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CONGRESS LAUNCHES ANTI-LABOR DRIVE

Roosevelt Bows To Big Business In New Program

By John Newton Thurber
State Organizer, Socialist Party of California

As the new depression deepens, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, erstwhile creator of the New Deal and "friend of Labor," is taking step after step in his rapid progress toward complete solidarity with big business.

F.D.R., who finished his 1936 presidential campaign with his dramatic declaration in Madison Square Garden, that "we have only begun to fight," is daily giving further evidence that he has broken completely with his old ideas of "spending to save" and of "putting purchasing power in the hands of the forgotten man." He has repudiated his old philosophy completely.

Workers everywhere are feeling the effects of the new depression which is being called with a certain poetic irony, "The recession." Lay-offs are being put through in many factories. Retail trade is slowing down, and department store inventories pile up. "No help wanted" signs and smokeless mill smokestacks are more frequent.

What answer are the workers getting?

A five point program has been propounded by Roosevelt to end the business slump. They are five points such as Hoover would have presented in 1929. They bear no relation to the New Deal policies which FDR sponsored to pull the nation from the depth of the last depression.

Tax Revision

First, FDR favored tax revision. Business men have demanded the repeal of certain repressive tax laws, notably the undistributed corporate profits tax and the capital gains tax. They admit that the last depression came when these laws were not on the books, but they don't like the laws and they have exerted so much pressure that they are now closing in for the kill in this drive for greater freedom for the capitalists.

Incidentally, the drive for tax revision has been carried forward under the cloak of the appeal for the balanced budget. No one has risen to explain how the budget will be balanced through repealing taxation laws, when the income from taxation is lower than the expenditures of the government. Congress reflects the mood of the country, the mood



The long drawn out battle between the utilities interests and the president came to a halt this week in a victory for the business captain's when Floyd L. Carlisle (above) won his concessions from FDR.

of the businessmen back home, and they want tax revision favorable to business, logic or no logic.

Housing

Secondly, FDR proposes to stimulate a boom in housing. This is to be done through some mystic process, whereby the big wigs come to conference after conference, and after enough press releases are issued, the housing boom will be here. Business and realty interests have put the knife into the public housing program pretty effectively.

This housing boom is of the same nature as those housing booms which Herbert Hoover stirred up back in 1930. It will be stimulated in the same way. It would seem. And its extent will be about equal to those tragic fiascos.

Third, FDR is cutting down on Federal expenditures on road building. Last year the government was responsible for the building of 22,000 miles of high-

ways. The year before the figure was 20,000. This is to be cut. A special message to congress propounds this "recovery measure." Here Roosevelt is bowing to the balanced budget crowd with a complete disregard for the human hardship which will result from his capitulation. To even try to maintain capitalism in a depression (or recession) period, public works expenditures have to be increased, not decreased.

Public Utilities

Fourth, a continuation of the series of conferences with public utility executives "in the hope of promoting a utility construction program, which is lagging far below normal."

Roosevelt has given out that even though he may deviate on every other subject, he will always be found on the opposite side of the fence from the utility barons. Yet the past week saw him in close conference day after day with the public utility high-binders. Floyd L. Carlisle, overlord of the Morgan-owned Niagara Hudson utilities combine which dominates New York state, emerged from a White House conference with a pleased smile on his face. Next day he repeated the performance with Wendell L. Willkie, head of the Commonwealth and Southern Corp., another of the topflight utilitarians. He too emerged with a smile, the smile of the cast after the visit to the birdcage.

Big business and the utilities have been assured by FDR that the New Deal does not intend to put forward its old program of public utility development. TVA and similar projects are to be restricted to mere "yardsticks" and not pushed as actual rivals of the public utilities.

Wall Street has been shown that "the Goblins aren't there." It is being given a free hand for pushing forward as it will, without fear of current New Deal competition. In response, in the best Hoover manner, it was announced that Commonwealth and Edison would spend at least

Moves to the "Right"



The original principles of the New Deal are being forgotten by Roosevelt in his most recent Congressional proposals. He proposes a cut in the wage of building workers as a way out of the depression, although such a cut in buying power would tend to sink American business more deeply. The president is also curtailing governmental spending. This is the old Hoover "pay out."

\$112,000,000 in improvements in the next two years. One can suspect that this was the figure which was planned anyhow!

The fifth, and only sensible proposal, even from the standpoint of trying to make the capitalist system work, was a wee concession made by FDR to his old program. Government agencies have been instructed to speed up their normal purchases of materials, and to acquire \$245,000,000 of supplies now which they would ordinarily buy throughout the next six months.

Depression

All this straining and turning, this returning to the Hoover Old Deal, is being done under the cloak of the advancing "recession."

Recession is advancing. In fact, depression is just about here.

The New York Times weekly index of business activity at the end of last week rested at a figure lower than any time since September, 1935. Sharp declines are noted in virtually every field of American economic life. The figure for last week stood at 88.9. The high point of business activity under the New Deal was reached the second week of August, when the index was at 112. It had climbed through four years from a low point of 75, back in March, 1933.

In the past fourteen weeks business activity in America has

lost almost exactly 50% of the gains which were made in more than four years. Four years of effort produced a gain of 47 points. Fourteen weeks slump has wiped away more than 23 of those points.

As was demonstrated in those columns several weeks ago, the chief cause of this recession is the withdrawal of federal expenditure during recent months. \$2,000,000,000 less of purchasing power is being mobilized by the government this year than last. Goods can't move in the market. Depression, a depression unlike any in the past, is gripping America. It is a depression which has set in before there was even a complete recovery from the past depression.

Thanksgiving?

The American worker on Thanksgiving, 1937, had little for which to be thankful. His newspaper brought him these reports: The Hebrew Free Loan Society is seeking borrowers, since it has funds on hand in the bank.

Nathan Straus, dopey housing director, announced that he would be ready to receive proposals for projects on December 20.

WPA was forced to employ 38,613 more workers during October, supposed to be the best month of the year for employment.

Chrysler cut off 10,000 men from production, effective at once.

Henry Ford is confident that

(Continued on Page Seven)

Chicago Labor Movement Set Back by Communist Stand Against Labor Party

By Arthur G. McDowell
National Labor Secretary, S.P.U.S.A.

CHICAGO.—This vast midwest stronghold of reactionary industrial, political and propaganda forces could rest a little easier in its reactionary shell this week-end after an exhibition of the tragic results in two fields of the labor move-

ment, of the application of the present short-sighted and mechanically enforced policy of the Communist-Party-led forces.

In the field of labor political action the Communist Party, in unseemly haste to enforce its policy of compelling the organized labor movement to stick strictly to the task of "capturing" the corrupt and reactionary Democratic Party political machine in Illinois, "faked" an organization meeting of Labor's Non-Partisan League in the city.

A few weeks ago the Communist policy was defeated at the state convention of the Illinois Labor Party. It was made impossible for the CP to use the Labor Party as a stalking horse to build up an unofficial section of Labor's Non-Partisan League under their control and free from responsibility to the big unions and the important leaders of these unions, which in Illinois control the existing official machinery of the League.

Dissatisfied with the slow progress of Edmundson of the United Mine Workers and Levin of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in convening the official executive committee of Labor's Non-partisan League and fearful that the forthcoming conference between the League officials and the spokesmen of the Illinois Labor Party might result in a policy of labor political action more independent of the Democratic Party than the Communists have prescribed, the CP forces worked up a meeting at the Sherman Hotel on the afternoon of November 27th.

They hurriedly set up a continuation committee which they dominated behind a window dressing of a couple of leading progressive trade unionists quite unfamiliar with the political maneuvering at which the CP is so adept. They only gave their story away when in preparation for their "stacked" gathering, they printed in the "Innocents journal" the "Peoples Press," a circumstantial story of an alleged meeting in Chicago of leading figures of Labor's Non-Partisan League including Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing, Sam Levin, Chicago Manager of the same union, Edmundson of the United Mine Workers and Morris Bialis of the International Ladies Garment Workers who is also an active supporter of the Illinois Labor Party.

A brief check showed that Hillman was sick in bed in the east when the conference of leading lights was held; Bialis was at a national meeting of his General Executive Board; and Levin and Edmundson knew nothing about it. The whole background of the move was revealed as the usual type of Communist double-cross and dealing with the very officials of Labor's Non-partisan League to whom they have been protesting their undying loyalty, while denouncing the trade unionists in the Illinois Labor Party who dared to set forth frankly and openly certain disagreements which they have with the policy of the League.

As matters now stand, any move of the unions which are not prepared to support the Illinois Labor Party as yet, to set up a significant organization or the League will be faced with the ac-

complished fact of a paper, semi-legal organization of the League with whom they must bargain and give certain concessions which it is hoped will further entrench the CP in bureaucratic position thruout the labor movement.

