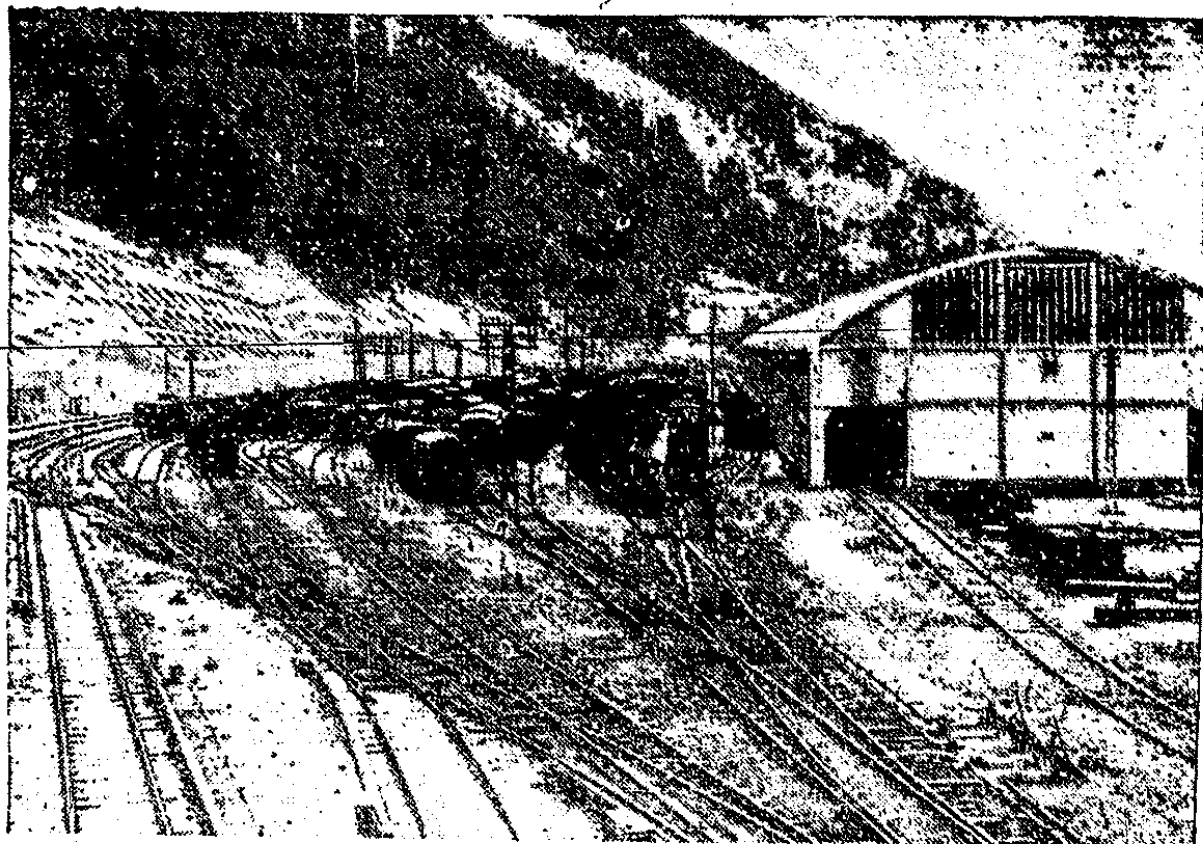
Of course it would be too much to expect any sort of Marxian analysis and we are not disappointed. For example, unemployment is explained as due to: "1. defective adaptation as between the various branches of production; 2. the unequal development of the machinery of production; 3. too rapid or too slow rationalization; and 4. the hindering of international trade." And this brilliant analysis, worthy of a bourgeois text book on elementary economics, is seriously offered as a substitute for "worn-out Marxism!" The complete bourgeois-mindedness of the authors of the Plan is further shown in the section dealing with the colonies. Are the colonies perhaps to be liberated? God forbid! We must civilize them. "The Plan does not overlook the colony. It includes all the elements essential to the building up of a great empire..." Of course, the pious phrase which all imperialists know by heart is not forgotten in the Plan. Everything done with the colonies will naturally be for their own interests!

After all these pretensions, the actual proposals of the Plan are ridiculously trite and uninspiring. The five main points are: 1. Public works; 2. Expansion of the merchant fleet; 3. Replacement of worn-out machinery; 4. Raising the school-leaving age; 5. Institution of the 40-hour week. "These first measures would have to be followed by a second series: The expansion of industry to render imports unnecessary on the one hand, and to satisfy new needs on the other. For this an Industrial Bank is necessary." No detailed analysis is required. Any group of liberals in this or any other country could devise a plan far more impressive and deep-going than this one. Every item in the Plan could be safely adopted by capitalism without in any way limiting its exploitation of the workers. Every item has been adopted in some or another country without in any way relieving the crisis. This Plan is so thoroughly reformist and pro-capitalist that even Socialist language is not employed. Throughout there is not a mention of Socialism, of the class struggle or of the interests of the workers as a class. The concluding speech of Koos Vorrink, the chairman of the Dutch Party was a fitting dedication to such a plan.

