

# A Note To Sen. Pittman

AN EDITORIAL

When capitalist nations fight capitalist nations, Socialists support neither side. Class-conscious workers are not interested in laying down their lives to protect the interests of the ruling class. And because international wars among capitalist countries are today fought for imperialist interests, the Socialist Party stands unalterably opposed to any and every war undertaken by one capitalist nation against another.

But when workers and peasants are fighting capitalists or their political lackeys, Socialists are never neutral. We stand always with the workers against their oppressors.

### No Surrender

When the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class breaks out into civil war, Socialists do not believe in surrendering their fight for peace and plenty and freedom, nor will they desert their comrades and brothers in other lands who may be conducting a life and death struggle for the cause of human emancipation.

The Eugene Victor Debs Brigade, which is being organized in the United States to aid the struggle of the Spanish masses, is our small fighting contribution to our class comrades across the sea. We are moved to do this not only out of loyalty to those who are fighting OUR battle in another land, but also because we are confident that workers' aid to the workers of Spain will hasten the day when Europe and then the world will see a workers' society, a Socialist commonwealth, where in all men may live together in true peace.

### No Imperialist War

The Socialist Party does not call upon the U. S. government to take sides in the Spanish civil war. First, because we know it is futile; second, because, if the government does so, it will be for imperialist gain only. And the Socialist Party refuses to take responsibility for ANY WAR undertaken by capitalist America. No matter what the excuse, we will NOT support any military action of an imperialist U.S.

But we do state that any action taken by the U.S. government to halt our sending workers' brigades to fight side by side with the workers and peasants of Spain is, frankly, reactionary.

### Hands Off, Mr. Pittman!

The attempt of Senator Key Pittman, Democrat of Nevada, to stop the American Socialists from raising their own private battalion to support the fight against Fascism in Spain makes him, willy nilly, an ally of Fascism.

If the gentleman from Nevada is afraid that we will drag him and the government into a foreign war, he may herewith put his fear to rest. We will not, in the fashion of the capitalists who control the U.S., call upon the armed forces of the nation to rescue our trade, our investments, our loans. And when the capitalists attempt to do so, no matter under what guise, we will fight them tooth and nail. The Socialists of America have no dollars to protect in Spain; we have an ideal to save and a world of peace to build. And we don't want anybody giving subtle aid to Franco, by telling us that we can not give OUR OWN lives, unlike the capitalists, for our own cause.

# All Out Jan. 4 To Madison Square Garden To Hear Spanish Ambassador de los Rios

On January 4, Madison Square Garden in New York City will be the center of anti-Fascist action in the United States.

Fernando de los Rios, Spanish ambassador to the United States, will speak on behalf of his countrymen

at a meeting run by Spanish societies of the Metropolitan area.

ALL CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKERS AND LOVERS OF HUMAN FREEDOM SHOULD PACK THE GARDEN MONDAY NIGHT.

# Socialist Call

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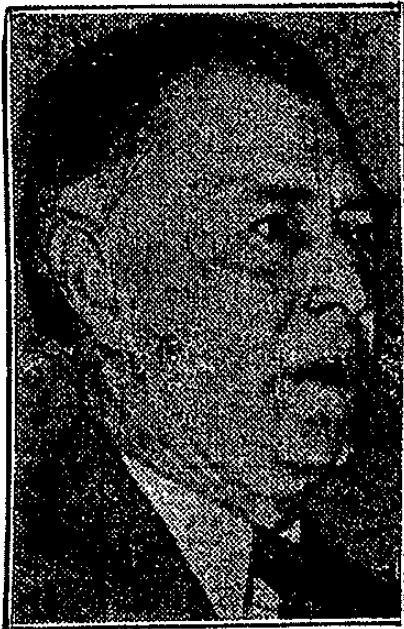
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# 200 JOIN BRIGADE FOR SPAIN IN WEEK

## Neutral?



Senator Key Pittman, head of the Foreign Relations Committee, who threatens by special legislation to stop the Eugene Victor Debs Brigade from going to Spain.

## Crush Fascism!



"I have come a thousand miles to join with you in fanning the flames of the proletarian revolution."—Eugene Victor Debs.

## American Socialists Send Men

Over two hundred men, aviators, artillery experts, veterans of war, fighters against Fascism in many

Other stories on the Debs Brigade, as well as letters from volunteers throughout the country, appear on Page Six.

lands, have enrolled this week in the Debs Brigade to be sent by the American Socialists to Spain.

Several senators, including Key Pittman of Nevada, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, have announced that they would move to halt the American Socialists from sending a brigade to Spain. They have threatened to deprive such volunteers of their American citizenship rights.

Now and then a letter arrives from some courageous woman who wishes to enlist as a nurse. Radio telegraphists, communications experts, engineers offer their services.

A steady stream of men and letters continues to pour into the offices of the Socialist Party. Not adventurers, but sound class-conscious workers and freedom-loving people are offering their lives for the defeat of Fascism in Spain.

Plans are under way to send the first batch of men over by the middle of January, 1937.

The Socialist Party has issued an appeal for money toward a \$50,000 fund to finance the shipment of these men to Spain, where they will place themselves at the disposal of the anti-Fascist forces.

All those who are interested in the campaign, write to Socialist Party, 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

# State Office Aids Fascists, Thomas Tells Roosevelt

December 29, 1936

President Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

It is with concern that I read newspaper stories to the effect that in the interests of neutrality and in part at the suggestion of certain European nations you contemplate asking Congress for immediate legislation to make it impossible for the Spanish government to buy any military supplies whatsoever in the United States. The Socialist Party has long been an advocate of very drastic laws against supplying belligerent nations or prospective nations with the means of war. Exceptions to this rule, we have felt, should be permitted only by solemn act of the body authorized to declare war.

It is true that necessarily the sale of implements of war to the Spanish government at this juncture means that some Americans are making a profit out of another nation's civil war. But nevertheless in vital respects the situation, that now confronts the United States is very different from that created by a war between nations.

### A Civil War Against Fascism

The Spanish Government is a duly constituted, democratically elected government, recognized by the United States.

It is fighting against a military Fascist revolt. The effective Rebel soldiers are mercenaries and

foreigners, and they are well-supplied with the most modern weapons of war by their friends among the European powers. It is the legitimate democratic government which, despite the gallantry of the Spanish workers and other Loyalists, has been almost strangled by a "non-intervention" agreement in Europe, which has worked mostly to the advantage of the Rebels.

### Fascists Aid Fascists

The powers which now request America's cooperation in non-intervention have not, so far as the public is aware, consulted the United States upon the terms of their agreement or the way in which it is enforced. Apparently they offer no assurances whatsoever that they will stop the continuing stream of supplies to the Rebels whose victory would menace the peace of the world by the encouragement it would give to Fascist aggression.

The victory of the Spanish loyalists will have no such ill effects. That victory would have been won long ere this except for foreign aid—and this includes, according to reports, the aid of British capitalist interests in Spain—to the Rebels.

### A Precedent—If Wanted

As you well know, there has been precedent on this hemisphere for refusal to permit American citizens to furnish Rebels against a democratically elected government with arms while allowing that government to make necessary purchases. I do not assume that that precedent is infallible and should

(Continued on Page Six)

# Pan-American Conference Is A Prelude To War

By ANITA BRENNER

There must be many people who honestly believe that the Pan-American Conference was called for the purpose of helping to keep the peace. And, since the system under

which we live is a machinery of contradictions, within its logic ways of keeping the peace are identical with ways of preparing for war.

More and bigger warships, increased armies and navies, enormous appropriations for munitions and war materials, emergency committees, and diplomatic understandings all fall within that double category. We are supposed to understand that the more you prepare for war, the better you protect peace, exactly like aiming to bring about plenty by destroying food.

**Theatrics**  
The elaborate theatrics that went on at Buenos Aires were staged, of course, for the benefit of the peoples supposedly represented.

First of all, Uncle Sam, the heavy villain in all Latin American patriotic speeches, wanted that picture erased in order to re-cast as just one of the boys. For two reasons: Uncle Sam has a bill of goods to sell, literally; and Uncle Sam has a Panama Canal which is a key to the defense of his coasts, moreover easily accessible from several Latin-American countries.

These closest neighbors have in recent years been drawn more and more tightly, and always unwillingly, under the direct influence of the White House, and the Pan-American Union.

**Washington Stooge**  
The glaring example is Cuba, whose penultimate president, Gomez, was so openly a Washington appointee that even the *New York Times* said so frankly in one of its editorials.

The Caribbean countries, politically controlled by United Fruit, are just as directly Washington ruled. The control shows every time there is a genuine democratic movement. It is stopped by marines who leave only after they have trained a local praetorian guard and fixed up the elections. It is what Hoover did in Nicaragua, and Roosevelt in Cuba.

The Latin-American countries are all nominally republics and democracies. But right now the only one of them that has a government popularly chosen and supported is Mexico.

**No Democracy**  
In a considerable number of the rest, the pretense, even, of democracy, is not sustained. Peru, for instance, recently had elections, which the President declared null and void when it was found that the popular liberal groups were winning. Chile is controlled by a party that calls itself Nazi, wears brown shirts, and follows the leader in all other Hitler respects. Bolivia and Paraguay have semi-Fascist dictatorships, which operate as all Fascist governments do fundamentally, for the purpose of providing cheap forced labor.

In the Argentine there is a

dictatorship with political persecution so sharp, civil liberties so dead, and censorship so tight that when the son of the President was half-killed by the police for shouting, "Down with Imperialism" at the Conference, not a single Argentine paper printed a line of the episode.

These dictatorial gentry—the Justos, the Getulio Vargases, the Terras, are the "representatives of democracy and peace" whom Roosevelt folded in his arms. The America-versus-Europe myth was proclaimed on these happy occasions. In Europe, look at them, Fascism, quarrels, suspicion, preparations for war, democracy strangled. But in America democracy triumphs, there isn't any Fascism, and nobody is preparing for war. Everything is so rosy that Uncle Sam will now forego the Monroe Doctrine, which no Latin-American country ever accepted, entitling him to arbitrate, order, and police everything south of the Rio Grande.

### Now Mutual

The Monroe Doctrine is now supposedly mutual; a mutual pact for the defense of the contracting countries, which is a machinery for military and political co-operation. If it works out as intended, it means for example, that when American officials, armed or unarmed, go some place to fix up a government, they will go with the approval of the other Latin-Americans, rather than as before, against their resentment and protest.

More significantly, it means that the considerable Nazi and Japanese influence in several Latin-American countries cannot be stifened into military co-operation and alliance without "legitimate" objection from the United States. The secret air-bases and harbors so much talked about among Latin-Americans, which Japan is supposed to have tucked away in the Caribbean neighborhood, can now be dealt with by the American State Department, through Latin-American stooges.

And along with all that, the Latin-Americans, out of gratefulness and cordial warmth, should now respond to the Good Neighbor advertising campaign by buying from U. S. companies.

### People Not Asked

Only one factor was left out of the calculations, an unmentionable factor in such gatherings; a negligible factor to capitalism and its diplomats; the wishes and interests of the peoples themselves.

If up to now, the United States government has operated to squelch democratic movements in Latin America, for the reason that they threaten the cheap virtually slave labor on which rests the profit of American companies, is this labor to welcome the inauguration of a diplomatic machine that puts active, "legitimately" hostile governments all around such movements, instead of only the enemy in the north?

If up to now, the threat of an international war involving the United States versus Japan, among other combatants, had not meant that the other American countries would necessarily be involved, should the peoples of those countries hail an arrangement establishing that when the United States fights, they fight too?

## Scab Act



Senator Royal S. Copeland, friend of shop owners, and responsible for the hated "fink" legislation aimed at black-listing strikers and union men.

## Seamen Fight Against 'Fink' Copeland Act

By JOHN NEWTON THURBER

Final settlement of the maritime strike on the West Coast is now being delayed by the shipowners. After coming close to a settlement with the Sailors Union, the Marine Cooks and the Marine Firemen, negotiations have again been interrupted by an attempt by the ship owners to secure government intervention on their side.

The militant objection by the three unlicensed groups to the Copeland "Fink" act is the basis of the latest deadlock. Even before the strike broke, the Seamen of the West were outspoken in their absolute refusal to accept the notorious provisions of the Copeland act, which would require each seafaring worker to carry a complete record of his employment by which blacklisting of militant workers would be automatic.

