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# Socialist Call

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DEBATE  
ON  
PACIFISM

Page 7

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PRICE FIVE CENTS

## AUTO MEN HOLD SHOPS AGAINST DOUBLECROSS

### Debs Brigade Send-off Jan. 29

### Gas Raid at Briggs Begins New Violence

### Spain Hails The Action of U.S. Socialists

The newspapers in Spain, especially Barcelona, have been greeting the action of American Socialists in undertaking to send off an American contingent to the International Column fighting against Fascism in Spain.

Although only 500 men are contemplated for the moment, the Spanish workers know, from their experiences with the anti-Fascist fighters from practically every nation in Europe, that a few hundred skilled men can greatly aid their cause.

Money and men have come so quickly to the call for a Debs Brigade that it is now possible to send off the first contingent of men.

Meeting January 29.

The first contingent of the Debs Column of volunteer fighters to Spain will get its send-off on January 29 at a mass meeting at the New York Hippodrome.

The speakers will be Norman Thomas, Frank Crosswaith, James P. Burnham, Girolamo Valenti, Pietro Allègre, Louis Boudin, Leroy Bowman, Amicus Most and Jack Altman.

A vigorous drive to raise funds for the Debs Brigade is being undertaken on the West Coast through the offices of the Socialist Labor Action. More than 150 men have thus far registered on the West Coast for the Brigade.

**Amie Speaks**  
On Sunday evening, January 10, the Socialist Party of San Francisco held an emergency mass meeting to start the fund raising campaign. Hans Amie, first volunteer for the Western Division of the Debs Brigade, and Brother to Congressman Thomas Amie (of Wisconsin) spoke to the workers at the meeting. Humberto Rivas, Spanish speaker, and James P. Cannon, editor of Labor Action, addressed those present.

The Friends of the Debs Column, an organization of prominent men in public life whose purpose it is to raise money to assist in sending volunteers to Spain, has announced its list of sponsors. Among them are:

Louis Boudin, labor attorney; Ludwig Lore, Columnist; Professors Sidney Hook, James P. Burnham and Leroy Bowman; Norman Thomas; Clifton Fahman, Charles Yae Harrison, and V. E. Culverton, writers; Max Delson; Jack Altman; Girolamo Valenti, editor; La Stampa; Carlo Tresca, editor.

## MEN FOR SPAIN



### Carpenters! Vote No! in the 'Hitler' Plebiscite

Members of the Carpenters Union are now voting in referendum on amendments to their constitution submitted to them by their recent convention.

Carpenters will have to vote by February 16 of this year. There is little time left to settle the question. Yet in the few days between now and February 16 the carpenters shall decide whether their union, one of the wealthiest, and largest in the American Federation of Labor shall be—an air tight dictatorship or a democratically controlled organization of the workers.

Two questions are before the carpenters: one dealing with behavior at meetings; the other a change in the ritual. Both are aimed at the same thing: to strangle all free discussion and free belief within the union.

The first amendment, numbered question Number 10, is a blanket law against "disobedience of authority at a Local Union" meeting. This vague law can be made to mean anything. A union officer who shouts "Sit Down," or "Shut Up," to someone he dislikes must be obeyed. Otherwise, the objector will be "disobedient," a "disrupter," a "dissenter."

This is a political or religious body. It is a trade body. Every man who earns a livelihood in the trade...

### Goal of Majority Of Steel Workers Neared by Union

**PITTSBURGH.**—Swinging into the New Year, the steel unionization campaign takes on another phase. With the membership now over 125,000, lodges will be formed everywhere preliminary to a gigantic national convention of steel workers in the near future.

The show-down with steel management is not far away. Events which marked the end of the first six months of the campaign show that the unionization of steel is near an actual act.

Enrollment in the union is continuing at a rate which will soon make the entire industry more than 50 per cent organized. In many plants and steel towns that mark was passed long ago.

The forthcoming national convention of union steel workers was decided upon because of the speed of organization. It has been the policy in some sections of the country to refrain from setting up lodges, even where membership is strong. This was done for reasons of strategy.

But the lodges are now on and lodges will be set up. From the lodges delegates will be named to attend the convention.

### Violated Agreement

The meeting with the Flint Alliance stands in direct violation of the firm's agreement to negotiate with the Auto Union before meeting with another group.

Speaking of the Flint Alliance, so-called "workers' spokesmen," the union stated: "The Flint Alliance is in no sense representative of automobile workers, being composed primarily of businessmen and company supervising force. Boyesen, president, is head of a spark plug company and therefore a manufacturer himself, and Dexter Conklin, another officer, is a politician who was convicted of embezzlement while serving as City Treasurer."

**Attacked by Police**  
Attacks by police upon strikers have meanwhile been renewed. A tear gas assault upon one thousand strikers outside the Briggs Plant in Detroit marked the opening of the second chapter in the auto war. (It was outside the Briggs plant that five workers were shot to death three years ago.)

### The Battle for Industrial Unionism

**By FRANK N. TRAGER**  
National Labor and Organization Secretary  
DETROIT, Mich.—As the crucial struggle to unionize the auto industry completes its third week, the fate and future of the CIO and all that it stands for hang in the balance.

For there can be no doubt left in the minds of all class conscious capitalists and workers that the battle between the boss and industrial unionization workers sponsored by the CIO is a struggle for the future of the nation. This fight...

(Continued on Page Two)

(Continued on Page Twelve)

# A Workers' State, The Goal of Spain's Masses in Civil War

By JENNIE LEE

The following is an extract of an address delivered at the Annual Dinner of the League for Industrial Democracy. Jenny Lee is a former member of Parliament and an outstanding British Socialist.

In the October, 1934, Spanish rising, between two and three thousand Asturian miners were slaughtered, between six and seven thousand workers throughout Spain lost their lives, the prisons overflowed with sixty to eighty thousand prisoners and terrorism was rampant everywhere.

Those October days were the prelude to the present death and life struggle in Spain.

For a few brief months the anti-Fascist forces rejoiced in a too easy victory. They gained political control. They won 268 out of 473 seats in the Cortes in the February 1936 elections.

### Too Much—Too Little

But reaction has no respect for democratic rights. Reformists on the other hand have always much too much respect for property rights and in the end pay dearly for their ingenuousness.

The Popular Front Government for instance, left the old generals in power, irritated the grandees with minor reforms but left them their substantial wealth and privileges, made bitter enemies of the Catholic hierarchy by cutting the exorbitant state contributions in the Church but again left the major power and property in the hands of those who did not conceal their hatred of the reformers.

Franco launched his attack after years of preparation by the reactionary forces inside Spain, help in arms, cash and advisers from Germany and Italy, the connivance of the British Foreign Office, which knew perfectly well what was being planned in British-controlled Portugal but took no steps to warn the democratically elected government of Spain.

### Heroic Bravery

The Spanish workers answered with deathless bravery, fighting before they knew the rudiments of military science, defending their towns without knowledge of what was happening in other parts of Spain, and bridging, in a rough and ready way, the sectarian differences that occupied so much of the time of the left forces in less hazardous times.

Madrid is now the military center of Spain. Barcelona is where the fiercest ideological battles are being fought. In Madrid all other considerations take second place in the military necessity for a united stand against fascist tanks and bombing planes.

### For Workers' State

In those parts of Spain more remote from the immediate fighting and held by the government, the question asked is, are we fighting for a return to liberal democracy and private property or for a workers' state with economic power in the hands of the workers.

I am sure Spanish workers can be united on a revolutionary policy. They are in a revolutionary mood and feel that to ask less than all power to the workers is to dishonor their dead. I am sure that efforts either within Spain or from outside that seek to check the revolutionary spirit of those days, can create only division and dissension.

### EUROPEAN VOTE

Social Democratic par-tinavia rolled up a to- billion votes in 1936. In Finland, the ed 38.6 per cent. Similar parties 2.5 per cent; Denmark,

## Action Committee Instructs Locals On Spanish Funds

CHICAGO—The National Action Committee of the Socialist Party directs all locals and branches, if they have not already done so, to set up committees to be called the Spanish Solidarity Fund Committees through which all activities in aiding Spain should be carried out. To avoid confusion throughout the country locals which have already set up committees to aid Spanish workers under names other than the Spanish Solidarity Fund, take steps immediately to change the name to the one used throughout the country.

The National Executive Committee has appointed Norman Thomas, Devere Allen, and Max Delson as custodians of the Spanish Solidarity Fund with Marjorie Kipp as secretary.

All money raised by locals and branches through their Spanish Solidarity Fund committees should be sent immediately to the national Spanish Solidarity Fund committee at 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, so that no time is wasted in its disbursement.

### SOCIALIST TELLS HOW

Charles Sands, Socialist City Councilman of Reading, told a committee from 240 strikers against WPA abuses: "Unless the project workers organize and elect committees these actions will continue. Go out and build the Workers Alliance if you want to stop late pay-checks, lay-off, and other actions contrary to your welfare."

### NEWS MEN TO MEET

The newspaper men, organized into the American Newspaper Guild, will hold their 4th annual convention at St. Louis on June 7-12.

## Wants to Fight Fascism



Glenn Trimble, state secretary of the California Socialist Party, (right) interviewing a volunteer candidate who wishes to join the Debs Brigade to fight Fascism in Spain. And if he qualifies, the party is raising money to send him off.

## For Eugene Victor Debs Column



A typical scene at headquarters of the Friends of Debs Column, 41 Union Square, New York, which is raising funds to send 500 men to Spain. Left to right, Henry Volotin and Ted Steger, two volunteers; Jack Altman, secretary-treasurer, Amicus Most, chairman of personnel; and Hal Siegel, executive secretary.

## Debs Brigade Send-off Jan. 29

(Continued from Page One)

Il Martello; Amicus Most; Murray Baron; Brendan Sexton, Chairman of New York Workers' Alliance; A. Phillips Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' Union.

### Transportation

The secretary of the committee, Mr. Siegel, states:

"The committee will definitely not seek to enlist or recruit volunteers to serve in Spain. Hundreds of men have volunteered to serve the forces fighting against Fascism. Our purpose will be to raise sufficient money to provide transportation for those among them who have the necessary qualifications."

Local New York of the Socialist Party announces that for three successive Saturdays, beginning January 23 it will conduct tag days to raise money for the Debs Brigade. Three loud speaker trucks will tour the city, rallying public sentiment behind the campaign.

## Jobless Protest Relief Slashes In Wash. March

By BRENDAN SEXTON

Washington saw the greatest national demonstration of unemployed and relief workers ever held when 3,000 delegates from 30 states converged there, on January 15, to demand decent relief and expansion as well as continuation of WPA.

By the power and drive with which they answered the call of the Workers Alliance to demonstrate on that day these workers loudly voiced their opposition to the administration's attempt to deny them jobs.

Over a line of march which carried them past every important focal point in the city, the demonstrators chanted and sang their way.

The White House was serenaded with cries of, "Before election, yes; after election, no! We can't eat pink slips; we want jobs! WPA Must Go on! and, "Give the bankers home relief, we want jobs!"

Committees representing the marchers called on Roosevelt, Garner, Speaker of the House Bankhead, and Sibley of the Chamber of Commerce. From each of these they got the usual run-around. Garner answering their demand for the fulfillment of election promises with the advice to "Call on the President, I didn't make any promises."

Mr. Roosevelt was, of course, not at home when the demonstrators, led by David Lasser, rang his doorbell.

The highlight of the demonstration came when Alvin Braacke, President of the South Dakota Farm Holiday Association, and national board member of that organization, stirred the crowd with a militant call for solidarity of the workers both employed and unemployed and working farmers.

Among those outstanding in the leadership of the march were many prominent socialists, including David Lasser, the Rasmussen brothers, from Illinois and Indiana, Nelson Meagley, from Toledo, and Lee Morgan from Cincinnati.

The National Board of the

### Socialists Demand Action on WPA Cuts

CHICAGO — The following telegram was sent to President Franklin D. Roosevelt by Roy E. Burt, national executive secretary of the Socialist Party.

"Workers' Alliance demands for WPA workers and unemployed must be granted to avoid mass starvation and hardship. Divert funds from military budget to WPA. Congress must seek additional funds through higher income and inheritance taxes and capital levy. Create union scale jobs on low cost housing and other public works. "Socialist Party, U. S. A. Roy E. Burt, national executive secretary."

Workers Alliance, meeting directly after the march, heard reports on, and made plans for the continuance of, the dramatic job and local action which have been carried on, under its direction in recent months.

### WAA MEETS

The Workers' Alliance of New York announces that there will be an important City Central Committee meeting on Friday, January 22, 7:30 o'clock, at 101 West 28 Street.

### WATCH THE WRAPPER

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**97 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!**



# Tenant Farmers Convention Asks Land Ownership

By AARON LEVENSTEIN

MUSKOGEE, Oklahoma.—The convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, whose official membership is 30,827 after two brief years of existence, closed Sunday

after a four-day session, demanding that the federal government take steps to provide the tenant farmers with land and that it establish agencies for the defense of farm tenants and sharecroppers.