"Democracy is no longer a means to an end; it is the blood of our blood and the most sublime confession of our faith in civilization, in the value of the personality of each one of us. We are the heirs of the great spiritual heritage of the past, and we are conscious of the task of democratic Socialism, of the fostering soil of which the Christian civilization of Western Europe has also been a part."

This speech was not made by Ramsay MacDonald. It was not made by a Christian Socialist. It was not made by a Woodrow Wilson. It was made by the chairman

OIL FOR THE TANKS OF ITALY



While Britain and Italy talked of the slicing of Ethiopia to satisfy Mussolini's greed and other countries delayed oil sanctions until "everybody joined," these carloads of oil continued on their way to Italian troops in Africa.

A Challenge To Mussolini— Civilize Yourself!

WHILE EXTENSIVE COAL AND MINERAL MINES LIE UNDEVELOPED IN SOUTHERN ITALY, MUSSOLINI MAKES ITALY PAY IN LIVES AND GOLD FOR HIS AFRICAN ADVENTURE

This is the third of a series of five articles

By ALFIERO LEONE

It is not true that Italy lacks land for cultivation. There is plenty of land that is not cultivated for want of adequate roads. The stupid government of Italy is spending tens of millions for the construction of roads in distant Ethiopia instead of constructing them in Italy. It is not true that Italy lacks oil or metal mines. The fact is that they are neither explored nor exploited. In Calabria and other areas in the south there are many iron mines that extend for miles. They were at one time exploited by the old Bourbon government, but when the new united government was formed, after the "risorgimento," the industrial manufacturers of the north wanted to use the south only as a colony. For this reason the mines were abandoned and the whole south and center left undeveloped.

There are great, extensive soft coal mines in the region of Basilicata and Calabria, called "lignite," but they are not exploited. Instead, the supine government and the private industries in the north buy coal from England, the United States, France and Germany. This soft coal could be used for cooking and heating and could be had very cheap. But no, the people instead have to de-

stroy fine forests for fire wood. There is also mineral oil in Italy, besides the plentiful olive oil. Here and there, throughout the south, center and north, it has risen to the soil surface, but neither the government nor any private concern has ever seriously, with real scientific means, undertaken to locate the oil and technically exploit it. There are even silver mines that were once exploited and are now abandoned.

Contract Broken

Years ago the Standard Oil Company had made a contract with the Italian government, the purpose of which was to explore the Italian subsoil with the intent of finding mineral oil and exploiting it. But owing to the opposition of some local interested quarters the contract was afterwards broken, and the rational, scientific exploration was never undertaken.

To prove that Italy has her share of minerals within her territory, I will quote from an article by Dr. Bruno Rovere, president of the Bank of Sicily Trust Company. The article was published in the Corriere d'America, a daily newspaper, on September 1, 1935. On the subject of raw material in Italy, he says:

"His Excellency, Senator G. Belluzzo, has amply demonstrated that, contrary to the belief so far entertained, Italy possesses many kinds of raw materials * * * As far as mining is concerned, Italy has been explored very little. This fact was clearly demonstrated during the European War, when Italy, pressed by sheer necessity, undertook a partial exploration of her subsoil. This scientific work gave at the time a fortunate and promising result. Many mines were found to possess good minerals that, previous to that time, had been ignored."

Abandons Mines

At first, of course, exploration and exploitation are quite costly, and the stupid Italian capitalists and government soon abandoned the mines, as before. On the other

hand, the government has been spending billions of lire for the army and navy and preparations to invade Ethiopia nearly 3,000 miles away hoping to find mines there, all the while leaving the mines at home unexplored and unexploited.

But even assuming that Italy could conquer the whole of Ethiopia and there find all the mines in the world, would that compensate the thousands of lives sacrificed there? The life of a man may be worth more than all the land, mines and money in the world. Nothing can ever compensate the pain, patience, work and the sacrifices made by a mother raising a son. To be sent to war—to kill and be killed—is the greatest crime that can be imagined, both against the men as sons and against their mothers.

Not Worth It

Furthermore, will the land, even if conquered, be worth the billions spent there? It is known that no conquest in itself has ever paid any dividends except to munition makers and other "Merchants of Death." It is a well known fact that Italy has spent several hundred millions a year more than the amount she has been able to collect from her colonies.

An illustration is given in O. W. Wilcox's book, entitled "Nations Can Live at Home." In it the author says that Italy entered the World War to enlarge her boundaries and gained 9,084 square miles of territories. Italy's total war expense was \$27,000,000,000 at par of exchange. Italian casualties were 1,597,000 killed and wounded, or 175 casualties for every square mile of territory gained. Just imagine! Sacrificing 175 young men for every square mile of territory, comprising those mountain rocks along Garso.

Has it paid? Evidently not—yet the Italian government hasn't learned anything from that dreadful experience.

(Continued Next Week)

BOOKS

By BRUNO FISCHER

Labor Unions and Strikes In the Mountains and Mills

A STONE CAME ROLLING, by Fielding Burke. Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.50. 112 pages.

