

Voices
From
Spain

(See Page 5)

Socialist Call

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.

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DEFENSE LEAGUE BREAKS HAGUE BAN AGAINST CIO

Congress Does Nothing

No Major Bill Is Passed

The special session of Congress adjourned this week without passing a single piece of major legislation. The most important legislative action of the body was the voting of its own expenses.

The vital wage-and-hour bill was virtually killed by recommitment to committee.

The housing bill was sent to conference.

No farm legislation was passed.

No action was taken either to solve the problem of unemployment or to increase aid to the jobless.

No policy was declared to guide the government in its handling of the present Far Eastern crisis.

In the midst of an economic crisis and the danger of war, this specially called session of Congress met to pass legislation providing for a quarter-million dollars travelling expenses for Senators and Representatives, for twelve thousand dollars page expenses, for the loan of some pictures now hanging in the Capitol to an art gallery, for an amendment to the Federal Union Credit Act, and for a time extension in building a bridge across the Tennessee River. Literally, that's all Congress did.

This special session was a continuation of the last regular session. The division of the administration forces and the organized opposition of the anti-New Dealers created a legislative stalemate, which many believe can only be broken by the election to Congress of new blocs on the basis of completely reorganized parties.

The meeting of President Roosevelt this week with known "liberal" leaders of the country, is taken to foreshadow a possible progressive coalition against the Congressional conservative bloc. Washington observers see in this clash of forces, which resulted in a stalemate at the present Congress, the rise of two new political parties in America along sharp conservative and liberal lines.



Pro-War Forces in America Unite Against Ludlow Bill

The Ludlow Resolution is far from a sure-fire way of keeping us out of war. What it does say, however, is that before we decide to die we would like to vote on the matter. And that is not an unreasonable request for human beings to make.

So far as class conscious workers are concerned, whether such a referendum carries or not, no support should be given to a war. We know perfectly well that the propaganda machine of the financial interests may be powerful enough even to carry a pro-war resolution through referendum. The Ludlow Resolution does not outlaw war. But it does make it harder to get into a war.

Should the Ludlow proposal carry, before America rushed into a war on foreign soil there would be time for discussion, time to cool off, time for the class conscious workers to express and organize their opposition to war. The resolution would be a check on war.

Had the resolution been written by a Socialist it would not have made an exception for so-called wars of defense arising from "invasion and attack" on our borders. For such a war, too, will be fought by American capitalism in defense of its imperialist interests. Nor would Socialists have granted that any war of American imperialism—popular or not—deserve support.

Yet with all its failings, the Ludlow Resolution represents a protest against being stamped into war.

For that reason, all the more important, is the opposition that has developed against the bill.

All those elements in America, which have been using the Panay incident to create a war fever, have turned against the Ludlow Resolution. Cordell Hull, ex-Secretary of State Stimson, President Roosevelt, reactionary Colonel Knox, and the jingo Communist Party have rejected support of the proposal for a referendum.

This bloc roughly coincides with the pro-war forces in the U.S., with those elements who want to show a strong hand to Japan, who are demanding apologies and reparations and guarantees, and who are ready to push the fight further if necessary.

The Communist Party has become one of the most aggressive forces in America advancing the imperialist policies of the American reactionaries who are beginning to cry for war in the Far East in defense of "business interests." The Daily Worker editorial states:

So long as this country continues to conduct its usual business in the Far East, so long as it insists on respect for its diplomatic can urge collective action for world peace, relations with China, so long as the American Fascist schemes face insurmountable obstacles. The best and quickest way to accommodate the Fascist war schemers is to withdraw all American interests in the Far East at this time when this would be a most obliging assistance to the Japanese aggressors.

Thomas Hits Jersey Machine

With Jersey City still closed to a CIO meeting, the Workers' Defense League held a great mass meeting there Tuesday night to "celebrate" the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the ratification of the U.S. Constitution by the State of New Jersey.

"What has become of our constitutional rights?" was the keynote of the meeting.

Norman Thomas, as principal speaker, delivered a withering attack on Mayor Frank Hague which had the throng in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church shouting with approval.

The church basement, which normally seats one hundred and forty persons, bulged with a cheering crowd of more than three hundred. Men and women jammed the aisles and invaded the platform. Hundreds of workers were turned away.

"By allowing this meeting tonight, Mayor Hague has already completely conceded the weakness of his case," said Thomas. "No CIO speaker would have said anything we have not already said tonight. And if we have a right to speak here, then the CIO has a double right.

"It seems to me," Thomas continued, "that when men profess to believe in the New Deal they should include the advocacy of civil liberties. Mayor Hague is a champion of the New Deal; and President Roosevelt and I think we ought to have a few Democrats—Jersey City Democrats—here tonight to speak out for the rights that the New Deal holds important."

David L. Clendennin, National Treasurer of the Workers' Defense League presided. Clendennin is suing Mayor Hague and police officials for \$10,000 damages for assault by the Jersey City police.

"Let me make it perfectly clear that this is not a CIO meeting," Clendennin said. "If it were, it could not be held. The CIO is still being denied its right to free speech and free assembling in Jersey City. We challenge Frank Hague to help the CIO to obtain a meeting hall here."

Other speakers were Oswald Garrison Villard, George Slaff, attorney for the WDL, the Reverend James Myers, Industrial Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and Alfred Schmalz, associate director of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches.

Socialist Back Organization Of Jobless by their Unions; Demand Militant Unity for WA.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its quarterly meeting here unanimously approved the policy of its Labor Committee in advocating the organization of their own unemployed by

the unions in each industry, especially in the case of the new mass industrial unions who must hold their members and prepare the unorganized mass for organization even in the midst of unemployment.

The Socialist Party Executive was pleased to note that the CIO nationally has already adopted this policy and that the big unions of auto, rubber, steel particularly are already setting up their unemployment committees in each local and preparing to battle, to protect their unemployed members and fellow workers of the industry.

This is a policy advocated by the Socialist Party as long ago as 1930 with the beginning of the '29 depression when Socialists urged the desirability of the organization of the unemployed being undertaken by the trade unions. The AFL, unfortunately, at that time, was not the sort of organization which was willing or capable of adopting this policy.

The five billion dollar housing program from the federal government demanded by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO was emphatically endorsed as was the demand of the Workers Alliance for three million new WPA jobs and subsidy from the federal government to the state of \$15 per family per month for those on direct relief.

The Socialist Party Executive further demanded stiffening, in place of relaxation, of income and inheritance taxes and the diversion of war preparation funds from unproductive military expenditures to unemployment relief purposes.

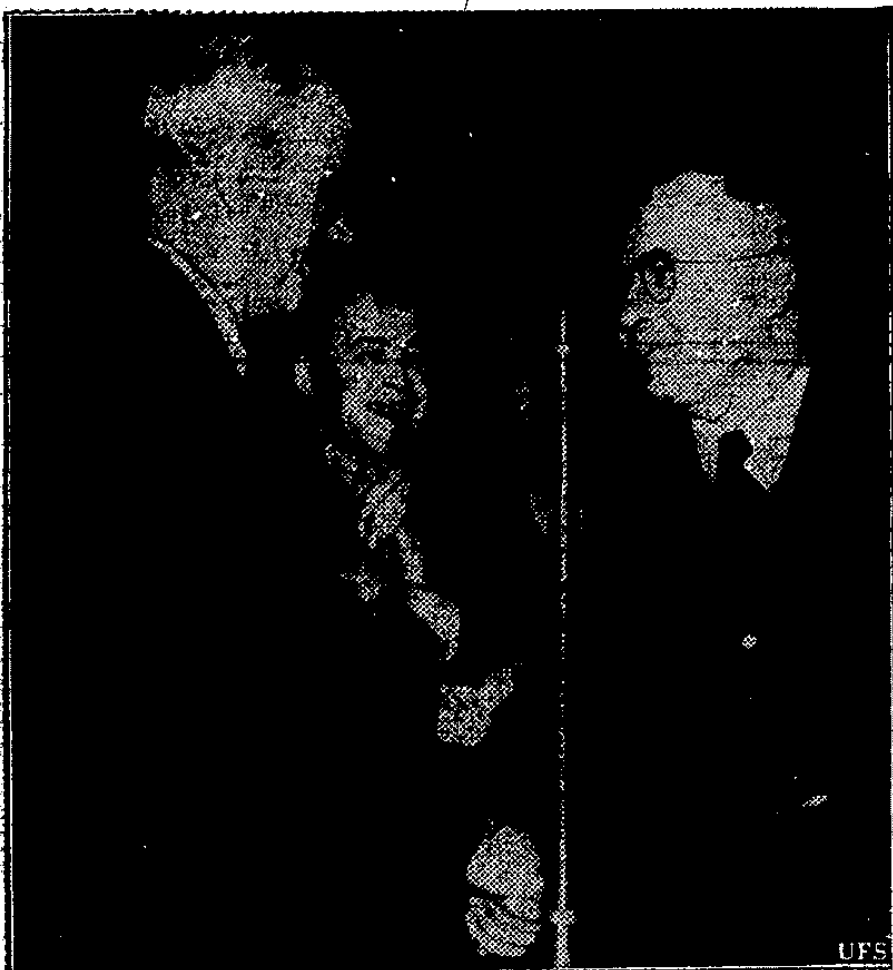
For Militant Unity
The Socialist Party will work for a militant, mass pressure policy on local relief administration and on the national New Deal administration, and will vigorously fight any attempt to temper tactics of unemployed workers either in the unions or professional unemployed organizations like the Workers Alliance in favor of the Roosevelt Administration.