### Doublecross

Harry Lundeborg, militant head of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, was outspoken against the newest attempt of the employers to secure immediate enforcement of the Copeland Act. "We've been doublecrossed," he declared.

Previously there has been an agreement that the enforcement of the Copeland Act would be delayed for ninety days until modification of the bill could be secured from Congress. Shipowners have wired to Washington authorities, including President Roosevelt, Madam Perkins and Secretary of Commerce Roper, demanding that the government intervene.

This action of the Western Shipowners came after their representatives had virtually agreed to the basic demands of the western strikers.

### Compulsory Arbitration

In the meanwhile the government forces, which are equally intent upon keeping the grip which they have over Western maritime workers, have proposed to replace the Copeland act with an extension of the Railroad Labor Act to cover the maritime industry. With the first raising of this proposal, Lundeborg and the West Coast seamen have uncovered the intention of it, and will fight it as they have the Copeland Act. Under the new proposal, a full-fledged compulsory arbitration board would be established.

East Coast strikers have gained possession of several of the union headquarters in New York, Norfolk and other port towns. This comes as a result of the recall

# Chang, Communists Pledge Allegiance To Chiang Kai-shek

By HAROLD R. ISAACS

As predicted in these columns last week, the coup of Chang Hsueh-liang in Shensi fizzled.

Dictator Chiang Kai-shek returned in triumph to Nanking on December 25. Humbled and repentant, his erstwhile captor followed him to the Kuomintang capital. Both men pounded their chests and assumed blame for the "misunderstanding."

It was, of course, a complete capitulation by Chang Hsueh-liang and we may be sure he will function henceforth with clipped wings. The incident, one of the most bizarre in the tangled history of Chinese militarist rivalries, came to an end with Dictator Chiang, as usual, stronger than ever.

### Tight-Rope

He will now once more pursue his tight-rope policy—utilizing the internal political crisis in Japan to display an attitude of semi-recalcitrance toward Japanese demands to force the best possible deal—and at the same time bidding strongly for support from other quarters.

One such offer of support is now before him—from Moscow. The events of the last two weeks brought out in the sharpest relief Moscow readiness to liquidate the revolutionary movement in China in return for a deal with Chiang Kai-shek. On this point the capitalist press has carried a few interesting observations:

"Moscow," reported Harold Denby to the *New York Times* on December 20, "while deploring Chiang's anti-Communist stand, has observed benevolently his progress in unifying China, and his increasing firmness against Japanese demands."

Editorially, the *Times* remarked the next day: "Moscow has been sympathetic to Chiang Kai-shek's

efforts to build up a strong China, even if it involves the extirpation of the Chinese Communists."

There is something ironic in the reappearance of these words in the *Times* at this particular time. Almost identical comments accompanied another critical moment nearly ten years ago. Chiang Kai-shek, the "revolutionary" leader of the People's Front of that time, had just staged his coup in Shanghai, was executing thousands of workers and establishing the reign of terror that has persisted to this day.

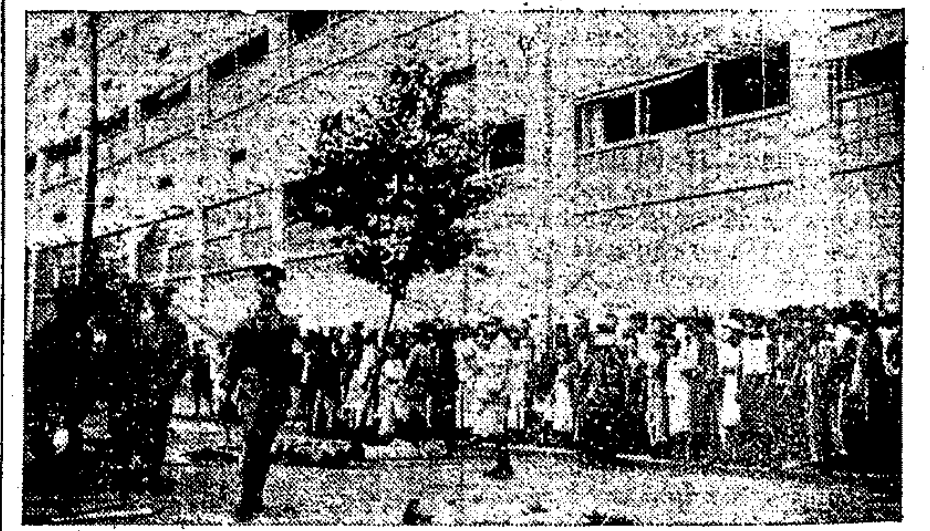
Ten days after Chiang's coup in 1927 Walter Duranty wired his paper: "The Moscow leaders will do their utmost to restore Kuomintang unity, even at the sacrifice of the more extreme Communists." (*New York Times*, April 23, 1927). He was right.

Stalin at that time continued to flirt with this false "unity" until the "revolutionary government" at Hankow was itself engaged in slaughtering workers and peasants and the terror had engulfed the entire country. With the turning cycle of a decade, Moscow is offering the same sacrifices on the same altar.

### Support Traitor

Only against this background can we understand what the *New Masses*, Communist weekly, meant last week when it declared, smugly authoritative, that "the Soviet Government, on principle, is opposed to any action which could disunite China." And continued: "The Chinese Communists . . . are opposed to weakening the

"Communists Are Opposed to Weakening the Chiang Kai-Shek Regime."—*New Masses*.



A characteristic scene in China under the Kuomintang—public executions of workers, including Communists, before a factory by officers of the Chiang Kai-shek regime.

Chiang Kai-shek regime."

This means, in plain language, that the Comintern and the Kremlin will stangle, if they can, any revolutionary action by the Chinese workers and peasants.

If a mere militarist coup "weakens" Chiang Kai-shek—how much more so a strike, a wave of strikes, a general strike? How much more peasant struggles and the spread and rise of a new peasant war?

### White Terror

Are we forgetting that "the Chiang Kai-shek regime" is the regime of one of the worst white terror in the world? Is this the status quo to be supported—in the name of struggle against Japan?

This is the most tragic joke and the crassest betrayal of all—for as the whole past has shown us, Chiang Kai-shek marches over the backs of the masses not to fight imperialism but to compromise with it. This has been done on the past at terrific cost.

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**94 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!**



# Socialists Urge Support of WPA March On Wash.

By FRANK N. TRAGER

Labor and Organization Secretary of the Socialist Party

The Socialist Party of the United States instructs its state and local organizations to give all possible aid to the unemployed and WPA workers in their demonstration against the Roosevelt administration on January 15 in Washington, D. C.

The Socialist party officially endorses the "On to Washington" mobilization of the Workers' Alliance of America, which will begin right after the first of the year with a series of nationwide protest meetings in every important city of the country and will wind up with a mass meeting and a parade through Washington on January 15.

### FDR's Policy

Struggling against mass WPA lay-offs, these workers and members of the Workers' Alliance are now feeling the full brunt of the Roosevelt policy which, despite vague promises during the first administration and before the present election, has consistently sacrificed the interests of workers everywhere to those of the class the president represents. The threat of reaction, which was supposedly defeated in the election of Roosevelt, has become a tragic actuality in the lives of so many thousands of families since November 3.

The Socialist party during the campaign, repeatedly warned against the policy of the lesser evil, by which many workers' organizations and progressives gave their support to the Roosevelt boom, under the illusion that the smiling president would better protect them from London.

### No Illusions

The unemployed in the Workers' Alliance can afford to have no illusions about the relief policy of Mr. Roosevelt.

In March, 1934, when they demonstrated in Washington to prevent the wholesale dismissals of the CWA (they then called themselves the Eastern Federation of unemployed Leagues) they were refused a hearing by Mr. Roosevelt and were forced into a period of virtual starvation until the WPA went into effect in the fall of that year. Then the great humanitarian herded them on jobs with wages ranging from \$19 to \$93 a month, which undermined the union scale of wages.

### Jobless Unified

The unemployed launched the vigorous Workers' Alliance as a national organization in the Spring of 1935, with Socialist David Lasser as national president. This organization has succeeded in unifying the ranks of the unemployed, securing the endorsement of organized labor, and since its inception has defended the interests of the unemployed and relief workers throughout the nation.

Time after time, they have gone to the White House with legitimate protests and with constructive policies but not once has Mr. Roosevelt seen fit to confer with the leaders of this worker's organization despite the fact that they represent the duly recognized collective bargaining agency of workers engaged on projects in 44 states of the union.

### No Time

Roosevelt found time to meet with the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, National Manufacturers' Association, United States Bankers' Association, but never to meet with the organized unemployed. The last time they were tried, in October, 1936, they were summarily arrested by the White House guards.

The Socialist Party of the

## Cuba Swaps One Dictator For Another

Calling for the end of the indirect American support of Fascist terrorism in Cuba, the National Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party pointed out that the struggles in recent years in Cuba seem only to have exchanged Dictator Machado for Dictator Batista.

The statement of the committee follows:

"It appears that in spite of the Administration's emphasis on a policy of 'the good neighbor' that American influence, financial and

### Out-Dictated



President Gomez of Cuba who lost in the scuffle with his fellow dictator Col. Batista.

moral, is steadily on the side of reactionary dictatorship. Jefferson Caffery but carries out the policies begun by Sumner Welles.

"In the present immediate conflict, we are not partisans of President Gomez, but it seems reasonably clear that he is the victim of his opposition to Batista and that the sugar tax would do far more to support the militarization of children than their education.

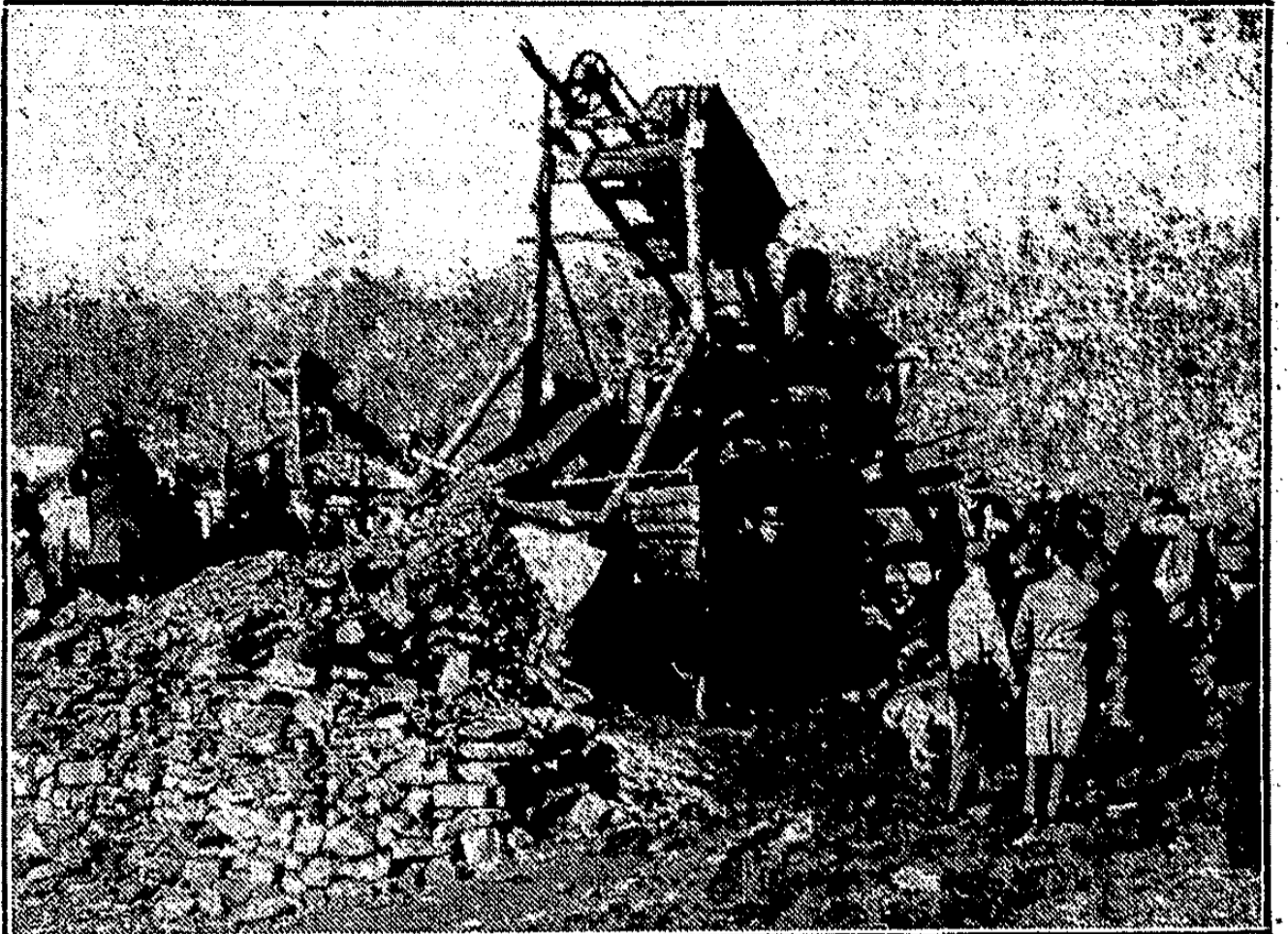
"President Gomez' amnesty of May, 1936, declared when he was still on friendly terms with Batista, was a hypocritical affront to decency. Some 90 fortunates were benefited by the amnesty; but between May and October, 1936, 200 new "politicals" were sentenced by drum-head emergency tribunals, the sentences ranging from 3 years to life. Terrorism, somewhat abated during the first two months of Gomez' presidency, has now been resumed and no citizen is free from the danger

United States urges the workers and all friendly farm groups to support this demonstration.

