

Analysis of Election Results

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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. II—No. 88

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

CIO OUSTER STAGED

Workers' Action Aids Madrid

Threat of Open German Aid May Force Soviet Showdown

Wringing reluctant praise from capitalist observers, the hard-driving workers' militia continues to hold back the Fascist army as the siege of Madrid ends its second week. Almost all the Fascist troops and armament are concentrated at Madrid's doors, their communication lines with their bases amazingly unprotected, in a desperate move to capture Madrid and thereby secure diplomatic recognition from Germany and Italy.

The Fascists apparently are banking on Italo-German pressure to secure them British and French recognition long before they could pretend to have "pacified" the country.

Reports, verified by practically all news-agencies, that representatives of the Catalonian bourgeoisie are in Paris proposing a deal whereby Catalonia would become an independent republic and in return would recognize Franco if he takes Madrid, indicate a far-flung conspiracy to "solve" the Spanish crisis in this manner.

But the conspirators are reckoning without their host—the working class. Likewise recognizing the significance of Madrid, the militia columns stiffened at the very gates.

At the most critical stage, an international legion of revolutionary workers from abroad, mostly refugees from Italy and Germany, and including many World War fighters, arrived and smashed Franco's attempt to outflank the militia. At the same time several thousand Catalan militiamen, seasoned on the Huesca front, arrived under the leadership of the Anarchist, Durrutti, and with these additional forces, Franco's main army was driven to a defensive standstill.

Madrid remains, however, in a critical situation. The Fascists still outnumber the workers in airplanes, although the anti-Fascist forces have received this week some warplanes that, manned by utterly fearless pilots, have cut down the damage done by German and Italian bombers.

Even more decisive is the superiority of the Fascists in artillery. Unless this superiority in armament is wiped out, the Fascists may still break through. Moreover, the railroad to Valencia is still cut between Madrid and Aranjuez, leaving only a single good motor highway open to the coast on which to bring in supplies to the workers' militia.

Furthermore, the Fascists will in the coming weeks, undoubtedly receive armament and technicians in such huge proportions as to dwarf all previous shipments. Mus-

Wage Boosts Found to Be Tax Dodges

Wage increases, which are being employed as a tax dodging and union smashing device, are being handed out by a number of large firms in the basic industries of steel, autos, and textiles.

These wage increases, systematically announced in the daily press, represent a grudging concession made by the wealthiest corporations out of an unprecedented profits income. These increases, coming almost immediately upon the close of the elec-

(A full analysis of corporate profits, wage increases, and their effect upon taxes and union organizations will be made by Dr. Joel Seidman of Brookwood Labor College in the next week's issue of the CALL)

tion, are being utilized both to hinder the union organization which was to follow the campaign and to dodge the new corporate surplus tax.

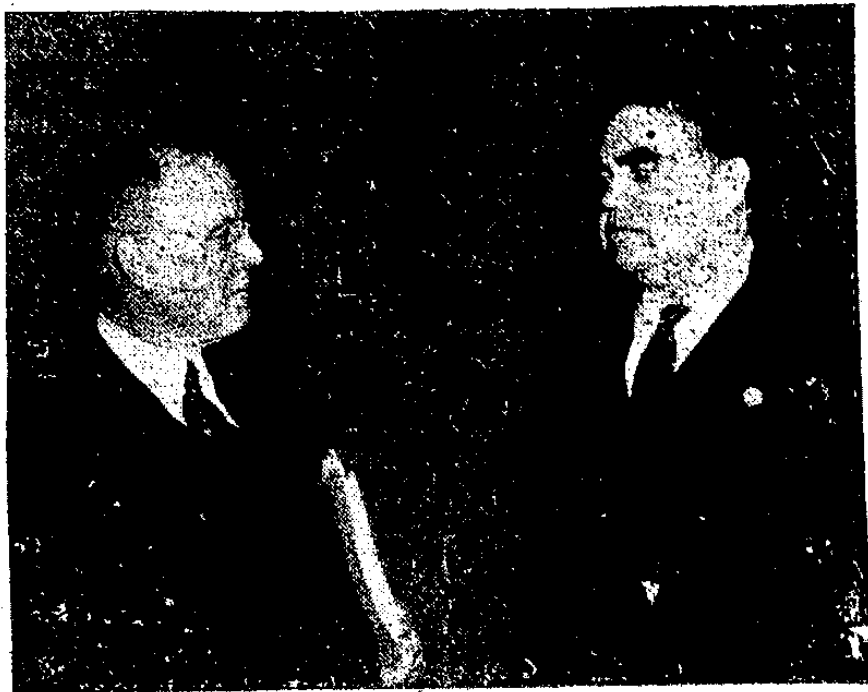
Speed-up, Wage Cuts Offset Auto Bonuses

DETROIT (UNS) - General Motors' show of generosity in announcing a Christmas bonus of \$10,000,000 and a 5-cents-an-hour wage increase was described as a "farceical sleight-of-hand performance" by President Homer Martin of the United Automobile Workers. Preliminary wage cuts, speed-up and labor displacement more than offset these concessions, he said.

Piece work prices at the Fisher Body plant in Atlanta, Ga., were cut as much as 25 per cent in the 1937 models, the union leader declared, while cuts have also been made at plants in St. Louis, Mo., Norwood, Ohio, Janesville, Wis., and Flint, Mich.

Speed-Up "Despite the much-advertised bonus and 5-cents-an-hour wage increase, so-called General Motors will find that their workers

Face to Face



WILLIAM GREEN

JOHN L. LEWIS

The Crisis in the A. F. of L. AN EDITORIAL

A split in the American labor movement seems inevitable at present. The refusal of the Executive Council to permit the CIO unions to participate in the convention as good standing members forces the split. Green has prepared the expulsion in his speeches before the craft union conventions. These actions belie all Green's professions about peace and negotiations and the like.

The CIO, were its actions not often taken in an atmosphere of civil war, would be more deserving of criticism than it is. It surely did not exhaust every device for unity. But detailed criticisms of tactics vanish into the background before the broad issue of major responsibility for the present cleavage: the burden of fault must be borne by the Executive Council.

At present it appears that the expulsion of the CIO will mean the virtual exodus of a number of other unions not now officially part of the CIO. The Federation, thereafter, will become essentially an organization of building trades and metal workers—the aristocrats of labor, who traditionally held that craft monopoly rather than inclusive organization was the road to workers' improvement.

Should a CIO Federation be established it will most rapidly justify its right to existence if it throws itself unselfishly into the organization of the millions still unorganized in the basic industries. Those pariahs of the traditional AFL leadership, the unskilled and semi-skilled, the women workers, the youth and Negroes, must be made full-fledged citizens of organized labor. The past record of some of the present leaders of the CIO does not guarantee that this work will automatically be done. Progressives must press forward so that industrial unionism proves its worth in practice as well as theory.

No doubt there will be a tendency among progressives in craft unions to succumb to the temptations of organizing "new" and counter-unions under CIO aegis. Such notions must be swept aside! PROGRESSIVES IN THE AFL UNIONS MUST REMAIN TO WORK FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND PROGRESSIVE POLICIES. The workers in the craft unions dare not be abandoned to the care of the reactionaries. Progressives must guard against a policy of "raids" by one federation upon the other, which can only lead to the ruination of the entire labor movement.

The aim of unity must remain. The split, should it occur, must be taken as only temporary, a sickness contracted in a period of organization and struggle for inner union democracy, ultimately to be cured. In the crucial days ahead, a united labor movement will be essential to beat back reaction. Progressives in all unions (AFL and CIO), holding the goal of unity before them, must work for it unflinchingly.

Craftists Prepare AFL Split

With the unions of the Committee for Industrial Organization recorded as absent, the Convention of the American Federation opened, its sessions with the stage set for a sharp cleavage in the ranks of organized labor in America.

The important resolutions committee is packed with anti-Lewis men. Charles P. Howard of the Printers and Charles Anderson, a Pennsylvania Federation leader, were left out of their traditional positions as members of this committee. Matthew Woll, strong craftist spokesman, is chairman and John P. Frey is secretary.

It appears that the craftist forces will attempt to carry through a virtual expulsion without directly incurring the responsibility for it, by having the convention endorse the suspension decree of the Executive Council.

The strong bloc of federal union locals, which are expected to throw their support to the industrial unionists, will be somewhat weakened at the convention. Some 600 of these locals have been permitted to go under since last year. Only a handful of these were absorbed into larger unions. The others were simply neglected by the Executive Council.

The backbone of the craft union delegation, which is gunning for the skin of the CIO unions, is made up of the Building Trades and Metal Trades Departments and the Teamsters Union. At conventions of the national and international unions which are loyal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, President of the AFL, and John P. Frey, head of the Metal Trades Department, dropped their conciliatory tone and spoke sharply against the CIO unions.

Convention Packed To a "packed" convention, with a synthetic two-thirds necessary for expulsion created by the suspension of the CIO unions by the action of the Executive Council, charges against the industrial union bloc, were presented. The report of the Executive Council charged the CIO with having aided workers in basic industries to organize. Specifically, the claim is that the industrial unionists spent a quarter million dollars to aid the United Automobile Workers' Union, \$200,000 for the United Rubber Workers' Union, \$11,000 for the Coke and By-Products Workers and more thousands for the Radio Workers' Union.

Craft Leader The most outspoken opponent of the industrial unionists was William Hutcherson head of the

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Craft Council Prepares for CIO Ouster

(Continued from Page One)

Carpenters' Union, largest single unit of the AFL craftist group. Fresh from his campaign to elect Alfred M. Landon, Hutcheson opened his attack upon the CIO, by stating that the industrial union bloc was as good as expelled and that the convention need merely ratify the decision of the Executive Council.

Present at the convention are numerous national unions, federal locals (those directly affiliated as local unions to the AFL), and city and state federation representatives who are sympathetic to the Committee for Industrial Organization. Max Zaritsky of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, and Charles P. Howard, International Typographical Union, are present at the Federation Convention.

Although these men are affiliated with the CIO, the AFL Executive Council did not suspend their unions because the unions, as such, did not originally affiliate with the CIO. The federal unions and the regional federations, which were prevented from affiliating with or endorsing the CIO by an Executive Council ukase, are expected to offer stiff resistance to the expulsion plans of the craft unionists.

Clarence Senior, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, issued an appeal to the AFL Convention in the name of the National Executive Committee of the Party. His appeal reads:

"The need for union organization is being felt everywhere. Organized labor must take advantage of this by uniting its forces and launching a bold program of organization in the mass production industries along industrial lines. Such an organization program plus the lifting of the suspension of the Committee on Industrial Organization unions will mean a revitalized A. F. of L.

"We hope your internal problems will not make it impossible to discuss the need for a national labor party. Labor can win concessions and exert pressure only by political independence. Labor can win full emancipation only in a workers' world.

"For a successful convention. For unity. For industrial organization. For a labor party. For a workers' world."

Shipyard Union Set for Drive

A national 36-hour working week and a minimum wage of \$1 an hour for mechanics, is the goal of a drive to start this month by the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, according to John Green, national president of the union and militant Socialist.

The union, which has been unable to get into the AFL, has recently affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

In reply to John P. Frey, head of the Metal Trades Department and virulent member of the AFL craft union bloc, who urged organization of shipyard workers in opposition to the Industrial Union, John Green stated:

"While Mr. Frey talks about the 'jurisdictional rights' of the craft unions in the AFL metal trades department, the Industrial Union proceeds to organize the shipyards. The truth is that prior to the founding of the Industrial Union three years ago the shipyard workers of America were totally unorganized. We are doing the job that the AFL with its craft pattern found impossible."

CIO Leaders Confer



Leaders of the Committee for Industrial Organization conferring in Pittsburgh. They refused to give in to the demand of the craft bloc of the AFL to dissolve the CIO. Left to right: Charles P. Howard, president of the Typographical Union; Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; John L. Lewis, president of the Mine Workers; Glenn McCabe, president of the Flat Glass Workers.

Industrial Union Struggle Long Waged By Socialists

The American Federation of Labor, now meeting in convention at Tampa, Florida, is fifty years old. For half a century, the AFL has been the main stream of American labor, with the possible exception of its early days when it challenged the old Knights of Labor for control of the organized American worker.

The great May Day strikes of 1886, sprung up out of bitter hatred for the mammoth corporations and for "their" depression, were called in response to a resolution of the Federated Trades and Labor Unions forerunner of the AFL. From that time forward a sharp rivalry developed between the Knights of Labor and the AFL.

The Knights were greatly handicapped in this struggle because of an antiquated philosophy. The K of L was the spokesmen of an independent artisan's philosophy. Its leaders hoped zealously, although in vain, that the time would return when the handicraftsman might be in his own, free of boss and overlord. Although they were compelled, by the forces of the time, to give some aid to strikes, the body as a whole disliked strike action, failed to prepare for it, and finally, through its leaders, broke the back of militant labor battles.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR WEAKENED

The Knights were further weakened by the admission of land owning farmers, small and big business men into their ranks after 1878. Only lawyers, bankers and saloon keepers were barred. All others invited! Losing faith in union action through the strike and collective bargaining, the Knights launched one cooperative adventure after another, in a futile desire to out-compete capitalist industry.

The first moves toward the formation of what was later to be known as the American Federation of Labor were made by people not necessarily hostile to the Knights of Labor but clearly anxious to organize certain skilled workers into closely knit craft unions which would be able to control and thereby regulate conditions in the trades. Aside from Samuel Gompers' Cigarmakers Union, the three large bodies which showed real concern for the Federation were the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Typographical Union.

Today the Carpenters are the backbone of the craft union forces in the AFL; the Typographical Union is in the industrial union bloc; and the Steel workers, which long fluctuated between the craft

and industrial union forces, have joined the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Samuel Gompers dominated the American Federation of Labor from the time of its birth to the time of his death. He was uninterceptedly president of the organization, except once, in 1894. His opposition to a program of social legislation, leading toward the famous "plank ten," calling for collective ownership of the means of production, caused the Socialist Labor Party elements (forerunners of the present Socialist Party) to join hands with John McBride of the United Mine Workers to turn Gompers out of office. The "unholy alliance" with McBride, who was no better than Gompers, soon ended and Gompers returned.