Capture Worker's Alliance

The next accomplishment of the Communist Party in its mad drive for a mechanical control of the labor movement which it has never learned as yet is disastrous, was the capture and driving out of county office in the Workers Alliance of Cook County of all non-Communists elements with the exception of a small minority of Socialists who were allowed to remain after all key positions in the control and administration had been occupied. The independent elements which might support the Socialists on militant or anti-New Deal and anti-Democratic Party policies had been eliminated. This event took place at the County convention of the Illinois Workers Alliance of Cook County over the Thanksgiving week end.

Ironically enough almost all the Communist Party elements who carried thru this ruthless policy were the same individual people who four years before in Chicago had captured and disrupted the first attempt of the Chicago Workers Committee (the foundation organization of the Workers Alliance) to form a national unemployed organization free from the control of the Communist led Unemployment Councils. No more dramatic demonstration of the inability of the Communists to change their wrong tactics in spite of their many changes of policy, can be wanted.

A group of Socialists active in the Cook County Alliance since its founding five or more years ago approached the Communist leaders who entered the Workers' Alliance less than two years ago with the fragments of the Unemployment Council. They proposed that by agreement beforehand the new executive board be evenly represented between Communist and Socialist forces with independent elements attached to neither Party holding the balance of power as was the case among the rank and file of the membership.

This was rejected because the Communist forces were not granted all three of the administrative posts in the county office but only two out of three. They insisted, in addition to County Grievance Chairman and organization secretary, that the veteran Simon Trojar be removed as Executive Secretary to make the office staff 100% Communist.

They still were willing to take less than mechanical control of the entire Executive Board but at the convention, after finding themselves in a controlling majority they threw overboard even this concession, suspended the rule to reopen nominations and broke even the limited agreement arrived at before the convention in order to take complete control, leaving only a corporal's guard of non-CPers as members at large of the Executive Board.

"Buck" School Strike Programs like the proposed

"school strike" aimed to protest against lack of clothing and shoes for children of workers on relief by keeping children away from school, which had previously been agreed upon, were buried when the CP felt the strength of its majority and remembered that the programs were not proposed by them originally. A verbal endorsement of affiliation with the Labor Party was cancelled out by a parallel and equal endorsement of Labor's Non-Partisan League which the CP for reasons before given believes it can also dominate.

In spite of efforts of delegates from Socialist led locals to stop it, the delegates of several locals headed by former CP members of four or five months ago who have been alienated from the CP by the turn against militant tactics, walked out.

The insisted that they knew better than the Socialists what would be the fate of elements not in agreement with the CP once they gained full control. This was not quite true as the Socialist leaders in the Alliance had only by extreme threats restrained the Communist delegates from introducing and jamming thru the Convention a resolution expelling by name a long list of individual members as "Trotskyist disrupters" whose actual politics ranged from merely disgruntled CP members and active Socialists to Republicans.

This purge along political lines in the Alliance is a real threat and has already been tried or carried out by Communist Party elements in places ranging all the way from New York and Chicago to Tacoma Washington on the Pacific coast on charges the essence of which was opposition to the Communist Party policy of "Peoples Front" in one form or another.

Expulsion Drive Opened

That this is a real menace to the possibility of unity in the Workers Alliance now that there is greater need and greater opportunity for an unemployed organization, was shown when Robert Foley, new Executive of the Workers Alliance of Cook County told Socialists that "you may have got rid of the Trotskyist but you haven't got rid of their ideology" and later definitions of Trotskyists as "less than human beings."

There was some hope that the influence of the national office of the Workers Alliance would be used as a brake on the drive of the Communists for an obvious mechanical control; but this was shattered when the man detailed by the National organization, Lewis Morgan of New York City, arrived and went into an immediate huddle with Communist leaders in the Alliance. He stayed in that huddle, save when he, on rare occasions, contacted other elements and defended the stories told him by his confidantes.

Socialists who built the Alliance are now called upon to return to their task in the unemployed movement, organize all progressive elements around a program of militant action locally to gain recognition (now refused by the Communists,) that the unemployed must back independent political action of labor and work

In Hagedom



When CIO organizers attempted to distribute leaflets in Jersey City, to the displeasure of Mayor Frank Hague, the unionists were arrested, kidnapped and deported from the kingdom of the Jersey Bear. The Workers' Defense League helped organize this demonstration to test the reactionary laws curbing the public distribution of handbills.

Debate on Militant Program At Steel Workers Convention

By Ed. Adams

National Organizer, Labor Committee

The Convention of the SWOC that will convene in Pittsburgh on December 12 will be called upon to face many serious problems.

Since the formation of the SWOC a little over a year ago a tremendous number of workers have been swept into the organization. By waiving initiation fees and, in many cases, not requiring the payment of dues for the initial period, approximately 400,000 workers have been signed up.

The development of this large mushroom organization has created many problems. The most serious of these is the necessity for the development of leadership from the ranks of the new union members and the education of the members in the principles of the labor movement. Where the union has developed its own leadership, the percentage of dues payments has been relatively high and the morale of the workers has been good.

The Crisis Is A Problem

The recurrence of the depression has also presented a threat to the life of the newly created union. In many centers, notably South Chicago and Gary, there has been an almost complete shut down in the steel industry. The first reaction to the lay-offs was a healthy one. Members showed a greater interest in the union and attendance at meetings mounted. Many lodges met their problem of unemployment by creating committees on relief and carrying on a vigorous fight to obtain relief for the unemployed from city and state agencies.

Next spring the SWOC will be faced with the expiration of many of its contracts. The most important of these is the one with U.S. Steel. Many of these

contracts were accepted only as an opening wedge with the expectation that the union would be in position next spring to demand better terms. The renewal of the depression changes this and makes it necessary that an energetic constructive and militant program be worked out if even these concessions are to be retained.

Socialists and other progressive forces in the SWOC must take an active lead in formulating a program that will strengthen the union and preserve the gains that have been made. This program must be based on real union democracy and the recognition that militancy must be increased rather than abandoned in times of economic stress. The program should contain at least the following points:

A Program

1. The institution of an effective shop steward system in every plant for the militant prosecution of all grievances.
2. The rapid development of a comprehensive program of workers' education in all lodges.
3. A demand for the 6 hours day and the 7 day week with no decrease in daily pay.
4. An aggressive campaign for more adequate unemployment relief; both by creating committees of the union and by cooperation with the Workers Alliance.
5. For real independent political action on the part of labor.

Resolutions embodying these proposals have been submitted to the Convention by many lodges. It is up to the SWOC to see that the costs of the renewed depression are not borne by the workers.

for a fundamental program of social change as well as immediate demands.

Green and Lewis Meet For AFL-CIO Peace

Peace negotiations between the AFL and the CIO moved one step ahead this week when John L. Lewis and William Green, respectively heads of the industrial union bloc and the federation, met in direct conversation. The only other conferences are George Harrison, for the AFL, and Philip Murray, for the CIO.

Preliminary negotiations have been going on for six weeks. Although no authoritative statements have been issued it is believed that the initial obstacles to unity as to just what industry and just what unions are to be built on an industrial basis have been in progress.

The entrance of Lewis and Green into the discussions gives it a more authoritative character. For some time it was believed that the previous AFL committee was negotiating without authority.

The AFL proposes to take back the old industrial unions, but simultaneously demands that the new unions be excluded until a settlement is made on their claims. The CIO proposes that all the industrial unions be taken in and that claims shall be settled afterwards.

The real difference here lies in control of the AFL convention, after a peace agreement. Should the new unions be excluded, the old craftists would control the convention, in all probability, and could have their way. Should the new unions be admitted, the industrial union elements would be considerably strengthened at the convention.

Hans Goepel Is Released

Hans Goepel, who was being made ready by New York immigration commissioners for Fascist Germany and the hangman's noose, was released this week through the intervention of Washington officials. The fight to stay deportation was waged by the Workers' Defense League and National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners.

Goepel was released on bail of \$500.

Win Test Case On Handbills In Jersey

LONG BRANCH, N. J.—Harry Corlin, striking editorial employee of the Long Branch Record, was acquitted in Chancery Court of a disorderly conduct charge which grew out of a test case on a local ordinance prohibiting the distribution of leaflets.

George Staff of the Worker's Defence League, represented the defendant. The Socialist Party and WDL led the campaign to combat the ordinance.

Pontiac Sit-Down Draws Auto Union Problems to Fore

By Ben Fischer

DETROIT.—Pontiac is a source of intense debate and inner union struggle among the auto workers: Immediately following the General Motors conference on Nov. 13-14, the Pontiac workers sat down and opened up a whole new chapter of United Auto Workers Union history.