The hundred and fifty delegates in attendance, representatives of the disinherited in six southern states, victims of the worst brutality ever unleashed against a labor organization, came from points as widespread as Arkansas and Texas. They included in their number Negroes, whites, Mexicans and Indians, their clothes or overalls in many cases mere crazy-quilts of patches.

## Possession of Land

Fundamental was their insistence on a program which would "provide that all actual tillers of the soil be guaranteed possession of the land, either as working farm families or cooperative associations of such farm families, so long as they occupy and use the land."

It declared that "since the organization of farmers into cooperatives for the purpose of owning land and tilling the soil together has been found to be the only way of insuring to those who actually work the land the full social value of all they produce, be it resolved that the Convention go on record as favoring the organization of producers' cooperatives." It endorsed the Delta Cooperative Farm at Hillhouse, Mississippi.

Other resolutions demanded the protection of the law for union organizers and the maintenance of civil liberties for sharecroppers; the establishment of special bureaus under the various departments of labor, instead of the department of Agriculture, to be concerned with the needs of farm workers; the abolition of scrip and commissary stores on plantations; the requirement by law of written contracts between landlord and tenant to avoid the "crooked pencils" of the planters; and the amendment of the Social Security Act, even though inadequate at present, to include farm workers and sharecroppers.

## Only Farm Laborers

Considerable discussion took place on a proposed amendment to the Constitution calling for the admission of small farmers into the union. It was finally unanimously rejected, after some parliamentary confusion, on the ground that the union was primarily interested in farm laborers, though small farmers will still be permitted to enjoy all rights of membership on the basis of supporting the union's program.

Stirred by a religious fervor, delegates sang hymns and union songs, many of their own composition, and rose to deliver one minute "testimonials," relating their sufferings in behalf of the union. Most tragic were the accounts of flogging and beating suffered by the Arkansas sharecroppers, particularly during last summer's cotton chopping strike.

Baxter Howard, Mississippi delegate and refugee from Arkansas, told of his flight to Memphis where he was finally kidnaped by deputy sheriffs from Arkansas, carried back without extradition and severely beaten so that he suffered permanent injuries. The union is contemplating civil suits in the Federal courts.

"I got beat up, but it takes that to make a union," Howard said, as the delegates shouted, "Amen." J. D. Emerson, of Colt, Arkansas, referring to the March of

Time film in which he is seen leading a picket-line, brought cheers from his fellow-delegates when he said, "I don't care if the planters did see my picture!"

An account of Governor J. Marion Futrell's visit to the tent colony maintained on the Arkansas roads for evicted union members was given by Negro delegate Bob Butler of Parkin. "Governor Futrell advised me to get out of the Union and said we were being fooled by outside agitators. I told him the union leaders were all Arkansas people. He said they were making money out of us and I told him that our dues were just ten cents a month and if we don't pay it, they don't turn out nobody. 'I won't leave my church for nobody,' I said to him, 'and I won't leave my union.'"

W. J. Fleming, Texas delegate, who described himself as "just a broke-down cowboy from Lubbock," told the convention of efforts to organize Negro and Mexican sharecroppers in his state. "We've all been in the ditch, on the ditch and everywhere," he said, "and that's why white people and Negro people and Mexican people are sticking together in one union."

## Ceremony of the Land

Climaxing the convention was the Ceremony of the Land, annual ritual prepared by Howard Kester and Evelyn Smith, with Kester reading bible verses applying to the subject of exploitation and the delegates reading responses church-fashion.

"Yesterday we begged for mercy," the delegates recited, "today we demand justice: All power to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union."

At the close of the ceremony, the delegates collected handfuls of soil from different heaps brought to the convention by state delegations from their native fields and mingled them together as a symbol of the unity of the farm workers in the states in which the union is organized.

## Butler Re-elected

J. R. Butler, Socialist candidate for governor in Arkansas last year, was re-elected President of the Union and E. B. McKinney, Vice-President. The newly elected executive council includes: Howard A. Kester, Odus L. Sweeden, Leon Turner, J. F. Hynds, W. L. Blackstone, Rev. O. H. Whitfield, D. A. Griffin, Lee Phillips, J. A. "Swede" Johnson.

H. L. Mitchell, well-known Southern Socialist, was later re-appointed National Secretary by the Executive Council.

Greetings to the convention were received from Norman Thomas, John L. Lewis, William Green, Harry W. Laidler, Murray Baron, and many others.

## Three Shoe Unions Plan Amalgamation

BROCKTON, Mass. Plans for uniting three unions of shoe workers into a single organization have been completed. Powers Hapgood, representing the Committee for Industrial Organization, negotiated the unification.

The name proposed for the union to be formed through the amalgamation is "United Brotherhood of Shoe Workers." The combined members of the unions will be about 40,000. One of the first objectives of the

# Tenant Farm Union Leaders



These are some of the people present at the third annual convention of the militant Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. In top picture, left to right, are Arthur Skeberg, director of Commonwealth College; Blaine Treadway, assistant manager of Delta Cooperative farms; Otis L. Sweeden, national vice-president of the union. In lower picture, left to right, are Rev. W. L. Blackstone, member president's commission on farm tenancy; H. L. Mitchell, prominent Socialist, re-elected executive secretary of the union; Dave Benson, executive secretary of Workers' Alliance; Rev. Claude Williams, Socialist candidate for U. S. Senator, flogged in Crittenden County, Ark., last spring by planters; Howard Kester, Socialist pamphleteer and member of the union's executive committee.

## Strike Against GM Aids Unions

CLEVELAND.—The wisdom of the auto union in concentrating its attack on General Motors first is becoming clearer as the strike goes on.

The Ford Motor Company is anxious to continue operations as long as possible at this time in order to take advantage of the General Motors strike. The successful conclusion of the Kelsey-Hayes and Midland Steel strikes is largely attributed to the fact that they are feeders to the Ford Motor Company. As a result, the Ford Company insisted that these strikes be settled so that Ford may continue to receive necessary auto supplies.

Bert Lochan, Cleveland organizer for the Mechanics Educational Society, took part in successfully negotiating a settlement of the Michigan Tool Company strike called by the MESA. The Michigan Tool Company makes tools for Ford, and the strike was settled upon the insistence of the Ford management.

proposed new union will be the launching of a big organization drive, with CIO cooperation, to organize 175,000 unorganized shoe workers.

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## LID Announces Its Season Lectures

The League for Industrial Democracy announces the beginning of its program of lectures on a nation-wide basis.

The cities where plans are under way are: Erie, Buffalo, Rochester, Wilkes-Barre, Ithaca, Peoria, St. Louis, Urbana, Anderson, Flint, Lansing, Detroit, Pontiac, Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Louisville, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, Houston, Austin, Dallas, Tulsa, Kansas City, Poughkeepsie, Long Branch, New Orleans, Memphis, Akron, Providence. In every community a representative committee to sponsor the lectures has been formed consisting of individuals with influence in different groups. The lectures have become more and more a rallying point for those interested in coming to grips with basic problems. The speakers this year will be:

Roger Baldwin, Roy Burt, Mary Donovan, Eston Everett Ericson, Marian H. Hedges, Jesse Holmes, Edward Israel, Howard Kester, Harry W. Laidler, Jennie Lee, E. C. Landeman, Frank McCallister, Broadus Mitchell, A. J. Muste, Scott Nearing, Walter Rautenstrach, James Rorty, Maynard Krueger, Gerhart Seger, Joel Seidman, Tony Sender, Tucker Smith, Dr. J. Struik, Norman Thomas, Goodwin Watson, Morris Watson, Roy Wilkins.

## Socialists Push Health Benefits

NEW YORK A campaign throughout the state in behalf of a system of health insurance was launched by the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its monthly meeting.

"The United States has been criminally negligent of its sick," declared the committee, of which Harry W. Laidler is chairman. "In practically every major country in the world, except the United States, India and China, some form of compulsory health insurance exists. In the United States, however, when an individual is sick, no matter how poor he is, he is usually left to shift for himself, unless he is a case for a public hospital."

The committee outlined a proposed bill, providing for a state insurance fund, cash health benefits and health services, medical services to the insured and his dependents, administration of the health insurance system by a General Insurance Commission.

## REMEMBER?

"The present claim of the Automobile Workers' Union to speak as the sole bargaining agency for General Motors, does violence to the principles of the President's settlement of 1934." New York Times, Jan. 19.

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### WHAT MEANS THE STAY-IN?

"Very quickly the stay-in must bring the workers into conflict with the capitalist state. There is only one way to break the stay-in—kick the workers out with the armed forces of the state. In defense of 'law and order' (that grand phrase for the protection of capitalist exploitation) factory after factory will become the battleground for miniature civil wars."

This the CALL wrote on January 2. Shortly afterward we received a number of letters from some of our readers advising us that we were a bit too hasty. America was not in a mood for any war of bloody clashes.

Scarcely a week had passed, however, before we were compelled to report that the Fisher Body plants Number 1 and 2 were really converted into a miniature battleground for Civil War—baby Austin model. It is important to note in this connection that while workers very often have illusions about the logic of these events, the class conscious leaders of capitalism very seldom have.

Here are just a few excerpts from one of America's foremost reactionary journalists, David Lawrence on the sit-down strike. We reprint them as a warning and advice to the American workers:

"Carried to its logical conclusion, it means, if sustained by public opinion or by the courts, the following things:

"1. A man who comes in to fix the electric light or the plumbing or lay the carpet can demand an increase in his pay or refuse to let the occupants of the house use the property in question.

"2. A group of employees of a store can seize the cash register or the keys to the storerooms and keep the proprietor from getting access to either one or both.

"3. Employees of a railroad can take possession of trains and not allow the railroads to move them until demands are met.

"4. Elevator employees can take possession of elevators and refuse to allow anybody to get into them to reach upper floors unless the management pays the wage increases demanded.

"5. Garment workers can seize the machines and the clothing on which they are working and refuse to allow machines or goods to be shipped out of a plant . . .

"There is plenty of State law on which to base injunctions against trespassing strikers and to restrain 'sit-down strikes,' but so is there plenty of law in Pennsylvania to prosecute the miners and others who are stealing and selling what is known as 'bootleg' coal. So also was there plenty of law under the Volstead act, but few convictions by juries for many offenses committed during the prohibition.

"There is a large number of persons who honestly believe they have a right to seize other people's property because they believe the workers have equal rights with proprietors. Something of the same philosophy was back of the destruction of the rights of private property in Russia under the communistic regime. Likewise, in Europe the 'sit-down strike' is being plainly recognized now as a form of revolution.

"On the outcome of Michigan's experience with the 'sit-down strike' will depend the nature and extent of labor conflict in the United States in the year 1937, which it was confidently believed would be a year of real recovery, but which may turn out to be a year of frustrated hopes and faltering business, as well as a year in which, unless checked by public authority, communistic theory of revolution by physical force may derive from the ranks of the workers its greatest support thus far in America."

### SAVE THE CALL!

Do you want the CALL to fight? Or do you want us to be a paper preaching pretty nothings?

It's up to you!

Our policy in the last months has been a clear one. We stand for the interests of the militant working class and for revolutionary Socialism. We state that position without compromise. We apply that position to every one of the important situations before the working class.

We take our stand behind the Debs Brigade—while publication after publication sabotages the movement or falls away. We take our stand against all forces that will weaken or corrupt the strength of the workers on the industrial and political arenas of America. Week by week, you have seen us fighting, striking out on all sides.

We know that we have won many friends by our policy. We have also won enemies. But all that most of our friends have done up to now is write us letters or pay us lip compliments about how much they like us, about how they look to us for leadership, about how needed we are.

Thanks for the bouquets. But that won't keep us alive—and that won't give you paper. We mean business. But do you?

Do you really want a fighting paper? If you're as serious as your letters to us say you are, get behind the campaign to SAVE THE CALL. And do it now!

## The People's Front in Action



These policemen of the French Popular Front Government are not breaking up a demonstration of Fascists; they are charging a demonstration of municipal employees of gas, electric, hospital and transport services, who are demanding wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. In graphic form this picture tells us that the capitalist state as an instrument of working class oppression continues to function in France, even with a People's Front regime. Nothing less than the destruction of this military and police backbone of the capitalist state and the creation of a workers' state can end the rule of capital over labor.

## Negotiators Don't Win Strikes

To the Editor:

Your coverage of the automobile strike to date has been complete and informative. Congratulations.

I happen to be one of your readers who is far more interested in events in this country than in repercussions of inter-factional radical rows abroad. On the general theory I suppose that a dog fight in one's backyard is more exciting than a revolution in China. I may be a hopeless provincial but that's the way I am.

More and more as I read the summation of the issues that are being fought out in the automobile towns of the Mid-West am I convinced that the old-fashioned methods of negotiation cannot work out successfully in this instance. Not that I have given up hope of collective bargaining but rather that I distrust these stuffed shirt negotiators, arbitrators, conciliators, etc.