With the return of depression conditions, indicating fundamentally that capitalism has no power to recover permanently and that the parties of capitalism have no continuing progressive elements in their leadership or program, Socialists will carry on a vigorous agitation among the unemployed for independent political action through a Party of Labor's own and will oppose a bi-partisan or non-partisan policy in elections.

A vigorous agitation for the Socialist anti-war position of independent boycott action by workers and avoidance of such illusions as collective security and capitalist powers alliances for "democracy" will be carried on among unemployed under the slogan of "War Funds to Unemployment Relief."

Against Communist Splitting
A vigorous condemnation of the drive of the Communist Party in the Workers Alliance to split that organization by capturing its machinery for a one-party monopoly and expelling their political opponents was voiced by the Socialist Committees. Socialists were urged to resist this campaign to the limit and to support to the full any elements in the Workers Alliance of any political belief who were attacked and expelled or disciplined merely for their political belief.

A National Unemployment



Four Million or None was the burden of Philip Murray's message to the last session of the last session of the negotiating committees of the CIO and AFL and "None" it seems to be at the present writing.

Committee will be organized to direct Socialist Unemployment work after regional conferences of Socialists active in trade union and unemployed work have been held in New York on January 22nd and 23rd and in Chicago on February 12th and 13th.

Meanwhile the National Labor Committee will direct this work. The Socialist NEC emphasized that no Socialist Party member would be permitted to hold office in the Workers Alliance and use his Socialist membership as a shield to protect Communist

Party domination and disruption of the organization.

The Socialist Party will use its good offices to help restore organic unity of unemployed in Milwaukee where the Communist tactics drove the majority of the rank and file to form the American Workers Committee, and split the Alliance, when the Communist Party pledges and give full guarantee of its performance of pledge to abandon its "rule or ruin" drive in the Workers Alliance.

Mayor La Guardia Endorses Promotion of Labor-Baiting Inspector Over ALP Protests

Members of the American Labor Party paid their first price this week for their endorsement of a capitalist party candidate for mayor, when Fiorella H. LaGuardia permitted the promotion of Police Inspector Harry L. Lobdell, labor-baiting police chief.

The mayor's action was taken over the organized protest of spokesmen for the American Labor Party, American Federation of Labor and Committee for Industrial Organization unions.

The following telegram of protest was sent to the mayor before the installation of "Give 'em Hell Lobdell!"

"Meeting of thirty-seven representatives of twenty-three unions and thirteen other citizen members of the Brooklyn Citizens Committee for Civil Liberties protests against the reported elevation of Inspector Harry M. Lobdell to Deputy Chief Inspector of Brooklyn, despite his anti-labor record of strike-breaking activities."

When Valentine made the appointment, LaGuardia said that he would "have the full and complete support of the Mayor in the management of his department."

The New York press saw in this appointment a "foreshadowing of a sterner policy toward strikers' demonstrations."

PARTY NOTES

CALIFORNIA

John Newton Thurber, state organizer of the California Socialist Party, is on a three weeks organizing tour of party branches in the northern portion of the state.

His itinerary includes: December 27 to 30, Oakland; December 31, Capay Valley; January 2 to 5, Stockton; January 6, Fresno and Bakersfield; January 7, Oxnard.

During the past week he has been in San Francisco, speaking at a public meeting held in conjunction with other left-wing groups on Spain, on Thursday, Dec. 23.

There will be a meeting of the state executive committee at Los Angeles on Saturday, January 8, where organizational work and political plans for the coming year will be considered.

The state headquarters of the party are being shifted to Los Angeles as a part of the new organizational set-up. Jack Kahn, 567 North Boylston St., L. A., has been elected state secretary. Party work will be concentrated in part in the Los Angeles area where the trade union movement is marching forward with part strikes at the time.

Polish Bund Celebrates Forty Years of Struggle

By Jack Kaye

To the English speaking Socialist of America, the heretofore past and the present activities of the Bund are not well known. The European working class and its representatives in the Labor and Socialist International have full knowledge of the workings of this Jewish Socialist Organization.

In the 40 pages of the Jubilee Edition of the Naje Folkscajtung daily organ of that organization, all leading socialists the world over have contributed articles evaluating the Bund's contribution to the International Socialist movement. Suffice to mention such persons of prominence as Walter Citrin, M. Morrison, R. C. Cripps, Prof. Laski, Fenner Brockway, Attlee and Wilkinson, all leading members of the English Labor Party. Also Kautzky Adler, Stauning, who is Socialist Premier of Denmark, Vandé Welde, Leon Blum, Norman Thomas and De Bruckner, executive Secretary of the L.S.I. who personally sent felicitations through the long distance telephone to the Jubilee Celebration.

When the Bund was first founded, some of these very leaders misunderstood the separate existence of this organization on the political scene and received it with skepticism. However, the majority soon changed its attitude and co-operated with its aims to the fullest extent.

The Bund's purpose and mission was two-fold. In its own sphere it had to bend all its energies to break the Jewish masses away from the ties that existed for centuries with their religious and bourgeoisie hierarchy, who in most cases co-operated fully with the brutal Czarist regime.

Forty Years Old
Now after its forty years of stupendous activity, its vital role cannot be questioned. It was the logical farsighted propaganda of this organization that helped to develop and elevate the Jewish masses, who later became the vanguard that destroyed Russian Czarism. The fall of Czarism was a triumph for the entire Russian working class. The Bund for the first time enjoyed legality of existence.

Then with all its ability and knowledge, greatly heartened, they embarked on the tremendous task of the workers republic.

With the ascent of the Bolshevik revolution the Bund's activities were curtailed. Though not fully in agreement with the Bolsheviks, they were ready to cooperate to help build a Socialist state. But dictatorships do not tolerate other working class parties—and along with all other parties, the Bund was ruthlessly liquidated—and its leaders imprisoned—some of whom still languish there to this day.

From its inception the Bund was part and parcel of the International Socialist Movement; participated in and coped with its successes and defeats. It never deviated one iota from the principles of revolutionary socialism. It deplored and violently criticized the war spirit of important sections in the Socialist movement. In the midst of the war hysteria, the Bund played an important role in bringing about the Zimmerwald Congress, whose manifesto was to turn the war into a class war for Socialism.

After the communist international was organized, this organizational, like the American Socialist party, applied for admission and was rejected, for refusing to accept all the 21 points which meant the expulsion of the Bund's leaders.

The Bund joined the LSI a few years ago and in it aligned itself with other left-wing elements to further the ideal of revolutionary

socialism. Heinrich Ehrlich, the Bund's representative and member of the executive of the LSI soon gained favor and fame with some of his consistent criticisms against the role the German Social Democracy pursued before Hitler's ascent to power.

He met with derision from most of them including the representative of the German Socialist Party, Otto Wells. "How dare you, a representative of such a small organization, tell us what to do?" Wells exclaimed. The tragic catastrophe of the German Labor movement did occur, and Wells now in exile has to admit that he was wrong and Ehrlich right.

Through all the tragic splits of the labor movement, the Bund emerged virtually untouched. In Poland, the stronghold of its activities the Bund is a tower of strength in every field. The devotion and confidence of the Jewish masses to this organization is expressed during elections when they receive not less than 40% of their vote.

Its press and publications are numerous in various languages and the youth organizations, in particular, exceed almost double the parent organization with great promise for its political future. Its political course is molded in close cooperation with the Polish Socialist Party. There exists a cooperative spirit among the two which we hope will result in organic unity.

The Bund is, and has always been a thoroughly democratic organization. Its decisions are extensively discussed and decided upon by the majority, yet there is absolute discipline and unanimity in action. The relations to one another and their disagreements are on a high level—they are more than merely a party—they are an organic family and such an organization will triumph.

Evaluation of Communists

On the relation of the Bund to the Communist movement I would like to quote from a speech made by their acknowledged leader Heinrich Ehrlich, at its 40th anniversary celebration in Warsaw:

"It is amazing to watch the evolution of the Communist movement; yesterday the chief enemy of the Socialists; today it is National Unity—France, for the French is the slogan.