And in giving support to the demands of the Workers' Alliance, the Socialist party reminds workers everywhere that if they had some remnant of hope in the "liberalism" of Mr.

Roosevelt, they must change that hope and place it where it belongs: in a militant struggle through their own economic organizations, and as rapidly as possible through their own independent working class, political organization.

## 'Bootleg'



Unemployed miners have to live. And in order to do so they have set up their private little mines, poaching on company property for their supply. Despite the great risk miners must take in digging such coal, they continue to do so, as an only source of income. The government, and the mine owners, don't know what to do about it. To suppress "bootleg" mining is almost impossible!

# British Sell-out Of Spain Gets Backing Of Fascists

International working class aid to Spain became of decisive importance this week as international capitalist intervention in Spain developed into an immediate danger.

Anglo-French imperialism moved boldly last week to unite with Italy and Germany in a Four-Power alliance for intervention in Spain against the Spanish masses.

Mussolini, wooed by France and England, consented to the Anglo-French plan. In return, the Anglo-French entente took a decisive step toward formal recognition of Italy's conquest of Ethiopia by withdrawing the legations formerly accredited to Ethiopia and substituting consular offices. An Anglo-Italian agreement for maintaining common interests in the Mediterranean has been completed.

### 4-Power Settlement

Mussolini then joined Delbos and Eden in drawing Hitler into the Four-Power settlement. The Times of London, chief spokesman of British capitalism, promised economic crisis raging in Germany and declared that London-Paris-Rome amity provides a "fresh approach to Spain."

Le Temps, speaking for the French Foreign Office, proposed the Four-Power pact for Spanish intervention, in return for which France would aid Hitler to resolve the German crisis.

Just what aid would be given Germany—loans, colonies, raw materials—was kept secret. Hitler is bargaining for better terms, his coy declarations indicate. But with Mussolini already joining

of summary arrest.

"It is time to make the weight of that protest felt in the United States and particularly to end indirect American support to Fascist terrorism. "The Socialist Party of America joins with other working class organizations and all men and women of good will in every effort for the establishment of freedom, justice and the rights of the workers in our neighboring republic."

with the Anglo-French entente, it is clear that Hitler, while hoping for better terms, will agree in any event.

### 'Compromise'

That the "Compromise" between Hitler-Mussolini and the Anglo-French entente will be made at the expense of the Spanish masses is already revealed. The Associated Press on December 26 authoritatively quoted a French official as predicting that "France, Britain, Germany and Italy might unite to force peace in Spain," and that "Hitler would demand some solution in Spain which would prevent Franco's complete defeat and loss of prestige to Germany, which has recognized his government," so that "We may have to force both sides to cease fighting and submit to compromise in order to save the prestige of European nations which have backed either one side or the other."

The unofficial spokesman for Britain's Foreign Office, Augur, declared in the New York Times, December 26:

"Frankly speaking, the British Government and majority public opinion (!) in this country would not object to the insurgents winning with German help." Their objection, Augur makes clear, is simply to the "prospect of a lasting establishment, of Germans on Spanish soil.

"Thus, the British seek merely for German guarantees against this possibility; and in turn Britain and her ally France will cooperate wholeheartedly in imposing on Spain a regime committed to capitalism.

### Need Support

The success of the scheme of the imperialist powers depends on their securing support inside Spain. Franco, of course, will follow Germany's wishes. Equally, the "anti-Fascist" bourgeoisie of both the Valencian and Barcelona governments will cooperate with the Anglo-French scheme.

Although the murder plot against the workers' leaders in Catalonia failed, with a hundred leading bourgeois figures jailed, and Juan Casanovas, President of the Catalan Parliament, fleeing to Paris, the Catalan bourgeoisie

showed their power when, with the aid of the Communists and Soviet officials, they drove the POUM out of the government. In Valencia, too, the Bourgeois-Communist bloc required from Caballero recently explicit assurance that the Spanish government would subordinate itself to bourgeois relations.

### Workers Weakened

On the other hand, the possibility of working class resistance to the terrible betrayal which the European chancelleries are preparing, is weakened by the bonds binding the working class organizations to the bourgeoisie in the Peoples Front Government. Thus weakened, the workers are in serious danger of succumbing to the combined forces of their "own" bourgeoisie and the Anglo-French-Italian-German alliance.

The POUM is warning the workers that "strangling the Spanish revolution" is the aim of the Anglo-French plan.

### Debs Brigade

The workers throughout the world must come to the aid of their Spanish brothers. The decision of the New York organization of the Socialist Party to organize battalions for Spain is a giant step in this direction. The more revolutionary workers, skilled in military technique, who will be in Spain at the show-down, the more difficult will it be to force through the Anglo-French plan.

At the same time, we must rouse the workers in America, through our mass meetings, our press, our daily contacts, to realization of the deadly plot directed against the Spanish workers. If we rouse the American workers we shall, by the myriad channels linking them to the Spanish workers, convey to our fighting brothers a warning of the fate which is being prepared for them.

### HEARST SLIPS

The Hearst papers continue to slip. Advertising returns for November show that Hearst papers were among the heavy losers compared with a year ago, while most papers were gaining in line-age.

Conspicuous losers were the Chicago Herald and Examiner, New York Evening Journal, New York American, Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, San Antonio Light.

# THE SOCIALIST CALL

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## CLASS STRUGGLE OR GHANDI

The present session of the Indian National Congress once more dramatically raises the problem of colonial freedom.

In India, perhaps more clearly than in any other major colonial country, the colonial ruling classes are the lackeys of the imperialist overlords. For centuries, British imperialism has been able to rule India by bribing the Hindu potentates.

The capitalist class of India is, for the moment, somewhat angry with Britain because the former is faced with economic discrimination. Yet Hindu capital will conduct an anti-imperialist struggle only so long as England is entirely unyielding, on one hand, and the Hindu masses are willing to conduct the fight within the framework of Indian exploitation of Indians, on the other hand.

Should Britain make the slightest concession, or should the Hindu masses refuse to exchange British domination for Hindu oppression, we may expect Indian capital to turn against the colonial masses, hand in hand with English imperialism.

In this sort of set-up, the struggle for Indian liberation will have to be not only an anti-imperialist struggle but also a class struggle, conducted by the Hindu masses ultimately against their own as well as foreign ruling classes.

The healthiest sign in this direction was the speech of Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, in which he said:

"Modern imperialism is an outgrowth of capitalism and can not be separated from it. The Congress party stands for full democracy, not for Socialism, but I hope the logic of events will lead it to Socialism, which seems to be the only remedy for India's ills."

And to supplement this perspective by mass action of the Indian working class, the Socialists moved to organize a country-wide general strike on April 1, the day on which the new and much hated constitution is to be inaugurated.

In addressing the militant peasant movement, Nehru laid the basis for a class movement against imperialism in declaring that the "fight for freedom was waged not for a displacement of British domination by Indian domination."

Standing next to Nehru's bold and practical program, the words of Ghandi are weak and futile. His proposals to solve the "peasants' difficulties without class warfare" will help neither the peasant nor Indian independence.

Only relentless class struggle will free India. And this is of importance not only to India but also to the British working class who in the days ahead will need such reliable allies in their struggle against oppressive British capitalism!

The British working class dare not permit India to develop into another "Moorish Army" in the hands of reaction.

## STAY-IN STRIKES CHALLENGE CAPITALISM

The stay-in strike is more than just a better way of winning a strike.

The stay-in is a direct challenge to the capitalist concept of private property. To the owners of industry, private property is holy ground. When workers seize factories, and hold on to them despite the cursing and fuming of the bosses, they are, in the religion of capitalism, committing sacrilege.

Very quickly the stay-in strike 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.

The extent of the stay-in strike in America proves also that the working class of America does not have to relive all the experiences of its European brothers in order to reach the stage where it will begin to seize factories. Learning from the experiences of the Old World labor movement, the American working class is going through its elementary training school, skipping grades.

It took the American working class a long time to awaken from its post war sleep. But once it begins to move—!

## PRECEDENTS BE DAMNED

Capitalist law is a stickler for precedent. *Stare decisis* is the fancy Latin phrase the courts have for it.

Well, donning the Supreme Court wig, we say: there is plenty of precedent for permitting shipments of arms and even men, who volunteer, to aid Spain. As Norman Thomas points out in his letter, there have been occasions when the U.S. government decided that it could aid "legitimate governments" and blockade "illegitimate" armies.

Socialists are not sticklers for precedent. We certainly do not care for a precedent which will boycott a civil war of a people against tyrants and despots. But, prithee, where is that capitalist respect for precedent, when *stare decisis* runs counter to capitalist class interests?

One thing capitalism knows: class interests must be defended, and precedent be damned.

We thank the gentlemen for a valuable lesson they teach the working class!



# 'Capture The Bosses' Weapons'

To the Editor:  
 More meat for Socialists to set their teeth in—that seems to be your slogan; and it's a good one. New to the line!  
 Comrade Gottlieb's plea for non-violent means of struggle is pointedly answered by your editorial, "A Word on Pacifism." I should like to refer him to the current issue of Fellowship, the publication of the Fellowship Of Reconciliation pacifists. He will find there a statement by a Spanish War Resister who discovered that he could not remain a pure pacifist in the face of Franco's insurrection.  
 "Renouncing the bosses' weapons" is a counsel of despair; "capturing the bosses' weapons" is our only hope.  
 JACK DRACHLER,  
 Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Maryland Socialists Retain Strength

To the Editor:  
 We in Maryland are proud of the fact that in spite of the purposeful sabotage by the former Old Guard, our campaign was equal to previous campaigns in the number of meetings, literature distribution and financing. For the first time in many, many years Maryland went away over the quota assessed it by the National Office in the recent drive, placing sixth among the States with a percentage of 120.6, and reaching a total twice the figure of 1932. We completed the campaign with a sizeable cash balance.  
 The former Old Guard stated in its publication that our cam-

paign was weak. If our campaign was weak, does not the main responsibility rest upon the leading officers during the campaign? When Mr. Neistadt as state secretary openly admitted he would not be active in the campaign, should not even common decency have prompted him to resign his position so that some comrade would be able to use that high office to conduct a successful campaign? Mr. Neistadt did resign—after the election, and together with a group of old guards, withdrew from the party.  
 The New Leader boasted that the Social Democratic Federation meeting was attended by 60 persons. The meeting, be it understood, was a public one, with James Oneal as guest speaker. To make the meeting inviting, refreshments were served. Some "seatwarmers" had to be rounded up in cars of the committee-men. Yet only 60 persons attended. A public, refreshment-served meeting garners but 60, when the Jewish Verband branch,

that goes for refreshments in a big way, alone in days not so far back would turn into the state secretary 80 to 85 old guardist votes in referendums.  
 Let's grant them their figure of their membership. The SP in Baltimore is still almost twice that number. Five out of eight branches remain completely loyal. Of the three which left, two went out with half the membership. Outside of Baltimore, the party in Maryland is completely loyal.  
 Our task is not an easy one. But never has the work of the SP been easy. We have lost very few, indeed only two, active members, and while we are supposed to have lost the "money branch"—the Verband—we are still better financially fixed than we dared hope. The detection of the old guard has aroused a new determination among all comrades to double their efforts to make the Socialist Party THE party of the workers.  
 IRVING FOX,  
 Baltimore, Md.

