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CONSERVATIVE COALITION IN CONGRESS MOVES TO CUT RELIEF, TO AID CAPITALISM

4,000,000 Or None, Says Lewis

A demand that the American Federation of Labor swallow the full four million members of the Committee of Industrial Organization at one gulp or not at all was voiced by John L. Lewis before the convention of the SWOC (steel workers associated with the CIO.)

Sarcastically, Lewis declared: "The AF of L has refused that offer and says it does not want 4,000,000 new members. It would like to have about a million new members to see how they could digest them first, and think about the other 3,000,000. We said before and say again that they will digest all of us or none."

"I know personally Mr. Green's digestion very well. And as a matter of fact, 4,000,000 is a little too much to expect him to digest. His stomach in that respect is a good deal like his mind. It is a little weak."

"Recently, Mr. Green said he was arming representatives of the AF of L for a war on the CIO. I think what he had in mind was popguns."

"I am surprised at that statement he made about arming people. I think Tom Girdler must have put that in his ear."

"That is Girdler's policy. But the thing that surprises me is that Green would listen to him,

being a former Baptist minister. "Somehow or other, I just don't feel anxious about Bill Green's armed men coming around the steel mills and molesting the SWOC."

Lewis pledged himself to carry on an aggressive battle for the further organization of the steel industry. Unless labor was able to organize and to advance a program that would pull the nation out of the present crisis, Lewis feared the advent of Fascism in America.

Housing

As part of a recovery program, the SWOC is proposing a giant building program.

At a previous session of the convention, Phillip Murray, heading the SWOC, made criticism of the National Labor Relations Board for its one-sided administration of the law in many instances to favor the craft unions. Although the criticism warped that such continued practice would endanger industrial unionism in its entirety, there was no attempt to abolish the law itself.

Expect Roosevelt To Fall in Line

The Conservative Coalition in Congress, which stalled every progressive measure in the last session and which rides the Washington saddle in the present special session, almost a formal caucus this week.

Premature publicity of its plan to write a platform which would unite conservative Democrats and Republicans against the New Deal is held responsible for the failure of the coalition move.

An additional factor in deterring the formation of the formal coalition is the mounting feeling on the part of Congressional conservatives that the president will go along with their program, and that the organization of a "conservative caucus" would therefore unnecessarily divide the forces anxious to liquidate the New Deal.

Expect Roosevelt Backing

The *New York Times*, which has been enthusiastically for the program of the conservative coalition, editorially agrees that it is unnecessary in the present Congress for the anti-New Deal forces to organize a caucus. In stating its reasons for this attitude the *Times* states:

"Fortunately, the Roosevelt Administration has itself put increasing emphasis on the de-

stabilization of achieving some of the most important of these objectives. With his letter the Senate regarding the cost of farm relief and his proposal for the reduction of appropriations elsewhere. Mr. Roosevelt has taken the leadership in the matter of a balanced budget. Various spokesmen of the Government have promised an open-minded reconsideration of existing taxes.

"Conversations with representatives of the public utility industry are now in progress on the subject of Government competition, and it is significant that the new Regional Planning Bill omits all references to hydroelectric development except on the Columbia River. Secretary Wallace is making a fight against the more extreme proposals in the Senate Farm Bill. And the new Government housing plan is founded on sound economics. These are all encouraging developments, steps leading in the right direction."

Democrats Head Bloc

The Senatorial bloc behind the formation of the Conservative Coalition was headed by Bailey, Democrat, of North Carolina; Byrd, Democrat, of Virginia; Burke, Democrat, of Nebraska; Copeland, Democrat, of New York; Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland; and Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan. In this bloc, the Democratic Senators were at the fore. The Republicans kept to the rear.

The program of the conservatives, which it was planned to publish under the title AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, declared for the following:

- "1. The capital gains tax and the undistributed profits tax ought thoroughly to be revised.
- "2. Steady approach must be made toward a balance of

the public revenue with the public expenditure, a balanced national budget.

"The public credit must be preserved or nothing else matters.

"This means reduced public expenditure at every point practicable.

"3. We propose just relations between capital and labor, and we seek an end at once of a friction, engendered by more favorable conditions, that now serves none but injures all.

"The maintenance of law and order is fundamental.

Against Government Competition

"4. Relying upon the profitable investment of private savings in enterprise, we oppose every government policy tending unnecessarily to compete with and so to discourage such investment.

"We urge that the railroads shall enjoy an income appropriate to prudent investment value.

"We favor also a constructive and encouraging attitude toward all legitimate institutions operating to assist the flow of funds into investment—with the view to a broad credit at low rates.

