

# Socialist Call

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

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 21, 1936, at the Post Office at New York under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. III—No. 138

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1937

PRICE FIVE CENTS

## Sam Baron, Reporter For CALL in Spain, In Barcelona Arrest

### Stalinists Held Responsible for Jailing Caballero Ally

Sam Baron, special correspondent of the Socialist CALL in Spain, is reported to be held in arrest.

This reported arrest is believed to be the result of the Stalinist campaign in Spain to suppress all revolutionary forces, with special attention directed at present against the followers of the left-socialist Caballero.

Sam Baron was personally constantly under fire ever since his return from Spain several months ago. Together with Lison Oak, Sam Baron published a series of articles in the SOCIALIST CALL revealing the deceitful and distasteful work of the Spanish Chekha in splitting the anti-Fascist forces and in the suppression of revolutionary elements.

Baron was untruthfully identified with Fascist forces in a libellous series of four articles written by Israel Amter in the American Communist paper, DAILY WORKER.

Baron left for Spain with credentials from de Los Rios, American ambassador, to the heads of the present Loyalist Government. Indications are that the arrest of Baron, like similar actions reported by Baron in his SOCIALIST CALL articles, was carried through by irresponsible police controlled by the Communist Party.

The last report the SOCIALIST CALL had directly from Baron was a manuscript written in Paris and published in recent weeks. No word has been heard from him since.

#### COMMUNICATES BY CODE

The report of his arrest came to America through arrangements made by Baron in Paris. Expecting trouble, Baron had established a code, which would make it possible for him to inform persons outside Spain of any difficulties.

Sam Baron has been actively engaged in aiding the anti-Fascist struggle. After his work in America, assisting in sending men to Spain through the Debs Brigade, he went to Spain himself. He was actively engaged, during the Caballero administration, in working with the government against Franco.

Baron was used by the Spanish Government to broadcast in English over a network reaching America, exposing the interventionists on Spanish soil.

The Stalinist attacks against him were launched after his first return to America.

## The Splitting Role Of the Stalinists In Loyalist Spain

by Sam Baron

(Sam Baron, Socialist arrested in Spain, was an active opponent of the Stalinist policy. In a recent article in the SOCIALIST CALL, which we are herewith reprinting in part, he summarized his criticisms of the Communist policy.)

Do not be fooled by the smoke screens raised by the "experts" on the Daily Worker to conceal those who are really doing the wrecking in Spain. Let us look at the record since July of last year:

The Republican Majority cannot wage an effective war against Mussolini, Hitler and Franco. Largo Caballero is called upon by all anti-fascists to take the premiership.

Caballero succeeds in stopping Franco. Caballero succeeds in bringing about unity by getting the Anarchists—for the first time in their history—to enter his cabinet. Caballero is hailed as the Spanish Lenin by the Communists.

The Party of Marxist Unity enters the Catalonian Government to demonstrate its willingness to cooperate.

Soviet Russia takes three valuable months sending necessary munition and arms. Although the workers government is to pay for this assistance, Soviet-Russia demands political concessions in return. The P.O.U.M. is driven out of the Catalonian Government in concession.

Russia sends help and the Communist Party in Spain under slogans of "Unity" and "Democracy" starts a public drive for the extermination of the P.O.U.M., the C.N.T. and F.A.I. (Marxists and Anarchists).

Getting no support, and as a matter of fact denounced by Caballero, the Communists start a campaign of carping criticism and character assassination of Caballero.

From Hearst-like screaming, lynching headlines in the Spanish Communist press, against all who disagree with them, the Communists start a campaign mopping up. Shootings, assassinations and murder are reported.

The Communists call for breaking up worker's control of industry, transport, utilities, carrying arms, etc. Resulting in the Barcelona street fighting.

All responsible elements are heart broken, the Anarchists, the P.O.U.M., the government leaders over the radio plead with their followers to stop fighting. Only the Stalinists and the Trotskyists call for more bloodshed. The Stalinists reminded this writer of what a lynching party in the South looks like.

The Communists use the Barcelona events to drive Caballero out of office.

The Communists add all Caballero supporters to their list of Fascists and work for their extermination.

Nin and other working class leaders are murdered.

Thousands are in jail.

Newspapers are suppressed.

The working class in Spain hopelessly divided.

Who is doing the work of the Fascists in Spain?

## Fascist Intervention in Spain



These Italian legionnaires, wounded in Mussolini's Spanish campaign, return home to be feted as heroes.

## Caballero Arrested; Reported as Released

Largo Caballero was arrested in Loyalist Spain and then reported released, according to a trans-radio communication from Spain.

The tight censorship on news issuing from Spain has made it difficult to confirm the details of this report.

Caballero, former Premier of Spain and hailed by the Communists as the Spanish Lenin, has been the butt of Stalinist attacks of late because of his revolutionary policies.

The Communists, under Russian direction, have sought to reestablish a full capitalist regime in Spain out of diplomatic consideration for Britain and France. "Left" elements in Spain—the P.O.U.M. (Party of Marxist Unity), the Anarchists and revolutionary Socialists—have been systematically suppressed for their opposition to this conservative policy of the Communists.

## New Crisis Ahead Says Washington

WASHINGTON (FP)—Next year will be a tough one for farmers and workers if predictions of the Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Economics are substantiated.

Industrial production, the national income and farm income will probably be lower in 1938 than during the present year, the bureau said, after mulling over the reports of half a hundred economists. The last half of 1938 is expected to be better than the first half.

Factors combining to further depress the farmer are the prospects of a less favorable demand for farm products and an increase in farm production costs, the survey said.

Emphasizing the relationship between the farmer and the industrial worker, the bureau reported that the prospect of a slack demand for farm products is based on an analysis of "domestic demand conditions" and that the foreign demand will probably show little if any improvement.

It is uncertain how long the present recession in business will continue, the bureau said, and the chances are against a sufficiently

early and vigorous rise in 1938 to bring the average of industrial activity and consumer incomes up to that of 1937.

#### Falling Production

Analyzing industrial production by industries, the bureau found that "a considerable decrease in the output of textiles in 1938 compared with 1937 is expected." This decrease is to come in spite of the fact that lower cotton prices are prevalent and technological advances make for a cheaper production of more textiles.

In steel the usual fall orders have been lacking and past orders have been filled, it is stated. The automobile, railroad and factory equipment and building construction industries are expected to take less this year and "hence the volume of activity in these industries has an important bearing on prospective demand for farm products."

# The War in Japan Must be Ended by Action of Workers

TOGETHER with most of the world, the Socialist Party of the USA has been revolted by the war of attempted conquest being waged by Japan against China in the Far East, as well as by the character of the conflict. The war, however, must be regarded fundamentally as the continuation of a process which has been going on for many years—the division of the world's territory and economic opportunities among the great capitalist and imperialist Powers.

Japan, encouraged by the ruthless war policy of fascist Italy in Ethiopia, and the pre-occupation of non-fascist European countries with the defense of their own economic privileges, has decided to strike for greater economic power and to challenge the other imperialist nations which have sought to dominate the Asiatic continent.

Unlike those who see in the conflict only brutality and aggression, the Socialist Party understands that capitalism in Japan was faced with the alternative of seizing more territory, raw materials, and markets or letting capitalism eventually crash and transform its social structure into a Socialist state. Thus behind the face of Japanese militarism is capitalism itself, taking its inevitable course in imperialistic rivalry and conquest.

## Far East Labor

Japanese workers, who under other circumstances might have prevented the present tragic situation, have been handicapped by poverty, oppression, and rigid censorship, coupled with an intense nationalistic propaganda against which, in the existing state of their economic, political, and social development, they could not be expected to assert themselves successfully.

The Chinese workers, confronted by coolie standards of living in spite of their increased productivity, by brutal and intense exploitation under native and foreign capitalists, by suppression of their labor and fraternal associations at the hands of provincial and national authorities, have in this crisis been summoned by their exploiters to come to the defense of China against Japanese encroachments. Moved by profound sympathy for their plight, the Socialist Party of the USA calls upon the Chinese working class to use every opportunity afforded by the present struggle to wrest from their native and foreign exploiters their rights of free association, free speech and assembly, universal suffrage, popular election of all provincial and national officials, and every political privilege now enjoyed by the workers in western democracies, in return for their support of the struggle against Japanese aggression. If they can successfully form their own councils of workers and peasants during the conflict, they will doubtless be in a more favorable position to achieve these ends.

## Workers' Sanctions

By the application of workers' embargoes upon the shipment of war materials to Japan, immediate and effective aid can be given to the Chinese masses. The Japanese imperialists are dependent upon the importation of raw materials. The prevention of such imports in the highest practicable measure should be a primary concern of the international transport workers' movement, in which they should receive the support of the organized labor movement manufacturing war goods destined for transportation to Japan.