**Are You a Subscriber?**

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# WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

At the request of the Spanish National Trade Union Center, a special meeting of the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International was held in Paris, Dec. 4-5. The sessions were secret. The sole question discussed was the Spanish situation, particularly with regard to the "non-intervention" pact. Reports were made by Schevenes, the General Secretary of the IFTU, Pascual Tomas, of the Spanish UGT, and Lamoneda of the Spanish Socialist Party. A resolution was then adopted, the main points being:

Reaffirmation of full support to the struggle against Fascism in Spain. Protest against the support given the rebels by the Fascist countries and renewal of demands that the necessary assistance be given the legal Spanish government. Demand that steps be taken to put an end to Franco's recruiting activities in Morocco and that the League of Nations take action against the violations of neutrality.

All these proposals are merely repetitions of previous decisions. There is, however, one additional point which is new, and under the circumstances can become the most important of all, namely:

A call upon the working class organizations affiliated with the IFTU and LSI to check by all appropriate action the sending of supplies to the rebels and urging them to set up national coordinating committees for this purpose.

This is the first call for independent working class action, and if carried out may have more positive effect than ten calls upon the League of Nations for "action."

## Socialization

The municipal government of Badalona, a small industrial city in Catalonia, has decided to municipalize all buildings and real estate in the city and suburbs. The proposal was initiated by the FOUM and the Anarchists. It was carried over the opposition of the Communists.

According to the decree, all real property is declared the property of the community. An owner of a single dwelling retains use of it, but cannot sell, rent or mortgage it. Present owners having no other means of livelihood shall be granted the equivalent of a wage earner's income. All leases, mortgages on real estate are declared null and void. All national and state taxes now being derived from real estate shall be paid by the municipality. Construction and planning shall be carried on under the direction of the Builders Union.

Several important changes in the economy of Catalonia are being introduced. In October, a decree on socialization was adopted by the Generality. It provided for the collectivization of all industries of 100 or more workers by the workers in the plant or industry, the profits to be divided among the workers.

The new changes extend collectivization to all plants employing 50 or more workers. In plants of less than 50 workers, the workers are to decide whether collectivization is to be carried out or not. The division of the profits among the workers of the particular plant is abolished. The profits are to be divided among the workers generally. A process of centralization is being worked out to increase the efficiency and productivity of the various industries.

The new decrees originated from the two big unions of the workers, CNT (Anarchist) and UGT (Socialist). They were presented to the workers in a series of tremendous mass meetings and were enthusiastically received.

## Reject 'Armistices'

The recent proposals of England and France for an "armistice" in Spain are being rejected with scorn among the anti-Fascist elements in that country. The official bulletin of the Catalonian government, under the title "Unwelcomed Intervention" declares:

"Franco-English diplomacy has reached a climax requiring action in regard to Spain. The policy of non-intervention is being changed with vehement direct action to stop the advance of the Iberian proletarian revolution.

"While the rebels . . . were advancing on Madrid . . . France and England felt no concern. They pigeon-holed the whole absurd business of non-intervention and allowed Italy and Germany to invade Spanish territories without a protest . . .

"But the panorama soon changed. Franco's mercenary army has been dissipated at the gates of Madrid . . . Franco-British diplomacy, feeling an insupportable fear for a definite triumph of the Iberian proletarian revolution, has with suspicious precipitation, in the course of a few short hours, mobilized its immense resources . . .

"Solidaridad Obrera" organ of the CNT, declares: "The fact that certain nations, who have had every opportunity to intervene in this most inhuman and cruel attack by the Fascists since the early stages of the war when we were less able to defend ourselves, have not made a single protest up to the present time, proves definitely that they wish to see the triumph of Fascism."

# PERSPECTIVE FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY

(In the Spring of this year, the Socialist Party will hold an historic convention. The CALL, beginning this week, is running a series of articles on Perspectives for the Socialist Party. This series will be followed by discussion articles which may be sent in by all readers who are members of the party.)

Prepared by CALL Editorial Board

The Socialist Party makes its appeal to the American masses as a party of revolutionary struggle.

## AN EXTENDED CLASS STRUGGLE

The coming months and years in America will find the class struggle waged on a more extensive arena than at any time in the history of this nation.

The struggle will be extensive geographically. Hide-bound areas of capitalist and semi-feudal domination will become battle grounds of struggle. The lords of the Pacific, the "gentlemen" of Dixie, the captains of the sea will be faced with human earthquakes, slave rebellions, and trade union "mutiny."

The struggle will be extended over wide strata of labor. The enslaved "unskilled," in the basic industries of America, are blasting apart their ancient shackles. And the once aloof white-collar folk, writers, actors, office workers, and opera singers, are parading the picket lines. And capitalism's "objects of charity," the unemployed, no longer beg, but demand!

## A SHARPENED CLASS STRUGGLE

The immediate future will sharpen the edges of the struggle.

The American masses are throwing into the discard the namby-pamby technique of their one-time leaders. Industrial unionism, stay-in strikes, revolts against organized timidity are preludes to open combat. The capitalist class is loading up private arsenals with tear gas and machine guns in preparation for the day when they shall convert their factory yards into fields for a miniature civil war.

## SPURRED ON BY CRISES

The class struggle in America will be goaded on by economic crises, arising out of the industrial decay of American capitalism and out of an international war.

The plaintive plea of Major Berry to the capitalists in the Council for Industrial Progress that they halt a new depression by voluntary action will be of little worth in changing the currents of collapse contained in his statistical charts.

A new crisis—perhaps four years hence—will bring a highly militant and much strengthened labor movement face to face with the prospect of—wage cuts. New millions will be added to the army of the unemployed and to the Workers' Alliance—just at a time when the government will be breaking its back under a heavy debt load. Thousands in the middle class will be ruined over night. And millions of farmers, traditionally militant, and rapidly organized, will see prices toboggan downwards, and watch their homes and land torn from their hands.

The American imperialist domain will be seriously shaken by any new combination of powers that may threaten the international status quo. Defense of the American Empire will be as inevitable as the war that goes with it. Whatever sacrifices a jugged nation may be ready to make to Mars when the war begins, the continuance of the war must exhaust the nation. High cost of living! Strikes! The pain of death, and disease, and starvation, and perhaps, war terror! The class struggle will again break out against the capitalist war and against the class and government responsible for the war.

The coming years in America will find a capitalist class preparing to use a mixture of flattery and brute force in order to bribe or beat the working class into acceptance of a continued capitalist rule.

## CLASS COLLABORATION

American capital is making ready on many fronts to develop an elaborate system of class collaboration, whereby it may tickle Labor to death!

Just as the once militant railroad workers were safely put away in the vest pocket of the owning class by a carefully planned system of mediation, arbitration, and adjudication, so too the maritime workers, auto, steel, coal, rubber, radio, chemical employees will increasingly be coaxed to accept the "gentlemanly" way of conducting the class struggle. Already there are moves to extend the emasculating Railroad Act to the seamen. Soon to other industries!

The "new line" of the National Manufacturers' Association and of the CIP are American expressions of British "Mondism" and the European system of class collaboration.

## STATE FORCE

Where labor refuses to "cooperate" capital will employ its major instrument of oppression—the state. The growth of the stay-in strike will hasten governmental intervention in the United States, because the stay-in strike very quickly raises the crucial question of the class struggle: "Whose factory is it?"

## THE FASCIST THREAT

The third great weapon in the arsenal of capitalism—in addition to class collaboration and state action—is a Fascist movement.

This Fascist movement will grow, with the aid of skilled demagoguery, out of the very crises brought about by capitalism. But through hirelings who pose as champions of the masses against the evils of the status quo, capital will divert the potentially revolutionary discontent of the masses into the channels of Fascist reaction.

The perspective of the working class must therefore rest upon the understanding that no automatic forces will give the working class the upper hand over its class foe.

The strength of the working class will be extended. It will go through battles that will groom it for greater battles. It will be brought face to face with situations wherein it will be able to wrench power from a shattered capitalist class.

But, on the other hand, capital is also preparing for the struggle. It will attempt to talk labor into a state of quiet, so that the muscles of the working class may grow flabby and useless for combat.

It will, meanwhile, employ the state to fight its foreign wars, to terrorize opponents to its policy, to "coordinate" all energies for imperialist gain. It will subsidize the demagogues of Fascism.

The basic perspective in America is toward a sharpened class struggle which in the not too distant future will be transformed into a political and revolutionary struggle for state power.

What role will the various elements within the labor movement play in this development?

What is the role of the Socialist Party?

(These questions will be dealt with in the second of this series of articles on Socialist perspectives to appear next week.)

# EDUCATION FOR USE

By McAlister Coleman

As long as everyone else is doing it, we might as well haul up our sleeves, spit on our typewriter and let her go. "Her" being our official forecast for the coming year.

Right off the bat, we're taking no chances whatever in saying that 1937 is going to be one of the most fruitful years for genuine Socialist educational work that the Party has known.

Did I hear some old-timer groan a little at the mention of that much-abused word, "education"? All right. Groans are in order when education is used in the Liberal sense. Because, for years, Liberals have been talking Education for Education's sake. Get the facts, they say, give the light, and all will be well. It is probably true that never before in the history of civilization has there been such easy access to such vast educational wealth as is now offered to the American people. Granted the poisonous effects of propaganda for private profit upon the sources of our education, the fact remains that our old friend the man on the street is almost literally having his nose rubbed into education of a sort and range unknown to prior generations.

And yet—the Liberal formula doesn't work, does it? Fully armed with facts, flooded with light, the man on the street does nothing about any of civilization's discontents, oppressions, exploitations. I'll take that back. He does something about them. He multiplies them.

He thinks up dictators to bestride him, salutes totalitarian states, encourages all the black forces of exploitation with a masochistic gusto. He does it openly and above-board in the dictator states abroad; he does it in this country by constantly supporting an out-moded system of production which he himself knows is out-moded.

## Socialist Education

It is necessary, then, constantly to remind ourselves and our listeners everywhere of the deep-going difference between Socialist and Liberal education. One reason, among many, for this past year's cleavage between real Socialists and the Old Guard revolved around this all-important matter of education.

Theirs was the Liberal idea of gathering trained packs of lecture-hounds into a hall and exposing them to the portentous oratory of Old Guard pundits. After forty-five minutes of platform hollering, the audience was supposed to go home in a state of pop-eyed edification. The Old Guard boob-babs liked to think of themselves as "Professors," with a capital P.

I once wrote of them that, "They paraded the town carrying on their shoulders the Ark of the Covenant." That Ark they called "education," "social science" or some other hi-falutin name. Our youth was supposed to bow down and knock worshipful foreheads against the ground at the appearance of these "Socialist" professors. The youngsters did this dutifully enough for some years.

Then they found out that all there was in the Ark was a lot of long-hand notes copied from sixty-year-old books. They discovered that the measure of Old Guard wisdom was the number of worm-eaten tomes through which their weary eyes had travelled. That the Old Guard was as remote from the actualities of the Twentieth Century as Tibetan hermits. And they left them and their "educational" mumblings with unconcealed relief.

## Education an Implement

Left them to create a new dynamic Socialist culture that, unless all signs fall, will grow mightily during this coming year. As Norman Thomas has stressed time and again, "The issue is revolutionary." We educate for crisis, not for the accumulation of theory. Such research as we do, on the Labor Research Front, for example, is not for the neglected files of gloomy libraries. It is to be taken out and used in the world of men. It is to implement our struggle for creative revolution.

