

Violence Flares In Autos

Socialist Call

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JOBLESS MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Another Note to Sen. Pittman ON NEUTRALITY

Senator Key Pittman, Democrat of Nevada, you are a hypocrite!

We say this apropos of your pose and the attitude of your Congress on the matter of "neutrality."

You don't want, you claim, to get America entangled in an international war by permitting men to be sent to fight against Fascism in Spain. You want to be "neutral!"

Well, let's see how "neutral" you are, when your beloved silver magnates are concerned.

Means to China

Way back in 1931 you were the man who started a move to loan \$250,000,000 in silver coins to the Chinese National Government—the recoinage of which was to be controlled by an international commission.

Then you got busy telling the American people how necessary it was to "develop" the Far East, and—how important it was to get the navy swimming around in Far Eastern waters.

On March 27, 1935, the press reported: "Chairman Pittman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee replied today to those who have protested American naval maneuvers in the Pacific this summer, by asserting that it was necessary to train the navy in the Pacific as well as in the Atlantic."

War On Japan

It seems, Mr. Pittman, that after your dear silver magnates invested money in China, you, like a twentieth century Balboa, discovered that there was a Pacific as well as an Atlantic.

And then, to make it clear that you were not sailing your little war vessels just for fun, you made one of the most provocative anti-Japanese war speeches ever uttered by a supposedly responsible public official. At Las Vegas, New Mexico, on December 21st, the press states that you declared "Japan's ultimate objective was conquest of the world and that if the movement continued the United States would be forced into a decisive war in the Pacific."

And now, you, mouthpiece of the silver magnates who elected you back in Nevada—you, legislative imperialist, big navy booster, war talk jingo,—you, of all people, prate pompous piety about stopping the Socialists from getting us involved in a war!

How nicely you symbolize the hypocrisy of "capitalist neutrality!" How kind the Fates are to give us such characters as you!

Where We Differ

Please note the difference between you and us, Mr. Pittman. First, you are ready to call out the army and navy and begin a war to back your projects. We are ready to go to the aid of our Spanish brothers and comrades—and don't want the backing of the army and navy. You want America to go to war in the Pacific, and we will fight relentlessly against America's going to war in China, Spain, or any place else.

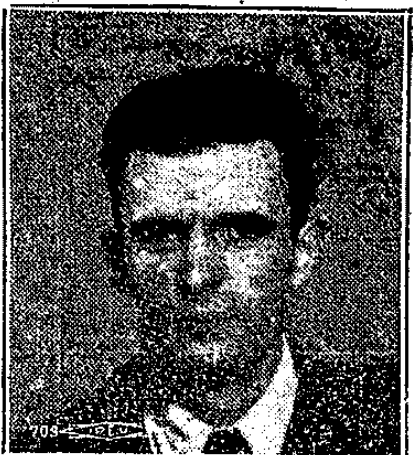
Second, you are ready to fight for what—for some chunks of stinking silver sent to some country to squeeze the life out of downtrodden natives. And we fight for what—for human freedom and dignity.

We stand with the masses against tyranny. And you are the spineless lackey of the paunchy silver magnates who "keep you" in Washington.

Tell us, Mr. Pittman, did you ever hear of that fellow who sold his Lord into crucifixion for thirty pieces of silver?

Do you really want to go down in history not only as a twentieth century Balboa, but also as a twentieth century Judas?

Unemployed



CHARLES ROSSIO, Illinois jobless leader.



DAVID LASSER, president Workers' Alliance.

Leaders



W. K. PATRICK, vice-president Workers' Alliance.

Hit Relief Cutting By Roosevelt

Roosevelt receives a visit from America's organized unemployed on January 15.

They come with facts, figures and fight!

Whether they protested against the capitalist politicians on November 3 last or not, they are making it clear that they don't like what's happening in Washington now—and they are coming down to change it.

The stamp of their feet upon the White House lawn and the congressional threshold is meant to tell the worthy gentry that these legs pack a powerful kick.

By BRENDAN SEXTON Special CALL Correspondent

More than 3,000 delegates, representing over 1,000,000 organized workers and working farmers, will participate in the national demonstration which has been called for January 15 in Washington by the Workers Alliance of America.

In every section of the country Alliance delegations boarded trains for Washington, where they will be joined by representatives of the organized workers and farmers. A wide variety of organizations, from locals of such great unions as the United Mine Workers and International Ladies Garment Workers to the Farm Holiday Association, have endorsed and are participating in the march.

From Many States Travelling to Washington, as this article is written, are groups from Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Wisconsin, Montana and the Dakotas. In their ranks are members.

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Strikers Clash With Police As Auto Sit-Downs Continue

Special to the CALL

DETROIT. — The auto fields of America have become the battleground for a civil war—Baby Austin model!

The 126th National Guard Infantry marches upon Flint.

Fisher body plants are turned into forts.

The strikers throw up an auto barricade. Reactionaries are reminded of 1914, of the French "taxi-defense" of Paris against the German enemy—and a shudder races down their spine.

Street Battle

The paving of the streets once more yields itself up to workers, as missiles for battle and blocks for streets barricades.

There is a jumble of uniformed police and overalled workers, in a fury of steel and steam as tear gas bomb, high pressure fire

hose, staves, knives, clubs and pistols come into play.

The training of the police is more than matched by the ingenuity of the strikers.

Machine Guns

Overlooking "the brawl" are the well-planted, neatly cold machine-gun nests, in the hands of "law and order," waiting, waiting—augur of a future.

And symbolic of the industry are the police patrol cars, topsy-turvy in the streets, bodies smashed, glass cracked, with disheveled spokes and wheels against the sky.

The first fighting began in a modern dress version of the rescue of Lucknow. Stay-in strikers, in the beleaguered Fisher Plants No. 1 and 2, were hungry. Their union brothers and relatives were planning to break the siege.

At plant No. 1 things went

well. The union sympathizers grabbed the guards and held them long enough to rush food to the strikers. Having arranged an inside bivouac, with an improvised heating system to combat the cold spell the company tried to cast upon the strikers, the men, supplied with food were set for more "stay-in."

But at Plant No. 2 the police were out for trouble. The center of the fighting was a union loud speaker truck from which Walter Reuther, strike leader, was directing the union forces.

When the company guards were "urged" to clear the way for food to the strikers, the police opened up with their tear gas. They were answered with fire hoses.

While the men inside were crying: "We're hungry! We want food!" Reuther's voice was shout.

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Help Smash Hitler, Hearst and Franco By Doing Your Bit to Keep the CALL Alive

Willy Hearst is reporting with glee that the G-Men are descending upon the CALL because of our campaign on behalf of the Debs Brigade.

Of course, we expect Mr. Hearst to be anxious to stop men leaving for Spain to fight with the workers and peasants against Fascism.

But we also expect you to be equally anxious to fight this campaign through to a finish.

Frankly, we can not conduct this campaign the way we would like to. THE SOCIALIST CALL JUST DOES NOT HAVE THE MONEY.

We are in a tight spot. Next week you may go to your

mail box or your newstand and just see no CALL.

This is no bluff. We may have to go under—just when we are needed most and when the reactionaries want us least.

We don't expect all our readers will want to go to Spain to fight, weapon in hand. But we do expect that every one of our readers, in greater or less sum, will contribute something to fighting Franco's allies in America by holding up the banner of the SOCIALIST CALL.

Your help is necessary to build the CALL as the effective collective organizer in the struggle against reaction.

Please don't delay. Rush funds to 21 East 17th St. NOW!

Anti-Fascists In U.S. Organize For Aid To Spanish Brigade

G-Men, swooping down on Socialist headquarters in California and the East, have not halted the campaign to finance the Debs Column to Spain. The West Coast office was "investigated" after Labor Action issued a call for the campaign. Glen Trimble, California Socialist, pointed to the legality of the campaign which did not enlist men here but, legally, provided finances for the transportation of men interested in aiding the fight against Fascism in Spain.

Rochester offices were similarly "investigated"—without stopping the campaign.

By JACK ALTMAN
Executive Secretary,
Local New York

A national-sponsoring committee of prominent anti-Fascists has organized the Friends of the Debs Column. This committee has taken upon itself the task of raising money and transportation for those able and desirous to join the International Brigade under the banner of the Debs Column.

Among those responding immediately are the following: Leroy C. Bowman, V. F. Calverton, John Brooks Wheelwright, Giralamo Valenti, Carlo Tresca, Ludwig Lore, Clifton Fadiman, Sidney Hook, Charles Yale Harrison, and others too numerous to mention. Officers are being selected and national headquarters have already been set up at 41 Union Square, Room 1331, New York. Hal Siegal is temporarily in charge of all work.

Broad Effect

The organization of the Debs Column is having profound effect everywhere. People of all shades of political opinion have been requesting assistance to get to Spain. Among the applicants and financial contributors are members of the Communist Party, members of the Social Democratic Federation, and some former pacifists, who see clearly that the pacifist answer to the civil war in Spain is unadulterated futility.

The Socialist Party of the U.S.A. has endorsed the Friends of the Debs Column, and urges all locals to raise financial support for this splendid act of solidarity. The Party organization in California, Rochester, Reading, Philadelphia and Minnesota, is responding beautifully and local groups of Friends of the Debs Column are being organized and affiliation requested from the national body in New York.

Picket Consulates

Last week Local New York planned two important actions. The picketing of the Italian and German Consulates and a city-wide tag day for the Debs Column. The first action, the picketing, was very successful.

The Italian Consul refused to see a committee consisting of: William Pickens of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Lawrence Hosie, of the Judson Memorial Church; Orlie Pell; Molly Yard of the American Student Union; Gerolamo Valenti, Editor of La Stampa Libera; Jesus Iphigias and Antonio Diaz of the Spanish Section of the Socialist Party, but he heard the shouts of the hundreds of picketers outside.

The German Consul's committee consisting of: George Hartmann of Teachers College, Columbia University; Mary Hillier of the League for Industrial

Arms to Spain



John T. Bernard, Minnesota Farmer-Laborite, who, alone opposed the "neutrality" bill to stop shipment of arms to the Spanish masses in their fight against Fascism.

Democracy; Leroy Bowman; Max Delson of the Socialist Party; Fay Bennett of the American Student Union, and Gottlieb Hoffman, Organizer of the German Branch of the Socialist Party; Antonio Reina and Luis Perez of the Spanish section of the New York Socialist Party.

The Tag Day has been shifted to January 23 and 24.

Plan Mass Meeting

Local New York has arranged a mass meeting at the New York Hippodrome, 6th Ave. and 43rd St., next in size only to the Madison Square Garden for Friday, January 29. The meeting is being called in support of the Friends of the Debs Column under the slogans: "Why the Socialist Party Supports the Debs Column," "Why All Anti-Fascists Should Support the Debs Col-

Irish Fight With Spanish Workers

An Irish contingent to aid the Spanish workers is being formed in Ireland. Many volunteers are already fighting in Spain.

Frank Ryan, well-known Irish Republican figure, is in charge of the contingent, and he has been recognized by the Spanish government as in command of the Irish units in Spain. Arrangements are being made for Irishmen in England and other countries to join the brigade.

Among the objectives of the volunteers to Spain is the desire to demonstrate "revolutionary Ireland's solidarity with the gallant workers and peasants in their fight against Fascism and their allies."

umn," and "Repeal the Neutrality Legislation so that the Government of Spain Can Buy Arms."

The speakers' list will be headed by Norman Thomas, and among the others will be several prominent international anti-Fascists. A banner from the Socialist Party of New York will be given that night to the members of the Debs Column to be presented to the Spanish Socialist Party.

Rochester Recruits

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—The Socialist Party, Rochester Local, has opened a recruiting office for the Eugene V. Debs Column.

Many eager recruits applied at the office at 62 State Street, where John Dwyer, regional state organizer, enrolled them in the Column. The U. S. Army Reserve Corps has started an investigation as to the legality of the move on the part of the Socialist Party. Several officers have tried to enroll at the office and

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Ban of Arms to Spain By Administration Is Pro-Fascist Step

By ROY E. BURT
National Executive Secretary, Socialist Party, U.S.A.

President Roosevelt is aiding the Fascist rebellion in Spain by his investigation of the enlistment of American anti-Fascists to defeat Fascism in Spain and by his so-called neutrality act which would forbid Americans to ship any war materials to the democratically elected Spanish government.