In most instances they are more interested in preserving their reputations as peace-makers than they are in furthering the cause of the strikers. They go into negotiations as though they were "face-saving" expeditions and when the arbitrator finally announces to the press that he has settled the controversy in question, the strikers usually discovered that they have just taken another kick in the pants.

At this writing, early in this momentous week, just as negotiations were to start, the union discovered that it had been double-crossed again by General Motors. Instead of sitting down to genuine bargaining with representatives of a genuine union, General Motors announced that they were going to ask their trained Uncle Toms of the company unions to the party. No wonder President Martin and the CIO officials gaged at this. No wonder they were irate at the idea that after solemn promises to keep the struck plants closed during negotiations, GM began filling them up with sit-down scab-herders.

In short, I wonder how such all-important issues as those posed by the unionization of the auto workers can be solved by mere talk. At talk the bosses and the "outside negotiators" can always beat the representatives of the union.

As you have pointed out in your articles, it is economic strength which will eventually win this battle for the workers.

A tighter, better disciplined organization, a determination to see the thing through to the finish and to accept no negotiated palliatives and victory is ours. The idea of industrial unionism, first preached by Debs and the pioneers of our movement back in the days of the great railroad strikes, is sweeping the labor movement today.

It is the might of that idea, not the palaver of negotiators, upon which the workers must in the long run depend. As Debs said, the only people who will emancipate the workers are the workers themselves.

R. J. TRAVERS

Paterson, N. J.

### To Denounce And Deplore

To the Editor:

I hereby move that a John Haynes Holmes Column be organized and sent to General Franco to "denounce and deplore."

SYD DAVIN.

Chicago

### Sabotage of Spanish Workers

To the Editor:

I suggest that a marked copy of last week's CALL be sent to every contributor of the New Masses whose address you know. Of all the crimes committed against the American working class by the Communist Party and its semi-official organ, the New Masses, its glaring sabotage of practical aid to the embat-

ted workers of Spain is the most flagrant.

SIDNEY HOOK.

New York City

### Read and Re-read

To the Editor:

Your editorial, "The New Masses and the Old," in the last week's CALL was a wow! We spent a couple of hours reading it and re-reading it. The CALL is really stepping some. Keep up the good work.

### Jail Socialists for Showing Labor Film

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Two Socialists were arrested here last week just before they were to show a motion picture program to a mass meeting of the Workers Alliance.

Herbert Harris, state organizer of the Socialist Party, was arrested as he was preparing to throw the picture on the screen. George Lambert, state secretary of the Party, was thrown into jail a few minutes later.

The excuse for the arrest was the ostensible violation of fire laws. Harris declared: "The same type of motion picture projector and film that I was planning to use are in use in Memphis educational institutions without police protest. I wish to enter a strong protest against the petty methods used by Memphis police in suppressing the expression of opinions, orally or by picture." Memphis Socialists are contemplating suing the city for false arrest.

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# WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

THAT the process of the concentration of revolutionary forces is still continuing, in spite of had experiences in some countries and serious obstacles in others, is seen in a report from France that negotiations between the Socialist Party and the Party of Proletarian Unity have already ended in an agreement according to which the PUP will shortly join the SP. In a joint statement issued by the two parties the following information is given:

At the end of December a joint meeting of the Central Committees of the two parties was held. The first matter discussed—the question of unity—was settled by a unanimous decision of both central committees in favor of immediate unification. The PUP then declared that there being no fundamental differences between the statutes of the two organizations, they accept the statutes of the Socialist Party. Finally it was decided to have another joint meeting in January in order to adopt the final decisions to be submitted to the convention of the PUP and the National Council of the SP respectively.

The PUP is not a very large organization nationally, but it has considerable strength in the Paris suburbs, where the SP has been traditionally weak. It has some half dozen members of the Chamber of Deputies. Politically the PUP is somewhat to the left of the official policy of the SP, but does not have a consistently revolutionary position.

## Unity That's Not Unity

From Belgium comes news of a somewhat different character. There a kind of unity has taken place which may lead to an even greater division in the ranks of the working class. At its last convention, held Christmas week-end, the Belgian Socialist youth organization voted to merge with the Communist youth organization. The terms of the merger are not yet determined. We do not know on what program the merger will take place, nor whether the united organization will join the Communist or Socialist Youth Internationals, nor what the relation of forces inside the united organization will be. But one thing is certain. This unification cannot have any lasting beneficial results for the revolutionary movement because of the manner in which it was consummated.

On the eve of the youth congress, the Central Committee of the Belgian Socialist Party issued a statement opposing the merger, threatening with expulsion all party members who support this merger, and in effect declaring that it will proceed to the organization of a new Socialist youth organization should the merger go through. The statement discusses no political issues, but approaches the entire question from the standpoint of discipline, a standpoint certainly not calculated to make a strong appeal to the youth.

In the absence of the necessary documents, only two comments can be made on this situation: The leadership of the Belgian Party in fighting against unity with the Communists, gives no political justification for its position. In fact, on every important question, such as war, fight against Fascism, international diplomacy, it finds itself in agreement with the new line of the Communists. The youth, impressed by the militancy and revolutionary sounding phraseology of the Communists, and seeing no substantial difference in essential policy, develops a desire for unity.

If the leadership of the Socialist movement everywhere wishes to forestall such sporadic unity, they must do it by a principled struggle against the Communists, and not by one based on prejudice or name calling. That is, they must fight against the Communists from the point of view of revolutionary Socialism. No other method can bring results. So far as the youth is concerned, the revolutionary Socialists must impress upon them the absurdity of partial and sporadic unity.

## Impartial Trotsky Trial Looms

In spite of the efforts of the Soviet government and of the Norwegian government to prevent an impartial hearing on the Moscow trials in one of the European countries, it appears as if such a hearing may yet take place. In Trotsky's name, a Prague lawyer has brought suit against Rude Pravo, organ of the Czech Communists, Rote Fahne, their German organ, and International Press Correspondence because of various articles published in these organs in connection with the Moscow trials. In accordance with Czech procedure, a meeting of the two sides took place in an effort to reach an understanding, which, of course, could not be arrived at. Both sides were therefore given time to prepare their cases and appear for trial at a future time.

Unless the Soviet Government, through diplomatic pressure, succeeds in squashing this suit, as it did in Norway, the international working class may yet witness a "trial" on the "Moscow trials." And it surely will not be satisfied with a rehash of the tripe which passed for "evidence" at the Moscow trial.

# AN AMAZING DOCUMENT ON EVENTS IN CHINA

By HAROLD R. ISAACS

In a recent article in the CALL, (January 2) we stated that the offer of the Communist International to form a bloc with the butcher, Chiang Kai-shek, meant "in plain language, that the Comintern and the Kremlin will strangle if they can, any revolutionary action by the Chinese workers and peasants."

A few days later there appeared locally in "China Today," a magazine that expresses the official Comintern viewpoint on Chinese questions, a translation of a letter written by Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party. Mao's language in this remarkable document is more explicit, more forthright than anything that has yet been said in these columns concerning the Comintern's readiness to liquidate the Chinese revolution in favor of a new bloc with the Chinese ruling class.

## THE LOWEST DEPTHS

Anyone who still doubts the lengths to which the Moscoveters are ready to go should by all means read this communication from the Chinese Browder-Thorez. We shall quote here only the choicest passages. The National Salvation Association, a bourgeois outfit, to whom Mao's letter is addressed, had issued a statement which contained the following paragraph:

"What we expect is that the Chinese Communist Party must manifest in concrete actions its sincerity . . . in the districts occupied by the Red Army, a lenient attitude should be maintained toward the rich peasants and merchants; in the big cities efforts should be exerted exhaustively to avoid such labor-capital conflicts as would weaken the anti-Japanese power" (i. e. the government—H.R.I.)

"Indeed," replied Mao Tse-tung, "this is how we should act, and it is how we have been acting!"

"We have already determined not to confiscate the land of the rich peasants and when they resist Japan we do not refuse to unite with them," continued Mao. "We do not confiscate the properties and factories of all big and small merchants and capitalists; we protect their enterprises and help them develop their business . . . As to all active anti-Japanese officers and landlords (sic), we do not confiscate their land and properties."

" . . . Concerning the labor-capital problem, in the Soviet districts (sic) we have formulated the minimum conditions for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers. Labor and capital have concluded agreements in accordance with the practical situation of their respective enterprises and all unnecessary strikes and sabotage are avoided. Former laws providing for superintendence and management of enterprises by workers have been repealed. The workers are advised not to press demands beyond the capacity of the enterprise. In the non-Soviet (sic) districts, though we support the improvement of the living conditions of the workers, we similarly do not wilfully intensify the anti-capitalist struggle."

" . . . The joint interests of capitalists and workers are built on the foundation of struggle against imperialist oppression."

" . . . We consider it a mistake to raise such slogans as to overthrow such and such a class or such and such a party in the united front."

## WHAT MORE COULD THEY ASK?

No ruling class could ask more sweeping guarantees against any threats to their power than these!

The Chinese Communist Party has "determined not to confiscate the land . . . etc." What will hap-

pen if the peasants rise of their own accord to seize precisely that land, just as they did in 1927?

The Chinese Communist party does "not wilfully intensify the anti-capitalist struggle." What will happen when the workers rise themselves to the struggle?

Mao Tse-tung makes it ominously plain that he and his cohorts will do their best to "correct" these mistakes. Peasant partisan bands in Central China, despite the papal bulls from Moscow, are still carrying on a guerrilla war against the landlords and against the Kuomintang, which represents the power of the landlords. Of these Mao says:

"As to the partisans in Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi, Fukien, Chekiang and other places who have not yet followed the latest laws enacted by us, this is because, owing to various hindrances, our instructions have not yet reached them. Besides, the suppression campaign conducted there and the brutality of the massacres might (!) account to some extent (!) for their adoption of policies of revenge."

## NOT REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The struggle of the peasants in Central China for land is thus no longer one of the prime facets of revolutionary struggle but are merely "policies of revenge."

"We consider these policies of revenge to be a mistake," continues Mao. "We are quite willing to correct these mistakes of theirs immediately . . ."

What macabre jokes history plays! In May, 1927, Mao Tse-tung was a member of a special commission composed of Borodin, Tang Ping-shan (then a leader of the Communist Party) and others who left Hankow for Hunan to attempt to persuade the peasants there to "correct" their "mistakes" in seizing the land. A few days later the soldiers of the Kuomintang launched a campaign of brutal terror against the Hunan peasants and the sterling services of Borodin-Tank-Mao were no longer required!

Today, after a cycle of ten years as a leader of peasant armies, Mao can, without batting an eyelash, promise once more to "correct" these "mistakes" of the poor benighted peasants who did not seem, somehow, to grasp the niceties of Comintern "realpolitik."

(We refer Mao's letter in particular to Theodore Draper, of the New Masses, who has written to protest our "hay-wire interpretation" of the "new line" in China. If after perusing the Mao document he wishes to maintain his protest, we shall be glad to meet him, or anyone else, on any platform he names to debate the issue. This offer was publicly made to the "Friends of the Chinese People" many weeks ago, but has not been taken up.)

(Draper also protests a quotation in my article of January 2 which was credited to an article he wrote for the New Masses. The quotation read: "The Chinese Communists . . . are opposed to weakening the Chiang Kai-shek regime." Actually the quotation came from an advance release sent out by the publicity department of the New Masses, and was not included in the article itself. A phrase making this clear was inadvertently copyread out of my article by the managing editor.)

## TRIAL POSTPONED

FORREST CITY, Ark.—Trial of D. M. Benson, Workers Alliance, arrested while picketing in behalf of striking cotton choppers last June, has again been postponed by circuit court at Forrest City. Hearing on an application for change of venue will take place March 15.

# KILOWATT KLAN

By McAlister Coleman

THERE'S going to be a show-down mighty soon on the whole subject of utility ownership in this country. And its coming through the internal fight on TVA.

On the one side there's Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, Chairman of TVA. On the other are his two colleagues, David E. Lillenthal and Dr. Harcourt Morgan, backed by such powerful supporters of public ownership as Senator Norris.

On the very day Norris announced that he would ask immediate action by Congress to stop such injunction processes as the private utilities have brought against TVA, Arthur Morgan comes out with a long statement urging surrender of TVA to these same injunction-seekers. For that in effect is what Morgan's plea for "cooperation" with the utilities amounts to.

Chairman Morgan says that his is a "personal view" and is not to be taken as official. It is, however, the view of those forces inside TVA and out, who want to see the whole power project abandoned, and there's no use kidding about it.

## What's Called 'Business Decency'

Morgan's statement is as clever as most of the power propaganda is stupid. But anyone can get the point. He says in short that we must not be rushed into public ownership of power, that although the kilowatt plan has not always been on the up and up, a whole lot of new men are taking charge of private utilities and that these newcomers have a sense of American business decency.

Now what in the hell, Dr. Morgan, is that "business decency"? You say yourself that when you were President of Antioch College you were subjected to all sorts of adverse propaganda by the utilities and that you were approached with a proposal to take part in undercover work for the k.k.'s in the public schools.