So it is with our press. We edit and issue our papers and magazines to be used in the dust and heat of the daily struggle. They are not printed to impress anyone with the profundity of our knowledge. The educational value of pictures and text in the CALL is to be measured by its effects upon the Socialist activity of the reader. No Liberal aim of Education for Education's sake would justify the genuine sacrifices that are made by those in charge of the Socialist press.

In case you haven't guessed it by now, I am making a New Year's appeal to all of you boys and girls out there on the Socialist front to make it possible for our Socialist machinery to function at high speed during this coming year. It is geared for ACTION. Its output is the creative revolution. Our machine tenders are on the job. When you give the word, they can turn the power on. Somewhere else in this paper you will find the dotted lines. Sign them for a happy Socialist New Year.

# \$50,000 FOR 500 MEN TO SPAIN

## First Contingent Of Debs Column To Leave Jan. 19

By JACK ALTMAN

The true gauge of the sentiment of American workers in their hatred of Fascism was learned as a result of our public announcement of the "Debs Column," organized to join our comrades from all over the world on the Spanish front.

Men (and women too) from all walks of life, Communists as well as Socialists, stormed the Socialist Party office in New York in their desire to destroy Fascism. From every part of the country, from the deep South and from California, letters, telegrams and telephone calls were received.

The response shows that the Socialist Declaration of Principle, which states: "It will do all in its power to fight Fascism of every kind all the time and everywhere in the world, until Fascism is dead," has not fallen upon deaf ears here in America.

### Experts

The outstanding characteristic of the volunteers, according to the questionnaires filed and letters received, is the large number who have technical and engineering experts. Their knowledge will help defeat Fascism in Spain and construct a workers democracy.

The Socialist Party in taking this step is carrying out Workers sanctions against Fascist aggressors. We are not appealing to the government to send troops. We know that if they did it would be in the interests of American capitalism.

Each applicant is interviewed by a committee, medically examined, and must bring references from responsible people in the labor movement. No adventurers wanted.

While we are in a united front with all other elements in the North American Committee in order to make the Madison

Square Garden meeting with Fernand De Los Rios a success and an important blow against Fascism, the party in New York is lining up all its forces following this meeting for the big drive to raise \$50,000 for 500 volunteers.

### Sails Jan. 19

All money being contributed for this purpose is being put aside. The week of January 19 will see the first sailing of the column. The men are ready to go.

All we need is the money. The following are the methods planned to raise funds.

A city wide tag day on January 9 and 10 with every member possible participating.

A mass meeting at a hall to be announced on January 19, which will be a send off to the first group. More details next week. At this meeting a banner will be displayed which will be delivered to the Socialist Party of Spain from the Socialist Party, U.S.A.

On Friday, January 8, the German and Italian consulates will be picketed with the demand "Hands off Spain" and a committee of propinant individuals will make the demand of the picketers directly to the respective consuls.

The work by the branches locally, collecting clothes, medical supplies, canned food, running of mass meetings, still goes on and is being intensified. All this work, however, should be tied up with our main slogan, "\$50,000 for 500 Men."

Send money to the Debs Column, 21 East 17 Street, New York City. Contributors will be listed.

## 'We Want to Fight Fascism'

The following are excerpts from some of the letters that have come to us from men and women who wish to enroll in the Debs Brigade. We have withheld names for obvious reasons at the present time. We have also excluded such passages as would lead to the identification of the persons.

Milwaukee, Wis.

"I am thirty-two years of age, have been a Socialist all my life, emigrated from Germany in 1923, participated in the Ruhr rebellion and am a tool and die maker with considerable experience in guns, rifle scopes and ballistics. Am a member of a rifle club, do all the re-loading of ammunition and testing. Am also an expert rifle man (U. S. Army Medal) and do the coaching of all new members in rifle shooting in our club."

Los Angeles, Calif.

"Just a line to let you know I want to be in the 1st Brigade to fight for the Madrid Government.

I made Chief Petty Officer in a short while in the U. S. Government during the World War and will be a great help in my line for Spain."

Sullivan County, N. Y.

"I am a striking seaman, formerly a Staff Sergeant in the Regular Army of the United States. I was a radio operator and in charge of artillery engineers office—a graduate of U. S. Coast Artillery School—my age is 33, excellent physical condition."

Washington, D. C.

"Spent six years in U. S. Marines, honorably discharged. Served on two expeditions, Nicaragua, Central America and China. Have fair knowledge of Spanish, reading, writing and speaking."

Whitewater, Wis.

"I have been doing free lance work in the design and reconditioning of aircraft and engines—in addition to regular participation in general flying activities. For your further information I am 30 years of age, started flying in 1925 on World War surplus equipment."

Washington, D. C.

"I was very much interested in your announcement of the formation of a Socialist column for Spain. There are two of us here in Washington who are ready to go now. I am going down to Richmond this week but they are old service buddies of mine who are experts in their line, radio, machine gun, flying, etc. . . ."

"And finally, may I organize my own company. I know darned well that I can line up

enough ex-marines alone to pretty near make a company. How about it? That's not important, just an idea. The important thing is how soon?"

"AM SCHEDULED TO SAIL SOON AS MEMBER CREW BUT WOULD GLADLY CHUCK FOR PRIVILEGE JOINING YOUR FIVE HUNDRED FOR SPAIN STOP AM THIRTY-FOUR GOOD HEALTH HATE FASCISM LOVE SPANISH PEOPLE STOP SEVEN WEEKS IN SPAIN SEVEN MONTHS AGO STOP PROFESSION EXPLORER MARINER STOP MILITARY EXPERIENCE CONFINED TO KNOWLEDGE SMALL ARMS AND COMMAND EXPEDITIONS BORNEO WITH DUTCH COLONIAL INFANTRY PATROLS ATTACHED STOP KNOWLEDGE PRACTICAL MAPPING ETCETERA STOP PLEASE WIRE VIA WESTERN UNION COLLECT IF INTERVIEW WILL HELP STOP CALL ME ADVENTURER IF YOU LIKE."

Philadelphia, Pa.

"I hold an A.B. and an A.M. from the University of Penna. and for the last two years have been working toward a doctorate at that institution. I have some knowledge of the Spanish language, as well as French, German and Italian. In addition, I have for some months past confined my reading to military text-books and manuals of arms.

"My capital at present is about \$100 which I should be very pleased to place at the disposal of your organization.

"I am 22 years old and healthy, I have a wife but she can take care of herself, and if I could be enlisted I would be happy to go and do my best for the cause of humanity.

"I was in 1922 a (Cabo de Artilleria) in Jiraldota's regiment in Colombia and I was discharged with honor. I am a sharp shooter and I was a good soldier. I have no political affiliation, only hate for nazis and fascists. Can I be enlisted?"

New York, N. Y.

"Three and one-half years 1906-1909 Czarist army sharpshooter."

Brooklyn, N. Y.

"During my sojourn in China, I went through more actual combat experience than the average soldier got in the World War. I have always had a very definite hatred for the fascists. My father was a personal friend of Eugene Debs. When I saw the article in the paper announcing the "Debs Battalion," it struck a responsive chord in me immediately. I am an expert with the rifle, automatic rifle, and the bayonet. I have photos to substantiate the above statements."

## Resolution For Revolution

By the Business Manager

Every New Year's period marks a time when the old capitalist system, working through the native puritan elements in each person's conscience, gains a temporary victory of sorts over the ordinary tendency of people to go their own way and enjoy life as much as they can.

Instead of resolving to get along without things at New Year's time, workers should resolve to enjoy things which they previously have failed to enjoy. New pleasures should be demanded, not old ones given up!

If you resolve to enjoy more and more of the good things of life, you are making a revolutionary resolution. You are demanding more than the capitalist system

In fact, the best revolutionary resolution which we can think of here in the CALL office, would be for each one of you who wants all the good things of life which are available to resolve to get at least \$1 a week to the CALL, either as a bundle order (for 50 Calls), as a subscription which you can sell to some friend or fellow worker, or as a donation, which you will have secured either personally or from your neighbors.

Make support of the CALL your first New Year's Resolution, and then the self-denying ones can be

## ARE YOU LISTED?

### SUBSCRIPTIONS

Following are some of the agents who have submitted subscriptions in the past week:

- C. J. Braun, Memphis, Tenn. .... 5
- A. Cornell, Chicago, Ill. .... 5
- Local Wayne Co., Detroit, Mich. .... 4
- Charlotte Marx, New York City .... 1
- S. P. Cuyahoga Co., Cleveland, Ohio .. 1
- L. V. Farnsworth, Ohio .... 1
- Mike Shulman, Worcester, Mass. .... 1
- C. Brannin, Texas .... 1
- Carl Eichandler, New York City .... 1
- A. W. Harkness, Sherwood, N. D. .... 1
- G. H. Lanvie, E. I. .... 1
- Shura Goldenberg, New York City .... 1

The total subscriptions received this week: 90.

### DONATIONS

- Ester Klein ..... \$ 5.00
- A. Konikov, Boston, Mass. .... 5.00
- J. Schlederkamp, Lanark, Ill. .... 5.00
- Grace Curtis, Claremont, Calif. .... 5.00
- Meyer Motlin, Bronx, N. Y. .... 3.00
- W. B. Davis, New York City .... 2.50
- Dr. Burgess, Providence, R. I. .... 1.00
- Mrs. Mashew, Conn. .... 1.00
- N. Turner, Conn. .... 1.00
- Phil Liebowitz, Bronx, N. Y. .... 1.00
- L. Jessen, Conn. .... .50
- Mildred Lutain, Bronx, N. Y. .... .50

\$30.50

forgotten when we have built the machinery to make capitalist self-denial only a bitter memory.

## State Office Aids Fascists, Thomas Tells Roosevelt

(Continued From Page One)

always be binding. It has on occasions worked well. Is it not suggestive in the case of Spain?

Back in August the State Department gave a certain amount of aid to the Rebels by ruling that supplies might be shipped to French ports in Rebel hands without fear of search and seizure by the Loyalist navy, unless and until an effective blockade could be established. Although the Rebels did not buy arms in this country, the State Department interpretation of international law worked to their advantage. Now it is proposed still further to help them against a democratically elected government by the enactment of new domestic law in this country.

### Keep The U.S. Gov't Out!

It is not a simple world wherein a principle useful to keep the United States out of international war must be automatically and inexorably applied in civil insurrection under circumstances

where there is no danger of dragging this country into war. Let it be remembered that under no circumstances are we asking that the United States navy, directly or indirectly, be used to guarantee delivery of the supplies the recognized Spanish government has bought.

In the long run it is not peace for the world or even for America which will be served by applying to the Spanish rebellion a general principle which should be asserted more rigorously than is yet the case in Congressional legislation concerning neutrality in international war. We plead for recognition of the possibly disastrous effect of your action in disarming of the Spanish government in the face of well-armed and ruthless Rebel armies.

NORMAN THOMAS  
Chairman Public Affairs Committee  
Socialist Party

## Kentucky Governor Refuses To Free the Harlan Miners

By JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL

Immediate steps will be taken to assemble additional evidence to satisfy Governor A. B. Chandler of Kentucky of the innocence of the four Harlan county union-miners serving life-terms for alleged murder of three mine-

guards in the 1931 Everts battle. Despite a strong showing at a hearing in Chandler's office on December 24 that the four were framed up by anti-union coal interests, the Governor refused to

chief mine-guard killed, attested her belief that the prisoners were guiltless. Sherman Percival, ex-deputy sheriff, testified that one of the state's principal witnesses urged him to "say you saw them there (the defendants) whether you did or not."

"To meet Governor Chandler's difficult requirements," said Herbert Mahler, secretary of the Kentucky Miners' Defense here, "we will be compelled to carry on extensive further investigation. In advising us to 'bolster up' the record we consider that the Governor conceded an open doubt that the Harlan convictions were justified."

liberate them. Two key witnesses at that hearing corroborated the defense contention that the Harlan men were convicted on false testimony. Dolly Hudson Daniels, widow of the



**Ferment in Steel**

# The Rift In Company Unions

By ROSE M. STEIN

When the National Labor Relations Board resumes on January 11 its hearings on the validity of company unions in the steel industry, there will be on hand a number of witnesses from the ranks of elected employee representatives to tell under oath that the bargaining committees they serve on are ineffectual, are supported and dominated by employers, and interfere with the workers' rights, and that they wish to join a bona fide union.