Roosevelt shows his colors. Those who called him a bulwark against Fascism and a force for progress and democracy now can clearly see what Roosevelt does when he is actually faced with the struggle against Fascism. At the demand of the President, Congress has taken its first action—the passage of a bill making it illegal for Americans to ship any war materials to the democratically elected Spanish government fighting against a Fascist rebellion. This is called "neutrality." But in actual practice this action constitutes direct aid to the forces of Franco, and Italian and German Fascism.

Socialists Investigated

The New York and San Francisco offices of the Socialist Party are now being investigated by the government because they have aided men who wanted to enlist on the side of the Spanish workers and peasants.

American democracy has always been proud of the liberty-loving men from other countries who came to our aid when we needed them. Even autocratic rulers did not try to stop Lafayette, Steuben, Pulaski and others from enlisting in the cause of American freedom.

From the first, Roosevelt has refused to look upon the Spanish government as a duly constituted government. This neutrality legislation coming now on the heel of British and French hypocrisy merely puts the U. S. A. in the camp of these false upholders of peace and democracy.

Workers Will Aid

The Socialist Party does not expect these governments to aid the workers of Spain in their heroic struggle for emancipation and against Fascism. But we demand that the working class forces here and everywhere be

permitted to give every aid to the Spanish working class forces. We are the real friends of democracy. We will defend every trace of democracy we have; we will press forward for the real democracy that the Spanish workers are fighting for — economic democracy as well as political democracy.

It is in this mood that we condemn Roosevelt and his Congress. It is in this mood that we view Hearst joining the forces of Roosevelt in condemning the workers of America who strain and sacrifice to help their brave Spanish comrades.

Hearst is more frank than Roosevelt. He openly champions the cause of the Fascists; he condemns the Socialist Party and other working class forces for their attempt to aid the enlistment of a force of 500 technicians to give direct aid to the Spanish working class forces.

Remember Our Fight

Hearst's attempt to invoke a law 119 years old against this recruiting is hypocritical. Hearst who so loves to laud our American traditions conveniently forgets that the great struggle of America for independence from the British empire was aided by the French Lafayette and the Polish Kosciuszko and their troops.

Here we see another great struggle for progress going on in Spain, a struggle which is arousing the workers and lovers of liberty of the world to a realization that international solidarity is necessary.

The Fascists cannot be opposed with words and expressions of love for democracy. They must be opposed with supplies and men for the loyalists. They must be opposed by giving the government every opportunity to purchase arms and supplies in the United States. Fascists of the world stand solidly together. We can do no less.

We Will Not Be Stopped

Roosevelt and Hearst are attempting to stop aid to Spain's struggle against Fascism. But this will not stop the Socialist Party and the militant working people of America. We will exert every effort to mobilize a tremendous force against the partly vicious and partly misguided action of Congress. We will continue to exert every effort to render aid to the workers of Spain, confident that the solidarity of the workers of the world will be the only path for defeating Franco and insuring working class victory in Spain.

We call on all workers in America to join with us in fighting Fascism wherever it rears its ugly head, and for a worker's world.

Ambulances for Spain



Dr. Fernando de los Rios, Spanish ambassador to the United States (center) after giant Madison Square Garden mass meeting under auspices of Spanish Societies, accepts four ambulances for Spain's fight against Fascism. At his right is Sam Baron, secretary of the United Spanish Societies, and at his left Charles Zimmerman, manager, dressmakers' union.

WATCH THE WRAPPER

On your copy of the Socialist Call, if you notice on the wrapper of the paper, or on the wrapper of this paper, a date, it is your duty to renew your subscription immediately.

EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

Direct Action Brings West Coast Seamen Near Strike Victory

By JOHN NEWTON THURBER

With direct action against the employers in the shipping industry practically forcing them to concede to the demands of the striking seamen on the West Coast and on the Gulf, a dangerous tendency has manifested itself in the eleventh week of the maritime strike to shift the center of attention to the legislative halls of Washington.

While their lines are holding practically solid on all fronts, the attacks leveled at the strikers from various angles have continued. The New York police department, which up to this time has maintained an attitude of "neutrality" in order to keep Mayor LaGuardia's alliance with labor solid, intervened to hold back pickets from answering the affronts of company and Ryan men in front of the United Fruit Co. docks.

New Strikebreaker

A new figure aspiring for strikebreaking honors appeared with the claim by William Gallagher, New York organizer of the Operating Engineers Union, who is publicly boasting of the numbers of men he has sent on American ships which have been struck by the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association. Reactionary ISU officials are also boasting of the numbers they have recruited for strikebreaking service.

With the East Coast shipowners still complaining of their financial losses, strike leaders are turning their attention to sending 1,000 strikers to Washington to lobby against the enforcement of the Copeland act, which provides for the notorious "continuous discharge—fink book." The seamen on all coasts have been resolute in their unwillingness to accept this blacklist device, while the reactionary labor officials, ever anxious to weed out labor militancy, are boasting now that they have already arranged the distribution of 5,000 fink books among their faithful minions.

Victory Near

On the West Coast the end of the strike is reported close at hand, with the other unions following the lead of Harry Lundeberg, secretary of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. By keeping his eye straight on the fight against the ship owners, Lundeberg has been able to win concessions on all important points.

In a leaflet issued to the entire membership of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific by Lundeberg, he said: "My idea of getting the best terms is not to put things in the newspapers but go straight to the shipowners with the backing of a solid picket line and the solidarity of the other unions.

"And this is what the sailors got: Control of the Hiring Hall; increased wages; cash overtime; raise in overtime rate; recognition of the SUP for collective bargaining. These are the things the ship owners said they would never give us!

"Now, when the shipowners gave up to the Sailors' Union on this principle, they had to give up to the Firemen and the Cooks and Stewards; and they will have to give up to the Longshoremen and others as far as the hiring hall is concerned. The precedent is set by the Sailors' agreement.

"We will not be satisfied until we get what we have demanded. We did not 'mediate' our demands; we did not get them by 'arbitration'. We got this

New York Seamen To Hold Tag Day

The striking maritime workers are holding a city-wide tag-day in New York Saturday and Sunday, January 16 and 17. All who are anxious to aid are requested to get in touch with the "Citizens Committee to Aid Striking Seamen" at 275 West 22nd Street, New York.

agreement by straight negotiations; by fighting each point of our demands through and winning out on every essential thing we demanded."

Washington Run-Around

In Washington the move to turn the energies of the strike into legislative channels was welcomed by Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward McGrady. He was reported as saying sweet nothings to the leaders of a delegation of strikers. After a series of previous betrayals, he promised that his department would cooperate in efforts to prevent immediate enforcement of the "fink book" clause of the Copeland act.

Strike leaders received the customary run around in Washington, and can expect to continue to do so. Each day spent in Washington by strike leaders will that much weaken the direct fight against the shipowners, the government and the reactionary union officials who can best be attacked according to the formula of Harry Lundeberg, in direct negotiations backed by labor solidarity on the picket line.

Three West Coast Seamen Convicted On Fake Charges

OAKLAND, Cal. (FP)—Another Mooney case loomed on the western horizon as defense attorneys discussed plans to fight on for the freedom of Secretary Earl King of the Marine Firemen's Union and two fellow-members, Ernest Ramsay and Frank Conner, who were convicted of second degree murder on charges of slaying Chief Engineer George W. Alberts of the Pt. Lobos on March 22 last.

Publicity on the case and prosecution of the men coincided closely with the period of final negotiations and strike in the West Coast maritime situation. It is a common tactic in labor struggles to frame prominent unionists on serious charges to discredit a strike movement.

The jury, chosen from panels of conservative and well-off citizens and with union members carefully excluded, brought in its verdict after four hours deliberation. Sentence up to life imprisonment is mandatory for second degree murder.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

The American Civil Liberties Union has announced the formation of a National Committee on Civil Rights in the American Industry to sponsor legislation contesting restrictions of workers' rights. Norman Thomas is among the members of the committee.

Dressing Up for the Visit to Roosevelt



Just a scene from one of the preparatory demonstrations for the January 15 march on Washington, when the unemployed are going to call on the President for a "show-down." This shot was taken in New York. The Furriers' Joint Council, in parade now, backed FDR on Nov. 3.

Strikers Clash With Police As Auto Sit-Downs Continue

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ing above the noise of the fight, "The men on the inside have been there twelve days. The rest of us can stay here one night for the cause of industrial democracy."

The "stay-in" strike—the chief fear of the bosses, the chief weapon of the workers becomes the Hindenburg line of the auto war. Strikers discover ever new devices to hold the shops; bosses roll up ever new artillery to dislodge the union men.

No Violence?

All this, of course, doesn't fit in with Governor Murphy's decree of January 5 that "there

of public order and the protection of the rights of private property."

It is to be seen how much Governor Murphy will contribute to "public order" should he, in the near future, begin to protect the "rights of private property" with the National Guard. His threats about not "countenancing anyone seizing public property" will not add to the maintenance of his present "liberal" reputation among the union men.

Private Army

Starting in Flint, the auto bosses have begun to recruit a private army for breaking up strike meetings, raiding loud speaker trucks.

This Alliance of "loyal and legal" workers is headed by a pack of low politicians and high-hatted financiers, whose hearts bleed for the poor workers who don't get a chance to work.

Gutter thugs or powdered Judge Blacks whatever money will buy the bosses enroll in their army to maintain dictatorship in the auto kingdom.

And now and then they get gratuitous help, like the aid received from some cowed A.P.L. craft unions which moved to break the back of the strike, by demanding that the bosses open the plants.

Craft Tactics

Shamelessly, the heads of the machinists, electricians, plumbers and bricklayers pen a resolution:

"In behalf of our members employed in your plants and who had no voice in this action on the part of an outlaw union in closing them, we request you to re-open the plants so that they may return to their jobs, which they are out of through no fault of their own."

This from the international officials. But the Cleveland Federation of Labor in whose town the above took place endorsed the auto strike.

From the vicious way in which the auto bosses are fighting one might expect that their financial situation is in a desperate plight. The statements of the men who have been "stay-in" for two uninterupted weeks.

But facts and figures show that the big boys are not singing their nasty tunes for supper, but,

as Al Sloan himself put it, to see whether or not there shall be a "dictatorship over the auto industry!"

It's dictatorship and nothing less that the big men of GM are fighting for.

GM's net profits for 1936 was a neat quarter billion bucks.

Even if GM boosted wage rates by one-third and cut hours to 30 a week, net profits would still be a cool \$105,000,000.

Payroll Drops

From 1932 to 1936 payroll has become an ever smaller chunk of total sales income and net profits an ever bigger piece. Payrolls in ratio to sales from 33.1 per cent in 1932 to 30.5 in 1934 to 28 per cent in 1935 and 25.8 per cent in 1936. Profits in ratio to payroll from one-tenth of 1 per cent in 1932 to 36 per cent in 1934 to 52 per cent in 1935 and 65 per cent in 1936.

CAL correspondent Frank Marquart writes, in the words of a worker in an auto plant, how the speed up works on head light production:

"First we turned out a head light at the rate of one every minute and 10 seconds. Then the speed was cut down to a minute then to 86 seconds, then to 74 seconds, next to 56 seconds and the other day head lights were coming off that line every 24 seconds. We raised hell and asked the boss where the fire was and he said he would do something about it. He did—he slowed the line down by two seconds!"

In the second week of the strike practically the entire production system has been closed down. The only shops running are those not producing auto stuff. The New York Times reports: "It is said that dealers will probably run out of cars altogether soon unless the strike is settled."

For all this lost trade, gangsters, guards, kept judges, big salaries — General Motors has money enough. But not for union conditions.

They will have to pay the price demanded in the ringing call of Victor Reuther:

"We want peace. General Motors wanted war. Give it to them, men!"

Dictator



Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., president of GM. With colleague Wm. F. Knudsen, Hearst and Mae West, he heads big salary people of U. S.

is not going to be any violence in this state."

Big strikes, like the one in autos, move by laws of their own; and sometimes these laws don't exactly jibe with the fine spun laws of the "state."

Newspaper men found "Governor Murphy standing in a hotel room with a blanket around his head. They tried to maintain a dignified neutrality, the government refused that and has become the duty of the state (and it is prepared) to act in the present emergency for the maintenance

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THE NEW MASSES AND THE OLD!