Now, however, you say you have discovered, "a change in the quality of leadership of the power companies . . . Public-spirited, forward-looking men are coming into control of some of the large systems." Sure, and the Republican Party is going to look out for the welfare of labor and the Democrats are going to conserve the interests of the Southern share-croppers and Roosevelt is not going to cut the relief rolls and—

What are you giving us, Doc? When Norris drove the National Electric Light Association, chief power propaganda body, out of business, we heard the same song that you are singing now, on the lips of the power gang. Forward-looking, public spirited men were going to run things and the old bad crew was to be scrapped. What happened? They got up the Edison Electric Institute to take the place of the defunct NELA. And who was the great-hearted, public-spirited citizen that was chosen by the gang for president of the reform school?

Who other than our old friend Thomas N. McCarter, President of Public Service of New Jersey, one of the most incorrigible old calawags of the lot. The same McCarter that has been leading the fight against TVA since the very beginning of the project. The purple-jowled plute that with his monopoly of electricity, gas and transportation is burning the pants off the down-trodden consumers of Jersey.

## We're Being Rushed, Are We?

So run along with your story of the reform of the private power pirates, Dr. Morgan. Tell us some more about us being rushed into public ownership. That's news. I am on the dangerous side of fifty years and for the best part of those years I have been fighting for public ownership. Even when I was a callow youth, I remember old men who showed the scars they had won in the peoples' fight for ownership. In those days it was the railroads and waterways. Now it is electricity, in this power age. And far from rushing any masses into the fight, we had all we could do to drag a corporal's guard of consumers into even putting up a decent row for the ownership of things which belong to the public by every conceivable law of Nature or man.

The upshot of Morgan's eloquent plea is that the mild TVA yard-stick deal be abandoned and a "pool" be formed where the TVA should sell its surplus power to the private companies at about what it would cost the private companies to generate their own power. Then the companies would promise not to build additional generating stations until they got rid of TVA power. Isn't that fine and dandy for the private companies?

Morgan's services on behalf of the people come to a definite end with that statement of his. The sooner they are officially dispensed with, the better off we will all be. If President Roosevelt means what he has been saying for years about the need for public competition with private monopoly in power, he will lose no time in giving Dr. Arthur E. Morgan his walking papers. It will be interesting to see what "the liberal champion of the consumer" will do.

## PARTY PERSPECTIVES—NUMBER FOUR

# Labor Forces in the U.S.

Prepared by The CALL EDITORIAL BOARD

The most vital movement on the American scene for those who seek the reservoirs of power for a future American revolution is the giant stirring of the workers in the basic industries. To guide this gigantic force into progressive and revolutionary political channels is the most immediate task before the Socialist Party.

The rising organizational efforts of workers on the economic front in autos, rubber, steel, maritime and related key mass industries is the most significant outcropping of labor militancy today.

## BASIC INDUSTRIES MUST BE ORGANIZED

The fate of the workers in the basic industries is important for two reasons:

First, because unless these workers are organized we can not seriously speak of a labor movement which can vitally affect the life of America;

Secondly, because workers in all industries, white collar and petty industries, will draw inspiration and leadership from the struggles of the workers in the basic industries.

Until these workers in basic industries, therefore, are organized, all talk of effective mass struggle against Fascism and war on the class struggle front is meaningless.

But the opposite is also true. The virility of the masses will be dissipated in futile gestures against war and Fascism unless revolutionary elements can successfully disseminate their uncompromising political concepts into the daily struggles of the masses.

Because in the mass organizations of the workers in the basic industries lies the strength of the future fate of American labor, the first task of the Socialist Party is to root itself deeply in these organizations. Socialists must consider no sacrifice too great to win the confidence and devotion of their fellow workers. Workers test their brothers on the picket line. And every Socialist must meet the test!

## SOCIALISTS FIGHT AGAINST AFL SABOTAGE

Socialist will fight every attempt of the AFL to sabotage organization in the basic industries. While not forgetting for a moment that our uninterrupted objective remains unity in the organized labor movement, we must never be misled into accepting such a unity as will lock the bulk, and the decisive bulk, of organized labor, out of the American labor movement. We are for unity ONLY on the basis of industrial organization of the workers in the basic industries.

Because this is our immediate objective, the Socialist Party pledges its unequivocal support to the Committee for Industrial Organization in its organization drive among the basic industries.

Support in the organization drive, however, does not mean that Socialists agree either with the political perspectives or immediate tactics of the present leadership of the CIO. At each step, the Socialist Party reserves the right to differ politically or in union strategy from the predominant CIO concepts of today.

Socialists do not believe that the organization of the workers into a respected and accepted collective bargaining agency is the be all and end all of the struggles now being waged. Recognition of the unions does not end the day of struggle and begin the day of peaceful collaboration. Union recognition is but the beginning of new and greater struggles.

## 'LIBERAL' CAPITALIST LABOR LEADERS

These struggles—mainly against war and Fascism—we have outlined in pre-

## The Role of Reformists And Revolutionaries

vious sections of our perspectives. These struggles will tax the energy, the idealism, the ingenuity and the courage of the workers. In the light of these struggles, we must recognize the limitations of that philosophy at present dominant in the leadership of the more progressive forces in the American labor movement, and we must construct our program accordingly.

One element in the leadership of the CIO, such as Lewis, states very frankly that its perspective is not directed at a Socialist society. The union in the hands of such leadership can never train its members to do more than function within the framework of capitalism and to haggle for as much as capitalism will grant at the moment.

Such a leadership has no answer whatsoever to the dangers of new crises, Fascism and war. Because the only answer—as we pointed out in previous sections of this perspective—to these evils is sharpened struggle for workers' power, a non-Socialist leadership, lacking such a perspective, must, of necessity, accommodate itself to the inherent faults of the capitalist system.

As the full weight of a collapsing capitalism comes down on the heads of the workers, such a leadership must be nothing but an added weight hindering liberating action of the masses.

## THE ROLE OF REFORMIST 'SOCIALIST' LEADERS

Another element within the progressive forces, unlike Lewis, does have a Socialist perspective. But this perspective rests upon a reformist concept of the growth into Socialism.

In the clashes of the labor movement with the dangers of war and Fascism, the reformist leadership, despite its ultimate Socialist wishes, will look for salvation in political alliances with the liberal capitalist class. The theory of the Popular Front is the normal operating basis for reformist Socialism in all lands. The behavior of this group in the elections of 1936 proves quite conclusively how this current will flow the moment there is even talk of "Fascist" reaction. Instantly, it joins hands with "liberalism" and surrenders its class base.

And just as the "lesser evil" policies of reformism everywhere ties the hands of the workers in the fight against reaction, so too in America the policy of reformist Socialism must lead to the same consequences as in Germany—capitulation of the workers to Fascism.

## COMMUNISTS AS AGENTS OF REFORMISM

The Communist forces, being more political in approach than the reformist Socialists and the progressive capitalist labor leaders, give formulated political expression to their perspectives and methods. And here they stand shoulder to shoulder today with reformist Socialism: for the alliance with the liberal capitalist politicians, in a People's Front, behind a democratic war.

Although these three tendencies may differ from time to time, in any crucial or semi-crucial situation, their programs must be identical.

Their program, in time of crisis, is the program of class peace, a moratorium on the class struggle on the basis of the platform of the liberal bourgeoisie.

And the longer this crisis continues the more degenerate becomes the behavior of the working class leaders in the Popular Front, no matter how they got into it. The liberal bourgeoisie grows more desperate and demands greater sacrifices from the workers. The workers grow

more restless and begin, spontaneously, to violate the class peace pact. The Popular Front labor leaders, seeking hope only in class peace, become the evil messenger of the bourgeois reaction sent into the ranks of the workers!

The Socialist Party—with its revolutionary perspectives in the fight against war and Fascism—can not combat these false tactics of the reformist leadership by coming to the workers with theses on the nature of the capitalist state. Nor can it defeat the reformists by preaching about the glory of the cooperative commonwealth.

Both these methods of political combat are necessary. Leading and mature elements in the labor movement must be won over directly to the Socialist Party on the basis of our ultimate goal and our revolutionary methods. In the coming few years, because the Socialist Party is now just beginning to root itself in the living labor movement, our party must concentrate and emphasize this work of intense education of advanced elements.

But to limit our work to these activities would make of the Socialist Party a debating society or, at the best, a combined lecture bureau and educational society.

## PROGRAM OF MASS WORK FOR SOCIALIST PARTY

The Socialist Party can only root itself in the masses by formulating a program, first of all, applying concretely to the immediate needs and struggles of the masses, which, second of all, is derived from our revolutionary evaluation of the task before the working class.

Here we will find ourselves, willy-nilly, clashing with other political tendencies.

### a. Class Conscious Unionism

First, the maintenance of class conscious unionism on the industrial front.

## One-Man Arsenal



No! This is not Santa Claus or the bogey-man. This if you please, is a policeman of "democratic" America, equipped with gas mask, helmet, and tear gas bomb jacket, as he battles auto strikers in Flint, Mich.

This struggle, to settle matters first of all on the picket line, will, in the first instance, have to meet the opposition of the capitalist state and the more subtle employers, who will seek to settle all matters in smoke stuffed rooms. As the reformist leadership succumbs to the coaxing and pressure of the "liberal" capitalist state, the revolutionary elements will have to conduct their struggle not only against capitalists but also against those who are accommodating themselves to the threats or wishes of the capitalists.

### b. Trade Union Democracy

Second, the maintenance of trade union democracy. As the reformist leadership begins to accommodate itself to the pressure of the capitalists in class collaboration, it fears the "unreasonableness" of the workers. Increasingly it looks for salvation to the "democrats" and loses faith in the masses. The masses must be stifled, checked, controlled!

The Socialist struggle for trade union democracy is not just born out of a humanitarian love for free speech, etc. Trade union democracy is essential to maintain the fighting spirit, the will, the devotion of the workers for their own cause. The struggle for trade union democracy is as vital as the struggle for wages.

### c. Independent Class Politics

Third, the struggle for independent class politics. On election day, the Popular Front strategy against capitalism expresses itself in support of bourgeois candidates. In the trade unions it will no longer be, as it is no longer, a question of "politics or no politics." The question is: What kind of politics? Workers or bosses?

The fight for class conscious, democratic, politically independent organized labor action will express itself in myriad ways, in each union, in each situation. Socialists must organize to formulate these concepts into concrete programs in each case, and to press for them uncompromisingly. Such work, and such work alone, can win a mass following for the Socialist Party.

## A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OR—NO PARTY

Unless the Socialist Party is a revolutionary force on the class struggle front, it has no place in American life.

Reformism, of all shades and varieties, is already well represented, by large and well oiled machines. There is no room in the labor movement or American political scene for another reformist party.

The strength of the Socialist Party lies in adherence to a principled revolutionary course.

The Socialist Party must be a revolutionary party or—it must perish!

The rapid tempo of development in the America of today is a force for Socialist rejoicing and strength. Reaction is rising; but so is the militancy of labor. And at almost the same speed will labor have an opportunity to put "liberalism" and "reformism" to the test in the crucible of struggle.

The spread of the "stay-in" strike is a symbol and a test: a symbol of how American labor is slipping grades; a test of the "liberal" capitalist state and the doggedness of the labor movement. Such "stay-in" struggles, finding their counterpart in other fields where farmers, students, and unemployed devise methods of militant combat, will teach the masses lessons about the nature of the state, such as they might never derive from a thousand text books.

The Socialist Party, at its coming convention, must be aware of this speed of development. It must prepare—quickly—for the tasks before it. Conscious of the mission with which it is entrusted in this country, the Socialist Party must permit no obstacle to stand in the way of its organization—for the revolutionary tasks ahead. Let us be ready—the masses will not long lag behind; they may even race rapidly over our heads.



# Pacifism or—The Class Struggle?

## Workers Must Be Warned Against U. S. Reactionaries

By GUS TYLER

The variety of arguments the Pacifists are inventing to justify their opposition to the Debs Brigade is a tribute to the ingenuity of the human mind. But despite the variety of "reasons," these arguments are uniformly contrary to revolutionary Socialism on one vital issue.

Revolutionary Socialists are, first and above all, uncompromising partisans of the class struggle; Pacifists are not. Pacifists want peace—even if it means surrender to slavery!

Revolutionary Socialists proclaim the belief that, when workers are goaded by capitalists into the use of violence in order to win freedom, it is the duty of workers everywhere to stand with their fellow workers. And every skirmish in the struggle of classes must be used to dramatize and teach this lesson.

Pacifists believe that the class struggle must be subordinated to pacifism. Hence, when workers are ultimately given no choice except violence as in Spain, Pacifists refrain from direct support to the workers in the struggle. This is the basic difference!

**ARGUMENT AGAINST IS ARGUMENT FOR**  
Because we look at things from opposite positions, the strongest argument of the Pacifist against the Debs Brigade is really the best argument in favor of the column.

The Pacifists state: The Debs Brigade creates the impression that the masses should not put too much faith in so-called "democratic" and peaceful procedures.

