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Socialist Call

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AUTO WORKERS PREPARE FOR A GENERAL STRIKE

One Third Off WPA; Jobless Plan To March

By BRENDON SEXTON

President Roosevelt this week announced he would ask for a deficiency appropriation of \$500,000,000 to carry the WPA for the remainder of the fiscal year. This appropriation will, if it is voted by Congress, permit the employment of about 86 per cent of those now on the works rolls, necessitating a layoff totaling some 800,000.

Although the Workers Alliance was able, in localities where it is strongly organized, to deliver severe blows to the administration's layoff campaign, it becomes increasingly obvious that the administration's retreat was at best temporary. As was expected, the retreat was made only in the strongly organized sections. Even there the best that has been won is a temporary respite.

By and large, the layoffs have ceased. But they have ceased long enough only to give Roosevelt time to have a peaceful inauguration, unmarred by mass protests of aroused project workers.

Pink Slip Pilgrimage

That his inauguration will not be so peaceful and beautiful as he would like is guaranteed by the plans of the Workers Alliance for a series of demonstrations which will move the project workers of the nation into action on January 9, and which will carry them to Washington in a monster "Pink Slip Pilgrimage" following that date.

During the coming week, regional conferences of the leading officers of the Alliance will be held in every section of the country. At these conferences plans will be made to insure the success of the "Day of Demonstration", January 9, and to push the "Pink Slip Pilgrimage".

One of the things which has hampered these protests in the past has been the tragic weakness of the organized unemployed and project workers in certain sections of the country. This has given the administration an opportunity to make its cuts at the expense of unorganized workers who were unable to make their protests heard.

The regional conferences will take steps to remedy this weakness, so that when the administration

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Bosses Fight Kelsey-Hayes Auto Workers

By FRANK MARQUART

DETROIT.—Developments in the Detroit Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Company strike make it increasingly clear that it is not merely a contest between management and employes over hours and wages but a fight in which the Manufacturers Association is challenging the right of the automobile workers to organize into bonafide unions.

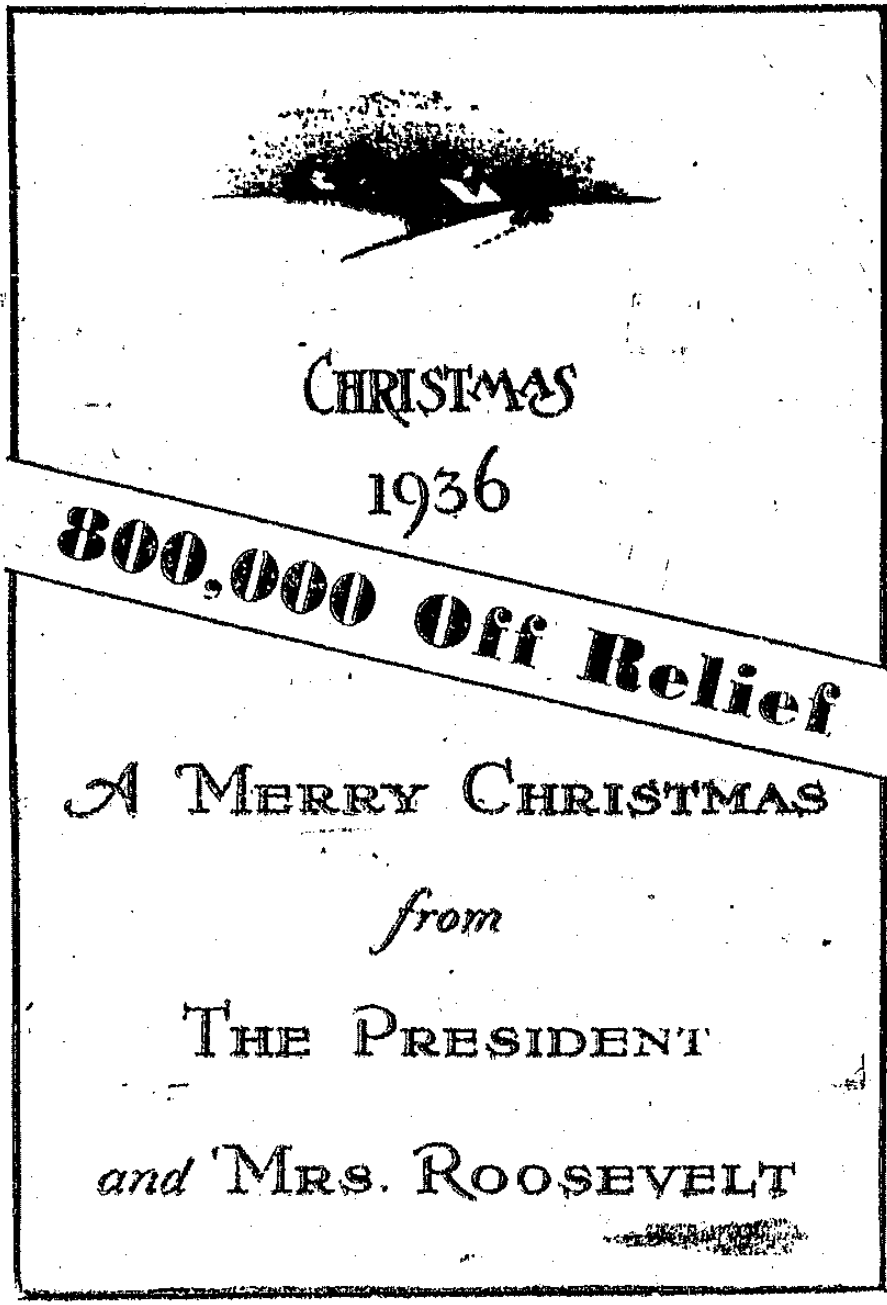
Mistatements

To work up public sentiment against the strikers the company resorts to misrepresentation of the grossest kind, claiming for instance that a five cent an hour increase in wages was granted a month ago and that a 75 cent wage was established on December 11. It neglected to say that the first increase was granted only after negotiations with a union committee and that the minimum wage was given only after a sit-down strike was already in progress.

John Cowgill, chairman of the company union, was booted off the stage of Dom Polski Hall as soon as he started the meeting which had been called by the Company union officials themselves. Richard Frankenstein, Detroit organizing director for the United Automobile Workers, and Walter Reuther, president of Local 174 and active Socialist mounted the stage and were greeted with cheers.

Strikers Learn

Merlin Bishop, also a stay-in-striker, is making the most of his experiences as Educational Director of the United Automobile Workers, by holding classes on the history of the American labor movement.



CHRISTMAS
1936

800,000 Off Relief

A MERRY CHRISTMAS
from
THE PRESIDENT
and MRS. ROOSEVELT

A facsimile of the President's personal greeting cards—with a necessary addition.

Action Is Expected By Spring

BY SAMUEL ROMER

The union showdown in auto is just around the corner.

Definite indications that the open shop, proud boast of the industry since 1921, would be challenged before the spring production peak was reached were seen last week in a wave of sit-down actions and strikes that swept the industry.

Preparing for the general strike in the industry to humble the auto barons, leaders of the United Automobile Workers have begun negotiations with unions in allied industries, such as glass manufacture, for joint action against their common employers.

In Washington, Homer Martin, international president of the union, was promised the support of the powerful Committee for Industrial Organization by John L. Lewis, miners' leader and CIO head. Martin also conferred with Glen W. McCabe, president of the Federation of Flat Glass Workers.

General Strike

Lewis, in Washington, issued a blast against the General Motors Corp., biggest of the "big three", for its failure to agree to union recognition, and warned of a strike affecting 200,000 workers if the attitude did not change.

GM, he declared, "practices widespread discrimination against members of the union". He pointed to the huge dividends of the GM and other automobile companies as the basis for union demands for wage increases.

That action in auto should begin in parts plants rather than in the assembly factories is not surprising to observers of auto labor. The parts plants have always been easier to organize because, removed from the public eye, they have emphasized practices of paying starvation wages. It was recalled that the last great strike wave was started in the spring of 1933 by the 10,000 workers in the Briggs Manufacturing Co., body builders of 17,000 tool and die makers in the fall of that year.

Four Year Effort

The strike this spring will mark the climax of a four-year effort to organize automobile labor. After the war and the post-war anti-labor period had

(Continued on Page Seven)

U.S. Socialists To Send Debs Brigade To Spain

By JACK ALTMAN

Executive Secretary, Local New York

A contingent of technical experts, engineers and aviators, to be known as the Eugene V. Debs Column, is being organized by Socialists in this country to join the International Brigade which has played an important part in the heroic defense of Madrid.

While our comrades from all over the world are fighting on the barricades of Spain, we in America cannot remain idle. American Socialists are as willing to risk their lives in the struggle for Socialism in Spain as they are in their own country.

This is but one of the numerous ways in which American Socialists are aiding the fight of the workers and peasants in Spain.

Experiences

The party throughout the country has responded magnificently in

this work. As I am best acquainted with what has been done and is being done along these lines in Local New York of the party, I will limit myself to that locality. Nor is this meant as an answer to the scurrilous attacks in the Communist Daily Worker—the CALL has done that effectively—but rather to give to the party our experiences so that we can learn from each other.

Within the last few months the main slogan of the party and the Young People's Socialist League in

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All Out Jan. 4 To Madison Square Garden To Help Defeat Fascist Forces In Spain

Anti-Trotsky Drive Splits Labor Unity, Thomas Declares

NEW YORK.—The right of asylum for Trotsky and an international commission to investigate the Moscow trials were the central demands of a giant meeting held in New York City by the Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky.

Close to three thousand persons packed the hall, while nearly two thousand persons were turned away from the door.

The keynote of the meeting, as sounded by Suzanne Lafollette, writer and publicist, was the desire of the Committee to act "for the preservation of democratic rights dear to all Americans." The Committee, which was "largely non-political," was anxious to see to it that the right of asylum, today placed in jeopardy by so many, be preserved against all attacks.

Norman Thomas, James T. Farrell, Max Schachtman, and Max Eastman were the principal speakers at the meeting.

Injures Movement

Thomas charged the Communist International with injuring the working class movement by injecting the Trotsky issue, at a time when united action is needed in defense of the Spanish workers and peasants. The anti-Trotsky campaign, moreover, was undermining the right of asylum and setting a "precedent which will be used by Hitler and Mussolini to make the whole world a prison house."

By such action, Thomas charged, the Communist International was placing a stain upon the honor of the working class movement.

As one who wished to see the achievements of the Russian Revolution preserved, Thomas demanded that the Soviet Union officials halt this campaign of slander against Trotsky and let the truth be known before an impartial international commission of investigation.

Farrel Speaks

James T. Farrell, popular author of "Studs Lonigan," introduced as one who, "being an Irishman, likes a good fight," characterized the evidence at the Moscow trials as "utterly worthless and fantastic," and described the behavior of the Communist press as "Red Journalism Gone Yellow!"

Farrel termed Trotsky the real "strong man" of Russia, because it took real strength to go about "never knowing whether you will be killed by a Stalinist or Fascist—that takes real courage!"

Max Schachtman, author of the analytic booklet, "Behind the Moscow Trials," gave a critical presentation of the charges against Trotsky.

"To demand extradition would mean a trial at which Trotsky could openly state his case. And so the Soviet officials merely demand deportation. But where do they want him to go? They want him in the Soviet Union where the executioner's bullet is held in readiness for him. But they do not dare to say so."

Reactionary

He attacked as reactionary the Communist proposal to hand over people charged with being assassins to any government that demanded them.

In practice this would have meant that the working class movement should have taken action to hand over Vera Zassulich, the old Russian revolutionary, and Fritz Adler, the Austrian Socialist, to their reactionary governments.

Herbert Solow, editor of a forthcoming book on Carl Von Ossietzky, the Nobel Prize Winner, attacking the trials of the Soviet Government as frame ups. (These quotations appear on this page.)

The speeches of Max Eastman and Norman Thomas were broadcast over Station WQXR.

Thomas said in part: "May I make it clear that I ap-

proach this subject as a friend and well wisher of Russia, profoundly concerned for the preservation and increase of her great achievements.

"Of those great achievements Leon Trotsky was one of the principal architects. For reasons immaterial to this discussion I am not a Trotskyist. But it needs no argument to support the assertion that Trotsky has a secure place for all time among the outstanding leaders of the workers. We are asked to believe that this man—theoretician, organizer, and historian of the Russian Revolution—contrary to the teachings of his whole life time, has become an utterly unscrupulous assassin willing to ally himself, if necessary, with Hitler for the achievement of his end. And all this on the basis of the Moscow trials.

"As a result of confessions made in these trials the Russian government demanded of Norway not the extradition of Trotsky on the charge of inciting to assassination—a charge which would have meant automatically that Trotsky would have got a legal hearing—but rather his deportation without hearing and without trial.

"For our purposes the significant facts of the Moscow trials are these: The case against the accused rested wholly upon their own confessions. There were no independent witnesses and no supporting evidence except one alleged letter from Trotsky which it is charged was a distortion of a genuine letter by him referring to the removal of Stalin not from life but from a position in the Soviet Party Council. After the orgy of confessions was over Zinoviev and the rest were executed without the usual 72 hours delay.