The year 1919 it was boycott elections to bourgeois parliaments; today it is participation in national parades. We don't rejoice over this ideological degeneration—we regret it. We always basically disagreed and condemned their mistakes and crimes, but we always considered them as a part of the working class and a factor in fighting reformism, but now not only are they more than worthless in this respect—they are the worst opportunists in the labor movement today.

"We never justified everything that took place in the USSR yet we were proud of the accomplishments and when fighting our opponents, we always referred to it—to say this is too difficult a task. To those to whom Socialism meant culture, liberty, self-determination, how can they sanction the slaughter of a whole generation of revolutionists.

"We Bundists, in particular, who contributed so much blood to this image which is but a caricature of a Socialist State, have confidence in the power of the Russian working class to overcome all of this."

Steel Union Opens "Closed" U.S. Towns; To Aid Unemployed

By Arthur G. McDowell
Labor Secretary, Socialist Party U.S.A.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The three day national convention of the Steel Workers here, attended by some 1,000 delegates from as many lodges, organized in the last eighteen months by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO starting only with the decrepit shell of the old Amalgamated Iron Steel and Tin Workers, marked a new stage of American industrial history.

No one who knew this mighty industrial valley of the three rivers, two years ago, could miss the significance of this steel workers, gathering in the heart of Pittsburgh.

A social transformation amounting almost to a social revolutionary change has taken place in this oldest stronghold of the steel and modern metal masters. The "closed" or company town in which the steel worker was ruled from one end of his life to the other in feudal style by the agents of his direct employer is gone.

A few remain in scattered sections of northern United States like Wierton, West Virginia, where E. T. (Shoot-a-few) Wier still holds sway by a combination of guile and club. But in Pennsylvania, once the citadel, only Johnstown remains and that relatively open fortress is gradually crumbling as mistakes of the past are corrected and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee gradually builds its forces even in the face of depression.

Duquesne, McKeesport, Brackbridge, New Kensington, Homestead, Ambridge and Allquippa, these towns have seen in less than two years the political emancipation of their overwhelming steel worker population from the conditions of feudalism into the relative democracy of the modern capitalist age.

A Drama
It is only against this historic background of achievement that the weaknesses as well as the smallest contributions of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee could be seen. The men who staged this convention (for it was a demonstration and a pageant rather than a convention) did well to unfold their drama here.

It is in this area that the sense of achievement and therefore the morale is the highest. It is here that there seems to have developed the most promising and genuine leadership from among the Steel Workers themselves, altho there was little opportunity given in this convention for it to show itself.

This was the only one of the three regions set up by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee which felt equal to recording its achievements in terms of plain and definite figures. Regional Director Clint Golden cited the record of July 1st 1936 to November 30th 1937 as—

461 new lodges chartered
211 contracts negotiated with many employers.

The total for the nation and Canada is given at 1060 new lodges and 445 contracts covering 350,000 workers. Granting all the limitations and weaknesses, which not even a practiced eye is required to see, in the far from complete structure of a steel union, this represents an historic accomplishment in an industry which since the battle of Homestead more than fifty years ago has been the undisputed stronghold of anti-unionism in America.

Borrow General Staff Against this background moved the figures the General Staff and

Technical corps supplied to the Steel Workers principally by the United Mine Workers and in lesser degree by other sections of the CIO and from the ranks of the radical working class parties.

P. T. Fagan, Phil Murray, Van Rittner, and John L. Lewis were the main actors and had almost all the speaking parts. The Convention was a smooth running whole with a unanimity which it is safe to predict will not be duplicated in another convention if the steel workers really build a union on the foundations raised by directing technicians so largely "foreign" to steel.

In spite of this rather artificial unity, or, perhaps, in these troubled times, because of it, the resolutions which set the policy of the Convention were far in advance of what was expected. The five billion dollar federal government housing program as a depression relief measure, advanced by Phil Murray for the SWOC before the convention and quite independent of the New Deal administration trend was affirmed.

What was more, definite agitational machinery was set up. An unemployment relief program was put forth which would have been worthy of the Workers Alliance in its militant days altho perhaps too much emphasis was put on lobbying activity. However the intelligent general CIO program of organization of unemployed under union auspices, and agitation for their needs by official committees of the union was put forth in complete form with leeway for cooperation with other local organizations of the unemployed.

On International affairs the report of the resolution committee was a surprise. In spite of the fact that the Communist Party was the largest single working class political tendency in the convention and might have been tossed some concession for its official policy of maintaining mouse-like quiet and frantically leading the cheering for the individual general staff members from Lewis down, the report rejected any collective security in favor of voluntary cooperation with world labor and liberal bodies in the boycott of Japanese manufactured goods (provision to protect Hosiery Workers-CIO), went the length of approving the Ludlow War Referendum Amendment, and protested any involvement of the U.S. in a war with Japan to defend corporate vested interests of American owners in China.

The strong Catholic sentiment

and affiliation of many SWOC leaders forbade mention and support of the workers in Spain while permitting the condemnation of Fascism in Italy, Germany and Japan.

Both the leaders on the platform and the rank and file on the floor were keenly alert to the political interests now coming to the front in all big unions with the return of depression, and each reacted in his own way.

Phil Murray in introducing Tom Kennedy of the United Mine Workers (and Lieutenant Governor of Pa.) nominated him as next governor of Pennsylvania as the candidate of "the workers and all right minded citizens." It is a little grim irony that the use of the convention for bitter one sided debate of the struggle with the Executive Council of the AFL by Murray, Kennedy and Lewis himself probably killed the possibility of the successful use of the balance of power tactic of Labor's Non-Partisan League to elect Kennedy in the Democratic Party.

A Minnesota and Glassport, Co. delegate called for a Labor Party and debate drew so many delegates to their feet that Chairman Murray firmly shut off debate and put thru the committee report.

The Convention adjourned leaving a quite blank check on all matters in the hands of the appointed General Staff, and establishing some troublesome traditions of overmuch top control, but the enthusiasm evident will be needed for the struggles that are coming, to have and to hold gains, and build the Steel Workers Union that is to be.

Communist Doublecross

The Internal Situation In Cutters Union, No. 10

By A. SCHNEIDER

In the elections in Cutters' Local 10 on March 1937, the Socialists, together with the Communists and some mutant progressives, formed a bloc.

At one of a series of conferences to formulate a program for the campaign, the Communists broke off the conference refusing to designate the slate as one of opposition.

We re-convened and agreed on a program and slate which all groups were to support. And then the Communists, violating that agreement, centered the campaign around their own candidates, and even printed pictures of two of the leading candidates.

Doublecross

But an even greater surprise was in store for us. As the campaign went on, we found that the Communists, although supposedly part of the bloc which was opposing the administration, were holding conferences with the administration to gain concessions for themselves.

Immediately after the elections, a statement appeared in the "Forward" in which the administration of the Local stated that the Communists had been ready to withdraw from the administration slate in return for so small a concession as the appointment of one of their people to a patrol committee.

When confronted with this statement the Communists flatly denied it and promised to reply to these charges in their press. Such a reply was never printed for the very simple reason that one of their people, Magilevsky, did get an appointment a few months after the election.

Then they received a second appointment for a price,—that of reversing their position on a tax for the unemployed. They supported the administration in urging the passage of the tax which they themselves had been consistently opposing for the last two years. Of the eight speakers who spoke for the tax at a membership meeting of the local, three were Communists.

We who opposed the tax were denied the floor.

Employed and unemployed cutters alike are now paying the tax. The unemployed cutter gets a miserable pittance of two dollars a week, despite Louis Hyman's statement in the "Freiheit" that they are getting four or five dollars.

In addition, the method of registration is so slipshod that jobs are being distributed in a hit and miss fashion, not by position on the list posted on the bulletin board, as Hyman states in the same article of December 10.

Mutual Admiration Society

A mutual admiration society now exists in which the Communists laud the methods and results of the administration policy, and Perlmutter, my "consistent" manager, who as late as March 1937 denounced the Communists as destructive and irresponsible elements, has recently appointed one of them to a paid job.

A sub-committee should be designated to investigate and allocate the necessary number of working days to the various shops on the basis of the number of cutters and their yearly income.

Such a plan can be very easily formulated and will not be burdensome to the members of the Local. For example: A Local which has 8,000 members finds that 500 of them are unemployed. About a 1,000 more may fall into a category which exempts them from making any contributions. This leaves 6,500 cutters to provide \$5,000 a week in the form of working days.

This will amount to approximately 75 cents per cutter.

The fact that a similar plan instituted in Pressers' Local 35 has developed certain undesirable features does not invalidate the plan. We can avoid these shortcomings which are not inherent in the system, and thereby reduce the number of the unemployed, the threat to the employed cutters, and make it possible to raise still further our standards in the shop.