We answer: if this is so, then so much the better!  
Do the Pacifists think that by telling the workers bed-time stories about how the capitalists will "peacefully and democratically" submit to the will of the masses they will avoid dictatorship and violence? The German Social-Democrats tried it. As a result they had it when the masses said: "Fascism doesn't give me two seconds of worry." (Times, March-8.) These sandman tales can only rock the workers to sleep—in the hour of greatest danger!

Some Pacifist comrades, such as Caroline Urie (CALL, January 9), believe violence could have been avoided in Spain if the Popular Front Government had taken vigorous political action by sweeping the Fascist officers from the army, giving land to the peasants, and freedom to Morocco. We agree that such actions would have weakened the reactionaries. But—

First, no Popular Front Government, the servant of the liberal bourgeoisie, ever can undertake such a program of class suicide; and

Second, these actions would NOT have avoided violence. Any vigorous action would instantly have precipitated civil war—perhaps at a better time for the masses, but civil war nevertheless.

**ARMY BACKBONE OF CAPITALIST STATE**  
We must never forget that the backbone of the capitalist state is an army officer's corps, with a body of men under its discipline, who are ready to fight for capitalism—even in defiance of a vote of the cabinet and the legislature. And this applies to "democratic" America as well as "democratic" France and "democratic" Spain.

Let us quote the testimony of Major-General Smedley D. Butler, who thus describes the backbone of the American capitalist state, the War Department and the regulars:  
"This clique lives a life apart from the ordinary civilian. It has its own laws—the Articles of War, it is above ordinary civilian processes. It is its own judge and jury combined. Its loyalty is to itself, to

the profession of the military—its leaders, not our country, are the object of that loyalty. Consequently it breeds a certain irresponsibility of action and a disrespect for elected officials and the law . . .

"They have no high regard for democracy as such. If a President should become a dictator, as Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces, he could count upon their support to the last man . . .

"The generals, besides being reactionary and possessing the backwardness of the military mind, are so closely identified with Big Business that the status quo is their first consideration. The average War Department officer is forever hoping he can step from his lowly office into some big industrial vice-presidency or be another Harbord with RKO. The generals, too, look with soft eyes upon Wall Street and banking, and when they retire they hope, oftentimes with success, to enter these fields. They have a large stake in the present and the future of the system." (Common Sense, October 1935).

These words are written about America, not Spain where identical conditions made civil war—in-avoidable!

We repeat: if the Debs Brigade lets the American workers see their future in the mirror of Spain—then so much the better. Perhaps, then, the American workers can avoid some of the errors of their Spanish brothers!

**A LINE WHICH IS REACTIONARY**  
In trying to cloak their pacifist principles with "practical" arguments, the above signed Pacifists evolve a line which we, reluctantly, must call—reactionary!

First, say the signers, the Socialists through the Debs Brigade are creating a breach for the reactionaries. What reactionaries? Did the German Fascists create a "breach"? Did the Italian? The Irish? The American Catholics? They rushed aid to the Spanish Fascists long before our Pacifist comrades discovered that WE were giving them a "breach!"

According to our critics, if American reactionaries send men to Spain, it will all be OUR fault, since without us, of course, the reactionaries would never have thought of it, bless their innocent souls!

Second, say the signers, we must stay out of the Spanish war because it is not a "battle for democracy and Socialism and against Fascism," it is a battle between imperialist powers which are "using the Spanish masses as pawns."

Our critics, apparently, are ingenious not only in their theories but also in their facts. We know, for instance, that the capitalist powers of Germany, Italy, and Britain (with France dragged along by the nose) are either actively or passively behind Franco.

But, prithee, tell us what capitalist "powers" are behind the Spanish masses? To state, by a cruel distortion of facts, that the Spanish masses are fighting just another imperialist war is a miserable villification of one of the most glorious struggles for human liberation in all the history of mankind!

We do not deny that capitalist powers are involved in the Spanish civil war—but all on the side of Franco. That's just why workers must come to the aid of their comrades in Spain!

Which brings us to our next point:  
**THE FALLACY OF 'NEUTRALITY' LEGISLATION**  
Third, say the signers, we are

## A Letter From A.J. Muste, Jessie W. Hughan and Winston Dancis

To the Editor:

The undersigned members of the Socialist Party—re-affirming their loyalty to the Party and their devotion to the cause of Socialism—are compelled, in accordance with their conscience and their Socialist convictions, to record their opposition to the project of recruiting Party members and sympathizers for combatant service in Spain and their inability to take part in the execution of this policy.

We believe that the actual help that can be rendered to the Spanish Loyalists by a few hundred recruits in a war in which tens of thousands of soldiers are already involved, is small.

**Opens Breach**  
Over against this possible advantage, many grave and positive disadvantages must be placed. This action of the Party opens a breach through which American reactionaries may pour a flood of money, munitions and recruits to the Fascist side. The Party has struck a blow at the movement for stringent neutrality legislation in the present Congress, a movement that had the united support of many anti-war forces. If the Party still supports such legislation, opponents will denounce this support as hypocritical.

If Socialist Party enrollment of volunteers for the Loyalists is answered by recruiting for Franco and this leads to still further recruiting by sympathizers of the Loyalists, it is obvious that the United States is being drawn into ever fuller participation in the Spanish war. This increases the likelihood that it will develop into a general war. In such a war the United States would most probably be involved and Socialists would then be in a position of having to support the capitalist United States government and also—regardless of which side the U. S. might join—certain European imperialist powers.

**Fear War Danger**  
The present course by the Party also involves approval of the production of war-supplies for use in Spain. "Prosperity" for American industry is already and increasingly linked up with war preparations or war activities of the United States and other countries. Thus a situation such as dragged us into war in 1917 is rapidly developing. The Socialist Party places itself in the position of being unable effectively to protest against this process, indeed helps to accelerate it.

The forces which may be sent to Spain will not participate in a clear-cut battle for democracy and Socialism and against Fascism. The real "powers" in the

striking a blow at "stringent neutrality" legislation.

Now, just what do our Pacifist friends mean here? Just this. They wish the American Socialists to endorse the recent action of Congress to stop all aid to the Spanish masses by law. They wish us to join in that international conspiracy of the "democratic" powers to strangle the Spanish masses while the Fascist murderers take their life by the sword. And for what?

"For neutrality," is their answer. Apparently our Pacifist friends really believe that "neutrality legislation" can stop America from going to war. Once more, what naive faith in the goodness of the capitalists, who seem to need Socialist provocation in aiding Fascists, precipitating violence, and violating "neutrality."

Spanish situation today are two groups of European nations which are in effect using the Spanish masses as pawns in the cruel game of jockeying for position in the next war. It is no service to the Spanish workers, to democracy, or to Socialism to take part in this process which makes the Spanish masses today, and the masses in other lands tomorrow, victims of wholesale slaughter at the hands of imperialism.

**We Are Compromised**  
If the Party goes through with the present policy, its work in the United States will be seriously compromised. It will be assumed that the Party has finally concluded that the struggle for Socialism in our day can and must be fought out by actual bloody warfare. It will not command confidence when it asserts that it is working for Socialism in the United States by democratic and peaceful means. At any rate the increasingly prevalent psychology that war in the modern world is inevitable and the only means of solving social conflicts, will be strengthened—and reactionaries and Fascists in the United States will know how to make use of that development for their own purposes.

Above all, let the Party devote itself here and in all lands with greater energy and enthusiasm than ever to the true Socialist task of bringing the workers everywhere to refuse to give any further support to war, war preparations and the war-system. If we neglect that task and with whatever honorable motives, are tricked into transforming the struggle AGAINST war and Fascism into a struggle FOR war against Fascist countries, Fascism wins,—Socialism and humanity lose.

A. J. MUSTE  
WINSTON DANCIS  
JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN  
New York

**Elizabeth Gilman Agrees to Disagree**  
To the Editor:

As a member of the SOCIALIST CALL Board I am glad the next issue will include Socialist War Resisters viewpoint. A number of Baltimore comrades not War Resisters except myself share deep regret that members of the Socialist Party sponsor the Debs column. Perhaps we must agree to disagree that we consider it unfortunate for peace and Socialism that the public should feel the Party stands for militaristic help to Spanish comrades.

ELISABETH GILMAN

Frankly, we have no such faith in "capitalist neutrality." They will never pass such "neutrality" as runs counter to protecting profits. They only want strict "neutrality" against the workers. And the heat of a war crisis will turn all their paper neutrality to ashes. The capitalists view neutrality through class eyes. So must we!

The Pacifist pursuit of a non-existent will-of-the-wisp, yclept "genuine neutrality under capitalism," can only land them in the swamp of bourgeois democratic collaboration with the present Fascist murderers.

**ON DRAGGING U. S. INTO WAR**  
Fourth, say the signers, the Debs Brigade will drag America into war.

We have answered this argu-

ment once before in a "Note to Senator Pittman." We repeat to the Pacifists:

America will go to war only for profits. War means dictatorship. Hence—

We will unceasingly oppose America's going to war. And we will continue the fight after America goes to war—to overthrow the government, to end the imperialist war!

We support a volunteer brigade just because we do not favor calling upon the "democratic" United States Government to intervene. To argue that sending five hundred men to Spain, as volunteers, is the same as urging America to enter a war is utterly hopeless confusion.

On the matter of being dragged into war by sale of war-supplies, permit us to quote a few lines from Frank Hanighen, author of "Merchants of Death!"

"Spain in the Cuse case bought only \$2,000,000 worth of munitions. Even if the Spanish Government should employ its entire gold reserve (estimated at present around \$500,000,000) in purchasing munitions from the United States (which would be fantastic), the situation would remain the same.

"Under the policy of 'cash and carry' used in the Cuse case, the Spanish Government pays in dollars, francs or pounds for the munitions, asks no loans and ships the munitions in Spanish ships or the ships of other nations. Under this system there is no possibility of the United States becoming economically interested in the fortunes of the Spanish Government or of any of our boats or citizens becoming involved in any belligerent incident resulting from the delivery of these munitions.

"The United States would run no risk of being drawn into war by selling munitions to the legitimate Spanish Government."

**500 MEN OR MORE!**

And finally let no one think that 500 men in Spain means nothing. Louis Fisher's article in The Nation. Tells us not only of the heroic but also effective work of just 2,000 men of the International Brigade. Five hundred men from each of half a dozen countries could write an equally glorious chapter in the history of Spain's civil war.

And why must we stop with 500? If the Pacifists are opposed simply because it isn't enough, let them get behind the drive, and we'll send more than 500!

## Wages of Labor On a Toboggan

By LABOR RESEARCH FRONT

Labor's share in the value added by manufactures has been declining for the past two decades, according to a report recently published by the federal government's Council for Industrial Progress.

On the basis of preliminary reports of the 1935 Census of Manufactures, the Council has found that in 1935 wages formed 96.4 per cent of the total value added by manufacturing. In 1919, labor's share was 16 per cent larger, or 42.2 per cent of the total.

The percentages which wages formed of the total value added by manufactures were as follows:

1914	41.9
1919	42.2
1929	36.4
1933	36.2
1935	36.4

The Council concludes that the share of labor must be materially increased if consuming power is to be maintained at a healthy level.

## DIET FOR JOBLESS

HOUSTON, Tex. — Relief has been cut to 75 cents a week a person in Houston. Businessmen, who pay that much for a luncheon, give shortage of funds as the reason.

# Auto Workers Fight For Labor's Future

## Strike Is Seen as Battle For Industrial Unionism

(Continued from Page One)  
the scarred field of well-planned industrial civil war: steel; but in a flank maneuver neither at this moment expected nor adequately prepared for: autos.

### Learned Militancy

The successful skirmish in rubber last year, important and lesson-giving as it was for the cause of the CIO—the workers in this country and the CIO learned what a militant picketline and sitdown meant—a short introduction to this fight to organize the auto industry. For if the United Automobile Workers of America, with the all-important aid of the CIO and a nationally aroused working class, can decisively lick General Motors, then the industrial organization of workers in steel, oil, packing, mining is assured.

But it must be a decisive licking. No second Roosevelt deception as in March, 1934, with the Wolman Auto Labor Board. No arbitration and negotiated agreements unacceptable to a majority of the members in each local of the UAWA.

### Three Factors

Three factors helped to create and increase strike sentiment.

(1) Automotive production was at peak level. In particular, General Motors was competitively pressed by Ford and Chrysler in the low and medium priced fields. (Chevrolet trying to recoup against and outstrip Ford and hold back Plymouth; also Buick being pushed hard by lower priced Packards and Lincolns).

(2) Auto labor, especially, and CIO-minded labor generally, forgot the Roosevelt double-cross in 1934 and remembered only that they helped to elect him in 1936 and as a quid pro quo (popularly, as a pay-off!) they expected a green light to go ahead from the national and state administrations.