"By this process of confession of men who had been prisoners for almost two years, wholly under the power of the Russian government without benefit of outside counsel, such as Dmitroff had sought in Germany, the Stalin government and the Communist Party have claimed that the guilt of Trotsky was completely proved.

"The position is wholly untenable in law and in justice. What makes it still more untenable is the fact that some of the confessions contained demonstrable errors in fact. Holtzmann, whose testimony against Trotsky was regarded as very important says that he met Trotsky's son, Sedov, at the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen in 1932 and was taken by Sedov to his father where he got instructions about assassinating Stalin. At that date, 1932 the Hotel Bristol, which was pulled down in 1917, had not been rebuilt. Sedov Trotsky was never in Copenhagen in his life.

"It is on evidence like this that the Communist Party seeks to brand one of its greatest founders as an assassin and to stir up the workers of the world against him everywhere. Both the Stalin government and the Communist Party by this policy must share responsibility for the bitter division of the working class which they then deplore and lay at Trotsky's door. It is Communist agitation which is responsible, for instance, for the vehement opposition of some sections of the working class in Mexico to the offer by the Mexican government of asylum to Trotsky. These sections of the working class are not acting on full knowledge of the facts but only on Communist propaganda.

"Why do these things matter so much? In a world like ours justice to the individual always matters. The right of asylum is one

Carl Von Ossietzky On Moscow Trials

Carl Von Ossietzky, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize while in a Nazi concentration camp, knows what political trials mean. On January 24, 1933, a month after his release from prison where he was put by the Bruening regime and five brief months before he began his four years in Hitler's concentration camp, he wrote in his magazine, Weltbuehne, the following editorial inspired by Stalin's persecution of Trotsky's daughter:

"We publish in full this letter of Trotsky, portions of which have appeared in numerous papers, because it cannot become too well known what the Moscovites out of blind hate have done to their greatest living hero. No sensible person will doubt Stalin's right to defend himself against Trotsky's political genius as best he can. But the means of struggle must correspond to the spirit of the proletarian revolution, rather than be taken from the worst arsenal of the bourgeois police regime. The innumerable non-Communist defenders of the Soviet Union throughout the world who have year after year come out against idiotic red scares, who are endeavoring to wrest one after another the red prisoners of their respective governments, are entitled to an answer. Why should we fight any more if Moscow itself behaves no differently from Chialpe or Scotland Yard."

HEARNDON APPEAL

The second appeal of Angelo Herndon to the U. S. Supreme Court will not be heard until February. Herndon, young Negro Communist, is under an 18-to-20 year sentence on the Georgia chain gang, having been convicted under an ancient slave insurrection statute.

of the oldest forms of mitigation of the blood feuds known to history.

"If the Stalin government can successfully deny the right of asylum to Leon Trotsky it will have created a precedent that Mussolini, Hitler and other Fascist dictators can use to make the whole world a prison-house with the keys in their hands. Under these circumstances no one would suffer more than the Communists themselves.

"Moreover the nature of the attack upon Trotsky and upon those of us who support the right of asylum for him tends to undermine any probable basis for working class unity such as the Communists profess to favor. In this matter a party of the workers is adopting against one of their former leaders tactics as ruthless and unscrupulous as any which this world of hate and intolerance now reveal. Not on such basis can we ever build that fellowship of free men which is our ultimate hope."

Telegrams of solidarity were received at the meeting from many parts of the world. A number of striking seamen sent telegrams from their picket posts on the West Coast.

Against Dismissals



While 34 men and women protested against dismissals from WPA in Chicago in a sit-down strike, other jobless braved cold winds from Lake Michigan to rouse public support. Telegrams and messages of solidarity are pouring in to them, among them a wire from the Socialist Party which read: "National headquarters Socialist Party is behind your protest demonstration. We offer you full cooperation of our organization. WPA must absorb all unemployed at union wages. This can only be done by organized activity. We support your demands and wish you success."

800,000 Are Fired From WPA; Jobless Plan March on Wash.

(Continued from Page One)

tration attempts to make its next wholesale layoff it will find no haven for easy retreat, but will be met by a wall of powerful organization everywhere it turns.

New England Revives

This writer has recently had an opportunity to travel in New England, which to date has been one of the weakest links in the chain of organization strung across the country by the Alliance. There he found project workers and unemployed awakening to the necessity for organization.

All through that territory groups are springing up, and old locals which had nearly died because of their isolation are taking a new lease on life. Particularly notable was the organization of white-collar workers in Boston, where in a very short time over 700 workers have enlisted in the fight.

The vitality of the Alliance here in New York was demonstrated last Saturday when for the second successive week it was able to mobilize thousands of workers in action. This time more than 5,000 of its unemployed members picketed City Hall in protest against recent cuts in the relief rolls of this city and to

demand increased rent and clothing allowances.

Election Scare

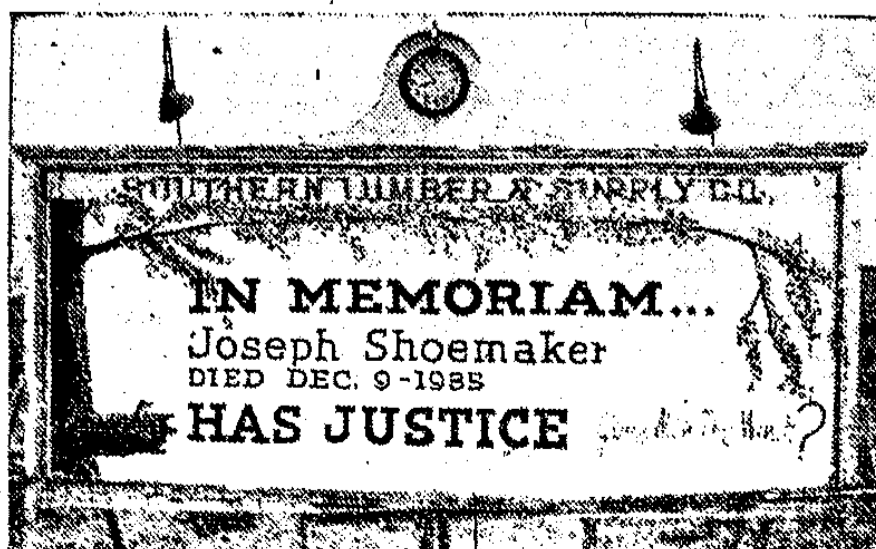
The proximity of the municipal elections seems to have caused a revision of Mayor LaGuardia's attitude towards the organized unemployed. For the first time in nearly two years he met with a committee of jobless on the day previous to the demonstration. He promised them another conference at which the question of rents and clothing allotments will be taken up.

LaGuardia seems anxious to fill the role of workers' "Santa Claus" left vacant by the recent desertion of the President. Whether or not the capitalist politician will once more be able to fool organized labor remains to be seen.

The dispatch with which the Roosevelt administration threatens to carry through the cuts on WPA has amazed even its most ardent critics. It was pretty generally assumed in really progressive labor circles that, once re-elected, Roosevelt would turn the usual politicians somersault. But not even these workers could have foreseen such an abrupt, brazen about-face as he has made.

The Non-Partisan Labor League and others who gave either open or tacit support to Roosevelt now find themselves holding a great big political bag. Not since the war days have the liberal and pseudo-radical lesser-evillists received such a severe jolt. It is to be hoped that it will awaken them, so that we shall never again witness the spectacle of a "Labor Party" supporting the bosses' candidates.

Tampa Does Not Forget



This giant poster appeared on a Tampa billboard recently to remind the countryside of the brutal murder of Joseph Shoemaker by police

WATCH THE WRAPPER

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Sea Strikers On West Coast Near Union Contract

By JOHN NEWTON THURBER

Continued solidarity of the striking West Coast maritime workers has brought victory close at hand. After eight weeks of strike, which followed months of futile negotiations,

Harry Lundberg, secretary of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific, has announced that representatives of the shipowners have come to terms.

West Coast victory will be the result of the militant solidarity which has characterized the strike on the Pacific. After weeks of jockeying in which efforts were made to break the unity of the seven crafts affiliated in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, it was finally possible to force the shipowners to terms. A variety of devices have failed to defeat the essential unity of the West Coast unions.

"Impartial"

Lundberg, together with representatives of the other crafts, including Burke of the Marine Cooks and Ferguson of the Marine Firemen, declined all proposals of "impartial arbitration." As a result they have been able to get their demands.

While the capitalist press is attempting to hint that the Sailors are settling and leaving the other unions out in the cold, the negotiating committee which represents the Federation is insisting that all key questions be answered: hiring hall, cash for overtime, the eight-hour day for cooks and stewards, and wage adjustments.

On the East Coast, the principal development of the week has been the addition of Baltimore longshoremen to the ranks of the strikers.

Ryan—Strikebreaker

Despite the fact that hardly a boat has stirred in Baltimore harbor since the men walked out, Joseph P. Ryan, strikebreaking president of the International Longshoremen's Association, indignantly denies that the Baltimore stevedores have defied his orders. In other ports his anti-strike policy has had more influence, but his experiences in attempting to keep the Baltimore men in line will doubtless keep him from visiting that port for a while.

Reports have it that he narrowly escaped with his clothes on his back after he had attempted to curb the militancy of Baltimore port workers.

Likewise, in the New York Central Trades and Labor Council a near riot followed the steam-roller adoption of an endorsement of Ryan's policy against the striking seamen. Ryan had attempted to get the resolution adopted in answer to the strike-breaking label which was stuck on him by various labor leaders speaking at the Madison Square Garden mass meeting of last Wednesday.

Maneuver

In the meanwhile Ryan's move to out-manuever the strikers by launching his own form of a national maritime federation, in the face of the unanimous demand from rank and file groups on all three coasts, and on the Great Lakes, met no favorable response. Ryan, working with William Green, proposed to form such a federation without including the Maritime Federation of the Pacific in its numbers.

A delegation of New York strike leaders carried the fight against the Copeland "Fink" Act, officially known as the "Continuous Discharge Act" in Washington. Leaders of the strikers appeared be-

An Explanation

Although the CALL of last week announced that Norman Thomas was to address the seamen's meeting at Madison Square Garden, he did not speak.

Comrade Thomas had been invited to speak by Joe Curran, strike leader. Communist forces were immediately mobilized to demand that Earl Browder also speak. Rather than to permit this issue to become a point of debate and to turn the strike meeting into a political symposium, Thomas, in the interest of unity and the success of the strike, offered to withdraw as speaker.

This accounts for his absence.

fore various officials in Washington to protest putting this act into effect. They have announced that they will attempt to see President Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor Perkins, and Secretary of Commerce Roper.

Unlike the West Coast strikers, the East Coast leadership does not yet realize that this act is a part of the administration's program of national defense and that it is quite unlikely that any substantial compromise will be made in the terms of this "legalized blacklist" legislation.

Rubber Workers Contribute to Seamen

AKRON, Ohio.—H. F. Cook, Socialist and representative of the striking Maritime workers, spoke before the Goodrich local, United Rubber Workers, here and received a pledge of \$2,000 for aid to the strike. Akron rubber workers have been following the progress of the strike on both coasts from its outset. Arrangements have been made through Cook to have Joseph Curran, head of the East Coast striking seamen, to speak here at a mass meeting on Sunday, December 27, which will be attended by rubber workers from Goodyear and all other locals.

More Trained Soldiers to Fight Fascism



These military students in Barcelona, Catalonia, are getting lessons in how to handle a machine gun. Catalonia is becoming the pivot of the developments in Spain.

Spanish Capitalists For British Plan

Madrid's workers' and peasants' armies have so reinforced their defenses that foreign military observers doubt Franco can enter the capital unless an army of a hundred thousand is provided by Hitler and Mussolini.

The most pressing danger to the Spanish masses now comes from the European chancelleries.

The Anglo-Italian "gentlemen's agreement" on common interests in the Mediterranean, and a conciliatory statement directed to England in Germany's semi-official "Diplomatische Korrespondenz" are straws in the wind indicating that Hitler and Mussolini are considering accepting seriously the Anglo-French proposal for "solving" the Spanish crisis.

The Anglo-French plan for an armistice followed by a supervised plebiscite is simply a scheme to establish the present division of Spain as the permanent status-quo.

In the midst of white terror, the population in Fascist-held territory would be herded to the polls; thus Franco would be enabled to claim "popular support" for his regime. His police-state would be a constant threat

against the workers in Biscay, Valencia and Catalonia, to prevent them from going beyond bourgeois democracy.

The authoritative British spokesman, Augur, revealed on December 17 that the Basque and Catalonian bourgeois are favorable to the Anglo-French plan.

(Lack of space prevents the CALL carrying a full story on the changes in the Catalonian government. In the next issue, there will be an extended presentation.)

Clarence Senior Goes to Mexico

CHICAGO, (LSP)—Clarence Senior, who recently resigned as the national executive secretary of the Socialist party because of ill health, left last week for Mexico. A number of organizations have appointed him their Mexican representative to keep them informed of developments.