Pietro Nenni, representative of the Labor and Socialist International at the Spanish front, reports, in the bulletin of the LSI, the need for building the International Column which is fighting Fascism on the Iberian peninsula.

The situation in Spain, he reports, has reached a point where it is no longer enough for the working class to send just "resolutions and jam." More robust support is needed.

Class conscious workers in America answer with—the Debs Brigade!

The congratulations extended by Hitler to Roosevelt upon the passage of the American "neutrality" law tells us just how neutral that law is.

Franco is for it. Hitler is for it. Roosevelt proposed it. Congress passed it. These are the people who are doing all in their power to stop real aid to the Spanish masses—to make easier the cool murder of the Spanish workers and peasants.

We are not shocked by their behavior. We expect it of them; they are the tools of the capitalist class.

But—what shall we say of a "revolutionary" journal which joins with these gentry to strangle the Spanish masses?

We are referring to the Communist controlled magazine, The New Masses, which refuses to carry a paid advertisement to raise money for the Debs Brigade, *to send men to Spain!*

The excuse? The "revolutionary" New Masses is afraid that the project is "illegal" and may bring down upon its very "legal" head the wrath of the postal authorities.

This excuse—despite the blunt fact the SOCIALIST CALL, on the previous week, had carried a full page ad—through the mails.

This excuse—despite the clear legality of the project, which does not enlist men here, but merely pays for the transportation of men who wish to give aid to the Spanish masses, and who shall determine, according to their skills, how they may best do it—when in Spain.

This excuse—from the New Masses, inheritor of the tradition of the Masses, which in the mad years of the last war did not fear, in its opposition to the World War, to face the wrath of the courts—and the postman. What ignoble corruption of a tradition made glorious by men who stood trial in court for the Masses—a Max Eastman, an Art Young, who liked to cartoon himself as snoozing through the dreary hours of capitalist court "legalisms."

This excuse—at a time when French workers are still crying: "Planes to Spain." Perhaps it is correct for the Communist Party of France to make capital out of Blum's Popular Front predicament by crying "Planes to Spain," while the Communist New Masses in the United States sabotages "Men to Spain!"

This excuse—at a time when Victor Alter, writing as a revolutionary Socialist in Fascist ridden Poland, states: "Legal or illegal—aid must be given!"

This excuse—gets an official approval by an editorial in the Communist Daily Worker, attacking the Socialist Party for its uncompromising campaign to awaken the American masses to the meaning of the struggle in Spain, to the need for real robust aid—"not just resolutions and jam."

On January 9, it states: "The much advertised campaign of the Socialist Party for a so-called 'Debs Column' of 500 volunteers to go to Spain has been stupid and irresponsible, and played into the hands of the worst reactionaries and injured the cause of Spain."

What craven submissiveness to the threats of Hearst!

What is the political explanation of this anti-working class action of the New Masses?

It is the result of a mixture of green envy, pink respectability, and yellow diplomacy!

Diplomacy! The Soviet Union has, on and off, been endorsing proposals for an all round blockade of Spain. If the Soviet Union endorses it, so must the Communist Party of the United States. And now—wouldn't it be embarrassing for the Communist Party if it had to stop a great mass campaign in America for men to Spain—just because Soviet diplomacy demanded it? Hence the Daily Worker, like the Old Guard New Leader, wants a quiet campaign, so that it may kill the idea just so soon as the cable from the Kremlin so orders.

Respectability! The Communists are trying so hard to be respectable. They fear that a real mass campaign for men to Spain may chill those pretty darlings of theirs whose chief delight it is to dip their daintily manicured toes in the perfumed "revolutionary" bath of the Red dilettante. These people will send cookies and jam, hearts and flowers to Spain; but their tender insides would be horribly upset by talk of men to Spain.

Envy! The Communist Party is a bit angry with the Socialists whose bold action in organizing aid for Spain has captured the imagination and latent idealism of the class conscious workers in America. The C.P. has grown fat on Hearst's mucks. They don't want Socialists coming in!

On page one of the CALL, an appeal for money... a pressing appeal. With our campaign machine operating... from Hearst and from Washington but also from the Communist press, we have only one strong, consistent, fighting voice—the CALL. Don't desert us now! Rush your money for the fight!

More Stay In?



The capitalist class is forcing the issue of the "stay-in" strike in America. Although the "stay-in" strike in this country does not have behind it the high political and revolutionary consciousness that lie in back of the French sit-downs, the American capitalist class looks upon this newly popular technique as a direct threat to their dictatorship over their factories. They are demanding instant action from the "state" on their behalf. Very swiftly, the militant auto workers will see that so long as political power is in the hands of the capitalists, the workers must fight with one hand tied!

Gov't Proves New Deal a Flop

Conclusive evidence that the New Deal is working out like the Old Deal is furnished by the Production chart made up from the government's figures on wages, employment and output in manufacture.

Taking the average of the three years from 1923, 1924 and 1925 as the base, or 100, the index number for output in manufacturing climbed in December to 113, but employment was only 95 per cent as much. This was despite the fact that the population has gone up about 13 per cent in that period, so that manufacturing should be giving employment to 13 per cent more people if it were pulling its oar and doing its full share in our national economy. Actually, however, only 95 per cent as many people had jobs in manufacturing at the end of 1936 as in three normally good years before the depression. Yet, the 5 per cent fewer people turned out 13% more product.

The wage figures are still worse. Payrolls were only 91 per cent as large at the end of 1936 as during the three normal pre-depression years.

This situation represents a very substantial spread between a large increase in output on the one hand, and a considerable decrease in employment with a still greater decrease in pay on the other.

These figures are especially significant when compared with the course of manufacturing in the decade from 1919 to 1929 preceding the depression. In that ten years the government's figures show that 38 per cent more actual physical output was turned out in 1929 than in 1919. That 38 per cent more output was achieved by 3% fewer people. Certain economic conditions forced the owners of industry to raise pay somewhat in that time, so that the total payroll went up by 9 per cent.

You don't have to be a statistician or college Ph. D. to see the difficulty there. Any Young Socialist could tell that you can't in the long run sell 38 per cent more goods to people with only 9 per cent more pay on any price basis that is satisfactory to the owners of industry. So we had "over-production" and unemployment due to the spread between a big increase in output and a small increase in pay.

Exactly the same result is awaiting us, namely another depression. All the brave talk about redistributing the national income is just so much sound and fury. It isn't being done, and capitalism is riding for another fall like that in 1930 to 1932, which will probably hit us about 1940, unless another European war intervenes to upset the business apoplexy and sharpen class antagonism before that time.

Neither New Deal nor Old Deal capitalism provides security and justice for the working class. The government's own figures prove it.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS, Cambridge, Mass.

Utah Opposes Laws Against Minor Parties

To the Editor: There will be introduced in the forthcoming Utah legislature a measure reported to include provisions in filing fees and petition requirements prohibitive to minority candidates and minority political groups.

Five per cent of the vote for governor is required in signatures on nominating petitions and filing fees of \$250 for United States Senators, \$150 for Governor, \$70 for other state offices, and \$40 dollars for each candidate for legislature and county office.

This proposed legislature is a danger to political freedom in the state.

GEORGE F. CHRISTENSEN, Salt Lake City, Utah

FARM MILITANCY

ST. PAUL.—The militancy of farmers who converged at St. Paul offices of the Resettlement Administration protesting against relief slashes in the dead of winter, forced promises of a direct grant of relief for another month.

Boss Outfit Has Its Face Lifted

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

MINNEAPOLIS — The Minneapolis Citizens Alliance, long the bane of union labor until the advent of the rejuvenated Drivers Union, local 544, upon the scene in 1933-34, has been dissolved. In its place there has been set up by the local bosses, who now profess a more enlightened attitude toward organized labor, an organization called the Associated Industries of Minneapolis. The same officers and board of directors that guided the old boss organization to its discrediting and downfall will be on hand to direct the policies of the new organization.

Minneapolis workers are intelligent enough to perceive that the same old vicious anti-labor tactics which animated the Citizens Alliance are only covered with a new veil, which will be removed at the first outbreak of the open class struggle.

Due to a series of struggles with the old Citizens Alliance, during which the workers of Minneapolis have hardened themselves considerably, local workers have become wary enough to doubt any professions of the bosses as to change in disposition. The bosses are beneficiaries of capitalism, and capitalism is the enemy.

13 LYNCHED

With Georgia at the head of the list with five lynchings, America hung up a total of 13 mob killings for 1936, according to the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. There were 28 in 1935. Two of the 1936 victims were white men murdered by Black Legionnaires in Michigan.

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WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

OTTO BAUER, the leader of the Austrian Social Democracy, and one of the best known figures in the world Socialist movement, has written a very significant book entitled "Between Two World Wars" (Zwischen zwei Weltkriegen, Eugen Prager-Verlag, Bratislava, Czechoslovakia). As an expression by the leader of a Central European Socialist Party which has been defeated and smashed by Fascism, the book deserves very careful study.

Bauer traces the changes in social structure resulting from the last war—the crisis of world economy, the crisis of democracy and the crisis of Socialism. Bauer argues that just as material conditions shaped the working class movements before the war, finally resulting in the big split under the pressure of the post-war crisis, new conditions are leading to a new movement, because the foundations of both the gradualist school of Socialism and of Communist dogmatism are crumbling. A rebirth of Socialism, on a new basis, is possible and necessary.

It is difficult to understand how a man of Bauer's experience can discuss democracy in the non-Marxian manner he does. Bourgeois democracy, he says, is not the dictatorship of capital. In the liberal state which arose out of capitalist conflicts with the feudal system, vested interests were able to make the state obey their wishes because they held the commanding forces of industry and finance and had intellectual domination as well. Under bourgeois democracy, therefore, the capitalist class is ruling, a sort of indirect rule, but always under the permanent pressure of the working class. This was therefore the best soil for the growth of trade unionism and reformist Socialism.

Bauer praises this democracy very highly. He sees it as having accomplished "a gigantic work of emancipation," as having left a "precious heirloom" to "any society of civilized beings" in the "security of the freedom of dignity of each individual" against uncontrolled forces, the free competition of ideas, the "equal participation of all" in all decisions of the destiny and formation of the community. But because the base of this marvelous system which Bauer describes in such rapturous terms was capitalism, when the World War let loose the inner conflicts and contradictions, when the unemployment crisis and the pauperization of the lower middle classes made large masses rebel against the economic system, democracy failed, from the point of view of the masses, to protect them, and from the point of view of the ruling classes, to secure their rule any longer by the peaceful hold on the mind of the people. Thus Fascism comes to the fore.

Tactics on False Basis

At this point Bauer had a splendid opportunity to analyze and explain the failure of the reformist mass labor movement to give the masses a lead as against Fascism; why at a time when the masses had already become decisively dissatisfied with the existing social order, this movement insisted in making its stand precisely in defence of that order, thus pushing the seething masses into the arms of the Fascists.

He might further have explained why—if his analysis that reformism and the working class had become too strong for the ruling class to tolerate led the capitalists to take over the Fascist movements is true—the leaders of the working class persisted in trying to conclude an alliance with this class for the defence of a democracy which it no longer cared for, an alliance which was bound to end disastrously for the working class. Bauer might explain why he himself followed such a course in Austria in the face of his own analysis. This is not just carping criticism. It is vital to the future tactics of the working class in other "democratic" countries where Fascism has become a grave menace.

Finally, what next? With considerable reservations, Bauer comes out in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He rejects Communist as well as Social-democratic dogmatism on the question (although it can hardly be insisted that there is much Communist dogmatism left). Democracy and proletarian dictatorship are not warring contradictions, he insists. "Dictatorship of the proletariat is but state power taken over by the working class strong and permanent enough to accomplish the change from capitalist to Socialist society." In this connection he makes a few half-hearted criticisms on the forms of the dictatorship in the Soviet Union.

The masses, Bauer believes, will be mobilized to fight for Socialism by WAR. He believes that if the Soviet Union is involved, the next war will be the final battle between capitalism and Socialism. He believes that in such a war it will be the duty of the workers to fight. (These views were extensively presented in the Bauer-Dan-Zyromski thesis some time ago). This perspective requires the unification of the working class. Bauer therefore ends with a very strong plea for unity with the Communist International, which is already severely shaken in the rigidity of its conceptions.

Fascists Endorse The Anglo-French Scheme On Spain

The mask is off—the great capitalist "democracies" of Europe have openly joined hands with the Fascist countries to strangle the Spanish masses!