To the Editor:

I am afraid that I will not be able to make the deadline for this review. For what seems hours I've been hunched over my typewriter, stabbing

feebly at the keys and tearing up innumerable sheets of paper. I simply can't get started.

I had the same trouble with Fielding Burke's first novel, "Call Home the Heart." That book gave as understanding a picture of Carolina mountaineers as any I've read, not excluding the novels of Grace Lumpkin. But when in the last half of the book she took her hillbillies down to the lowlands, where they worked in the textile mills and starved and joined unions and went on strike, it was not so good. Fielding Burke knows her mountains and mountain people; she doesn't know unions and strikes.

That's really too bad. For this second book of hers, "A Stone Came Rolling," deals mostly with the mountaineers who have settled permanently in the mill towns, and most of it is about unions and strikes. She keeps confusing strikes with revolutions, and there is a great deal about the inner workings, the philosophy, the tactics of unionism of which she remains oblivious.

That's why, comrade editor, I can't write the same sort of review as those "proletarian" critics who have never been within a mile of a picket line.

I ought to say something, too,

about her too-lush style and her tendency to make all women beautiful and all men handsome (perhaps because she wrote nature poems for many years under her real name, Olive Tilford Dargan). Many of the characters are too superficially drawn for the important roles they play, and the Negroes are thrust into a shadowy background.

But don't get the impression that this is not a good book or that I would not recommend it highly. That's why I haven't been able to write this review—because I can't get away from giving such an impression. I found that when I tried to analyze the book there was a danger that I would frighten prospective readers away.

That's the last thing I want to do. In spite of everything I have said before, there is so much warmth and understanding in the writing of Fielding Burke, so much sympathy for the oppressed and exploited, such burning desire for a better world, a workers' world, that when you've finished the book, whatever seemed weak and inadequate about it is forgotten and you are ready to shout to the world that her two novels are among the finest that have come out of the South.

Scenario

THINGS TO COME By H. G. Wells. The MacMillan Company. 165 pages. \$1.50.

H. G. Wells once again ventures into the future. This time his excursion is in the form of a motion picture scenario. The old boy is losing his stuff, but he can still keep you up all night reading his fantasies.

A DAILY REMINDER

BUILD FOR SOCIALISM SOCIALIST CALENDAR

for 1936

twelve pages . . . pen and ink portraits of famous Socialists . . . timely quotations . . . attractively printed and bound.

Order for New Year Greetings

Send one to each of your friends
25 cents each by mail
150 for \$10.00

12 for \$1.00

order from

National office

SOCIALIST PARTY

549 Randolph St.,
Chicago, Ill.

JOIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

One of the most important lectures of the season

H. N. BRAILSFORD

member of the British Labor Party, noted economist, contributor to the New Republic, author of "Property and Peace" will speak on

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

with special reference to the recent elections and the Labor Party's position on League of Nations sanctions.

Wednesday, December 18, 8:30 P. M.

at 21 East 17th St., New York

Admission 25c and 50c

What is Mussolini's dreaded 'Special Tribunal'?

Why do Italians fear 'La Madama's' smile?

READ

JOHN L. SPIVAK'S

remarkable interview

"La Madama Smiles"

in this week's

new Masses

15c at newsstands

It's the 48-page quarterly anti-Fascist number, with John Strachey, Sinclair Lewis, George S. Kaufman, Robert Forsythe, Redfield, Steig, John O'Hara and other brilliant writers and artists.

NEW MASSES, 31 W. 27 St., N. Y. C.

MUSSOLINI outlawed strikes . . . yet there have been hundreds of strikes and lock-outs in Italy during the past few years. What happens to those who took part in them? Why are Italian jails and dungeons full to overflowing? And what of the thousands of others—professors, intellectuals, courageous opponents of Fascism—who disappeared and were never heard of again? Only the Italian SECRET TRIBUNAL knows the answers! Read this remarkable interview with the men who dispensed Fascist "justice."

It's the second in the series of dispatches from the trouble zones of Europe by America's most daring reporter!

OUT NOW

BOOK 20-50% DISCOUNT SALE

BEGINS: Friday, Dec. 13th

ENDS: Saturday, Dec. 28th

Books By Karl Marx

- Capital—Vols. I, II, or III . . . \$1.95
- Correspondence of Marx and Engels . . . \$2.20
- Critique of Gotha Program . . . 80c
- The Class Struggles in France . . . 80c
- Letters to Kugelmann . . . 80c

Books By Frederick Engels

- Origin of the Family . . . 48c
- Anti-Duehring . . . \$1.50
- Housing Question . . . 60c
- Ludwig Feuerbach . . . 60c
- Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution . . . \$1.20

Books By V. I. Lenin

- Collected Works (8 books) . . . \$8.95
- Materialism—Empirio Criticism . . . \$1.95
- State and Revolution . . . 8c
- Teachings of Karl Marx . . . 12c
- Two Tactics . . . 25c
- The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky . . . 25c

Books By Joseph Stalin

- Foundations of Leninism . . . 8c
- The October Revolution . . . 80c
- Leninism . . . Vol. I, \$1.50; or Vol. II, \$1.95