These workers' sanctions must be supplemented by a world-wide boycott of Japanese products, not through official governmental action, which might not only tend to precipitate world war and to regiment the masses behind capitalist authority, but rather through unified action by working class organizations all over the globe.

The working class cannot trust to neutrality legislation adopted by capitalist governments, for safety against war or aggression. But so long as a combination of the Japanese blockade and economic factors indicate that the application of the US Neutrality Act would not materially reduce the flow of goods to China while cutting off substantial sources of Japanese war supplies, we demand the full enforcement of the law. We cannot support the resort to "collective security" by capitalist governments, because to do so would only weaken the continuous campaign against capitalism everywhere; increase the danger of a world conflict that would foster reaction rather than revolution; and tend to transform governments not now fascist into actual or virtual totalitarian states.

## End Capitalism

The intensification of the class struggle by capitalist forces against the masses in the western democracies, and the more extreme suppression of the working-class movements in the Fascist countries, constitute the national aspect of imperialist finance. The aim of working-class policy must be the complete abolition of imperialist competition through the abolition of capitalism itself. The reply of the international working-class to imperialist struggle is Socialism.

The Socialist Party of the USA therefore urges on the international working-class movement vigorous support of the Chinese workers in their struggle against military and economic aggression by Japan and other imperialist powers, and calls for all practicable aid to those working-class elements in Japan who now oppose the attempted domination of China's economic future by Japanese capitalism.

# Socialist Party Pledge Cooperation In Labor Struggle Against Japan; Rejects All "Collective Security"

To Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary, Trades Union Congress and James Middleton, Secretary, British Labour Party:

Dear Comrades:

We acknowledge with sympathy your communication regarding the Japanese attack on China and enclose herewith an official statement adopted by our National Executive Committee. You will note that we concur in your plea for a boycott against Japanese goods, not by official governments, a step which might lead to the spread of the war, but by the working-class itself. We further emphasize the need of working-class sanctions as applied to the shipment of war supplies to Japan; even partially concerted action with the present limited strength of the international working-class would arouse the world and have economic and moral repercussions on the Japanese masses, while at the same time giving strength to the Chinese workers.

While we can put no ultimate faith in the present Neutrality Law of the United States, either as a safeguard against war or a factor in the prevention of aggression, its enforcement, even in fuller measure, would probably deny to China little more than is barred anyway by the Japanese blockade, while it would choke off from Japan many commodities on which her imperialists rely for the prosecution of their attempted conquest.

We do not favor, under collective security, so-called, the use of military or economic sanctions by capitalist governments which themselves are imperialists, because our opposition to these governments must be ceaseless, and because collective sanctions under such auspices, if they do not lead to world war, are likely to result in an approach to totalitarianism which will crush out what freedom there now is in some of the non-fascist countries.

Within these limits we will cooperate to the full extent of our ability. We especially rejoice at an international working-class approach to this crucial issue.

Fraternally yours,

ROY BURT

NORMAN THOMAS

# Detroit Elections Indicate Hope For Labor Politics

By Ben Fischer

DETROIT—The election of the united reactionary slate in the city elections here last week is being hailed as a striking defeat for the labor movement by the press. But the union workers of Detroit see in the election a genuine moral victory. Some 150,000 workers voted together for their candidates. This is the great significance of the elections here.

The straight vote for the labor candidates was at least 126,000, usually enough to head the councilmanic slate. A hysterical campaign through the radio, the press and the institutions of conservatism and reaction succeeded in getting out the anti-labor vote in the city.

When the results of the election were known, big business in this great industrial center sighed a heavy sigh of relief. It had resorted to every scare known to anti-labor forces in its effort to keep labor representatives from winning, including the old reliable "industry-will-move-out" story.

There is no question that the internal difficulties in the United Automobile Workers Union cut the labor vote substantially. Much energy had been wasted in this internal fight. The effect of a solid united union organization would have been tremendous.

## Role of Martel

Frank X. Martel, president of the Detroit Federation of Labor, scored a new low during the course of the campaign. Originally he had been for O'Brien but later decided that since O'Brien couldn't win it would be better to support Smith as a lesser evil to avoid Reading. When Smith lost out in the primaries, Martel, fresh from the reactionary atmosphere of the Denver convention of the AFL, threw his support to Reading.

Though this was not a major factor in terms of votes, it did give Reading and the reactionaries a good talking point and diverted a good deal of energy that should have been spent in fighting the reactionary slate to an internal squabble in the labor movement

between rival factions of the AFL. Martel was forced to railroad his position through the Federation, refusing to even recognize a call for a division.

A division would have shown a majority for the labor slate.

A large portion of the Negro votes was lost by the labor slate when one of the U.A.W. locals barred Negroes from a dance, by agreement with the management of the Book-Cadillac Hotel. This incident was used by the Reading supporters in the Negro districts. Sound trucks told the story; the Negro press played it up. Careful work among the Negroes which had been done over a period of several weeks was virtually destroyed as a result of this incident.

The powers-that-be in Detroit and in the auto industry are not very comfortable now. Their discomfort would have been tremendous had Labor scored a victory. But they realize nevertheless that labor is now a force politically. A desperate attempt is being made to smash the union movement here. The show of political strength has merely added impetus to the desire to destroy the CIO movement here now before it becomes strong and more stable.

General Motors and Chrysler are conducting well-planned campaigns to undermine the union, to destroy the standards of the workers, to throw a big scare by depression talk and to foster anti-union movements. GM is trying to stall off the signing of an acceptable agreement in the hope that the union will become weaker and that an offensive early next year launched openly will result in complete victory for the company.

## GM Meets

This week-end delegates from all the GM plants in the county will meet to hear a report of

negotiations and to lay plans for the future. A vigorous drive against GM by the union is being advocated by the militant unionists. The possibility of a minor depression during the current production season is granted by all; militants favor answering such a depression with a vigorous drive to make the bosses bear at least their share of the costs of depression.

Closely tied up with the fight against GM and Chrysler is the future political situation in Detroit and Michigan. A militant union policy will tend to produce a militant political policy. Moves have already been initiated to continue the political machinery, using it during the coming months to help in the organization of Ford's River Rouge plant, employing some 90,000 workers. A conference to organize a Detroit labor party has been scheduled for December and plans are being considered for a state labor party.

Some elements declare that the elections here proved that labor cannot operate alone on the political field but must combine with one of the old parties. The Communists are the most articulate champions of this idea. Most of the union elements react against this proposal at this time. Though some attempts were made to line up Democratic votes, everyone agrees that they resulted in almost nothing and this has disillusioned many elements with the idea of working with the old parties. Workers tend to believe that their best bet is depending on themselves.

What happens on the political and economic field between now and next summer will in large measure determine which idea will prevail among the auto workers—the Democratic party with labor backing or a party with its own program and its own candidates.

One of the most important events on the horizon for this period is the Flint election in April, at which time city officials will be selected and at which time there may be a special election for the seat of State Senator Palmer who has resigned. There are now fifteen Democrats and fifteen Republicans in the state senate as a result of this resignation.

Union leaders in Flint have already begun to discuss the question of political action next Spring and a real campaign to give labor political power can be expected.



**Problems of Union Democracy—3.**

**CIO Unions Should Guarantee Rights Of Minority Group**

**T**HE formal reason for the AFL war against the CIO was the charge that the unions affiliated with the CIO were setting up an organization within

an organization. The executive council of the AFL maintained that the unions of the CIO had every right in the world to believe in industrial unionism, but that these industrial unionists had no right to set up a committee to advance their common view.

The CIO retorted, however, that the right to establish a grouping within the American Federation of Labor was a basic democratic privilege. The leaders of the CIO pointed to the various trade un-

ion departments within the AFL; they insisted that to grant the right to hold industrial union views without granting the right to carry on organized agitation for these views was a dictatorial procedure.

The progressive elements in the trade union movement agreed with the CIO in this matter. The right to organize a group within a trade union body was held sacred; those who tampered with this right were labelled as bureaucrats and dictators.

**Is Woll Right?**

**N**OW it is time to put a plain question.

If it is proper for the CIO unions to organize a group within the AFL, then why is it not likewise

proper to demand the right to organize groups within the CIO unions themselves? Matthew Woll, appearing before the convention of some CIO unions prior to the open split, taunted the heads of these unions with their inconsistency. They claim the right to do within the AFL, he jibed, what they would never permit within their own international or local unions.

Is Matt Woll right? We know that Woll did not make his comment in order to get real trade union democracy. Woll is a most consistent bureaucrat. He opposes groups within the locals, within the international and national unions, and likewise within the federation. But is Woll right about the inconsis-

tency of some CIO union leaders? Leading CIO unions would stand convicted of gross hypocrisy, if they should treat minorities and minority groups within their union as the AFL treated the industrial union minority.

It is not enough for industrial union leaders to say that their fight for the CIO-grouping was justified because industrial unionism is necessary. Progressive causes—such as the struggle for industrial unionism—can develop its bureaucratism as well as can conservative causes. Democracy is not a word to be bandied about at convenient moments merely to serve a specific end; and bureaucratism is not to be tolerated, regardless of the immediate excuse.