The first strike on Monday, Nov. 15, was spontaneous, called as a result of an accumulation of grievances at the Fisher plant employing 7,000 workers. The leaders of the plant were in Detroit at the time conferring with International officials. The strike was terminated quickly.

However, the next day company officials announced that the four plant leaders were fired for "fomenting" the strike. The Fisher workers rebelled, staged an immediate sit-down and refused to

budge until these men had been reinstated.

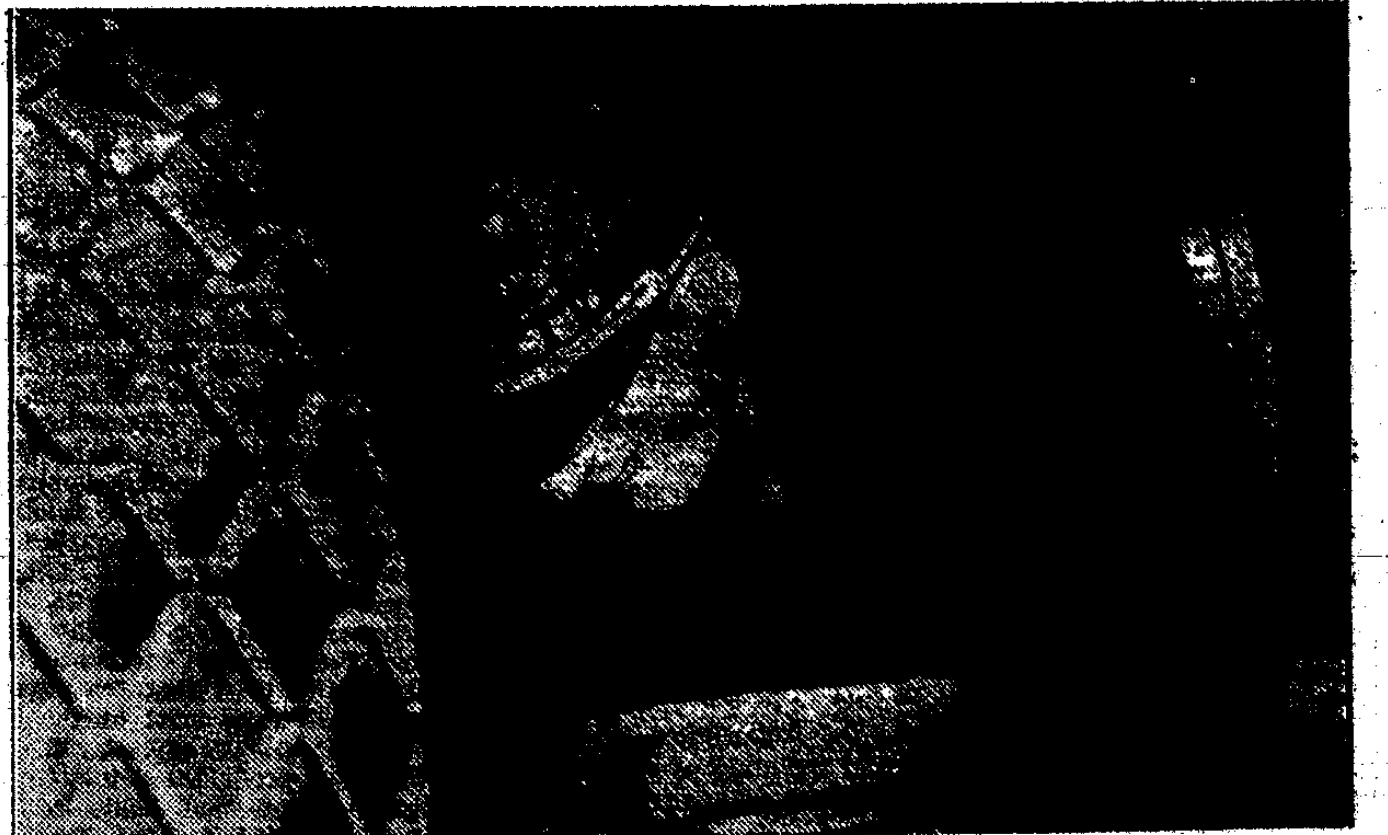
For five days no official word from the International office was released. The strike was neither authorized nor unauthorized. Fred Pieper, leader of the reactionary forces in the union, declared that the strike was unauthorized but had no authority to issue any such statement.

Move To Authorize

The General Executive Board met during the week-end to deal with the situation, and adopted a press release denouncing the strikers.

The strikers left the plant in

A Lie-Down Striker



Bus traffic was tied up in 16 states when members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen declared a strike against eight Greyhound Bus Lines. This striker lies down before a bus and dares the driver to go ahead. The passengers finally left.

Worried



Maxim Litvinoff, Russia's brilliant minister of foreign affairs, seems to be in difficulty. There are rumors to the effect that Litvinoff is about to go the way of Kamenov, Zinoviev, Trotsky, Bukharin, and dozens of other one-time trusted heads of the Soviet regime, now in disrepute. It is even rumored that charges have been filed against the commissar by Stalin's unpublicized right-hand man, Yeshov. Litvinoff declares this to be a frame-up.

Litvinoff has foreign, as well as domestic worries. Do the present conversations between France and England mean that they are conspiring to sell the Soviet Union down the river to the Fascist powers? Or does it mean that Russia can look forward to firm allies in the event of a new war? Litvinoff is puzzled because the many gestures of friendliness that Russia has made to England and France have been repayed by utter disregard for the diplomatic demands of the Soviets.

disgust. Hard-boiled union fighters were literally in tears.

From the outset Walter Reuther, president of the West Side local, had fought for authorization of the strike to be followed by a united effort to terminate the strike on the basis of no further dismissals, negotiation of the status of the four fired members and negotiation of the original grievances.

This program was presented as an alternative to the proposal to condemn the strike. The board was closely divided on the issue of authorization. The long delay indicates how uncertain the majority was of what stand to take. As a result of the way in which this whole situation was handled various things have developed.

Many union men who have been tried in earlier battles and found

true have become disgusted with the union. There's even talk of forming a new union. The responsible militants in the union are having a tough job channeling this sentiment away from dual unionism and into healthy actions.

General Motors has begun to set the machinery in motion for a purge of militant union members in Pontiac by dismissal, suspension and investigation. It is seeking union cooperation for this work.

The International Office has set up a one-man board in charge of Pontiac duplicating its ruinous policy in Flint. This board is a dictatorship eliminating the local autonomy of the Pontiac section. This same policy in Flint has led to demoralization and intensified factional warfare.

Fight Against GM

It is plainly evident that the General Motors conference which decided on a well-knit program of struggle against GM is being disregarded by the most aggressive factors in the administration. Two weeks have gone by and there has been NO STRUGGLE AGAINST GM. The only fight has been a fight against those elements in the union who took the GM conference too seriously; it is a policy which may find some constitutional justification but, in the light of the GM conference it is a policy which does not reflect the desires of the workers in the GM plants.

One real advance has been made in union policy. The original provision agreed to by the union on unauthorized strikes gave the company the right to discipline workers implicated in unauthorized actions. A new provision is being worked on which creates dual responsibility, obligating the company to enforce discipline on its own representatives. Foremen responsible for abuses against the workers or for provocation of strikes are held responsible and subject to discipline in the same way in which workers are subject to discipline. The term discipline is also being defined more definitely so as not to leave too much leeway to the company.

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Fascist Arms



In "democratic" France, Les Cagoulards, "the hooded ones," were making preparations to begin an armed attack upon the government. It is believed that this plot was the French counter-part of the Spanish uprising. Persons connected with this Fascist ring have not yet been brought to justice. The extent of the conspiracy, especially in the armed forces, is unknown.

The failure of the Popular Front Government in France to exterminate the Fascists from the army creates a fertile field for Fascist work. As in Spain, the liberal capitalist government makes great promises about fighting the Fascists but always hesitates to take really drastic action against the Fascist minded officer corps.

The real task of fighting reaction in France, as in Spain, may in the very near future be placed in the hands of the armed workers.

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AT THE FRONT



With *Woman in the Case*



It is now quite evident that the President is trying a swing to the right to see if that will arrest the slump. He will make concessions to business. Just how many and what concessions he has not indicated in his taxation program. He is inviting the cooperation of private utilities in a big spending campaign with some guarantee of a let up in what they have regarded as the government's war against them. Above all he wants to draw private capital into a great housing program on terms which amount to this: that the government will take most of the risk and that private capital will take whatever profit there may be in housing. For small home builders the interest rates the President reports are still too high. The government will also try to lower construction costs, which means among other things, wages for building tradesmen on an annual rather than an hourly basis. The President has not yet said just how this last suggestion is to be carried out successfully and satisfactorily. Comment on it should await announcement of his plan.