New Deal, FDR man, Governor Murphy of Michigan, immediately interjected himself in the strike and, shall we say guilelessly attempted to get both sides to agree to arbitrate on the basis of GMC vice President Knudsen's clearly ambiguous letter, but which demanded as a primary

condition breaking of the strike, i.e. removal of the sit-downers in Flint Fisher Plants 1 and 2. The other is Labor Department McGrady who reports directly to the president and not to Mrs. Perkins is messing around. He messed on the waterfront in the West Coast general strike of 1934 and now again with Admiral Hamlet's Maritime Commission and Copeland's "Fink" Act.

### No More Betrayals

A healthy reaction to this reliance upon FDR and his state puppets was voiced by one high in the ranks of the UAWA. "Rather honorable defeat if it comes to pass (and it won't) rather than another 1934 betrayal."

(3) The progressive stand of the CIO and a new wave of militant and successful labor struggles have inspired the men and women in the shops. Two weeks ago at least five cars of rubber (Akron) and Auto-lite (Toledo) workers went up to Flint to help in the strike! No one sent these workers. They wanted to come to help win against the same thing they fought: the "Big Boss" capitalism.

Such solidarity is a promise for the future. Several local strikes—Kelsey Wheel in Detroit and the Bus Drivers in Flint have contributed to the morale of the workers.

These three factors, added to the particular grievances of the workers—speed up, inadequate annual wage, shop-spy system, etc.—made for the strike. Their importance—and the importance of this battle is reflected in the generally antagonistic capitalist press—is reflected by the presence in the key areas of first rank newspapermen whose stories make the front page throughout the country.

### The Forces Involved

The labor forces come from the United Automobile Workers, some top CIO leadership and other CIO unions and full support from Socialist and other working class and progressive groups. The five executive officers of UAWA (Martin, Mortimer, Hall, Wells and Addis) have divided up the key areas

### Knudsen



Here he is—William S. Knudsen—executive vice-president of General Motors, directing the fight against the auto union.

for respective jurisdiction. They are assisted by a secondary UAWA leadership including Richard Frankenstein, Walter Reuther, Alan Strachan (Detroit) Robert Travis, Roy and Victor Reuther (Flint) Soltis, Simposh and Reisinger (Cleveland).

This is not by any means exhaustive. It omits, for example, some excellent rubber organizers who have been sent in, e.g., Bill Carney.

### The Capitalist Array

Against the workers in solid capitalist array there are: The General Motors billion and a half corporation; the vicious Flint Journal which for weeks conducted a virtual lynch spirit campaign against Roy Reuther and the bus drivers and is now transferring its GMC controlled venomous pages to the auto workers; the local Flint, radio station which refused workers' cash for radio time; the Flint Alliance, a vigilante group that may attempt violent provocation of the strikers; and the general editorial columns of the Detroit and Chicago press.

Obviously the giant corporation has followed the time-honored capitalist practice of lining up two forces to assist it. On the one hand it has promoted, by spies, stooges, strikebreakers and just misguided workers, the above variant of Administration-backed company unionism. And on the

other, it has used the capitalist courts i.e., the injunction of one of its stockowning judges, the press and the dangerous faith that the workers still have in Murphy-Roosevelt to prevent the strike from taking its only winning course: mass picketing organization and militant mobilization and demonstration of united auto and other workers.

In this connection the workers need to be reminded that some of the ranking officials of GMC also supported Murphy and Roosevelt and some "pay off" is expected in capitalist politics.

### Dangers Of Truce

Two major dangers are inherent in any "truce" agreements during the strike.

First, that GM may use such a period as a first step to divide the workers, quiet their militancy, and cause the union to lose the organizational momentum it has gained during the early days of the strike. Second, that this may persuade the negotiating union officials to accept the well-planned ruse of the company by which they will agree to a settlement to represent not all the workers but only those men already in the union.

Truce periods may sometimes be necessary. But the union should use such periods for full-speed-ahead organization. They must at every stage of the game keep the entire membership informed of the progress of the negotiations.

If the union even remotely considers sharing its representative character with company or plant unions, it will fall into the betrayal-device sponsored by Roosevelt's Auto Labor Board in 1934. If it fails to receive full and unconditional recognition for the workers at the negotiating table, its one safe tactic is to go back to the picket lines and win.

### Direction Of Strike

It is at once obvious that the locals of the UAWA must impress upon the leadership that it cannot, as it has done at times, leave the next move "up to GMC." This way, even if it appears to be merely newspaper strategy, hides numerous pitfalls. For it is fairly reliably known that GMC will proceed in two directions. First, it will attempt within the immediate few days to smash the strike by force if it can get away with it.

This was the advice it got from the rubber companies after the latter's failure with the rubber workers. The capitalist lesson

was passed on from one group to the other. (And as in the case of the Akron rubber workers only the known preparedness of these workers prevented Governor Davey from sending in the militia even though the company wanted it).

If it fails in inciting to riot and quashing by force the militancy of the strikers, it will then settle down ready to pay—and it is able to pay—for a war of attrition. Wearing down the mass resistance of the workers, using the red scare and cry of sovietism, breaking their morale and organization because they, the workers, are not a billion and a half corporation! Waiting and temporizing, false negotiation moves, playing the public for sympathy, driving wedges between those workers who are locked out and not yet unionized and those who are—this will be the role of GMC.

### Frontal Attacks

GMC cannot be permitted to determine "the next step." The workers must chart that for themselves. The auto union must, with the CIO fight out the battle by a frontal attack at the point of production and not in the Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C.

It should be clear that the outcome of the auto strike will determine, to a certain extent, the immediate future of the labor movement in this country. Nothing must be spared to gain victory. The Socialist Party will take its place in the ranks of those who will spare no efforts to help the workers win that victory.

### Fired From WPA for Socialist Activity

MUSKOGEE, Oklahoma.—Howard Caruthers, active Oklahoma Socialist, and Creek County President of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, has been fired from WPA because of his labor and Socialist activities.

The Socialist was given a dismissal slip by his superiors. His fellow-workers in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union immediately sent a committee to the WPA district supervisor at Okmulgee, which resulted in Caruthers' reinstatement for a period of two days, after which he was again discharged.

Legal action to force the restoration of Caruthers' job is being started by Stanley Beiden, prominent Oklahoma attorney and well-known Socialist.

## HELP BUILD THE SOCIALIST CALL!

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

**HELP US FIGHT BACK!**

**HELP BUILD THE SOCIALIST CALL!**

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

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

**\$10,000 Must Be Raised!**

### What You Can Do:

1. Have your branch accept a share of the quota and work to fill it!
2. Get donations from your neighbors, union brothers and shopmates.
3. Arrange a special affair for the benefit of THE CALL.

4. Sell CALL subs for \$1.50 a year; 50c of each \$1.50 sub will apply to the quota!
5. Turn your energy to put this drive over the top! Start the money rolling in!

**Put This Drive Over the Top Before March 1!**

Rush Funds to the SOCIALIST CALL.

21 EAST 17th ST., N. Y. C.



# With The Party

## ILLINOIS

The Chicago reception for Roy Burt and Frank Trager, new national party secretaries, has been postponed from Jan. 23 to Feb. 10. Norman Thomas will be the featured speaker. The reception will take place at a banquet at the Workers Lyceum on Hirsch Blvd.

Thomas will speak three times in Chicago under Party auspices during the week of Feb. 7-14. On Feb. 9 he will speak on Chicago's South Side at a meeting in support of the Debs Brigade. On Feb. 14 at the Capitol Building he will speak on the question of political asylum for Trotsky. The Chicago Party is in the process of an organization drive to mobilize its strength in the labor movement for a forward drive of the Party. Socialist Leagues of Office Workers, Radio and Electric Workers and Pocketbook Workers have been formed and other groups are on their way. The Illinois State Office has just loaned its Red Special sound truck and state organizer, Ed Adams, to the Detroit Socialists and auto strikers.

Fifty Dollars was raised at the Chicago Meeting for Ernest Erber for the Debs Column.

## MARYLAND

At the last meeting of the state executive committee Jerome Tucker was named state representative for the SOCIALIST CALL and the American Socialist Monthly. He was given authority to name sub-committees in the various parts of the state. Local Baltimore is now engaged in a campaign to raise money for a new headquarters. The forum addressed by Norman Thomas last week was exceptionally well attended.

At a general membership meeting a resolution was unanimously adopted making the CALL the accredited state paper.

Gloria Waldron a member of the NEC of the YPSL, has been instrumental in forming a Young Socialist group in Baltimore. One of its first activities was the running of a lecture by Ernest Erber, national chairman of the YPSL.

## MASSACHUSETTS

Speaking with Norman Thomas, at a testimonial dinner in his honor at Boston on Jan. 17 were Joseph Curran, leader of the East Coast striking seamen, and Powers Hapgood, organizing secretary of the CIO for New England.

A mass meeting to aid the Spanish workers will be held at the Old South Meeting House, Boston, on Sun., Jan. 29. Speakers will include Gus Tyler, leader of the CALL, Jay Lovestone of the CPO, Powers Hapgood of the CIO, and Sam Weiner of the Anarchist journal Vanguard.

Boston YPSL is running a dance on Sat., Jan. 30 at 6 Byron St.

The New England States conference of the Socialist Party, held for organizational work and pre-convention discussion, will be held in Worcester, on Sat. and Sun., Feb. 6 and 7.

## MINNESOTA

Roy E. Burt, national secretary, spoke at several meetings in the twin cities before large and enthusiastic crowds. Following the Minneapolis and St. Paul meetings he spoke at Willmar where there is a thriving Party local, and at Fargo, North Dakota, Moorhead, Red Wing and Austin, at each of which cities there are active and growing locals of the party.

## NEW YORK

A forum series is being run by Local Ocean in conjunction with the Central Trades Council. The meetings are to be held in the Ocean House and will take the form of dinner meetings. Speakers have not yet been announced.

Herbert Zam will speak on war at the East Side Labor Center, 31 Second Ave., New York City, Fri., Jan. 22, at 8:30 P.M.

Robert Nelson will speak on "Marxian View of the State" Jan. 21, at 23 A.D., Brooklyn, 459 Hopkinson Ave.

Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg Memorial meeting Tuesday, Jan. 26, at Circle 3, YPSL, 107 MacDougal St. Speaker, Hal Draper.

Jack Barbash will speak on "The Housing Problem," Sunday, Jan. 24, 8:30, at 1140 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn.

Charles Garfinkel will speak at the Brighton Beach Branch, Brooklyn, Friday, Jan. 22, on "The Housing Crisis," 3668 Brighton 3 St.

## OHIO

A local chapter of the Friends of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union has been formed at Yellow Springs through the activity of the Socialist branch.

## PENNSYLVANIA

The State Executive Committee is meeting at Harrisburg on Sun., Jan. 17. Norman Thomas will be honored

# State Confab Held by Conn.

By VICTOR HARRIS

One hundred and fifty Connecticut Socialists held a state-wide conference in Bridgeport on Sunday, January 17, in order to discuss the state legislative program of the party and problems confronting the party at the coming national convention.

The state program on taxation was presented in outline by Devere Allen, national executive committee member, who warned that there may be a strong effort to enact a sales tax by the present legislature, operating in cooperation with the McLevy old guard group. Extended figures were presented supporting the Socialist proposed Income Tax Bill, which will be introduced shortly in the legislature.

Mitchell Levensohn of New Haven reported on social security legislation, and showed that state action can accomplish little without a change in the unsatisfactory Federal law. "It is necessary to attack the illusion that Roosevelt is responsible for what few merits there may be in the present laws," he said. Considering the many loopholes in the law, he stated that the question of who administers the law is of great importance.

## War And Fascism

In presenting national organizational problems, Devere Allen discussed various organizational questions which arise from the definite position of the party against war and Fascism. He reported preliminary conferences which have been held to define the relations of the party to the American League Against War and Fascism, and predicted that some understanding as to the relations of the party with this organization will be reached in time for the coming convention.

Problems of the party press, particularly as far as the CALL is concerned, were presented by John Newton Thurber, business manager of the CALL, who discussed both editorial and financial features of the relations between

by Philadelphia Young Socialists at a dinner for young people only. The dinner will be held Friday, Jan. 22, 6:30 P. M. Reservations may be made at 1626 Arch St.

In the evening of the same day Comrade Thomas will speak at the same address on "Issues and Problems Confronting the Socialist Movement in 1937."

## TENNESSEE

The state office has acquired a talking moving picture apparatus with which it is showing propaganda films. It now has on its program the famous labor picture, "Millions of Us," and other working-class films.

## TEXAS

A weekly Socialist forum is being conducted by the Dallas Socialist Party on Sunday nights. Recent speakers at the forum included Aaron Levenstein of the Workers Defense League and J. R. Butler, president of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

# BUSINESS DIRECTORY

## BROOKLYN

### TRADE SCHOOL

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## MANHATTAN

### SODA FOUNTAIN

ORCHEST DRINKS—27 Union St. next to the Ritz Soda fountain—Orange & Pineapple drinks. Cigars, cigarettes, candy.