**Bad Groups.**

**N**EEDLESS to say, not all groups formed within union are good. Some groups are just job cliques; some are conservative in character; some are just boodle politicians.

Such evils as favoritism, conservatism, cliquism, however, can not be ended by a decree ending groups. Ask workers in unions where groups have already been abolished. They will tell you.

In such unions, officials in control, quite often, become self-perpetuating by the creation of an unofficial grouping, by building a machine of hanger-ons, who are rewarded with union jobs and favored positions in the shops. And because there can be no organized force in the union to ferret out, to expose, to combat these evils, they become all the more gangrenous.

It is far better to have an open group of politicians and self-seekers who can be openly fought than to have no chance to fight in the open at all.

Part of the overhead cost in a democracy is the right of stupid or vicious people to have their own group. But is it not far better to have a Tammany Hall which can be removed from office than a Hitler who can not be openly criticized?

The evils that come from the banding together of bad elements in a union can more easily be exterminated where groups function freely than where all groups are outlawed.

CIO unions can only justify their right to organize a grouping within the AFL by practicing what they preach. The right to organize minority groups within these CIO unions must be granted.

**Semi-Independent Labor Party Set Up At Illinois Parley**

*By Ed Adams  
National Organizer, Labor Committee*

**D**ECATUR, ILLINOIS: The Illinois Labor Party, founded by trade union delegates in July 1936 as the organizer of a political arm for labor, met

here in a preliminary state convention, Oct. 30 and 31st, and voted an organizing budget of \$6,000 for a fifteen week period of preparation during balance of 1937 and beginning of 1938. This is to be followed by a state convention in March to nominate a full state wide ticket and organize the first Labor Party campaign in Illinois since 1920.

The Constitution of the organization was modified to permit federation of the large fraternal bodies of labor such as the Slovenian National Benefit Society (very strong in Illinois mine sections), the Workmen's Circle, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society, International Workers Order and Farmer, Cooperative and other organizations of a labor or allied character, in the Labor Party which up to now has been restricted to trade unions.

No provision was made for admission of labor political parties already existing, but it is clearly understood that an election agreement will be reached with the Socialist Party which was the only working class political party on the ballot in the last election. Socialist trade unionists in accordance with the policy of the Socialist Party have been active supporters and leading figures in their unions in forwarding the Labor Party.

The most important action of the Convention, which was called as a preliminary to action in 1938 on a larger scale, was the defeat of the forces organized by the Communist Party who openly sought to bury the Labor Party movement under the disguise of turning over all labor political activity to the Illinois section of Labor's Non-Partisan League. Under the leadership of Ray Edmundson of the United Mine Workers, Labor's Non-Partisan League has quite openly and honestly made it plain that they have as yet no policy or program worked out for Illinois and will watch with friendly interest whatever the Illinois Labor Party tries to do.

The Illinois Labor Party in 1936, while dissenting from the policy of Labor's Non-Partisan League in backing Roosevelt on the Democratic Party ticket, stayed out of the campaign except in two counties in order to prevent any direct collision between their forces.

Credit for defeat of the Communist Party double-cross goes mainly to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union under the leadership of Morris Bialis, International Vice President and Chicago Joint Board Manager, and Meyer Barkan, chairman of the Convention and also an officer of the ILGWU. The Ladies Garment Workers, who take their lead from their International President David Dubinsky, followed up their consistent advocacy of a Labor Party by sending delegates from every one of their locals in the state and effectively matching the Communist led strength from both real and paper strength local unions.

The Communist Party policy up to shortly before the Convention was to sabotage it and hope that it would die and only at a later date, in alarm at representation promised from local and central bodies in the state, rushed in with an attempt to make the Conven-

tion a funeral instead of a rebirth of independent working class political action.

**Socialists Active**

Some Socialists including Arthur McDowell of Teachers Union No. 346, and National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Party who was Chairman of the Convention resolutions committee, did yeoman service, as did independent labor radicals like N. Lerner of the Typographical Union and Sarraine Loewe of the United Rubber Workers.

Not so pleasing to Socialists as the decision to place an absolute Labor Party ticket on the ballot in 1938 in the state wide election, was the compromise proposal fathered by the International Ladies Garment Workers to arrange for work thru Labor's Non-Partisan League in local elections, which will include participation in old party primaries in order to defeat more vicious and dangerous labor foes during the period of growth and comparative weakness in the Labor Party.

This compromise of Labor Party principles at the start was facilitated by the harshness of the state election laws relating to getting new parties on the ballot for local office. For a number of years the Socialist Party has been able to qualify only for the state wide ballot which has a comparatively reasonable requirement.

Filing an independent ticket in the old party primaries is very easy on the other hand, but a trap is laid for any new party wanting to start that way by the law which disqualifies from participation for two years in any other party, including signing of nominating petitions, any citizen who votes in either Republican or Democratic primaries. The Illinois law also forbids running on two tickets simultaneously as practiced at the beginning by the American Labor Party in New York.

**Temporary Policy**

Encouraging in this respect, however, was the advice of Bialis of the International Ladies Garment Workers, to label the compromise definitely a temporary policy mothered of necessity, stating both for himself as a leading participant and officer of the Illinois section of Labor's Non-Partisan League and for his union that the first objective was building a Labor Party.

The Convention opened in Decatur with a parade of striking garment and steel workers to the Labor Party Convention Hall. The Garment Workers have been on strike for fifteen months and their defeat so far lies equally at the feet of reactionary Republican judges and Democratic Sheriff's and police officers.

The Convention was attended by delegates both from CIO and AFL of L unions, the Labor Party not being looked on as dominated by the CIO as is the case of Labor's Non-Partisan League. Over 160 delegates were sent from some 80 local and Central Labor bodies, most of the important ones of which, with the exception of those steel workers locals dominated by Communist functionaries, have formally affiliated with the Labor

Party. Important unions include International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Steel Workers, Rubber Workers, Machinists, Carpenters, Distillery Workers, Auto Workers, Fur Workers, Teachers, and Hod Carriers. The convention action in preparing well in advance for a genuine state campaign in 1938 is most encouraging to Socialists, militants and progressives everywhere in the state.

Among the other lines of program and policy approved by the Convention (and that like every other progressive policy) over the bitter and unprincipled opposition of the Communist Party, was the continuance of the Illinois Labor Party in the Tri-State Farmer Labor Political Action Promotion Committee of five set up by the Wisconsin and Minnesota Farmer Labor Parties in cooperation with the Illinois Party. This Committee first met and organized with authority of their state committees at Madison, Wisconsin, Oct. 2. Dan Hoan of Milwaukee is Chairman and other members are Sarraine Loewe of Illinois, Sender Genis and John Bosch of Minnesota and Henry Ohl Jr. of Wisconsin.

The Illinois Labor Party at this second convention announced that it was willing, once farm groups were prepared to affiliate, to modify its name to indicate acceptance of Farmer allies. Vigorous action working towards the March 1938 Convention of the Illinois Labor Party will set the working-class of the state well on the road towards independent class-political action in spite of reactionaries of the old capitalist variety and the new Communist kind, of opportunists and adventurists.

**Begin Probe Into NLRA**

**By CHARLES M. SANDWICK**  
ALLENTOWN, Pa.—John Ramsay, militant local chairman of the SWOC lodge in Bethlehem, Pa. was the first witness to take the stand during hearings begun here Nov. 1 by the National Labor Relations Board into charges that the Bethlehem Steel Company had violated the Wagner Act. Ramsay, a former member of the rules committee of the company's Employee Representation Plan, revealed how the notorious steel firm had dominated the plan.

Over vigorous objection by counsel for the company and the ERP, minutes of meetings of the company union were admitted into evidence.

Ramsay's testimony revealed that, prior to April of this year, the minutes of the ERP were recorded by an agent of the management rather than by the secretary of the body. He also testified that the plan has no members; that he was never asked to join, and that he knew of no employee who had ever signed an application card to join the ERP. Ramsay also declared that to his knowledge no general meeting of employees had ever been held so that they could instruct their "representatives" as to what they wished them to do. The "representatives" and their various committees met on paid company time.

While Ramsay was secretary of the rules committee of the ERP, the minutes of that committee were always recorded by an agent of the company, and were mimeographed in the office of a company executive, with Ramsay's name typed at the bottom, although he had not signed them.

Further testimony by Ramsay and other witnesses are expected to reveal startling instances of intimidation, attempted bribery, and falsification of records of the ERP by agents of the company. The Steel Workers Organizing Committee is demanding an election to determine what organization the workers want to represent them.



# THE SOCIALIST CALL

Official Organ Socialist Party U.S.A.  
Published every Saturday by The Call Press, Inc. Address all communications to The Socialist Call, 21 East 17th St., New York City.  
Telephone: GRamercy 5-8779

By subscription: \$1.50 a year; \$1 for six months. Foreign, \$2 a year.  
Special rates for bundle orders and club subscriptions...