A LOGICAL PROGRAM FOR CAPITALISM

Once more we socialists must insist that what the President is doing is what it is logical for him to do as long as he still accepts capitalism and the profit system. Government competition with private utilities is wasteful and does tend to scare off the expansion of the private utilities. The proper program is not a program of "yardstick," so called. It is a program of an integrated power system under public ownership and control.

LABOR UNITY

Looking to the future, even more important than what Congress does or doesn't do, is what labor does in these critical days. Inevitably the great and sinister forces opposed to labor's organization are taking advantage of this slump. The more reason, then, why labor must unite its forces on a basis of aggressive and intelligent unionism. Peace becomes daily more essential to the labor movement and may be vital to the success of the struggle against reaction.

The labor movement must continue to be aggressive. It cannot afford to take the opposition of the bosses, who work through stool pigeons as well as through strike breakers, lying down. It cannot afford to assume the responsibility for strikes provoked primarily by the deliberate policy of the companies or some of their agents. On this subject the editorial in last week's CALL was right. Certainly there is at least a dual responsibility for most wild-cat strikes.

On the other hand, it seems reasonably clear that the Executive Committee of the United Automobile Workers took the only action it could in regard to the Pontiac strike unless it wanted to see that Pontiac strike used, probably successfully, by General Motors to put it on the defensive in a serious struggle for life. Unauthorized strikes are not the way to bring home the responsibility to powerful corporations. Some better way must be found by the responsible union organizations. Those responsible organizations must learn by past mistakes as well as past successes. As matters stand today bitter factionalism can only play into the hands of the bosses.

THE ALP

It appears that the American Labor Party in New York City

has elected five out of the eight men it nominated for Council. It was conceded in advance that one of these eight in Staten Island had no chance. In Queens while the regular nominee of the A.L.P., endorsed also by Socialists, was defeated an independent was elected who has announced that he will follow the A.L.P. line and has connected himself with an A.L.P. club. This is an excellent showing and the labor bloc in the new Council have a remarkable opportunity to make good. Its members have no responsibility to any other party than A.L.P., for they had no Republican or Democratic endorsement. Our congratulations to the A.L.P.!

The Communists also have reason for satisfaction in the showing that they made in the councilmanic election. Cacchione in Brooklyn only missed election by a very narrow margin. Cacchione's big vote however, is by no means an endorsement of Communism or even of any kind of radical program. In many sections and among many classes of voters he ran as an Italian and as a World War veteran, not as a Communist. I saw various of his signs and pieces of his literature which either played down the fact that he was a Communist or did not mention it at all. In general the Communists did not use the election as an occasion for what used to be regarded as socialist or Communist education.

In this latter respect I am proud of the work done by Laidler, Levenstein and Block even although their vote, especially in the case of Laidler and Block, was smaller than we had hoped. So far I am aware it was only the socialist candidates who deliberately and systematically pushed a socialist or radical program for New York City. It should be remembered, however, that the A.L.P. platform for the city included demands with which socialists are in hearty sympathy.

HITLER HAGUE

Workers who believe that the Democratic Party can be made labor's party are invited to consider Mayor Hague of Jersey City, a good Democrat if ever there was one. On Monday, November 29th his police arrested or ran out of the city all the C.I.O. men who peacefully tried to give out handbills inviting workers to join the C.I.O. This is the climax of Hague's persistent policy of banning C.I.O. organization work in Jersey City. In the course of the day packages, suitcases and lunch boxes were opened and searched with impunity by Hitler Hague's police. The fight must be carried on and I am glad that the Workers Defense League is cooperating so actively in it.

One piece of good news for civil liberties there is Congressman Celler has promised to introduce a special bill permitting Ferrero and Hans Goepel to stay in this country. Goepel has now been granted a three month's stay and will be released from Ellis Island. Readers of the CALL who have followed these cases will want to write to Celler and to their own Congressmen in support of this bill for the pro-

tection of two political refugees to whom deportation would mean the concentration camp or death.

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Last week's CALL contained my Open Letter to Dr. Ward as Chairman of the League Against War and Fascism, now the League for Peace and Democracy. The League itself tried to straddle the issue of collective security. The words do not appear in its program and the program itself, at least superficially, can be read so as to please advocates of collective security, and opponents of it. Consider, for instance, the following language:

"Demand a foreign policy based on the distinction between the aggressors and victims; the necessity of denying our economic resources to the war makers, treaty breaking aggressors, and opening them up to victims under conditions designed to remove the risk of our being drawn into war; the necessity of concerted action to quarantine aggressors." The important question now is how can we supply the victims of aggression with means of war without risk of our being drawn into war, notably in China, and how can you have concerted action to quarantine aggressors without going in for collective security. At this crisis no organization has a right to skate over the real questions on the thin ice of words.

So far as "concerted action to quarantine aggressors" is concerned we once more invite the League, and more especially the Communists, to consider the dangerous fact that the present policy of the British government indicates more likelihood of its reaching some sort of agreement with Germany than with Russia. Such a result would be a tragic end to Stalin's reversal of Lenin's policy on the issue of war and of alliances with capitalist nations for war.

ALTENBERND

August Altenbernd, oldest Socialist in Ohio and perhaps in the country, died at the age of 88 last week as the result of an automobile accident. Comrade Altenbernd to the last day of his life was devoted to the cause of the working class, giving the last bit of his energy to active participation in the Socialist and labor fraternal movement. He was struck down while on his way to a meeting of the Building Verein Eintracht singing society.

In spite of his advanced age, Comrade Altenbernd remained one of the most loyal members of the Cleveland local, attending more Party activities than one would have thought physically possible for a person of that age. Cleveland Socialists will long remember the splendid example he set.

Plans are being made for a memorial meeting to be held December 9th at the Building Verein Eintracht hall, 4308 Franklin Blvd., with Maynard Krueger, member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, as featured speaker. John Sommerlatte will preside.

BRANCH DIRECTORY

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VILLAGE BRANCH meets every Thurs. 8:00 at 107 MacDougal St. Ellen Lock, Sec'y, 345 West 13th St. Open meeting every Thursday.
- GERMAN BRANCH meets second Tuesday every month. Yorkville Labor Temple, 343 E. 84th St. G. Hoffman, Organizer.
- Chelsea Br. Meets every Wed at 301 W. 25th St. Victoria Ekman, Sec'y.
- BRONX
BTH A.D. Meets every Wed 7 West Broadway Ave. Harold Reiman, Sec'y.
- DETROIT
BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday 8 P. M., 1116 West Warren.

Roosevelt Surrenders

It has been a long time since any Washington Administration pursued so confused and contradictory an economic policy as the present Roosevelt government.

One day Roosevelt recognizes the importance of increasing purchasing power through governmental spending as a basic solution of the crisis. And he proposes a bunching of governmental ordering.

The next day Roosevelt decides to "balance the budget" by curtailing governmental expenditures on road building. And thereby the administration cancels out all it sought to accomplish by its early "spending" spree.

One day Roosevelt seems to recognize the fact that higher wages and shorter hours will help to revive industry. And he gives out the impression that he is anxious to pass the wage-and-hour bill.

The next day, the president complains that recovery is being held back because wages are too high in the building industry. And so he proposes a wage cut for building workers.

One day, the president weeps for the one-third of the nation that is ill clad, ill fed, ill housed. And he proposes relief for them.

The next day, he cuts relief for the masses and extends relief to the corporations. He proposes a revision of corporate surplus and profits taxes.

Just what is Roosevelt's policy?

The president seems to be pursuing a course motivated far more by political than economic objectives. He is anxious to please capital without displeasing labor.

Up to recently American capital let the president know that it was sorely displeased with his policy. They did not like the taxes on their surplus profits. They did not want to pay such taxes, especially when it went toward maintaining the needy on relief. They did not like the movement toward higher wages and shorter hours.

Capital advanced its program:

Cut taxes for the rich;

Cut governmental relief;

Keep wages down and hours long.

No matter how much one would like to give Roosevelt the benefit of the doubt, there can be no question any longer that the president has made the program of big business his program.

The capitalist press is the first to note this: "If there are people who complain that affairs in Washington are marking time, and that 'things aren't happening rapidly enough' to restore the confidence of business men, let them note that on two successive days the president has reversed two major recovery policies of his administration," notes the New York Times.

The surrender of Roosevelt to the pressure of big business has been imminent for some time. The conservative revolt within his own party at the last congressional session was the first open indications of the administration's embarrassing position. To pacify his congress, Roosevelt began to yield. He made concessions on his wage-and-hour bill, on jobless relief, on his court reform plan.

The new economic collapse has given the New Deal opponents an additional weapon. The enemies of all economic reform place "reform" in opposition to "recovery." Roosevelt reformism has brought the depression, they cry.