They will have ample facts to prove these contentions, if further proof be needed. They will tell how their minutes are censored, how company union reports which mention an outside union or intimate that there is dissension within, are designated as "radical" and are not permitted to appear on the mill bulletin boards.

They will tell that representatives were paid \$3 a day and expenses, in addition to regular time, when they attended meetings of the general council through which allegedly the companies negotiated for the recent 10 per cent wage raise. They will tell how they held conferences lasting ten and fifteen hours, in the course of which management tried to force company union officials to sign a contract tying down the present wage scale to the cost of living, thus freezing the standard of living at the prevailing level, regardless of how much profit the industry makes.

They will wind up by concluding that the company union plan is an insult to the intelligence of the men who make steel, and that none ever took it seriously or had any confidence in it.

**COMPANY UNIONS MAY BE BANNED**

These witnesses will be followed by other employee representatives, whom the companies are even now recruiting and coaching, and who will testify that company unions are the best possible agencies for collective bargaining.

When both are done, and when the Board has had an opportunity to carefully go over the record, which by then will be quite voluminous, and will vary only in minor details from the record compiled by the Steel Labor Relations Boards when that body held hearings in 1934, after all that time and energy will have been spent, there is every reason to expect, the Board will declare company unions illegal, provided the Supreme Court does not in the meantime rule the Board itself out of existence.

Under the circumstances, it is particularly significant that a large body of company union representatives did not find it necessary to wait either upon the Board or the Court, but gathered at a conference in Pittsburgh on December 20, and not only declared company unions illegal, but organized themselves into a committee for industrial organization to work within their own mills, and through their councils, towards building a strong industrial union under the banner of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

**KEY WORKERS GATHERED**

The gathering consisted of 242 representatives from 42 mills of some of the largest companies: United States Steel, Bethlehem, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, and others. They were all key men. Among them were rollers, estimators, machinists, men who had put in many years of service and whom it would be hard to replace. So far none of those who attended the conference has been

fired. It is not expected that there will be any dismissals, for such action would only tend all the more to emphasize employer interference.

They are being watched to be sure. Paul Fasser of Farrel told how ever since he went over to the Lewis forces he has had a man behind him all the time doing nothing but watch him and report both on his work and on any organization activity he might engage in.

When asked whether it was a strain on his nerves to be watched constantly in that way, he replied, "No, the strain is on the guy who watches me because I outsmart him every time and if he doesn't soon report something vital on me he will lose his job."

The sentiment expressed by rank and file speakers, and the unanimity with which decisions were voted on, indicated clearly that all those who came were prepared to bolt the company union. Those who were opposed to such a move must have simply stayed away or knew how to keep a discreet silence, for there was no opposition whatever.

Phil Murray, national director of the steel organization drive,

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

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

spoke at the conference, and in the course of his remarks pointed out that more than half of the actual number of elected company union representatives are now enrolled with the SWOC. So far neither the American Iron & Steel Institute, nor any of its constituent companies, denied this statement.

**WORKERS SUPPORT STEEL DRIVE**

But no matter what the figures are, this much cannot be disputed: 242 representatives, each chosen by at least 300 steel workers, came to this conference, and enthusiastically offered their support to the Lewis drive. Their support is important. They are inside the mills, they are in constant touch with the particular department each represents, and they have the

confidence of a large body of workers.

The Pittsburgh gathering represented the northeastern division, including Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Cleveland, and Baltimore districts. The conference set up a working organization with Elmer J. Malloy of the Duquesne works as chairman. When the two other major steel centers—Chicago and Birmingham—have set up their necessary machinery, there will be a national conference, and the death warrant to company unions issued by the districts will then be confirmed on a national scale.

**130,000 ENROLLED**

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee reports that it has enrolled up to this time close to 130,000 steel workers. All those engaged in the work recognize that having that many application cards—and the number will probably have to be doubled before recognition over the entire industry is asked—does not constitute a real organization. It represents the first, and perhaps most important step.

There will be the task of setting up lodges, of seeking out local

leaders to direct and conduct them, and of building a cohesive and well-knit organization. When that task is faced, the men who bolted the company union, who gathered December 20 to map out plans for intensifying the drive, and who emphatically call themselves "progressives," will be in the vanguard.

Elmer J. Malloy, John J. Kane, William Garrity, Paul Fasser, William Ragayll, Arthur Junstrom, William Hart, all these will no doubt become familiar names. They have "guts" and intelligence. They need guidance, help, and encouragement; they need protection if the employers begin to clamp down on them. The Lewis-Murray forces are more than ready to give them all of these. Thus aided, they will go far in the direction of building a steel union.

No doubt the Corporation, and the various other steel companies, still have a bag full of tricks, and no doubt too, they will invent ingenious ways of using them, but with these men in the ranks, and with the SWOC and the CIO in the lead, the contest will be equally matched.

(Next Week: GLASS WORKERS ORGANIZE)

## Auto Workers Are Pouring Into Union

By FRANK MARQUART  
Staff Correspondent

DETROIT.—Their road to organization cleared of craft obstacles, the automobile workers are pouring into the unions at a rate that leaves their bosses bewildered.

Since the May, 1936, convention of the United Automobile Workers, 90 per cent of the men working in the independent automobile companies have been organized.

The real influx into the union began when the U.A.W. won a decisive victory from the Dodge management. In September 3000 to 5000 Dodge workers, many of them with well-defined seniority rights, were informed by letters that they would not be re-hired for the 1937 production period.

The union immediately swung into action, the Dodge Local threatened a strike and the company gave in, agreeing to take back every worker whose seniority rights had been violated. Scores of non-union men were benefitted and the Dodge and Chrysler locals increased their membership.

**Flint Sits Down**

Then, in October and November a sit-down strike in the Fisher Body Company initiated a wave of unionism in Flint. The workers sat down and simply refused to do a tap of work until the three of their fellows who had been discriminated against were called back on the job. In their zeal to get the line moving, the company even had a police car scouting the streets of Flint for the three men, who were finally located and induced to return to work.

This demonstrated to the workers the power of organization, and since then they have been coming into the union at the rate of 1000 to 2500, a day in Flint. In that small town, heretofore bottled and corked by General Motors, the two Fisher Body plants are now well organized and the workers from Buick and Chrysler are steadily joining up.

The workers in the Bendix Brake Factory in South Bend, Indiana, took the lead, staging the first stay-in-strike and winning a gen-

**A CORRECTION**

Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers Union, has not been a member of the Socialist Party for some time. Through an error his picture printed in last week's CALL was captioned "Socialist."

eral wage increase. Midland workers followed with a 7-day stay-in, which netted them the right to collective bargaining, an increase of ten cents an hour on the base rate, and time-and-a-half for all over eight hours a day.

In the fabricating plant of the Detroit Aluminum Co. the workers sat down spontaneously, and within three days 1800 joined the union. The next spectacular strike occurred in the Kelsey Hayes Wheel Company where the issue of hours and wages soon became secondary and the right of the workers to collective bargaining primary. The union won.

On December 17 another spontaneous strike took place in the National Automotive Fibers, Inc., a Detroit Chrysler unit. In a body the workers joined the union, which took up their fight, and within a few hours won an increase of five cents an hour, the promise that no workers would be discriminated against and an agreement that further negotiations would continue.

Despite his elaborate spy system, Edsel Ford cannot prevent his men from joining the union. Some of them come to the Union Headquarters to join and others to the West Side Locals.

On December 19 John Lewis threw down the gauntlet to General Motors, informing them that the fight will not stop until collective bargaining becomes estab-

## Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

The prospect of spending weekends and vacations among congenial comrades and friends at a place where intelligent, class-conscious, low-cost entertainment is provided in surroundings both beautiful and spacious has now become a probability rather than a possibility.

Several months ago I reported that a group of New York Socialists, concerned about the utter lack of vacation facilities for members of the working class at prices they can afford, formed a committee to survey the possibilities of establishing a resort more in keeping with the traditions and pocketbook of the average worker than now exist. The need for institutions of this sort, once attention is directed to it, becomes immediately apparent.

It was the intention of this Socialist committee to challenge the hold of the profit motive on

lished in the auto industry.

One of the most encouraging things about the young U.A.W. is the complete democracy which prevails in the locals. The affairs of the union locals are run by the members who are taking an increasingly active interest in their union. Is this democratic spirit merely a phase of the union during its formative period, and eventually will control rest in the hands of a bureaucratic leadership?

The sole safeguard against this possibility is an alert and intelligent membership. It is encouraging to know that nearly all the locals have an educational committee, which arranges for classes and the securing of instructors.

**Socialists Active**

Merlin Bishop, a Socialist, is doing an excellent job as Educational Director of the U.A.W. Other Socialists in the union, some as organizers, some as shop stewards and others as rank and filers, work in a way that gained them the respect and confidence of the membership.

Above all, these comrades, knowing that an educated working class is the surest preventive of Fascism and the biggest hope for Socialism, are doing all they can to make education grow as the union grows.

workers' vacations by building a cooperative camp and colony where these abuses could be removed. Throughout the late summer and fall, the committee has valiantly gone about its self-imposed task, resulting recently in the signing of a contract for the purchase of a tract of land admirably suited to the purpose.

The land is a farm of about 125 acres, a bit more than 40 miles from the heart of New York City where the facilities for swimming, fishing and boating will be excellent.

Incidentally, this lake is the only natural lake of its size within a fifty-mile radius of New York City which has escaped commercialization by profit hungry real estate operators. The property is located near Shrub Oak, New York, in one of the higher sections of Putnam County, its elevation being well over 1000 feet.

**Experts Consulted**

The committee is to be commended for the excellent way in which it has conducted its search. No step was taken nor was any decision made without the advice and counsel of experts in their fields. For this, the many engineers, camp, building and real estate experts who gratuitously offered their services deserve a sincere vote of thanks.

The plan of the committee contemplates building a camp and colony along strict non-profit, cooperative lines, and, while all the details have not been worked out as yet, there is assurance that they will meet the requirements and voice the desires of all the members because it is by the democratic discussion of all the members and prospective members that decisions are made.

There is still time for those who are interested to apply for membership at the Camp Committee, 21 East 17th Street, New York City. The number of members is necessarily limited and the quota is fast being filled.

# AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

Labor organization, especially of unions connected with the CIO, is growing by leaps and bounds. Living costs are rising and such increases in wages as employers have made by way of concessions have not even brought wages up to the 1929 level. There is no sign that the heavy industries are on the verge of recognizing legitimate unions. Hence the next few weeks or months will likely see a great wave of strikes.

Indeed the wave has already begun with the protracted strike of the Marine Federation, sit-down strikes and shorter struggles in the rubber and automobile industries and among WPA workers. Now as a result of the last election the Democratic Party has almost sole power in states and in nation. It is Democratic officials therefore who will have to deal with strikes. They will do it very unsatisfactorily, to say the least, from the workers' standpoint.

Hence along with the strike there will doubtless be a revival on an intensified and perhaps more realistic scale of talk of the necessity of independent working class political action.

In numerous speeches and articles I have pointed out the practical and psychological difficulties in the way of the easy formation of a national farmer-labor party. That does not mean that such a party would not be desirable; still less does it mean that Socialists can afford to isolate themselves from renewed interest in a labor party which may arise as a practical result of labor's campaign for organization.

This must be borne in mind in all Party discussions of the issue. Above all, we must be in a position in the unions themselves in democratic fashion to assert some leadership or influence by virtue of our understanding of the situation and of the sincerity of our devotion to labor's cause.

## \$10,000 NEEDED AT ONCE

The type of Socialist work which must be done requires the publication of pamphlets, the establishment of contacts of all sorts, the sending out of organizers, and all the varied activity which the NEC has mapped out for the National organization.

These activities require in turn the immediate raising of the modest sum of \$10,000. Not only the raising of this sum but the rapidity of it will be a measure of the health and vigor of the Party and the sincerity of Socialist devotion. Again let me repeat the scale on which the NEC expects members to buy Debs stamps. (Scale on Page 9). This job must be done and done at once!