Editor: August Tyler Business Manager: John Newton Thurber

### EDITORIAL BOARD

Jack Altman, Sam Baron, Robert Nelson, Herbert Zam

Saturday, Nov. 13, 1937 No. 138

## Labor Stops Windsor

The action of the Baltimore Federation of Labor in beginning the movement of protest that finally kept the Duke of Windsor in Europe is worthy of imitation.

Labor has accomplished successfully what the State Department was loathe to do and what it should not have done.

It would have been unfortunate if the State Department had excluded the former Prince of Wales. Such action would have set a most disastrous precedent, for future exclusion of others because of their political views.

The storm of protest raised by the workers— independently of the government—was the real reason for the duke's decision to stay where he was. The workers of America told the duke that his reception here would be cold—or maybe, hot. The vigorous and direct action of labor kept the new international salesman of Fascism from peddling his wares here.

## Stop Japan

The power in the hands of labor to stop Edward's Fascist "invasion" of America can be likewise used to halt Japan's aggression in China.

The direct and vigorous action of world labor can hit the Mikado as discomfiting a blow as the punch the Baltimore Federation of Labor placed on the chin of the duke.

On the first page of the Socialist Call is the official statement of the Socialist Party on the war in the Far East. This declaration is not just an analysis; it is a call to action.

American workers and consumers are called upon to act against Japan.

Consumers must boycott Japanese goods.

The good work begun by the American workers in the form of independent working class action against Windsor must continue against Nippon.

### NOW OUT SOCIALIST REVIEW

Edited by HERBERT ZAM

#### CONTAINS

- Mexico's Road to Social Revolution by Clarence Senior
- Socialist Youth Marches Forward by Al Hamilton
- War or Peace for Labor by Frank N. Trager
- The Roosevelt Honeymoon Is Over by David P. Berenberg

BOOK REVIEWS. NOTES OF THE MONTH

order from

### SOCIALIST REVIEW

21 EAST 17th STREET  
New York

Single Copy 15c  
One Year \$1.50

# AT THE FRONT



With *Woman in the Army*



Labor's political activities in an off year when most elections are municipal met a fair degree of success but certainly show no stampede to genuinely independent working class political action in America. The mayoralty candidates whom labor nominated under the Democratic banner in Akron and Canton were defeated. The Democratic candidate in Pittsburgh won with labor's support.

In New York City the American Labor Party got a big vote which held up down the line. It elected seven of its own Assembly candidates, but three of them were endorsed by the Republicans and three by us. Nagler, nominated by the American Labor in the Bronx, a real labor man, endorsed by the Socialists, made a remarkable race but was defeated for Borough President. The victorious candidates on the American Labor Party ticket for high office, with the possible exception of the Mayor himself, were Republicans or Independent Democrats endorsed by the A.L.P. LaGuardia, if he carried out his promise in 1936, probably enrolled this year under the ALP emblem, but that is not yet a matter of public record, and the ALP hold over him was insufficient to prevent him from endorsing both Harvey in Queens, and Bruce Barton, the successful Republican candidate for Congress in the 17th District.

The ballots for Councilman under proportional representation are still being counted and as I write the count is awakening suspicion not only of sabotage but of actual fraud. When the Republicans began to get chesty about the LaGuardia victory Secretary Rose of the ALP publicly informed President Roosevelt that the Party was still supporting his New Deal. This despite the fact that such eminent New Dealers as Jim Farley and Bob Wagner supported Mahoney whose rebating was a public scandal.

### DETROIT

In Detroit it seems to me that the Labor ticket did about as well as could be expected in view of the destructive quarrel between the CIO and AF of L. Labor must unite to get good results. I praised the automobile workers for putting their ticket in the field but, of course, a ticket put in the field by one labor union, all of whose candidates for Council are members of that union, does not equal a labor party. The vote, however, for the Labor ticket ought to encourage the formation of a real labor party.

### THE FUTURE

Summing up the political situation and the probability of an independent working class party by 1938 or even 1940, I think the following tentative conclusions are in order:

1. The great majority of labor leaders, probably supported by the majority of the rank and file will want to keep the workers either within the Democratic Party or in labor parties which will throw their strength to Roosevelt in any real pinch. The Communist influence, which directly and indirectly is no negligible force, will be definitely in favor of this policy. Communists will justify it by talk of a popular front, the union of all progressive forces against fascism, etc., and will be motivated primarily by their hope that Roosevelt can be swung in support of their policy of collective security or capitalist states against fascist aggressors. In both Illinois and South Dakota Communist influence, unsuccessfully, has been used against a genuine farmer-labor party.

2. This support of Roosevelt is, however, conditioned upon Roosevelt's ability to continue his present policy of doing something to satisfy various politically articulate groups,—something for the farmers; something, though not much, for the unemployed; something for the workers through a wages and hours law, etc. If he cannot do this or if there is a strong middle class revolt against this policy the situation may change.

It is likely to change if this present drop in the index of prosperity continues into genuine renewal of sharp depression. It may also change if we come to the verge of participation in world war. It must be remembered that one factor which favors Roosevelt is the stupidity of the Republican Party and the general belief that it has absolutely nothing to offer except an attempt to return to the days of Coolidge or Hoover.

3. Despite the present tendency of labor to confine its political activities to support of the New Deal, or of a left-wing New Deal, there is a significant and encouraging tendency at least for the workers to get together in their own party with an ultimate view to greater independence. That fact is not to be despised. And the ALP has already come into conflict with LaGuardia in certain issues. There is not blood devotion.

4. There are very considerable sections in the American Labor Party in New York and doubtless in other localities already greatly dissatisfied with the political bargaining and maneuvering with one or another of the old parties which heretofore has characterized the history of regional labor parties. These groups are important within the labor party groups; they will be important if in 1940 a potential labor party again becomes merely an annex to the Democratic Party.

5. Under these circumstances, and with the marked drift of workers to some kind of labor party action, it is vitally necessary for socialists to seek active cooperation and friendship with labor parties or rather with those groups in labor parties which want to build a genuine political instrument for the use of all the workers with hand and brain. Socialist policy in both Detroit and New York has been justified by the result. Any policy interpreted as pure opposition to, or mere captious criticism of, a labor party movement would have made our own position very much worse as a party and would have enormously lessened our chance of doing constructive educational work for a party independent of the old parties.

After I had written my last week's column the Catholic Church officially repudiated the Mahoney leaflet to which I called attention. That is a good sign whether one believes that the hierarchy acted on its own initiative or was impressed by the adverse reaction of the Catholic voters.

### GREETING TO SOVIETS

To the people of the U.S.S.R. on the twentieth anniversary of the great Russian Revolution go our congratulations for past achievements and our best wishes for the future. It is because of the achievements of the Russian revolution and its significance that we hope so earnestly that now that capitalism has been overthrown real socialism will be established. Real socialism is impossible in a

totalitarian state in which civil liberties are denied and the government is under the dictatorship of one party headed by one man with the power analogous to that of the leader in fascist countries.

### ITALIAN PACT

It is, of course, bad news but not surprising that Italy has joined the German-Japanese pact against Communism. Although the agreement is dangerously far reaching its military importance can be exaggerated. Mussolini even less than Hitler has a deep-seated crusader's ideological objection to Communism. For many years he got along very well with the U.S.S.R. What he wants is power and as the comment of writers like Pertinax and Augur bring out, he is using his understanding with Germany, including this new move, as a club over Great Britain. There is no such ideological unity among capitalist nations that we shall get a war of those who are for or against Communism or democracy.

It will be a war based on national and imperial interests, and the defense of true democracy is the task for workers, not the outcome of a military alliance of capitalists states, including America. The more the pity, then, that the same column in the paper which reports an eloquent Communist appeal for unity of the workers also reports Voroshiloff's denunciation of the "Trotskyist" and Bukharinist agents of the fascists. The Stalin regime has not even brought Bukharin to public trial. This sort of attack does not pave the way to a genuine working class unity throughout the world.

### BEDAUX

Concerning this Bedaux, Windsor's friend and labor's enemy, I heard some curious tales in Europe. In London I was told that he had been invited by the Russian government to help them with their speed-up plans. In Moscow I heard a different story. It went like this:

Bedaux did come to Russia and somehow managed to see quite thoroughly one or more factories. He then went to headquarters and offered his help to humanize the Russian system and to make it more efficient.

He was, or claimed to be, shocked at the lack of proper psychological and engineering standards in working out the Stakhanovist program. It was, he said, tough on the workers. His offer of help was emphatically rejected by some high officials who knew Bedaux's reputation in the Western world and shortly thereafter he himself left Russia, protesting, however, to certain Americans against the harshness on the Stakhanovite speed-up.