What a blow to the liberals! What a blow to the Communists! What a blow to all those who try to hide the basic struggle in the capitalist world—between worker and boss—by cleaving the world into "democracies" and "dictatorships."

"Save Democracy"

Ever since the civil war began in Spain, the devotees at the shrine of "democracy" have been praying to these great powers to "save democracy in Spain!"

The SOCIALIST CALL, for close to a year, even before the fighting began in Spain, pointed out that "democratic" Great Britain and France were groping for a "deal" at the expense of another power. On March 21 we stated that Britain might make this deal at the expense of the Soviet Union.

On November 28 we wrote: "Britain is anxious to buy off Germany . . ." We warned the workers against placing any hope in capitalist England, and wrote: "The present situation in Europe proves once again that no capitalist country can be depended upon to give real aid to the working class, whether the struggle be one between the Soviet Union and some capitalist combine or between the workers and reactionaries of Spain."

Imperial Interests

On December 5 we wrote: "And just because Britain is moved by imperial interests alone, it will continue to maneuver to buy off its possible war enemies: Germany and Japan."

On December 12 we pointed out that the "democratic" capitalists of Catalonia were in a plot, together with outside European powers, to make peace with Franco and establish a bourgeois regime in Spain.

On December 19 the CALL stigmatized the Anglo-French proposal for a "plebiscite" in Spain as a move to "maintain a neutrality benevolent to Franco," and as a "scheme to solve" the Spanish crisis by a deal with Hitler and Mussolini." On December 26 and January 2, we repeated that "the compromise between Hitler and Mussolini and the Anglo-French entente will be made at the expense of the Spanish masses."

Our Record

We recount our record, because during all these months only the Socialist press tore through that democratic veil behind which the capitalists of the world were strangling the Spanish masses.

We issued those warnings because we wanted the workers of the world, including the United States, to break completely with the "non-intervention" policies of their capitalist masters, so that the workers could have a free hand to give direct aid to the Spanish workers.

And while we alone fought on, the liberal and Communist press were spreading emasculating illusions about how the "democratic" nations could, and would, save the Spanish masses.

To maintain their People's Front with the capitalist "democracies," the Communists, as late as December 25, were calling upon the "democratic" powers to act and were endorsing, together with the Soviet Union, the murderous Anglo-French proposal. On that date the Daily Worker backed the treacherous Anglo-French plan and called for "more

collective steps by France, England and the United States!"

Collaborators

They were still petitioning their capitalist "collaborators" to save the Spanish masses!

They were still spreading this pille when the authoritative capitalist correspondents were making much more honest and frank statements about the British policy.

Wrote Augur on December 26: "Frankly speaking, the British government . . . in this country would not object to the Insurgents winning with German help."

Writes Frederick Kuhn: Britain is "expediting a climax in the civil war, first, by tacitly assenting to Italian military intervention; secondly, by helping to maintain a smoke-screen of non-intervention efforts that would conceal efforts of Fascist nations to aid Franco."

For Status Quo

Openly, the "deadly" enemies England and Italy reach an agreement, under this formula, for the "status quo" in the Mediterranean. And on the morrow, France and Germany reach an almost identical agreement for the "status quo."

The longer the working class clings to the diplomatic policies of the capitalist "democracies," the longer must it deny real fighting aid to the Spanish masses, the longer must it be partner to non-intervention plans to strangle the Spanish masses.

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION IS THE ANSWER! THE ONLY ANSWER!

Debs Column

In America the Socialists have organized to back the Debs Column to Spain. This campaign must be pushed to the limit. Opposition from confused liberalism or from communists, who do not wish to offend the government, who still have suicidal illusions about where our government stands, dare not halt the men who have volunteered to go to Spain.

A couple of months late, as compared with the CALL, the Stern papers carry an editorial: "A British Knife in Spain's Back" It states: "Rome's interpretation of the Italo-British pact is that England, in return for the withdrawal of Italian troops from the Balearic Islands, agreed to a Franco victory." Stern attacks Britain for not permitting men to go to Spain!

Very well, our liberal friend. But how about Roosevelt, and how about a little positive action by getting behind the drive for the Debs Column?

Stewart Is Elected Head Of Akron Teacher Union

AKRON, Ohio.—Chalmers Stewart, active member of the Socialist Party in Akron, was elected president of local 287 of the teachers union at the elections held Jan. 6. E. L. Ross, educational director of the Socialist local in Akron, was chosen financial secretary. Bertha Martin was elected vice-president and Loretta Tisch secretary.

The teachers local has been handicapped by lack of activity, especially among the officers. The Socialists in the union have demanded a more active campaign to organize the Akron teachers, and a program of action has already been drawn up under the leadership of the new officials.

COOPS AND REVIEWS

By McAlister Coleman

OUT of all the mists of propoganda there comes one clear call to those who love Spanish democracy, and who does not? And this is from a review, of all places, in the reactionary Herald-Tribune, of a book by John Langdon-Davies called "Behind the Spanish Barricades" published by Robert McBride & Company.

The review is by John Gunther, who ought to know what he's talking about in view of the fact that he wrote "Inside Europe." Mr. Gunther says, "In February, 1936, a Popular Front government took power in Spain after a free election. In this Popular Front government there were no Socialists and no Communists. It was a liberal government of the Left, no more, no less. In July General Franco led an armed insurrection against this government. His coup made comparatively little headway. It might have been crushed except for the arrival of German and Italian reinforcements.

"Intervention by the Fascist side antedated by a considerable period intervention by the Russians and the International workers brigade. The Germans and Italians were contributing munitions at least by August. The Russians became a factor of importance only in November. Franco's terror was followed by a counter-terror. No priest was murdered in Spain before July 18. Nothing happened to any rebel prisoner till Franco's Moors massacred the loyalists he captured at Badajoz—in a bulking by machine-gun"

This is the kind of statement that you boys and girls want to pin in your hat and show to stuffed shirts who come up and tell you that Franco has the right of it.

There are an awful lot of them around. And it seems to us that we run into them in every circle in which we move—Catholic bartenders, Columbia University professors, and whatnots.

Exercise in Glowering

In the recent circles in which we have moved, we have met nothing but moving men who are still moving us into a house in which we intend to take up residence. These are very strong, intransigent people, although if we called any of them "intransigent" there would undoubtedly be a fight. We were suffering under the impression that we had moved into this house entirely, but those in charge of our movements informed us that we were of no help whatsoever to them, owing to the fact that we sat on a moved-in sofa and glowered at all and sundry hands.

Glowering at people is no good. It is not cooperative. Which reminds us that we are now engaged in a research job to tell Fortune Magazine all about the cooperative movement.

Cooperatives and Capitalism

So far as we have been able to discover, having been in the cooperative movement for years, the main difficulty with the cooperative movement is that it has taken no cognizance of the very movement from which it was born—namely, the Socialist movement. In England, the home of the cooperatives, the womb and heart of the cooperative movement is the Socialist Party. In this country, however, we have a group of ex-ministers, former social workers and others of that Christian ilk tottering around the country announcing that the cooperative movement will in no way affect the profit system. If they are right—the hell with the cooperative movement. All it means is that you gyp a few cents off the A & P. But there are all kinds of people walking around America who are buying goods wholesale at the present time. They are the people who know the wholesale purveyors of neck-ties, socks, electrical gadgets and stoves, and they see no reason in their lives why they should live cooperatively. If we are going to depend upon individual white-collar slaves to make the cooperative movement significant in this country we might as well give up right now.

And a personal word to Dr. Warbasse. He has wasted his potentially fruitful life, going around telling everybody that his system doesn't mean anything. That it has no sinister intentions on the capitalist movement. By this time Dr. Warbasse ought to know better, but if he doesn't this is a personal note to him to find out what economic time he lives under.

Dr. Warbasse is a nice man; but what he doesn't know about economics would fill several valuable columns of our paper which have to be devoted to more important matters than the economic views of Dr. Warbasse and his fellow-cooperators.

PARTY PERSPECTIVES—NUMBER THREE

The Fight Against War

The Chief Enemy Is At Home

Prepared by THE CALL EDITORIAL BOARD

Before another presidential election, war may break upon the world. The press reports: "In Europe and Asia war is more than a dinner-table topic. It is the anxious concern of every chancellery and military bureau."

At such a time the Socialist Party must make haste to give flesh and blood to its traditionally uncompromising opposition to capitalist war. Three major tasks lie before us:

First, to waken the workers to the immediate danger;

Second, to organize forces for a realistic struggle against war; and

Third, to gain a strategic position in decisive sections of the population which will make it possible to turn the forces unleashed by a war crisis upon the system itself.

HOW NEAR IS A NEW WAR?

No world war threatened the world seriously since 1918 because there was no power on earth strong enough to challenge the victorious coalition of Anglo-American-French hands. The League of Nations was the instrument of the victors to bully the vanquished. The post-war years saw a *pax romana*, a forced peace!

Today, those powers who feel that they were cheated the last time the thieves had a falling out are looking for a new squabble to redivide the colonial spoils. And they feel strong enough to try it!

The present alliances are commonly described as Fascist versus Democratic. Really, they are nothing of the sort. Essentially, the cleavage among the capitalist powers is created by the starved powers to satisfy their hunger as opposed to the stuffed powers who won't cough up.

The most striking proof that the so-called democratic powers are not the least bit interested in the ideals of democracy or peace as such has been given us during the last two years by the democratic powers themselves. When it suited Britain's imperialist interest, it gave arms, supplied money, concluded pacts, and offered diplomatic protection to Fascist Germany. And when it suited France's imperialist interest, it did like favors for Fascist Italy.

When the capitalist class interests so dictated, France and England threw "democratic" Spain to the Fascist wolves. And when imperialist interests so demanded, the Anglo-French "democrats" gather about the conference table with Hitler and Mussolini, whose hands are still dripping with the blood of Spain's masses, to establish a ways and means committee for stabbing a dagger into the back of the Spanish masses in a collective sort of way.

The theory way that capitalist democracy has had to tread on the road of international politics during the last two years has stripped it down to its bloody skin. There it stands in all its ugly nakedness; the beast of imperialism. And only men who are blind, ignorant, or servile, continue to repeat: "Oh, How beautiful! How grand those ideals. Lead on, and we will follow, even if it be through the Hell that is War!"

The workers of the democratic countries must be told. The democracies of the world just as the Fascist countries are not racing their arms factories to protect democracy, but to protect the imperialist system.

WAR FOR DEMOCRACY MEANS FASCISM

The working class, although it may not realize that this is so before the war, will quickly discover that it is so as soon as the war is under way.

Neatly filed away in its bureaus, cabinets, the U. S. Government, just as the war department of every country in the world, has its blue-prints for war time dictatorship in America. These are the M-Day plans. It is the dictatorial

will and testament of the imperialist overlords. It is to be executed by men whose names are known: Irene DuPont, Ernest T. Weir, Eugene Grace, and Co.—the men who hate labor and love war.

These are the men who are, according to fully-prepared plans, to keep the workers of America goose-stepping to the war time rhythms. These are the men who are commissioned to "guide the unions." These are the true rulers of our "democracy" at war.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE ANSWER

The masses of America should have one answer: one answer to three questions—

How shall we check the coming of war?

How shall we end the war?

How shall we fight the threat of Fascism arising from war?

The answer is one: class struggle, uncompromising, unrelenting struggle.

When the sophisticated journals of capitalism talk about the proximity of war, they now and then hint as to what is causing the ruling class to think twice before unleashing the hounds of Mars.

The master class fears the consequence of a war. While the imperialist homeland is at war, the colonial masses may take the opportunity to tear loose. And then the masses, goaded into desperation by the war, may turn their bayonets to a better purpose than gouging the bowels of their fellow workers. The ruling class fears but one thing: war may mean revolution!

The working class has one weapon in staying the hand of capitalism as it begins to reach for the sword; namely, revolutionary class struggle.

And should a war break out, the working class could most quickly bring it to a close by continued struggle.

The imperialist war will end when the working class will wrench power from the bloodstained hands of capital. And a true peace can only be realized among a commonwealth of workers' states.

Unless the working class is ready to place its head supinely upon the Fascist block, it has no alternative but to give stubborn class resistance now to the M-Day Plans of the American capitalist government.