## "INFIDELS" FRANCO'S TROOPS

For the involve and turgid style of the Pope's Christmas message his previous illness may be partly responsible. For the essential hypocrisy of that message the policy of the Vatican is to blame. The Pope at one and the same time in effect called for world peace and praised the Fascist attack on what he regards as "Communist atheism" in Spain.

It ought to be a matter of profound humiliation for sincere Catholics to recognize that this holy war in Spain against "Communist atheism" is really a struggle of reactionary militarists and Fascists fought mostly in the early stages by Moorish "infidels" and other mercenaries—not pious Spaniards. It was aided in its beginning by British capital invested in Spanish mines, and is

today dependent for its success upon the favor of Adolph Hitler who although a nominal Catholic has to some degree persecuted the Church in Germany!

## NO MASS SUPPORT FOR FASCISTS

The actual situation in Spain is a living answer to those who argue that Franco's rebellion is a spontaneous struggle against "Reds." It is amazing how little active Spanish support Franco has. It seems to be generally agreed by now that his success depends upon what Italy and Germany will do for him.

At present despatches indicate that Mussolini has lost heart in the Spanish enterprise partly because he fears to see German influence well established in a Mediterranean country, partly because Great Britain has made some concessions to him. The British foreign office and the British capitalist interests concerned in mines in Spain were originally largely responsible for the Spanish tragedy and the threat to the peace of the world.

Now, however, the foreign office has become alarmed at the possible increase of Italian and German strength in the Mediterranean and British mining interests apparently have been doubled-crossed by Franco, who is trying to use their ore as a bribe for more German support.

Hence the British support of the French demand that Hitler stop

his open aid to Franco. Since the German general staff is reported to feel that the time is not ripe for risking a large scale war, it is possible that Hitler will not give the support that Franco needs to win. Provided that Mussolini also stays bribed off, that means Franco's defeat, and after that a long and probably painful process of reconstruction in Spain.

But it will be, we think, reconstruction primarily by and for the workers.

## THE DEBS COLUMN

The bitter suffering in Spain gives us new reason to hate war and to desire genuine neutrality between the nations. Clearly Franco's victory in Spain would not only fasten a peculiarly reactionary form of Fascism upon that oppressed nation but would greatly increase the danger of Fascist aggression, and hence of war, throughout the world. Spanish workers and others who are defending a democratically elected government by the means of war which has been forced upon them are in a real sense fighting our battles. And Socialists have desired to aid them in every way that is wise and practicable.

Careful inquiry convinced a Socialist committee in New York that it could aid Spain by picking out from among many volunteers persons of character and special technical ability or military experience and helping them to reach

Spain. These volunteers have behind them a tradition which goes back as far as Lafayette, Steuben and Kosciusko. Their actual enlistment for any form of service will be arranged in Spain itself.

They are truly volunteers in a sense that Mussolini's and Hitler's Black and Brown Shirted "volunteers" in Spain cannot be under the rule of a dictator of a totalitarian state. American volunteers for aid to Spain will want to keep their American citizenship, but under no circumstances will they involve the American government in the struggle.

It will be seen, therefore, that interest in the enterprise announced under the name of the Debs Column is consistent with the Socialist stand for keeping the government of capitalist America neutral in international war.

## LIDELL HART'S BOOK

Unique and authoritative light on the folly of modern war between nations and the stupidity of generals is furnished by Lidell Hart's interesting book, "The War in Outline" (Random House, New York). The major impression of the book upon a lay reader is of the immense incompetence of generals and high commands in the business of warfare.

They sacrifice human life as if blood were cheaper than water. Apparently they had less concern for the loss of private soldiers than a good chess player might

have for the loss of pawns in his game. The book is immensely interesting for the lay reader in helping in an understanding of the art of war as carried on by the high command of both combatants from 1914 to 1918.

There is nothing on earth to make one believe that new wars would write a different history except that it would start with new and more perfect implements of destruction. The search for a substitute for war and above all for the elimination of the causes of war is a necessity for the life of our generation.

As matters stand the defeat of Franco will be an enormous aid in that search.

## HARLAN MINERS NOT FREED

It is immensely disappointing that Governor Chandler of Kentucky did not celebrate Christmas by pardoning the four remaining victims of the Harlan County mine war who are now confined in the penitentiary under life sentence. The Governor expressed willingness to consider the case further. Labor and all others concerned must intensify their struggle.

There is no principle of justice which I can understand which keeps these men in after their companions have been either acquitted or pardoned. This is especially true in view of the impressive evidence submitted in their behalf to the Governor. The struggle must be kept up.

## Spain Speaks!

HON. DR.

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# With The Party

### NATIONAL

Preparations are under way for the special convention called by the national executive committee of the Socialist party for the last week-end in March in Chicago.

At the last meeting of the national action committee a sub-committee on convention arrangements was elected. The committee is composed of Roy E. Burt, chairman; Hy Fish, secretary; Albert Goldman and Arthur G. McDowell.

Plans were also made to furnish locals and branches of the Socialist party with discussion outlines covering all the points in the convention agenda.

Comrades available for organizing work should get in touch with national headquarters, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill. There are a number of openings available for capable people.

### COLORADO

Local Denver lost no time in getting busy on making plans to raise its share of the national budget. Debs organization fund stamps have been ordered. The social committee is formulating plans for a money-making affair. The organization committee is making a drive for funds among sympathizers.

Marjorie McCormick was elected chairman of the Spanish Solidarity Committee. She is to be assisted by Sam Pollak.

### CONNECTICUT

Plans are being made to have a full-time organizer in the field. The response for funds has been encouraging. Seven locals have pledged \$22 a month as follows: Wilton, \$5; Hartford, \$5; New Haven, \$5; New Britain, \$2; Bridgeport, \$2; Fairfield, \$1. More than twice as much is still needed.

The State Executive Committee has appointed a standing sub-committee on Cooperation. Abraham Perlestein of Hartford is chairman of the committee, and Sven Ottoson of Hartford is a member. More members will be added at the next meeting of the SEC.

The State Executive Committee will meet in party headquarters of Local Waterbury on Jan. 10.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The finance committee is arranging an affair to be held in the middle of February to raise funds for the budget of the national headquarters. The Spanish Solidarity Committee has been busy collecting funds and clothing.

### ILLINOIS

Ernest Erber, national chairman of the Young Peoples Socialist League, recently returned from Spain, will be the chief speaker at a rally at the cafe Idrott auditorium, 3208 N. Wilton Ave., Thurs., Jan. 7, 8 P. M. The meeting is sponsored by the Cook County Party and Young Peoples Socialist League.

Cook County has opened its new headquarters which also house the State Office at 35 S. Dearborn St. Suite 719, Chicago, in the heart of the downtown section.

Gillespie local has already raised \$72 in cash for the Spanish Solidarity Fund of the Socialist Party, putting it in the lead of all sections of the organization in Illinois in this activity.

Ed Adams, State organizer and committee member, will resume state organization work, hitting the locals in the state aboard the state sound truck right after the New Year and

after recovering from a minor operation which took place over the holidays.

### INDIANA

A committee has been elected in Hammond to visit merchants asking for clothing donations for the Spanish workers.

### MASSACHUSETTS

The Central Branch of Local Boston is beginning a weekly forum on Jan. 8.

### MISSOURI

Dr. Paul W. Preisker, active St. Louis Socialist and president of local 420, Teachers Union, is being nominated as a candidate for the Board of Education. His candidacy, upon a "non-partisan" ticket, is a part of the two year fight which has been waged against the school board ruling which prohibits teachers from joining a labor union.

At present the St. Louis election laws make it possible to run for the Board of Education only as a Republican or a Democrat, so the present move is also a challenge to this law.

St. Louis unionists are now busy gathering the 8,000 signatures necessary to place Preisker's name on the ballot.

### MONTANA

Socialists in Whitefish have been active in organizing the unemployed into the Workers' Alliance and 10 leading demonstrations and protests against WPA layoffs.

### NEW JERSEY

The 50th anniversary of the service in the working class of Charles Sarapin, veteran Passaic Socialist was observed last week in the Workmen's Circle hall. Paul Steinberg served as chairman. Lazar Becker, chairman of the management committee of the CALL spoke on Spain, and afterwards a collection was made, with \$10 being raised for the CALL.

### NEW YORK

Meeting of Socialist War Resisters Dec. 31 at 1:30 P. M., 171 W. 12th St., apt. 5B.

The rolling kitchen for striking seamen may have to stop rolling if funds to keep it going are not immediately forthcoming. Send contributions to Y. Horn, YPSL.

The Village Forum, 107 MacDougal St. opens its second year Sunday, Jan. 3, 8:30 P. M., with a lecture by Ludwig Lore.

The NYC Guides of the Red Falcons of America invite your children and all the children you may know to attend a Falcon Party and Exhibit this Sunday, Jan. 3 from 2:00 to 5:00 P. M., at 107 MacDougal St.

Alexander Flehhandler, who recently returned from Mexico, will speak on "The Social Revolution in Mexico" at the West Bronx Forum, 7 W. Burnside Ave., Rm. 26, Jan. 3 at 2:30 P. M.

Social Sat., Jan. 2, at 7 W. Burnside Ave., given by Circle 2 and 8 A. D., Bronx.

# Build the Organization With Party Stamps

By MARJORIE KIPP

Director, Debs Organization Fund Drive

Steel workers organizing for a frontal attack against the steel barons... Aid for the Spanish workers being mobilized throughout the country... WPA cuts with a march planned to Washington by the Workers' Alliance... Young Socialists vigorously planning 1937 activity at a national organization conference in Chicago... Two regional conferences of the Socialist Party already held: one in St. Louis and one in Chicago. More in preparation; one in Norris, Tenn., one in New England. These are the issues and the activities which confront the revitalized Socialist Party.

Despite the false cry of Roosevelt or Reaction, 200,000 workers registered their belief in the program of the Socialist Party at the last election. As time goes on and the workers see that they voted for "Roosevelt and Reaction" our potential supporters will be even greater.

In order to draw these people into party activity, we need finances. The Debs Organization Fund, of which Norman Thomas is chairman, has issued a special stamp which sells for 25 cents. These will be sold to members on a voluntary assessment plan according to their ability to pay. With the cooperation of every Socialist Party member and sympathizer we should more than cover our modest budget of about \$10,000 until the special convention at the end of March.

Party members with incomes of less than \$10 a week are to be assessed one stamp, \$10 to \$20—2 stamps, \$20 to \$30—4 stamps, \$30 to \$40—8 stamps, \$40 to \$50—16 stamps, \$50 and above—32 stamps. The Debs stamps can be purchased from the national headquarters of the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

"The job is there to be done. Give us the materials," is the cry of national headquarters.

## Southern Socialists To Confer in Tenn.

ALLARDT, Tenn.—A three-day conference of leading Southern Socialists to take up important Southern organizational problems, and to make recommendations for the establishment of a Southern organization office will be held at Norris, Tenn., January 2-4.

The following are signers of the Conference Call: William R. Amberson, Claude Williams, Bernard Borah, Franz Daniel, George C. Edwards, Sr., George Lambert, Howard Kester, H. L. Mitchell, Alex Jacobs.

# New Years Eve

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## Rebel Arts to Hold Day-After Party

Rebel Arts of New York is making provisions for that let-down feeling after the night before at a New Year's Day cocktail party, to be held on the afternoon of January 1 at its headquarters, 35 E. 19 Street, New York. The party will begin at 4 p. m.

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**SPECIAL RATES TO CALL READERS**

# 'Behind The Moscow Trial'

By JAMES T. FARRELL

BEHIND THE MOSCOW TRIAL, by Max Schachtman, New York. The Pioneer Press, 142 pp., clothbound \$1.00, paperbound 25c.

The Moscow trial cannot be viewed merely as a tragic and regrettable episode in the long factional struggle between Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. Neither can it be accepted as the prosecution of common criminals without political status as the Communist parties of the world would wish us to believe. The consequences of that trial have been too far reaching, and the issues and questions which have become entangled within these consequences are too important for us to accept either of these views.

### Asylum

One consequence of this trial has been an attack upon the right of political asylum by the Soviet government, and by its supporters throughout the world. When the Soviet government demanded that the Norwegian government deport Leon Trotsky from the borders of Norway, it attacked the right of political asylum.