SLP DUAL UNION FAILS

The Socialist Labor Party elements, about 1897, embittered by their failure, turned to a sectarian policy of "dual unionism," the organization of unions along new ideological lines in competition with already existing unions, with the ultimate aim of driving the AFL out of existence. This Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was necessarily still-born.

The present Socialist Party was organized by elements who were determined to fight for Socialist purposes without turning to "raids" upon existing unions.

The success of the Socialist elements in championing progressive policies brought them in sharp collision with Samuel Gompers in the 1913 convention of the Federation. Partly because of the competition of the Industrial Workers of the World from without and mainly because of a rising wave of militancy and organization within the Federation there was a strong movement for progressive policies, especially for industrial unionism.

The forces of progressivism, however, have always found difficulty in expressing themselves in the Federation because of the absence of adequate machinery for initiative and referendum. At the 1912 Convention of the Federation a motion to introduce these elementary democratic procedures was defeated, although supported by the strong United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners. Green spoke for it. So did Gompers. But John P. Frey, present ally of Green in the fight against industrial unionism, opposed it on the grounds "of expense, difficulty of securing a fair count of ballots, and 'lunaticness,' saying that it would afford the

Socialists a change to stir up trouble."

SOCIALISTS TRY TO UNSEAT GOMPERS

The Socialist attempt to unseat Gompers was foiled when John Mitchell, the boomed candidate, and head of the miners, refused to run. He was interested in maintaining industrial unionism in his mine organization, but would not fight to push it further. Disorganization in other companion industries was not, in 1913, the same threat it is in 1936 to the miners!

The conservative elements in the American Federation of Labor were strengthened during the war years. The leadership of the AFL hastened to make peace with business, under government aegis, in order to win the war and "make the world safe for democracy."

This devotion to Wilsonism was increased by the social legislation program of the "New Freedom" president. His Clayton Anti-Trust Act was hailed by the Federation as the "Magna Charta" of labor.

In exchange for the subservience of the Federation leadership to the war aims of the imperialist government, Wilson saw to it that the Federation be rewarded with increased membership. The AFL with its conservative craft policies, which had prevented the Federation from utilizing the great opportunities it had in the steady business years leading up to 1914, suddenly found itself with more than five million members, thanks to government insistence that its major orders be placed with union shops.

The post war period saw a calcified AFL. The immediate post war depression coincided with a vicious open-shop campaign. Coming just a year or two after the great steel strike of 1919 which had practically been broken by the sabotage of the craft unions in the Federation, the open shoppers hit labor when it was weak and demoralized. When the depression of 1929 struck these unions, economists sounded the death knell of the AFL.

It took the unions three years to draw strength for new battles. Those unions organized along industrial lines, the clothing workers, the miners, the flat glass workers, the radio workers, the shipyard workers showed new power.

Industrial unionism, once the hope of far sighted Socialist trade unionists, now became a burning necessity. But the machinery of the Federation, like the machinery of the old Knights of Labor, was in the hands of die-hard conservatism.

On its first birthday, the AFL

NEC Takes Up Party Tasks This Weekend

To map out the tasks for the Socialist Party following the election campaign, a meeting of the National Executive Committee will be held in New York City, at the Hotel Edison, from Friday, November 20, to Monday, November 23.

The major question before the NEC will be a definition of attitude and strategy in relation to the various state Farmer-Labor Party movements and the necessary structural changes in the party to equip it for its coming role in the American labor movement.

Two vacancies, created by the defection of Burlington Hoopes and George Rhodes of Reading from the party, will occupy the attention of the NEC.

Reports will be submitted by committees on education, war and fascism and unemployment.

The National Labor Committee, which is planning to report on the ALP, the CIO-AFL controversy, and Socialist policy in trade unions, will meet at the Hotel Edison during the day on Friday.

The present members of the NEC are Devere Allen, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Max Delson, Franz Daniels, Daniel Hoan, Powers Hapgood, Maynard Kruger, Max Raskin and Norman Thomas.

Textile Workers Not Content With Crumbs

A 20 per cent wage increase, shorter hours and the regulation of the machine load are among demands put forward by the executive board of the United Textile Workers.

"Labor, from now on, is not going to be satisfied with the crumbs that fall from the employers' table," stated Thomas F. McMahon, president of the UTW. "If the employers refuse to grant some measure of economic security and employment, we propose to take matters into our own hands."

Capitalist 'Prosperity'

The army of unemployed will stand at between six and a half to seven and a half million even if production returns to 1929 levels, says Harry Hopkins, Works Progress Administrator of the United States. Unemployment has not at all declined at the same speed as business has revived. Although business is set at 10 per cent below the 1929 boom, unemployment remains for some 8 to 10 million.

faces a crisis. Will it bend to the forces of time? Or has it grown so stiff that it must crack under the pressure of change?

In either case the forces of industrial unionism will go forward as the carriers of the progressive flag. Should it mean a split, then industrial unionism will go forward slower. But it will go forward nevertheless, and those elements which today curse the CIO will find themselves ultimately swept along in the elemental currents that take the working class forward to liberation!

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Economic Freedom of Seas Issue of Maritime Strikers

Socialists Play Active Role in Seamen's Strike On All Three Coastlines

With economic freedom of the seas as their watchword, more than 50,000 American seamen have jammed the coastline of the United States from Golden Gate to Sandy Hook with strike-bound vessels—living testimony that it takes more than government subsidies to assure transportation on the high seas.

The expiration of the agreement between shipowners and the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast forced the

second major showdown in the shipping industry since 1934. Emboldened by the open strikebreaking attitude of certain officials of the International Seamen's Union, the shipping kings hoped to deliver a smashing blow to organization on ocean-going and coastwise ships. But the magnificent solidarity of seamen completely turned the tables to such an extent that the rank and file now holds the upper hand.

Beginning on the Pacific Coast, the call of the Maritime Unions to secure the operation of union-controlled hiring halls and decent working conditions, found an enthusiastic and ready response from sailors along the entire coast. Despite the broken promise of Joseph Ryan, President of the International Longshoremen's Association to cooperate with the seamen in case of strike action, longshoremen fell into line, refusing to load or unload ships tied up by orders of the strike committee.

Shipyard workers followed suit, adding another page to their brilliant record by ceasing work on strike-bound vessels. Lumberjacks in Northwestern states, some tens of thousands affected by the walkout, came to the support of the seamen by levying a one dollar assessment on their union membership as their measure of support.

Gulf Responds

On the Gulf, despite onerous conditions created by terror of local police officials working hand-in-hand with union czars, an immediate response on the part of rank and file seamen brought almost two score ocean-going and coastwise liners to a standstill.

On the Atlantic coast and especially in New York, the calculations of the shipowners went completely awry. Here it was felt that the hold of Grange and Hunter, ISU officials, would prove strong enough to keep the seamen off the picket line and provide crews for ships unobtainable on the West Coast. But the days of "fink" supremacy over the sailors are gone—probably forever. The meeting called by David S. Grange to scotch any strike movement in the East was taken out of his hands by the rank and file and a strike-strategy committee created to organize the walkout here. The movement caught on and spread like wildfire. To date approximately 10,000 sailors have walked off more than 80 ships. Every new ship to dock in New York harbor has added its quota of strikers.

Together with Ace "Arbitrator," Edward McGrady, the shipping interests attempted to place the onus of the strike on the Maritime Federation. When this was successfully countered by

Harry Lundeberg, President of the Seamen's Union of the Pacific, who announced the complete willingness of the union to negotiate, they fell back on the ruse that perishable products were being jeopardized by the walkout. No sooner was the charge made than the longshoremen announced their readiness to place its membership at the disposal of the companies to remove all such cargoes at union rates to the warehouses.

Another coup of the shipowners, in collusion with Admiral Hamlet, to turn the Maritime Investigation Commission, ostensibly a fact-finding board, into a compulsory arbitration body, was scotched when the wide-awake union representatives led by Lundeberg walked out of a conference (called for this purpose). They announced their readiness at any time for collective bargaining but refused to be bound by compulsory arbitration.

On the East Coast where the union was considered to be weaker because of the dereliction of the established officials to the side of the shipowners, other and more open measures were taken. The vigilance of the aroused seamen, however, proved to be more than a match for the scab-herding efforts of the discredited and repudiated Hunter and Grange. In no case have they been able to man the strike vessels with scab crews.

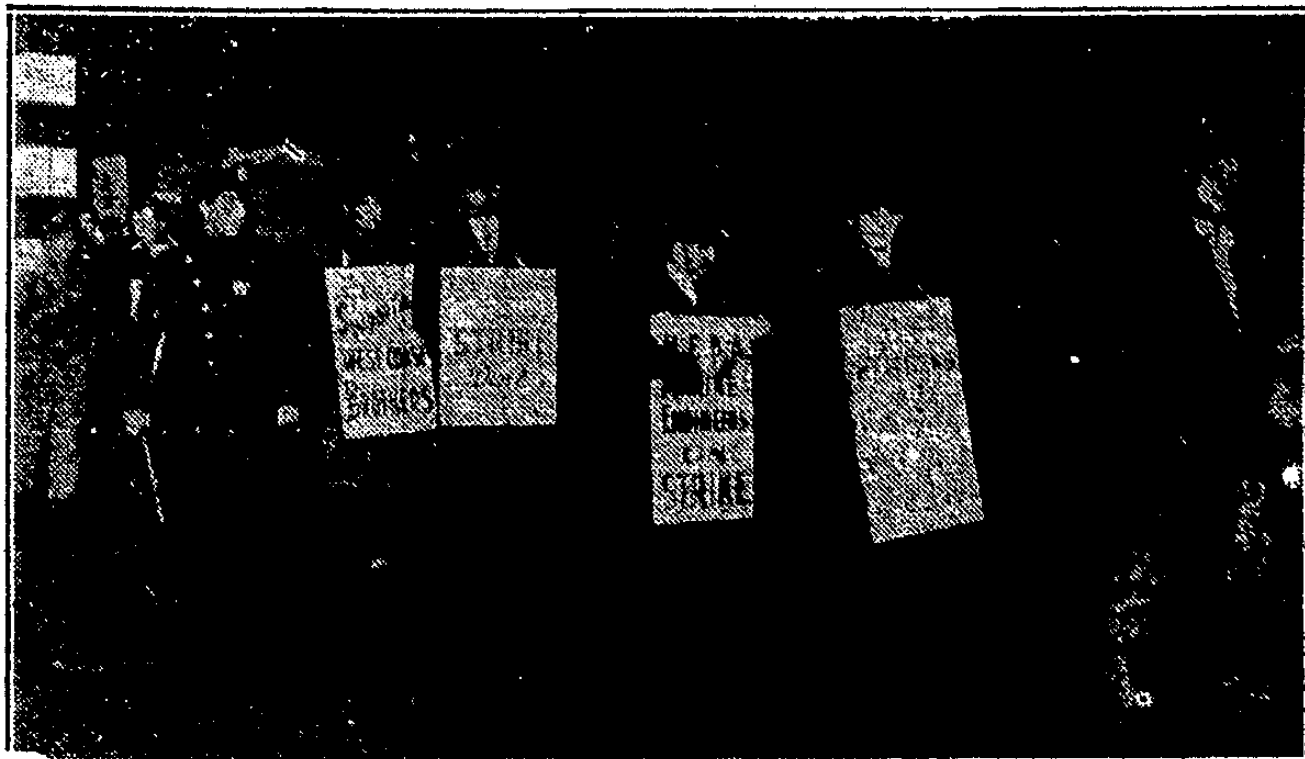
The "outlawing" of the strike by Grange and Hunter has become the joke of the year. So obviously impotent have their efforts become, that even Mayor LaGuardia has been compelled to recognize that "the old union leadership in the East either has been repudiated or has lost control."

Although open violence on the part of government bodies has not yet been resorted to, there are many indications that a frontal assault on the strike is in contemplation. In San Francisco, Mayor Ross has already begun to arm and deputize underworld characters and "respectable" citizens for the "preservation of law and order." During the longshoremen's strike of 1934 this "law'n' order" mob, working hand in hand with the police force, was responsible for the murder of several strikers, the destruction of union property and the creating of open vigilante conditions in the city. Maritime union officials have denounced these moves and declared that the union membership is prepared to meet any such "legalized" violence.

Strike "Illegal"

Philadelphia's open shop mayor took it upon himself to declare

Seamen Strike Gains



This is only one of the many picket lines which are marching in front of the docks of the 77 struck ships in New York

the strike "illegal" and then to arrest several pickets on the basis of his ukase. But the ships remained tied up in the port and strikebreakers were leary of running the gamut of the solid picket line.

In New York Mr. "Chowderhead" Cohen was caught red-handed by a flying squadron of strikers trying to recruit scabs through the type of "employment agency" made famous by the notorious Bergoff. As we go to press the first major showdown in New York will occur when the liner Washington attempts to

clear the harbor with a scab crew furnished by Grange and Hunter. These officials have become so openly part of the ship companies staff that when the American Range Lines offered to negotiate a settlement they refused to appear on the theory that there was no strike since it hadn't been given their official sanction.

Socialists Aid

The Socialist Party, through its National Office in Chicago, and its organizations in the various ports where the strike is effective has

declared its complete solidarity with the seamen and has taken measures to put its membership at the service of the strike.

In the Port of Baltimore, Elizabeth Gilman, leading local socialist, took the initiative in organizing a Citizen's Relief Committee for the Aid of striking seamen. Bruce McDonald, Presbyterian minister, is chairman of the Committee, Aid in picketing and relief activities has been given the sailors by locals of the Socialist Party and the Y.P.S.L. in New York, San Francisco and elsewhere.

Thomas Testimonial Educational Fund To Be Set Up at Dinner for Party Leader

Friends from many parts of the country will honor Norman Thomas, Socialist Party standard-bearer, "for his twenty years of valiant fighting for the cause of social justice," at a testimonial dinner on his fifty-second birthday next Friday, November 20.

One thousand persons are expected to attend. The dinner will be held in the Hotel Edison, 228 West 47th Street, at 7 P. M., with Dr. John Dewey as chairman and Harry W. Laidler and Devere Allen as toastmasters. Brief toasts are scheduled, from various public men and women, including John Haynes Holmes, Oswald Garrison Villard, John Nevin Sayre, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, John Lovejoy Elliott, Frank Crosswaith, William Pickens, Roger N. Baldwin, Scott Nearing, and David Lasser.