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Saturday, Dec. 25, 1937 No. 144



A SPECIAL Session— No Less!

The present session of Congress must go down in history as the greatest do-nothing body in all of Washington's great do-nothing history.

Perhaps the let-down would not be so low if the build-up had not been so big. This was no ordinary session. This was a special session. It was summoned to meet certain emergency problems.

Viewed in terms of what it accomplished, this Congress met in order to roll up an expense account in order to pass a piece of legislation to pay for its expense account.

Unemployment

The farce becomes a tragi-comedy against the background of America today.

Congress met almost simultaneously with the beginning of the new crisis. Jobs were needed. Additional relief was needed. Business had to be stimulated by expanding the market and work had to be given through public works.

What is the Congressional record on the matter of the new crisis? A clean slate—it did absolutely nothing!

Wages and Hours

Congress was called in special session to finish unfinished business. Far and away the most important single piece of unfinished legislation was the wage-and-hour bill. At the last session, this bill got stuck in the Rules Committee and could not be dragged out of the committee mud.

What did the special session do? By a mighty effort, it dramatically pulled the wage-and-hour bill on to the floor and then sent it back to committee, without recommendations.

War Crisis

Congress met to find itself faced with a war crisis. There was a Neutrality Law, passed by Congress, and disregarded by the President. There was a war in China which EDR refused to recognize. American ships were sunk while nosing about waters in which they did not belong.

At the very height of the crisis, when America was demanding apologies from Japan, and Japanese generals were charging America with "startin' the fight," when the war danger became real—what did Congress do? It ups and goes home!

What's behind this little bit of Congressional burlesque?

The present Congressional paralysis arises from a divided will. Congress has forsaken its leader. Its leader has forsaken leadership. And both leader and led founder in the legislative swamp that is now Capitol Hill.

The Congressional revolt against the New Deal, which began at the last session, continued right thru to the present. Those who blocked Supreme Court reform, who killed the wage-and-hour bill at the last session, were responsible for preventing any progressive legislation at this session.

For a few days, it appeared that this conservative grouping in Congress would set itself up as an organized bloc.

The strategy of the president, in this special session, was to give the reactionary bronco a free head, to ride the horse, with the hope that at the appropriate moment he could rein in the runaway. The conservatives had a free rein all through the session; they gave the president a rough ride; he was carried along, with a broad smile on his face.

In the final days of the special session, when Roosevelt tried to assert himself by turning the Congressional head in the direction of the wage-and-hour bill, he found that he was no longer master. Roosevelt was defeated.

This is Roosevelt's second great defeat. The first was on the Supreme Court. The second was on the Wage-and-Hour bill.

Roosevelt has two roads before him: go along with the reactionary trend in Congress, as he has vacillatingly done; or, organize a liberal bloc.

Should he choose the second path, which is not unlikely, he faces a split in his own party. He may, in return, gain solid recruits in the form of William Allen White's new liberal Republicans and from Labor's Non-Partisan League. It may prove the Rooseveltians' only way out, short of complete surrender to the Liberty League and the Bourbon South. Should they choose this way, there would be a big shake-up in American politics.

AT THE FRONT



With *How and Then*



BEFORE me as I write is the first page of a newspaper which appropriately regards the foreign news of the day more important than anything at home. Here are three of the headlines:

"Soviet Executes Eight Leaders, Karakhan Among Victims"; "Spanish Loyalists Drive into Teruel After Big Aid Raid"; "Colonel Hashimoto Ordered Panay Firing. Political Influence Bars Punishment of Leader in 1936 army coup in Tokyo."

Of these three headlines the one about the advance of the Loyalists is immensely to the good. When I was in Spain I was at the Teruel Front and found a very fine body of men, well led, well fed, and with an excellent educational program. This advance of the Loyalists is especially encouraging because Franco's aggressive seems so long delayed. His superiority in troops, counting the Italians, apparently isn't helping him much.

The New York Nation recently reported serious divisions in the insurgent camps. Meanwhile although the unity we want on the Loyalist side is not yet attained at least a process of actual liquidation of men for no other crime than left-wing criticism of government seems to have been arrested. And this is to the good.

To turn now to the Far East. If it is true that Japanese discipline is so shockingly bad as this headline indicates that fact ought to lessen the fear of those who have regarded Japanese militarists as supermen who can turn from the conquest of China to the conquest of the world.

On the contrary, it seems clearer than ever that these militarists will not long be able to maintain their conquests in China against the opposition of the Chinese, the hostility of the Russian, and growing unrest at home.

The patience of the American people has been good. While the tone of Secretary Hull's statement about the presence of American gunboats and marines in Chinese territory is non-aggressive, nevertheless the Administration is making a serious mistake in continuing a form of intervention in foreign affairs which always had imperialistic aspects and which is now fraught with danger of recurring incidents like the firing on the Panay. There has been plenty of time to evacuate American citizens and there is no justification for the maintenance of our forces in China. President Roosevelt should hear from the people on this subject.

RUSSIAN PURGES

The worst news is from Russia. Is there to be no end of this purge? No end of charges unsupported by evidence that can stand before the bar of decent working class or public opinion? No longer does Stalin even bother with public trials. He uses only Star Chamber tribunals. More and more the news that comes out from Russia parallels news that we would expect from fascist countries where dictatorship is absolute. More and more it becomes necessary for socialists to insist to the whole world that the thing which is happening in Russia is not socialism and is not the thing that we hope to bring about in America or in any other land.

When the methods of Stalin in certain important respects so closely parallel the methods of Hitler one is obliged to give more credence to the belief of responsible European writers like M. W. Fodor and Willi Schlamm that an understanding between Stalin and Hitler is not an impossible development in international affairs. I think it unlikely but clearly not impossible, and the obstacle to it is at least as much the fanaticism of Hitler as the Communist loyalty of Stalin and his bureaucratic

associates in the administration of a totalitarian state.

LUDLOW RESOLUTION

There are no specific panaceas which of themselves will prevent war. We have always insisted that in dealing with the outlawry of war, disarmament, and the other proposals which have aroused so much hope. We must still insist on that fact in examining the LaFollette-Ludlow amendment to the Constitution which provides for a referendum before the United States shall declare war except in the case of invasion.

To socialists no more than to pacifists can a majority vote make a particular war right. Moreover, it is always possible for a President to confront the electorate with a situation which makes war virtually inevitable. Indeed, he may take a leaf out of the pages of recent history and get us into war without declaring war. That is the modern fashion.

Nevertheless with these warnings in mind I think the new amendment is a good one to support simply because it is likely to make a capitalist war somewhat more difficult. The very arguments of the opponents of this measure make me favor it. For instance, if the President meant to condemn the proposal by saying that it was not representative government he missed the whole point. If it is necessary to get a popular vote to incur certain kinds of debt how much more should it be necessary at least to get the approval of a majority before conscripting their sons' lives for war?

The practical difficulties of which certain writers are making much are chiefly difficulties if one wants to use war as the continuation of diplomacy without consulting the people. Thus, the New York Times has argued that the proposal will weaken us in the eyes of other nations; that it will prevent a vigorous diplomacy; that perhaps the American Navy might suddenly be sunk and still we couldn't declare war. To the last objection the question immediately arises: "What would the American Navy be doing in waters where it might likely be sunk?" We ought to have a restraint against sending it there.

And if this amendment encourages such restraint, so much the better. The other objections are really arguments for dictatorial direction of foreign affairs rather than for democracy and they have no weight except for those who think that we ought to have democracy at home but let a President use the national force secretly for his own ends in foreign affairs. The amendment itself is good.

Nevertheless let me repeat, not even that amendment will keep us out of war if we are to go on listening to Communists and others who tell us that a league of capitalist states can be used to get us the kind of peace that socialists want. Again I repeat, today there is no practicable collective security or collective quarantine of aggressor nations which does not mean the overwhelming probability of war, and representatives of the League for Peace and Democracy have no right whatever to advocate their program unless they are willing to admit that under certain highly probable circumstances they favor war. In the latter case they have no right to oppose the most effective preparation for war.

CONGRESS DOES NOTHING

News from Congress isn't good. The housing bill will do very lit-

tle to break the recession. It means government guarantee of risks with private profit to private individuals. The rate of interest the government has laid down puts loans out of the reach of the wage workers who most need better housing.

The particular Wages and Hours bill which was finally lost in the House of Representatives was a very poor bill. It is nevertheless a real defeat for the workers that at this crisis a good bill was not passed, and for that defeat a large part of the blame must go on the division between the A.L. of L. and C.I.O. That is only one of the prices that labor must pay for its internecine war.