PACIFISM AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

There must be no illusions either as to the ease with which the Socialists will be able to win the masses over to an uncompromising anti-war struggle before a new war or about the weapons which Socialists will have to employ in the struggle against the war making system.

The Socialist Party must seriously recognize its limited powers at present, in the light of the imminence of another war. It must recognize this so that it may gird itself for the struggle against war once it has broken out.

The aim of the Socialist, when war comes, is not to creep off into conventional loneliness, waiting for the storm to end that he may come out of hiding. Another war, needed by capitalism, yet feared by it, too, must be turned upon the war making system, upon the capitalist class itself.

The longer war continues, the more difficult will it be for labor to maintain class peace with the capitalist class. The exhaustion of the nation, the strain of war expenses, the national bloodletting, will begin to tear at the sacred union of labor and capital.

As the cost of living mounts, the working class will begin to submit demands. The capitalists, who are every

see one purpose: Victory! will consider every demand of the workers upon the national income to be — "traitorous." Strikes for higher wages, for rest from the long hours of wartime toil, and finally political actions of the workers against the war—will, of necessity, have to bring the workers into clash with the state.

Then men at the front will begin to wonder: What Price Glory!

Their families at home will writhe with anger, as prices rise, as their sons die, as necessities run out, as disease stalks—while the profiteers look on with bloated aplomb.

To the stiff necked militarists who run the country all these protests must appear as the product of foreign agitators—to be dealt with severely in the military way. The longer the war, the greater the desperation of the masses, and of the rulers. Spontaneously, the masses will see that the chief foe is—at home!

The Socialist Party with a perspective that will include the dynamics of a nation at war must PREPARE for such a crisis. This will not mean easy work. It will mean going among all the potential sections of unrest. It will mean spurring the class struggle onward, everywhere. It will mean preparing to do what the capitalists fear we will do: turn the guns upon them!

This is no easy work; this is no work for the weak; this is no work for the squeamish. BUT IT MUST BE DONE! Or—all our talk of the struggle against war is piffle.

DOWN WITH COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The capitalist knows that simple military preparedness is not enough to conduct a war. He knows that the masses must be convinced that it is a good war, a just war, a war in which they must gladly lay down their lives. Hence the capitalist conducts a campaign of psychologic preparedness.

Foreign diplomacy has two purposes: one, to make allies; second, to justify the behavior of the nation in going to war before the eyes of the masses.

The great instrument for poking the clear eyes out of the head of the masses now popularly wielded by the imperialists is: collective security!

Collective security is a system where, in a group of nations get together, draw up a set of rules, and agree to pounce upon anyone who violates these rules—be he inside or outside the group!

What does this mean—in practice today?

In our present divided world, it means that one group of nations band together against other powers. It means a military alliance. It means a renewal of those pacts for military assistance which were so plentiful before the last war.

Collective security is just another name for a military alliance.

When the working class of any country supports its regime in a policy of collective security, it is virtually stating to its imperialist government that it gives it a blank check for declaring war, at anytime that its regime, together with other of the ilk, decide that somebody is violating collective security rules. When the working class signs a collective security pact, it is writing a blank check, which the government will date, which the profiteers will draft, and for which the masses must pay.

The most vital task before the Socialist Party in America today is to counteract the campaign of psychologic preparedness of American imperialism, which practices "collective security" for use the world against the other half. The Socialist Party is against any and

every form of capitalist collective security!

NO FAITH IN CAPITALIST NEUTRALITY

American capitalism, with a long isolationist tradition behind it (except when it goes to war for the defense of imperialism), tries in times of peace to win the confidence of the masses by preaching hemispherical "neutrality."

Wilson's great campaign to "keep America out of war," was a classic demonstration of the policy of capitalist neutrality and an equally classic exposition of its hypocrisy.

While the capitalist politicians prate of maintaining neutrality, they pursue a peacetime economic policy which must, of necessity, drag capitalism into a war if it would defend the economic-imperialist bulwarks of the system.

Loans, possessions, military outposts, colonies are placed under fire. Nations, whose continued strength is necessary in order to give effective alliances against directly competing imperialist rivals, are endangered. Capitalist America must find itself embroiled in war.

The more sophisticated spokesman of American capitalism tell us that "neutrality" legislation is not so bad today because Congress or the President, in times of crisis, could end it anyhow. The less polished spokesmen announce publicly that it is all rot and will go up the flue with the rest of the documentary ashes when the furnace of war grows a bit warmer.

What does "neutrality" legislation accomplish for the war mongers? Only this! Before the eyes of the masses America appears as the virgin angel of peace, loving isolation, hating entanglements, and drawn into the ungodly strife entirely against its blessed will. American capitalism can call upon the masses of America to march to the slaughter, choking with the sobs of offended innocence.

The Socialist Party must warn the working class against this piece of false piety. It must not permit the workers to relax their struggle against the government as a war-making government. It must place no hope, no faith, no reliance in "neutrality" legislation.

Recent events prove quite conclusively that the government shows the most energy in prosecuting "neutrality" legislation when it can be used against the working class. What a sudden fever of decisiveness the government has worked-up; in the midst of its studied vacillation, when it came to stopping aid to the workers of Spain! Here the government is really for "neutrality!"

And just because the Socialist Party does not place all wars on an equal plane, because it supports and will support the struggles of the workers against their oppressors, it will oppose simple laws of neutrality which will prevent workers' aid to progressive causes.

THE STRUGGLE MUST BEGIN NOW

The struggle against war must begin now.

The trade unions, the unemployed, the youth must be set in motion against the war machine. They must be rallied around specific issues to fight the war mongers and their plans.

This struggle can only be fought through to the end by a party which holds a revolutionary perspective. Just as in the struggle against Fascism, those parties which fail to see that this struggle must be conducted on the class struggle front will confuse and mislead the working class into the traps and pitfalls of imperialism.

The strategy of the Socialists in the schools, in basic industries, in war time manufacturing must constantly be guided by its perspectives in the struggle against war.

AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

Just as I began to write this column came a telegram from the Conference for Protection of Civil Rights in Detroit which read in part as follows:

"What police shoot 13 men now in hospital in unprovoked attack against peaceful picketing before Fisher plant (stop) Tear gas thrown into plant in unsuccessful effort ejecting strikers (stop)" Then the telegram goes on to urge the usual protest to public officials.

Of course all of us should make these protests, and make them vigorously, but the great thing necessary is to mobilize all the public opinion we can in support of the Automobile Workers Union as the agency of collective bargaining with General Motors and the other big companies. That is the basic issue, not the smaller things which precipitated the various sit-down, stay-in, and other types of strikes.

The issue cannot be settled craft by craft or factory by factory. It is an industrial issue on a national scale. President Roosevelt is under peculiar obligations to act because his original action in the automobile industry fastened on it a type of so-called collective bargaining quite unfavorable to the workers.

SPEARHEAD OF STRUGGLE

The automobile strike for the present is a spearhead of the struggle of the workers for emancipation, and for a larger share of that wealth which only the labor of hand and brain produces.

But it is by no means the only manifestation of the struggle. The Seamen's strike is still going on, and in New Jersey the Democratic boss, Mayor Hague of Jersey City, has taken, without much public notice or attention, the extraordinary course of directing the police to break up all picket lines, not by making arrests but by physical violence. Without any legal action whatsoever he has taken it upon himself to rule that the strike is outlawed. Why? Simply because, according to him, it is run by Communists! Fascist despotism could scarcely go farther. And Mayor Hague, be it remembered, is supposedly a supporter of the New Deal.

SHARECROPPERS MAKE GAINS

On the agricultural front in the last year the sharecroppers and

wage workers in the Southern plantations, especially of Arkansas and Oklahoma, have made most encouraging progress through the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. That organization is holding its Convention in Muskogee, Oklahoma this week. It will doubtless re-state its program of immediate and more ultimate demands.

Those immediate demands will include fairer contracts for sharecroppers, the abolition of credit slavery for them, etc. Probably the union will point out the superiority of cooperative collectives on big plantations to the effort to subdivide them into small holdings and turn a number of tenants into subsidized peasants with a long time debt.

Whatever the merits or demerits of this latter proposal in no sense is it the solution of the problem, as Rexford Tugwell himself candidly admitted in a recent article. Anyway, more important than any immediate legislation which there is a chance that Congress will pass, is the building up of the union as the means of successful struggle against terrorism, night riding, and the bitterest exploitation in America.

Here, then, is to the STFU, its officers, its leaders, and its rank and file!

TROTSKY LANDS IN MEXICO

It is good news that Leon Trotsky has landed safely in Mexico and that there were no demonstrations against him in the land of his asylum. It is to the interest of the workers of the world, especially of the Communist Party, to disprove the shocking charge upon which Time Magazine insists; namely that the only reason Communists may not assassinate Trotsky in Mexico is because at bottom Trotsky is Stalin's stooge.

It is most unfortunate that at a time when the maximum possible unity of the workers of the world against Fascism is critically urgent; at a time, moreover, when the workers want to rejoice in all progress in Russia and in Russian leadership in Spain against Fascism, there is danger that the grim farce of the Moscow trial will be repeated over again in the case of Radek.

If the Stalin government is so sure of its case why does it not prove it to the world, not only by permitting but inviting competent outside counsel to act for Radek, or to observe the trial? Why not invite a commission which will command confidence to listen to the trial and to make its own investigation? Ways could be found by which such a commission could be chosen by various working class groups throughout the world.

Of course it is still true that the commission most to be desired is one empowered to examine all the charges against Trotsky. He has reiterated his eagerness for such inquiry.

TWO BITS OF NEWS ON SPAIN

The morning paper, as I write, bring two bits of news about the Spanish situation good as far as they go. First, that Franco's drive on Madrid has been checked. Second, that Hitler assures Franco that he will not encroach on the integrity of Spain or her colonial possessions.

Short of that he may of course turn Spain into a Fascist state, in reality subordinate to him. No assurances of non-intervention in Spain are worth more which are not accompanied by the with-

drawal of the troops which Mussolini and Hitler have sent to Spain and by an absolute stoppage of their steady stream of supplies to the Rebels. Russia has already said that if that is done she will follow suit.

The American government is in no position to put on any kind of pressure since Congress put a complete embargo on the purchase of any sort of military supplies by a friendly Spanish government. That was not patching up a hole in our present neutrality policy, this was discriminating against Spain, for we have sold and are still selling arms right along to recognized governments—China, for instance—to use against rebels.

There is a difference, legal and psychological, in the effect of such sales as compared with sales to belligerents and international war. Behind this resolution there was a lot of politics and some pro-Fascist feeling. The President wants discretionary power and will use the Spanish incident to help him get it.

Undoubtedly, however, the majority of Congress and of the public look upon the resolution as a way to keep the United States out of war. This is wholly desirable, but a fascist triumph in Spain, which is definitely aided psychologically, as well as to some extent practically by this discrimination against Spain does more to jeopardize the chances of peace than to permit the older international law arrangements—far as they are from perfection—to stand; that is, to permit a friendly government to buy arms against a military rebellion. There is already law and precedent enough to prevent unrecognized rebels from doing the same sort of thing. What Congress or the Administration or both might possibly have done would have been to inform Spain that she bought at her risk and must transport arms in her own ships

or in non-American shipping which she might obtain. This arrangement ought to have satisfied any reasonable fear that Spanish purchases would involve America in war.

Now that Congress, mistakenly as I believe, has acted, it is up to us to see that the same principles are applied to the sales of arms to China, Japan, Italy, Germany and other nations. Even more is it up to us who hate fascism to redouble our efforts in non-governmental channels to show our sympathy for the Spanish workers and other Loyalists.

I call attention to the official announcement elsewhere in this issue which corrects some misreporting of the facts concerning the Debs Column and brings developments down to date! The Debs Column is now under a committee legally independent; no enlistments are made in America; no money is promised to anyone who goes to Spain but merely aid to idealists who believe that the defeat of fascism in Spain may help the world's chance of peace and justice so that they may get to the other side.

This I think is in accordance with international Socialism and the ancient tradition of the right of men to volunteer in the struggle for freedom without implicating their governments. It will not provoke greater efforts by the fascists because those efforts are being made anyhow. To a limited extent it may even serve as a warning to Hitler and Mussolini of popular feeling in America against Fascism.