The arrangements committee Detzer, Marjorie Kipp, Morris includes Ethel Glyde, Dorothy Raphael Cohen, Isadore Laderman, Robert Moras Lovett, James Myers, Bishop Robert L. Paddock, Kirby Page, and Reinhold Niebuhr.

Norman Thomas will speak from 10:30 to 10:45 P. M., and his speech will be broadcast over WABC. There will be vocal solos by Esther Morgan, daughter-in-law of Arthur Morgan, director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and songs of struggle by the Rebel Arts Chorus.

Sponsors of the testimonial dinner, which run to several hundred,

CBS to Broadcast Talk

Norman Thomas' talk at the Testimonial Dinner will be broadcast over the national hook-up of the Columbia Broadcasting System at 10:30 P. M., Eastern Standard Time. The broadcast will be directly from the banquet hall at Hotel Edison, New York.

include: Leonard D. Abbott, Angelica Balabanoff, Silas Bent, Meta Berger, Alfred M. Bingham, Mr. and Mrs. Algerson D. Black, Paul Blanshard, Bruce Bliven, Anita and S. John Block, Russell W. Bowie, Mr. and Mrs. Leroy E. Bowman, Phillips Bradley, Paul F. Brissenden, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, Van Wyck Brooks, Richard C. Cabot, Allan Knight Chalmers, Stuart Chase, Coleman B. Cheney, Marquita W. Child, Evans Clark, McAllister Coleman, Henry Sloan Coffin, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Mrs. Walter Cope, Eleanor Copenhaver, Mrs. W. Bayard Cutting.

Also Anna N. Davis, Filmer Davis, Jerome Davis, Max Delson, Margaret DeSilver, Edward T. Devine, Paul H. Douglas, Max Eastman, Emily Lovett Eaton, Sherwood Eddy, Mr. and Mrs. Morris L. Ernst, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Mary Fox, Royal Wilbur France, Walter Frank, Lewis S. Gannett, Kate Crane Gartz, Elizabeth Gilman, Norman Hapgood, Powers Hapgood, John Heiling,

Mary W. Hillyer, Julius Hochman, Sidney Hook, B. W. Hucbach, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Langston Hughes, Edward L. Israel, Gardner Jackson, Mrs. Mayard James, John Paul Jones, Horace M. Kallen, Paul U. Kellogg, Charles Rann Kennedy, Dorothy Kenyon, Willis J. King, John A. Kingsbury, Margaret Lamont, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, Edward Levinson.

Also Alfred Baker Lawis, Ludwig Lore, Benjamin C. Mars, Mr. and Mrs. Darwin J. Mceroic, Bishop W. J. McConnell, John Howard Melish, Brocaus Mitchell, William P. Montague, Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet, Mrs. Edgerton Parsons, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, A. Phillip Randolph, Carl and Stephen Raushenbush, James Rorty Vida D. Scudder, Clarence Senior, Mary K. Simkovich, Tucker P. Smith, William Spofford, Arthur L. Spingarn, Maxwell S. Stewart, Edward A. Steiner, Helen Phelps Stokes, Monroe M. Sweetland, Lillian Symes, Carlo Tresca, Phillip Van Gelder, Mary Van Kleeck, Lillian D. Wald, Stanley Walker, Harry F. Ward, John and Vera Washburne, John Brooks, Wheelwright, Walter White, L. Hollingsworth, Mary E. Woolley, Elaine Wright, Bradford Young, and Art Young.

Reservations for the dinner are being received by the committee, of which Reinhold Niebuhr is treasurer, at Room 1212, 270 Broadway.

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.

Editor: August Tyler Managing Editor: Bruno Fischer

Vol. II Saturday, November 21, 1936 No. 88

TO NORMAN THOMAS ON HIS 52nd BIRTHDAY

The Socialist movement has studiously avoided the cultivation of heroes. A profound faith in the creative energies of the masses and a scrupulous care for the maintenance of democratic control have always persuaded Socialists to lean heavily upon the rank and file of the movement and to minimize the individual leaders in their ranks.

Yet despite the absence of a hero cult, we are compelled, from time to time, to pause and pay tribute to one of our—heroes.

Since Gene Debs, American Socialism has had no figure so closely identified with the mass life of the party as Norman Thomas. Those who know Norman Thomas wonder what consuming fire must be aflame in this man to drive him ceaselessly, without care as to health or life or limb, into the midst of working class, farm, anti-war, youth, minority race and religion struggles throughout America. Today, he may be in the hands of a mob in Terre Haute. Tomorrow, in the cotton fields of Arkansas, facing the planter terror alongside of several thousand sharecroppers, black and white. Now, he is carrying the uncompromising message of the Socialists against war to a fairly intimate group of students. Then, he may be standing before the President of the United States speaking the demands of America's workers.

The open enemies of Socialism were compelled to pay tribute to Norman Thomas' campaign in 1936. They were opponents, but they could not but express their admiration for his gallant campaign, fought in the face of unparalleled odds.

It is tragic and unfortunate that some of his one-time comrades stood alone in this campaign in their vilification of Thomas. To their embittered and disappointed minds, Thomas appeared as one who conducted a campaign, not for Socialism against the candidates of capitalism, but for his personal advancement, for votes. How these gentlemen betray themselves!

Thomas is not embraced by those who see in his outspoken campaigns, which burn like fire across the conscience of some, a real obstacle to their devices for leading so many out of the paths of Socialism. Some sneer, to injure him and to console themselves. But these gentlemen reckon without the future!

About forty years ago, a great leader of British labor, James Keir Hardie, was spurned by his comrades and brothers. Keir Hardie dared to defy the policy of those trade unions which, through the Representation Committee, were endorsing Liberal Party candidates. Those were lonesome days for Keir Hardie. He was vilified. His meetings were attacked. He was heckled and harassed by those who would not go with him for independent working-class political action.

But in less than a decade, times had changed. Labor was bitterly disillusioned with the Liberal Party. The same Keir Hardie, whom they held at a distance, they now embraced.

The fate of the prophet is that he must suffer today that he may be the hero of tomorrow. Hardie was one of them. Thomas is another. We stand with you, Comrade Thomas, on your fifty-second birthday. Long may you live, for the future is yours and ours!

GREETINGS TO THE NEC

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meets at a time when great vistas of opportunity open themselves before the working class movement. The party membership awaits orders to march forward!

The next few months will be strike months! The rising wave of production and prices will give the American working class a breathing spell in which to organize before a new crisis. American capital, which is cramming its maw with fat profits, is permitting some of it, especially that part of it which would otherwise be wiped out by a tax under the new law, to fall to the workers. These drippings are offered as bribes and chains against union organization. Despite them, and, perhaps, because of them, labor will organize. Miniature civil wars will leave red stains on the pages of our near history.

The cost of living is rising. Strike gains are daily threatened by like jumps in the cost of living. Innumerable local sales taxes increase the worker-consumer burden. Great struggles on the consuming end of capitalist exploitation hang over the head of America!

War threatens! Despite the enormous vague anti-war sentiment in America, little of it is organized for vigorous and effective resistance to war. Less of it is ready to take advantage of a war crisis to throw the war-making government out of power.

The Socialist Party has a giant task to perform in these days immediately ahead, a task which no other party or group of workers will undertake.

In the great struggle that will sweep the country, the militant Socialist worker and consumer must be heard.

WHICH WAY?



Grateful to Socialist Party

To The Editor:

The election is now far enough behind us for us to take stock, see what has happened, ask what it is all about and "where we are at"; more important still, where do we go from here?

I write not as a member of the Socialist Party but as a member of the Thomas and Nelson Independent Committee. Of course I cannot speak for the Committee, but extended correspondence with members enables me to give assurance that what I am about to say is substantially the sentiment of a large part of the Committee.

In the first place, we are grateful to the Socialist Party for maintaining sound principles of government when others were confused, and for nominating states-

men for President and Vice-President for whom it was an honor to vote.

In the second place, we did not give our names and work to this Committee as a mere friendly gesture in a passing political campaign. We mean it to be the beginning of a larger movement and realignment, or rather a step in the movement. We want the work of the Committee to continue in some form.

Now who shall be the leader? Certainly not individuals who failed us this year, who lost heart and jumped on the Roosevelt bandwagon. Some of us think that as we turned to Norman Thomas before the election, so he is now the clear-seeing and far-seeing statesman and prophet

about whose leadership we should rally. It has been suggested that on the occasion of the Testimonial Dinner to be given him on the 20th of this month the matter receive consideration. It is true that the dinner is non-political, but it would be absurd to consider the contribution he has been making for twenty years to the cause of social justice apart from politics. What finer tribute could be paid him than to initiate on that occasion a great movement, larger than the Socialist Party but embodying its social philosophy?

As for the Socialist Party itself, it has reason to be proud. This is no time for defeatist sentiment, regrets, and laments. It was the only party to stand openly, consistently, and clearly on the great issues, unless the small Socialist-Labor Party be an exception. Our Communist friends thought the issue was democracy versus Fascism. If they meant Fascism in some form is a menace in this country, the Socialists, who have ever stood for civil liberties, could not disagree; but when they tried to see in Roosevelt some kind of defender of civil liberties against Landon, they overlooked the increasing violations under Roosevelt. In Democratic States, with no protest from him, Browder himself suffered enough, and here in Texas the Communist candidate for Governor received exactly the same kind of treatment.

Briefly and bluntly, Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party and their friends now have the opportunity to lead us forward in the movement so earnestly demanding intelligent guidance. Will they rise to the occasion?

JOHN F. GRANBERRY
Georgetown, Texas.

other countries, so too in America, the liberal reform elements will hold the mass in check, should these giant struggles prove "embarrassing" to their "liberal" ally in political office. The bogey of Fascism will throw reformism into a panic of inaction. Only a Socialist Party, which will not get down on its knees and touch its head to the ground before the "lesser evil," will be that militant force necessary to prepare the masses for the struggles ahead.

In the great war crisis ahead, only the Socialist Party with its unalterable opposition to all capitalist wars, can act as the force either to check war or end the system that breeds wars.

The Socialist Party is the seed of a new world. But it must find fertile soil. It must break its shell and sink roots. It must gain the confidence and love of the battling masses in America.

Our National Executive Committee meets at a time when America almost cries for a disciplined, centralized, directing force with an ultimate Socialist aim and an immediate program and strategy of combat against the lowering forces of oppression. Our National Executive Committee, in its first meeting after the election campaign, meets to perfect a party which has shown its devotion to its ideal under the greatest barrage of pressure since the World War, and which now sets to work to carry out the program of the struggles of the masses.

Forward, comrades of our National Executive Committee, to a Party of Socialist struggle!

A SOCIALIST MURDERED

By Harold Coy

AT A TIME when tens of thousands are giving their lives for freedom in Spain, personalities or the fate of a single person is in a sense unimportant. Yet I feel there is a story worth spreading on the record in the fate of Nicolas de Pablo, whose hospitality and friendship when I was in Spain in 1934 I shall never forget, and who was recently tortured to death by the Fascists.

My wife and I visited Nicolas de Pablo in the summer of 1934 when we were observing the admirable Spanish labor movement. He was a trade union leader and prominent Socialist in the provincial capital of Badajoz, near the Portuguese border. The friendliness and deep cordiality of the Spanish people touch one to the depths. And of all Spanish people we met, with none did we form a deeper bond of friendship than with de Pablo and his charming wife.

A Socialist Mayor

We had expected, at most, the privilege of half an hour's interview. Instead, he opened his home to us, an unusual token of hospitality in a country where social appointments are usually kept at a cafe, and where men may be friends for years without a glimpse of each other's domestic life. He took us in tow, introduced us to local labor and political leaders, took us for a ride with the Socialist mayor, told us of aspirations of the oppressed of Spain for a better life.

In last February's elections, which swept the People's Front into power in an overwhelming victory, de Pablo was elected to the Cortes.

Now the Fascists have murdered him, as they have murdered at least two other of my personal friends in Spain, as they have murdered 45 Republican members of the Cortes.

De Pablo was a tall and striking figure and, unlike most Spaniards, blonde of hair and complexion. No man in Badajoz had so many friends; even the children knew him, loved him, and greeted him as we walked through the streets.

The story of how 2,000 civilians were deliberately chosen for slaughter to inspire terror in the hearts of survivors when Badajoz was taken by Franco's army in August, is well known. De Pablo, we learned later, escaped to Portugal where, by all canons of humanity and international law, he was entitled to refuge. Instead the Portuguese Fascists turned him over to the rebels for slaughter.

Fascist Slaughter

We knew he had been killed. The manner of his death we have just learned. When Frank Pitcairn, in his Reporter in Spain, speaks of the fate of "the Socialist deputy from Badajoz," he is almost certainly referring to de Pablo.

This is what he says: "The man was seized by the Fascists, put into a bull-ring, and there made to play the part of the bull, while Fascist picadors and matadors slowly tortured him to death in the manner in which bulls are killed in the ring."

Such was the fate of a man I knew, a good friend, a brave man. Such is the morality of international Fascism, which respects no boundaries and which, if not combatted in time, will not hesitate to employ similar tactics in France, in England, in America.

U. S. FORTIFIES PACIFIC

America's national defense budget of \$1,000,000,000 for next year threatens, seriously, to unbalance the government budget and to injure appropriations for relief and necessary social services. Congressional committee experts report that army, air corps, and "treaty" navy building will run the government into its greatest peacetime war-budget.

A new and costly item, in preparation for a war in the Pacific, is the projected transformation of the Hawaiian Islands into a sea fortress for America. Harbor defense in Hawaii and the Pacific alone is expected to total \$31,000,000.

Military appropriations for this year were about \$50,000,000 over last year.

FASCIST FINED 35 CENTS

The much publicized trial of Leon Degrelle, Fascist leader of Belgium, has reduced itself to an international joke in the hands of the liberal capitalist coalition government. Degrelle was found "guilty" of having violated a government decree forbidding a Fascist demonstration. He was fined 35 cents.

A Tribute to the Gallant Army of Socialism

By FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

During the more than two decades that I have been a member of the Socialist Party, mine has been the privilege to take an active part in every campaign occurring during that period. In some of them I have been honored with the nomination for high office and in others, for minor places in the set-up of our Municipal government.