"We favor the encouragement of housing construction, recognizing that this is also one of the larger fields for investment of private funds in durable goods—precisely the instant need.

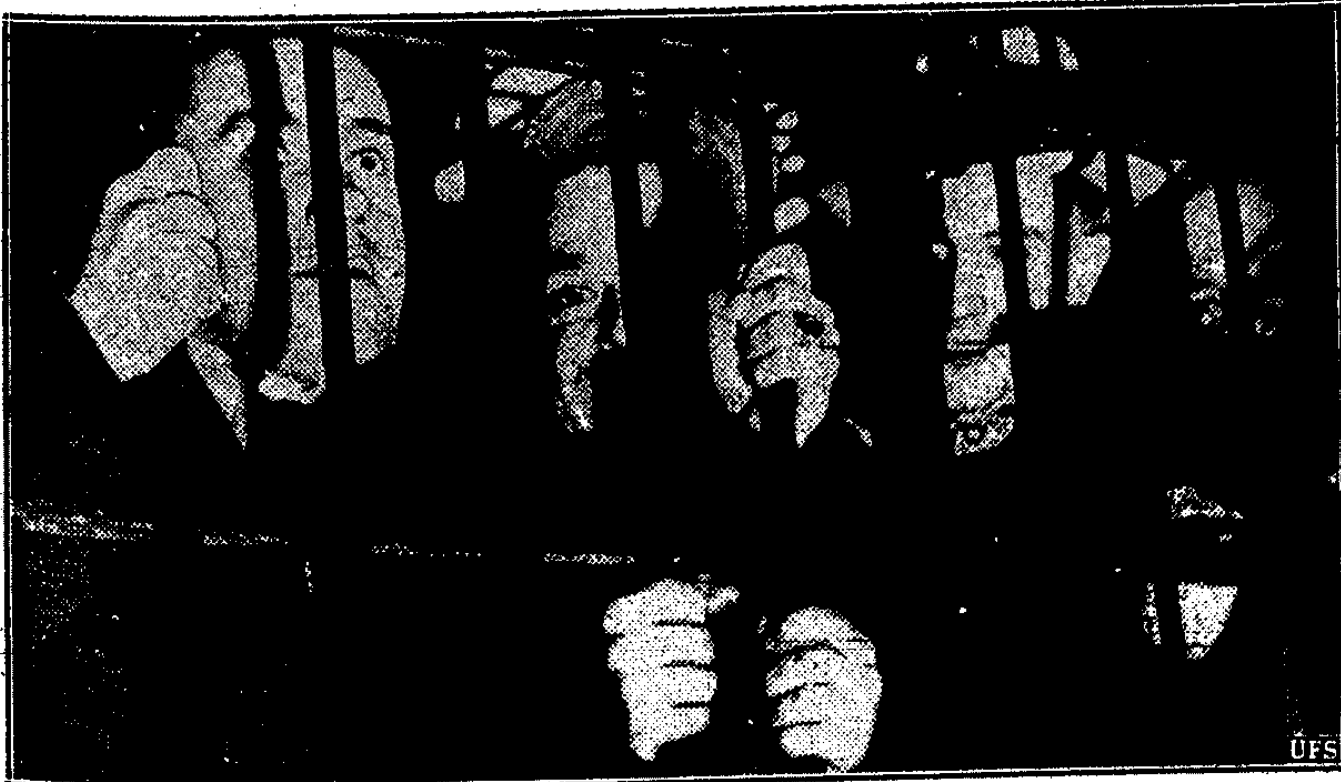
"5. We recognize that the value of investment, and the circulation of money depends upon reasonable profit.

"Our American competitive system is superior to any form of collectivist program. We intend to preserve and foster it as the means of employment, of livelihood, and of maintaining our standard of living.

"6. The sources of credit are abundant, but credit depends

(Continued on Page Three)

Auto Union Pickets



When sixteen men started a picket line in front of the Ford plant at Kansas City, Mo., police hurried them off to jail for disturbing the peace. The CIO charged discrimination in lay-offs.

Jobless are Organized By Rubber, Auto Unions

AKRON.—First labor union in the U.S. to organize its jobless on a national scale is the United Rubber Workers of America, the union which gave the CIO its first big impetus in the historic Goodyear strike of 1936.

Letters sent out by Pres. S. H. Dalrymple to local unions outline a 4-point program:

1. Organize efforts, in co-operation with other labor, religious, civic and fraternal groups to secure adequate relief funds from state legislatures;
2. Backing the liberal group in Congress in its demands for expansion of the present federal relief and WPA program;
3. Support of the project put forward by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and other labor organizations providing for use of social security funds to finance a large-scale federal housing project;
4. Setting up in all local unions of committees to organize support for the unemployed, to keep unemployed members close to their unions, and to cooperate with similar bodies in other unions and bonafide unemployed workers' organizations to get support for the measures stated above.