Theoretical Book Specials

- The Handbook of Marxism . . . \$1.40
- The Marxian Economic Handbook . . . \$1.95
- Communism in the United States—Earl Browder . . . 80c
- Marx on the Trade Unions—Lozovsky . . . 80c
- Dialectical Materialism—Adoratsky . . . 40c
- Historical Materialism—Bukharin . . . \$1.95
- Lenin—R. Palme Dutt . . . 40c
- Fascism and Social Revolution—Dutt . . . 96c

Extra Special Items

- Karl Marx—Franz Mehring (\$5) now . . . \$2.95
- History of the American Working Class—Bimba . . . \$1.55
- Stalin—Henri Barbusse . . . \$1.60
- The Great Tradition—Hicks . . . \$1.20
- Seeds of Tomorrow—Sholokhov . . . \$1.69
- Nature of Capitalist Crisis—Strachey . . . \$1.25
- History of Feudalism—O. Trachtenberg . . . 69c
- History of Ancient Society—Nikolsky . . . 49c

Seventh World Congress of the Communist International

SPECIAL OFFER

11 Booklets, 704 pages, containing full reports, resolutions and discussions by Dimitroff, Pieck, Manuilsky, Ercoli, Earl Browder, Gil Green, Thorez and others.

All for only 75c during this sale

SOME LATEST BOOKS NOW ON SALE

- It Can't Happen Here—Sinclair . . . \$1.95
- Europa—Briffault . . . \$2.20
- Steel Dictator—O'Conner . . . \$2.40
- Revolt on the Campus—Wechsler . . . \$1.95
- A Sign for Cain—Grace Lumpkin . . . \$1.95
- I Break Strikes—Levinson . . . \$2.00
- China's Millions—Strong . . . \$1.95
- A Stone Came Rolling—Burke . . . \$1.40
- Coming World War—Wintringham . . . \$1.95
- Freedom of the Press—Seldes . . . \$1.95

ORDER FROM YOUR LOCAL WORKERS' SHOP NOW!

NEW YORK CITY
Manhattan—50 East 13th St.
140 Second Ave.
112 West 44th St.
Bronx—1901 Prospect Ave.
1337 Wilkins Ave.
Brooklyn—369 Sutter Ave.
4531 16th Ave.
Harlem—115 W. 135th St.

NATIONAL
Baltimore—309 North Eutaw St.
Boston—210 Broadway
Buffalo—65 West Chippewa
Cambridge—61 Holyoke St.

Chicago—161 North Franklin St.
2125 West Division St.
1327 East 57th St.
Cleveland—1522 Prospect Ave.
Detroit—3537 Woodward Ave.
Hartford—83 Church St.
Hollywood—1116 No. Lillian Way.
Los Angeles—224 South Spring St.
230 South Spring St.
1124 1/2 Brooklyn Ave.
Milwaukee—119 West State St.
Minneapolis—241 Marquette Ave.
Newark—847 Broad St., 3rd Fl.
New Haven—280 Park St.

Philadelphia—46 North 8th St., 2nd Fl.
118 West Allegheny Ave.
4923 Girard Ave.
2104 Ridge Ave.
Pittsburgh—1853 Fifth Ave.
Portland—64 Alder St.
Reading—224 North Ninth.
St. Louis—3520 Franklin Ave.
San Francisco—176 Golden Gate Ave.
1104 Golden Gate Ave.
342 Valencia St.
121 Haight St.
Seattle—711 1/2 Pine St.
Tacoma—1315 Tacoma Ave.
Washington, D. C.—515 F St., N. W.

Order from your nearest bookshop. Include 10c for postage on each item.

Action!

THAT'S WHAT YOU WANT.

... A chance to build an active, fighting, vigorous, aggressive and powerful Socialist Party!

BUT

Do you know what methods the Socialist Party should use? What tactics to follow? What position should be taken on the vital questions facing the Socialist and Labor Movement nationally and internationally?

IF YOU WANT THE ANSWERS TO THESE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

then read

Draft For A Program

for the

SOCIALIST PARTY

10c

Per Copy

Special Rates on Bundles

Order From

SOCIALIST CALL

21 East 17th Street

'First Lady' With Jane Cowl Is Sparkling Comedy

"FIRST LADY" a new comedy by Katharine Dayton and George S. Kaufman, presented by Sam H. Harris at the Music Box.

Katherine Dayton has collaborated with George S. Kaufman to write one of the season's most uproarious comedies. Ubiquitously contemptuous of Washington life and politics, it nevertheless is careful enough in its satirical abuse to antagonize very few.

Being led behind the scenes, we discern that the wife of Stephen Wayne, secretary of state, has presidential ambitions for her husband. When she discovers that her arch-rival, Irene Hibbard, a lady with a not too puritanical past, is planning to leave her elderly Supreme Court Justice husband in order to grab off handsome young Senator Keane from the West and boost him for the presidency, her ire is aroused.