I speak an obvious truth when I say that in no previous campaign has our Party so clearly demonstrated the sterling qualities of spirit, devotion and sacrifice to our great ideal than in the 1936 campaign. With our ranks cruelly depleted and divided, with practically an empty treasury, with many of our trusted friends turned "practical," we nevertheless carried on, and under the leadership of Norman Thomas, George Nelson, Harry Laidler, Alfred Baker Lewis, Dan Hoan, Clarence Senior, Frank Trager, Jack Altman and others, we were able successfully to pilot our Socialist bark safely between the treacherous rocks of opportunism both to the right and to the left of us.

As a Negro also, I feel gratified in knowing that while the two old reactionary parties of plunder and privilege literally



FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

bent over backwards to appeal for Negro support, and while the Communists resurrected John Brown and Frederick Douglas to defy their "20th Century brand of Americanism," the Socialist Party alone made its appeal to the Negro in a manner at once sane, sensible and in keeping with the dignity of a civilized, intelligent, working class party.

Phoney Concessions Have Not Hoodwinked Steel Workers

Steel barons have ever been noted for their magnanimity towards labor. It was this pronounced quality that made the steel industry the fortress of the twelve-hour day when eight and nine hours had become a standard work day in most of the factories and mills throughout the country. The steel magnates, if we are to believe their press agents, have always been ready to give labor a break provided it kept its mouth shut and kept away from "outside agitators." And there's the rub.

According to scarehead banners in the press announcing the latest "handout" of the Steel Institute, the wage increase was given out of deep concern for the workingmen's interests. The Steel Workers Organization Committee, whose experience with the Steel Trust has been brief but highly instructive, smelled a rat. Here's what it found:

As early as August 28th, Philip Murray, chairman of the SWOC, announced to the press: "I have been informed that the American Iron and Steel Institute decided on a wage increase . . . There is economic justification for a wage increase."

On the same day Tom Girdler, President of the Republic Steel Corporation, exploded: "There is no economic justification for an increase in wages by our company." On Sept. 8th, B. F. Fairless, President of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corp., added in the same vein: "It is our conclusion that a wage increase should not be granted at this time."

Now if there was no justification for a wage increase, why was it subsequently granted on November 6? Ah, dear reader! We have forgotten three words which the very Fairless President omitted in a forgetful moment. "At this time . . ." What he meant should have been very clear. At the time of the issuance of the statement the organization of the steel workers had just begun, it was too early to ascertain its effects and not too soon to anticipate them. The pay rise was to be held off until such time as it would serve to impact labor organization. Hence the date of Murray's announce-

ment that 82,315 steel workers had joined the drive is highly illuminating. It is November 5th.

Under pressure of the first results of the steel drive the trust has a rider attached which vitiates any real significance it might have for the steel workers. The wage level is to be tied to the cost of living.

Not Hoodwinked

But the workers were not hoodwinked. Even the company unions considered the docile tools of the companies rejected the contract while they accepted the wage increase.

Speed-Up, Wage Cuts Offset Auto Bonuses

(Continued from Page One)

are universally dissatisfied because they realize that both the bonus and increases are more than taken up by wage slashes and speed-up. And they know that unless wage cuts and speed-up are checked by their union, more of the same will follow.

Profits of General Motors for the first six months of this year were \$140,572,546, an increase of nearly 90 per cent over the same period of last year, Martin pointed out, so the corporation "could easily afford their publicity gesture."

No Illusions

"The automobile workers are under no illusions concerning the alleged generosity of General Motors. They realize that bonuses have been granted only because of the presence of a real union in the industry. We are demanding not bonuses, but a real wage increase, and this demand is justified by the tremendous increase in profits which has come to the automobile industry in the last year."

The granting of bonuses to Chrysler employes, according to Martin, was similarly preceded by wage cuts, which had amounted to as much as 20 per cent in the Chrysler and Plymouth plants. It followed a union victory at the Dodge plant on the question of seniority rights.

THE FIGHT BEGINS

By McAlister Coleman

SOCIALISTS have a lot to be thankful for these November days and not the least of our blessings is the fact that here, in New York at any rate, we are not indulging in any of those gloomy post mortems that were the inevitable aftermath of elections in the Old Guard days. Who will ever forget the hysterical scoldings launched by Prima Donna Panken at Party youngsters who had broken their backs to get out the vote for the judge? Who will forget the reproachful countenance of Lee, who went around after the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November as though he had been personally affronted by his meager vote! The surrender talk of Waldman?

Now that our vermiform appendix has been neatly removed from our right side, we have no time for the defeatist talk of yesterday. The spirit of the first meeting of the New York comrades after the election was thrillingly courageous. I think every one there felt that he or she were closer bound than ever one to another and to the service of our great cause, because of the rigors of the struggle we had been through. Every speaker went about the businesslike job of tackling the problems that are before us. I have never seen Norman Thomas in better or more brilliant vein. And we'll all be there, Norman, at your party on November 20th at the Hotel Edison in New York to tell you how greatly we admire your indomitable spirit.

A Fat Boy Talks

One obvious job, national in scope and of immediate concern, is the pressing of our program for the socialization of transportation, communication, power and the heavy industries. Right now, for example, the whole question of railroad ownership is again on the front pages. Thomas Lamont has always seemed to us one of the most alert-minded and articulate of all the Morgan partners. Of course, that's not the helluva of a boost. But he has more dope than most of the Fat Boys because he went around some when he was a reporter. However, Mr. Lamont slipped badly when in his attack before a lot of railroad experts upon public ownership, he said that one-third of the nation's railway mileage, representing an investment of five billion bucks, is now in bankruptcy courts or going through some sort of reorganization.

Sure, but where does this get you, Mr. Lamont? What is individual initiative and what are the loud cries of pain set up by the rail executives over the mild regulations of government doing to stop this inevitable collapse of private ownership? Rate reductions, forced upon the roads by government are bringing back some business, but nothing short of socialization can ever bring to rail workers, travelers and farmers the benefits that should flow from genuine consolidation on a national scale. It's in the Socialist tradition from the days of Debs on that railroads should have an important place in all our programs. Now is the time for us to dramatize the sorry plight of the rail workers and press with all the energy that is in us for rail socialization.

Have you seen the new Red Cross "Roll Call" drive posters? They have a pretty picture of a worker with a Red Cross button on his suspender strap and the Great Mother hanging benevolently around in the back-ground. The worker must be a scab. Because time and again the Red Cross has refused to aid starving strikers on the ground that a strike is not an "Act of God." As far as striking workers go, there are some lines from Tennyson's "Idylls of the King" that are appropriate: "Good mother is had mother unto me,

A worse were better, yet no more would I . . ." Every time you get held up for a Red Cross button, put some jack to one side and send it in to your nearest Socialist branch. These people have an unmitigated gall, in view of their disreputable record in industrial disputes, in using a labor appeal.

'The Man Inside'

I am absorbed in reading V. F. Calverton's latest novel, "The Man Inside" which is published by Scribner's and which The Call Book Store will get for you. Now that I'm a man outside again, filled to the gunnels with psychiatric dope, I have a peculiar interest in all these inside stories and this one glues you. It's about hypnosis and what it can do to liberate folks and there's a lot of good comment on what Freud called "Civilization and Its Discontents," besides a swift-moving story of jungle adventure in this brilliantly conceived book.

Heywood Brown's recent ailment must have strangely affected his spleen. That is the most charitable comment that a lifelong friend can make on his ill-tempered and despicably unfair attack on Thomas in a recent issue of The Nation. It is entirely unworthy of the usual generous nature of the man and I'm sure he will regretting it when he's himself again.

Analysis of Election

Prepared by the CALL EDITORIAL BOARD

Amidst the hysteria of the election campaign—when men were describing the horrors of an American Fascism attendant upon the approaching victory of Landon—the sober voice of the Socialist Party predicted, with accuracy, that Roosevelt would be re-elected, with a safe margin. Now that Roosevelt has been re-elected, it is necessary to make an equally sober estimate of the so-called landslide for Roosevelt.

HAS REPUBLICANISM BEEN DESTROYED?

While it is true that Roosevelt's vote is enormous, its enormity is lessened when one bears in mind the normal increase in population and the number of people of voting age. The popular vote for Roosevelt was 61.7 per cent of the total major-party vote. This "popularity" is not as "popular" when placed alongside of the vote for Harding, which was over 63 per cent of the total vote for major-party candidates, and 60.4 per cent of the total vote in a year when the minor party votes ran high.

The Republican Party was hit a heavy blow in this campaign, but a party which is able to rally nearly 40 per cent of the total vote in the country is far from "through." Its continued presence as a political force of major account in the nation will seriously affect those political parties of labor which profess the "lesser evil" to independent working class action.

WHAT ELECTED ROOSEVELT?

Roosevelt ran an election by simply pointing to his record, and leaving the rest to the skill of Farley, the stupidity of the Republican staff, and the improvement in business.

This "record"—roughly described as the New Deal—meant many things to many men, but to most voters it appeared as an attempt to "do something" to relieve the nation in distress. It meant some relief, some work, some aid to the home owner, some direct assistance to the farmer, some air of sympathy for trade unionism. Roosevelt's "do somethingness" assumed giant size when placed alongside the stultified Supreme Court and the avowed desire of the Republican Party to make a religion of "do nothing." Just as the New Deal was enhanced by its opponents who describe it as a revolution and Socialism, so the Republican Party policy suffered at the hands of its opponents who described it as reaction and Fascism.

A kind fate and an unkind Farley labored day and night for Roosevelt in the days before November 3rd. The FOUR BILLIONS spent by the administration on relief, in one form or another, helped business slightly, AND HELPED THE VOTE DECISIVELY. The real reason for the business upturn is to be found in terms of the international revival of production. The American reflex was nicely timed to aid Roosevelt. Hamilton's attempt to climax this business revival for his candidate by unashamedly declaring that Landon's mere nomination—even before his election—was enough to inspire business with confidence is as funny as it is brazen.

Fate, Farley, and the Republicans swelled the Roosevelt vote. And another thing...

AMERICAN POLITICS REALIGNS

Judged by those who deserted him and by those who turned toward him. Roosevelt appears as the spokesman for the liberal, as against the conservative, sections of the capitalist class. Al Smith's desertion and the Lewis-Dubinsky attachment are not just personal reactions; they are political indications. One of the reasons that the Literary Digest poll was so very wrong in the

Socialists Must Build A Party For Crisis

campaign is probably due to the fact that the lower income groups who turned to Roosevelt as their saviour were not reached by the straw vote.

Al Smith saw in this loose, vague, tentative realignment of political forces the specter of Communism. His attempt to explain the presence of class feeling and class hatred in this campaign as a result of professional demagoguery on the part of the President is ridiculously typical of the reactionary brain. But that Roosevelt was, willy-nilly, the concentration point of the liberal and liberal-labor elements throughout the country need not and can not be denied.

In a distorted sort of way, a rising political movement of the masses against the old rulers appeared upon the political scene in 1936, not merely in the American Labor Party and Labor's Non-Partisan League, but also in the straight Democratic vote in many industrial centers. True, this worker's vote appeared limping, stumbling, disjointed, misshapen, with head and back bent. But in this primitive form it appeared nevertheless to hurl its lumbering weight against the old masters.

WHITHER THE ALP?

Today it is obvious that the vote of Labor's Non-Partisan League was in no way indispensable for the re-election of Roosevelt. The American Labor Party, it is now obvious, did not, as it could not, rally thousands of backward workers for independent political action of labor, but rallied many former Socialist and Communist voters to vote for Roosevelt and Lehman with a clear conscience. Roosevelt took New York State with nearly a million and a quarter votes to spare, to which the ALP contributed some 275,000, of which thousands were radical sympathizers who went Roosevelt under threat, under promise, out of fear for a bogged Landon.

Now that the campaign is over, and the ALP has no Roosevelt for whom to campaign, it seems to be just "hanging around" for things to happen. Its Tammany wing has, no doubt, lost interest in the party entirely. The more progressive elements do not know how far to go without the support of the conservative wing, without a new old politician about whom to rally, and—without the consent of Roosevelt. The continuance of the crisis, which might have spurred the unions into independent political action, has begun to lift slightly and once more opens the way, with its promise of rising prices, stronger bargaining position, and better agreements, to pure and simple economic action plus political "muddling along."

IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FASCIST?

The Republican Party has entered, gone through, and come out of this campaign almost as confused about its long time role and perspective as the American Labor Party. It had no place as an avowedly liberal capitalist party, since the New Dealers had already occupied that position. It had neither the virility nor the political equipment to become a reactionary party of a Fascist nature. So it just stuck in the mud while events went marching by, with a few of its members leaning over to catch the coat tails of New Dealism and a few of its members grasping confusedly for some sort of American Hitlerism.

The Republican Party is organically indisposed toward becoming the backbone of a Fascist Party in the United States. Fascism is not simple capitalist reaction, in terms of anti-labor, anti-liberal governmental action. Fascism involves outright dictatorship. And it involves one other thing which gives it a

distinguishing mark: Fascism is a mass movement, based upon plebeian elements, who imagine that their demagogic leaders are waging a holy war AGAINST THE CAPITALISTS.

This mass movement character of Fascism gives it shock troops, shop brigades to smash strikes, electoral strength, spies in every street and every home, the power of mass terror exercised by one half the nation against another half. Because Fascism is based upon a demagogic appeal to despairing masses who are in confused revolt against the intolerable burdens of capitalism, the financial backers of the Fascist movement stand quietly behind the scenes. The Republican Party, with its shirt front of Liberty Leaguers, with its stodgy campaign methods, with its traditional identification with the status quo, can not be the instrument of American Fascism.

HOW TO FIGHT FASCISM?

The Republican Party, unless it can do a political quick change, is likely to play the role of British Conservatism, miserly, pinch-penny, harshly outspoken in its defense of capitalism.

A Fascist movement in America, potentially present in the rise of Coughlin, Lemke, Smith, has for the moment been deflated. A new crisis would mean the revival of such a Fascist movement. Its growth will not be fed automatically by a new collapse. It will grow to huge proportions only if there is no revolutionary party in the United States to offer the masses a way out of the crisis, not only through promises of an ultimate salvation but also by militant action among the masses in their daily struggles.

Such a revolutionary party, with a working class backbone, will win the confidence of all sorts of discontented elements, middle class, student, youth, farm. Such a revolutionary party, militantly pressing a revolutionary program, is not only indispensable to meet the threat of a Fascist push for power, but also to prevent the development of a mass basis for a truly Fascist party in the United States.