"Each local union must main-

tain a vigilant watch to see that adequate relief is provided in its locality," the rubber union leader declared in a message to his membership... State legislatures must be told that American workers will not starve. Congressmen and senators must be told that America demands adequate funds from the national government to take care of America's jobless working men and women."

Ort in Salaries
Dalrymple hinted at cuts in officers' salaries in the message, declaring: "We are determined that there shall be no axing of the organizing work carried on by the union, even if it means some sacrifice on the part of union officers."
In the past labor organizations have concerned themselves almost wholly with problems of their employed members. When union members lost their jobs they were allowed to drop out of membership and away from the labor movement. The URWA program is designed to keep these jobless workers active, to keep them loyal to the labor movement, and to

have them use the union as the instrument to secure relief funds and favorable hearings from public agencies.

Similar movements have developed in locals of various CIO unions recently, but the URWA is the first union to put the program into nationwide effect on an official basis.

Auto Union Maps Jobless Program

DETROIT—(FP)—The United Automobile Workers has named Pres. Richard Leonard of the de Soto local as head of U.A.W. welfare activities in Detroit, in line with the plan of the union to protect its members while they are out of work as well as when they are on the job.

Pres. Homer Martin outlined the following unemployment program: 1) retention of membership through out-of-work stamps; 2) no loss of contact with jobless members; 3) registration by locals of laid-off members, with setting up of relief committees to get relief and unemployment compensation and insure rehiring according to seniority.

Jobless Leader Resigns In Protest Against Policy Of Expulsions by Stalinists

The expulsion drive against leading non-Communist members of the Workers' Alliance in NYC is gaining speed. A week ago, Ida Lipp, a leading Socialist in the WA was denied an open trial when she appealed her expulsion from her local where she had criticized the conduct of the campaign to stop WPA dismissals.

While her case is still pending, N. Harrison, chairman of Local 15, one of the largest locals in the city, has been threatened with expulsion on the basis of charges which deal only with his militancy in demonstration, his criticism of the policies of the present leadership, and his membership in the Progressive Group of the WA. Such charges can be used against any other "objectionable" non-Communist member of the WA.

The expulsion drive against leading non-Communist members of the WA is being carried out according to the well known international line of the Communist Party, that of accusing all opposition of being Trotskyists and fascists. The expulsions are being speeded up because the CP leaders know that the majority of the non-Communist locals are already represented in the Progressive Group which is well aware that the purpose of the expulsions is to destroy all opposition to the do-nothing policies of the leadership.

The following letter, which Charles Mack of Local 17 recently sent to the executive of the unemployed section, is a clear expression of the attitude of the Progressive Locals toward the present situation:

WA of GNY Unemployed Section Executive committee:
I hereby resign from the adjustment committee of unemployed section of the WA.
My reasons for resigning are the bureaucratic methods pursued in expelling militants from the WA for daring to express honest opinions within the ranks of the WA. This, in my opinion, is the outcome of the desire of the leadership of the WA to drive out anyone who does not agree with them. This policy is being carried out in all parts of the country and is

wrecking the organization.

The culmination of this procedure here in NYC is the slanderous attack upon Neil Harrison at the delegates council meeting, an attack such as would not be tolerated in any other trade union.

I have served faithfully the Workers' Unemployment committee, the Workers' Unemployed Union, and the Workers' Alliance. I refuse to be used as a front and stooge for the Communist Party leadership in the WA.

Fraternally yours,
CHARLES MACK,
Local 17 WA.

Romanus Sedendo Vincit, Say Auto Union Murals

DETROIT, (FP). — As members of the West Side local of autoworkers sit in meeting in their union hall they gaze upon a mural that recalls heroic struggles against Ford and General Motors and inspires them to new achievements.

In the background is the skyline of Ford's Rouge plant and of G.M. factories. On the roof are sitdown strikers with a firehose ready to beat back vigilantes.

On the extreme left is the Ford overpass with Ford servicemen blackjacking union organizers and hurling them down the steps. Below, a judge grants a company injunction. But on the writ is the Latin proverb, not understood by the judge, reading **ROMANUS SEDENDO VINCIT** (the Roman wins by sitting down).

"The workers of the West Side local authorized the mural," says Pres. Walter Reuther, "because they believe that art should be intimately bound up with their daily life and struggles. This is the first of a series in our union home."