Worse than the defeat of the Wages and Hour Bill was the passage by the Senate of the Farm Relief Bill in its present form. The farmers have a legitimate economic grievance. Heretofore they have made a bad use, from their own point of view, of their disproportionate political power in the House and Senate. And now if this is the kind of bill they want, they are making up for it with a vengeance.

There is, of course, not one interest among farmers but many. Farmers who are primarily consumers of the basic crops; farmers who are only day laborers in the fields, or sharecroppers will profit little or none at all by this bill. Some farmers may be helped by the subsidy, but it is no solution for the agricultural problem. It is not an approach to scientific planning for agriculture, but makes such planning worse because it perpetuates the present status quo with minor revisions in the interest of soil conservation.

It perpetuated what is as a kind of divine order. The complicated provisions of the Senate bill will tend to further bootlegging in agriculture, bureaucracy, and high prices. There is no scientific reason for fixing parity in a changing world at the relationship between agricultural and industrial prices which existed twenty-five years ago. It is the fault of capitalism rather than of a particular bill that agricultural planning is planning for scarcity when we need abundance. But this bill exceeds what might be forgiven to it on account of the capitalist order. It is worse even than capitalism need be.

PICKETING

There is no justification for the extraordinarily stiff sentences imposed by Magistrate Burke on certain Horn and Hardart pickets in New York. His manner was most unjust in conducting the trial of these same pickets. As a matter of tactics labor ought to consider carefully the kind of picketing that is likely to be most effective, taking into account all considerations, including among other things, the public's reaction.

But it is not the business of magistrates to impose vindictive sentences on zealous fighters for labor's cause, not unless those magistrates want to show that in New York we have men who can rival Hague over in Jersey as an enemy of liberty and fair play for workers.

The unions also do well to denounce the promotion of Harry Lobdel to be Deputy Chief Inspector in command of the police in Brooklyn. In sanctioning this promotion, Mayor LaGuardia sanctions the wrong kind of policing and jeopardizes the comparatively good reputation his police department was making in dealing with strikes.

Democracy and War—2

REVOLUTION AND PEACE

By Gus Tyler

THE World War need not have ended in a post-war settlement so stupid and unjust that from it there should spring a new crop of wars and dictatorships.

Out of the ashes of the last war there arose a new life. The great empires of the Czar, the Hapsburgs, and the Hohenzollerns collapsed. Power had fallen out of the nervous and enfeebled hands of the old imperialist rulers and had passed into the hands of the masses of Eastern and Central Europe.

In Russia, Hungary, Germany and Austria a new class was rising to seize power and to wield it in the interests of the masses. This new class, the city workers with the peasantry supporting them, could have built the kind of world within which the fear of war and fascism would never be felt.

This new power could have torn the system of war up by the roots. The great imperialist empires, which had been constructed for the greater glory of the capitalist profiteers, would have been destroyed with the destruction of the profit system itself. The masses, with no interest in exploiting people of other countries, could have given them complete liberation. The international working class, ordering its economy on a cooperative rather than a competitive basis, could have laid the foundations for a world of peace and freedom.

All this could have been done. But it was not done. Instead of a working class Europe, there remained only a workers' Russia. As a working class island in a capitalist sea, the Soviet Union, which might have grown very rapidly into a Socialist society, rapidly degenerated into its present bureaucratic status.

What was it that arrested the workers' march to power in the years after the war?

Capitalist Intervention

In part, the responsibility for the failure of the working class to come into power in the post-war years rests with the policy of the majority workers' parties themselves. An abiding faith in the curative powers of capitalist democracy caused the mild labor leaders to refrain from a drive for

workers' power which might endanger the bourgeois-democratic state. Rather than act, "unconstitutionally" they permitted the decisive power to return to the hands of the old capitalist exploiters, with their reactionary army, courts, ministers, police.

But the timid "social-democratic" labor leaders are not solely responsible for the failure of the working class to seize power.

Primary responsibility for the fact that true democracy, expressed in workers' states, did not come into being, rests with the so-called "democratic" powers of the world.

The Hungarian proletarian revolution was crushed under the heel of the Rumanian armies, backed with French and English money and ammunition.

The German Revolution was halted by the threat of the Allies that they would be in Berlin within twenty-four hours, if the workers took power.

Likewise in Austria,

Against the Soviet Union, the great democratic powers of the world—England, France, and the U. S.—sent armies of counter-revolutionary intervention.

Allied bayonets restored the reactionary Horthy to power in Hungary. Wilson's threats restored the old junker lords to control of the army, the schools, the courts, the lands of Germany. The "democratic" powers preserved the bases for capitalist dictatorial reaction in Austria.

Basis for Dictatorship

Out of the capitalist basis, established by the Allied powers after the war in Eastern and Central Europe, has now arisen a host of dictatorships.

The "democratic" powers of England, France and the United States carry full responsibility for the birth and growth of the dictatorships in Austria, Hungary and Germany. The "democratic" powers, by preventing the workers from destroying the roots of war and dictatorship, made virtually inevitable the rise of the present fascist systems.

The actions of the "democratic" powers were responsible for the crushing of the working class

revolution, the reestablishment of capitalist power in Europe, and the rise of dictatorship and war danger.

The liberals who placed their faith in the "democratic" powers to establish a world of peace and democracy during the last war were doubly betrayed. The post-war treaties were in complete violation of all liberal and progressive ideals. And the post-war actions of the "democratic" powers were directed at destroying the only firm foundation for peace and democracy in the world: a workers' Europe. Out of these capitalist-minded policies arises the present world danger of war and fascism.

Revolutionary Road to Peace

How can such a betrayal of the interests of world peace, of international democracy and of working class ideals be prevented in the future?

Certainly, the mistakes of the liberals and workers who supported the last war must not be repeated. The policy of backing "democratic" capitalist powers against "autocratic" or "dictatorial" capitalist powers has proven itself false: for, from the victory of the "democratic" powers arises a system which can only repeat the pre-war system, with its dangers of war and new dictatorship.

From a new war must arise a world of peace, treaties of true peace; and these treaties can only be written and carried through honestly by working-class powers.

The rule of the capitalist class must be broken in every country if there is ever to be a world of true peace and secure democracy. And this rule can only be weakened by weakening the bulwarks of capitalist rule: the capitalist army, the capitalist political machine, the imperialist system, the private ownership of the means of production.

The struggle for peace must be a struggle against all capitalist wars, against support of every war conducted by any capitalist government. The struggle for peace must be a struggle for workers' power. There is no other road to peace!

VOICES FROM SPAIN

Some weeks ago, before all Left Socialists were prevented from speaking in Loyalist Spain, two leading representatives of the Spanish working class had

the opportunity of addressing that working class publicly. In view of the fact that it is highly improbable that these men will be able to speak for some time to come, we reprint here a few of the significant ideas from their addresses.

Pascual Tomas, vice-secretary of the UGT gave the concluding speech at the convention of the National Federation of Hotel Workers of Spain. Speaking of the slander campaigns being carried out against the working-class organizations and leaders, Tomas challenged:

"Give to your words the sense of definite accusations, accompany them with positive proof of whatever you charge, and if you succeed in proving a single one of your accusations, we shall accept without protest the verdict of condemnation. But if you do not prove them—as you will never be able to prove them—then we demand, in the name of working class honor, that the pen which was capable of such defamation

never more be granted the privilege of writing."

After touching upon the past struggles of the UGT, Tomas concluded:

"The years have passed, the political regime of our Spain has changed. And today, when we return, as sowers of ideas, to those same towns which we visited in other times, we are surprised to find that our greatest enemies of those days now come forward sheltered and protected by an ideal which they neither feel nor understand nor will ever be capable of assimilating. Has the military rebellion had enough power of transformation to change so profoundly the mentalities and feelings of our traditional enemies?"

"No. What has happened is that certain people, anxious to obliterate their past actions, have sought shelter in political parties which can serve them for their perverse intentions. The working class, that class which for so many years endured political and trade union violence from its

secular enemies, today doubts the sincerity of the words which they proclaim from their recently acquired ideological positions."

Galarza Speaks

It will be remembered that the reason given by the Communist Party for instigating the governmental crisis of last May was the administration of the Ministry of the Interior by Angel Galarza. It was Galarza who had refused to bring the full military pressure of the Central Government to Catalonia to be used against the anarcho-syndicalist and POUM workers.

Not long ago, at the installation ceremonies of a new Socialist local near Valencia, Galarza gave the chief address. The first part of his speech was taken up with the history of the struggles of the Spanish workers, the October events of 1934, the formation of the Popular Front, etc. The essence of his analysis is given in the following paragraph:

"Democracy, that democracy for which it is now fashionable to say in our slogans that we are fighting, what kind of democracy is it? The democracy of all the States which we know, except Rus-

sia, has one characteristic, it is capitalist democracy. And I ask: Can the Spanish Socialist Party continue to struggle for capitalist democ-

racy? Are we going to give the best of our youth, the blood of our men, the lives of our leaders and the ideas of our thinkers to the struggle for capitalist democracy?"