### HELP WANTED

WOLFEHILLERS wanted for Research work on industrial current issues. For information, write or phone

### LABOR RESEARCH FRONT

21 East 17th St., N.Y.C. GRamercy 5-9344

the party and its press. He stressed the need that party headquarters and the party press be close together so that decisions can be transmitted immediately to party members and others concerned.

Speakers at a banquet held as part of the conference Sunday night included Colin McIntyre, trade union leader in New Haven; Willard Uphas, secretary of the Religion and Labor Foundation, New Haven; Stanley Young, playwright of Westport; Van Wyck Brooks, noted author, of Westport; and Devere Allen. Philip Brainard of Waterbury served as toastmaster of the banquet, while Abraham Perlestein of Hartford was chairman of the afternoon session.

# ARE YOU LISTED?

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

Following are agents who have sent in subscriptions during the last week:

- S. F. Kewanee, Ill. .... 20
- S. F. New Kensington, Pa. .... 10
- F. O. Landau, New York City .... 10
- German Br., Local New York .... 8
- Mary Dickson, Northampton, Mass. .... 5
- Fred Ruckel, Stamford, Conn. .... 2
- Hans Peters, N. Y. .... 2
- Lena Tulchin, New York City .... 1
- S. I. Sellersville, Pa. .... 1
- Ed Rankin, Portsmouth, Ohio .... 1
- Phil Heller, New York City .... 1
- Jacob Jay, Mt. Vernon, N. Y. .... 1
- 8th A. D. Bronx, N. Y. .... 1
- Frank Bostra, Ohio .... 1

# Socialist Labor League Assists Auto Strikers

CLEVELAND. — The Socialist Party of Cleveland has completed its inner party reorganization in time to lend significant aid to the Fisher Body strikers. The reorganization included establishment on a functioning basis of a Socialist Labor League.

In this way unions and fraternal organizations have been contacted for donations, food and other forms of aid to Fisher Body pickets.

The Socialist Labor League elected a directive committee composed of Bert Cochran, organizer for the Mechanics Educational Society; John Jurkanin, organizer for the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union; Louis Golden of the Office Workers Union.

YOU ARE INVITED TO ATTEND A PARTY TO RAISE THE SPIRITS AND THE RENT

given by the UPPER WEST SIDE BRANCH Socialist Party and YPSL—Circle-5M

on Saturday, January 23, 1937 at 8:30 P.M. 112 West 83rd Street

MUSIC BY THE "RED KNIGHTS" Singing and Games—Refreshments Subscription—35c Ypsl's—25c

# 6 Months of Civil War in SPAIN

What has it meant to us—to Spain—to you?—Economically, politically, militarily, culturally, internationally?

They tell you Anna Louise Strong, just arrived from Madrid; Ralph Bates, author of The Olive Field; Paul Nizan, foreign editor of L'Humanite; Pablo de la Torriente-Brau, recently killed on the Loyalist front; James Hawthorne, New Masses correspondent, now in Madrid; Joseph R. Brodsky, on the legal aspects of "neutrality"; Theodore Draper, foreign editor of New Masses; Spanish poets and others.

Special Spanish Issue OUT TODAY NEW MASSES Extra-Size 15c

Send \$1 with this ad for a 12-week Trial Subscription NEW MASSES, 31 East 27th Street, New York City.

# Push the Call Drive Barometer Up!

By The BUSINESS MANAGER

Only a few days have passed since most of our readers received last week's CALL, in which the Drive for \$10,000 was inaugurated.

Branches which meet this week and next will receive a letter from Roy E. Burt and Frank Trager in which support of this drive is urged. They write: "Since the last meeting of the national executive committee the CALL has become more and more the type of paper which is needed as a collective organizer for such a party as the NEC decisions visioned."

We have not yet had time to get any general response from the urgent appeal which we have addressed to every reader. Even so, the day after the CALL appeared on the street, letters and even telegrams started arriving with donations to this Drive enclosed.

One branch has sent \$10 already. Another branch just sent in \$20 as this is written. What are you going to do in your branch?

During this Drive, we are going to publish the thermometer shown in this column each week. You can see how the drive is coming from week to week. In addition to this we will publish the standing of the various states each week.

Thus far the response, while it has been good, is not enough to report. Next week we will list all contributions thus far, show how the Drive for \$10,000 is coming, and the standings of the various states. We have contributions from New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and California now.

# BRANCH DIRECTORY

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

## DETROIT

BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday, 8 P. M., People's House, 3948 Trumbull. Tel.: Terrace 2-8512.

## ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

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

## MANHATTAN

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

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

## BRONX

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

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

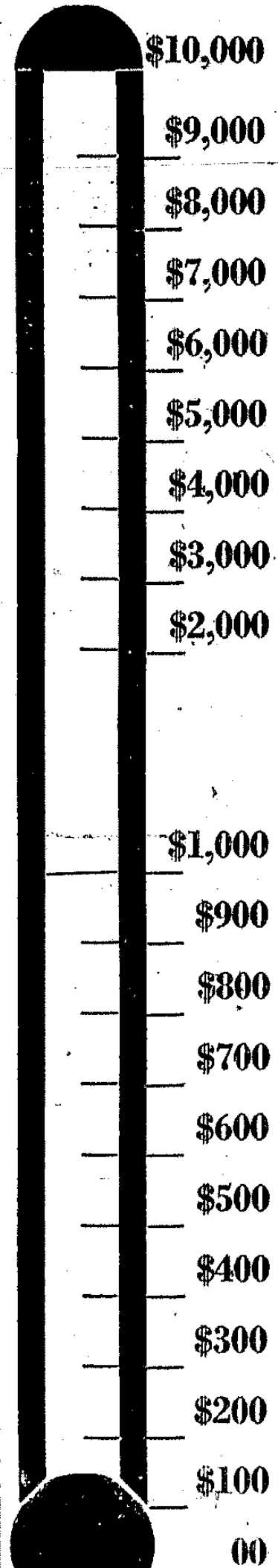
Every branch should plan a special affair for the CALL during this Drive, and rush the funds raised in immediately.

Our influence is growing. Our effectiveness is increasing. We must have this fund to drive the wolf from the door and to continue to hit week after week against reaction in all its forms and for the fight for Socialism.

What will you do to help? You want the barometer to show a steady climb beginning next week. You want the percentage of your state to look better than any other.

Do your part now!

# \$10,000 For The CALL



### Barricades in Madrid



Barricades thrown up in the streets of Madrid by anti-Fascist fighters. While the Fascist nations send men to aid Franco, the democratic capitalist nations of Europe are preventing aid to be sent to the Spanish workers and peasants. The only reinforcements of the Spanish masses are in the international working class.

### Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

All is not peace in the cooperative movement. If the recent Biennial Congress of the Cooperative League inaugurated a new stage in American cooperative history, it was not the stage of "organizing for action" as the League believes. The congress marked rather the beginning of a long struggle for ideological control. The prospect of future schisms revealed by the speeches of a few leading cooperators is hardly the foundation required to organize for action.

Until there is greater harmony on what is the role of the cooperative movement, we can only look forward to a division into two or three camps, a disastrous prospect in these perilous days.

When the movement was relatively insignificant, it enjoyed some degree of unanimity in outlook, however naive. Until several years ago the dominant philosophy could be found in the writings of J. P. Warbasse who held an anarchic view of the destiny of cooperation. By gradual development, cooperatives would grow in number, size and diversity, crowding out profit businesses and profit institutions and eventually even the state. The profit system would give way to the cooperative commonwealth.

Recent years however, have seen tremendous strides in the growth of the movement. Financial success has been marked. The number of members has in-

creased rapidly. Class conscious workers have begun to take a real interest in the movement.

The result has been that two forces have arisen to tug upon the Warbasse center. The first represents the interests of the class conscious consumer to whom cooperation is important as an arm of the labor movement not as a substitute for it.

The other is the reactionary influence of "liberals" and bureaucrats whose interest in the status quo requires that cooperation become more respectable and less revolutionary. They feel the continued prosperity, and incidentally their jobs and their stake in the capitalist system, is endangered by the traces of radicalism in the movement. They are disturbed to find that some cooperators have notions about abolishing the capitalist system.

For example, Robin Hood, Sec-

retary-Treasurer of the National Cooperative Council, deploras "the wholly unnecessary attacks, in the name of consumers' cooperation, upon the capitalistic economy, and the talk of putting an end to capitalism." It is dangerous, he asserts, because "condemning the capitalistic economy antagonizes the very elements in society upon which any American cooperative movement must lean—the substantial, straight-thinking, responsible element."

Backed By Boss  
Obviously, the cooperative movement is not big enough to house class-conscious workers and reactionary leaders. Efforts to expand the movement should be

suspended until reactionary leadership is removed. What is important for the working class is not a large cooperative movement but a class conscious one.

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## MASS MEETING

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# LOBBY AND AISLE

## 'The Eternal Mask' at the Filmarte a Penetrating Study of a Reactive and Temporary Schizophrenia

By McALISTER COLEMAN

One of the most stirring dramatic events of the past week was thrown on the screen of the Filmarte Theatre on West 58th Street. This is the house that opened its auspicious career with the magnificent CARNIVAL IN FLANDERS. It is a house for all intelligent screen-goers to watch.

Its latest production, THE ETERNAL MASK is as different from THE CARNIVAL as can well be imagined, yet the newcomer shows the same signs of sensitive selectivity on the part of those who run the Filmarte as did the opener.

### Living Drama

Ordinarily one would not look to the schizoid type of insanity as theme for a picture of general interest. The whole subject is so grimly obscure as to repel the normal. Yet here we have a penetrating study of a reactive and temporary schizophrenia that with the help of a good script and an imaginative camera gives us the living essence of drama.

### M. D. Finds New Serum

Schizophrenia, as all students of psychiatry know by this time, is easiest defined as split personality. THE ETERNAL MASK is from a novel by Leo Lepaire. It was made by a company of German actors in Basle. Marthias Wieman takes the principal role, that of a young doctor, whose research has led him to a serum that is effective in certain types of meningitis. He is so sure of the rightness of his results that in spite of the interdiction of his chief, he injects the serum into a patient who dies. The widow and many of the staff denounce him for this and he goes out of the hospital and his mind at the same time.

### Sanity Is Restored

Then comes the fascinating part of the picture as we watch this Dr. Dumartin pursued by the fiends of his own conscience through the nether depths of an inferno of his own making. He is Dr. Dumartin, yet everywhere he searches for Dr. Dumartin. Through the labyrinthine ways of his own mind, the implacable camera follows him. Finally he is carried off to the psychopathic ward. There routine therapy fails to cure him. A friend, a younger physician in rebellion against the tradition of the old school of psychiatrists, finally comes upon a cure that restores him to sanity.

### Vastly Moving

Now all this in the cold black and white of printer's ink sounds anything but promising. The black and white of the screen make it vastly moving. And the entire business gives us a vision of a new film art that can step far beyond the picture frame of the "legitimate theatre." The excitements of medical research suggest other cerebral excitements in the fields of sociology and economics.

### Ideas Through Camera

We can have a screen of ideas as well as a theatre of ideas and these ideas can come to us through the camera as they cannot always touch us through the spoken word. I am aware, of course, that the Russians have been most eminently successful in doing this. But as some of the critics have lately been suggesting they have become almost standardized under the domination of the theme of social revolution. After all there are other things in the world of importance to the inner selves of all of us. THE ETERNAL MASK pioneers on the way to some of these important things.

Please Patronize Our Advertisers

## 'Spend a Night in Harlem' Is Slogan of Two Theatre Parties

"Spend a Night in Harlem" is the slogan for two theatre parties which are being arranged by six central Socialist organizations for benefit performances of the forthcoming production of the Negro Youth Theatre, "Sweet Land" which opens shortly at the Lafayette Theatre, Seventh Avenue at 131st Street, New York City.

Two nights of this play have been arranged for by a committee representing Local New York, the American Socialist Monthly, the Falcons, Labor Research Front, the Yipsels and the CALL, with the entire house being held on the nights of Thursday and Friday, February 4 and 5.

"Sweet Land" is a play of unusual force and brilliance, dealing with the life of sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the south. The leading character of the play is portrayed by Doe Doe Green, who was the third actor to play the role of Gabriel in the long run of "Green Pastures."

Prices of tickets for the production are: Boxes, 65 cents; orchestra, 40 cents; mezzanine, 35 cents; and balcony, 25 cents. Tickets can be obtained at the Call Book Store and all interested in attending are urged to make their reservations well in advance.

The joint committee also announces that it has made reservations for two nights of the production of the Theatre Guild, John Howard Lawson's "Marching Song," an auto union anti-fascist play, on Tuesday and Thursday, February 16 and 18. Tickets for these performances are priced from 55 cents to \$1.65.

## Call Board

John Gassner will teach a new course "Play Workshop for the New Theatre School . . . Lawson's "Marching Song" is now in rehearsal . . . Wolfson, Gertrude Flynn, Frieda Altman and Rex "De Lawd" Ingram get the leading roles . . . "Chains" the next Artef production opens the 21st . . . "Pink Slips on Parade" by Mimi Diamond and Earl Robinson (musical) will be the first New Theatre Night of the season . . . "Tide Rising" opens the 25th at the Lyceum . . . "Lloyds of London" continues at the Music Hall . . . The Belmont Theatre announces that it will book its attractions for benefits and Theatre Parties . . . A Mexican made labor picture should hit Broadway later . . .