Roosevelt's failure to find a real solution to the crisis leaves him exposed to such attack.

And so FDR tries to stop criticism by yielding to it.

CAMPUS MILITARISM-6

INFANTS IN UNIFORM; HIGH SCHOOL MILITARISM

By Robin Meyers

Children in uniforms! Civilization meets defeat before the infant armies of Mussolini and Hitler. The breeding of babies for soldiers, with the goose-step following the crawl is a fascist product from which we recoil in horror which is instinctive. And we are a thankful people that the war mania has not so reduced us to barbarism.

It is then unreal and nightmarish for us to be confronted with figures which say that military training has come into our public schools; our complacency is jolted if we bother to notice, specifically, that ROTC expansion within the last few years has concentrated upon the high schools until today more units exist in secondary schools than in colleges!

"We have learned that enrollment in the ROTC strengthens pupils' loyalty both to their country and their school," is the defense given by the President of the Board of Education in Chicago, where over 10,000 high school students are enrolled in ROTC corps. "Students so strengthened are not interested in communistic influences. The disciplinary training of the ROTC is the best thing to build up morale among students."

This morale, put to the test, comes up to typical ROTC standards. Members of the high school ROTC in Waukegan, Illinois, egged on by their ROTC instructor, were responsible for the brutal beating of their classmate who was distributing literature captioned "Soviet Russia is an inspiration to workers everywhere." This incident, which took place in May, 1929, is illustrative of the goose-step philosophy. Caught by the cadets and brought before Johnny Holly, U.S. Army instructor, the leafleters were told that they would be set free and given until Holly could count five to escape, before he turned his ROTC boys on them. The boys were quickly overtaken and attacked.

Or make the scene Los Angeles and the year 1936. A group called "Young America" is organized to stamp out radical agitation in Roosevelt High School. Under its guidance young communists who attempted to distribute literature were attacked and beaten. Members of the ROTC cooperated with the American Legion, in raiding the cooperative restaurant where the young radicals met. Windows were smashed, fixtures broken, the place wrecked generally. This was "Young America," ROTC model.

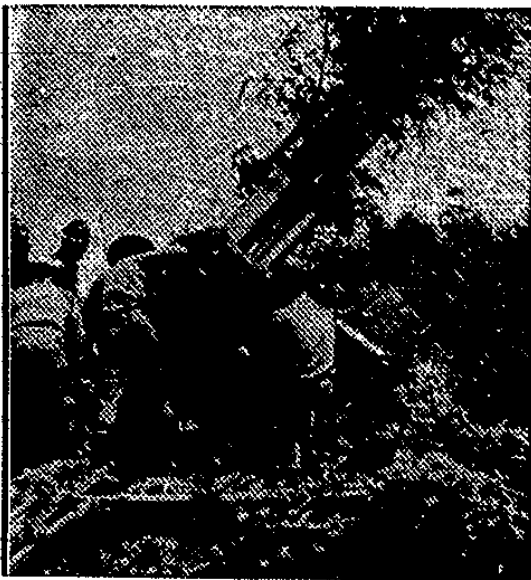
At Council Bluffs, Iowa, high school instructors were not immune from attack by their cadet pupils. Discovering that pacifists were numbered among their faculty members, the ROTC boys held an outdoor demonstration against them, climaxing the affair by burning the effigy of one instructor. But, of course, "Pacifism is baneful in its influence. It promotes distrust of country; debases the spirit of nationalism; undermines the policy of national defense; cooperates with the destructive forces for the overthrow of national ideals and institutions"—says the ROTC handbook.

And in West Virginia Military Institute, cadets struck against the expulsion of students for brutal hazing, part of the military code. A survey of schools in the vicinity laid this student feeling directly at the door of military training, declaring that such an instance of group 'mob' spirit was not indicated in wholly civilian schools.

Personal violence, group violence, national violence—all seem inspired by military domination, and justified by the martial spirit. The pills are sugar-coated, in case there are some to whom there would be no appeal, ordinarily, in the military scene. Not only are high school boys interested in the pursuit of war, but high school girls are used with equal facility by the military.

Maedchen in Uniform

The Congressional Record took notice of the existence of feminine ROTC sponsors in 1929. It quotes the Boston Post: "Four girls have been elected officers in the ROTC of the New Bedford High School and their commissions have been authorized by the War Department . . . The girl officer, according to modern training ideas, furnishes a liaison between the social and military life of the school . . . The 'lady officers' are known as sponsors and are elected by the student body. Thus the most popular



girls in the school are officially recognized in the army organization."

Adopted in Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Detroit and San Diego High Schools with particular success, as well as in various other schools throughout the country, the policy follows that outlined by the Chief of Staff for the Army in his report for 1916:

"Sponsors are elected from the girls in the mixed schools and assigned to competition units. The sponsors are in every sense members of the cadet organization. They attend all drills, are the leaders in all social affairs, and while they do not actually drill, the sponsors are entitled to receive such individual rewards as may be won by their units." This, then, is no accidental feature of the ROTC program, but a carefully thought out propaganda device, one more stage in building the military mind.

The Junior ROTC has a way of slipping into the public schools when no one is looking. For instance, in New York City units were established in two schools before the fact was known and a state law enforced to remove them. Free uniforms, and lessened expense because of the substitution of ROTC for physical training are apt to make an appeal to local Boards of Education who may take action without cognizance of the full import of their innovation.

Sometimes a very clear-cut situation arises, as was the case in Carbondale, Illinois. When the Board of Education of that community voted to institute a junior unit in the Carbondale High School, public opinion was sufficiently informed to protest. Backing the Board were the local legionnaires, the Lion's Club and the town business men's association.

The protest organization comprised the local women's club, the League of Women Voters, the Association of University Women, and faculty members of the State Teachers College located there. Successful in having the decision submitted to a community referendum, the anti-ROTC group was victorious, and military training did not enter Carbondale High.

In the High Schools

Although attempts to introduce ROTC have been thwarted in some twenty odd high schools, efforts are continually made and inducements offered schools to accept military drill. Resistance in the colleges has caused the number of college cadets to remain fairly stationary for the past half dozen years; expansion, if it is to take place, must be in the secondary schools, where student pressure carries no weight. And the high schools, too, are a far more fertile ground for planting the ROTC morale. Major W. W. Edwards in the *Infantry Journal* approves this for the army, thus—

"The Defense Act has two distinct functions. The first is so obvious as to need no comment; that of training officers and men for the reserve forces; the second function, while no less important, is less apparent and therefore sometimes overlooked entirely: that of training the popular public mind to the necessity and needs of defense. The Junior ROTC fulfills the first function indirectly, and for the second I believe there is no greater or better agency at our command. The high school boy in his sophomore year is in his most plastic and enthusiastic state. He

is at the age of hero worship and idealism—once fairly launched upon enthusiasm for the ROTC he will almost certainly continue it, either at college or elsewhere. The Junior ROTC is the fountainhead of military training and when he is fourteen . . . is just the psychological time for the boy to begin . . ."

Children in uniform! We can do nothing about Mussolini and Hitler . . .

Why hasn't the progressive pacifist student movement done anything about ROTC yet? It has, and its members have, with little result.

Individual refusals to take ROTC are many, and increasing. In 8 states (California, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Missouri, Ohio, West Virginia) they refused to let objectors continue their education. Usually the objections raised have been on religious grounds. Often, though not always, adherents of the Society of Friends are concerned.

In other colleges, students are permitted to attend classes and complete courses without asking ROTC but are not entitled to a degree upon the satisfactory completion of the rest of the four-year course. A few have obligatory courses but permit exemptions for religious objectors.

The story of these conscientious objectors carries with it a challenge. The liberal student movement cannot desert its supporters. Occasional victories such as that scored at M.I.T. last winter (starting this fall conscientious objectors are excused from ROTC; and a degree has been awarded to a student who had refused to fulfill ROTC requirements) are partial victories, incomplete while ROTC remains.

Aside from its psychological impetus, the role of the conscientious objectors is not of material importance in the fight on ROTC for two reasons: First, scattered individuals are weak, their resistance futile; organized student action alone can make dent in the ROTC armors. Second, not merely compulsory ROTC but ROTC as an institution must go.

Collective action has not been altogether lacking on the student front: every year, although not without opposition, the National Student Federation of America goes on record against compulsory military training. Not set up for action, the organization has been but a feeble reflection of student desire, and quite ineffectual.