THE REFORMIST ROLE OF COMMUNISM

As confused and confusing as the Republican Party and ALP has been the Communist Party. At the opening of the campaign, its sole attack was concentrated upon Landon, who was to be defeated "at all costs." When the Communist Party found that its underwater approach to rescue Roosevelt was embarrassing FDR, it grew more critical of the President. It closed the campaign by firing shaft after shaft at the Socialist Party.

The basic reason for this policy is the role of the Soviet Union in world affairs; the basic logic of this policy is that of the "lesser evil." The chief strategy of the Communist International leadership is to convert the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries into pressure lobbies for the conclusion of non-aggression pacts with the Soviet Union. The popular explanation of this line to the workers is the need to keep the "lesser evil" against the greater evil. This is only a rationalization, for in Italy where the "greater evil" is already in power the Communist Party proposes to "liquidate the quarrel between Fascists and anti-Fascists" provided a non-aggression pact is concluded with the Soviet Union.

In terms of American practice, the Communist Party, despite the presence of its man on the ballot, played the same role as the People's Party and Labor's Non-Partisan League. In any crisis, where people just hint of reac-

tion or Fascism (and in the future the threat will be more real), the Communist Party (with its present policy) will rush for shelter in the camp of the "lesser capitalist evil." Discontented masses will be unable to look to this lackey of the party in power for leadership against the status quo; these same masses will be attracted by the bright promises and immediate gifts of Fascist demagogues with silver tongues and gold lined pockets. The Socialist Party will alone play the role of progress.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN THE CAMPAIGN

The role of the Socialist Party in the United States will be that of leading the masses of America in militant struggle toward a Socialist society through the workers' capture of political power. Only to the extent that it is successful will it undermine the mass base of Fascism in America and be in a position to take full advantage of crisis—arisen out of economic paralysis or war—to seize power.

The Socialist Party entered the 1936 campaign, just come from a split, attacked by the Communists, challenged in New York State by an ALP. The Socialist Party entered the campaign handicapped by the heritage of a previous policy which gave its members no organized foothold among the masses. In this situation, the Socialist Party was compelled to conduct a great propaganda campaign to keep alive the ideal of Socialism, and then turn, the day after election, to bringing the meaning of workers' power to the great masses in their daily struggles.

The Socialist Party slogan—"Socialism versus Capitalism"—has been cruelly distorted to mean that the Socialist Party believed that Socialism might win in this election. Of course not! The task of the Socialist Party in this campaign, when all the parties were preaching the possibilities of peace, and freedom, and plenty under Roosevelt, was to stress the fact that Socialism was the only way out. The second task of the Socialist Party was to point out that the struggle for Socialism and the growth of the Socialist movement was the only way to (a) wring concessions from capitalism, (b) to prepare for an impending ultimate conflict with reaction, (c) to undermine the mass basis of Fascism.

TASKS BEFORE THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The Socialist Party, by its honest evaluation of the capitalist candidates—avoiding libelous hysteria on one hand and criminal silence on the other—was the only practical force that could cause the workers in incipient labor party movements to break their capitalist alliances and set out on an independent political road.

With its ranks clarified and hardened by the campaign of 1936, the Socialist Party turns to the masses! The next years will see great struggles sweeping America. Struggles of steel workers, maritime workers, farmers, homeowners, youth, unemployed, Negro! Struggles against a rising cost of living and against new unemployment. Struggles against the war danger and struggles against war!

These conflicts will often break out spontaneously, develop isolated, remain non-political, halt at state power, and retreat before the threat of reaction. Unless these separate, "pure-and-simple" struggles are led by a disciplined and cohesive revolutionary party to give them united, politicalized direction they will simmer away, and out of their bitter dregs will spring a demoralized working class and new recruits for Fascism.

To give the skeleton program of revolutionary Socialism the flesh and blood of struggle, to pass from words to action, that is the task before the Socialist Party.

To the masses, comrades. In their struggles, comrades. Raise the separate combats into a war for workers' power!

FORWARD TO SOCIALISM!

Soviet Trial Has Injured Labor Unity, Says Adler

By FRIEDRICH ADLER

Secretary, Labor and Socialist International

(The following article is composed of excerpts from a lengthy analysis of the recent Soviet trials written by Adler)

I confess to the "liberalistic prejudice" that the witchcraft trials which took place during practically three centuries belonged to the most terrible aberrations in the history of mankind. During this era thousands of confessions were solemnly made before the courts, in which the defendant affirmed that he had met the devil in person, that he had concluded a pact with him and that on the basis of this pact he had practised all kinds of sorcery. Thousands suffered death by fire as a result of their confession. . . . After a fourth "hearing" the great Galileo was already ripe for the final proceedings in public before the tribunal of the Inquisition in Rome . . . He read out and signed the confession of his sins in the presence of the Cardinals and prelates of the Holy Office, in which the following passage occurred:

"I abjure with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, I curse and detest the said errors and heresies . . . that is, of having held and believed that the Sun is the center of the universe and immovable, and that the Earth is not the center of the same, and that it does not move . . ."

Five years ago it was pointed out in the pamphlet issued by the Secretariat of the Labour and Socialist International, that:

"It is characteristic of all the great trials which have been set on foot by Krynko since Schacht that no documents and material documentary proof appears in them. Everything is proved simply by voluntary confessions and self-accusations. . . . They work only with guaranteed genuine sincere confessions which, by a wonderful predestined harmony, always correspond exactly to the latest guiding lines of the Politbureau of the Communist Party."

ABRAMOVITCH TRIAL FALSE

In 1931 I had to make a thorough study of one of these trials . . . At this trial an alleged visit by our Comrade Abramovitch to Russia was the central feature of the "proofs." The defendants made full "confessions" with regard to the details of their meetings and conversations with Abramovitch in Russia in the summer of 1928, but for me it is absolutely certain that all these statements were made against their better knowledge. We proved this in our pamphlet for every phase, and in the most drastic manner of all by the photograph, which shows Abramovitch with the delegates of the International Socialist Congress in Brussels at the very time when, according to the "confessions," he is supposed to have been in Russia.

HOLTZMAN INVENTS TESTIMONY

In this decisive "confession" by Holtzman (at the latest trial) the following passage occurred:

"I arranged with Sedov to be in Copenhagen within two or three days, to put up at the Hotel Bristol and meet him there. I went to the hotel straight from the station and in the lounge met Sedov. About 10 A. M. we went to Trotsky . . ."

This Hotel Bristol, at which Holtzman met Trotsky's son in 1932, according to his confession, is actually given first place among the Copenhagen hotels in a pre-war edition of Baedeker's Denmark. But it is not to be found in the post-war guide books, as it was pulled down in 1917 and has not been rebuilt.

But this does not by any means exhaust the number of "confessions" by Holtzman which are demonstrably false. Sedov, Trotsky's son, whom Holtzman claims to have met in the lounge of the Hotel Bristol, and who is supposed to have taken him to Trotsky's apartment in Copenhagen, can prove convincingly that he was not in Copenhagen while Trotsky was staying there. Indeed the truth is more drastic

still: Sedov was never in Copenhagen in his life.

FOREIGN LAWYERS DENIED

In our telegram we put forward the demand that "the accused shall be allowed to have defending counsel who are absolutely independent of the Government." The semi-official spokesmen in Moscow were indignant at this demand. Dimitrov regards it as "ridiculous and pitiable" for, as he says, the defendants "were granted the right to choose their defending counsel . . . but they renounced the right of choosing defending counsel." But as to the necessity of having foreign counsel for the defense at a trial in a dictatorship country, as well as the reasons for rejecting defending counsel who are dependent upon the dictatorship government, we have a good witness who has said everything which it was necessary to say, namely, Georgi Dimitrov himself. He began his final speech at the Reichstag Fire Trial with the following statement, which we take from the Communist "International Press Correspondence," of December 29th, 1933, (p. 1296)*.

"I proposed the names of a number of lawyers whom I wanted to undertake my defense—Moro Gleffler, Torres, Camplachi, Willard, Grigorov and four others, but all my proposals were rejected. I have no particular distrust in Teichert, but in the present situation in Germany I cannot possibly have the necessary confidence in his defense. I now address you with the request that you permit Willard to undertake my defense in conjunction with Teichert. If you are not prepared to agree to this, then I shall defend myself as best I can alone."

TROTSKY CONDEMNED IN ABSENCE

The sixteen defendants have "confessed"—but the principal defendant, the true "spiritus rector" of all conspiracies, Leo Trotsky, has not confessed. On the contrary, he most energetically denies that any of the accusations against him, which the defendants made in their "confessions," are grounded in truth. Yet after having sentenced the sixteen to be shot, the verdict of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court closes with the following order:

"Leo Davidovich Trotsky, and his son, Leo Levovich Sedov . . . are subject in the event of their being discovered on the territory of the U.S.S.R. to immediate arrest and trial by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R." (p. 180).

It is our duty to point out that the inclusion of Trotsky in the "amalgam" of the trial is one of the most wanton and ridiculous actions which have ever been encountered in the criminal witchcraft trials. The practical object of this action is the most ignominious chapter of the whole affair. It is an attempt to deprive Trotsky of the right of asylum in Norway and to organize a hue and cry against him which would leave him no place anywhere in the world where he could live.

On the basis of the "results of the trial, which are supposed to 'prove' that Trotsky, who is living in Norway, is the organizer and director of the terroristic acts, the object of which is the assassination of members of the Soviet Government and leaders of the Soviet People," the Soviet Government, addressed a note to the Norwegian Government on August 4th, 1936, the shameless text of which can be read in the Communist "Rundschau" (No. 40, p. 1682). The note closes with the following words:

"The Soviet Government hopes that the Norwegian Government will not fail to take the necessary measures to with-

Catalonian Workers Spur Renewed Defense of Madrid

(Continued from Page One)

solini's recent declarations have irrevocably involved his prestige with Franco's. Hitler is likewise identified with the Spanish Fascist cause; so much so, indeed, that the rigid Berlin censorship permitted a dispatch to the New York Times of November 16 which bluntly announces plans for even more direct intervention than heretofore.

The issue of full military sup-

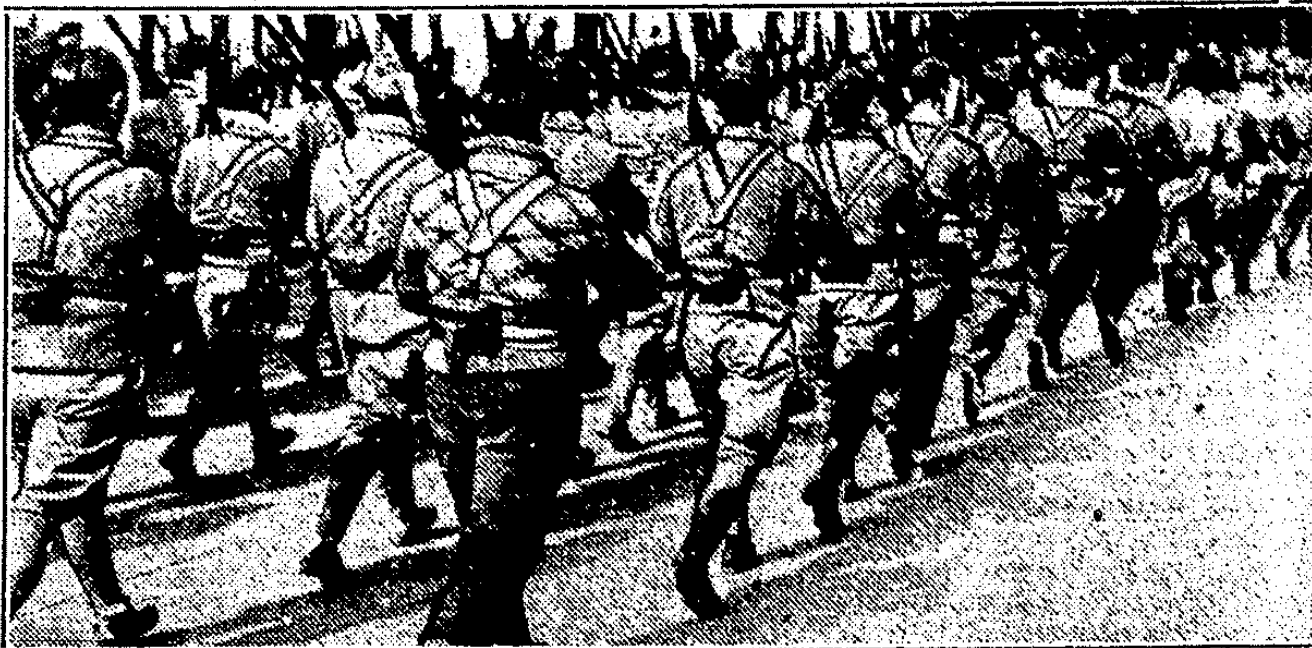
the French government have necessarily led nowhere.

Independent Action

Only the international working-class, by its own independent action, in spite of all capitalist governments, including so-called "Peoples' Front" governments, can secure arms for Spain. And the international working class includes the Soviet Union.

Reports from Spain state that

For a Workers' Spain



This is a section of the workers' army which repulsed the Fascists in the Casa de Campo sector of Madrid when Fascists tried to enter by way of Pozuelo. In the above picture young workers, tempered by four months of fighting in Northern Spain, are seen returning to take part in the heroic defense of Madrid.

"Fascists Enter Madrid; Caballero Cabinet Flees"

These lines are not from Hearst, or some other over-anxious zealot impatient for the defeat of the Spanish workers. These words appear in the headlines of the "Workers' Age," publication of the Lovestonites.

What does it reveal? A most sectarian expression of the Lovestonites' complete lack of faith in the masses inasmuch as as the Communist Party (Opposition?) is not on the scene, how in the world can the workers ever devise methods to resist the Fascist attack? No Lovestone, no revolution!

FOR THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM

The Soviet Government openly demands the withdrawal of the right of asylum from a political refugee, and it indirectly demands still more, namely, the surrender of Trotsky to the Soviet Government, by pointing to negotiations which are being conducted in Geneva and are not even concluded according to which "Members of the League of Nations have to support each other in the struggle against terrorism."