"If that is the case, believe me, comrades, some day the dead will arise from their tombs to insult us and to tell us that we have been traitors to our own ideas. For, what is more, there is no one who can save capitalist democracy. Capitalist democracy is either destroyed or is converted into a fascist regime."

May Days

The last part of Galarza's speech contains detailed, factual analysis of the May Days in Barcelona and of the relationship of the Ministry of the Interior to those events. Galarza pays particular tribute to the two anarcho-syndicalist ministers, Garcia Oliver and Federica Montseny, for their disciplined cooperation.

"This anarchist cooperation," he concludes, "is due

to the work of Largo Caballero, who knew how to bring to the responsibility of power a most important section of the Spanish people, the anarchist section, the CNT, by saying to them: 'We are struggling for the ideas of the entire proletariat, and you have no right to refuse to accept responsibility. Come and govern together with us, responsible like ourselves for defeat as well as for victory. Ah? but govern as it is necessary to govern, with force, with discipline, with order.' And today the CNT speaks to us of discipline and of order and of law. And they have not given up their ideals. What they have done has been this—they have realized that, in order to conquer, one must submit to everything and, since they want to conquer, they have submitted.

"If, in a political party, there are offenders, I shall arrest them, and there are courts to judge them. But I shall not dissolve by force political parties which are anti-fascist, this I shall never do."

(Reprinted from Spanish Information)

The Call Views the Theatre

Presenting the Workers' Angle on Current Stage and Screen Offerings

CLASS ANGLE

Explaining Our Point of View—

By Michael C. Arcone

This week, the year's last, is the time when our colleagues on the capitalist press hold their post-mortems and pass out the accolades on the year's gifts to the entertainment-seeking public. These accolades are, of course, all unofficial . . . later the Pulitzer Committee, the Critics' Circle and the Motion Picture Academy will meet and pass out official judgment.

Unfortunately your reviewer will take no part in any of these awards, official or unofficial. But that doesn't prevent this column from having its say.

Let it be made clear at the outset that we have our own peculiar standards and criteria when it comes to evaluating the theatre, the screen, literature, or for that matter art in any form. We insist on looking for propaganda. For we believe that all art has a class angle. Sometimes it may be obscure and hard to find . . . sometimes it is so evident that it just smacks you in the face. But it is always there.

What is offered the public in the way of stage and screen entertainment falls into one of two categories . . . either a crystallization of reality or an escape from reality. And in the first category it can either present the case for or against the working class or attempt objective and neutral analysis. In the second category it serves only one purpose . . . to wean the working class from the analysis and consideration of its role in the social and economic structure.

Unfortunately about ninety percent of what is offered on stage and screen today falls into the second category. This is understandable. We know that the entertainment industry is a kept industry. We know that next to its press, it is the most efficient weapon capitalism can command. The banks own Hollywood and Hollywood, through agreements and contracts with the theatrical producers, owns Broadway. And thirty-five million men, women and children a week go to the movies or the theatre. Figure it out for yourself.

Enough about the escapism of the current stage and screen. What this column is chiefly interested in is the small ten percent which falls into the first category. And with this in mind, let it be said there that an extra-literary, and extra-dramaturgic, extra cinematic criterion must be set up for the judgment of anything which attempts to deal with any phase of the class struggle. And the basis of this criterion is that such art must be in the language of what great stratum of society which it attempts to reach, that the realities which such art crystallizes must be immediately evident to its audience; of this criterion is that such art must be in the language of that great that the criticisms which such art seeks to make must be basic and immediately understandable.

With this in mind it follows logically that such theatre and such cinema must spring from an actual contact with the working class, with the industrial and economic systems, with war and fascism. Its language cannot be the language of the parlor radical, its reactions cannot be individualistic, it cannot be cerebral and intellectual. It must of necessity spring from deep convictions, anger, and a scientific understanding of what it attempts to portray.

Unfortunately the commercial movie and theatrical producer finds no profits in anything that will conform to the above outline. And your commercial producer is in business to make money. It may be true that once in a while a Warner Brothers will produce something like "The Life of Emile Zola," but even in this the box-office was very, very carefully considered. First of all, Paul Muni is enough of a box-office attraction to bring in the shekels, regardless of the subject of any film in which he appears; and secondly, one suspects that Warner Brothers reckoned that there was a sufficiently large liberal and radical audience to make a "Life of Emile Zola" financially worth while for Warner Brothers. Your reviewer cannot help thinking of about a dozen films that could be made, important from a working-class point of view, which will never be screened because there is no box-office in them.

And here a contradiction seemingly arises. The entertainment industry, as has been said, is a kept industry. But the entertainment industry will give the public something else beside escape entertainment if the public will pay for it. This has been proven time and again. The Theatre Guild, in the days when it had some courage, staged Ernst Toller's "Masses and Man." And "Tobacco Road," certainly no flattering picture of a certain phase of the evils of capitalism has run for over four years on Broadway, the second longest run in New York theatrical history. And Sam H. Grisman, a producer known principally for making money out of the theatre, has pushed forward and taken over "The Cradle Will Rock," that vital and valid labor opera which was reviewed in this column last week. To say nothing about the way Broadway producers are chasing Harold Rome, who wrote most of the skits for Labor Stage's "Pins and Needles." And about Sam Harris, who sponsored John Steinbeck's "Of Mice and Men." Profits first, always.

But the contradiction is not as curious as it may at first seem. Profits first, of course, out of the growing audience which is demanding something of social significance in its entertainment. The entertainment industry will give social significance . . . up to a certain point and up to a certain time. But when the crisis comes, when the class-struggle comes to a head . . . the entertainment industry, as will the press, the schools, the church, will line up against the working class, on the side of its keepers.

This is to be expected. And this is why we are grateful for a sound labor theatre like Labor Stage, and in lesser measure, for independent groups like the Mercury Theatre, for the small group of film workers who produced "Millions of Us;" these are encouraging signs.

Perhaps we have harped too long on class angle in this column. We don't mean that we cannot honestly enjoy the escapism of a play like "Amphitryon 38" or a movie such as "Le Kermesse Heroique." We can. We like to get away from the storm and stress of the class struggle on occasions. And so should all workers. But workers should understand such entertainment for the escape devices which they are . . . and get back to reality once the curtain is down.

CALL BOARD

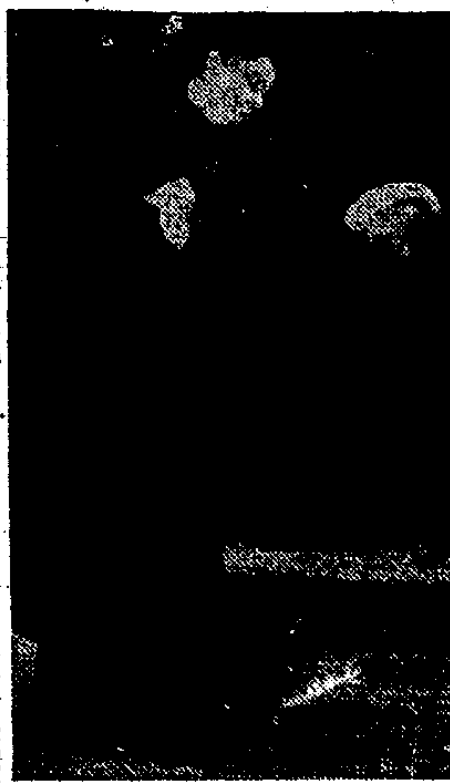
The Mercury Theatre, in association with Alex Yokel, Broadway producer, will send out a road company of "Julius Caesar," early in January. The cast will be recruited from the Mercury repertory group, with Orson Welles directing. The list of towns where "Caesar" will be shown has not as yet been released, but all indications are that major cities will be played. Which should give CALL readers in large centers a chance to see this modern version of a Shakespearean tragedy which has galvanized the New York theatre going public. By all means, don't fail to see it if it comes to your city.

Marc Blitzstein, who wrote the music and libretto for "The Cradle Will Rock," is working on another show titled "No for an Answer." Production is promised for early in 1938. "The Cradle Will Rock" opens at the Windsor Theatre on January 3rd.

December 29th will see the opening of "Straw Hat," a fast moving comedy by Kurt Unkelbach, satirizing the summer theatres of New England. To be more specific "Straw Hat" will bring to the Nora Bayes Theatre the Eagle Beach Players of the mythically famed summer theatre at Eagle Beach, N. H. It is promised as something slightly daffy, and may be one of those things that are pure entertainment. Which is sufficiently rare for us to take notice.