There follows much intrigue, involving Mrs. Creevey, the head of the Women's Peace, Purity and Patriotism League, an organization of 6,000,000 females with affiliated bodies, and Ellsworth T. Ganning, demon newspaper publisher with 20,000,000 circulation at his command.

With sparkling repartee, splendid acting and pertinent wit, "First Lady" marches to a happy conclusion in which as nearly everybody as possible is pleased, including the audience.

Jane Cowl as Lucy Chase Wayne is of course superb. Her supporting cast, made up of many old-timers of the boards and a few new people, deserve credit for fine performances. —J. L. W.

depended on its plot and its lines it would go off the boards.

We are asked to believe that the learned Professor Volk, a Viennese psychologist of the school of Dr. Freud, has fallen sufficiently under the influence of May wine, the springtime sun, and the memories of his own youth to fall in love with the adventuress, the Baroness Von Schlewitz. She and her lover, Kuno Adelhorst, try the old badger game on the professor. The game succeeds and the professor marries the Baroness. Then to the surprise of the professor and of the audience, and perhaps of the baroness herself, she falls in love with him. The professor cannot believe his good fortune, and indeed, appearances are against the baroness. Jealousy and the plotting of the professor's secretary, Vera, drive the professor to murder. But, and the audience is in on this, he shoots not his wife, but a doll that he has ordered made to so-lace him.

As we have already said, this nonsense is made palatable by good acting, better staging and tuneful music.—D. P. B.

CALL BOARD

Carnegie Hall will present the who's who of the dance world December 15 with Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, Tamiris, Charles Weidman, all on one program. Weidman is going to do a number called "Stock Exchange." . . . Jimmy Durante will be starred at the New Year Frolic of the New Theatre Group . . . Philadelphia gets "Black Pit," starting December 30.

'May Wine'

"MAY WINE" a new musical play by Frank Mandel based on a story by Wallace Smith and Eric Von Stroheim presented by Lorraine Schwab at the St. James Theatre. Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II. Music by Sigmund Romberg.

"May Wine" is the old hokum dished up to the accompaniment of imitative Viennese music of the type made familiar in the "Chocolate Soldier" and the "Merry Widow." Some of the tunes are catchy enough, which is fortunate, because if the play

The NEW THEATRE Presents

The Play Organized Workers Must See

ALBERT MALTZ'S

BLACK PIT

ERLANGER THEATRE

Market at 21st St. Philadelphia, Pa.

Beg. Mon. Eve., Dec. 30th

Monday Eve. Benefit Socialist Party

Going To The Theatre?

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

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

Get in Touch With
The Theatre Bureau
c/o SOCIALIST CALL
31 East 17th St. New York City
or phone
Glenn 5-3779



COMING EVENTS

Thursday, December 12
Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr speaking on "What Will Marxism Do to Religion Under the New Social Order?" at Community Church Center, 550 West 110th Street, at 8:15 p. m.

Friday, December 13
Nineteenth annual entertainment and dance for the Class-War Prisoners' Christmas Fund of the General Defense Committee, at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, at 8. Admission, 25 cents.

Saturday, December 14
Entertainment and dance sponsored by the 2 AD (Bronx) Branch, at Mid-Bronx Labor Center, 1491 Jerome Avenue, at 8:30. Admission: 35c.
Housewarming party of East Flatbush (2 AD Kings) Branch at 863 Saratoga Avenue, Brooklyn, at 8:30 p. m.
Dance and social run by the Rebel Arts Dancers, at 44 East 21st Street, at 8:30.

Sunday, December 15
Norman Thomas speaking on "Hope in a Mad World" at Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette Avenue, Brooklyn, at 11 a. m.
Card Party sponsored by Flatbush Branch, at 966 Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn, at 4 p. m. Refreshments. Admission: 20c.
Opening of East Bronx Labor Center, 892 Prospect Avenue, at 8:30 p. m.

NORMAN THOMAS
'HOPE IN A MAD WORLD'
Sunday, Dec. 15, at 11 A. M.
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
Lafayette Ave. (nr. Atlantic Ave. Sta.)
ADMISSION IS FREE
Ans. B'klyn Society for Ethical Culture

INGERSOLL FORUM
PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70 St.
SUNDAYS—8 P. M.
Admission: Debates, 35c; Lectures, 25c
DEC. 15
"PHALIC WORSHIP, OR SEX SYMBOLISM IN RELIGION"
George Henry Swasey

Round Table Discussion
SIR NORMAN ANGELL
"THE NEW LINE-UP OF FORCES FOR WAR"
PYTHIAN AUDITORIUM
135 W. 70th St. DEC. 13
Fri. Eve. at 8:30
Auspices: Henri Barbusse Memorial Committee, 156 Fifth Avenue, CH 3-4739
Tickets: .55; .83; \$1.10 on sale at the offices of the Henri Barbusse Memorial Committee, Argosy Bookshop, 114 East 59th St., Chelsea Bookshop, 58 West 8th St., New York University Bookshops, American League Against War and Fascism, 112 East 19th St., Women's Int. League for Peace and Freedom, 1502 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, Mayfair Bookshop, 1 East 47th Street, Columbia University Bookshops.