He was given a sendoff at a farewell banquet attended by several hundred people. Tribute was paid him for his successful efforts to rebuild the Socialist party. Hundreds of messages expressed regret at his leaving.

Socialist Aid Adds Vigor to Clerk Strike

By B. J. WIDICK

AKRON, Ohio.—The Socialist Party hall here was transformed this week into headquarters for the strikers of the Hardware and Supply Company as organized labor rallied behind the walkout, considered the most important since the five-week Goodyear strike last spring.

Since the Hardware company is managed by H. H. Kuhn, head of the Greater Akron Association, notorious rubber company financed union-busting agency, a victory for the workers spells the smash-up of this dangerous foe. That's one reason the rubber companies are supporting Kuhn.

The strikers were becoming discouraged when the Young People's Socialist League set up a soup kitchen and volunteered to help win the walk-out.

Farmers Help

Farmers who were recently aided by the Socialist Party in the milk strike, were contacted and they brought plenty of potatoes and vegetables for the commissary.

Meanwhile, the Central Labor Union set up its strike defense committee that played such a big role in the Goodyear strike, and it began to arrange further financial and picket line support.

Hot meals are being served three times daily by Young Socialists to the Hardware strikers at the hall. Unanimous approval of accepting the support of the party was voiced after a comrade explained the purpose and position of the Socialists in relation to the strike.

Because of the mobilization of all these forces behind the strikers, it is evident that the company soon will grant them the majority of the demands.

Join Union

Incensed over the low wages, the clerks at the Hardware company began to talk unionism so the manager fired one of the militants. Called to assist them, a Socialist had them join the Retail Clerks Union and a protest sit-down was staged. Demands were drawn up and the sit-down was transformed into a strike.

Fear of some of the strikers of a "red scare" was dispelled when a militant Goodyear rubber worker spoke in praise of the work of the Socialist party at a strike meeting and when he explained why the scare talk was raised by employers.

De los Rios True Spokesman For Spain's Heroic Masses

When Fernando de los Rios was presented to President Roosevelt as the Spanish Ambassador to the United States, polite diplomatic Washington society gasped at his address of greeting. For de los Rios departed from the usual diplomatic formula (the stereotypes so dear to the ambassadorial heart) to speak bluntly to the President of the "invasion" of his beloved Spain by an alien Fascist force.

One of the outstanding public figures in Spain, he will make his first public appearance in America Monday evening, January 4, in Madison Square Garden, New York, under the sponsorship of the United Spanish Societies.

Fernando de los Rios is no ordinary diplomat, although he can boast, if he wills, of a background and culture equal to any. For his heart beats with the international working-class. Underneath his diplomatic presence is the man who languished in Rivera's jails for his fight for



FERNANDO DE LOS RIOS

Socialism. De los Rios is far more than Ambassador to Socialists; he is a comrade.

The Ambassador is no stranger

to the United States, having visited here three times before his assumption of the diplomatic post. He first came in 1919 as a technical advisor to the International Labor Congress at Washington and returned in 1926 to take part in the International Congress of Philosophy at Harvard University. Two years later, he came as a Visiting Professor in Spanish Culture to Columbia University.

He was elected to the Spanish Chamber of Deputies as a member of the Spanish Socialist workers' Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol) of which he has been a member. He was jailed during the monarchy for Republican activities and after the forced abdication of King Alfonso became the Minister of Justice in the provisional government prior to the establishment of the Republic.

He is the author of the law on religious liberty passed in 1931.

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A WORD ON PACIFISM

The plight of the pure pacifist is an unhappy one today. What does he propose that the Spanish workers and peasants do?

The Spanish workers and peasants are not fighting in defense of the imperialist interests of their country against other imperialists. They are fighting a civil war, this time begun by Fascist generals.

The choice before the Spanish masses was: fight or surrender.

To surrender would not mean the absence of violence or bloodshed. Surrender would have made Spain another Germany, a nation wallowing in a long protracted blood bath, drenched in slavery and sorrow.

To fight meant the possible defeat of reaction. And it means more. Working class victory must mean the beginnings of a Socialist economy in Spain, the beginnings of a Society wherein all war, civil and foreign, will disappear. A Society where the roots of civil war—class antagonisms—and foreign war—imperialist interests—will be destroyed.

This is one time that realistic pacifists, those who want a world of peace, must realize that they can only realize their ultimate purposes by directly strengthening the hands of the Spanish workers and peasants in their civil war against Spanish reaction.

As our colleague, *The Milwaukee Leader*, states:

"In Spain, with Fascists in control, active non-resistance—that is, persons who engaged in peaceful resistance by refusing to pay taxes or otherwise engaging in non-violent non-co-operation—would simply be killed. Furthermore, non-violence would insure the Fascists getting the upper hand and ruling over a people the great majority of whom do not want them."

If pacifists must preach while the civil war is raging in Spain, we frankly propose that they confine themselves to preaching pacifism to the Fascists only. That would be a revolutionary deed.

But to preach pacifism to the working class in this or a similar situation would, by the very same token, be playing into the hands of reaction!

TROTSKY AND LABOR UNITY

The international manhunt against Trotsky is the interest not of a man and a group of his followers, but of the international working class.

When the working class is in need of its greatest unity, the Communist International is using its hate or fear of Trotsky to drive a wedge into the ranks of the revolutionary forces.

In Spain the drive against Trotskyism makes the Communist Party one of the prime movers to expel the POUM, a working class party, from the Catalonian cabinet, and thereby to strengthen capitalist elements. Just because the POUM once was the Spanish arm of Trotsky!

In Mexico the labor movement is thrown into a furor, with Communists mobilizing every ounce of energy within the labor movement, to compel President Cardenas from extending right of asylum to Trotsky.

In America the *Daily Worker* calls upon all its supporters to launch a drive in labor unions to have them send resolutions to Mexico to give Trotsky no home.

This splitting drive comes—just when the Spanish masses need the united support of the workers of the world.

This drive comes—just when the Fascist powers move to curtail the right of asylum.

And this move comes from the Soviet Union, with an additional proposal: to reach an agreement, internationally, to hand over assassins. And who are assassins? Why, those accused of being such in the courts of any nation.

Thus does the Communist International make a drive to aid Hitler and Mussolini in converting the whole world into their prison cells!

This mad drive against Trotsky cuts deep into the hearts of the working class not only because it is splitting the revolutionary movement, because it is injuring support for Spain, because it is hitting the right of asylum, because it strengthens the hand of every capitalist tyrant, but also because it weakens the defense of the Soviet Union and casts a blot upon the working class movement.

It was good to see the giant mass meeting run in New York for the defense of Trotsky by people who would not be bullied by the Communist cry of: Assassinate the assassin! But it was just as sad to see the way in which the bureaucratic excesses of the workers' state in Russia had distorted the mind of Max Eastman. So magnified had the repressive features of the Soviet state become in his mind that he could not see below these governmental trimmings into the basically working class nature of the soviet regime. He, like the Communists, identified the Soviet Union with its bureaucracy. Into one ditch, he clucked the Soviet Union, Hitler and Mussolini!

We are sorry that we can not grant Max Eastman poetic license here. By his comment that he realized that he disagreed with the Trotskyites on this point Eastman indicated that he was not just using figures of speech but was trying to talk scientifically. If Eastman was really speaking his mind and not his spleen, we can

One Leg In



Whose Factory Is It?

Connecticut Labor Waking Up

To the Editor:

Connecticut, the heart and home of the reactionary misleaders of labor, is at last waking up. The corrupt machine of these "Yakirs" is rapidly crumbling under their finger-tips. The will of the membership in this state is at last forging ahead under progressive leadership.

The cry of the membership is now, "No official in office who can be bought and sold like a peck of potatoes." Everywhere in this area, the rotten, reactionary misleaders are being overruled by the unanimous vote of the membership.

Recently, when the striking seamen attempted to raise funds in Connecticut, there was a concerted effort on the part of certain outlaws to block these moves. The fact that this struggle was the most strategic in so far as it affected the peace of the nation, was overlooked, or scoffed at by these phoney. They declared the strike outlaw. They claimed that the AFL outlawed the strike.

They overlooked the fact that the membership was out on a 10,000 mile picket line, 150,000 strong, fighting for the life of their union. The international solidarity shown in this strike by seven foreign groups of workers meant nothing to them.

Almost every trade union in the area is contributing to the fight of the seamen. The Hartford Central Labor Union has endorsed the strike, as has the New Haven and Bridgeport CLU meetings.

The "Open Shop State" is closing up very shortly!

BUD COOK, Striking Seaman.

New Methods Of Revolution

To The Editor:

The very last words in the recent book "War" by Norman Thomas read: "The value and permanence of the revolution which is to establish a fellowship of free men may well depend on our success in finding other methods of advancing it than the appeal to the large-scale violence which is war." The excesses of the Stalin regime lend special significance to the expression "value and permanence of the revolution."

An equally honest inquiry is needed at present as to whether the use of armed force is even able to achieve the transfer of power. The experience of Austria and Spain are before us. In both cases the spirited workers chose the tactic of arms. In Spain they had part of the army, part of the air force and navy. Do you expect them to have a more favorable break in France, England or America?

Revolutionary thinkers should not be satisfied with the alibi, "If only we had more guns." Rather inquire: "Can we beat the enemy at their own tricks with the weapons they choose?"

Even hard-boiled Americans have renounced the bosses' weapon of violence and in the conduct of strikes, are exploring more revolutionary avenues of non-violent struggle. We Socialists who guard this heritage of Debs should not be the ones to uphold exclusively those traditional forms of struggle that went out of date with the Paris Commune.

EDWARD P. GOTTLIEB New York City

Socialists Spent 11 Cents a Vote; CP's Cost \$2.02

The Socialist Party conducted the most efficient campaign of any political group in the 1936 elections, according to official figures released from Washington, in so far as expenditures by the parties were concerned.

In a report compiled by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, it was shown that the Democratic Party spent \$3,500,000 and polled 27,000,000 votes; the Republican Party spent \$7,500,000 and polled 16,000,000 votes; the Communist Party spent \$157,275 and polled but 80,096 votes; while the Socialist Party spent only \$20,973 and polled a total of 187,000 votes.

In per capita expenditures, this indicates that each vote which was cast for Browder cost the Communist organization \$2.02, while each Socialist vote represented an outlay of but eleven cents. The Republicans were the closest competitors of the Communists, spending 45 cents for each vote polled, while the Roosevelt landslide cost the Democratic party 12 1/2 cents for each vote.

only say that his position must not only remove him from the camp of revolutionaries, but, followed through, must place him outside the pale of the working class movement.

Yes, it is sad to see the Communist International injecting its sectarian factionalism into the working class movement, even when it means alliance with reaction. It is sadder to see how this policy drives friends of the Soviet Union into the enemy camp. But it is saddest to see a Max Eastman lose his balance, as he has done!

WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

AFTER suffering a severe setback when the Blum government was established and broke a tradition of four decades of opposition to coalition and participation in capitalist governments, the revolutionary Socialist movement in France is again making headway. The honeymoon period of the "Peoples Front Government" is ending. The Radical Socialists on one hand, the Communists on the other, are beginning to pull at the bit.

The Fascist organization, both of the de la Roque and the Doriot tendencies, and the Fascist leaders in the army, the fleet, in the courts (wasn't the Peoples Front supposed to clean these elements out?) as well as the Fascist press are more arrogant, more provocative, than ever. The hounding of Salengro to death is only a climax of the campaign which the Fascists are carrying on against the workers and their organizations—a campaign which includes assassinations, breaking up of meetings and mass attacks against workers.

Socialists Grow Restless

The seeming helplessness of the government in the face of these provocations has given rise to restlessness among the Socialist workers and among the advanced workers generally. The enthusiasm which tended to blind them to the shortcomings of the Peoples Front government is wearing off. And the reality of its inability to do anything substantial for the workers is pushing them further to a revolutionary position. It is this which serves as the basis for the revival of revolutionary Socialism.

The revolutionary journal, *Le Gauche Revolutionnaire*, which had lapsed for a while, has again reappeared, in larger form. The Paris section of the Youth, recovering from the effects of the Zeller expulsion-split, is issuing an independent paper, *Le Jeune Garde*, to express the revolutionary point of view among the young Socialists. At the present time, the left-wing is conducting a campaign in the party for a discussion of the attitude of the party to the military question and to the danger of war. It protests against permitting the ministers to introduce legislation for increases in the military budget, for adopting the entire military program of the government.

The revolutionary wing has made the following demands to be carried out by the Blum government: Liquidation of the forces of coercion of the bourgeoisie; no prohibition on any proletarian revolutionary papers (this is a protest against the prohibition of the Spanish Anarchist press); no prohibition of the occupation of factories; no prohibition on demonstrations; no abridgement of the rights of organizations to help the Spanish workers and peasants.

Fundamental Program

But the revolutionary Socialists do not stop with these demands. They realize that only a fundamental program can bring a solution to the present crisis. They therefore propose the adoption by the party of a new program to replace the program of the Peoples Front, which they declare is dead. This program, they insist, must be based not on the slogan, "Fascism or Democracy," but on the slogan "Fascism or Socialism." It must further base itself on the efforts to convert war into revolution, and not accept war as a substitute for revolution. This is based on the perspective that a revolutionary situation is developing with great rapidity, and that a working class offensive, instead of the present defensive, must be prepared on all fronts.