The Communist parties of both the United States and Mexico are continuing this attack in their hysterical efforts to exert pressure upon the Mexican government which has extended the right of asylum to Leon Trotsky. In addition, the Moscow trial has resulted in an almost unparalleled use of slander, and character — assassination as a political weapon in the labor movement.

Such tactics are those of the reactionary press. They have no place in revolutionary journals. When used by Communist organs, they must be called by their proper names; they must be described as red journalism gone yellow.

### History

The Moscow Trial has become a great cause celebre which seems destined to agitate history for over a century. If the official version of the case be true, we must admit that the men who were the close collaborators of Lenin, that the men who contributed so much toward making the revolutions of 1905 and 1917, and toward defending it against the white counter-revolution, are nothing more than common criminals.

In addition, the right of political asylum has been challenged, and an ugly precedent established which can be used by any reactionary or Fascist government in the world as a means of doing away with political opponents who are living in exile. The trial threatens to split the world labor movement at a time when unity is essential.

In the light of such circumstances, it is necessary that an impartial investigation commission be formed to seek out the real facts in the case. The intelligent world is skeptical of the official version. Almost the sole exception of a liberal journal of opinion accepting this official version is to be found in our own New York; that journal is the *New Republic*. As a consequence of the trial, men of such indubitable intellectual, revolutionary,

and artistic integrity as Ignazio Silone, author of *Fontamurra*, have openly criticized the Soviet regime; in fact, Silone's *Letter to Moscow*, printed in a recent issue of *The International Review* is a masterpiece of eloquence, and should be read by all those who are interested in the trial.

### Facts

Max Schachtman's pamphlet, *Behind the Moscow Trial*, is a work which can only strengthen the demand for facts, and for an international commission of investigation. After examining all the available records of the testimony and the evidence, he describes the trial as "The Greatest Frameup in History." Reading his analysis I have become completely convinced that the trial must have been conceived by dull and dishonest police minds, incapable of arranging testimony and evidence in accordance with the ordinary dictates of logic and consistency.

In fact, the inconsistencies Schachtman documents lead me to the conviction that those who conducted the Moscow trial were even more clumsy than the men who concocted the frameup of Sacco and Vanzetti. The prosecutor, Vishinsky, did not even trouble to check simple inconsistencies of chronology when they cropped up in the testimony. Alleged meetings of the alleged conspirators were taking place at the same time in different cities. Dates became so entangled in a web of inconsistencies that the testimony begins to read like the product of a Lewis Carroll writing a fairy tale.

An allegedly desperate conspiracy hatched by "Fascist mad dogs" turns out to be a most nonchalant series of alleged meetings, stretching over a confused period of time, and even participated in by men who were in jail during the greater portion of the time of the same alleged conspiracy.

### Errors of Fact

And there are not only chronological inconsistencies.

There are demonstrable errors of fact. Defendants testified to having met Trotsky's son at the same time in both Berlin and

Copenhagen, which means that Sedof Trotsky must be a lad gifted with mystical powers. Furthermore, documentary evidence has been produced to prove that Sedof has never in his life been in Denmark, while defendants testified to having conspired with him in that country. Furthermore, they testified to having met him at the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen, which was razed in 1917, and not reopened until August 1936.

In addition, Trotsky was accused of having conspired with the agents of the Nazi Gestapo in 1932 at a time when the Weimar Republic was functioning in Germany, and the Gestapo had not been organized. The testimony "revealed" Trotsky as sending assassins into Russia to "remove" Stalin. Such "assassins" as Olberg confessed that he went into Russia, and quickly travelled thousands of miles from Moscow where Stalin lives, secured work, and remained thousands of miles away from Stalin, waiting to kill Stalin, evidently by thought transference, until he was arrested on charges of assassination and terrorism.

### Was Open Letter

Additionally, one of the exhibits presented at the trial turns out to be an open letter written by Trotsky. The phrase "remove" Stalin is a quotation from Lenin's testament, so-called. It is on evidence so worthless and fantastic as this that the trial is based.

And Schachtman examines this evidence with relentless logic and ruthless analysis. His pamphlet is a brilliant work of analysis,

which leaves the official version of the case without even one shred of credibility. He has conclusively demonstrated the utter valuelessness of the testimony. His pamphlet can only strengthen the demand for facts, the demand that considerations of reason and justice dominate the discussion of this trial instead of those of partisanship and prejudice.

I predict that *Behind the Moscow Trial* will stand, not only as a brilliant attempt to clarify the confused status of this particular trial, but also as a landmark in intelligent political pamphleteering in the American labor and revolutionary movement. I know of no other such work written by an American in my time to match it for clarity, force, intelligence, and logic.

Clear headed and fair minded people who read this pamphlet will demand more than hysterics from those who must answer the charges contained in this pamphlet.

### Where Are Facts?

The defendants of the Moscow trial are dead. They cannot be retried in order that a believable and consistent story be presented. If there are more facts, if there is any documentary evidence, where is it? Why are we not given facts and documents on

this trial instead of fairy tales? As a frontispiece quotation, Schachtman most aptly prints this from Diderot: "If a lie can serve for a moment it is inevitably injurious in the long run; the truth, on the other hand, inevitably serves in the end even if it may hurt for the moment."

The truth concerning this trial will hurt. But the demand for the truth must be made, and made strongly and insistently. For only the truth concerning the Moscow trial can eradicate the stain upon the honor of the labor movement and upon the shield of Socialism which that trial has left.

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# LOBBY AND AISLE

By McALISTER COLEMAN

We have certainly been around with a lot of big-shots during this past strange theatrical season. We have watched Richard Wagner dunk his breakfast toast, we have seen Edgar Allen Poe trail his "plumes in the dust", we have more recently watched John Keats compose one ode after another while his loving friends rescued them from the coal-scuttle, the fire-place, the study floor—wherever he happened to chuck them when he was through.

## A SYMPATHETIC PERFORMANCE

In AGED 26 at the Lyceum Theatre on West Forty-fifth St., we not only have John Keats, but Byron and Shelley as well. Robert Harris, Linda Watkins and Kenneth MacKenna give a sympathetic performance as Keats, Charles Brown, the poet's dotting friend and Fanny Brawne, his beloved, but they haven't much of a script from Anne Crawford Flexner. She has stumbled over the same hurdle that has tripped most of the stage's studies of genius this season.

## AND A GALLANT ATTEMPT

It is a gallant attempt and gives on the whole a mildly entertaining evening. When it is over, however, we are still in the dark as

# Coming This New Year's Eve



Lily Pons, whose second motion picture, "That Girl From Paris," will begin the New Year at the Radio City Music Hall, opening Thursday, December 31.



Jimmy Cagney, as a fearless and honest deputy who set out to break up a powerful ring of crooks in "A Great Guy" coming to the New Criterion New Year's Eve.

to the Robert Browning cryptic question: "What porridge had John Keats?" What were the fierce driving forces beneath the sensitive exterior of this youngster? There are few clues in AGED 26. We see Keats tangle his villainous critics, we watch him fall in love with the lovely Brawne girl, we observe the symptoms of the disease that took him ultimately off. But where in all these researchful notes was the drama of Keats?

## ABOUT A YEAR AGO

Just to be sure that something genuinely biographical could be done on the stage we went back to Helen Hayes in VICTORIA REGINA at the Broadhurst Theatre on West Forty-fourth Street. There, a year ago, one of our leading actresses started on her pageant of an era from the dim twilight day when she was informed that she was Queen, until at last the crowd cheered the old widow in her wheel-chair at the windows of Buckingham. Laurence Housman, the author, has contented himself with the pictorial and it must be admitted, he has quite the easiest subject of all those who have tried to show us grandeur behind the foot-lights

## VICTORIA HEAD-STRONG WOMAN

VICTORIA REGINA poses no such psychological problem as Keats or Poe or Wagner. She was a head-strong and imperious woman, madly in love with her disarming Albert. It was her genius to give her times just the symbol the people wanted. Housman hadn't to bother about the deep, dark springs of poetic creation. He had Strachey to guide him, and a world of "pomp and

# The Theatre Union — 3 Years Later

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The pioneering of the Theatre Union in its business administration is not as generally known, although its unique business methods have made the low-price theatre possible. Among these, the benefit theatre party system, adapted to the needs of workers' organizations, has been outstanding. This season the Theatre Union is pioneering again with even

circumstance" in which magnificently to move.

Playwrights can do the Biographical, within definite limits. They cannot however, build up on the stage that carefully reconstructed personality who is the only product not only of his times but that which is eternal.

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# ON THE SCREEN

By ALLAN GEORGE

JANOSIK. Directed by Mac Fric; story by J. Mahon; music by Miles Smatek; photographed by F. Pacenka. A Lloyd Film production. At the Filmarte Theatre, 58th Street and 7th Avenue.

Following in the wake of "Carnival in Flanders," which enjoyed a long run (13 weeks!) at the Filmarte, the new Czechoslovakian film JANOSIK leaves no doubt in the mind of this reviewer as to the intentions of the management. Mr. Lenauer has definitely established his house as a place where moviegoers can enjoy the best that European studios have to offer.

JANOSIK, filmed in the beautiful and awe-inspiring Carpathian mountains, is the story of 18th century barbarism. The peasants, suffering under the bestial domination of rich and bloated feudal lords who periodically exact ten percent of their possessions, finally find their leader in Janosik, the son of a poor peasant killed for daring to raise an axe to a brutal officer. Janosik, (to this very day a national hero of the Slav people) gathers around him a small but united group of hardy peasants and mountaineers whose only purpose, it seems to this writer, is to emulate Robin Hood—stealing from the rich and giving to the poor—and making life generally unbearable for their oppressors. A price is set on Janosik's head which keeps rising with each of his exploits. He is finally captured, and is offered freedom if he will summon his men to fight against the Turks—but Janosik refuses. He prefers death rather

than treachery and so is hung by the ribs until dead.

JANOSIK is not without its lighter moments. The scene where these so-called "brigands" overcome a group of actors impersonating them at a banquet, and play their real part while the governor and his court look on in ignorant enjoyment, is one that will leave you shaking with laughter.

Palo Bielik, a former policeman making his debut on the screen in the role of Janosik, contributes adequately in making this film a brilliant and forceful drama. He is ably supported by the beautiful, Zlata Hajdukova, who portrays Anicka, his sweetheart. Mac Fric is to be commended for his unfaltering direction which keeps JANOSIK moving at a lively pace that will set your heart beating overtime. It is a worthy successor to "Carnival in Flanders."

Nominated as one of the ten best pictures of 1937.

## THOMAS SPEAKER AT RALLY FOR SPAIN

Norman Thomas will be the principal speaker at a mass rally to raise funds and food for the Spanish workers and peasants to be held at Menora Temple, 50th Street and 14th Avenue, Brooklyn, Wednesday, January 6, at 8 P. M.

The meeting is being held under the auspices of the West End Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, of which the Socialist Party branches of the west end of Brooklyn are a part.

Other speakers will include Charles Hendley, Socialist and president of Local 5 of the Teachers Union, and J. Moreno Macalle, representing the Spanish government.

## SOCCER FOR SPAIN

Soccer for the benefit of the fighting workers in Spain will be played Sunday, January 3, 1 P. M., at Wingate Field, Avenue K and 17th Street, Brooklyn. There will be two games—Giuliana F. C. vs. Vanguard A. C. and Carlstadt F. C. vs. Vanguard II.

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4. March 14th: Literature  
Lewis Mumford—Critic and author.

The Theatre  
Anita Block—Critic; lecturer at the New School for Social Research; former reader of foreign plays for the Theatre Guild.

5. April 11th: Graphic Arts  
Rockwell Kent—Noted illustrator and author.

Music  
Samuel Chotzinoff—Music Critic N. Y. Evening Post.

6. May 9th: Special Meeting to Commemorate the Fourth Anniversary of "The Burning of the Books"  
Professor Morris Cohen, of the College of the City of New York will speak on the status of Philosophy under Nazism; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Dean of the Union Theological Seminary, on Religion; Professor Franz Boas and others.  
Mr. S. Joan Block will preside as chairman throughout the Symposium.

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