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## 'Tide Rising'



GRANT MITCHELL, who will be starred in "Tide Rising" opening at the Lyceum Theatre, Monday evening, January 25.

## New Play Exposes World's Oldest Profession

BEHIND RED LIGHTS, by Samuel Shipman and Beth Brown. At the Mansfield Theatre.

By M. C. ARNONE

Of all the horrible concoctions palmed off upon an innocent and unsuspecting theatre-going public this season, this so-called sensational expose of the vice-ring and its nefarious activities heads the lists for dullness.

The onus needs must fall upon the authors for writing it, and upon the producer for staging it. The actors try hard enough with the material at hand, but they could have spent their time and ours to better advantage.

Specifically, it is a rather stupid melange of vice-lords, ladies of joy, a go-getter special prosecutor out to get the parties of the first part; an innocent country-girl victim of the ring, a college-bred "madam" running an independent house where the cream of the profession receive tired business men and overzealous college boys. Said "madam" also indulges in a bit of class-conscious by-play in re-exploiters of factory workers whose low wages makes them easy victims to the agents of the ring and dissertates at some length upon the need for licensed houses of joy independently run.

Said college-bred "madam," yept Norman King, refuses to enter the ring until she is forced to do so to save innocent country girl from electric chair for killing off her seducer. But Norma has fallen for the special prosecutor and the "frame" is set and neatly executed, netting the three big shots. But a henchman of the boss gets the college lady before he is himself killed and the prosecutor is free to pursue his ambitions for the governor's chair without any entangling alliances.

But it is all very dull and very, very pointless. The so-called expose was much better done in the daily papers during the "Cheeks" Luciano trial and the authors really have nothing to say.

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## ON THE SCREEN

### 'Broken Blossoms,' Initial Offering at Belmont, Is an Essay in Sadism—Tells of Conflict in Flimsy World

BROKEN BLOSSOMS, with Dolly Haas, Emyln Williams and Arthur Margetson. Directed by Hans Brahm for Imperial Pictures. At the Belmont.

There will be two distinct responses to the English remake of D.W. Griffith's classic tear-jerker, Broken Blossoms now at the Belmont Theatre on West 48th Street. One will be the reaction of the irate sophisticate who got up and screamed amidst profuse mutterings that never in his life did he see such unadulterated lush. The other will be of an audience that sat breathlessly still before an exhibition of great acting and an achievement of emotional intensity and maturity.

The program tells us that Emyln Williams, who adapted the current version, "intensified rather than lightened the horrors and villainies, so that the natural heroism of the characters would more clearly stand out." It is therefore clear that that effect was what Director Hans Brahm desired—a further heightening of already attained emotions until certain impressions are recorded upon the audience's mind. He resorts to outlandish sentimentality. His symbolisms are conventional. Yet the effect is there and there is no denying it.

"Broken Blossoms" is at once an essay in sadism, a love story and by implication, a study in conflicts between a real world populated by moving people and a static, flimsy, dream world to which two persons flee for refuge.

Here we depart from the program on the "natural heroism of the characters." The values which they represent are inherently false. Lucy, the tormented wife who is murdered by her drunkard-prizefighter father and Chin, the disillusioned Buddhist who falls in love with her (when she was alive) have little relation to life and are scarcely believable. Battling Burrows, the prizefighter, on the other hand, consorts with people like himself and has some validity as a "character."

Dolly Haas, exiled German actress and Arthur Margetson give sensitive performances, unobtrusively overacting in accordance with the intent of the adaptor, Emyln Williams is somewhat less effective in his part while Hans Brahm has provided stylized, though intelligent direction

MANUEL WEIN

## Costly Musical Film To Open at Venice Theatre Jan. 25

"Robber Symphony," featuring Hans Feher and Magda Sonja, opens at the Venice Theatre (formerly Al Jolson Theatre) at West 59 Street and Seventh Avenue on Monday, January 25.

Costing \$400,000 to produce, the picture was two years in the making and the musical score of the film has been published by Chappell & Co., London, and from the latest reports received, the melodies are sweeping Europe like wildfire. Friedrich Feher who wrote, composed and directed the "Robber Symphony" will conduct a 70-piece symphony orchestra on the stage of the Venezia in excerpts from his "Robbery Symphony Opera." The opening night and American premiere will be for the benefit of the Social Service Auxiliary of the Cancer Institute.

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# AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

The workers are on the march. Great issues hang in the balance not only in Spain but here in America where under more peaceful circumstances the workers challenge the might of great corporations in the automobile industry and in shipping. We are proud of the work that Socialists are doing in all the activities of those who struggle for their own emancipation.

But it is necessary to say plainly to American Socialists that if they really believe in Socialism no outside activity can atone for their failure to support the Party. Good Socialist work requires good Socialist organization.

We are dreadfully handicapped by the slowness with which the national budget is being raised through the sale of Debs stamps. This is a consolidated budget including most of the Party activities. Other drives must be carried on to support local and state organizations and the CALL. They cannot fail. In the face of the issues which center at Washington it will be a defeat for us if we must close our modest but efficient office there.

Yet we shall have to do that thing unless this budget is raised and raised at once. And we shall have to curtail our work in other ways at least as damaging. We have our important differences of opinion with the Communists concerning some of their methods of Party organization, but we ought to emulate them in the loyalty and success with which they support Party activities.

**Buy Debs Stamps! Buy more than your share! Support the CALL! Support your local organization!**

### ANTI OR PRO STALIN CULTS

There is a tendency among radical workers to guide their conduct by their reaction to Stalin. He is a pole which draws them to him or drives them from him. Sound policy requires that we think for ourselves and neither accept a policy because it is handed down from Moscow or reject it for the same reason.

### RUSSIA'S STATEMENT ON SPAIN

The recent Russian statement on Spain is the clearest and most satisfactory yet issued. It dis-

sociates Russia from a policy of so-called non-intervention which works solely to fascist advantage. Russia did not send help to Spain until after active German and Italian intervention in behalf of Franco had begun, and Russia will not stop until that intervention has ended.

Anything less than this would be a betrayal of any idea of working class solidarity and it would also mean that Russia would lose a chance to minimize by successful resistance to Fascism in Spain the danger of Nazi attack upon her own borders.

### PACIFISM AND SPAIN

There is in circulation a suggestive little pamphlet by Aldous Huxley in which he takes up and answers various objections to pacifism. What he says is well worth reading. With most of it I agree and where I disagree it is largely a matter of emphasis and proportion.

Where his argument falls down is in what he fails to consider. There is little or nothing in what he says which applies realistically on a political plane to the Spanish problem. Here we have a clear case of Fascist military attack. Practically, that military attack will prevail or be defeated by arms. The defeat of Fascism in Spain by arms will leave behind a great many difficult problems for the workers to solve, and some of those problems will be complicated by the aftermath of war.

But at least the workers will have a chance to solve them. If Franco wins it means a long night of military, clerical, fascist reaction in Spain and such an encouragement to fascism everywhere as greatly to increase the danger of world war.

If the conscript soldiers—not volunteers—of Germany and Italy go home defeated, no censorship and no propaganda, can conceal the fact. They will immensely strengthen the underground movement against the dictators.

If they go home victorious they will enable the dictators for an indefinite time to evade the hate which their tyranny and their economic failure is creating. In terms of practical situations, which Mr. Huxley claims to face, is it not infinitely better for peace that Franco should be defeated!

This means support for the workers and other Loyalists of Spain—a support which does not ask or accept in America any military aid from a capitalist state, but seeks only a chance for the established government in Spain and the anti-Fascist force to put down a subsidized military attack carried on mostly by mercenaries and conscript foreign soldiers.

### ADMINISTRATION EVADES PROBLEMS

So far, the Administration which will have entered its second term before these words see the light of day, has shown little sign of appreciating the nature of the problems it faces at home or abroad, and of acting on them in the interest of the exploited masses.

The unemployed have been compelled to parade in Washington to present their moderate demands.

The seamen have had a similar demonstration against the Copeland law. Their long struggle has certainly not had the active support of the great "friend of labor" in the White House.

As I write he has done nothing in the automobile strike which Governor Murphy, it would seem, wants to lay in his lap where, to a certain extent, it belongs. Evidently it is the workers themselves who will have to carry on their own struggle.

### WORKERS MUST WIN OWN FIGHTS

The workers can carry on their own struggles and win victories if they will not defeat themselves. The seamen might have won ere this had it not been for the strike breaking tactics of the AFL leaders in general and Joe Ryan in particular.

The most dangerous factor in the General Motors strike is the alliance of workers, a few of them in AFL unions, more of them doubtless stirred up by the bosses, who demand "the right to work" without "union interference."

The right to work under a speed-up system, long hours, for inadequate wages in the service of a rich corporation is nothing but the right of a slave to exist. There can be no good life for the workers in the great auto-

### SONNET FOR SPAIN

O peasant-Cids with sickles for your swords,  
Davids with hand-grenades for smooth round stones,  
You now once more against invading hordes  
Cindam your blood, heap bulwarks of your bones,  
Kin to conquistadors, who sadly gave  
A new world, wrested from the tropic main,  
To church and king, today you fight to save  
A greater world, O valiant folk of Spain!

Stern Christs in overalls, the Bourbon white  
Of leprosy, the Jesuits' gangrened black  
Still rule the temples where the stake and rack.  
Long served as altars to the golden lords  
Of crown and cope; futile the whip of cords,  
Only avails the scourge of dynamite!

—KENNETH PORTER.

mobile industry except as they win it for themselves through their own industrial union.

This and this alone is their hope. Any plan of collective bargaining which does not face this fact is a fraud and a sham.

### UNITY IS BASIC SOCIALIST POSITION

In every great struggle of the workers, like that in Spain or like the important strikes in America, it is an elementary principle that the workers must not divide their own ranks in the face of the enemy.

One does not get unity of conviction on important matters simply by proclaiming its necessity. Differences of opinion on tactics and policy must be faced. Some of these differences are so important that they affect the very nature of the struggle.

Recognizing this fact we must still insist that every possible effort must be made for unity of action in face of the enemy. Mass meetings in behalf of Spain and the Spanish workers are not the places to air discussions of the differences of opinion between working class groups in Spain. Nor are mass meetings and the picket line the place to air differences of opinion in unions engaged in great strikes.

This is and always has been our Socialist position. It is not inconsistent with, but rather necessary to, Socialist influence in the unions for the most efficient policies.

### MISSTATEMENTS NO AID TO UNITY

In part what I have been saying is an answer to the most recent of Earl Browder's occasional "open letters" to me in the Daily Worker.

By their very nature these "Open Letters," which I never see unless I see them in print, do not invite united action but division. Probably that is their purpose. They are based on the assumption, fortunately contrary to fact, that the Socialist Party is not democratic within, but an organization in which I play the

quasi-dictatorial role of the Communist leader.

The most recent of these letters is based on misstatement of facts. For instance, to describe the labor and Socialist situation in Minnesota as a "line-up of the Trotskyists with reaction" is simply Communist propaganda.

Readers of the CALL know something about Communist inspired attacks upon Lundberg, Seaman Union head, in the West Coast maritime strike, and the part that such attacks have played in the unfortunate divisions there.

### SOLIDARITY NEEDED FOR VICTORY

But we do not want to close on a note of division. American workers are increasingly aware of the need for an intelligent solidarity which does not stop at the boundaries of nations.

That is the spirit which means victory. In that victory the Socialist Party has a great role to play. It will play it in proportion as Socialists see that the minimum party budget is raised so that its staff can give their entire efforts to the organizational, political and economic issues before us.

### Farmers Ask for Bread, Get Tear Gas

DENNISON, Ia. (FP)—Angered at receiving tear gas instead of bread, Workers Alliance and Farm Holiday members in Crawford county are continuing their fight for immediate relief for families cut off WPA, continuance of WPA for all who need work; with supplementary relief for larger families, and feed and seed loans for needy farmers.

When 100 men, women and children visited the county courthouse recently, asking for provisions for their families and livestock, deputy sheriffs attacked them with tear gas, driving them from the relief office, after the county board of supervisors and federal relief authorities refused to meet with an elected committee of the assembled group.

### CARPENTERS! VOTE NO! IN THE 'HITLER' PLEBISCITE

(Continued from Page One)

who is willing to strike with his brothers, who refuses to scab, is entitled to a place in the union with his brothers. To begin the practice of barring workers because of political belief means to create a dangerous division in the ranks of the workers, which will endanger their pay and conditions.

... Carpenter! Act now! Don't sign it! VOTE AGAINST THESE DICTATORIAL AVENUE...

### And Still More 'Stay-In'



Some stay-inners at the Cadillac Plant in Detroit passing their time in the plant locker room in the game of—patience which they are playing with their bosses.