PARTY MUST HAVE MONEY

The Debs stamps which all Socialists are expected to buy, according to the scale frequently published, have nothing to do with the support of the Debs Column. That is supported entirely by voluntary gifts. The prompt sale of Debs stamps is

necessary to the usefulness, if not the life, of the Socialist Party of America in this critical situation.

We want \$10,000 for the period till April 1st through the sale of these stamps for the support of the Party nationally. This covers all important drives except that for the Call and, of course, arrangements to support state and local organizations. It is imperative that we raise this sum and do it at once!

AMEND THE CONSTITUTION

Fifty or more resolutions have been introduced in Congress for amending the Constitution. Meanwhile the President seems to think that all that is necessary is liberal interpretation. Liberal interpretation cannot always be depended upon. It will not take out of the Constitution protection of state and property rights inconsistent with the advancement of the cause of workers everywhere. Certainly no liberal interpretation will end the danger to democracy and to the rise of a strong farmer-labor party inherent in the manner in which the President and Vice President are elected.

Hence our Socialist insistence on the importance of the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment, an amendment providing for the direct election of the President and Vice President with Federal control of it, and an amendment to make the Constitution easier to amend.

FASCISM

MILAN, Italy.—During the last six weeks, 140 workers have been arrested in this city. They will soon be brought to trial for alleged anti-Fascist activities. They are also accused of having intended to embark for Spain and to fight on the Government side against the Fascists.

Unemployed Converge on Wash. Against Relief and WPA Cuts

(Continued from Page One) bers of the Farm Holiday Association coming to express the demands of the drought stricken farmers suffering severely as a result of the cuts in WPA.

In addition, Chicago plans to send 100 delegates, ten auto loads are coming from Milwaukee, 100 delegates from Cleveland, 116 from Indiana. Pennsylvania will send about 400 and Maryland approximately the same. They will be met in Washington by 1,000 delegates from New York, and smaller groups from Massachusetts, Florida, Texas, Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

Chaos of Marches

The Washington march will climax the demonstrations headed by the Alliance throughout the country during the past week. The actions in many places were marked by victories for the project workers. Notably in Cleveland where a five day sit-in won a promise that \$10,000,000 worth of projects would be opened within 10 days.

Varying in size from Houston's 200 to New York's 25,000 the largest turnout of relief workers in this city's history—the demonstrations served notice on the Roosevelt administration that it

was in for a real fight on the WPA front.

In New York January 9 was an historic day for more than one reason. The day's action had the endorsement of more than 35 local and two International AFL Unions, having a combined membership of over 250,000. It was the 129th anniversary of New York's, and perhaps the country's, first unemployed demonstration. It saw the first independent unemployed demonstration run in this city by an AFL trade union—the great mass meeting of the Painter's District Council, which gave support to the Workers Alliance program.

Progressive Support

The drive to further swell the ranks of the totally unemployed, and thereby provide the great labor reserve army to be used as a club against the increasing militancy of the workers in the basic industries, has brought forth support for these actions from practically every progressive workers organization in the country, and has given the Alliance good reason to expect a maximum of success.

As a result of the web of protest which in the last week has

been spun across the country, a large bloc has lined up in Congress behind the Alliance program calling for direct federal relief and a deficiency appropriation of \$1,250,000,000.

Such an appropriation would provide for continuation at work of all WPA workers now employed, expansion of the projects to give jobs to 350,000 employables now on relief, and for the addition of 250,000 farmers to the rolls of the Resettlement Administration as well as to provide a general wage increase of 20 percent.

Result of Protests

Roosevelt has, on the other hand, called for an appropriation of only \$700,000,000. This represents a substantial increase over the \$500,000,000 which he had originally called for, and indicates that the WPA workers protests organized by the Alliance have made even the White House sit up and take notice.

It does not, however, make any provision for the more than 1,500,000 now on relief, or for a revision of the present wage standards, which average only \$52 monthly for non-administrative workers, and sink as low as \$21 per month in some sections of the country.

Lecturer



Jennie Lee, charming and brilliant labor leader of Scotland, former M. P., is coming to America on a lecture tour for the League for Industrial Democracy.

Ferment in Steel

Steel Drive Moves On

By ROSE M. STEIN

How rapidly is the steel drive progressing? How close is it to attaining a majority? When will the committee ask for recognition? Will there be a strike? These are only a few of the many questions which anyone speaking or writing on the subject is asked, and it is difficult to answer them at this stage of development with any degree of accuracy or finality.

2,000 JOIN EVERY DAY

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee has recently made the announcement that membership cards are coming in to the central offices at the average rate of

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

2,000 a day, or a daily average of ten memberships for each of the 200 organizers. In the face of ever present dismissal threats, ever lurking spies and stool pigeons, and repeated reprisals, such recruiting is a notable achievement.

No initiation fees are charged and there is a suspension of dues for both new and old members until February 15. Where lodges are already established, they may, if their own membership so decides, collect dues during the suspension period. No part of such dues, however, go to the central office; the total amount in such cases is retained by the local organization.

There are as yet few lodges. The task of coordinating the vast mass of steel union members, and of whipping them into a smoothly functioning organization, lies considerably ahead. In effect the present enrollment constitutes a secret ballot by which steel workers are recording their preference for an independent union over one dominated by the companies.

COULD NOT EXPRESS CHOICE

It must be remembered that steel workers were never given the privilege to vote on the clear-cut choice between an Employee Representation Plan, the euphemistic name employers give to the company union, and a union of the workers' own choosing.

When the Weirton Steel Company announces that 97 per cent of its employees voted for the company union; when the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation broadcasts that its company union polled a 96 per cent vote, and when some other steel concern claims its company union to be a 99 44/100 pure employee choice, it merely means, assuming there is no misrepresentation in the figures—a rather risky assumption—that a large number of workers have cast their ballot for certain company union representatives instead of for other company union representatives. It does not mean that they had a choice to express preference for one type of collective bargaining over another.

Time and again steel employees have petitioned the various labor relations boards for an opportunity to vote, without employer interference, on this type of preference, and in every instance save one election orders issued by labor relations boards have been defied by the companies.

The one exception is a small independent fabricating plant in Huntington, W. Va. employing 400 men. When an election was held at that plant in 1934, by order of the Steel Labor Relations



tions Board, 362 of the 400 workers voted for the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers.

Since the steel companies have repeatedly prevented the recording and registering of an independent employee vote on the kind of union and the kind of collective bargaining they want, the SWCC's present enrollment campaign may well serve that purpose.

As soon as a majority of appli-

cations have been acquired, and provided the moment is thought propitious, the CIO will ask the American Iron and Steel Institute, as well as the various individual companies, for union recognition.

Will this request be granted? Of all the questions, this is the hardest to answer. No doubt the steel trust's response to such a demand will be greatly influenced by what happens in the meantime in the automobile industry. No doubt too, the fate of the National Labor Relations Act, which should be determined through Supreme Court action by then, will have its influence.

If the Bourbons who control steel run true to form, and there is little reason to expect a sudden change, the request will be flatly refused. Then, as Phil Murray, national director of the steel drive, has pointed out repeatedly, the responsibility for any disturbance which may follow rests squarely with management, not

with the steel organizing committee.

STRIKE ACTION CHARTERED

If and when recognition is refused, there is good reason to expect that a strike may follow. Strike action in that case will pursue a carefully chartered plan. Every effort will be made to avoid the errors and pitfalls of the 1919 steel strike. There will be far greater inter-industry cooperation on a national scale than American labor has been able to demonstrate heretofore, and a genuine effort will be made not to expose individual workers to employer reprisals.

As this brief summary would indicate, there is a great deal of work to be done. But with experienced leaders like Lewis, Golden, Van Bittner, and Mitch at the helm, there is every reason to expect that the job will proceed with a minimum of friction, and with a minimum of waste and false moves.

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

No. 4

ONE after another, Roosevelt's liberal, labor and "radical" backers in the last election are becoming disillusioned. In previous weeks the CALL reprinted from three staunch supporters of Roosevelt—the New York Post, Heywood Brown and the American Labor Party of New York—criticism of Roosevelt's latest relief-slashing policy.

This week the CALL reprints a section of an editorial in the Communist Daily Worker. During the campaign the Communist Party, which indirectly supported Roosevelt, attacked the Socialist Party for pointing out the tragic mistake of workers placing reliance in a capitalist candidate.

On September 8, during the height of the campaign, the Daily Worker said: "Roosevelt did make clear, however, that despite the attacks of the Hearst-Liberty League crowd he will not cut down on Federal relief activities for the victims of drought and unemployment."

Roosevelt demonstrated immediately after his election that the Socialists had been right. And so on December 26 the Daily Worker had this to say editorially:

"For millions of Americans . . . Christmas Day . . . was a day clouded by uncertainty and by harassment as to how to feed their little children. A threat of starvation gloomily hangs over these homes. . . ."

"The Roosevelt administration has increased this haunting fear by its announced plan to ask of Congress only \$500,000,000 as a deficiency appropriation for the unemployed.

"The Workers Alliance rightly declares that

\$1,250,000,000 will be a meager allowance, and for that minimum the organized unemployed will fight.

"The administration has brought forward a program of extensive layoffs on WPA . . .

"It is not only the unemployed who are hit by the Roosevelt doublecross on the relief question. This drive on inadequate relief and to demobilize the WPA will throw millions of unemployed on the labor market. It will tend to break down labor standards and to hamper the militant rise of the union movement.

"It is, in short, the dirty anti-labor proposal of the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce."

Join The Socialist Party

For information fill out the blank and send it to the Socialist Party, 519 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Name _____ Address _____ City _____ State _____

Trotsky Hails U. S. Defense Committee

The American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky received today the following telegram:

MEXICO CITY, JAN. 11, 1937

NORMAN THOMAS JOHN DEWEY ET AL AMERICAN COMMITTEE DEFENSE LEON TROTSKY 22 EAST 17TH ST. NYC.

UPON SETTING FOOT NEW WORLD SOIL I HASTEN TO GREET COMMITTEE WHICH TOOK INITIATIVE IN FIGHT FOR FULL IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION TRIAL SIXTEEN STOP PLACE MYSELF ENTIRELY AT DISPOSAL COMMITTEE AND PREPARED TO PROVIDE IT ALL POSSIBLE INFORMATION FURNISH DOCUMENTS ANSWER ANY QUESTION THAT MAY INTEREST COMMITTEE STOP NEEDLESS TO SAY IS NOT MERELY QUESTION CONCERNING ME AND SON AGAINST WHOM MOST IGNOMINIOUS ACCUSATION IN ALL POLITICAL HISTORY HAS BEEN LAUNCHED NOR FATE OF NEW DOZENS AND HUNDREDS ACCUSED BUT QUESTION INVOLVING FATE OF SOVIET UNION AND EVEN WORLD LABOR MOVEMENT FOR YEARS TO COME STOP CONCEALMENT OF FACTS SILENCE DOWNRIGHT PROTECTION OF FALSIFICATION AND FORGERY NEVER SERVED ADVANCE OF PEOPLES STOP HUMANITY ATTAINS LIBERATION ONLY ON ROAD OF TRUTH

LEON TROTSKY

Threats Fall

As Leon Trotsky landed on Mexican soil after forcible deportation from Norway, threats of reactionaries and Communist party officials against him failed to materialize.

Under misleading headlines, the Daily Worker of January 11th published a resolution of the CTM (Federation of Mexican Workers) on Trotsky. Instead of the resolution submitted by the unofficial Soviet representative in Mexico, Lombardo Toledano, to the CTM Executive, castigating Trotsky as "Gestapo agent," etc. and opposing his admittance, the CTM resolution implicitly concedes to Trotsky the right of asylum.

"Historical Stage"

"Its main complaint against Trotsky is that 'if Trotsky is going to enthrone his followers with the mere fact of his presence in Mexico to propose immediate armed insurrection and the establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat without taking into consideration the present historical stage'—that stage, according to the CTM being the Popular Front—'then the CTM does not consider the presence of Trotsky among us to be desirable.'"

In other words, the Communist Party tried to get the CTM to denounce Trotsky as a counter-revolutionist. The CTM responded by denouncing Trotsky—as a revolutionist!

Two Socialist Writers Among 10 Best of Year

Two Socialists are among the ten outstanding writers of non-fiction books of 1936, selected by the Current History Advisory Council. They are Van Wyck Brooks, who ran for office on the Socialist ticket in Connecticut, and Harry W. Laidler, state chairman of the New York Socialist Party.