But the revolutionaries know full well that revolutionary offensive requires an apparatus. They reject the present Peoples Front as such an apparatus. Instead they are demanding the establishment of the REVOLUTIONARY FRONT, to be based on the the working class parties, the trade unions, the anti-Fascist leagues, local and factory committees. In short, an independent apparatus of the working class, unhindered by alliances with sections of the bourgeoisie, which could at the same time constitute the skeleton of the new state. As an immediate step the formation of a Workers Militia is proposed, which will defend the workers and their organizations against the Fascist bands.

Join The Socialist Party

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

Name

Address

City

State

CHANG COUP FIZZLES AS EXPECTED AID FAILS HIM

By HAROLD R. ISAACS

The attempted coup d'etat of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang who imprisoned Dictator Chiang Kai-shek at Sian on Dec. 12 and issued a set of demands identical with those advanced by the Chinese Communist Party appeared this week to have fizzled.

Chang's "anti-Japanese" demands receded into the dim background as negotiations went on between him and Nanking emissaries for the release of Chiang. The fruitlessness of these negotiations and the advance of Nanking troops on Chang's Shensi stronghold seemed to indicate a growing belief that Chiang Kai-shek may actually have been killed. In any case, it became perfectly clear that the rebellious Marshal was desperately trying to bargain for the best terms possible and get himself out of a tight spot.

Coup Falls

The support he counted on when he staged his coup failed to materialize. He looked for militarist allies to spring up on all



CHANG HSUEH-LIANG

sides. Nobody, except the *Daily Worker*, rallied to his standard on the morrow of his coup—and the *Worker*, as we predicted, changed its tune in 24 hours.

After hailing him as the savior of China, the Communists here and in other countries switched music when the Soviet press thundered that the whole affair was a Japanese plot and plumped squarely for support of General Chiang Kai-shek and the Nanking government.

From a rooting section for Marshal Chang, the Communists transformed themselves in less than a day into worriers-in-chief for the safety of Dictator Chiang Kai-shek, the butcher of countless thousands of Chinese workers and peasants.

Dizzy Twists

These dizzy twists show how completely these gentry have lost the rudder of Marxism.

For Marxists and revolutionists, the guiding line through the confused comings and goings of militarist intrigues and plots must be the following: that a genuine anti-imperialist struggle in China is indissolubly linked up with the most resolute class struggle of the workers and peasants against their exploiters, Chinese and foreign.

We cannot cling to the empty phrases and lies of generals and politicians but must find our roots deep in the masses of the Chinese workers and peasants and soldiers to mobilize forces for such a struggle.

Look To Workers

Not to Sian, nor to Nanking must we look for the awakening of China—but to the striking workers in Shanghai, Tientsin and Tsingtao, to the students—insofar as their demonstrations reflect reviving militancy deep in the masses—and to the peasant struggles in the hinterland.

We can look on at the complicated picture of militarist plots, we can utilize any con-

junction of circumstances which arise out of them—but we in no sense make ourselves and our program and our activity dependent upon them.

Turning to the present situation, therefore, there are three interpretations which have been put forward by way of explanation of Chang Hsueh-liang's coup.

1. That it is Moscow-inspired.
2. That it is Japanese-inspired.
3. That it is a pure and simple militarist bid for power.

Taking these three in reverse, we can say the following:

Bid For Power

1. As far as Chang Hsueh-liang was concerned, it certainly is a bid for his own power as a substitute for that of Chiang Kai-shek. That is the fundamental motive that guides any action by any of the rogues gallery of Chinese militarists and Kuomintang politicians.

Japan's Role

2. It is true that the outbreak of new militarist civil wars, a likely corollary of the coup, would facilitate Japan's imperialist intrigues in China. It is also true that this coup comes at a time when sharp internal difficulties are being faced by the Japanese ruling class and that a diversion in China would, in part, help toward a solution of those difficulties.

It is, on the other hand, extremely unlikely, that Japan has had any direct dealings with Chang Hsueh-liang. The latter's known preparations to revolt against Nanking's authority were probable quite independent of any Japanese influence. He would probably have revolted even if circumstances had not, quite fortuitously, given him the opportunity to make Chiang Kai-shek his prisoner.

Finally, it is necessary to add, advisers around Marshal Chang might conceivably have been playing, in a more conscious manner, Japan's hand.

Moscow Innocent

3. Moscow, i.e., the Kremlin, was evidently quite innocent of any actual deal with Chang Hsueh-liang. Not, mind you, because the present government of the proletarian state has principle objection to ditching the revolution in another country in favor of a deal with its rulers—but because the Kremlin has been and is playing for a deal with Chiang Kai-shek and not with the weak, second-rate, flabby, hopeless Chang Hsueh-liang.

This the Soviet press, with its staunch defense this week of Chiang Kai-shek as the "unifying force," has made perfectly plain.

"United Front"

It is entirely possible that Mao Tse-tung and the other Red chiefs "misunderstood" the line. Only this could adequately explain the apparent stable truce that has existed between their forces and Chang's on the Shensi-Kansu border.

Let us not forget in all this that the rank and file of Chang's army and some of its junior officers may be playing a bigger role than the press dispatches have so far revealed. Surely if they have anything to say in this situation, the butcher Chiang Kai-shek would never get out of Sian alive and Marshal Chang will have little better chance of saving his own skin.

In other words, it is possible to draw elements from all three possible explanations, militarist coup, Tokyo plot, Moscow plot, and see where all have or may have contributed to the present situation.

THANKS FOR NOTHING

By McAlister Coleman

HOWARD BRUBAKER says that "the common denominator of humor is the contact of incongruous ideas." That is what makes the writings of our Communist friends so priceless. Belatedly I have come across the Browder rationalization of the election returns printed in the *Daily Worker*. In it, the Artemas Ward of the radical movement is at his incongruous best. With a straight face, he assures the brethren that the object of the campaign was to stop Landon and that the commies did a grand job. It turned out even better than they expected. They stopped Landon. At any rate, someone seems to have stopped Landon. It might as well have been the commies.

But when it comes to the Socialists, Tchik, tchik. They didn't stop Landon. No sir. They stuck to Socialism, poor benighted fools. That ought to teach them a lesson. They only got two and a half times as many votes as the Stop-Landonites.

Commie Rationalization

To be sure the Socialist vote didn't cost as much as did the Browder vote. It cost \$2.02 for every vote cast for Browder. It cost eleven cents for every vote cast for Thomas. But that isn't mentioned in the rationalization. The one thing to avoid in rationalizing is being rational. Why drag in the depressing fact that it cost the comrades \$162,040 to roll up the impressive total of 80,096 votes for Earl? He stopped Landon, didn't he?

It's too bad that Earl didn't pull the funniest line of the year in time for inclusion in Max Eastman's "Enjoyment of Laughter." After chiding the Socialists for splitting with the Old Guard and plain lying about their vote in New York, Earl gives us this belly-laugh for a merry Christmas:—"We" (i. e. the Stop-Landonites) "must offer to all sincere Socialists our sympathetic help in solving their difficult problems."

Earl, we know that your great heart, as wide as all Kansas, is rent with grief over our sad state. We appreciate all that you are doing for us. Darn whit of you, if you will forgive the adjective. But somehow, something tells us that we will have to tangle with our difficult problems in our own stiff-necked manner. We admit that it is a gloomy prospect, the thought of tottering on through the years without the helping hand of Earl under our feeble elbow.

All Good Americans, We

Yet we must be manly about it. We must understand, as Earl was so constantly pointing out in the last campaign, that we are all Americans now and that it all becomes anyone with the blood of the Pilgrim Fathers and Paul Revere's horse-coursing through his veins to accept help from any man, no matter how sincerely that help may be proffered.

All we can say is, thanks Earl, thank old Tovarich. But after all, these are our problems, difficult as they may seem, and it is the only American thing to do, to stand on our own feet and rattle with our own problems, by heck. Anyhow we like your new humor. It shows a lot of promise. We hope you're thinking up some good lines for the Mayoralty campaign in New York next Fall. That ought to be your meat.

Oh yes, we nearly forgot. To all you "sincere Socialists" the season's best. To be sure, from where we sit, there isn't an awful lot to be merry about. But no matter what happens we are not going Old Scrooge. So looking you through my punchless milk. I wish you the merriest Socialist Christmas the lousy capitalist system permits.

CHICAGO SOCIALIST LEADS PROGRESSIVE FIGHT

By HY FISH

CHICAGO—Organized labor in Chicago last week voiced its opposition to the decisions of the recent convention of the AFL by refusing to extend its appreciation for the services of the delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Snickers were heard when Delegate Schoonover made his report sprinkled with unqualified superlatives. "Never a more successful convention . . . most harmonious convention ever held . . . etc."

A formal motion to extend him thanks for his services was amended by Arthur G. McDowell, delegate to the CFL from the Adult Teachers' Union and state secretary of the Socialist Party of Illinois leading the progressive forces, to withhold thanks because Schoonover had voted to sustain the action of the executive council in suspending the unions affiliated with the CIO.

The vote, after three hours of debate, was 91 in favor of the amendment to 84 against.

Revolutionists and a Labor Party

By EUGENE V. DEBS
(from the "Socialist World," January, 1925)

The progressive tendencies in American politics are the outgrowth of the final stages of American capitalism and reflect the political awakening of the American working class.

These tendencies, despite all attempts through the blind stupidity of the workers and the covert machinations of their enemies to thwart or misdirect them, will inevitably lead to and result in the formation of an American labor party.

When?

I do not know. I hope soon. But soon or late, it will come. That I know if I have learned anything at all about the operation of the resistless forces that are centralizing capital, socializing industry, organizing and arraying the workers against their exploiting masters, and compelling them more and more to take the initiative in the intensifying struggle growing out of their antagonistic economic interests, which can end only with their complete industrial emancipation.

This struggle is political as well as economic and will, because it must, be fought out accordingly, and this can only be done when labor has a political party as well as an economic union of its own to express its interests, declare its aims, and develop its power to fight its battle and achieve its victory.

LABOR PARTY MUST BE A CLASS PARTY

This does not mean that a labor party shall consist exclusively of workers, but it does mean that all who enter its ranks do so with the understanding that it is a labor party, not a middle-class party, not a reform party, nor a progressive party (of which the Republican and Democratic parties are shining examples) but an open-and-above board labor party, standing squarely on the labor platform, and marshalling its forces to fight labor's political battles for its industrial freedom.

Most earnestly do I hope such a party will result from the Conference for Progressive Political Action to be held at Chicago beginning February 21 in pursuance of the agreement of the conference to follow up the progressive campaign with a permanent party organization.

MUST HAVE BACKING OF RANK AND FILE

To be frank I shall have to confess, not without reluctance, that I have not the faith I should like to have in a consummation so devoutly to be wished. But whatever the outcome I shall not be disappointed. I have long since gotten over that and learned how to wait.

We can have no effective labor party without the backing and support of the labor unions. That is a

fact without question. The present leaders of the unions strange as it certainly appears, are almost to a man opposed to a labor party. In this they are in entire accord with the capitalist masters and labor exploiters.

The hope for an American labor party lies not in the official labor leaders but in the rank and file, and until the latter are aroused, insist upon and compel independent political action, no such a craft can be successfully launched upon the foul and stagnant waters of American politics.

A BONA FIDE PARTY OR NO PARTY!

If a bona fide party cannot be organized at Chicago then I hope that no labor party at all will issue from conference. Better far no party than a nondescript imitation of one, composed of so called progressive and reform elements, more or less muddled, discordant, and wholly lacking in clear aim, definite object and concerted purpose.

A "third party" of such a nature would at best align the dwindling "little interests" against the triumphant "big interests" seek to patch up and prolong the present corrupt and collapsing capitalist system and failing utterly to effect any material change or achieve any substantial benefit would finally fizzle out and add one more to the list of "third party" fiascos.

A political party to succeed, for good or evil, must express, in the main, identical economic interests, without which there is no foundation to build or stand upon. A third party at this advanced stage of our industrial and social development, unless it stood expressly for labor, would be lacking such a foundation and consequently could not endure. Only a labor party can now be organized as a third party with any hope

whatever of permanence and achieving its object.

A political party today must stand for labor and the freedom of labor, or it must stand for capital and the exploitation of labor. It cannot possibly stand for both any more than it could for both freedom and slavery.

I want to see the workers of this nation rise in the might of their intelligence and demand a party of their own, free, eternally free from the paralyzing putridities of the parties of their silk-hatted, wealth-inflated, job-owning and labor-exploiting masters—a party with a backbone and a courage to stand up without apology and proclaim itself a Labor Party, clean, confident of its own inherent powers, bearing proudly the union label in token of its fundamental and conquering principle of industrial and political solidarity, in challenging the whole world of capitalism to contest the right of this nation to own its own industries, to control its own economic and social life, and the right of the toiling and producing masses to own their own jobs, to enjoy the fruits of their own labor, and to be the masters of their own lives.