On June 21st, 1936, a "Conference for the Right of Asylum" initiated by the Communists following a really brilliant idea, adopted in Paris (see "Rundschau," No. 29, p. 1176) a well-considered draft of a law for political fugitives which contained the following two paragraphs:

Article 4: The political refugee shall be admitted to the country in which he seeks asylum, and may not be expelled therefrom.

Article 5: Should the authorities of his country . . . demand his extradition, satisfaction can only be given them, whatever the official reasons for the demand, if it is judicially established in an irrefutable manner, after hearing a representative of the coordinating body, comprising the representatives of the refugees and the national organizations concerning themselves with refugees, that the demand is neither direct nor indirectly motivated by political activity of the refugee."

Two months after the Conference in Paris formulated these demands, namely, on August 30th, Stalin deals the right of asylum a hammer-blow by demanding of the Norwegian Government the

port to the workers will then have to be squarely faced by the Soviet Union. French and British imperialism continue implacably to prevent shipment of arms to the Spanish workers. Not even the assurances of the Socialist and Communist leaders of Spain that they have no intention of creating a Socialist republic have served to mollify the cold-blooded imperialist politicians.

They know, and not even reformist policies of workers' leaders can dissuade them, that a victory over Spanish fascism, can only mean a Socialist Spain, and a working class offensive everywhere under the inspiration of such a Socialist victory. Hence, Communist party demands upon

Franco is attempting to reinforce his military tactics with the political program that will win him some measure of mass support. He is demagogically declaring that he will divide the landed estates among the peasants and give freedom to Morocco.

The failure of the government to issue similar decrees is the basis of Franco's hopes that his political demands will win Moroccan and peasant support for his armies. These statements of Franco indicate his fear, because he lacks a mass basis. They also indicate the advantages the government forces might gain in a forthright statement from working class bodies, giving the peasants their land and the Moors the freedom they deserve.

Sallitto Faces Deportation

The danger of Dominic Sallitto's deportation to Fascist Italy has reached a crucial point. The Immigration Department seems determined to use the inhuman deportation laws to return him to death or torture in Italy after a residence of 30 years in this country.

A fellow Italian, Ferrero, who has lived in this country for 15 years, faces the same fate. The only crime of these two men was

their activity in behalf of the working class in the United States.

Telegrams of protest have been sent to the Commissioner of Immigration by the Socialist Party, Norman Thomas, the Workers' Defense League, as well as by numberless other organizations and individuals. The Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference, of which the Socialist Party is a part, has sent out an appeal for similar letters and telegrams of protest to be sent to the Commissioner of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington D. C.

withdrawal of the the right of asylum from Trotsky!

UNITED ACTION NECESSARY

. . . The Catholic Church is today ashamed of the witchcraft and sorcery trials which it carried out with the greatest aplomb three hundred years ago. It attempts to eradicate their memory. When will the moment come when the Soviet Union will be ashamed of the witchcraft trials, too? For the opponents of joint action in the international sphere the Moscow Trial was a most effective argument. As a result of this trial the tendencies towards unity have received a severe setback. The Soviet Union appeared to take a great step towards creating the conditions for an understanding among the workers as a

whole by publishing the plans for the Constitution, but it has taken two steps backward by staging the Moscow Trial.

Nevertheless the working class in the great industrial countries of the West must carry on the struggle jointly with the working class in the Soviet Union if it is to be capable of meeting the great dangers which the approaching new World War will bring. In this war the Soviet Union will be the most important and powerful fortress of the international working class. In view of this war the workers of all countries must unite, all opposition must be overcome, all who regard this future war as the great conflict between the working-class and the bourgeoisie must co-operate, all those for whom there can only be one attitude in this war: "On the fronts of the class-struggle,

Washington Orders Sweeping Dismissals From WPA Projects

NEW YORK—The first effects of the dismissal campaign of the relief administration resulted in this city in a wide-spread resentment against the "investigation on WPA" lay-off policy.

Socialists on WPA pointed out to their fellow workers that the Socialist Party had predicted that Roosevelt's election would not halt dismissals. The City Projects Council, which endorsed Roosevelt and Lehman for re-election, now has the task of explaining to its members why the boss candidate, Roosevelt, failed them.

Socialists also pointed out that the administration has determined to dismiss 25 per cent of the project workers as the first step toward liquidating work relief, and that the "investigation" is only a screen behind which to perform the surgical operation. The idea is to fire 50,000 workers in New York alone and attribute to the "investigation" the discovery that these workers were not in "need."

The organizations of the project workers, especially the Workers Alliance, are taking steps to expose the investigations as a cover for dismissals.

Ax Falls First On Hospitals

The "Start firing!" order given to WPA supervisors will begin with certain selected projects by way of experiment. As a result of militant protests by WPA workers in the past, the Administration has decided not to launch its attack along the entire relief front, but to attempt sporadic skirmishes at first.

In the Engineering and Construction Divisions of the department of Hospitals, for instance, over 850 of the personnel is to be fired. In the Planning Department, consisting largely of architects and engineers, nearly 40 per cent is to be separated from their jobs.

Firing has already begun. Pink slips are being mailed out in great numbers. Delegations of protesting workers are met with the information that the "orders from Washington" are to be nowhere found in writing but are given orally. This is evidently an opening for possible retreat if protests mount too high.

Improper Facilities

Within recent months WPA has attempted to make some small attempt to improve the disgraceful conditions in city hospitals. Today in the Cancer and Neurological Hospital on Welfare Island deaths from acute cancer take place in view of other patients because of lack of isolation rooms.

In the Sea View Hospital operations are carried on during summer months at temperatures as high as 107 degrees. In the same hospital the Surgical Pavilion lacks bedrooms in which to place critical cases following serious operations. The patients therefore have to be wheeled through unheated corridors for a quarter of a mile to the ward building.

In the Coney Island Hospital the out-patient department is entirely inadequate, and during summer months the crowding in waiting rooms and corridors is so great that many patients are compelled to line up outside the building.

If the curtailment in WPA personnel is allowed to go through, millions of dollars of work actually started will be left unfinished, and conditions in city hospitals will remain as at present. Also, many who are in dire need will be thrown out of relief jobs.

Harlem Labor Forms League

A committee to protect gains made by Negro workers of Harlem within recent years is being set up, according to an announcement made by Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman of the Negro Labor Committee. It will be known as the Emergency Trade Union Preservation Committee, and its function will be to "challenge those who would rob the Negro worker of his right to secure decent wages and working conditions in Harlem."

In a statement issued from the office of the Harlem Labor Center, 312 West 125th Street, Frank R. Crosswaith, veteran labor leader and Socialist, stated:

"We have been watching for some time the activities of certain individuals whose anti-union attitude is well known to the people of this community. Having exhausted every visible and invisible means of making a living, they have now decided to prey upon the organized Negro worker, by creating a spurious labor union with which to extract money alike from Harlem merchants and from unsuspecting workers. A previous attempt to create a so-called Afro-American Federation of Labor was defeated by the organized labor forces of the city."

C. P. Support of '302' Head Paved Way for Dewey Probe

Seven officials of Locals 302 and 16, cafeteria workers' unions, and an officer of the Metropolitan Hotel and Restaurant Owners' Association will be tried for extortion, beginning November 24, on charges presented by Thomas E. Dewey, special racket prosecutor for New York.

This trial will bring to the fore the position of labor progressives that unions must clean their own ranks of racketeers if they are to avoid the intervention of prosecutors whose chief concern is the protection of employers, not workers.

The trial also emphasizes the unholy alliance in the Cafeteria Employees' Union, Local 302, between racketeering elements headed by Max Pincus and Irving Epstein and Communist officials. The Communist record in the cafeteria unions has been a complete reversal from "revolutionary" dual unions to close alliance of Communists with the Pincus gang, cronies of the notorious Dutch Schultz.

In 1929 the Amalgamated Food Workers, an independent union under Communist control, made some headway in an organization drive among cafeteria workers because of their intolerable conditions. Local 302, under the direction of Pincus, countered with a policy of signing contracts with all shops struck by the Amalgamated without securing any guarantee of conditions for the workers concerned. This policy was supported by the United Restaurant Owners' Association.

The Amalgamated Food Workers emerged from its general strike of 1929 with some 2,000 members, but those gains were soon dissipated when the Communists insisted on breaking the

Movie Union Absorbs Company Union Outfit

Movie operators in New York who belonged to a company union will receive a 25 per cent increase as the result of joining the regular AFL union.

The conflict between Local 306 of the Motion Picture Operators Union, affiliated with the AFL, and the Allied Motion Picture Union, the outfit dominated by the Independent Theatre Owners Association, came to an end last week after negotiations.

Under the terms of the settlement the members of the Allied will be absorbed into Local 306. Of the 537 movie houses in New York, 537 will be affected by this agreement.

Upholsterers Elect

Local 45E, of the Curtain, Drapery and Venetian Blind Workers Union of the Upholsters International, held its semi-annual elections last Tuesday, November 10. Louis Sitkoff was re-elected President unanimously, as was Jack Yourman, member of the Young People's Socialist League, who was elected vice-president. Charles Cressanti was elected Sec'y Treasurer. Paul Green, Business Agent of the Union, in his report before the membership, showed remarkable gains had been made by the union in its organization of the unskilled and the unorganized.

4-14 KINGS PARTY

The 4-14 A. D. Branch, Kings, is holding the Grand Opening of its new headquarters at 237 South 4th Street, Brooklyn, Saturday, November 21, at 8:30 P. M. There will be food, drink and entertainment and dancing. Admission 50 cents.

cafeteria workers off into the "revolutionary" Food Workers' Industrial Union.

Charging that Local 302 was a "company union" under the domination of the United Restaurant Owners' Association, the Communists carried on a fight against the AFL affiliate. Both sides secured injunctions against each other whenever a strike was declared.

While progressive elements fought against the scab-herding actions of Pincus and demanded the unity of both organizations, the Communists in control of the Food Workers' Industrial Union refused to talk of united action or unity with Local 302.

In 1935, however, in response to changes in policy in the Communist International, the Industrial Union began to champion unity in the cafeteria industry.

After 1930, the United Restaurant Owners' Association had become inactive and ceased to represent the bosses; but early in 1934, simultaneous with an organization campaign by both unions, a Metropolitan Restaurant Owners Association, now indicted for racketeering, sprang into existence.

Whenever a cafeteria was struck by either union, a sign of the Metropolitan Association immediately appeared and the union signed an agreement providing union recognition but no guarantee of conditions for the workers. The Sherman chain of restaurants was struck by both unions, signed an agreement that granted no fixed conditions to the workers, put up a sign of the Metropolitan, and its shops were divided between Local 302 and the Industrial Union.

Fearing loss of control, the Pincus

Many County Gains Shown In New York Upstate Party Vote

Incomplete returns from upstate New York indicate that the vote for Thomas, in spite of the tremendous obstacles which the party faced this year, will hit 80,000. The vote for Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate for governor will go above 90,000. Laidler's vote upstate is well ahead of the vote cast for the Socialist candidate for the same office in 1934.

State Body To Map Work

ROCHESTER—Inspired by the splendid results in upstate New York in the recent election as compared with most other sections of the country, the New York State Committee of the Socialist Party will meet in this city December 5 to lay plans for consolidating gains made and to go forward to increase the strength of the organization.

There will be a preliminary organizers' conference of the six upstate organizers on December 5. On the following evening, Friday, December 4, a mass meeting will be held, at which Harry W. Laidler, State Chairman; Herman Hahn, Frank Crosswaith, and Frank Trager, State secretary, will speak.

Sessions of the State Committee will take place Saturday and Sunday, December 4 and 5. Sunday evening will be devoted to a meeting of the Western District council. On Monday state field organizers will meet again for a windup conference.

The meetings of the committee and the mass meeting are being arranged by Local Rochester. The address of the local is 62 State Street.

cus group had long opposed the unification of the unions. About six months ago, however, unity was achieved.

Without any explanation to the membership of 302, the former officials of the Industrial Union were not only given representation on the executive board, but were also given official posts in Local 302. Pincus became a "united front" luminary, joining various Communist-inspired committees, including the American League Against War and Fascism, and the Communists actively supported his successful campaign for the vice-presidency of the international union.

Hiding behind the charge that Dewey is trying to break the union, the Communists have been active in defending the indicted officials. Instead of asking for their resignations or declaring their positions vacant, the Communists have supported the voting of union funds to the defense of the Pincus group and the calling of a meeting of shop chairmen in order to raise loans for bail.

While the Communist Party has issued statements condemning Dewey and asking for an investigation by AFL officials, the Communist leaders of the cafeteria union are actively defending Pincus and his associates.

Progressives in Local 302, who have the union and its reputation at heart, should come out with demands for the elimination of all forms of racketeering from the union. They should also seek democracy in the union, and oppose the proposed by-laws on the grounds that they will concentrate power in the hands of a small clique of officials. They must demand the enforcement of conditions for the winning of fixed conditions in all shops with a union sign, for the complete unification of union shops, and for the organization of the unorganized, particularly the Thompson, Automat, Backford and Wadon chains.

The Socialist vote upstate will be considerably better than that polled by the American Labor Party. The Communist vote was insignificant.

The upstate vote is one of the most surprising events of this campaign. For the first time in history it will almost equal the New York City Socialist vote. Numerous radio talks and six full-time labor organizers upstate is attributed in part to the splendid results. Another factor is the disillusionment of upstate farmers with the two capitalist parties.

While the Socialist vote declined somewhat in the second and third largest cities in the state, Buffalo and Rochester, due to the activity of the American Labor Party, it climbed in many of the rural counties.

The strength of the American Labor Party was centered in Rochester, where it polled more than 12,726 votes as compared to 2,935 Socialist votes. In Buffalo the ALP and the Socialist Party ran about even. In every other county from which returns have thus far come in, the Socialist vote was above that of the ALP.

In FDR's County

In Dutchess County Roosevelt's home county, the Socialist vote was the highest ever polled. Orange County almost doubled the vote cast for Thomas in 1932. Of the 19 counties which have thus far reported, Thomas shows a lead over his 1932 vote in Dutchess, Orange, Jefferson, Seneca, Cayuga, Ulster. In Rockland, Saratoga, Columbia, Nassau, Oneida and Tioga the vote is approximately the same as in 1932.