"Pins and Needles," the ILGWU presented intimate labor revue which is attracting Broadway attention is an anomaly. Although the cast is composed entirely of members of the ILGWU, it is completely non-Equity. This very appropriately named revusical started as a week-ender, but is now playing nightly at Labor Stage, the 299 seat theatre at 106 West 39th St. Regardless of the fact that the show has gone commercial, Equity regulations do not ap-

Et Tu Brute



Scene from the Mercury Theatre's "Julius Caesar" which is due to be presented in major cities beginning early in January.

Hanya Holm Dances Dec. 28-29

December 28th and 29th will bring Hanya Holm and an ensemble of thirty dancers to Mecca Auditorium for a presentation of "Trend," a dramatic dance epic originally composed for the Bennington Festival of 1937 as the Workshop production of the Benning School of the Dance.

"Trend" undertakes to deal with a colossal subject. According to its program note it is "a picture of the processes of man's survival when the usages of living have lost their meaning and he has fallen into routine patterns of conformity."

Under Miss Holmes choreography this emerges not as a collection of dances but as a unified dramatic entity. The protagonist is the group rather than the individual, and personal virtuosity yields entirely to the greater powers of

ply. Admission is at \$1.50 top, without tax, since the presentation is not for profit. Although there has been some talk of the amateur players in "Pins and Needles" joining Equity, there is little likelihood of their agreeing to pay dues in two unions. The cast was recruited from dress shops and rehearsed for many months before the opening. Some may give up their jobs temporarily, although the small capacity of the house and the admission scale will permit only small salaries.

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Communist Party Rejects Invitation by Trade Union To Debate Tyler on War

The following letter was sent by the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union to the Communist Party, after a series of letters in which the Communist Party had refused to send a speaker to a symposium run by the Union.

“Communist Party, New York District
50 East 13th Street
New York, New York
Dear Brothers:

On November 5, 1937, the following letter was sent by the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union to the Communist Party, New York District.

“Dear Brothers:
The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union is planning a symposium on War to be held on Thursday, November 16, at 7:00 o'clock. This symposium is being run in conjunction with the Forum Division of the WPA.

We should appreciate it very much if you would designate a speaker to present the Communist Party point of view and inform us of your choice.

(Signed) Phil Heller, Educational Director
JOINT COUNCIL KNITGOODS WORKERS UNION

On November 12th, the following reply was received by our Joint Council.

“In reply to your letter of November 5th, we regret that we must decline to participate in the symposium on War which you have arranged for November 16th.

The reason is that the other announced speakers, namely August Tyler and James Cork, in their most recent addresses have taken in general a Trotskyist position and in regard to Spain, a position that is criminally anti-working class and which in fact helps enormously the fortunes of Franco.

This Trotskyite position present in the form of support to the P.O.U.M. is conspiratorial and disruptive, with obvious motives that we have exposed time and time again. Further debate is unnecessary.

On the other hand, if you would want a straight-forward presentation of the role of the Communist Party in the Spanish people's struggle against Fascism, please write me again and such a lecture will be arranged.

(Signed) Alfred Brooks
Another reply by the Communist Party, Kings County Com-

mittee reads as follows:

Ravings Of Tyler

“We sincerely regret that circumstances with which we were unacquainted until a few days ago make it impossible for us to accept your kind invitation to speak at your Union meeting.

“We are informed that a certain Mr. Gus Tyler is also speaking that evening and that the occasion is somewhat in the nature of a debate. While the Communist Party welcomes every opportunity to place its position before the masses, it is unwilling to be a party to a performance that can be nothing but a trying ordeal to an intelligent trade union audience.

“We are pleased to participate in debates, especially with conservative people, for we see in that a method of clarifying the party's position and possibly winning additional adherents. But we would indeed be selfish were we, to accomplish this end, submit you to the ravings of hypocritical, unscrupulous phrase-mongers.

“At some future date as can be arranged we would like to have the opportunity of presenting our program on peace. While it is quite possible that you may not accept our full position, we are certain that an intelligent discussion would result in a greater unity in action against War and Fascism which is the greatest menace to mankind today.

(Signed) H. Newton
For the Kings County Committee of the Communist Party”

Your refusal, through the above two letters, to participate in the symposium, was taken up at an open meeting of our Council. The Communist Party as well as any other political party or group has the right to refuse to send its speakers to present the position of their tendency before any organization. However, the Joint Council could not accept these two letters with-

out replying, since in the above mentioned letters you state that the Joint Council invites Fascist speakers to Union meetings. Those who invite such speakers must be Fascists themselves.

Union Not A Party

Our Union takes exception with you on this question. We maintain that a Union is not a political party. Although we are not pure and simple trade unionists, as was proven in the last Municipal election, still we do state that a trade union has separate functions from that of a political party. There are several political tendencies within the labor movement, and as a progressive Union we invited all tendencies to discuss the question of War, which is a burning issue today for the working class throughout the world.

If our Union, or any other union, should adopt your position, it would mean putting a political strait-jacket on a labor union, and making it the tail-end of a political party. A Union takes in all workers in any given industry where that union functions, and the only requirement for membership is that the workers must work in that particular industry. No political passports are asked for, or should be asked for, and our Union is no exception.

We do not think we have very much to gain from discussion with conservatives. Also, we do not think that the labor movement can gain very much from discussing problems concerning the labor movement with such types as Father Divine or Rabbi Goldstein, or even with the leaders of the American Jewish Congress. It is our duty to convince workers and their organizations, to make them move forward. Although we do not underestimate the role of the middle class in the economic, social and political life of our country, we must base ourselves mainly on the working class.

The reply from the Kings County District of the Communist Party, that you are ready to discuss these questions with conservatives, and labeling leaders of working class organizations Fascists and Franco's agents, will not bring the proper results in the fight for unity of the working class which you claim, but by applying such tactics and methods you will only bring more division.

Unity Is Needed

Unity is not an abstraction. It is deeds that count. Although on one hand you cry unity, on the other hand you are trying to oust from the labor movement Trotskyites, Lovestonites, etc.

This is not the way to unify the ranks of the working class.
Louis Nelson, Manager

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GERMAN Branch. Meets second Tuesday of each month. Yorkville Labor Temple, 343 E. 84th St. G. Hoffman, Organizer.

Chelsea Br. Meets every Wed at 301 W. 29th St. Victoria Hikim, sec'y.

BRONX

5TH A.D. Meets every Wed. 7 West Burnside Ave. Harold Reisman, Sec'y.

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As Comrades to Comrades let us advise you that it pays to be insured where it pays.
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NEW YORK'S NEEDIEST CASES

Comrades: Please remember that the Christmas season . . . we hope that yours has been a very merry one.

What you don't know; what few of our readers know, is that the five members of the staff of the Socialist CALL have been receiving an average salary of less than \$7.00 a week for over a year and a half . . . we now owe over \$7,000 in back salaries to the comrades who have had to do the day-by-day work of putting out the CALL each week. And salaries on the CALL, that is, what the staff of the CALL is supposed to get, are set at absolute minimums.

Rush any funds you can spare . . . A dollar, two, five, ten, twenty-five or fifty . . . this money will go to the staff of the CALL for back salaries . . . which will make their Christmas pay-day a much merrier occasion than CALL pay-days have been for the past year and a half.

Socialist Call Xmas Fund
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Shall American Students Support The Coming War

THREE years ago the student anti-war movement achieved unity and the American Student Union was formed at the Columbus convention. For the first time since the world war, the movements led by young Communists and Socialists joined forces to fight against war, repression, and insecurity. Joining with them in answer to a nationwide call were hundreds of young progressives, liberals, pacifists, and others not affiliated with the radical political movements. They too felt that the time had come for joint action in these fields, and came to work out a common program, upon which all could agree.

A realistic appraisal of the student anti-war movement from 1920-1935 will show that leadership and organizational strength came largely from those groups who were fighting on the political field for a fundamental social solution to all world problems. The Socialist and Communist Parties through their youth sections, organized anti-imperialist peace movements chiefly on the college campuses, and attracted a group of several thousand sympathizers around their respective organizations. The Socialists initiated the student strike against war and brought to this country the Oxford Pledge which was the symbol of opposition to war and imperialism among the militant students of England.

Despite the sudden shift in the line of the Communist movement on War and defense of the Soviet Union, it became possible to reach agreement on an anti-war program. Basically the program of the ASU today is that united program agreed to by Communist and Socialist students of three years ago this convention.

The most important item in the program of the new ASU was the fight against imperialist war. The other points of the program, while important, were not vital to unity. The program as adopted in Columbus and reaffirmed in Chicago last year, was vigorous and to the point in its non reliance upon any imperialist governments to oppose war. The program cites the imperialist basis of the last World War, the maintaining or acquiring of empires for which governments sent their workers to the trenches; and the false issues of "democracy" and "war to end war" for which the mass of people in 1914 and '17 were led to believe they were fighting.