MUST NOT TRAVEL UNDER FALSE COLORS

I am suspicious of those who admit that we must have a labor party but object to having it called by its right name.

It should be a matter of pride and certainly not of shame to a labor party to have its true title nailed to its mast-head.

If not, why not? Shall we fear to keep out many who would otherwise join? That is the very reason the party should be known for what it actually is as well as what it actually stands for. We must bear no false label, carry no false banner, nor seek support under any false pretense whatsoever. We must stand avowedly, face front, for labor—for the people who produce, who render needed service, and who are useful and necessary to the world.

We need not designate both industrial labor and farm labor in naming our party. Both are labor and are alike useful, productive and necessary, subject to the same oppression and the same exploitation, and bound to be united in political solidarity in the same political party.

AMERICAN WORKERS BACKWARD

It is a fact as amazing as it is humiliating that the workers of the United States, the most advanced industrial nation on the globe, are prac-

tically the only ones who have no political party of their own, being content to give their support to the corrupt and enslaving parties of their masters, and meekly bowing their necks to the yoke of injunction rule.

Every other nation large and small with scarcely an exception has its labor parties in full panoply fighting its political battles for emancipation.

Even Mexico, so long reviled by our 100 per cent morons as the land of "greasers" and peonage, has its militant labor movement to shame us into getting into line with the advancing columns of International Labor's Grand Army of Emancipation.

SOCIALIST PARTY MUST BE INDEPENDENT

Let me make it clear that I am not wanting another Socialist party organized. We already have one and that is enough. Neither do I want another capitalist party organized, having already two, more than enough.

A middle class party, by whatever name, would still be a capitalist party, for while it might champion "little interests" against "big interests," with a sop to labor, it would still stand for the capitalist system and the perpetuation of wage-slavery.

If a genuine labor party is organized at Chicago I shall not expect the platform to go the limit of radical demands but shall be satisfied with a reasonable statement of labor's rights and interests as well as its duties and responsibilities, doubting not that with the progress of the party its platform in due time embrace every feature of the working class program for deliverance from industrial servitude.

The Socialist party can, should and I have no doubt will join such a party whole-heartedly, becoming an integral part of its structure, reserving, however, its autonomy unimpaired and using all its powers and functions in building up, equipping, promoting and directing the general party.

To this end the Socialist party must stand fearless and erect, inflexible and uncompromising for the working class upon the basis of the class struggle and wage the war against capitalism for the liberation of labor from its age-old bondage.

In the event of failure to organize the labor party with which we can consistently affiliate, I shall hope and strive for the continuance of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and its sessions and deliberations from time to time until it shall finally culminate, as it eventually must, in the AMERICAN LABOR PARTY.

Debs Brigade Being Organized In U. S. to Aid Spanish Workers

(Continued from Page One)

New York has been: "Solidarity with the Spanish workers and peasants in the struggle against Fascism."

UNITED FRONT

We have participated in the work of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy in its fund raising, its tag day, its public meetings. We have succeeded, with the aid of other component parts of that committee in making it a coordinating committee for the collection of money and clothes. In other words, the NAC does not prevent the independent action of the Socialist Party as long as the Party's plan do not conflict with plans of the NAC.

Many local united front meetings with the Communist Party have been held, party branches directed to make their main united front efforts the involving of such organizations as trade unions, American Labor Party branches

Workmen's Circle and church groups.

INDEPENDENT ACTION

A membership meeting was held attended by more than 1,000 members, where a lively discussion took place on the events in Spain and the local's decisions were presented directly to the membership.

Every branch headquarters (and there are 60 in New York) was made a depot for aid to the Spanish workers. Many branches have printed leaflets, direct and to the point, urging people to bring clothes, food, medical supplies and money to the branch headquarters. The leaflets were distributed by house to house canvass and a follow-up is then made with a car to do the collection. Drug stores are visited and supplies obtained. When the headquarters are well stocked, the City office is informed and the material is sent to the warehouse of the North American Committee.

As soon as the enrolled voters

lists are ready each branch will visit those who enrolled Socialist (there are almost 13,000, only 2,000 less than last year, before the defection of the Old Guard) and enlist them into the campaign by making them captain of Spanish aid in their block, house or district. The Party branch is to coordinate the work of each individual member.

The Spanish Branch has more than doubled its membership and is making an intensive drive on the activities listed above.

INDIVIDUAL PARTY MEMBERS AND SPAIN

Every party member received a book of stamps, which is attractively printed and which sells for 10 and 25 cents, the book totalling \$3.80. The slogan reads: "Help Fight Spanish Fascism," and displays a militia girl with her rifle. Together with this book a collection list was sent which can be used for larger contributions.

Although this was sent out only two weeks ago, substantial sums have been received and many comrades have taken more books. Catha Levinson (Edward Levinson's ten-year-old daughter) at Manhattan, already has her third

book. The following is a partial list:

F. F. Schaeffer	\$ 5.00
Sami Rutinsky	1.65
Isaac Shatzkin	25.00
Meriwether Stuart	5.00
N. Glantz	3.00
M. Smith	5.00
Catha Levinson	5.00
Paula & Martin Goldwater	1.00
Louis Lieberman	2.45
Harry Davis	15.00
Dave Stellman	1.30
Edith M. Flagg	5.00
Richard Tweedy	2.00
Grace Simboli	1.00
R. S. Lorris	5.00
Gottlieb Hoffman	4.80
William Overdick	4.80
Fritz Greifenhelm	4.80
Frank Introlato	4.80
Paul Kluge	6.70
E. A. Rosenthal	2.10
Ethel Schestapol	1.00
Mr. & Mrs. A. J. Emery	1.00
Meyer Edd	4.80
George Baron	5.00
Emanuel Goldberg	.75
Hoard R. Coan	3.00
Thomas Katsikas	10.82
Ethel Libson	2.80
Catha Levinson	4.80
Fern Ingraham	1.00
Dr. M. Caspe	2.00
G. Cerutti	4.80
John A. Petrone	4.80
Sol Flaum	4.80
Workmen's Circle Br. 583	7.00
Leonora Kelter	6.00
Nathan Miller	1.75
Sam Goldstein	3.55
M. Pike	3.80
Bella Torkhasky	4.80

Jacqueline Feltingoff	4.80
L. C. Rosenfeld	5.00
Spanish Branch	10.00
7th A.D. Bronx Branch	5.87
Upper West Side Branch	4.78
Cloakmakers Branch	3.00

A tag day is planned and each contributor will receive a button with the same design, except that the words read: "I Helped Fight Spanish Fascism," and the auspices of the party is printed clearly. Large stickers have been printed that will be pasted on the windows of stores which contribute to the fund.

CITY COMMITTEE ON SPAIN

All this work is guided by the special Committee on Spanish Activities. In addition, of course, work that can only be handled by the City organizations alone is going forward. Plans for a city-wide mass meeting have been put off because of the meeting arranged by the United Spanish Societies on January 4th at Madison Square Garden, where the Spanish ambassador, Ferdinand de los Rios will speak.

All this work is teaching us how to put into practice our slogan: "Make the Socialist Party a party of struggle!"

Ferment in Steel

Company Unions in Steel

By ROSE M. STEIN

Company unions in the steel industry are dead.

They are dead, that is, as instruments which employers may manipulate to their own ends.

This condition is well known to all interested parties: to employer and employees, to the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, and to the National Labor Relations Board.

The hearings were held by the Board on petition by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, and were designed to dramatize the life and death of the company union for the benefit of the general public.

CARNEGIE STEEL PRINCIPAL VILLAIN

The principal villain in this drama was the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, U.S. Steel subsidiary.

Nathan J. Miller, general counsel for U. S. Steel, tried beforehand to secure a postponement of the hearings.

Since industry's chief hope and weapon is the possible unconstitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act, under which the Board operates, the Corporation quite understandably declined to accept this condition.

The hearings went on ex parte, after employer counsel, finding its motion for a postponement denied, walked out.

DIRECTLY VIOLATE THE LAW

The Employee Representation Plan, as originally drawn up by U. S. Steel's \$75,000-a-year director of industrial relations, Arthur H. Young, provided that elected representatives must be employed within the mill where they appear as candidates.

common with a number of other steel companies, early in 1934, voted an amendment to the plan providing that any person might be chosen as a representative.

Management assumed he would automatically resign his post of company union representative, and did not quite know what to do about it when Mr. Mullen flatly refused to do so.

OFFER BRIBE AS STOOLEIGEON

Since he was now free of the threat of dismissal, having acquired another job entirely independent of the company, he became the active head of a company union revolt in the Pittsburgh district Carnegie mills.

With the knowledge of several people, whom he was sure he could trust, including this writer, Mullen accepted the post. The information he gathered while thus employed helped to expose the U. S. Steel spy system before the LaFollette Committee investi-

This is the fourth of a series of six articles on the struggles of American steel workers to organize.

Rose M. Stein is author of "M-Day," a book on the complete militarization plans of the United States Army in the event of war, and she is an outstanding authority on steel organization.

gating infringement upon civil liberties.

The first break of company unions from employer domination came in September, 1935, when nine committees of the American Sheet & Tin Plate Company, another U. S. Steel subsidiary, since absorbed by the Carnegie-Illinois, met in New Castle, Pennsylvania to map out a program for concerted action.

The Corporation showed no sign of alarm. There was nothing to fear, management figured, as long as the frame-work of the plan remained unchanged, for, as constituted, the plan allows for no collective action.

Employee representatives of other companies, both within and without the Corporation combine, held similar conferences, and framed their respective sets of demands. Still the industry paid little heed.

REVOLT OF THE COMPANY UNIONS

The danger signal came when the Steel Workers Organizing Committee was established in June of this year.

Representatives engaged in the various revolt conferences learned rapidly that their efforts to establish collective bargaining within the company union frame-work were futile.

In either case the experience was highly educational, and when the Steel Workers Organizing Committee arrived upon the scene, many of the company union representatives were ready to shift over.

More and more company unions were enlisted into the drive, and they formed the organization nuclei within the different plants.

The steel industry was faced here with an extremely difficult situation. Since 1933, at any rate, the Iron & Steel Institute, as well as its constituent companies, admitted the validity of workers' right to bargain collectively.

But now, when the very men whom the companies paid for their services as representatives,

and many of whom the companies helped to choose, rose up to proclaim the company union to be a farce, the situation became grave indeed.

STEEL'S BIGGEST HEADACHE..

This was, and is, the Lewis strategy. It is the company's biggest headache. It is the last alternative in the world the steel industry wants to face.

Hence began the drive to grant concessions to employees, allegedly through their company unions. First came vacation with pay, then followed an ambiguous and largely farcical offer of time and one half for overtime, and most recently came the ten per cent pay boost.

But the revolt once started is now out of hand. With the help of John L. Lewis aides, employee representatives, as well as the rank and file of steel workers, are able to see through these tactics, and the former especially are shifting to the side of the SWOC in greater and greater numbers.

The Labor Board hearings of a week ago, and the conference of employee representatives which followed the hearings, left not even a shadow of a doubt that the steel industry can any longer seek refuge in the company unions which they created.

There is no doubt that as puppet shows for employer manipulation, the company unions in steel are dead.

(Next week: MORE ABOUT COMPANY UNIONS.)

Auto Workers Are Preparing For a Great General Strike

(Continued from Page One) smashed the United Automobile and Vehicle Workers Union, an independent industrial union that had attained real power, organized labor vanished as a force in the industry as a whole.

Thousands of Southern workers were lured to Detroit by rosy promises of high wages and short hours--promises posted in large letters on the highway billboards and in newspaper advertisements.

They were invited to come to the Automobile Belt--where capitalism was heaven on earth.

They came--and saw! They learned when they got their first pay check that the promises were phoney--that their employment would mean \$700 a year if they were lucky.

The first attempt at labor organization came in 1927 after the American Federation of Labor had authorized an intensive drive. It was an early failure; the half-hearted tries of the AFL organizers were made ineffective by the refusal of the selfish craft unions to allow the men to be organized on an industrial base.

For it was evident then, as now, that a mass production industry could be organized only in large powerful unions that could meet with the bosses on an equal plane;

Heads UAWA



Pres. Homer Martin, Socialist, and head of the United Automobile Workers of America, who demands a conference with General Motors.

that to organize the skilled while neglecting the assembly lines would be suicide.

The murder of five workers in 1932 during a "hunger march" on the Ford plant excited the industry. When this was followed by the beginning of organization

among the tool and die makers, "the aristocracy of auto labor," men began to talk open defiance of the hated stool-pigeons, of the bosses.

Thousands Joined

They fought a losing fight--for they had walked out in spontaneous protest without proper preparation. But their fight itself paved the way for the union drive in 1933-1934 of the American Federation of Labor, inspired by the organization wave that swept the country after the introduction of the NRA.

The AFL leadership, however, feared the effects of the strike and were bribed by the golden (if empty) personal promises of the President, and the establishment of the now defunct Automobile Labor Board.

The Atlantic City convention of the AFL authorized an international union for the federal locals--a procedure that was effected after some delays by the AFL executive council. Once removed from the direction of AFL representatives who had discouraged militant action, the union once more began an organization campaign.