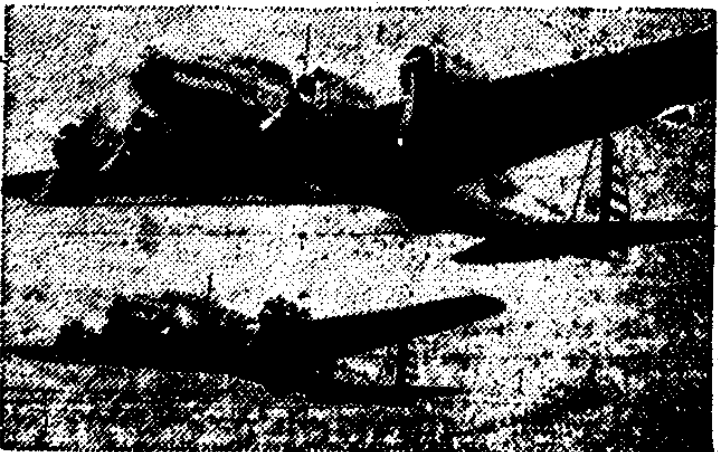
Attacking ROTC vigorously, and including American war preparations as well, the American Student Union has shown itself ready to join or to promote national action, and has already done significant group work on specific issues.

The Student Strike

Most promising is the stand of the half-million students who took part in the 1937 anti-war strike. Liberal students affiliated with radicals, pacifist and religious students of every persuasion united around a program which demanded complete abolition of ROTC, attacked offensive war preparations, and asked a definition of adequate national defense.

There is material to work with. Students are aroused and ready to act. Thousands will be eager to have a plan with reasonable chance of success presented to them. Little has been done in the past, but forces have gathered.

For the present, the all-important concern is the technique of mass action. Individual refusals are unavailing. Polite declarations of policy are not much good. Action on specific issues as they arise is necessary but not of fundamental or far-reaching consequences.



The Call Views the Theatre

Presenting the Workers' Angle on Current Stage and Screen Offerings

Class Angle

The Ghost of Decent Liberalism—

By Michael C. Arcone

It is an absorbing, a provocative, at times a deeply annoying drama that is presented on the stage of the Guild Theatre, as the Guild's fourth production of the season.

Sidney Howard wrote it, John Cromwell directed it, Ethel Barrymore and Dudley Digges play the leading roles, Woodman Thompson designed it and Theresa Helburn and Lawrence Langer served as production consultants. One would think that with this line-up the result would be just about tops in theatre.

It isn't. Someone fell down on the job and your reviewer is inclined to think that Mr. Howard was the guilty one. For the rest have done their best with the material Mr. Howard has given them. And the result falls short of what it should be.

Where Is Yankee Doodle?

And either Mr. Howard or someone else named this dramaturgic child "The Ghost of Yankee Doodle" and this is the first thing that gripes yours truly. For try as he might he never saw the ghost, either in person, in the lines, or even as a wraith in any situation. Perhaps Mr. Howard will be kind enough to explain the title.

What Howard has attempted and what the Guild has staged is a somewhat ruthless expose of "decent liberalism," that is, the liberalism, weak and ineffectual as it may be, which timidly comes over to our side of the fence given sufficient reason . . . but always too late.

The protagonists of this drama are the Garrisons, a family of these decent liberals, generous, honest, tolerant . . . torn by conflicts they never fully understand, moved by social forces they know little about—but fighting to preserve their liberalism, blind to the contradictions of their various interests.

The Garrisons are a pitifully human family, faced with the problem of a liberal position in a world war, determined to remain sane . . . above the struggle, to continue their placid existence as long as their own country was out it.

But this without reckoning the war-mongers . . . the jingoists . . . forces they cannot control. The son again wants to make the world safe for democracy; the loss of the family business and home if the Garrisons will not handle war contracts . . . slowly all the good resolutions fall by the wayside . . . peace is desirable, but "with honor and on a paying basis." All this is brought to a head by the entrance of James Clevenger, a Hearstian figure, the composite of certain sections of the American press, into the life of the Garrisons.

Liberalism Gets Smacked

In the face of all these odds liberalism takes a heavy sock on the jaw. The Garrison plant is forced to the wall and accepts war contracts; Robert, the editor of a liberal paper almost gives up when Clevenger's machinations turn the trade unions against him; Mrs. Garrison is ready to marry Clevenger. Joan, the younger daughter, in love with a high-minded intellectual, is swept off her feet by the swashbuckling aviator son of the publisher and is ready to go off with him.

So far, so good. Something like the above, perhaps in other terms and with other devices, always happens to liberalism. To this point dramatist Howard has been honest with his theatre and with liberalism. This is the course that liberalism takes; ugly and shoddy as it may be, it is real and honestly presented.

But, and this your reviewer resents, as a sop to the decency in "decent liberalism" Howard goes off his nut and fails to stop the story at its logical conclusion. To Howard, decent liberalism must triumph. The swashbuckling aviator-son is conveniently killed off, Mrs. Garrison is revolted by Clevenger's use of his death as a journalistic opportunity to arouse the country to war. Clevenger stands revealed as the war-monger he is, a perfect Hearst. The high-minded professor of economics goes left . . . the family decides to continue the good fight . . . in the best "decent liberal" tradition.

It is exactly here where the play falls down. These denouncements are almost a pattern in liberalism. But Howard gets his time element mixed up. Actually they are second-thought, they take place long after the damage has been done. Actually, liberalism of the decent and other varieties goes along with reaction, is swept away by the jingoists. It is only decades after a thing is all over that liberalism finally sees what radicalism was pointing out all the time.

May this reviewer remind Mr. Howard of the role played by liberalism in the last war. "Make the world safe for democracy!" How many liberals followed a certain Woodrow Wilson, archetype and epitome of liberalism, when he was led by the nose by interests who didn't give two hoots in hell about democracy. Wilson, who when he finally realized the role he had played, made his "Mea Culpa" with the blanket statement: "The last war was a commercial war!" and then tried to cure the wounds of the world with the shipplasters of peace pacts instead of cutting out the social and economic cancers. All of which was definitely in the best "decent liberal" tradition.

This is the tragedy of liberalism . . . that it sees things too late, long after, it has taken its stand. We who are radical in our thinking, who see things with a different eye and from a different ideology can only serve this warning: If you are not with us, here and now, you are against us. There is and there can be no middle road. You cannot stop by your "this here, hearth and home, it is called . . . pleasant, and painful to lose," waiting for "some day when the world is all straight again and licking its wounds" to think sanely and clearly, the way your thinking should have been in the first place.

But there is none of this last in "The Ghost of Yankee Doodle." The play's conclusion is a weak and unsound one. Howard, because he is at heart a liberal, indulges himself with wishful thinking and wishful theatre, particularly in the final scene.

Barrymore



Bosses and Workers Spoofed in Revue

By Harry Fertik

Hitler, Mussolini, Sir Anthony Eden, Japan, the Supreme Court, the Federal Theatre Project; love, home and mother; the press and the college gal facing the realities of life for the first time all receive an awful drubbing at the hands of the ILGWU Players "Pins and Needles" the satiric and amusing-musical revue which Charles Friedman, Harold Rome, Arthur Arent, Marc Blitzstein, Emanuel Eisenberg, Sointu Syrjala, Benjamin Zemach and Gluck Sandor have whipped into shape for the board of Labor Stage. But the credit belong to the cast, who after all are the ones who have to face the audience . . . needle-trades workers by day, who while, not Broadway talent, have done a mighty good job of it.

"Pins and Needles" is something alive. Which is to be expected of this group which last year gave such a fine and timely presentation of John Wexley's "Steel." But it is more than that . . . it is definitely pertinent and amusing. And it is so by not being one-sided. It spoofs boss and worker alike . . . its satire is not directed alone at capitalism but also at some of the foibles of the working class, which is all too rare in the proletarian theatre.

Which is not to say that it misses many opportunities to take a serious and heavy swing at the jaws of things which annoy us. It has a full share of plugs for the anti-war, the anti-fascist, the anti-capitalism causes . . . all in a broad and pertinent humor . . . but the propaganda is deft and skillfully woven into the revue . . . it doesn't intrude . . . here the proletarian theatre has stepped down from the soap-box and (paradoxically) up to the level of intelligent working-class audiences. Which is to be applauded.

Announcement that casting for "One Third of a Nation," the new Living Newspaper drama on housing, has been completed definitely squelches the rumors that the Federal Theatre Project would fold up. There are 77 speaking parts in the show and nearly 90 actors and actresses will appear in the play.

Sean O'Casey's famous drama of the Irish Rebellion, "Juno and the Paycock," item No. 6 in the Abbey Players' current repertory, opens at the Ambassador on Monday, December 6th.