## BRANCH DIRECTORY

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

### MANHATTAN

VILLAGE BRANCH meets every Thursday night at 107 MacDougal St. Ellen Loeb, Sec'y. 345 West 13th St. Open meetings every Thursday.

GERMAN BRANCH. Meets second Tuesday of each month during summer. Yorkville Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. G. Hoffman, Organizer.

Chelsea Br. Meets every Wed. at 312 West 24th St., Victoria Hakin, Sec'y.

### BRONX

8TH A.D. Meets every Wed. 7 West Burnside Ave. Harold Ruzman, Sec'y.

### DETROIT

BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday 8 P. M., 1110 West Warren.

Campus Militarism - 3

WALL STREET GOES TO COLLEGE

By Robin Meyers

It pays big business to go to college. Militarism on the campus is a safe investment for our bankers.

Underwriting the War Department's M Day plans, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has gone on record as favoring an amendment to the National Defense Act...

In various parts of the country, advisory boards of civilians have been organized to work with the local ordinance districts in estimating and recording the facilities of local industries for supplying military necessities.

Big Business

As local pressure groups or on a national scale, the Chamber of Commerce has always backed the ROTC along with the rest of the military establishment.

- 1. Introductory statement by Chairman Philip J. Fay.
2. Discussion of Naval Defense Needs and of the World Situation - Admiral Wm. H. Standby, Chief of Naval Operations.
3. Discussion of Army Defense Needs - Major General George L. Simonds, Chief of Staff.
4. Discussion of Industrial Mobilization Plans - Col. F. F. Harris Jr., Director, Planning Branch, Office of the Assistant Secretary of War.
5. Round Table Exchange of Views of Separate Phases of Nation Defense, including a. Chairman Mr. McWhirter. b. Mr. J. E. Campbell of the Constitutional Protective League.

It is something of a relief to discover Chairmen Mr. McWhirter and Mr. J. E. Campbell, on the program, indicating that, after all, this is not a General Staff meeting.

The Communist Revolution program is being advanced by groups which advocate disarmament, optional military drill in colleges, peace courts, etc...

And Chairman McWhirter is president of the bank which is the national depository of American funds.

Bound up in all of this is even so apparently innocuous and beneficial an organization as the American Red Cross. It is something of a puzzle as to whether or not to list it under business or the War Department.

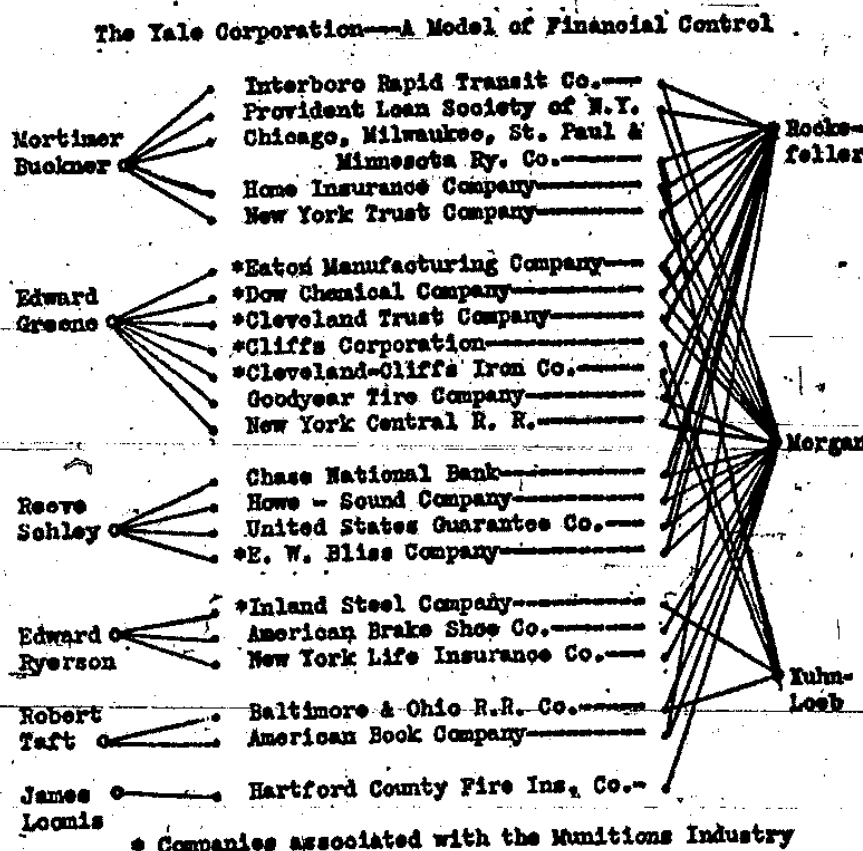
The banking group which dominates the Red Cross is J. P. Morgan - of U. S. Steel and the Navy League, to say nothing of the Chamber of Commerce - and its funds are deposited in Morgan banks and invested in Morgan interests to a very large extent.

the starvation of striking miners is not cause for Red Cross aid, oddly enough. And relief after disasters is distributed according to the previous standard of living of those who have been left destitute.

The next war will find Henry P. Davidson, Morgan partner, appointed to head the Red Cross during the last war, still in power. And the division of the 18 members of the central governing committee is one likely to give him full support.

The Trustees

Obviously, the maintenance of ROTC upon a compulsory basis and its installation against widespread protest, the suppression of faculty and student opposition to ROTC, is possible only through a college policy controlled by military training advocates.



Notice our friend Mr. Morgan again. Morgan of U.S. Steel. Morgan of the Navy League. Morgan of the Red Cross. Morgan of the Chamber of Commerce. Morgan of the American Legion. Morgan of the Trustees of Yale University. Morgan of the ROTC network!

These men profit by war. No wonder they support the war machine on the campus!

The U. S. Government

The case against the government is easily summarized. The direct appropriation for ROTC for 1937 is \$4,585,846. \$517,850 is appropriated for further extension of ROTC to 51 additional institutions.

Altogether typical of the confused thinking of those members of the Government who either cannot or will not see what forces make war are the comments of Representative Alfred N. Phillips Jr. of Connecticut, during the House discussion of naval appropriations (Congressional Record, p. 3613.)

We do not want war. We will not fight an offensive war! If it is forced upon us to preserve our homes and liberties, we must fight a defensive war. Let us hope it never comes. However, if a defensive war does come, let us hope that it is fought on the land of the military aggressor, not on the fair plains and hills and valleys of the territorial limits of the United States of America.

Fighting a defensive war on the territory of the aggressor is just the contingency for which the War Department and the war forces of the country are preparing!

Or there is a letter from the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, Massachusetts Department, to Senator David J. Walsh, dated Boston, February 2, 1937, and inserted in the Record by the Senator last February.

Dear Senator Walsh: To you, a recognized friend of our aims, we endorse and recommend the following defense measures and program, deemed feasible as well as essential to the preservation of our national welfare.

- Sufficient appropriations to train annually 30,000 Reserve Officers for a 14 day period of active duty.
Active duty training over a continued period for flying cadet graduates.
Continuance of funds to implement terms of the Thomason Act.
Maintenance and development of ROTC, with annual field training for 8,000.
Training of all qualified applicants for C.M.T.C.
Support of rifle and pistol matches, culminating in the national matches at Camp Perry.
The continuance of CCC with its affiliation with the Army.
Adequate Navy, with sufficient Naval and Marine Corps Reserves.
A regular Army, of 165,000 enlisted men and 14,000 active officials.
A National Guard of 210,000 enlisted men, with a proper proportion of officers, having 48 armory drills and a 15 day encampment annually.
May we be assured of your continued assistance and cooperation:

Respectfully yours, David A. Pfromm, Chairman, Legislative Committee

There is, moreover, the peace-loving President who was formerly assistant Secretary of the Navy; who regrets the lapse of the Washington Navy Treaty and makes immediate plans to get into the naval race; who feels the necessity of international cooperation not when Ethiopia is conquered, not when democracy is attacked by fascist powers in Spain, but when the Far East, scene of our present commercial interest, is involved; who signs the appropriation bills for the extension of ROTC!

And there is an ROTC network, whose meshes are all of those forces which are bringing us into imminent war. It is the War Department, controlled by big business. It is the veteran and patriotic force, controlled by big business. It is organized business itself. It is big business men in the role of college trustees. It is the government, whose policies swerve as business interests dictate. Using every device at its command, capitalism fosters the ROTC as part of its support for that war which is almost upon us now.



# THE CALL VIEWS THE THEATRE

Presenting the Workers' Angle on Current Stage and Screen Offerings.