The union in the automobile industry is there to stay no matter what the outcome of the strike. Its membership is now composed of men and women who have braved the baptism of fire and have remained loyal. A suc-

Strike Ties Up Glass Industry

TOLEDO, (FP).--As 4,300 glass workers employed by the Libbey-Owens-Ford Company called a sit-down strike following the failure of negotiations with the Federation of Flat Glass Workers, virtually the entire flat glass industry of the nation was closed down.

The strike was called after company officials refused to sign a new contract covering its Toledo, Shreveport, La., and Charleston, W. Va., plants. A sit-down strike had already called at the Ottawa, Ill., factory, after an attempt was made to break the strike of fellow workers in the Pittsburgh Plate Glass organization by switching a Chrysler order to Ottawa.

Pittsburgh Plate Glass, with nine plants shut down, and Libbey-Owens-Ford control 90 per cent of the nation's plate glass. The glass industry has been experiencing enormous prosperity. Pittsburgh Plate Glass profits increased 255 per cent from 1914 to 1927.

ASK TEACHER

AKRON (FP) -- "Ask your school teacher to show his union card."

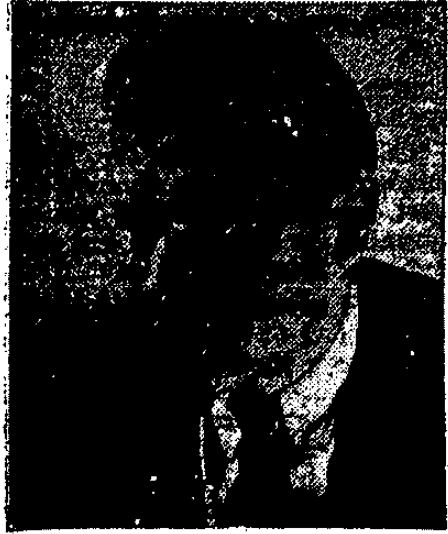
With this slogan, pupils in Akron schools and union-conscious fathers and mothers were enlisted in the drive to organize local public school teachers. Parents are being urged to tell their children, this,

successful strike in auto, however, will mean far more than that; it will mark the zero hour of the drive for a Union America

Suitcase Union Reelects Baron

Murray Baron has been overwhelming re-elected manager of the Joint Board of the Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Makers Union, which has jurisdiction over the workers in that trade in the New York - New Jersey - Philadelphia area.

Baron is chairman of Local New York of the Socialist Party and was Socialist candidate for



MURRAY BARON

President of the Board of Alderman in the recent city election. His majority over his opponent in the union election was better than six-to-one.

Jack Weisberg was elected organizer of the Joint Board; Charles Blank, secretary-treasurer; Morris Fusch, chairman; Harry Schneider, recording secretary.

LID to Hold Annual Dinner Next Month

The League for Industrial Democracy will hold its 32nd annual dinner Thursday, January 14, at 7 p.m. at the American Woman's Association, 361 West 57th Street.

The subject will be "War in 1937?" and the principal speaker will be Norman Thomas. Harry W. Laidler will act as toastmaster.

Other speakers are: Jennie Lee, former member of the English Parliament; Frederick V. Field, secretary Institute of Pacific Relations; Hubert C. Herring, of the Committee for Cultural Relations in Latin America; Dr. Franz Hollering, former editor of the ARBEITER ZEITUNG of Germany.

CCF ELECTS

VANCOUVER, B. C., Canada (FP)—Of eight aldermen elected in the recent civic elections in Vancouver, three were Cooperative Commonwealth Federation candidates. They were R. P. Pettipiece, A. M. Anderson, and Alfred Hurry. Frank Buck, CCF, was elected to the school board.

Unionists Make Clothes for Spain

NEW YORK—(FP)—Trade unionists are preparing 100,000 warm garments for beleaguered Madrid. They have already finished 10,000.

The garments so far completed by voluntary trade union labor consist of women's and children's coats and several thousand warm hats for children.

Chairman of the Trade Union Committee for the Manufacture of Clothing for Spain is Vice-pres. Francis J. Gorman of the United Textile Workers of America. Vice-pres. Charles S. Zimmermann of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is executive secretary.

On the committee are representatives of early all unions in the garment and shoe industries. Thirty shops are now in operation and the number will soon be doubled.

WE ARE BEING SUED FOR LIBEL!

Paul Coulcher, Secretary-Treasurer of Waiters' Union, Local 16, threatened, before his union membership, to sue the SOCIALIST CALL.

He says we called him a racketeer. His basis is an editorial we ran called "How to Clean House," in which we stated:

"The membership thumpingly expressed their disgust with their tainted officials; and with that same stone hit the bird of capitalist investigation through the government into the internal affairs of the unions."

Although we do not mention Coulcher by name, he takes it for granted that when we talk of men "tainted" with racketeering we must mean him. Apparently his conscience bothers him.

Coulcher is angry with us because we do not want a man with his very shady reputation to use the money of his union members for legal defense. He is still more angry with us because we would like to see his union membership unseat him, and thus remove any excuse for governmental interference in the waiter's union. We don't blame him for being angry.

But is he not being a bit hypocritical when he tries to cover up his personal practices with the cloak of governmental non-intervention into labor's quarrels and then turns about and threatens to sue the CALL in the same capitalist court?

2,450 Kansas Auto Workers Sit Down

By JEFF RALL

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—In a militant reply to the attempt of the Chevrolet plant officials to discharge a worker for union activity, 2,450 workers at the Chevrolet and Fisher Bodies plants answered the call for a sit-down strike issued by Local 93 of the United Auto Workers, demanding the reinstatement of the union worker, and a stop to the General Motors policy of dismissing active union members.

Alarmed at the growth of unionism in the two General Motors plants here in recent months, the management has followed a consistent campaign of selecting outstanding unionists and discharging them on any flimsy excuse that arises conveniently.

After the latest effort of this nature by the Chevrolet bosses, the executive committee of Local 93 decided upon the famous sit-down strategy as the most effective method of putting an end to this practice.

Easy Lesson on How to Chisel The Government

If you want to chisel from the government, just go to Prentiss Hall, Inc., business information service, who proudly announce that they specialize in that gentle art. This doesn't hold for boondoggles and relief clients, however—they are being chiseled from the roles themselves—the announcement is addressed to big corporations.

"Last year, the greatest tax-saving that any \$1,000 deduction could yield the ordinary corporation was about \$180. In 1936, however, a similar deduction can yield a saving of \$499.50," their announcement reads.

Be sure to make "deductions" now; the present administration has conveniently made it possible.

Easy Jipping

"If your corporation distributed a large part of its income as dividends, it is entirely possible to cut the tax bill to much less than last year. Dividends do not have to be paid in cash. You may use certain types of stock, scrip, notes etc., which may be amortized over a period of time."

Small taxpayers, take notice! Maybe you can sign a batch of IOU's and deduct that from your income!

Strangely enough it is not suggested that corporations use some of their excess profits or capital to pay higher wages.

BOSS WAR

Between January, 1934, and September, 1936, three companies specializing in tear and sickening gases sold nearly half a million dollars' worth of their products

Stand-Up Tactics Win Shirt Strike

By J. BARRETT

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—This city, scene of the famous Bendix Auto workers "sit-down" strike recently, is again witnessing new labor history in the "stand-up" strike occurring at the big Wilson Brothers plant here.

The girl shirtmakers, aroused by the terrific speed-up of the unit system, without even a wage increase, simply stopped their machines and "stood up" beside their machines until they won their demands.

Socialist Aid

The newly formed Amalgamated Clothing Workers local has already secured recognition, and is now negotiating with company officials for a general agreement. The local union members are being actively assisted by Leo Krzycki, Amalgamated Vice-President and prominent Socialist, who aided the Bendix workers in their strike, and by Marianne Alfons, Chicago Socialist, who has been assigned by the Amalgamated as general organizer to conduct the local campaign.

VICTORY

Following the victory of the Radio Workers Union over the company union at the General Electric Plant in Schenectady in elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, the company union unanimously adopted a resolution to disband.

WANTED

People wanted in all parts of the United States to become advertising representatives for the SOCIALIST CALL. Experience preferred but not essential. Do it in your spare time. Leads supplied. Liberal commissions. Write in full.

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Chelsea Br. Meets every Wed. Grand Opera House, 23 St., and 8 Ave. Council Rm. Rhoda Pearson, Sec'y., 333 W. 16 St.

BRONX

8TH A.D. BRONX. Meets every Wed 7 West Burnside Ave. (near Jerome) Eth 26. Robert Bloom, Sec'y.

Bouquets Aren't Enough

By the Business Manager

Bouquets continue to come rolling in to the CALL office. And they're surprisingly unanimous.

Each day adds to the roll of people throughout the country who seem to like the CALL.

From coast to coast, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, we hear the same grand words:

Peggy Gillan, New York City: "Just got today's issue—SWELL! Several other comrades have commented on the last issue being excellent."

Caroline F. Urle, now located in New Britain, Connecticut, writes: "It is an excellent paper and it ought to go on. Good luck to it!"

Glen Trimble, San Francisco, state secretary of the SP of California, wrote: "The CALL shows a tremendous improvement."

Katherine Lovell, Cleveland, Ohio, sent this: "I'm glad of the changes in the CALL."

Hy Fish, Chicago, wrote: "It does my heart good to see a real SOCIALIST CALL"

Albert Goldman, Chicago, wrote a week ago, among other comments: "Tremendous improvement."

From Portsmouth, Ohio, Ed Rankin, a veteran CALL booster, writes: "I think the CALL is doing good work. I think it is the best working class paper published today."

And to complete the circuit of the country, Frank McCallister, writing from St. Petersburg, Florida, says: "I think you are doing a SWELL job on the CALL."

These bouquets are all fine. We hope that they are merited and we intend to go ahead publishing a better and better paper.

ARE YOU LISTED?

SUBSCRIPTIONS
Below are some of the agents who have sent in subs this week. The total for the week is 110.
John Hall, N. Y. State Organizer 7
Roy Jackson, Doniphan, Mo. 5
Clarence Heller, Lebanon, Pa. 2
Ruth Schechter, N. Y. C. 2
Louis Moon, Dayton, Ohio 1
Lawrence Van Camp, Ferndale, Mich. 1
Alice Marsh, Dixfield, Maine 1
Max Eisenstadt, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1
N. Y. State S. P. 1
L. V. Farnsworth, Wadsworth, Ohio .. 1

DONATIONS
Local Northampton, Mass. \$10.00
Albert Sprague Coolidge, Cambridge, Mass. 10.00
A. E. Anon, New York City 5.00
John Festerer, Martins Ferry, Ohio 5.00
Sid Isaacs, Brooklyn, N. Y. 4.00
Murray Baron, New York City 2.00
L. V. Farnsworth, Wadsworth, Ohio .. .50
\$36.50

But this is up to you, CALL readers.

If you like the CALL, enclose a check or a dollar bill when you send in your bouquets. The printer likes hard cash better!

CONFERENCE

Socialists in Southern States will meet in Norris, Tennessee, January 2-4, for a regional conference. Two successful regional conferences have already been held in St. Louis and Chicago.

DOES YOUR NEIGHBOR READ THE CALL?

A Christmas Suggestion

Give a Socialist Present to Your Friends for Christmas Send Them the Socialist Call for the Next 52 Weeks

We will send a beautifully engraved card expressing the season's greetings and notifying them of your gift.

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With The Party

ILLINOIS

The Young People's Socialist League of Chicago is holding a gala New Year's Eve affair in conjunction with the North and South Side branches of the Socialist Party. It will be held at the Idrott Cafe, 3206 Wilton Ave.

INDIANA

Local Lake County has requested each member to contribute one dollar a month for a permanent paid organizer with headquarters in Gary. Hugo Rasmussen was elected organizer. Ralph Lagsdon of Whiting was elected county chairman and Marjorie Masdon of Hammond secretary. Lake County now has branches in Gary, Whiting, Hammond and Crown Point.

KANSAS

Waldo McNutt, at times connected with the American Youth Congress and the American League Against War and Fascism, has been expelled from the Socialist Party for anti-Socialist activities.

NEW YORK

A class in the elements of Socialism is being held every Tuesday evening, from 7:30 to 8:45, under the direction of Bob Tyler, at 7 West Burnside Avenue. Although the class began on December 8, registrations are still being accepted.

A three-day bazaar is planned by the Jewish Socialist Voice for January 15, 16, 17, at the Socialist Labor Center, 31 Second Ave.

Joint Party of a number of City College political clubs, including the Young People's Socialist League, Saturday December 26th, 107 McDougal Street. The Party is held to aid Spanish workers.

"People's Front, Theory and Practice" will be the subject of a talk by Maurice Spector, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, at the Parkway Forum, Socialist Party Auxiliaries, Sunday, December 27, 1140 Eastern Parkway. Spector is now a member of the Socialist Party.

Rebel Arts New Year's Day cocktail for that let-down day feeling after the night before. The Rebel Arts New Year's Day party last year was an outstanding success. It will begin at 4:30 p.m., January 1.