AUSPICES INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE
America's Greatest Dancers and Their Groups on One Program
GRAHAM—HUMPHREY—TAMIRIS
WEIDMAN—DANCE UNIT
Tickets: 35c to \$2.20 at Box Office and Bookshop, 50 E. 13th Street, New Dance League, 55 W. 45th Street, I. L. D., 41 Union Square
CARNegie HALL—SUNDAY—DEC. 15—8:45 P. M.

NEW DANCE LEAGUE
Presents
SOLO DANCE RECITAL
With
Jane Dudley, Merle Hirsh, Latitia Ide, Jose Limon, Lily Mehlman, Sophie Maslow, Anna Sokolow
December 22
Sunday at 8:15 P. M.
Adelphi Theatre
54th St. E. of B'way
\$.35 - .55 - .83 - 1.10 - 1.65
Tickets on sale at: New Dance League, 55 W. 45th St.; Workers' Bookshop, 50 E. 13th St.; People's Bookshop, 140—2nd Ave.

BENEFIT PLAY CHANGED
The theatre party for the benefit of the American Socialist Quarterly has been changed from "Mother," the play originally scheduled, to "Let Freedom Ring," the new production at the Civic Repertory Theatre. The date remains the same, December 26. Tickets are on sale at the ASQ office, 21 East 17th Street, New York.

8TH & LAST WEEK
THE NEW GULLIVER
CAMEO
42nd St. E. of E'way
25c to 1 P.M.

3rd RECORD BREAKING WEEK!
JAMES CAGNEY
as the "FRISCO KID"
A WARNER BROS. HIT
STRAND-25
B'WAY & 47th ST. - to 1 p.m.

The Outstanding Laugh Hit of the Season!
SQUARING THE CIRCLE
SEATS NOW SELLING 8 WKS. AHEAD
48th ST. THEATRE
East of Broadway
Eves. 50c to \$2.00
Matinees Wed. & Sat.

Your Last Chance Is This Week to See
THEATRE UNION'S THRILLING PLAY with music
(Engagement ends Sunday Eve., December 15)
"MOTHER"
(Eves., incl. Sunday, 8:40; Mats. Sat. and Sun.)
BY INSISTENT PUBLIC DEMAND
The THEATRE UNION presents
"LET FREEDOM RING"
with ORIGINAL ACTING COMPANY
Beginning Tues. Eve., December 17, at 8:40
NOTE: Tickets for "MOTHER" dated after December 15 will be honored for "LET FREEDOM RING" engagement.
CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE
14th Street and 6th Ave.
Eves. 8:30 Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30
W.A.T. 9-7450

where to dine

GEFFNER'S Dairy Restaurant—21 hour service—a la carte at all times—Try our Special Luncheon 35c. Full 143 2nd Ave., cor. 9th St. Course Dinner 50c.

GIUSTI'S SPAGHETTI INN—1 and 5 course Luncheon, 40c and 50c. Six course Chicken Dinner, 60c. Special luncheon, 35c Served all day. Spaghetti, Dessert, Coffee, 35c. A la carte all day. Wines and Beer served. 49 W. 16th. WA. 9-9177.

JOHN'S ITALIAN RESTAURANT
Lunch and Dinner, Wines and Beer served. Favorite rendezvous of Eugene Victor Debs. Popular prices.
302 E. 12th St., NEAR 2nd AVE.

KAVKAZ RESTAURANT—332 EAST 14th STREET
Most Excellent Shashliks
Tompkins Square 6-9132 New York City

NEW CHINA CAFETERIA—Finest Chinese and American food at reasonable prices.
848 Broadway, between 13th and 14th Streets

PARRIS BAR AND RESTAURANT
Special luncheon 50c. Dinner 65c, also a la carte. We specialize in the finest wines and liquor. Prices reasonable.
29 E. 14th St.

RITZ DINER 27 UNION SQ. (cor. 16th St.) We deliver phone orders. Tel. STuyvesant 9-8616. OPEN DAY & NIGHT. Private Dining Room for Ladies and Gentlemen.

5th AVE. CAFETERIA Celebrating the opening of our new bar dispensing Wines and Liquors at the lowest prices in the city—plus Excellent
91 5th Avenue
bet. 12th and 13th Sts.

AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

THE fairly widespread increase in the Socialist vote this year, the increasingly healthy activity of Socialists in unions and farm organizations, and the importance of the Socialist answer to the menace of war and fascism make some events within the Party worthy of comment in this column.

First, the proposed Wisconsin coalition between the Progressives and Socialists for state and local elections. The power behind the coalition is the demand of organized labor. The composition of the coalition is genuinely farmer-labor though its name will be Progressive. The platform, while not wholly satisfactory to a Socialist, is definitely against capitalism and for production for use. It is regrettable that the candidates will not be listed under the Socialist name on the ballot, but the Socialist Party interests are well protected in the coalition. Under existing conditions in Wisconsin—I'm not discussing what might once have been—it promises more by way of Socialist opportunity than would Socialist refusal to go along.