Returns from the following 14 counties, out of the 57 in the state, have been heard from:

- Cayuga: Thomas, 814; American Labor Party, 134; Communist Party, 17.
 - Columbia (tentative): Thomas, 141; ALP, 63; CP, 52.
 - Dutchess: Thomas, 922; ALP, 371; CP, 77.
 - Erle (incomplete): Thomas, 5,097; ALP, 5,324; CP, 568.
 - Herkimer: Thomas, 292; ALP, 232; CP, 19.
 - Jefferson: Thomas, 544; ALP, 202; CP, 23.
 - Monroe: Thomas, 2,035; ALP, 12,726; No CP returns.
 - Nassau: Thomas, 3,111; no returns for ALP and CP.
 - Oneida: Thomas, 1,307; ALP, 1,164; CP, 102.
 - Ontario: Thomas, 574; no returns for ALP and CP.
 - Orange: Thomas, 1,271; ALP, 411; CP, 49.
 - Putnam: Thomas, 177; ALP, 126; CP, 13.
 - Rockland: Thomas, 374; ALP, 376; no CP returns.
 - Saratoga: Thomas, 474; ALP, 188; CP, 10.
 - Schenectady: Thomas, 1,234; ALP, 625; CP, 107.
 - Schoharie: Thomas, 301; ALP, 45; CP, 9.
 - Seneca: Thomas, 232; no ALP or CP returns.
 - Tioga: Thomas, 150; ALP, 53; CP, 21.
 - Ulster: Thomas, 601; no returns for ALP and CP.
- On the whole the rest of the Socialist vote was ahead of that for the Presidential candidate. The CALL will carry over complete analyses as returns from other counties come in.

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

It is a tradition among co-operators to finance their societies with capital raised by subscriptions to shares costing \$5.00 or multiples thereof. Nowhere in the literature of the movement have I been able to find an intelligent analysis of this practice or a logical reason why it should be so. The only explanation ever offered is that \$5.00 is our equivalent of the English pound each of the Rochdale Pioneers invested in their enterprise. To most co-operators this explanation seems reason enough because of a notion which is quite prevalent that since the Pioneers' cooperative formula succeeded when other formulas failed, the details of their practice should be slavishly followed. Indeed, the Rochdale principles and practices have taken on the character of a gospel which dare not be questioned.

It is hardly my desire to belittle or disparage these principles. They are respectable both in theory and practice. Yet to accept them uncritically does not allow for their intelligent understanding or application; especially in the light of new and changing conditions.

IS ACTUAL HINDRANCE

The particular practice to which I first referred, if critically examined, will be revealed not only as having little value in building the movement, but also as being a distinct hindrance to its expansion and a danger to its continued existence.

The new and changing conditions in which we find ourselves is that capitalism has passed the peak of its expansion, which is the point at which there is no longer a natural scarcity. It must, therefore, develop an artificial scarcity, which, creating an increasing strain upon our economic system, can in the end be imposed upon the people only by the organized political and economic repression we call Fascism. To ward off this menace the cooperative movement must speed up its development. It must become a mass movement in which the unemployed

and lowest income groups who are our most numerous classes, can participate.

Membership in a cooperative at \$5.00 or more is far too expensive for these classes. The cooperative movement is thereby cut off from its most numerous source of members, and its democratic principle of open membership to all becomes democratic in form but not in substance. This is not only a distinct hindrance to an accelerated development of the movement but a danger, because, from these classes, demoralized by continued, abject poverty, Fascism recruits its military forces with which to destroy among others the cooperative movement.

MUST LOWER SHARE COSTS

The prevailing cost of membership in a cooperative has little value in organizing or building cooperatives. It bears no necessary relationship to the amount of capital needed. Capitalists have proved that tremendous corporations can be financed by the sale of shares of stock costing \$1.00. By selling large numbers of shares enough capital is raised. If a cooperative needs more capital than can be raised at \$1.00 a member, it can sell more than one share to those members who can afford more. Any reasonable amount of capital can thus be raised while at the same time membership would be thrown open to those who otherwise could not afford it, thereby tying them to the movement and gaining their loyalty, support and patronage.

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It's Time For Bundling With The CALL

One of the nicest words we know is "bundle." Though it's a little early in the season, we are thinking of Santa Claus and the jolly bundle he carries in his large sack.

Somehow or other, the word "bundle" never carries with it the implication of a burden. It has an atmosphere of goodness; it smacks of pleasant things, like gifts.

And that's why we never talk of a "heap" of CALLS or a "pile" of CALLS. To us, it is a "bundle." And that's the way you should think of it, too.

But are you thinking of it, you soldiers in the army of Socialism? Party branches and locals, have you forgotten the valuable services you can render yourselves, your organizations and the cause to which you have pledged your energies?

We confess that we have been a little dismayed by the failure

of branches to renew their bundle orders. To be sure, the election campaign is over, but the Socialist campaign is not. Men and women throughout the country are still in need of the thrilling message of Socialism. And it's the job of Socialists to bring it to them. Your bundle order of CALLS is the way to do it.

We must let our neighbors know what Socialists are doing and thinking about these things. The CALL is the voice of the Socialist movement; help the movement make itself heard.

PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA PEOPLE'S FORUM
SUNDAY EVENING,
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Editor, "New Masses"
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PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70th St.
SUNDAYS—8 P. M.
Admission 25c—All Welcome
NOVEMBER 22nd
"SHOULD THE SUPREME COURT BE CURBED?"
George Grover Mills vs. John T. Kewish

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Tickets: 25c-50c-\$1.00
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184 5th Ave., Room 330 Chelsea 2-7308

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DEBATE and DANCE "IS RELIGION THE OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE?"

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Dancing Until 2 A. M. - Ping-Pong, Chess, Checkers, Fun
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ARE YOU LISTED?

SUBSCRIPTIONS

The total number of subs this week came to 110. Here are some of the organizations and persons who did it:

- S. F. Cook County, Ill. 14
- Carl Wals, Northampton, Mass. 4
- John Braun, Brooklyn, N. Y. 2
- Ben Horowitz, Brooklyn, N. Y. 2
- S. F. New York State 2
- David Berklingoff, Bronx, N. Y. 1
- Bob Bloom, Bronx, N. Y. 1
- M. F. Wells, Yeadon, Pa. 1
- Abe Strassman, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1
- Lou Ray, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1

DONATIONS

- A. R. Anon, New York City \$15.00
- S. P. Racine, Wis., List No. 3436 5.00
- Frank Peters, Little Falls, N. Y. 5.00
- "A Republican," Easthampton, Mass. 5.00
- Houston, Texas Br., List No. 3428 ... 2.50
- S. P. Colorado, List No. 3471 2.25
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Books

Karl Marx, the Man

By BRUNO FISCHER

There have been innumerable studies of the philosophy of Karl Marx, but comparatively little has been written about Marx as a human being. While popular biographies have been turned out by the score about men who have had little effect on history, the man who founded the movement which was to gain more adherents than any other mass movement in modern times was almost ignored. Of course biographical data is included in many books on Marxism, notably those by Ruhle and Mehring, but Marx as an individual, was relegated to the background.

"Karl Marx, Man and Fighter," by Boris Nicolaevsky and Otto Maenchen-Helfen (Lippincott, \$3.50) is the most complete biography of the founder of scientific socialism which has yet been written, as far as I know. Needless to say, Marx as an individual cannot be separated from his ideas, and the authors have not, naturally, attempted to do so.

The authors are both Socialists, both political refugees from their homelands. Otto Maenchen-Helfen is a German; he spent two years at Moscow at the Marx-Engels Institute gathering material for this book. Boris Nicolaevsky is a Russian and was head of the Russian Record Office in Moscow from 1919 to 1921.

Unfortunately, their manner in this book is inclined to be heavy-handed. This may or may not be due to the continental scholarly approach; but just the same I would like to see a more readable work on the same subject without sacrifice of contents.

This is minor criticism. The importance and interest of this book lies in the fact that to a large extent it deals with a phase of Marx's life which is not very well known.

One of the difficult tasks confronting the present Mexican government is the education of the heterogeneous population of Mexico. The story of this attempt is told in "Mexico: A Revolution in Education," by George I. Sanchez (Viking Press).

As in other economically backward countries where the Catholic church has been completely in the saddle, the preponderant number of the people in Mexico are illiterate. This illiteracy is being wiped out through what the government calls "Socialist educa-

tion." Although from a social point of view the curriculum in even the rural Mexican schools appears to be far in advance of that of most American schools, it is socialist only in that it is intended for the cultural advancement of the masses.

While I cannot share Sanchez' enthusiasm for the Cardenas government, it must be admitted that as far as making a sincere attempt to educate the Mexican people is concerned, the government is doing a pretty good job.

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This World We Live In

Half of the colored population of Philadelphia live in buildings at least one hundred years old, and only 1.3 per cent live in houses built in the last ten years.

ASM To Come Out at End of Month

The next issue of the American Socialist Monthly will be out the latter part of this month. It will be a combination November and December issue. The delay in publication was caused by the desire of the editors to include an analysis of the election, as well as several other important articles.

The issue will contain: "An Analysis of the Elections," by Norman Thomas; "Dual Power in Spain," by Ernest Erber; "Notes on an All-Inclusive Party," by Haim Kantorovitch; "The Moscow Trial," by David P. Berenberg; "Socialists and the Labor Party," by Herbert Zam; "The Farmer and Collectivization," by Justus Ebert; "Socialism and Pacifism," by Caroline F. Urie; and others.

A new department called "Notes of the Month" and a Readers' Forum will be initiated in this issue.

After this issue the ASM will appear regularly every month.

Don't Save This Call — Pass It On!

'World Socialism' Column To Appear Next Week

Herbert Zam, who conducted the column entitled "World Socialism," will resume his factual and analytic presentation of the international labor and revolutionary movement abroad in next week's issue of the CALL.

Erber Lecture Delayed

The Ernest Erber lecture, "Spain—Key to Europe's Future," which was scheduled for Thursday, November 19, has been canceled. Weather conditions have delayed his arrival from Europe.

A meeting will be arranged on the same subject as soon as the time of Erber's arrival is definitely established.

The meeting has aroused much interest. Ernest Erber, who is national chairman of the Young Peoples' Socialist League, has spent several weeks in Spain.

Pittsburgh to Honor Thomas

Because none of the Pittsburghers will be able to make the trip to New York to attend the Norman Thomas birthday dinner on Friday, November 20, his birthday will be celebrated in Pittsburgh at the home of S. Oshry. A large attendance of non-party members as well as party members is expected.

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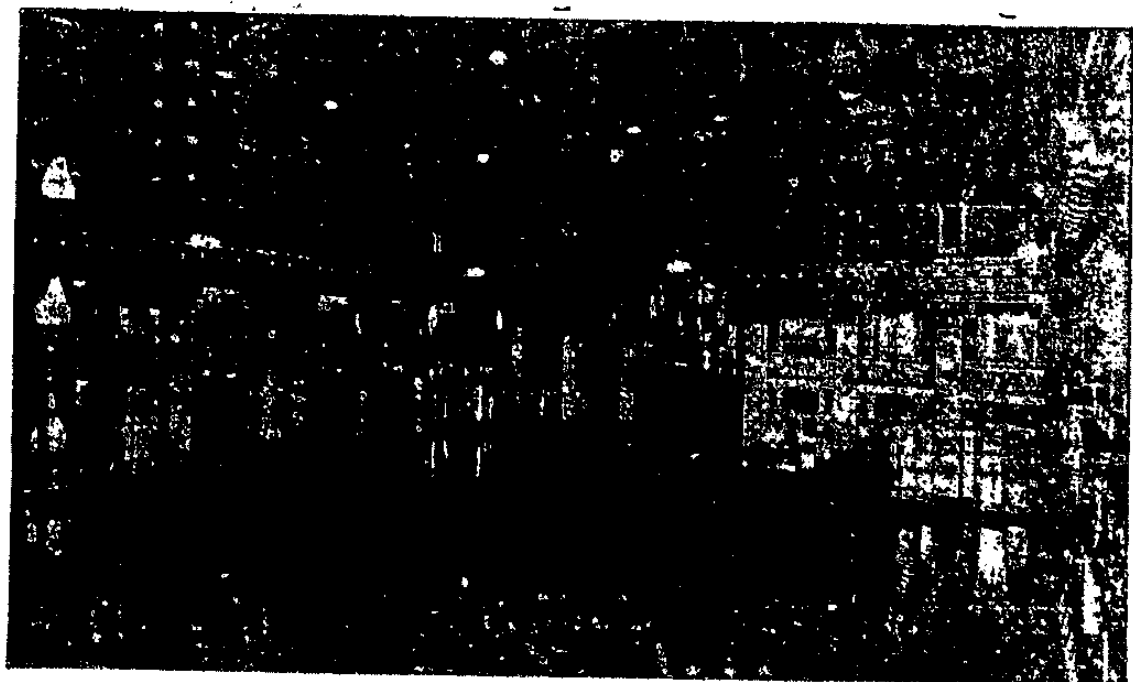
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LOBBY AND AISLE

By McALISTER COLEMAN

It is a good line on the doll-drummers into which Broadway has sunk this season that a reviewer can stay away a month and not miss anything of great importance. This has been my experience. Shows opening all over the lot and closing almost as quickly. Some first rate acting and some of the dumbest playwrighting in many theatrical moons. Where are they all, the white and red hopes of yesterday? Gone, apparently, with the wind of brief successes. Resting on their too green laurels. Writing, like the gifted Sherwood, weak adaptations of foreign plays or pudding around with phoney melodrama. Let's hope that the rumors are true and that Maxwell Anderson has something real up his sleeve and that George Kaufman hasn't shot his season's bolt in the tenuous "Stage Door." And that The Odets has rubbed out the memory of his bing-bang generals and is back in production again.

A BIT OF FLUFF

Last week we watched Grace George swim charmingly through a bit of fluff called, "MATRIMONY PFD." at the Playhouse on Forty-eighth Street and wondered why in the world so gracious a lady should be wasting her time on this French thing by Louis Verneuil. This is a painfully dated "comedy" dealing with jealous wives, illegitimate offspring, philandering husbands. And it isn't even a good pastime, so obvious are its situations, so febrile its naughtiness.