Local New York contributed \$250 to the Clarence Senior fund.

Party for the benefit of the CALL Saturday, December 26, at 468 Riverside Drive, apt. 21. Sponsored by the 11 A.D. branch, Manhattan. There will be entertainment and refreshments.

Dance at the Lower East Side branch headquarters, 31 Second Ave., Manhattan, Saturday, December 26.

The RSES announces a meeting at Germania Hall, 16 Street and 3 Ave. on Sunday, November 28 at 8 p.m. to discuss "Socialism and the People's Front."

The delegates to the national convention of the Central Bureau of Jewish Branches, which will be held in this city December 25-27, will be entertained at a banquet Saturday.

Party Launches Drive For Organization Fund

By MARJORIE KIPP

Encouraged by the fact that nearly 200,000 workers in the United States voiced their belief in Socialism in this last election in spite of terrific pressure put upon them and at a time when opportunism was the policy of other minority political parties and progressive groups, the national action committee of the Socialist party has launched an organization and education drive for the next three months to be financed by the sale to party members of special Eugene V. Debs organization stamps.

Stamps which are 25 cents a piece, are to be sold on a voluntary assessment plan according to an income scale as follows: Party members with incomes of less than \$10 a week are to be assessed one stamp; \$10 to \$20—2 stamps; \$20 to \$30—4 stamps; \$30 to \$40—8 stamps; \$40 to \$50—16 stamps; \$50 and above—32 stamps.

Norman Thomas is chairman of the Debs Organization Fund committee and has asked the following party members to serve with him on this committee:

Alabama: Jane Wheeler, Graham Lacey; Arizona: Marguerite Potter, R. K. N. Holmes; Arkansas: Donald

G. Kohler, J. R. Butler, Claude Williams; California: Glen Trimble, James P. Cannon, Mlen Dempster, M. J. Shannon; Colorado: Jean Rudd, Carlo Whitehead; Connecticut: Devere Allen, Victor Harris, Jack Bergen; District of Columbia: Frank Kahn, Felix Cohen, Eleanor Fowler; Florida: Charles E. Jensen, Frank McAllister, Georgia: Joseph Jacobs; Idaho: D. P. Donahue, H. H. Frechheim;

Illinois: Arthur G. Mcowell, Albert Goldman, John Fisher, Maynard Krueger; Indiana: Lulu Halvorsen, Hoot Rasmussen, Robert L. Birchman, Charles R. Rogers; Iowa: Graydon R. Pigg, Letitia M. Conard; Dr Ruth Wolcott, A.A. Sprinkle; Kansas: Ida Belooof, H. H. Sandy, George Whiteside, Wm. F. McGlade; Kentucky: Joseph H. Kasdan, Arthur S. Kling, Mrs Roy D. Stafford; Louisiana: Louise Jessen; Maine: Howard E. Penley; Maryland: O.S. Hunt, Elisabeth Gilman; Massachusetts: Mrs. Mary Dickson, Alfred Baker Lewis, Bill Konulikov, John Wheelwright;

Michigan: Alan Strachan, Leonard Woodcock, Lawrence Van Camp, A. Oesburg; Minnesota: Carl Pembie, Vincent Dunne, Robert Miller, Emanuel Feldler; Mississippi: W. C. Kennedy, Sam Franklin; Missouri: George Kovaka, Paul Preisler, C. R. O'Hara; Montana: Harry Pierce, Arley Porter, James D. Graham; Nebraska: Frank A. Barnett, V. Schwler; New Hampshire: Eli Borden; New Jersey: Simon Smith, John Green, Catherine Smithhauser; New Mexico: Pearl Swan Powell, Paul Kramer; New York: Louis Mann, James Burnham, Lewi Tonks, Coleman B. Coney, Herman Hahn, Jack Altman.

day, December 26, at 742 East 180 Street, Bronx.

Herbert Zam, foreign editor of the CALL, will begin a series of four lectures at the 6 A.D. Brooklyn branch, 167 Tompkins Avenue. The first lecture will be given Sunday, December 27.

OHIO

Local Cleveland is sponsoring a forum, which is to be held each Sunday night in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Hall, 2056 East 4th Street. On December 20, Bert Cochran, organizer of the Cleveland District of the MESA spoke on "The Danger of the Spanish Revolt". Next Sunday Phillip Schoenberg, active in the movement for a Farmer-Labor party and local labor attorney, speaks on "The Outlook for a Farmer-Labor Party".

PENNSYLVANIA

A dinner in honor of Dr. Jesse H.

Holmes, Pennsylvania State Chairman of the Socialist Party, will be held on his seventy-third birthday, Tuesday January 6, 1937 at 6:30 p.m., at Van Tassel's, 116 S. 13th Street Philadelphia.

During the last few years, Comrade Holmes has been President of the Philadelphia local of the Teachers' Union, as well as President of the Debs School in this city. He has been active in the Socialist Party since he joined it about a decade ago. He has been a candidate for Congress twice, and Socialist candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania in 1934.

Send reservations to the Holmes Testimonial Dinner to Walter R. Storce, Room 61, 1626 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

WISCONSIN

Lloyd Jay has been elected secretary of the Donald local of the party.

Samuel A. DeWitt, Max Delson, Emily Eaton, Leo Brushingham; North Carolina: Alton Lawrence, E. E. Erickson, H. M. Doty; Ohio: Ralph Holland, Robert Parker, Ted Selander, Paul Jones, B. J. Widick; Oklahoma: James M. Clingen; Oregon: Don Swetland, Monroe Sweetland; Pennsylvania: Paul Cotton, Wesley Cook, Samuel Oshry, Charles A. Sands, David H. H. Felix, Ralph Bigony; Rhode Island: Eric Stone, Joseph Caldwell; South Dakota: Marvin Halverson; Tennessee: George Lambert, Herbert Harris, Franz Daniel; Texas: J. M. Jewell, George Clifton Edwards, A. D. Head; Utah:

O. A. Kennedy; Vermont: Cedric R. Flagg; Virginia: W. P. Dawson, Hillard Bernstein; Washington: Tillman K. Garrison, Earl Broyles; West Virginia: Libbie Volpie, H. L. Franklin, C. E. Younginger; Wisconsin: George A. Nelson, Carl Jinkley, Herman O. Kent, Max Raskin, Daniel W. Hoan, Jack Harvey, Paul Porter; Wyoming: Joseph Lunn, W. W. Wolf; Czechoslovak: Milada Beranek; Jugoslav: Charles Pogorelec, Anton Garden, Donald Lotrich; Italian: Antonio Camboni; Lithuanian: Marie Jurgelonis; Polish: J. Trzaska; Jewish: H. Sobotko, Sylvia Blecker.

New Years Eve

RING in the new... ring out the old... ring in your friends for the greatest event of the age... whiskey, wenchies and swing... entertainment in the superlative manner, 10-piece swing orchestra... refreshments of distinctive taste... in a setting of cosmopolitan conviviality that positively defies description.

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THE TIME:
9:00 P.M. till 1937 and Then Some

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'We're For Peace, But...'

WAR, OUR HERITAGE by Joseph P. Lash and James A. Wechsler, International Publishers. \$1.00.

By GUS TYLER

Here is an excellent book which runs one chapter too long.

For seven full chapters, the book breezily disposes of all clap-trap excuses for support of various and sundry wars. It strikes hammer blows at the idea of aiding a democratic war against a Fascist nation. "What may happen, in terms of our present internal situation is that while we are preserving democracy again—several thousand miles away—fascism will have quietly arrived in our own back yard".

The book exposes the roots of modern war—imperialism. The book explains why there can be no defensive wars for countries resting upon a capitalist competitive economy. The book makes a real point when it states that while the anti-war movement must be broad and inclusive, it can not, with safety, include all people who are "for peace". Because there are too many who say: "We're all for peace, but..."

"But—"

And just because the book is so good to begin with, it is sad to see it end as just another book which is "all for peace, but..." For the authors of this book propose a novel formula for peace through governmental action, which like every other proposition which falls short of the overthrow of capitalism, must involve the masses in supporting another war of American imperialism.

The formula: to support the government in plans for collective action to stop the Fascist aggressor, provided the government meets certain demands!

There can be no quarrel with the authors about the concept of collective security in its unadulterated form. They oppose it! And quite correctly. "Collective security" is just another phrase for a military alliance. Should a peace movement in the United States call upon its government to use the state machinery to form an alliance against "aggressors", it is ipso facto taking responsibility for a war undertaken by the government to enforce obligations incurred by the "collective security" pacts.

The authors imagine however, that they have changed the nature of the government undertaking "collective security" when they compel it to meet certain demands. These are:

a. To repudiate the industrial mobilization plans.

This is plainly naive. Surely the government will, under pressure, make a public renunciation of its plans for a war time dictatorship. It will renounce publicly and plan privately. The pressure of the war will compel dictatorial centralization of the nation. The most our authors could accomplish is to make M-Day an extemporaneous move!

b. Drastic reduction in military budget.

This is contradictory when one bears in mind the general perspective of the authors. This demand is advanced as a prerequisite for governmental action along the lines of collective security. But of what value is our government's action in trying to keep the Fascist dog in leash if our military machine is weakened? If the authors look forward to bullying the Fascist "aggressors" by sheer "collective" brute force, then they should be calling

for bigger and better armies, to make bigger and better collective forces, not weaker military machines.

c. Nationalization of the munitions industry.

This is just nonsensical. Nationalization of the munitions industry is no guarantee that the government has given up war-for-profit plans. In one of the seven good chapters in the book, the authors realize this, and state: "Even Hitler might nationalize the industry but he would do so, not to avert war, but to make his war machine more dependable, more highly integrated". Maybe in this joint authorship, one wrote Chapter Eight without reading what the other wrote in Chapter Two.

d. Passage of a Peace Act in Congress renouncing war as an instrument of international policy.

Why make this silly demand? On July 24, 1929, the U. S. A., together with dozens of other powers signed a statement to the effect that they were "persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of National policy should be made". Much good this sacred vow has been

e. Disavowal of the command of the sea doctrine.

This can mean one of two things: renunciation in words (which capitalist governments are always ready to do, especially if it will break down completely the opposition of the anti-war movement); or renunciation in fact. To do the latter would weaken America's military machine, and therefore stand in direct contradiction to a policy of collective security, as pointed out above!

What does the whole formula mean? Just a new way of tying a peace movement to the war machine!

One wonder how these authors fell into such a trap? Their pages tell us.

The Trap
They believe that it is possible, through a proper application of mass pressures, to set the capitalist state along the path of peace, even to the extent of using the capitalist state as an international instrument of peace. This is a fascinating illusion. And like all illusions leads to treacherous errors!

While we do grant the value of a non-political anti-war movement in blocking the government's war plans, we must also

understand the limited powers of such a non-political movement.

First, a non-political anti-war movement can not seize power for the establishment of a Socialist society, which will eliminate the cause of war.

Second, such a movement, should it be persistently anti-war in times of crisis must come in direct conflict with the capitalist state. At such a time it must stand ready to take state power, or to be crushed and surrender. Hence a non-political anti-war movement has only a limited role to play and must fall in its ultimate purpose unless functioning side by side with a revolutionary party.

State Power

Because the authors do not see that a struggle for real peace must ultimately be a revolutionary struggle for state power, they come to the most nonsensical conclusions about the "peaceful" powers of a People's Government, a

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Labor Party, and even John L. Lewis.

A People's Front Government or a Labor Party Government in office is not a guarantor of peace. The British Labor Party did not find it contrary to its conscience to bombard Indian villages in the interest of British imperialism. Nor did Walter Citrine refuse to back up England's threat of war against Mussolini when the Empire was once more in danger.

Blum's government in France today does not curtail its war budget. It has its M-Day plans. It even passed a teachers' loyalty oath bill.

The authors see John L. Lewis as a force for peace. This is the height of the ridiculous. John L. Lewis is not even up to the "revolutionary" stature of a British Henderson, or French Thomas, or German Ebert. These men, at least, had a Socialist perspective. To lean on Lewis for peace is to lean on a broken crutch.

War, Our Heritage is a typical product of left-wing reformism. It is correct on every point except the character of the state. It fails to see that until the old army bureaucracy and officials of the state machinery are cleared out and power taken by the working class in order to expropriate the exploiters, the economic and political fabric of the nation is still CAPITALIST. All that labor or reform men in office can be under this setup are masks for the essential capitalist character of the regime.

Such popular or labor masks may sometimes be necessary for capitalism. They may be especially necessary when imperialism wishes to win the support and confidence of a nation at war. It is the trick of wisdom to tear off this mask and not to say, as do the authors of this book, "It's the real stuff, it's our excuse for supporting the war!"

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LOBBY AND AISLE

By McALISTER COLEMAN

Rarely can you spend as happy an evening with as completely a cocoon family as has been put on the stage of The Booth Theatre, at 45th Street, by playwrights Moss Hart and George S. Kaufman. They call their new show, **YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU**. But you can take away from The Booth the fondest recollections of an uproarious time.