Admittedly there are difficulties. For instance, how will the Socialist Party give guidance and direction to its members who as members also of union and farm groups may prefer to function in the coalition through these groups? What will happen in the Presidential campaign. It is understood that the coalition, as such, will not endorse an old party ticket, but unless it can be protected by a national

farmer-labor movement, or unless it can be persuaded to endorse next year the Socialist ticket, the situation may be awkward. Socialists may find themselves fighting to elect men to state offices who in national affairs, as individuals, endorse Roosevelt or a Republican. That is bad.

There was nothing left for us as good Socialists but to set up a true Socialist Party in New York. This we are doing and the response is magnificent. Socialists understand that the fight is not right vs. left. It is a fight for a real Socialist Party as against a small group which wants a little sect. Like Shakespeare's Touchstone, they can say of that little sect, "a poor thing, but mine own."

For more than a decade, most of my waking time has been given to trying to make the Socialist Party a worthy and effective instrument of Socialism in America. Most of those years, despite its earlier glories, the Party in New York City because of its Old Guard misleadership has failed to meet its opportunities or to conform to Socialist standards. Yet it numbered hundreds of devoted comrades and I looked for its evolutionary development as an aggressive force for Socialism. In that hope I am profoundly disappointed. Yet out of that disappointment springs hope.

Already a new day for Socialism has dawned in New York. The loyal Socialists are coming together. It is utterly false that we want to make the Party communist or even that we are fighting So-

cialists in order to have a general united front with communists. It is utterly false that we advocate armed insurrection. What we want is a clean, inclusive, aggressive Socialist Party. What we reject is the rule or ruin policy of the handful of Old Guard leaders. We charge that:

They have slandered the Party and sabotaged its national work.

They have spent their energies on red-baiting, assailing the national Party in the New Leader, Forward, and the capitalist press. They have had neither money nor energy to wage a proper Socialist political campaign or to help in the Socialist fight for the unemployed, for the organization of the cotton sharecroppers or for defense of liberty in Terre Haute.

Repeatedly they have compromised Socialist principles by a labor policy which is merely subservient to reactionary leadership and which too often has ignored or condoned racketeering.

They have alienated youth and turned hopeful recruits away from the Party in disgust.

These statements are matters of sober facts. They can be proved from Party records, from campaign statistics, the sorry tale of lost opportunities their Rand School has made, and from the pages of Forward and the New Leader!

Those who have made that record have at last read themselves out of the Party by their own act. The doors of a new and revitalized Party are open to all who with new energy and devotion will help to build an inclusive Socialist Party to take the vanguard in the crusade for plenty, peace, and freedom.

THE SITUATION IN AUTO LABOR

THERE is a serious situation among the automobile workers. Unless their rival unions can be brought together and a real organizing campaign started for the whole industry on a scale not yet attempted the counter drive of the employers will succeed. Work and machines, sometimes whole units, are being taken from focal plants where victories have been won. So wages are kept down and organization broken. I say this having addressed the strikers at the Motor Products strike in Detroit and the Chevrolet workers in Toledo. I have also talked with all sorts of Socialists, rank and file workers, and labor officials, including President Dillon of the AFL international.

The outlook is not hopeless. When I left Detroit it looked as

if there would be cooperation by the AFL union with non-AFL unions in the Motor Products strike. There is a real feeling for one industrial union under the AFL.

What should be done is for the AFL or the Lewis committee to make a big drive; put organizers in the whole field, back them financially, reach the farmers for cooperation—at least so they won't send in their boys to scab if there's a strike—and get consumers not to buy cars made by employers unfair to labor.

Now is the time. The automotive industry is booming. It is central in the American industrial picture. The employers are on the job ready to make common cause against the workers despite their competition. But the workers can take some advantage of the bosses' rivalry for business if they organize quickly and act together.

The news of Ben Blumenberg's death comes as a severe shock to Socialists throughout the country. Comrade Blumenberg's services to the movement were many and great. His wit and jolly spirit, his splendid personality, will be missed. I join with my comrades in mourning his untimely death.

N. Y. Socialists End Old-Guard Control

(Continued from Page Two)

small and sectarian to be used in political deals with old line labor politicians of the old parties. Hampered in their move by the resentment of the active membership who saw in the Socialist Party a weapon for working-class action, the factional group in control of the old city central committee proposed "reorganization" of the party two weeks ago—a proposal which meant the ousting from Socialist ranks of all left-wing and progressive elements.

Branches Give Answer

The branches gave their answer to the "reorganization" proposal in unequivocal fashion. By an overwhelming majority, the branches passed identical resolutions to resist any attempt to deprive it of its rights. But the declared will of these branches meant nothing to the clique that through dictatorship and gerrymandering had retained control of the city central committee. At a committee meeting held Wednesday, December 4, they delivered an ultimatum: no member of the Socialist Party was allowed to associate himself with The CALL, The Call Association or The Call Institute under penalty of discipline.

No sooner was the ultimatum handed to the members of the committee than did Garfinkel ask that the resolution on "reorganization" be reconsidered. He pleaded with the Old Guard for working-class democracy within the party—only a united Socialist Party, he declared, could move toward the goal. But the clique refused to listen; they didn't want a united Socialist

Party—they wanted only rule or ruin.