## Artef Players Do A Robin Hood

"Good Soldier Schweik," scheduled as the second production of the Artef Players this season, just about completes a cycle of plays dealing with various phases of the military in general and the all too common soldier in particular. In a period of five

years, the industrious and assuredly pacific troupe of Yiddish players will have produced five plays with the lives and deaths of military men as leit-motif. The un-uniformed soldier held the stage in 1932 in the play, "Four Days." Based on the war in Poland, the hero, a partisan, attempts to bring about a people's revolution in his country. He gets shot for his pains. The American veteran came in for his share of theatrical glory with "The Third Parade," by Walter and Peters. This 1933 production dealt with the bonus marchers and their fate at the hands of our own United States government. "Recruits," in 1934, was perhaps the most famous of the



The Robin-Hoodesque "Outlaw" and "Stere" appearing in the Artef Players first presentation of the current season at the Artef Theatre, West 63rd Street. Title of the piece: "The Outlaw".

this October, it became a sort of sequel to "Recruits." S. Levine, himself in the role of the escaped "recruited" soldier, the outlaw, come back to his village to wreak vengeance, in Robin Hood manner, on those who forced him into military servitude. He also gets shot for his pains. Now the simple soldier of Czechoslovakia, depicted by Jaroslav Hasek, in his international success, "The Good Soldier Schweik," will parade the Artef stage on West 63rd Street late in December in a dramatized version of his naive and Rabelaisian exploits during the course of the World War. All this, says Artef, in the name of good, solid, anti-war propaganda.

### Grave Diggers Bury The Dead

The Gravediggers Union has endorsed the forthcoming production of the New Theatre of Philadelphia. Although many trade unions are supporting the New Theatre's dramatic ventures, this latest endorsement is the only one that is being framed to hang in the lobby. Because the title of the play which will open on November 13, at the New Theatre's playhouse, 311 N. 16th Street, is . . . "Bury the Dead." But Ernest Prutner, organizer for the Gravediggers Union (known to the CIO as the Nursery, Florists, Gardeners, and Cemetery Workers Gardeners), assured the New Theatre that "we are supporting this play because of its powerful anti-war message and not because of its title!"

## Four One Act Plays Of The Sea

Four One-Act Plays, of the Sea: "Moon of the Caribbees," "In the Zone," "Bound East for Cardiff," "The Long Voyage Home," by Eugene O'Neill. Presented by the W.P.A. Negro Theatre at the Lafayette.

"Processional," by John Howard Lawson, presented by the W.P.A. Federal Theatre at the Maxine Elliot.

By MICHAEL C. ARCONE

It is somewhat of a shame that as fine a group of players as the Negro Theatre Group of the Federal Theatre should have chosen these four plays previously presented in 1924 and in 1929 by the Provincetown Players as their latest vehicle. Not that the four plays aren't just about the finest one-acters in the American Theatre, and not that the Negro group isn't just about the best of the WPA groups, but the fact of the matter is that the two simply don't click.

For in spite of minor textual changes in each of the plays in an effort to reconcile the original O'Neill characters with the actors playing the parts, it is difficult to get any feeling of realism with Negro actors playing Yank, Driscoll, Olson, Davis, Cocky, the sailors and the women. O'Neill wrote his characters with a view to presenting the essential aspirations and hopes of men of different nationalities; the heavy brooding maleness of the crew, the strong silhouettes of burly men against the restless ocean remain to disturb the mind the emotions primarily because they unify and give coherence to a cross-section of the working class . . . and to hear each dialect come from the mouth of a Negro, to watch each racial quirk and oddity of manner and speech attempted by a Negro is asking far too much of an audience.

The Negro Theatre Group should be congratulated, if such a thing is possible, for a courageous failure. And an evening at the Lafayette Theatre, up at 132nd Street and Seventh Ave. is an evening well spent for any play-goer. What criticism has herein been made has been made in full justice to both the author and the Negro Theatre Group. . . but there is so much of value in the plays themselves . . . the compass of the loves and hates, the comradeship and the superstitious ignorance of Driscoll, Olsen, Yank and the others that in spite of the fact that the present company hardly suits the spirit of the plays and the wild forces that surge and toss beneath the

mere words of the dialogue . . . these four plays, which in their order deal with the primordial hungers of men long at sea; with the death of a shipmate in the sickly light of a fo'castle; with the fears and hysteria of men facing a danger which they can neither feel nor see; with how the pitiless sea still claims its unwilling servants after they've gone ashore . . . these four plays must definitely go on your "must" list.

Although these are the simplest of O'Neill's plays, they are by far the finest and the best resolved . . . the emotions they engender are unfettered . . . here is life, gregarious and teeming, nothing yields until it is beaten by the most inscrutable of forces. The characters, in their strength, can contend with life's upheavals, but they are no match for the ultimate fates . . . man is not master of his fate nor is he captain of his soul . . . that is the complete cycle of "S.S. Glencairn," and the picture . . . "just one damn ship after another, hard work, small pay and lousy grub" . . . the social and economic implications are obvious and one can ask for no more in present-day theatre.

Frankly, your reviewer enjoyed the 1925 Theatre Guild production of John Howard Lawson's finest play far more than he did the 1937 edition presented by the WPA group at the Maxine Elliot. In 1925 "Processional" was one of the first plays to toss the brutality of the class struggle smack into the faces of a theatre audience . . . the radicals applauded it and the conservatives and reactionaries jeered it. But twelve years have passed and "Processional" has become another historical piece . . . albeit probably the most important

## Forthcoming Reviews of Recommended Plays

- Golden Boy
- I'd Rather Be Right
- Julius Caesar
- Amphitryon 38
- Too Many Heroes

play now on the boards. True enough that the WPA cast is not the 1925 Guild cast, true enough that the latter performance left a great deal to be desired when viewed in the light of the original presentation, true enough that the 1937 version is ragged and shabby in acting, direction and tempo . . . what it has to say is still dramatically important, the manner in which it is said is sufficiently good for the audience to enjoy the play.

What Mr. Lawson has written, and what the company at the Maxine Elliot has succeeded in presenting is a translation of the economic festers and jingoism of the United States into a turbulent drama, swaggering through three acts, exacerbating the charioteers and the officers of justice, discharging its fire at the bosses and their hirelings, with a revolutionary zeal that is all flame. It is a thing of excitement and beauty, brassy and rancous as it may be, remarkable vaudeville in spots . . . all thrown together into a rhythm that is almost perfect for the story.

But it is a naive play . . . and this is excusable . . . for the action takes place in 1923 . . . and neither the characters nor the author have had the advantage of the last twelve years of education and struggle.

As Comrades to Comrades let us advise you that it pays to be insured where it pays.

Join

### The Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund

(A Non-Profit Seeking Fraternal Organization)

**RELIABLE — SOUND — PROGRESSIVE**

Protect Yourself and Your Family Against the Hazards of Life. We Pay

**SICK — ACCIDENT — DEATH BENEFITS**

We Provide for Medical and Hospital Care  
Emergency Relief — Juvenile Insurance  
Recreation Farms

For Further Information Write to

### WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND

714 Seneca Avenue Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Where To Dine

COMRADE Louis Linn, now located at

# LOUIS RESTAURANT

207 E. 14TH ST. HOME COOKING HUNGARIAN STYLE  
Bet. 2nd and 3rd Aves. NEW YORK CITY

# JOHN'S ITALIAN RESTAURANT

Lunch and Dinner Wines and Beer Served. Favorite rendezvous of Eugene Victor Debs. Popular prices.  
207 E. 12th St. NEAR 2nd AVE.

• PRIVATE DINING ROOMS FOR PARTIES •

# RITZ DINER

27 UNION SQ. (cor. 16th St.)  
OPEN DAY AND NIGHT  
Trommer's Malt Beer

# 5th Ave. Cafeteria and Bar

54 FIFTH AVENUE. The very best food—Most reasonable prices. Large Beer 6c

# HARTFORD

DRUG CO AND LUNCHEONETTE  
Cor. 17th and Union St. W  
Complete Lunches and Fountain Sodas  
Prompt Delivery AL 4-6326

# MONROE CAFETERIA and BAR

WINES & LIQUORS  
BROADWAY AT 17th STREET  
ALGONQUIN 4-5297  
Right Next Door to The Call

A GROUP THEATRE PRODUCTION  
"Odets Has Written the Best Play of his Career."  
—Lockridge, Sun

# "GOLDEN BOY"

BY CLIFFORD ODETS

WITH FRANCES FARMER, LUTHER ADLER,  
MORRIS CARNOVSKY, JULES GARFIELD,  
ELIA KAZAN AND ROMAN BOHNER

# BELASCO

Theatre, 414 St. E. of B'way  
Evs. 8:40 Mats: Thurs, Sat. 2:40

THE PULITZER PRIZE PLAY 1937  
"The Season's Funniest Comedy"—The New Yorker

SAM H. HARRIS presents

# YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU

By MOSS HART and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN

B. O. O. H. THEATRE 45th ST. WEST OF BROADWAY  
Evenings, 8:40; Matinee, Wed. and Sat., 2:40



Infants in Britain are taught to wear gas masks. In a new war, nobody will be safe. Even these tots will be direct victims of war.