The program specifically cites the League of Nations and the Kellogg Peace Pact, as well as the treaty of Versailles, as being political instruments of the enriched Allied nations to maintain their world domination. It states that these instruments can never be used to maintain the peace, but will always be tools to the end of imperialist ambition and will be employed to justify a new war rather than avoid it.

The Oxford Pledge

The core of this program was the Oxford Pledge—"not to support any war the United States government may undertake." Those who formed the ASU, who wrote this program, who have confirmed the program unanimously for two years, and who have taken the Oxford Pledge for longer than that, agree on one thing: These students are united in their agreement that opposition to war must be worked out on a basis of a popular movement of peoples, independent of their governments, united through organizations of the working class. War crises may differ and war "incidents" are unpredictable; but this basic program is the root of all war opposition.

This program supported by Communist for three years now is being opposed.

In a few days the ASU convenes for its third national convention. It has become apparent since the strike against war this spring and particularly in the last two months on the campus that the ASU faces a sharp division on the

war issue. World events have increased rather than decreased the possibility of a major war and with the crisis shifted from Spain to the Far East, the imperialist interests of the United States are seriously involved for the first time in recent years.

Press headlines, the Panay incident and statements by Hull and Roosevelt all show a fast growing interest in the Chinese conflict and a strong sentiment to hurl the economic and military strength of America against the aggressions of Japan in China. And in parenthesis, it must be said that Japan's aggression is directed at America and the western powers who have exploited China for years for their benefit.

Collective security is raised as the slogan of preventing war in 1938. Led by the Young Communist League, a campaign has been waged all fall against the ASU program.

Young Communists

It is contended that the Oxford Pledge around which the student movement has been unanimously united for three years, is "narrow," "isolationist," "out-of-date," that it prohibits aid to Spain and is in effect pro-fascist, and finally that it offers no program for the present and is only a threat anyway. The Oxford Pledge, says the YCL, must be removed; the references to the Kellogg Pact and the League of Nations deleted; the term "imperialist war" dropped; it is implied, that the explicit opposition to the ROTC and the American armament budget must be stricken out of the ASU program. As a substitute for these points, the ASU, they say, should adopt a full program of collective security.

The significance of these changes is worth careful consideration. The question becomes, do collective security-ists have faith in the strength of their own program to stop war, or are they mentally prepared to support a war in case collective security leads in that direction?

Earl Browder, well known spokesman for the Communist Party, said on October 1st of this year, in response to a question as to whether he would bear arms as a citizen of the United States in defense of this country.

"There was a time, in 1917, when I tried to prevent conscription because I objected to that imperialistic war, but I went to prison for it. If there was a war today, it would certainly be with one of these Fascist countries that are tearing the world apart, and I certainly would join the army."

Is Earl Browder a proponent of the anti-war movement?

Later in October, Dave Grant, Massachusetts state secretary of the Young Communist League, testifying before a state commission to investigate subversion activities, made the following statements. He did not believe in doing away with the National Guard and CMTG, or in abolishing the ROTC; he would "defend" the United States government in war

and fight in its army; he would not take the Oxford Pledge, and he did not differentiate between "imperialist democracy" and "soviet democracy." Is Dave Grant really interested in opposing an American war against Japan?

Back Roosevelt

Collective security-ists have been rallying behind Roosevelt since his Chicago speech in which he called for a "quarantine of the aggressor." Through Roosevelt, they say, will come a vigorous and effective peace program of collective security among the democratic nations of the world, led by the Roosevelt to whose mounting war budget we have been steadily opposed.

This is the same Roosevelt who has just announced that "peace at any price is not my goal." This is the same Roosevelt who justly can be called American No. 1 militarist. This is the same Roosevelt, formerly of the Navy Dept., who has so assiduously protected American imperialist interests in Cuba, in South America, and who is now assembling American marines and gunboats in the Far East. It is not an idle rumor that the Panay was accompanying and protecting three Standard Oil barges when she was attacked and sunk.

These then are the direct results of collective security. They are no longer implications, but the announced policies and intentions of the leading advocates of collective security. The accusation has been made that the Oxford Pledge offers no program for the present, and hence that the ASU program offers none. What hypocrisy! The Oxford Pledge is the culminating and stabilizing challenge of the whole program upon which the student movement has been functioning for three years.

Is it difficult to find an anti-war program for today? No. The ASU can do many things not the least of which is support for the Constitutional Amendment calling for a national referendum in war time already approved by 218 congressmen. While the amendment won't bring peace it will serve as a hindrance to the movement of the war machine. The argument of Stimson in the New York Times of Dec. 22, that it promotes national disunity is actually an argument why those who want to hinder America going to war should support it. Many collective security-ites oppose this Amendment.

This was to be expected for the amendment would hinder the mobilization of America for imperialist war in the name of "democracy."

Continue Student Strike

The student strike likewise must continue. That many would have the student strike relax into a feeble gesture of goodwill with no content for positive action is no reason why it should be dropped. If the student anti-war forces really want students to say we won't support the next war, then the

student strike is needed as a dress rehearsal for that time just as much next year as last. Or we ask, is the strike too "out of date," or do its adversaries fear that it will be a hindrance when and if the US goes into the kind of war they contemplate supporting.

The issue at this convention is all too clear. The leaders of the collective security movement are deliberately preparing to support and agitate for a war of the United States against the fascist nations. They cry "fascism breeds war" but forget that war breeds fascism. If the American Student Union is to remain an organization opposed to war, it must act at this convention to defeat all proposals for economic sanctions and collective actions by the peace of loving nations, and vote to retain and revitalize its present program.

Parting of the Ways

However, no matter which way the convention goes, it should be pointed out that a definite parting of the ways has come for two groups in the peace movement. There can be no satisfactory compromise between one who is willing to fight for his imperialist government against fascism, and one who is not.

From the moment that one concludes that he would support a war of this sort, no matter how reluctantly, his every action is geared to a different wheel than it was before. He must support that imperialist government, not just at the time of war, but prior to the war. He must support it in the very policies that make for the war; he must join the drive to produce that war. Armament appropriations, pacts with other nations "for mutual defense," war credits, the actions of Congress, the statements and policy of the Secretary of State, all these things must be adhered to, one after the other, as the war machine gathers momentum.

There can be no common ground for these two groups, and if the ASU itself ceases to be against war, then other organizations will spring up that are. This situation is neither desirable nor avoidable. It is a fact.

Another issue stands out in pre-convention discussion, which is vital to the future of the American Student Union. It deals with democracy within the ASU. Joe Lash, in a speech in Philadelphia, pledged that he would introduce a resolution to the convention prohibiting the organization of progressive or other blocs within the ASU which are opposed to convention decisions. Such a sweeping resolution would mean the stamping out of any inner chapter discussion whatsoever, and would drive many groups straight out of the ASU. Groups and individuals who had joined this united organization on a basis of "one or more points" of the program as printed on the membership card, would find that they had to swallow the entire program or get out of the Union. Such bureaucracy would become intolerable and the membership instead of being inclusive of all progressive groups would soon exclude all except members of the

YCL and their immediate satellites.

No Bureaucracy

Let us realize that if Lash raises this cry at Vassar he will be echoing the cry of the Communists who, labelling all opponents "Trotskyite," want to stamp out opposition. If such inner democracy as exists at present is stamped out then it means that the ASU will simply become the football of a sectarian political clique.

Some chapter elections which preceded this convention are exemplary of what lack of democracy can mean in action. In New York, for example, proportional representation in all chapters was prohibited by a majority which, in some cases, was little over 50 percent of the membership. In Philadelphia, all chapters were instructed by the District Committee that their delegates had to vote for collective security simply because the district convention had done so (72-30). In other chapters, speakers supporting the ASU program were refused the floor for no better reason than that the majority opposed the program! Consistently, in every conceivable way, minority opinions and representation was shut out, and will not be reflected at the national convention, because of the tight listed control of those in office or in mechanical majority. Such can scarcely be the foundation for a successful movement that is to unite those of many varying viewpoints.

Those desiring to carry on the traditions of the United Student movement started at the convention must see this doesn't happen again.

Unite Forces Against War

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in a strenuous three-day meeting here, adopted a comprehensive anti-war program, including the consultation with leading labor and farm organization figures and forces on the calling of a Continental Congress Against War Action by the United States Government.

Major Points

The Central points of the anti-war program of the Socialist Party are:

1. Propaganda for the Socialist position against "collective security" and for neutrality by U. S. government in war in the East, particularly in the trade unions.
2. Popularization of the Socialist idea of trade union general strike against war declarations.
3. Local labor conferences and demonstrations against Mobilization Day plans of War Department as proposed for legislation in the Sheppard-Hill bill.
4. Boycott of Japanese goods through voluntary action of labor and its allies as against government action, and local boycott campaigns.