By a vote of 48-44, the committee voted to continue the policy of expulsion and by so doing repudiated any claim it had to the name and tradition of the Socialist Party. Thereupon led by Max Delson, president of The Call Association, the 44 delegates who voted to uphold the spirit of Socialist democracy left the Rand School where the meeting was in session and adjourned to the offices of The CALL. There, joined by other delegates who arrived late, they reconstituted themselves as the city central committee of the Socialist Party of New York City.

Thomas Pledges Support

They were addressed by Norman Thomas, twice Socialist candidate for president and the recognized national leader of the party. Thomas assured them that they had acted correctly and had saved the name of the Socialist Party from those who would prostitute it. He promised them his entire support.

Promises of support came too from many sections of the country, including many locals in upstate New York. The revival of Socialist activity caused tremendous excitement in the organized labor movement in New York City. While trade union leaders came to the offices to personally endorse the new city central committee, Socialists within the unions immediately began to lay plans for a real membership drive that once more placed the Socialist Party as the leading factor in the city's labor movement.

"Now that we have rid our-

selves of the Cahans and the Waldmans," one union leader told The CALL, "we can go forward toward the organization of Socialist branches within the unions that the message of workers' freedom can be brought to every worker in the city."

Call Party Meeting

To allow the fullest use of inner-party democracy, a meeting of the party membership was immediately called by the central committee. At that meeting, despite the fact that the Old Guard had called a rival meeting, more than 1,500 party members and Yipsels voted, with but one dissenting voice, to acknowledge the leadership of the central committee and begin anew the task of Socialist construction.

"The time is past for re-creation and mud-slinging," Garfinkel told the membership. "The Socialist Party does not live in the past; it fights in the present that it may gain the future."

Garfinkel read an appeal for unity from a centrist group and declared that the committee was in agreement with the spirit that prompted the appeal. He warned, however, that offers of mediation must have with them guarantees of sincerity and not be used as a weapon against the Party. Max Delson, who discussed an offer for mediation that appeared in the Jewish Daily Forward, attacked it as spurious since it was based on the same lies and slander with which the Old Guard had tried to split the Party.

Altman in his report outlined organizational plans which included a concrete program for intensive work in the unions and a

those who have made that record have at last read themselves out of the Party by their own act. The doors of a new and revitalized Party are open to all who with new energy and devotion will help to build an inclusive Socialist Party to take the vanguard in the crusade for plenty, peace, and freedom.

THE SITUATION IN AUTO LABOR

THERE is a serious situation among the automobile workers. Unless their rival unions can be brought together and a real organizing campaign started for the whole industry on a scale not yet attempted the counter drive of the employers will succeed. Work and machines, sometimes whole units, are being taken from focal plants where victories have been won. So wages are kept down and organization broken. I say this having addressed the strikers at the Motor Products strike in Detroit and the Chevrolet workers in Toledo. I have also talked with all sorts of Socialists, rank and file workers, and labor officials, including President Dillon of the AFL international.

The outlook is not hopeless. When I left Detroit it looked as

Socialist-led fight against the LaGuardia sales tax. He predicted that more than a thousand new members would enter the party as a result of the revival.

Other speakers included Haim Kantorovitch, who was greeted by an ovation, Aaron Levenstein, chairman of the Bronx County Socialist Party, August Tyler of the YPPSL, Dr. Louis Sadoff, Louis Weil and Murray Baron. A collection appeal by Baron resulted in the raising of more than \$1,300 in cash and pledges.

The rival meeting at the Rand School was attended by about 650 people.

Thomas Is Greeted By Huge Ovation

(Continued from Page Two)

the farmer. But the farmer is being paid not to produce.

"That's capitalist economics. They subsidize scarcity and call it abundance."

Must-Capture State

"We've got to capture government and use it to take the commanding heights of industry in order to achieve the dream of socialized industry," the Socialist standard-bearer proclaimed. "We can't have production for use under the present capitalist system.

"How can we plan for production for use when other folks own the industries and resources? We must own the key industries. That's Socialism, and that's the hope of the world!"

Thomas indicated that the proposed Socialist alliance with the liberal groups in Wisconsin will prove advantageous to the Socialist Party in carrying its message to a larger group of people.

"The Socialists in Wisconsin are ready to go along with other liberal groups in good faith," he said. "We must get a mass movement of farmers and workers in the political field, and we must educate them in a hurry. That is the job the Socialists propose to do here in Wisconsin under the proposed coalition."

It is only on a national scale, that federation can be secure, however, Thomas declared. If the movement becomes nation-wide, or world-wide, it will mean something, he said.

HOLD GROUND IN MERIDEN

MERIDEN, Conn.—Holding ground despite the presence of a competing "independent" slate in the field, Meriden Socialist polled 1,332 votes for Carl M. Rhodin, party nominee for mayor, in a four-cornered city election contest here last week. The Socialist vote represented nearly 10 per cent of the total for all parties.