### Brockway Reports Baron In Barcelona

Sam Baron is being held in Barcelona, according to the latest radiogram report from Fenner Brockway, head of the British Independent Labor Party. Brockway has communicated with Friedrich Adler, head of the Labor and Socialist International, informing him of the arrest of Baron and urging immediate action. The ILP has also called upon the British Labor Party to act on behalf of Sam Baron.

In reply to a communication addressed to the Spanish ambassador in the US concerning the arrest of Sam Baron, the following: "Unknown to me if information about arrest is correct or charges made. Have cable government with great interest asking information."

feeling that much exploratory work can be done without producing any disagreement but that the real test as to whether peace will evolve from the present series of conferences will come when the conference tackles specific details.

There is still some question in the minds of the CIO group as to what authority the federation committee will have when it comes to a question of making definite commitments. Likewise the federation group is in the dark as to the power of the CIO group.

Actual unity within the labor movement is not to be expected for many months, in the eyes of observers here. In some cases unions will have to hold special conventions to ratify any agreement which may be reached and some disposition will have to be made of the question of control over the new body which may be formed.

**Rank and File Pressure**  
Reported as the great motivating factor for peace is the demand from the rank and file. This demand, admittedly, is greater upon the federation conference than upon those from the CIO. Prior to the call for the present conference there were resolutions in Harrison's own union asking that the war between the federation and the CIO be called to a halt.

In addition, some of the federation unions have refused to pay the special assessment levied on all AFL unions for the purpose of combating the CIO. Within the CIO unions there is an equal desire for unity but an equally firm conviction that any concessions on the question of industrial unionism will mean the defeat of the CIO.

Another motivating factor in the present negotiations is the realization on the part of some of the union leaders, that the present business recession, with its hints of a more serious decline, threatens present membership. In a period of business decline union membership falls off because of the increasing hardship in paying dues and the potency that is added to the employers' threat to discharge workers because of union affiliation.

**SUNDAY AFTERNOONS AT 4**  
Come to the Village Branch  
**COCKTAIL PARTY**  
107 MacDougall Street, N. Y. C.

**THE CUBAN MODEL HAND LAUNDRY**  
108 East 31st St.  
AShland 4-7263  
Rapid and Efficient Service  
Goods Called For and Delivered  
SYD. PEARLMAN  
Manager

## PARTY VOTES

**IN MICHIGAN NOVEMBER 1937**  
Chicago—Maynard G. Kruger of the National Executive and National Labor Committees of the Socialist Party will address a mass meeting in Detroit the evening of November 19th preceding the meeting of the Socialist Party National Labor Committee in that city the Saturday and Sunday following. Arthur G. McDowell, National Labor Secretary will address a public meeting in Flint under Party auspices the same evening on the question of the present division between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. and the chances of peace

**COOKS COUNTY (CHICAGO)**  
Chicago — Local Cook County launched its new central organization plan last week with a successful public forum on the question of AFL-CIO unity with Arthur G. McDowell reporting on the AFL Convention, Harold Gibbons, Assistant regional Director of the CIO on accomplishments of the CIO and Maynard on the prospects and basis of unity. The meeting drew a record number of new contacts in the labor movement in Chicago.

Under the new plan adopted by the full meeting of the County Local central meeting are held each week on Thursdays, including one public forum or meeting, a full meeting of the County Local including members as well as delegates from the language sections, at which all trade union and other activity reports are made and approved, one meeting for Socialist education confined to Party members and prospects and one social or recreational affair.

Gus Tyler, Editor of the Socialist Call will address the Socialist education meeting of the Cook County Local on November 18th and will also speak at a special public forum arranged for him at 549 Randolph Street on Friday the 19th on the subject of the United States War Policy in the Far East.

Chicago—The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has unanimously voted to issue the call for the 1938 regular national Convention effective this coming December 1st. The Convention, the regular biennial convention provided for in the Party constitution will be held in April or May of next year at a city yet to be determined, altho both Detroit and Pittsburgh have been suggested. Representation at the Convention will be based upon the dues paying membership of the

various sections between December 1st of last year (1936) and November 30th of the present year.

The National Action Committee in announcing the decision of the full National Executive Committee warned of the mischievous confusion being spread by the "Appeal" or Trotskyist variety of Communist who under the leadership of that veteran Communist factionalist James Cannon, are misrepresenting themselves by using falsely the name of the Socialist Party in several cities and even pretending that they are calling a convention under the name of the Socialist Party. This trickery is not important but is frequently useful to Communists of both the official and Trotskyist brand in spreading confusion among workers not familiar with the Socialist press.

**Rhode Island**  
Norman Thomas is speaking in Providence under the auspices of the Socialist Party at 3 p.m. on Sunday, November 14, at Tower Hall, 88 Matthewson Street. The subject of his address will be "Socialism and Americanism." Joseph Goldwell and Eric Stone are in charge of arrangements.

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Reorganization of the machinery of the Mid Atlantic District and the Pennsylvania State Organizations of the Socialist Party was consummated at successive meetings of the District and State Executive Committees.

To take care of the needs of an expanding organization, Herbert Zam, editor of Socialist Review, was elected State Organizer of Pennsylvania in charge of all organizational work and executive head of all administration activities. He will work with the cooperation and active assistance of Mary Porter, State Secretary.

Plans were made for intensive reorganization and tightening of party machinery. The work of Charles Sandwick, District Labor Secretary, was approved and his initial efforts were so successful as to warrant further expansion of his activities.

It was decided that Zam should tour the district reorganize branches where needed and provide direction for functioning locals. He will also initiate a drive for the Socialist CALL throughout the region.

Both State and District offices are located at 1626 Arch St., Philadelphia, and branches desiring dates for Zam should communicate with him at this address.

# AFL-CIO Parley Moves Haltingly

WASHINGTON (FP)—Labor's peace conference marched haltingly forward on the road to unity here as sessions between the negotiating committees for the Committee for Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labor were continued.

According to Geo. M. Harrison, chairman of the federation conference committee, discussion centered around the selection of industries for industrial organization. No decision was reached, Harrison said, and later there was talk of sub-committees to take up the specific conflicts between CIO and AFL unions.

Absent from the sessions were Philip Murray, chairman of the CIO group, Joseph Curran and Sidney Hillman, who were forced to attend to other engagements. Chas. P. Howard, president of the International Typographical Union and secretary of the CIO, substituted for Hillman. All three federation conferees were present.

No decision was reached as to whether to set up sub-committees to deal with the conflicts between the unions and the discussion will be continued, it was said. Whether the discussion was turned to the conflicts because of a deadlock over the spotting of industries in which industrial unions should be organized or because of the progress that was made in the discussion was not revealed.

**PMA Unchartered**  
During the conference, Harrison said, it was pointed out to the CIO group that no international union charter has ever been issued to the Progressive Miners of America, a rival group of the United Mine Workers, CIO key-stone. The Progressive Miners are affiliated to the federation as a federal labor union, Harrison said, and their application for an international union charter is pending. Neither Harrison nor Howard,

acting as spokesman for the CIO group in the absence of Murray, would predict the outcome of the conference. Harrison claimed that slow progress was being made, "chopping out the brush," and exploring the issues.

It is expected that the conference will attempt to survey the ground on which there is no disagreement and then tackle the problems in which there is a

### NATIONAL LABOR COMMITTEE MEETS IN DETROIT

November 20-21st.  
The National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party will meet in Detroit Saturday and Sunday November 20th and 21st at the Wayne County Office and headquarters at 1110 W. Warren Blvd., according to National Labor Secretary Arthur G. McDowell. All Socialist trade unionists in the section are welcome to attend all sessions. A high point of the agenda will be the consideration of ways and means to make effective and useful the endorsement last week by the Party's National Action Committee of the "Committee of a Million For Unity" launched by the Kenosha and Sheboygan Wisconsin labor papers in the form of a petition to both the AFL and CIO to remain in conference until they can establish a united labor movement.

clash. In going over the industries in the attempt to locate those best suited to industrial unions, the conference has taken into account the nature and scope of the industry, existing organizations and the desire of the workers in the industry.

**To Explore Possibilities**  
Definite indication as to results to be expected from the present conferences are not looked for immediately. It is the general

**CLASSIFIED**  
ROOM TO RENT—Woman—Small room or share apt.; reasonable; separate entrance. West 12th Street, N. Y. Call CHickering 4-2730. Ext. 1 between 9 A. M. and 5 P. M.

**Camp Three Arrows**  
Barger Road — Shrub Oak, N. Y.  
A Co-operative Colony  
Memberships Now Open  
Write for Information  
N.Y. Address: 6 East 17th St. Phone: GRamercy 5-9024

**WATCH THE WRAPPER**  
on your copy of the Socialist Call. If the number on the lower left of this notice, or any number less than this number appears on your wrapper it means that your subscription has expired. Renew immediately.