"Of Mice and Men" Valid Play of Labor Casuals

By McAlister Coleman

When Carleton Parker, as Secretary of the California State Immigration and Housing Commission, investigated the riots in the Wheatland hopfields, a quarter century ago, he began a research magnificent which resulted in what was easily the most provocative book on labor written before the war. This was his report on the riots, together with a number of essays on the problem of the migratory worker, the casual, the IWW. "The Casual Laborer" it was called, and it opened up a whole new field of the objective analysis of economic and human relations in industrial disputes.

"Of Mice and Men"

John Steinbeck's dramatization of his own novel. Presented by Sam H. Harris at the Music Box Theatre. Staged by George S. Kaufman. Settings designed by Donald Oenslager.

THE CAST
George Wallace Ford
Lennie Broderick Crawford
Candy John F. Hamilton
The Boss Thomas Findlay
Curley's Wife Claire Luce
Slim Will Geer
Carlson Charles Slatery
Whit Walter Baldwin
Crooks Leigh Whipper

Parker died too young and there were too few to follow his trail. Were he alive and had he been at the Music Box Theatre in New York the other evening, he would have seen in the play "Of Mice and Men" the workings of another brilliant mind on the problem posed by these restless, foot loose ones who do the dirty work in life and in return are rubbed in life's dirt.

John Steinbeck, author of both play and novel, tells the story of two casual laborers caught in the toils of circumstance, blundering into tragedy, with an emotional rather than the objective approach. Steinbeck is the dramatist, not the analyst, but he and Parker are kindred spirits. This is not to say that Steinbeck, or his all-competent collaborator in the staging of the play, George S. Kaufman, have let their sympathies for the two wistful workers run away with them as is so often the case with the professional proletarian playwright. They have a story to tell, an allegory it is true, but also a stirring story, the plot of which is by now familiar to most of the readers of this page.

It is, of course, the struggle for security, for some sort of human life on the part of men who are somehow doomed to be outcasts. The play has in it all the suspense of the little book. You sit there fascinated as George and Lennie march steadily towards their miserable fate. And when you come away from either the book or the theatre, you know that you have undergone an experience.

The settings by Donald Oenslager, the acting by the entire company—these are on the high level set by Steinbeck and Kaufman. Than which there is no higher praise.

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Stage Stars To Aid Spain

Constance Cummings, star of the Theatre Guild's production of "Madam Bovary," will appear in a monologue written for the occasion by her husband, Benn Levy, during the "Stars For Spain" program at Mecca Temple on Sunday evening, December 12th. The program is sponsored by the Theatre Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy for the benefit of the Medical Bureau and the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

A 100 piece symphony orchestra under the baton of Leon Barzin with Frank Sheridan as piano soloist will be a feature of the program. Tamiris and her Group will also appear in a modern dance number.

Stars for SPAIN

Benjamin GOODMAN
BURGESS MEREDITH
Constance CUMMINGS
Frances FARMER
Gertrude LAWRENCE

JAY C. FLIPPEN
ALEXANDER KIRKLAND
LEON BARZIN

conducting
Symphony Orchestra
FRANK SHERIDAN
Pianist

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An Irish Volunteer In the Debs Brigade Writes Us From Spain

It's one hell of a long time since I wrote you. But circumstances over which I hadn't much control dictated the long silence. Right now I have two very voluble Spaniards hanging around my neck and all hints that their absence is desired runs off their backs like the proverbial water off the duck.

Lots of things have happened. For months I have been leading a one man educational campaign to educate the army to the possibilities and the limitations of wartime communications. At long last results begin to appear on the horizon. I am now the big noise in the Brigade transmissions, responsible for the communications at the front, ranked as captain in place of Looney in the Lincoln Battalion. Present lineup of Americans, Jugo-Slavs, and Spaniards—an interesting study in human equations. Equipment bequeathed by the old regime is just a headache—but I staked the Lincoln Unit with sweet Fanny Adams.

Funny enough our last activities were more fierce and more important than our Madrid offensives and received in the press one fifth of the space. Even the master minds who run the Canadian Clarion (C.P. Toronto) found no words to use. Amie returned prematurely from the hospital to take command of the battalion, and was again wounded this time a scratch on the noggin. I was beside him at the time.

Also another one of our original gang got hit—Boetcher from San Francisco—had his thumb blown off by a bomb. Score now of the Debs mob is Sgt. Masterson on his way home, Sgt. Melnikoff now in Philadelphia, Lieutenant Clark still in charge of transport in the unit in which these others served. Captain Amie of the Lincoln Brigade on his way home. Col. Boetcher in the hospital and myself transferred from the Battalion to Brigade as captain. I have now close to six months of line service; was offered repatriation. But because of the difficulties of transport and just because I am in a way on

a spot I did not accept. After fighting and beefing for decent communications a guy cannot run out when they dump the mess in his lap and say go to it. But in one more campaign when we have introduced system and organization and get the machine working good I may consider going back and feel in all honesty that I have done my share.

To the members of the Connolly Club—

It would be great if instead of writing I could see you all, and say instead of write these greetings. But being friends if by some miracle I could see you I would be to shy to speak openly.

Prouder than of any other organization am I of my membership in the club. No other outfit in the multitudinous groups that comprise the movement, has the comradeship, the tolerance, the solidarity and singleness of purpose, the intellectual level and the persistence of our club.

If only we could get 10,000 men of the cleanness of heart, of the purity of motive, doggedness of courage and level of intelligence, then not only Ireland but the U.S. as well could say as Omar says:

"Be shattered to bits and then remolden to the heart's desire.

The main fight here is against the forces of reaction. But there is another fight, of almost equal importance, the fight for Unity and Solidarity amongst the forces of the working class.

For unity between the CNT, the big Syndicalist union and the UGT, the Socialist unions. For unity among the various Socialist and Communist parties, and with the AIT and FAI, Anarchist groups.

Even here in the International Brigades, overwhelmingly Communist as it is the struggle is to teach its members the easy—and the hard because its easy—elementary lessons of working class solidarity.

In Spain itself the Unity has been achieved by agreement on the minimum demands of all parties and factions for their own rights and a maximum basis of things absolutely essential to the achievements of victory against Reaction. So that the working class movement even after all these years of struggle have merely arrived at a point that was inherent in the very formation of our Connolly Clubs—the solidarity of all to achieve our aim.

We of the club are a wonderful example of working class solidarity, that outside the club we are the IWW, AFL, CP, SP, Catholics, Atheist, everything under the sun, but in the club, Irish revolutionaries too can be proud of themselves. Prouder still of our tolerance of each other; our solidarity for the struggle can be used as the beacon light for American and Irish struggle for Industrial Democracy.

Like Rogers all you know is what you read in the papers—but remember the Roman dictum of "cum granum sellis." Luckily all the members of the club have the opportunity to realize the difference between war actualities and war news. And in that respect at least this is the "same old war."

Of the objectives and the means to reach the objectives you have read. Of the dangers from the aerial raids, bombs, artillery and machine gun and rifle fire, you as an old soldier know, aerial and machine gun fire has been greatly intensified—the past twenty years. In this particular war, artillery is so far playing a comparatively minor part, due to the difficulties of import. Personally I went into action as a buck private with no great reputation among the nabobs—came out a sergeant with a real rep and was offered bars.

So what. "Your character is made by yourself, your reputation by the other guy." But it does mean that the Debs group have made good. Hans Amie, read the N.Y. Times, company commander, wounded in action. Clark in charge of Transport, Masterson sergeant in the truck maintenance, Melnikoff sent back to the States by the Spanish government, leaving Boetcher as a buck private in the Albacete. He is a crack mechanic, hence was not allowed

Roosevelt Tries Hoover Method

(Continued from Page One) there will be a recovery next year.

500,000 workers in steel are having their hours of labor cut drastically, with steel production at the lowest point in three years. In several centers, whole plants are being closed.

Retail deliveries in New York were 10% less than the same week a year ago.

Prices being paid to trappers for skins are 10 to 20 per cent less than last years.

Stock inventories in department stores showed more goods on shelves than last year, the increase being up to 91 per cent in one category, despite policies designed to cut inventories in all of the big department stores.

Whisky makers distilled only 7,800,000 gallons in October, 1937, as against 20,000,000 gallons a year ago, while stocks on hand have mounted to 450,000,000 gallons, as compared to 353,000,000 gallons a year ago.

Biggers Prize evidence of capitalist bankruptcy was the report at the end of the week that the Toledo

plant of Libby-Owen-Ford Glass Corp., whose president, Biggers, was loaned to FDR to head his "unemployment census" has shut down, throwing 900 men out of work.

Roosevelt's census of the unemployed was a horrible travesty upon the whole idea of an unemployed census. Workers can remember how Roosevelt poked fun at Hoover for being unwilling to count the unemployed back in the 1932 campaign. He was right then. But there has been no attempt to count the unemployed from when until now, and now the census is a voluntary business which means nothing at all.