Two easy-to-look-at English gentlemen are playing Hamlet in a manner that makes that tempestuous and tortured character little more than a best Devonshire squire who is low in his mind because of family troubles. I have already reviewed John Gielgud's Hamlet at the New Empire and said that while his is an intelligent interpretation, within genteel limits, it has none of the essential fire and passion that our own Barrymore brought to the part. And this is even truer of

New Star



Russell Collins, appearing in "Johnny Johnson" a new play with music by Paul Green and Kurt Weill which the Group Theatre will offer at the 44th Street Theatre Thursday, November 19th.

the limited engagement now undertaken by Leslie Howard in his "HAMLET" at the Imperial Theatre, on Forty-fifth Street. There is a happy medium between the old-fashioned ranting of such ear-stormers as Hampden and the over-precious restraint of the new school of actors. Mr. Howard doesn't make it. He goes through the role in a bemused fashion that is reminiscent of a member of an Oxford debating team high-hatting his audience. It's a shame that Mr. Howard is so obviously bored by his role, but theatre-goers may be forgiven if they resent having that boredom rubbed in on them.

PLAYWRIGHTS WANTED

Of course the big news of the past week was the winning of the Nobel prize by Eugene O'Neill. This should be the broadest sort of hint to our young playwrights to spit on their typewriters and turn out something that has to do with the world we live in. They don't have to give us hairy-chested stokers or sex harassed New Englanders. All we ask of them is that they put in their scripts something that smacks of life as experienced by human beings in the Twentieth or any other century. "Playwrights Wanted" is the sign that should be over most of Broadway's houses this season.

CALL BOARD

That same group of actors, the Actors Repertory Company, which so brilliantly performed in "Let Freedom Ring" and "Bury the Dead," will be seen in the first play about the pioneers of 1935, the colonists of Matanuska Valley, Alaska, America's last frontier... It's called 200 WERE CHOSEN, and will open at the 48th Street Theatre this Friday, November 20... Even the tall towers of Manhattan seem to be wearing saucy Tyrolese hats these days in honor of the town's biggest smash-hit, WHITE HORSE INN, which is now firmly established at the Center Theatre on 6th Avenue and 49th Street... A myriad of singers and a group of stalwart Bavarian dancers who were imported especially for WHITE HORSE INN, enhance the big musical which contains more spectacular scenic effects than ever have been employed in a single production... The company of 300 is headed by William Gaxton, Kitty Carlisle and Robert Halliday... Also mention must be made of Billy House, Carol Stone, Buster West and Melissa Mason... FOUR TO GO, Joe Byron Totten's production of Aimee Torriani's comedy, will open on Broadway the week of November 23rd... The staging is by Mr. Totten, with settings by Jules Laurents... The Messrs. Shubert announce that Franz Lehár's operetta based on the life of Goethe will be known as THE RISING STAR and not "Friederike" as originally planned... Dennis King, who will portray young Goethe is now in New York for the first in a series of conferences to precede the inauguration of rehearsals next week... One fact seems to have been overlooked in discussions of the current HAMLETS... No Hamlet has ever received completely favorable notices in New York...

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ON THE SCREEN

By ALLAN GEORGE

The current showing of "Niglingale," the first all-color film to be produced in the Soviet Union at the Cameo, will be followed on Friday (Nov. 20th) by the American premiere of "SON OF MONGOLIA," produced in Mongolia with a Mongolian cast. A combination of realism and fantasy "SON OF MONGOLIA" describes life in the Mongolian Republic and across the borders of the Japanese controlled state of Manchukuo. Spoken in the Mongolian language, the film has complete superimposed dialogue titles in English.

"THE YELLOW CRUISE" currently showing at the 54th Street Playhouse, is described as the greatest expedition of modern times. Following the trail blazed by Marco Polo, this film is the result of the first camera expedition through Central-Asia. It is an odyssey of enchantment in which the fantastic and exotic splendor of the thousand and one nights live again. There is a complete narration in English and the specially composed musical score, including original native music, is played by Theatre National de l'Opera Orchestra, Paris.

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AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

"Rebel Forces Burst into Spanish Capital" shrieks the morning paper that lies before me. Before this column appears in type the story will be better—or worse. The magnificent stand of the workers at Madrid may even yet prevail. If it fails the fighting will not be over nor will the workers be defeated. If on the other hand the Fascist attack on Madrid should even yet be decisively defeated, the end of the rebellion will be near. Mercenary troops and Fascists without mass support can only succeed by continuous military victory.

The danger, of course, is that if the rebels take Madrid they will be recognized by Italy and Germany. The resultant situation will increase the likelihood of war in Europe.

We Americans must bring every pressure on our government under no circumstances to join the Fascist nations of Europe in any sort of recognition of Franco's military despotism in Spain. One of the Hearst papers in glaring headlines proclaimed: "We will wreck Madrid—Franco." Franco may wreck not Madrid but the whole world if his brutal rebellion gains recognition.

President Roosevelt lost a chance to exert some practical and great moral influence for democracy and peace when he permitted his State Department to warn the Spanish government against interfering with American shipments to ports in rebel hands. In those days a political campaign was on. He wanted the support of both the Gerards and the Dubinskys. They may vote together for him in the electoral college. But he must choose between them in his thinking and acting. At the least he must not grant recognition to the rebels if Madrid temporarily should fall into their hands.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND UNITY NEEDED

If even now the delegates to the Tampa Convention can save both the unity of American labor and the principle of aggressive industrial unionization they will have done a magnificent day's work for American labor. But if the split is definite and final, Socialist sympathy and support must go to those who are aggressively organizing mass industries in the only way in which they can be organized—industrially.

We must do our best to see that the owning class profits as little as possible by a split for which there was no inexorable necessity that a statesmanlike leadership could not have avoided. Above all, in the labor movement Socialists must insist that our choice is not personal—Lewis vs. Green, but on a principle to which Socialists have long been loyal.

LABOR MUST FIGHT FOR BIGGER SHARE

It is of the utmost importance that labor as a price of long delayed and too modest wage increases should not accept the principle which ties wage increases to the cost of living. The root of most of our evils is that labor does not get what it produces. It can never afford to freeze the present division of the national income by accepting, or seeming to accept, the plan of increasing wages only as living costs increase. That means no increases at all in real wages.

FARMER-LABOR PARTY AND A NEW CRISIS

Assuming the desirability of a farmer-labor party and the necessity that exists for taking advan-

tage of the real interest there is in it, here are some questions that cannot be dodged:

How are farmers to be brought in on the ground floor? Obviously a labor party without farmers can't succeed and may even tend to driver farmers into an attitude favorable to fascism.

How can we have labor unions active in establishing a labor party—and without them it will fail—and still have a democratic rather than a bureaucratic organization? This whole problem of the method of organizing and controlling a farmer-labor party is complicated by differing election and primary laws in different states.

How shall we establish the principle of a federated farmer-labor party, so desirable to Socialists, which I understand the American Labor Party in New York City has definitely rejected?

Failing a federated party, on what terms can Socialists enter a labor party consistent with pre-

serving Socialist unity and educational influence? Should Socialists whose unions belong to the ALP join actively in that party as it is now constituted?

What steps should be taken to build out of various state and local organizations a nation-wide farmer-labor party without which inevitably local parties will be more or less pawns in the old party political game?

These and other questions will not be answered merely by repeating the Communist refrain, "We want a labor party," as if such a party were inevitable, all sufficient, and the final goal of our dreams.

"Mr. Thomas," I was asked the other night at the Debs School, "you say that a farmer-labor party in America will probably start with a less satisfactory program than the German Social-Democrats or the British Labor Party, neither of which you believe met the situation. You also say that it's quite likely that new crisis of war or

economic depression may overtake us before an effective farmer-labor party can function even if one is organized prior to 1940. Why, then, are you in favor of such a party?"

LABOR PARTY TRAINS MASSES IN ACTION

It is a fair question which I have often asked myself. The answer, as I now see it, is this:

Clearly American workers with hand and brain are far more likely to build a farmer-labor party than suddenly to make the Socialist or Communist party a mass organization. Indeed it may be better that at the beginning a mass organization should be on a farmer-labor basis than that it should make of the Socialist Party only a farmer-labor party without clear cut Socialist philosophy.

In America the farmer-labor party, properly organized and an expression of the political solidarity of the workers, would be an immense step forward. It would in

action educate and train the workers and win advantages for the masses in themselves worth while. It would give Socialists a mass base for educational work. If crisis comes, as it well may, before such a party is organized, the crisis itself may not be the final crisis or bring the revolutionary moment.

In that case the crisis may further stimulate the building of a farmer-labor party. If the crisis is intense and "final"—in so far as the word can be used in human affairs—the effort to form an FLP if carried on intelligently and on the right lines will have helped prepare the workers to take advantage of the breakdown of the old order, and the coming of the revolutionary moment and to build the new society on a Socialist, not a Fascist foundation.

But to do any of these things demands an increase of definitely Socialist activity as well as the effort to form a farmer-labor party. We must have to start with a mass party behind the European labor or social democratic parties. We must seek for such rapid progress that we shall pass them in purpose and program. It will not be an easy task but it is our best hope.

Imperialists Line Up for Drive Against China, Soviet Union

By **HAROLD K. ISAACS**

A new Japanese thrust into Inner Mongolia and reported preparations for the conclusion of an alliance between Japan and Germany demonstrated again this week the close tie between the crisis in Europe and the ever-present threat of imperialist war in the Pacific.

While the European powers jockeyed into position around the axis of the Spanish civil war, four developments on Far Eastern fronts took place:

1. An army of 30,000 Manchukuo and Mongol troops, backed by Japanese planes and tanks, started a drive from Japanese-controlled Chahar into Suiyuan.

2. The German ambassador to Tokyo, just back from Berlin, presented to the Japanese government the draft of a Nazi-Japanese alliance against the Soviet Union.

3. The American Government announced plans for spending \$2,041,000 to develop naval air bases at Wake, Midway and Guam, three tiny Pacific islands, which will bring the striking power of American imperialism within easy reach of the coasts of Japan.

4. While in Nanking bargaining between Japan and the Nanking government proceeded furiously, in Shanghai 13,000 Chinese workers struck in Japanese cotton mills and fought in the streets with Chinese police and Japanese marines.

Here we have all the component elements of the Far Eastern conflicts that will and must accompany—and possibly precede—the outbreak of a new imperialist war in Europe.

ANTI-SOVIET PLANS

The Japanese invasion of Inner Mongolia and the proposed Nazi-Japanese alliance are both integral parts of Japan's plans for an attack on the Soviet Union. Japan wants Inner Mongolia in order to complete its encirclement of the Soviet Union. It already commands the caravan routes between China and Outer Mongolia, with borders on the Soviet

Warlord



Chiang Kai-shek, Canton dictator, all dressed up in preparation for selling out his people once again.

Union in the North. It is already astride the Peiping-Suiyuan railway which links Inner Mongolia to China.

By extending its sphere southward and westward, it would command the routes to Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) which borders on the Soviet Union in the far west. China and Russia, once joined by a common frontier more than 5,000 miles long, would be separated by a series of Japanese-sponsored puppet states, Manchurian, North Chinese, Mongolian.

Nazi-Japanese collaboration is a thoroughly logical outgrowth of the common interests of the two countries. Conclusion of an alliance between the two would bring Japan into line with the anti-Soviet front being organized in Europe by Germany and Italy with the guarded support of Britain. It would trebly underline the collapse of the system of "collective security," which the leadership of the Soviet Union insisted would make for world peace.

U. S. A. IMPERIALISM

American imperialism, on its part, is preparing tirelessly for the day when it will have to strike to assert its own supre-

macy in the Pacific. Its fundamental policy has been and remains the construction of an immense fighting machine in Pacific waters, of which the new trans-pacific airline and the new naval

is only one part. The "liberal" and "peace-loving" Roosevelt administration has carried this policy further than any American government has yet dared to do.

In direct line with this is the Pan-American conference, called at Roosevelt's initiative, which represents a bold American drive for the mobilization of the whole Western hemisphere and which serves a warning on Great Britain and Japan alike that Uncle Sam rules this roost and will countenance no opposition. The "good neighbor" policy of Roosevelt is after all the Monroe Doctrine revamped to 20th century requirements. It is an essential cornerstone in American preparations for war.

In the Far East, American imperialism has played a careful, waiting game. It has watched Japan's drive for imperialist conquest in China in the hopes that the unsubstantial structure of Japanese imperialism will crack under the strain that drive puts upon it. It views the prospect of a Soviet-Japanese war with calm interest, for it intends that such a war shall pull chestnuts out of the fire for the United States.

In China it has taken tentative steps to encourage the Chinese bourgeoisie to resist Japanese pressure. In the reorganization of Chinese currency a year ago, it snatched the initiative out of Great Britain's hands and by the gold exchange agreement concluded with China last summer in effect pegged Chinese currency to the U. S. dollar. A by-product of this accord has resulted in China remaining the chief purchaser of American fighting planes and war equipment.

NANKING DICTATOR

It is in part this support that has enabled Chiang Kai-shek, the Nanking dictator, to beat down

and—more often—buy out his militarist rivals and to create the semblance of a "unified" country under the control of the Nanking government. It is this in turn that has strengthened his hand in the bargaining with the Japanese imperialists. He is also taking advantage of an acute internal political and economic crisis in Japan itself.

After five years of repeated surrender and capitulation to Japan, five years of an unimaginable terror waged with cold brutality against every manifestation of an anti-imperialist movement in that country, Chiang Kai-shek has grown bold enough to demand better terms from the Japanese than they have, until now, been willing to offer. The extent of his resistance to the Japanese will be determined by the degree of support he receives from the United States and/or Great Britain, for the Chinese bourgeoisie can choose only between imperialist masters. It cannot end imperialist domination and itself survive.

That is why news of a strike of 13,000 workers in Shanghai's Japanese-owned cotton mills is of such importance. A dispute between the Chinese bourgeoisie and the imperialists is a dispute between slave driver and slave buyer. Against the slave both have been united and will remain united tomorrow.

The Chinese workers and peasants know what kind of a struggle Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang waged against imperialism ten years ago. They know that the Kuomintang bought imperialist support by drowning the workers' and peasants' movement in blood. They know they will free themselves by struggling against the Kuomintang and against imperialism alike. Nothing symbolized this fact better than the fact that the strikers in Shanghai this week came into immediate armed conflict with Chinese police and Japanese marines.

What are the real perspectives of the anti-imperialist movement in China? What has happened to the Chinese "Soviets" and the Red Armies? These questions will be dealt with in a second article by Harold K. Isaacs next week.