**138 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!**

SOCIALIST CALL sends greetings to the  
Massachusetts Socialist Institute  
November 13 and 14, Boston

**For A Swell Time:**  
CELEBRATE THE OPENING OF THE  
**DEBS YOUTH SCHOOL**  
Saturday Nite, November 13  
AT  
**REBEL ARTS EAST 17th STREET**  
AMATEUR CONTEST  
**DANCE AND ENTERTAINMENT**  
Admission 25c Sponsored by the Young Peoples Socialist League

**PARTISAN REVIEW**  
A Literary Monthly  
In the December Issue:  
**EDMUND WILSON: Flaubert's Politics**  
a critical essay.  
**JAMES T. FARRELL: Mrs. O'Flaherty and Liza**  
continuing "A World I Never Made."  
**PABLO PICASSO: Dreams and Lies of Franco**  
etchings on the Spanish war.  
**SIDNEY HOOK: The Technique of Mystification**  
a discussion of Kenneth Burke's philosophy.  
**DWIGHT MacDONALD: "The New Yorker"**  
an analysis of leisure-class humor.  
Other contributors to this issue: William Troy, Wallace Stevens, James Agee, Lionel Abel, Philip Rahv, Lionel Trilling, Mary McCarthy, F. W. Dupee, Delmore Schwartz, Arthur Mizener.  
25 cents a copy \$2.00 a year  
**PARTISAN REVIEW**  
22 East 17th St. New York, N. Y.



THE COMING WAR

SHOULD U.S. LABOR BACK A WAR AGAINST HITLER?

By Gus Tyler

There's been tons of talk about imperialist war. Let's say a few plain-spoken things about "imperialist peace."

An imperialist peace is the kind of temporary peace that reigns when a highwayman points the muzzle of his gun to your head and runs his nimble fingers through your pockets. That's a kind of peace. You don't yell; you don't fight; you don't kick. You're just peaceful.

An imperialist peace is the kind of peace Britain, France and America jammed down the throat of the world at Versailles, Saint-Germain and Trianon after the war. Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George took what they could get—while holding the pistol to the head of Germany, Austria and Hungary.

Imperialist Peace

The defeated empires were first robbed, then stripped, and then cut up. And since all this was legal, the victorious empires could do what just plain gangsters can not do. They made the victims sign a piece of paper saying they liked it, they deserved it, and they would keep on paying and paying.

That was the way the last war ended. And that is the way the new war is going to begin. The worm turns. Out of the imperialist peace is arising an imperialist war, which will give rise to another imperialist peace, which will give rise to another imperialist war, and so on until man has wiped himself off the face of the earth. That is, unless the workers just break through the vicious circle of imperialism!

Make no mistake. We are shedding no tears for the rulers of Germany. Had the Kaiser won the war, he would have written a peace treaty just as mean as the Treaty of Versailles. Britain and France would have had to live through the Hell of post-war Germany; they would have been the first to be gripped with the madness of national revenge, to elect a punch-drunk

maniac head of the country, to become the bad boys of Europe. Had the Central Powers written the treaty matters would not be better for the people of the world; the same things would be done by different people; that's all.

The new war that's coming is not being cooked up by any bad man, by any wicked countries by any special form of government. This new war is just as much a product of imperialism as the last war. This new war will be fought to see whether the old handits of Versailles or the new bandits of Rome-Berlin-Tokio shall make the map of the world.

Imperialist Fascism

There are those who say that "imperialism bred war in 1914; fascism breeds war in 1937." In this way these people attempt to explain that the last war was not really to make the world safe for democracy but that this war will really, really make the world safe for democracy.

This trick of the tongue—blaming the new war solely on the Fascist rulers—is just so much intellectual hokey.

Fascism in Europe is just as much a result of Wilson's, Clemenceau's and Lloyd George's imperialist peace as is the new war danger itself.

When the workers of Germany, Austria and Hungary wanted to kick the old capitalist rulers out of power to make the development of Fascism an impossibility, who prevented it? Why, none other than our good Allied lovers of democracy! It was they who invaded Hungary and threatened to invade Austria and Germany if the workers took power. The Allies laid the basis for Hitler.

And who was responsible for the heavy burden cast on the back of Germany, filling the German people with bitter hate, with chauvinist revenge, with the madness that caused them to

follow a Hitler? Again it was our peace loving empires of the West.

It is no accident that the defeated powers—who today want to change the old settlement—are today also dictatorial powers. Dictatorship comes into being when the social crisis in a nation becomes so severe that it can only be settled with force. Then there is either a working class revolution or capitalist dictatorship.

The capitalist class of Britain, France and America is no less dictatorial minded than the rulers of Germany, Austria or Hungary. When their back is against the wall, they bare their teeth.

The post war economic crises quite naturally hit the defeated powers hardest of all. The struggle of classes was most severe in these countries. Desperate, pressed, mad with national hatred—these were the first countries to go Fascist.

A new war—by the democracies against the fascist countries—will not make the world safe for democracy. A new war made by the Western Imperialisms of Britain, France and America will end in another imperialist peace. And out of that imperialist peace will arise the same stinking odors that issued from the last imperialist peace: new wars, new dictatorships.

War and Fascism

Suppose, for instance, that Hitler were not in power in Germany and that Mussolini were not in power in Italy. Would there then be no danger of war?

Fascism or not, the danger would be great. Sooner or later those empires which were cut out of the post-war booty were going to challenge the status quo in the world.

And what powers would these have been? Italy. Germany. Japan. Whether democracies or dictatorships.

We are not hereby denying that nowadays dictatorship and war go hand in hand. We affirm that quite strongly. But we affirm it not only for Ger-

many and Italy but also for France and England and America.

The US War Department has its blueprint for Fascism in America neatly catalogued in its files. They call it the M day plan.

These are the details of how big business and the war department are going to regiment the whole country when the next war comes. Unions may not strike; criticism of the government must end; freedom of speech, press and action must perish.

Dictatorship will come to America. And this dictatorship will be much more firm than in the last war.

In 1917 the capitalist class did not know what Fascism was. When the Fascist movement first began to develop, some capitalists feared it. Later, they found it a handy means to put down the workers.

Now that they have it, however, they see in it an instrument of capitalist rule. A new war—with its military regimentation, with its nationalist madness, with its dictatorial regime—means Fascism in the democratic countries of the world.

Workers Against War

Workers have nothing to win in a war fought by America against the Fascist powers of Europe. Out of that war would come stinking treaties, the breeding ground for new wars, and Fascist dictatorships, even where they did not exist before.

Those who begin to call upon the workers today to get ready for war "to make the world safe for democracy" and to "end all wars" are enemies of the working class. Whether they cloak their intentions in liberal phrases or not, they are just plain jingos.

Workers are against war, against any war undertaken by the US as a capitalist-imperialist nation; workers therefore should turn their back on every step toward war.

HELP!

HELP!

HELP!

HELP!

Dear CALL Reader:

With elections over it is necessary to rally our forces for the important work ahead, for building an independent workingclass political party. The elections of Detroit and of New York City have given this movement a tremendous impetus. We must work to mobilize labor opinion for real independent political action.

In addition to this there is the necessity for mobilizing labor opinion against American participation in the coming imperialist war.

We have to develop radical labor for the fight against the capitalists in the coming depression. These are important jobs.

We have the SOCIALIST CALL as our most valuable instrument for carrying through this work.

The CALL is in an emergency situation today. We must have funds to continue publication. And what is worse (as usually happens just as things get tight) a bank note has to be renewed on next Monday. We must have \$500 during the next week.

You are a Socialist or a close sympathiser. You have contacts in your community. You are a loyal CALL supporter. You must get

to work immediately to help the CALL through this emergency.

There are various things which you can do:

- 1. Send in \$5 for 6 one year prepaid subscription cards, which you can resell and clear your investment.
2. Send in money for a bundle of CALLS. The price is listed in the blank below.
3. Send in a donation from yourself, from your party branch, from your fraternal organization, from your fellow workers. Make a collection and rush the money in.

And as a nest egg for the future, get together with other CALL readers and arrange a party for the benefit of the CALL for the near future.

Get funds to us by next Monday morning if you possibly can, so that the CALL can go on doing its important work.

Yours for Socialism, THE SOCIALIST CALL, John Newton Thurber, Business Manager.

Contribution

I know that a paper like the SOCIALIST CALL needs financial support beyond the small income it gets from subscriptions. I want to see that it continues and send you \$.....

I will send you \$..... each month. Name..... Address..... City.....

Subscription

Please find enclosed \$1.00. I want the CALL for the next 52 weeks at your special offer.

Name..... Address..... City..... Check if renewal.....

Bundle Order

Please find enclosed \$1.00. Send me a bundle of 10 CALLS a week for the next month. (Or \$2.00 for 20 a week!)

Name..... Address..... City.....

Rush to The Socialist Call

21 East 17th Street New York City

Rush to The Socialist Call

21 East 17th Street New York City

Rush to The Socialist Call

21 East 17th Street New York City