The superb scenes take place in the gaga home of the Vanderhofs where everyone rides his or her hobby to his or her complete satisfaction. They keep snakes, collect stamps and go to Commencement Day addresses. They do fancy dancing and fancy painting and fancy playwriting and everyone has a perfectly gorgeous time.

A Propaganda Play
YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU is a propaganda play. It is propaganda for the play spirit. Henry Travers, as Martin Vanderhof, (you'll remember him as Androcles in *Androcles and the Lion*) throws darts and a what-the-hell philosophy all over the stage to the infinite delight of the audience and the pained surprise of the stuffed shirt visitors at the Vanderhof nut-hatch.

Is It Funny?

In real life, as this deponent can testify, such an entourage can have its painful moments. It is funny to have the mail left in the ice-box, to get nothing but corn-flakes and tomatoes for dinner, to keep a printing press in the living-room. Funny that is, on the stage. Those who have survived these Sanger families, at times recall with bated breath the narrow

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Janosik



Paolo Bielik as Janosik now playing at the Filmarte Theatre, 58 Street and 7 Avenue.

escapes from insanity such environment entails. But Hart and Kaufman bring their crowd successfully through the most difficult contacts with a humorless outside world and we love everyone of the Vanderhofs, even though we wouldn't care to live with them.

Before we go on, may we own up to a most egregious bull, made in this column last week? We

New Music Hall Show

Lily Pons will return to the screen of the Radio City Music Hall in her new starring musical comedy, "That Girl From Paris." Supporting Miss Pons in the musical will be a cast that includes: Gene Raymond, Jack Oakie, Herman Bing, Lucille Ball, Mischa Auer and Ferdinand Gottchalk. A New Year's holiday stage show produced by Leon Leonidoff and his entire resident Music Hall company will be included in the new bill.

"That Girl From Paris" opens on Monday, December 29 for a ten day run.

gave the impression that The Guild had something to do with Maxwell Anderson's, **WINGLESS VICTORY**, which stars Katherine Cornell. It is Katherine herself who presents the show at The Empire this week. It was Mr. Anderson's mass productivity that got us confused.

A Few Good Shows

Here are some shows from among this season's offerings that are worth your while: **JOHNNY JOHNSON**, **STAGE DOOR**, **THE COUNTRY WIFE**, Coward's **TONIGHT AT EIGHT THIRTY** **TÓVARICH**, **IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE**, and of course, **YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU**.

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ON THE SCREEN

Two New Soviet Films—"Revolutionists" Begins Xmas Week at Cameo—"Natalka Poltavka" Now Current at Roosevelt

By ALLAN GEORGE

It may be a green Christmas everywhere else, but it will be Red at the Cameo on 42nd Street and Broadway this merry Xmas Eve with the American premiere of the historical Soviet film which depicts the rise of the revolutionary movement in Czarist Russia, **REVOLUTIONISTS**.

Beginning with the dark years from 1896 to 1900, when all Russia was stricken by poverty and when the working class was held in cruel subjugation by Czarist terrorism, the film reveals the fearlessness and intellectual clarity of those leaders who fanned the growing discontent of the people into the conscious mass movement towards the Revolution.

The film also shows the memorable night of January, 1905, when thousands of workers were massacred at the Palace Square in St Petersburg. Later, in December of that year, we see the embattled factory workers at the barricades in Moscow facing the picked troops which the Czar had dispatched from St. Petersburg. **REVOLUTIONISTS** was directed by Vera Stroyeva, the talented director of "Petersburg Nights," and was produced by the studios of Mosfilm, in Moscow. The cast

features artists of the Moscow Art Theatre. There are the usual English titles accompanying the Russian dialogue.

The film at the Roosevelt Theatre on 2nd Avenue and Houston Street, which opened Tuesday to an enthusiastic audience, is the immortal operetta **NATALKA POLTAVKA** made by Ukrainfilm studio and is being presented for the first time in this country after having met with considerable success all over the world. The operetta is based on a play by Kotliarevskii, in whose honor a beautiful statue has been erected in Kiev for his fine contribution to the theatre.

The story centers around a fascinating village maiden who is ardently pursued by the village blades and rich officials; but she is adamant in her refusals to marry, hoping to meet her sweetheart who has disappeared. That's all we can tell you of the story. You will have to see it yourself.

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AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

The most essential immediate task before the Socialist Party of America is to raise \$10,000, over and above money collected from routine sources, to finance the work of the national organization between now and April 1; that is, between now and the conclusion of our special National Convention.

This is not to say that money is everything in Socialism. It cannot take the place of hard Socialist activity but raising some money is a necessary condition of intelligent Socialist activity. To raise money is, of course, not a substitute for straight thinking about Socialist problems of worldwide importance.

But unless this sum is raised our thinking will be thinking in a vacuum, and however right the party may be or deem itself to be, it will be futile as an active force, and its resolutions, however excellent, will be as effective as mouldering manuscripts on library shelves.

This \$10,000 can easily be raised by a party that takes itself seriously. The Action Committee of the NEC has approved a plan which we shall set forth briefly in this column.

But first it is necessary to say that even more important than a well thought out and equitable plan is the will to effective action. The surer we are that Socialism is the world's only hope the less excusable are we if we continue to let our national organization race for victory like a cripple who has even lost his artificial leg. It is all very well for Socialist branches from New York to San Francisco to decide exactly what the Socialist Party should do in every emergency in Spain, France, Sweden, or Great Britain, but that kind of discussion becomes as impertinent as it is ineffective unless we can begin to do the job we ought to do in the United States.

MONEY WILL MEET ONLY URGENT NEEDS

Ten thousand dollars is not enough to do what ought to be done. It is enough to enable us to begin on the all-important tasks. It will not pay off our outstanding debts. It will meet the most urgent of them. It will enable us to maintain the National Office of the Party and of the Yipsels.

Also if we raise this sum we can maintain our Washington news bureau, which is a central point of contact not only with Congress and the Administration's program but also with both A.F.P. and CIO headquarters. It is doubly important because we must be represented intelligently and effectively in conferences that will take place on Constitutional and other questions.

This ten thousand dollars extra over and above the money that will come in through routine sources will enable us to make a

modest subsidy to work among the unemployed, to the reorganization of a central bureau for Jewish work, to the exceedingly useful work of the Labor Research Front, and to a beginning on the well planned activities of the Educational Committee. It will also enable us to do our share toward carrying out the plan of keeping Clarence Senior as our representative in Mexico to perfect closer relations with Mexican workers and ultimately with workers in other Latin American countries.

This appeal will not provide what we ought to have in order to put an adequate force of organizers in the field for work, particularly on labor problems with the unemployed, in colleges and towards general Party activities. The building up of such a force of organizers is absolutely vital. All that we can do with this \$10,000 is to make a very modest beginning, but that beginning is essential if we are to live on terms which do not make our performance a constant reproach to our professions.

FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS ABILITY

This \$10,000 to the National organization must be raised outside of what local and state organizations must raise, and outside of the immensely important drive which the CALL is now undertaking to support itself. But this appeal is a consolidation of all appeals except those which I have mentioned.

The plan outlined by the Action Committee calls for the purchase of Debs stamps as assessment stamps. It calls for their purchase roughly on the basis of income, and that is a principle that many Socialists earnestly believe should be followed supporting the party. This is a chance to see how well it may work.

Of course it goes without saying that if any of you voluntarily can buy above the scale you will greatly strengthen the work of the party, make sure that the \$10,000 is raised and perhaps something over which would be an enormous stimulus to effective work. It is not often that the party is so definitely on trial in

connection with one campaign as in this case. The amount sought is modest and it can and must be raised.

HOUSING PROBLEM UNSOLVED

Any discussion of unemployment must take account of the unsolved housing problem which grows more and more pressing. With the temporary return of comparative prosperity there is a serious shortage of housing since practically no new housing has been provided since 1929. The emergency is akin to the emergency following the World War. It must be met by emergency legislation.

In New York City that means: (1) no moratorium on the operation of the multiple dwelling law enacted to make housing safer and

more decent for the tenant; (2) reenactment of emergency rent legislation to control rents and prevent evictions; (3) enactment of legislation which will enable the city to make repairs on tenement houses whose owners refuse to make them, with the understanding that these repairs are a first lien upon the houses. Doubtless other cities will need corresponding legislation.

Of course this is not enough. We have lost an invaluable opportunity to build houses during this depression. It is not too late to begin. A proper housing program must take account of country shacks as well as city slums. It will require far more generous appropriations than the Wagner Bill. Everything I have seen and

heard strengthens the opinion that I have often expressed; namely, that, especially in America, the sub-division boys, the mortgage holders, and the rest of the owning class groups are so strong to permit a proper housing program. At any rate there can be no really successful housing program which does not involve an attack through taxation or otherwise on our present system of private landlordism.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST SALES TAX

Speaking of taxation, one of our important tasks is a definite campaign against the sales tax. "Mere reformism," some of you may say. Not at all. It is a measure definitely to the interest of the working class that is not "mere reformism." To win it will strengthen the working class. To advocate it will give us a point of vital contact with the workers such as we cannot overlook if we are ever successfully to carry out our fundamental change in the social order.

TROTSKY DEFENSE NOT ANTI-SOVIET

It cannot be made too clear that those of us who advocate the right of asylum for Leon Trotsky and applaud the Mexican government for granting it are not necessarily enrolling ourselves as disciples of Leon Trotsky. Still less are we expressing hostility to Soviet Russia.

Indeed, we believe that the Soviet government is hurting itself and to some extent jeopardizing its own position and the position of workers everywhere by becoming the spearhead of an attack upon so fundamental a civil liberty as the right of asylum.

Finally let it be clear that to force the right of asylum for Trotsky is entirely consistent with vigorous support of the struggle against Fascism in Spain and every other good cause throughout the world. In this connection don't forget the Madison Square Garden meeting, January 4th, when Ambassador de los Rios will speak.

All readers of the CALL should back the holiday pressure for pardon in behalf of the four Kentucky miners still confined for a life in the penitentiary. They were victims of tragic mine conflicts in exploited Harlan County, Kentucky. Among others, 46 out of 47 living jurors who heard the cases are now urging that these men be released. All other prisoners have been pardoned before this. The Kentucky Defense Committee is conducting an admirable struggle in behalf of Jones, Poore, Reynolds and Benson.

'I am the State?'



Just a scene in the Baltimore taxicab strike. The more labor presses for its demands, the more free are the police and militia becoming with their arms.

They Cried 'Liar' When We Said FDR Would Cut Relief

No. 3

One by one Roosevelt's liberal and labor supporters are becoming disillusioned with him. Two weeks ago the CALL reprinted an editorial from the *New York Post*, staunch Roosevelt supporter, containing an attack against the administration because of its inhuman attitude toward the unemployed.

Last week we reprinted a section of Heywood Brown's syndicated column reminding Roosevelt that he had received a mandate to continue relief.

This week we reprint a telegram sent by the American Labor Party of New York, which was organized to corral labor votes for Roosevelt, and which spent much of its time attacking the Socialist Party for warning against the treachery of FDR.

The following is the telegram sent by Luigi Antonini, state chairman of the A.L.P., to Harry L. Hopkins, relief administrator:

"Your plan to slash the WPA rolls fifteen per cent by January 1 must be condemned as arbitrary axe swinging and a violation of the will of the people so clearly expressed in the last election. The hundreds of thousands who voted under the emblem of the American Labor Party in New York State and the millions who gave President Roosevelt the most unmistakable mandate in

American political history for humanity in government.

"The Washington death ray turned on the WPA is a strange method of carrying that mandate. Those millions refuse to believe that President Roosevelt will turn them down. The plan to cut the WPA rolls without individual investigation of each case comes as a sad New Year's gift to thousands of New York citizens in dire need. The recovery up-swing has been due to the increased consuming power caused by wise and humane government measures including the WPA. Any interference with the WPA at this time is a clear menace to recovery. Penniless workers cut from the WPA rolls cannot buy the products of industry. You cannot fight unemployment by increasing the number of unemployed.

"We urge you to immediate reconsideration of your policy of arbitrary slashes in the WPA rolls to handle each case individually, and to maintain the WPA in full health and efficiency as a recovery mechanism until we reach the point where private industry assumes the burden it is failing to carry today."

In Next Week's CALL:

ANITA BRENNER on The Pan-American Conference.
JAMES T. FARRELL on The Moscow Trials.
ROSE M. STEIN on Ferment in Steel.
HAROLD M. ISAACS on The Crisis in China.
Also special articles by Norman Thomas, MacAlister Coleman, Herbert Zam, Gus Tyler, and others.

Of Special Interest to All Socialist Party Members and All Other Intelligent Radicals:
Beginning a series of four articles on Socialist Perspectives in 1937.

Hall Tours East For the CALL

John Hall, field representative of the CALL, and prominent Massachusetts Socialist, has just completed a three weeks tour of New England branches.

After three days in Boston, Hall spent two days in Rhode Island and a week in Connecticut. He will be back in the Boston area over Christmas and will speak before branches in Rhode Island, December 28 and 29.

Following the New Year, Hall will make an extended tour for the CALL in the Middle Atlantic states. Locals and branches of the Socialist Party in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia which desire to have Hall visit them should correspond immediately with the CALL.