So the big shirt who is chosen to front it lays off 900 men. One wonders if they will get a chance to fill out those blanks after reading that ducky little message from the president!

Socialists have no interest in making the capitalist system work. We know it can't be done. But we are interested in fighting to make the condition of workers as comfortable as possible while the capitalist system is gasping out in its final agony. FDR has posed as the friend of the workers. His capitulation now to the big boys shows us well that he is not on our side, even within the framework of the capitalist system.

to volunteer for the front. Myself in charge of communications for the combined Lincoln and Washington battalions. They can say it was worthwhile.

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Due to the fact that production will not be ready for the date originally announced—December 22nd—Theatre Party has been postponed to the 29th.

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New Deal Didn't End Depressions Under Capitalism

The slump in business which begun in mid-August of this year has all the characteristics of a normal business recession. The stock market led off with 10 weeks of steady decline followed by two days of wild panic, after which the drop in stock prices continued at a retarded rate.

Since stock prices and the general course of the stock market reflect feelings of pessimism or optimism prevalent at any given time in the business community, the last three months of receding stock prices show pretty clearly that the more far-sighted among the businessmen lost confidence in the possibility of continued prosperity along about the middle of the summer.

Since then, if reports are to be believed, business executives have made up their minds that insofar as general business is concerned, the winter will be a hard one. The lack of confidence in the immediate future finds its reflection in sagging Wall Street prices. The Wall Street barometer of business indicates bad times ahead.

A second test of the present economic situation is the index of general business activity. This index rose irregularly from 1933 to the fall of 1936. At that time it had reached levels only slightly below those of the 1925-29 prosperity era. Through 10 months general business conditions hovered at about this point, advancing slightly in the spring and early summer of 1937. In the middle of August, however, the business index turned downward, and for 12 weeks it has been lower each week than it was during the week preceding.

Continues to Fall

The steepness of the decline has been accentuated during the past month, and thus far there is no indication of a letup in the downward movement. The consistent shrinkage of business activity over a period of three months amounts to a business recession.

Steel production is in many respects indicative of the state of general business, because it reflects accurately the demands made by heavy industry for future raw material deliveries. During the first nine months of 1937, steel production averaged 83% of capacity.

Recently production dropped to 86%, the tenth consecutive week which steel production had declined.

Until about four weeks ago, business and political leaders were alike unwilling to admit that U.S. economy was slipping off from the prosperity levels toward a new depression. The evidence cited above leaves no doubt but that a bonafide recession is in progress and the fact is now admitted both in New York and Washington. Pres. Roosevelt, in the second par-

agraph of his message to Congress, referred to the "marked recession in industrial production."

A Minor Cycle

Should the recession continue without political interruption, the probabilities are that it will go to about half the depth of the 1932-1933 depression. At the present rate of decline it will reach its depth early in 1938. How long the subsequent depression may last is a matter of speculation, but there is good reason to believe that its duration will be comparatively brief and that within a year at most the index of business activity will have again turned upward toward a new era of relative prosperity.

Chairman Jesse H. Jones of the Reconstruction Finance Corp. confirmed this estimate of the situation when he told reporters that

he was confident there would be an improvement "in the early future; certainly in the spring." Jones admits that there is a business recession, but does not believe it will be as serious as the last one. If his guess turns out to be right, the whole episode may constitute a well-balanced, minor business cycle, covering in all a little more than two years. There have been many such in U.S. business history.

New Deal economics has not ended hard times nor interfered seriously with the cycle ups and downs of a price-profit economy. Pump-priming will not prevent future business upsets. Only under a socialized, planned world economy can mankind hope for a real measure of economic stability and security.

Retail Clerks Hold Convention

Delegates representing over 30,000 retail clerks from throughout the United States and Canada, met in their first convention last week in Pittsburgh. This convention, which was the first to be held in the retail field in over 25 years, marked the turning point in the history of that trade.

Led by the Fruit and Vegetable local of New York, the delegates tackled the problem of unemployment and the complete organization of their very poorly organized trade.

Socialist delegates to the convention were amongst the leaders on the floor. It was recalled by the delegates that some of these same Socialists were active in demanding a convention every two years. During the time they were still members of the old Retail Clerks Protective Association, an AFL affiliate.

The reports of the various committees showed that the membership and activity of the UREUA has in the short year of its existence already surpassed the RCIPA's membership, either present or of any time previous.

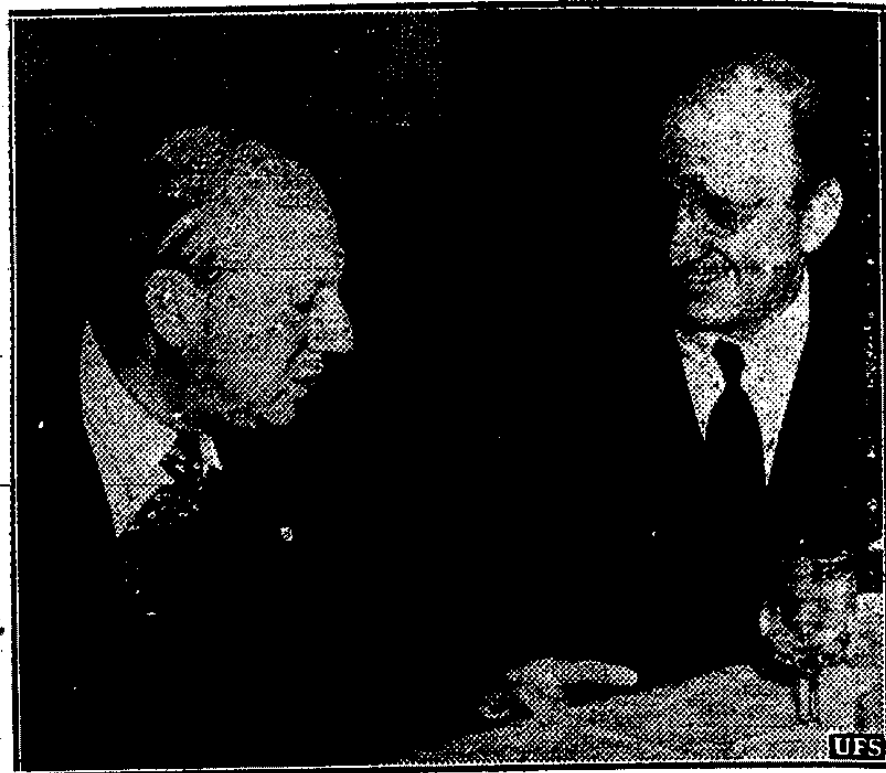
Samuel Wolchak was elected president.

Further details will appear in the CALL next week.

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Piano in good condition. Reasonable. Box 111, CALL.

Relief to the Rich



This duet (Senator Pat Harrison and Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau) have an interesting plan for "balancing the budget." Pat proposes to "relieve" the rich from their tax burden. And Henry proposes to make up the difference by cutting public works, direct relief, and farm aid.

American Press Launches Jingo Drive for War

An open drive for an alliance of Britain, France and the US against Germany, Italy and Japan has been launched in the columns of The New York Times, America's newspaper for newspapermen.

The New York Times, which has been setting the tone for American foreign policy of late, proposes that this alliance talk on the current form of economic boycott. Such a boycott is to be organized by the governments of the democratic countries.

In Germany and Italy this proposal is interpreted as a virtual threat of war. The Fascist press concludes from this threat that their nations must hasten plans to make the country self-sufficient in the event of war.

In Washington circles the editorial of The New York Times is the center of lively discussion around proposals to revise America's isolationist policy and to begin a policy of collective action.

Behind the editorial stands a long record of The New York Times' interest in maintaining America's foreign investments. It is noted by many that The Times, like President Roosevelt, was si-

lent during the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and during the Fascist aggression in Spain, but that they proposed collective action only when American interests in the Far East were endangered.

The New York Times proposal, many believe, is a first step in a campaign to line up American public opinion behind the government in a punitive campaign against Japan.

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PARTY NOTES

MIDDLE ATLANTIC DISTRICT
Herbert Zam, organizer of the Midwest will visit Baltimore, Washington, and Wilmington for speaking engagements and organizational work. He will speak in Baltimore Sunday, Dec. 5 at 105 N. Eutan, on the subject: "Europe Realigns for a New World War."

In Washington, D.C., Herbert Zam will speak at the Washington Forum together with Ben Marsh, of the People's Lobby, on Friday, Dec. 3 at 1502 14th St. The subject will be "England's contribution to Democracy."

PHILADELPHIA

Local Philadelphia, Socialist Party, has arranged a mass meeting on Spain for Friday, Dec. 17th at the Y.W.C.A. Auditorium, 18th and Arch St. The speakers will be Carlo Tresca, Liston M. Oak and Herbert Zam.

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