Van Wyck Brooks, author of "The Flowering of New England," is called "one of America's greatest literary architects" by the council.

Harry W. Laidler's "A Program for Modern America" was one of the ten books selected.

With The Party

NATIONAL

Roy Burt, national executive secretary of the Socialist Party, has just completed a tour of Minnesota and North Dakota, arranged by Carl Finkle, state secretary of the Socialist Party of Minnesota.

His itinerary included Minneapolis, St. Paul, Red Wing, Vilmar, Fargo, N. D., and Moorhead.

He will tour Ohio from Jan. 24 to 31 and will visit Dayton, Yellow Springs, Cincinnati, Columbus, Delaware, Toledo and Cleveland.

He is meeting with the party membership in the towns covered to discuss party perspectives and emphasis as expressed in resolutions passed at the last meeting of the national executive committee, to help party members organize their forces in support of Spanish workers, against WPA layoffs and is arranging conferences with members in the industrial field. Public dinners and meetings are also planned for him.

An appeal is being sent to all branches by National Executive Secretary Roy E. Burt and National Organization Secretary Frank N. Trager informing them of the quotas established in the CALL Drive for \$10,000 and urging them to bend every effort to achieve their quotas. Two collection sheets are being sent to each branch by National Headquarters for use in the CALL Drive.

National Organizer Douglas B. Anderson is touring with the sound truck west of the Mississippi. At present he is just completing a tour of Texas. He will be in the field for four months, cooperating with the Western District Federation in party organization work in various states of the west.

CONNECTICUT

An exceptional important conference and banquet will be held in Bridgeport Sun, Jan. 17, at the Workmen's Circle Hall, Capitol Ave. and Hudson St. The conference will start at 2:30 P. M. and end with the banquet at 6.

Among the prominent Socialists in the state who will be there are Van Wyck Brooks of Westport, Stanley P. Young, Devere Allen of Wilton, Professor R. R. Brooks of Yale University, Caroline F. Urie of New London, John McChesney of Lakeville, Willard Uphaus of New Haven.

The Committee on Arrangements is headed by Jack Bergen of Bridgeport, 441 Harral Ave. The conference will be open to all without charge.

INDIANA

The State Executive Committee at its session on Jan. 3 adopted the following resolution.

"The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Indiana sends its greetings to the workers and peasants of Spain. We admire your courage and sacrifice for the privileges of freedom and democracy and pledge our financial and moral support until your victory is won. Your victory is our victory."

MASSACHUSETTS

The Socialist Party of Massachusetts is sponsoring a testimonial dinner for Norman Thomas at the Twentieth Century Club, 3 Joy Street, Boston, on Sunday evening, January 17, at 6 P. M. Reservations at \$1.00 a plate must be made in advance through the party headquarters, 86 Leverett Street, phone, Capitol 8024.

MICHIGAN

At a regular meeting of the County Central Committee of the Socialist Party, Local Wayne County Michigan, Jan. 5, the following resolution was passed:

Whereas: The SOCIALIST CALL is coming closer to what we desire of a newspaper than any other newspaper put out by Socialists in the last few years; and

Whereas: The SOCIALIST CALL has shown such marked improvement in the last few weeks; and

Whereas: We believe that the SOCIALIST CALL will continue to improve along the same general lines that is has improved to date; now therefore

Be it resolved: That the Socialist Party of Local Wayne County, Michigan, approve of the general current policy of the SOCIALIST CALL and proceed with a drive to have all members of the party in the Local subscribe to the SOCIALIST CALL, and urges them to sell the paper and solicit more subscriptions.

NEW YORK

A meeting of all Socialist Party members interested in the cooperative movement will be held Friday Jan. 15, 8 P. M., at Norman Thomas' home, 206 E. 18th St.

Maurice Spector will open the new YPSL forum at 1422 Wilkens Ave., Bronx, Jan. 17 with a talk on "The Peoples Front in Theory and Practice." Dr. Max Winkler is speaking at the forum of the 2nd A. D. Bronx on Fri.,

Party Members MUST Support Stamp Drive

By MARJORIE KIPP

Director, Debs Organization Fund Drive

We are mobilizing aid for Spain through the Spanish Solidarity Fund. We are organizing action against WPA lay-offs all over the country. We are assisting in the struggles, every day becoming

more acute, of workers in the automobile, rubber and steel industries.

Jan. 15 on Pan-American Possessions at 1401 Jerome Ave.
Regel Arts announces registration for a second intermediate dance class under Frances Leber on Thursdays at 7:15 at Rebel Arts headquarters, 35 E. 19th St. Send in your registration to Etta Meyer at this address. At present there is another intermediate class on Mondays at 6:30.

OHIO

The state executive committee is meeting at 48 Hawks Ave., Columbus, on Saturday, Jan. 16.

The Labor Committee of Local Cleveland is concentrating work in the Northeast-Collinwood section of Cleveland, in which area is located the Fisher Body plant, where 6000 workers are taking part in the General Motors strike.

Over 175 persons jammed the City Club to hear Ernest Erber, national chairman of the YPSL, speak on Spain. A collection of \$100 was taken, which is to be turned over to help send the Eugene V. Debs Column to Spain.

National Secretary Roy E. Burt will visit Cleveland on the week-end of Jan. 30-31. A social and reception is being arranged in his honor on Sat. Jan. 30, the proceeds of which will go to the national organization fund drive. A special membership meeting will be held on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 31, and he will speak to the party Forum on the same night. A press conference is also being arranged.

The last membership meeting of Local Cleveland voted to nominate a candidate for mayor and nine councilmanic candidates for the coming city election. Robert D. Dullea was nominated for Mayor of Cleveland.

Councilmanic candidates nominated were: Ward 9, Dorothea Roepke; Ward 18, James K. Leake; Ward 23, Louis Zorko; Ward 24, Louis A. Golden; Ward 25, Max Epstein; Ward 27, Max R. Wohl; Ward 30, Ben Parker; Ward 32, Edward M. Simpson. A campaign committee of five members was elected, including A. D. Horwitz, R. D. Dullea, A. J. Piro, J. F. Sage and Robert Parker. Max Wohl, Ben Parker and

If we are to continue this work, to expand it and branch out into other fields which are desperately in need of attention, we must, each of us, along with our activity in these lines, buy the number of Debs Organization Fund stamps suggested in the schedule based on our ability to pay.

This is a test of our ability to mobilize our resources and work at a common task. Each member of the Socialist party should accept his assessment immediately, then indicate when payment will

Bert Cochrane were elected to draft the platform for the campaign.

PENNSYLVANIA

Arne Swabek will speak on "The CIO and the AFL Convention" Fri., Jan. 15, at 4036 Ghard Ave., Philadelphia. Auspices, Parkside Branch

Fight
Deportations
of
FERRERO and
SALLITTO

Concert and Dance
STUYVESANT CASINO
140 Second Avenue

Friday, Jan. 15, at 8:30
Admission, 49 Cents

be made so that the secretary can report to national headquarters. These activities of ours, already underway must not be curtailed because of lack of money to keep them going. This is our responsibility. We must not fail. We invite Socialist sympathizers to aid us in this drive.

The attractive Debs Organization Fund stamp can be obtained from the Socialist party, 549 W. Randolph St., Chicago, at 25 cents each.

Members of the Socialist party are voluntarily assessing themselves on the following basis:

Income per week Assessment
\$10 and less 1 Debs stamp
\$10 — \$20 2 Debs stamps
\$20 — \$30 4 Debs stamps
\$30 — \$40 8 Debs stamps
\$40 — \$50 16 Debs stamps
\$50 and above 32 Debs stamps

BRANCH DIRECTORY

RATES: 3 lines, 25c, 5 cents per additional line.
Minimum 1 Month.
Deadline: Monday at 2 P.M.

DETROIT

BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday, 8 P. M., People's House, 3946 Trumbull. Tel.: Terrace 2-8512.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

BRANCH meets 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 P. M. sharp, 1603a South Jefferson Ave. Labor Forum every Sunday night—8 P. M.

MANHATTAN

LOWER EAST SIDE. Meets every Wed. 31 Second Ave. Ruth Miller, Sec'y, 40 Monroe St.

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

BRONX

2ND A.D. meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 1401 Jerome Ave. Forum every Friday at headquarters. Sophie E. Nelson, secretary.

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

HELP BUILD THE SOCIALIST CALL!

William Randolph Hearst's newspapers are attacking the CALL for its militant work for the Debs Column, against Spanish reaction!

HELP US FIGHT BACK!

HELP BUILD THE SOCIALIST CALL!

We are handicapped by lack of funds and by old debts.

Help Make the Socialist Call a Weapon Which Will Throw Fear Into the Reactionaries on Every Front!

\$10,000 Must Be Raised!

The Following Quotas Have Been Set . . . Everyone Must Do His Part!

State	Quota	State	Quota	State	Quota
Alabama	\$ 10.00	Massachusetts	700.00	Ohio	150.00
Arizona	40.00	Boston	300.00	Clev'd	150.00
Arkansas	30.00	State	400.00	State	150.00
California	150.00	Michigan	300.00	Pennsylvania	1,200.00
Colorado	50.00	Detroit	150.00	Phil.	400.00
Connecticut	600.00	State	150.00	Reading	300.00
Delaware	15.00	Minnesota	250.00	Pitts.	200.00
Dist. of Columbia	125.00	Mississippi	10.00	State	300.00
Florida	40.00	Missouri	250.00	Rhode Island	60.00
Georgia	10.00	Montana	50.00	South Carolina	10.00
Idaho	30.00	Nebraska	30.00	South Dakota	10.00
Illinois	700.00	Nevada	10.00	Tennessee	30.00
Chicago	400.00	New Hampshire	35.00	Texas	30.00
State	300.00	New Jersey	400.00	Utah	10.00
Indiana	100.00	New Mexico	75.00	Vermont	35.00
Iowa	50.00	New York	2,000.00	Virginia	25.00
Kansas	50.00	N. Y. State	100.00	Washington	75.00
Kentucky	50.00	Oklahoma	5.00	West Virginia	35.00
Louisiana	30.00	Oregon	50.00	Wisconsin	300.00
Maine	100.00			Wyoming	10.00
Maryland	100.00			Total	\$10,015.00

What You Can Do:

1. Have your branch accept a share of the quota and work to fill it!
2. Get donations from your neighbors, union brothers and shopmates.
3. Arrange a special affair for the benefit of THE CALL.
4. Sell CALL subs for \$1.50 a year; 50c of each \$1.50 sub will apply to the quota!
5. Turn your energy to put this drive over the top! Start the money rolling in!

Put This Drive Over the Top Before March 1!

Rush Funds to the SOCIALIST CALL
21 EAST 17th ST., N. Y. C.

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

When capitalist organizations storm against working class organizations and call them bad names, it is not news. It is the commonplace order of the day for such slander when workers build organizations which begin to be effective. Far from being harmful, this vilification serves our cause by giving widespread publicity to our activity and attracts many workers who otherwise would have remained in complete ignorance of the existence of such organizations.

Attacks Unlaid

But when the attack comes from one who not long ago gave valuable service to the working class, we cannot lightly pass over it without a reply. Discredited though he is for his disloyal part in the efforts of the employees of Consumers Research to organize, the attack of J. B. Matthews upon the cooperative movement in a recent issue of the Atlantic Monthly, must be regarded as a serious matter, calling for a convincing answer.

Matthews charges that he has found American and European cooperatives worse offenders in the matter of honest advertising and the sale of quality merchandise than profit business. "The shelves of European cooperatives," he says, "are well stocked with nostrums and quackeries." He charges there are cooperative advertisements which would put to shame even our blatant promise-the-heaven advertising blurbs. "On the record to date," he concludes, "private competitive enterprise, with all of its faults, appears to be the best available servant of consumers' interests."

No Cry Of "False"

It will not do for us to cry out that the picture he paints is false, that his facts are fictitious. Nor is the facts are cooperation served by such statements as those which appeared not long ago in the Cooperative Builder, usually our most intelligent cooperative newspaper, that the "primary function of a cooperative is not to police peoples' morals but to satisfy their demands."

Matthews statements are not wholly false, although his conclusions may be. Cooperative products are not rendered automatically wholesome by the removal of the profit incentive. The mere organization of consumers to supply themselves with their

requirements on a non-profit basis does not assure unimpeachable distribution. The cooperative method in itself does not overcome all the faults of profit distribution. To assert that it does, makes impossible the time when it will.

Control By Members

That time will come only when the intelligent membership of cooperatives exercise such control over their bureaucratic officials and their movement that their aspirations and requirements become the dominant controlling force.

Let us have no illusions about the cooperative movement. It provides us only with a suitable weapon. What we do with this weapon will determine the usefulness of the cooperative movement to the working class, not the fact that it exists. Only class conscious, intelligent direction coordinated with other class conscious activity will ever fully reap the fruit of the cooperative seed.

ARE YOU LISTED?

SUBSCRIPTIONS

The following agents have sent in subscriptions during the past week:

Gus Tyler, New York City	1
Local Wayne Co., Mich.	2
Phil Heller, New York City	1
Hans Peters, N. Y.	1
Wm. Wallit, Bronx, N. Y.	1
Glen Miller, Wichita, Kansas	1
Josephine W. Gotshalk, Camden, N.J.	1
Bob Nelson, New York City	1
O. S. Ferry, New Bedford, Mass.	1
Local Cleveland, Ohio	1

The total number of subscriptions received is 166.

DONATIONS

H. Roth, Oaklyn, N. J.	\$ 5.00
Elmer Lachovits, L. I., N. Y.	2.00
Ethel Kristan	2.00
Chas. Albrecht, Houston, Texas	1.00
Abe Sigman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
	\$11.00

LID to Hold Anniversary Dinner This Thursday

The League for Industrial Democracy will hold its 32nd Anniversary Dinner this Thursday evening, Jan. 14, at 7 P. M., at the American Women's Association, 361 West 57th Street, New York.

The speakers, who will speak on the general topic, "War in 1937?" include: Norman Thomas, Jennie Lee, Frederick V. Field, Hubert C. Herring, Dr. Franz Hollering, E. S. de Lozada, Harry W. Laidler will be toastmaster.

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NY Socialists Map Program

ALBANY, N.Y.—A fifteen-point legislative program on labor and social issues has been presented to the State Legislature by the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party of New York. Harry W. Laidler, state chairman of the party, announced an intensive campaign to enlist the support for these measures of trade unions, farmers' organizations, cooperatives, unemployed organizations and all progressive forces.

The program provides for the following:

Increase and liberalize home relief; a comprehensive system of public work at prevailing wages; public housing; health insurance; ratification of the child labor amendment; unemployment insurance; old age assistance; public ownership of utilities; distribution of milk at cost by municipal milk authorities; abolish the issue of injunctions in labor disputes; liberalization of the election law; repeal of the Teachers' Loyalty Oath Law; forbid private detective agencies to intervene in labor disputes; conservation program for forests in state; a more efficient workmen's compensation law.

Debs Forum Offers Lecture on Cuba

Arthur Pincus, prominent journalist, and author of a series of articles recently appearing in the CALL on the Cuban situation, will speak on "The Background of the Cuban Crisis" on Friday, January 15, at 8:45 P.M. at the Young Circle League Hall, 22 E. 15th Street, New York, under the auspices of the Debs Labor School. This lecture is the second in a series of lectures run by the Debs Labor School on A Portrait of America. This will be followed with a lecture by Louis M. Hacker, instructor at Columbia University and co-author of "U. S. History Since 1865," on "The Class Struggle in American History" on Friday, January 22.

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Friday Evening, Jan. 15th 8:45
ARTHUR PINCUS
Prominent Journalist
on "Background of the Cuban Crisis"

Friday Evening, Jan. 22nd 8:15
LOUIS M. HACKER
Lecturer Columbia University
Co-author of "History of U. S. Since 1865," etc.
on "Class Struggle in American History"

Friday Evening, Jan. 29th 8:15
SIDNEY HOOK
Professor Philosophy N. Y. Univ.
Author of "From Hegel to Marx," etc.
on "Intelligence, Intellectuals and the Labor Movement"

at the

Young Circle League Hall

22 EAST 15th STREET

Admission . . . 25c

Next Week: Letter From Pacifists

The CALL has received a letter presenting the position of Socialist pacifists on the Debs Brigade. The letter is signed by Winston Dancis, Jessie Wallace Hughan, and A.J. Muste.

Unfortunately, the letter arrived too late to be run in this issue of the CALL. The letter will be printed in full in the next issue, with a reply by the Editorial Board of the CALL.

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MASS MEETING

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SPARKS

Congressman John Townsend, of
Minnesota, sole opponent in Congress to
oustage against Spain. Dr. Henry E.
Sargent, director of the History
of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University.
Dr. Herman Rosenthal, a member of the
North American Committee to Aid Span-
ish Democracy.

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MEETINGS

MASS MEETING for Spain, Friday eve-
ning, Jan. 15, 8:30 P.M., U. W. O. Club,
High School, Mchola Plaza, Auspices
Van Cloudfleur Committee for Spain.
Ald. (Socialist) Party, Jewish Branch, 3
8th A.D., Y.P.S.L., Communist Party,
Young Communist League, I.W.O., Amer-
League Against War & Fascism. Speakers:
Roger Baldwin, Maurice Salter, Prof.
Fernandez, Eleanor Brannon, Chairman.
Selma Maximo will introduce chairman.

LOBBY AND AISLE

By McALISTER COLEMAN

We haven't seen "High Tor" but at the end of a depressingly rainy week in the theatre business, "the shape of things to come," as H. G. Wells would put it, seems more exciting than "work in progress."

A NEW PLAY BY ANDERSON

From where we write some important openings are scheduled for February. The Theatre Guild is putting on Maxwell Anderson's "Masque for Kings." This is another of Anderson's poetic dramas, having to do with the unsolved deaths of the Crown Prince Rudolph of Austria and Marie Vetsera in the hunting lodge at Mayerling. The cast includes Henry Hull, Margo, Pauline Frederick, Claudia Morgan, Dudley Digges and Glenn Anders. The show is staged by the veteran Phillip Moeller.

And here's hoping it will be as good as the advance notices indicate. It's time the Guild showed something this season. After the "Masque," the Theatre Guild promises the long-awaited and much written about "Jane Eyre," Helen Jerome's dramatization of the Bronte novel. Katherine Hepburn is Jane, Denis Hoey Mr. Rochester.

Maurice Evans is going to give us his version of "Richard II" and there are comedies in view by Arthur Kober, (who can write them), Mrs. Mary Coyle Chase, and Parker Fennelly. The last has written a play called "Fulton of Oak Falls," starring George M. Cohan. This show is now suffering from road trouble, but in re-written form, may make town in about a month.

IT'S A STRANGE SEASON

And what, says the inquiring reader, about the shows now on the boards? We have, in this column, tried to indicate what a strange season this appears to us.

Life Not Reflected

Certainly there was no lack of drama in the year that has just passed. And certainly, today, that drama is becoming deeper and more profoundly affecting to all of us. I mean, of course, the drama beyond the theatre. Yet there have only been two or three plays that have remotely hinted that their authors were aware that they were living in a revolutionary age and none of these has been listed among the fourteen or so now on Broadway that are doing a respectable box-office business.

So marked has been this neglect of plays dealing with the current scene, that even Richard Watts, Jr., of the die-hard reactionary Herald-Tribune takes cognizance of it in his Sunday column and writes an essay mildly chiding the theatre for "refusing to take a walk occasionally in the open air of actual life." Our playwrights, he concludes, "must not stay cooped up constantly in the dim closet of fancy."

ECONOMIC COMPLEXION OF PLAY-GOERS

Yet as Watty himself points out, that is where our playwrights have mostly stayed. It might have occurred to Watty to have suggested the economic complexion of the present Broadway scene. The present Company of the Theatre Guild, six years ago, had a box office down to the ground and had to be rescued by a sale of the assets of the company that could afford to sustain, with any degree of nourishment, the box-

Director



Max Reinhardt, whose "Eternal Road" opens at the Manhattan Opera House.

office of a New York theatre, is drawn exclusively from the owning class.

Hollywood Seduces

It has no compelling interest in the theatre of ideas because it has so few ideas of its own. You have to have some sort of communication between the playwright and his audience. And when you get to writing plays for the stuffed shirts who finally pay the bills, it is almost impossible to go beyond economic and philosophic baby-talk. Shaw can do it, because Shaw touches economics with humor and fantasy.

But it seems as though our potential Shaws have a tragic, though immensely lucrative Hollywood ending. And that's that, and we wonder what Mr. Watts and the other critics for capitalist papers would do about it all.

Max Reinhardt's Play Opens

"THE ETERNAL ROAD," by Franz Werfel. Music by Kurt Well. Costumes and lighting by Norman Bel Geddes. Entire production conceived and directed by Max Reinhardt. At the Manhattan Opera House, 34th St. and 8th Ave.

Max Reinhardt, a producer of sorts, has moved a veritable mountain into the old Opry House. Upon its five levels, a la Grand Central, there is exhibited a living canvas of ancient Israel, from Abraham down unto Solomon.

"This is a black night in Israel," the prologue, presents a Jewish congregation, on the verge of exile and in temporary refuge in a barricaded house, devoting the night to prayer. Problems that beset some of the congregation are taken to the rabbi, who reads to them pertinent sections of the Torah. As he reads, the house resolves from the scene, the curtain rises, and the biblical characters of which the rabbi reads, appear. The congregation thereafter functions in front of the stage as a sort of chorus, the rabbi as narrator.

The creative genius of Rein-

Going To The Theatre?

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

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CALL BOARD

The ILGWU Mandolin Orchestra gives its second annual concert Feb. 6. Guest artists Doris Humphrey and Weidman.

Richard the Second opens February the first at the 44th St. Theatre.

Anthony Brown will direct "Marching Song" for the Theatre Union.

Filmarte is showing the Swiss-made "Eternal Mask."

Hamlet by Gielgud continues to Jan. 30.

"Mr. Deeds Goes to Town" will remain for another week at the Little Carnegie Playhouse.

"Mouth bids for "Eternal Road" have already been reported starting at \$400,000.

Red Falcons Plan Theatre Party

A theatre party for children is being held by the Red Falcons. The play is "Flight"—based on the history of aviation.

It will be shown at the Children's Theatre, Hecksher Foundation, 104 Street and Fifth Avenue, New York, and the time is Saturday, January 23, at 2:30 P. M. Tickets can be obtained from the city office or from your Falcon Guide.

hardt is demonstrated in this colorful and thrilling spectacle. The scenes, actors, the timing, etc., constitute a convincing tribute not alone to the director but also to Norman Bel Geddes, whose wizardry lights and colors the unique and bizarre scenes. The "Joseph" and "Moses" sequences, particularly the Golden Calf scene were especially impressive.

It might be unfair to single individual performers out of the many actors involved in the production, but it cannot be gainsaid that Sam Jaffe by his noble work has earned special mention. In a production of this character some word must be said of the 25 or more technicians, stagehands, etc., for their well-nigh perfect collaboration. —S.W.

BOSSSES DANCE

PHILADELPHIA — Joseph E. Widener's friends and relatives danced at a ball estimated to have cost \$100,000 in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. The company of which Widener is director, which makes Exide batteries, pays as low as \$18 a week for highly dangerous work.

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Socialists Sponsor Theatre Union Nights

A group of Socialist organizations, including The CALL, Local New York, the American Socialist Monthly, the Falcons, Labor Research Front and the YPSL, are combining to sponsor two preview performances of the coming presentation of the Theatre Union.

The nights reserved are Monday and Tuesday, February 15 and 16.

The play is John Howard Lawson's "Marching Song," a play based on the organization drive in the automobile industry.

Prices of tickets, will range from \$1.65 to .55. The play will be presented in the new home of the Theatre Union, the Nora Bayes theatre, 224 W. 44th St.

All those who expect to see this play should reserve one of these dates.

3-Day Bazaar to Be Held For 'Socialist Voice'

A three-day bazaar will be held by the Socialist Voice, organ of the Jewish Socialists, at 31 Second Avenue, New York, January 15-17.

There will be a fine selection of goods, including women's wearing apparel, hats, coats, dresses, as well as jewelry, dry goods, cosmetics, books, and scores of other useful articles.

There will be entertainment and refreshments every night. The bazaar will open Friday evening at 8 P. M. and Saturday and Sunday at 12 A. M., and continue each night until midnight.

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