Miners Beg Right to Mine

HARRISBURG, Pa.—"All we want is a living; we don't want to steal," a bootleg miner told the Dauphin County yesterday during proceedings to continue a preliminary injunction restraining free lance mining operations on the property of the Susquehanna Collieries Company. The injunction was continued.

Sydney Handler, representing the miners, asked the court to modify the injunction to restrain the bootleg miners only at points endangering the regular work in the mines. "We come here not to ask you to disregard any well established principles of law. We come only to ask you to recognize the existence of certain humane rights to live and exist. We only ask you to recognize those rights if we can show you we are not jeopardizing the lives of others or causing undue damage."

Handler went on to point out that these men are engaged in free lance mining only because there is no other way for them to earn a living. They are taking coal out of land that is useless to the legal owners who are unable to exploit it because the coal extracted is up on the mountain, a "lost resource."

There are about six hundred bootleg miners in this region, the northern part of Dauphin County. Throughout this section of the state, miners, unable to get regular jobs or to get relief have taken this measure of self help to keep themselves and their families alive. In other counties where the miners have been able to exert greater pressure the state has been unable to do anything about the situation. Juries will not convict, and judges find it politically inadvisable to issue restraining orders. However the miners are a small force in this county which is predominantly farming region and the seat of Harrisburg, the state capital.

For some time now a state commission has been attempting to find a solution to the problem. The logic of its deliberations must lead to the recognition that only public ownership can give the mine workers any degree of security.

The Wallace Program

Socialism Alone Can Save The Farmers of America.

TECHNOLOGY, CORPORATIONS, AND THE GENERAL WELFARE. By Henry A. Wallace, University of North Carolina Press, 83 pp.

This slim volume contains the three lectures given by the Secretary of Agriculture at the University of North Carolina in the spring of 1937. Here is expressed the philosophy of an important section of the Roosevelt Administration by possibly the foremost mind in the Cabinet.

In the first lecture, Mr. Wallace deals with the familiar problem of the growth of technology. But there is brought out the less known facts that technological change has been equally as great on the farm as in industry. In sixty years, the man-hours required to produce twenty bushels of wheat have been cut from 25 to 10; to produce forty bushels of corn, from 80 hours to 40; to produce a bale of cotton, from 300 hours to a little over 200. Even in the much shorter period since the World War, 15% more dairy cows give 40% more milk; 9% fewer hogs give 18% more pork and lard. So goes the trend throughout all agriculture. And it is a trend which the Secretary sees extending indefinitely into the future.

Increasing efficiency in agriculture or stationary agricultural population. In brief, a surplus rural population which must find other occupations. But turning to industry, Mr. Wallace sees the same drive towards increased productivity and a surplus population. Furthermore, he finds the effects of growing technology similar in agriculture and industry: namely, benefits to the upper layer and misery to those below.

Socialists, who consider the farming population as a homogeneous unit with no class differences, would do well to read pages 14 and 15 of his book. "The newer methods tend to widen out the differences between the good farmers and the poor farmers." "Farmers with little education, poor training, and no capital oftentimes cannot take advantage of the new methods." "The poorer farmers using old methods thus have to compete with production from the new lower-cost methods."

The second lecture points out the growing rigidity of the system through monopoly. So that in 1932, steel, farm machinery and automobile manufacturers cut employment and production by 75% but prices by only 15%. Between the years 1928-29 out of an increased gross manufacturing income of 6 billion dollars, wages and salaries received only 1.4 billions, and 4.6 went to profit.

Crisis Grows
The growing intensity of capitalist crisis is shown by the percentage decreases in pig iron production in successive depression: 1873-76, 23%; 1890-94, 28%; 1907-08, 38%; 1920-21, 55%.

Therefore the basic problem is too much saving, and the government should regulate it by taxation. The money so raised would be used for the increase of consumers purchasing power and the stimulation of consumers goods production. Unfortunately, without constantly increasing accumulation (i.e. booms in capital goods), consumer goods production becomes profitless and, under a capitalist system, eventually impossible.

The ultimate effect of the Secretary's program, even if it were feasible, would be to stabilize stagnation and scarcity. And in this, Mr. Wallace, to do him justice, does not believe.

Bewildered Liberalism
There is much in these lectures which the mad marxists of the Communist Party would, up to 1936, have condemned as fascist. But Mr. Wallace merely symbolizes the bewilderment of Liberalism faced with a crisis it can neither comprehend nor mend. Liberalism is the natural political expression of a freely functioning capitalism. In this era, capitalism has grown rigid and monopolistic. The system, in short, is ripe for socialism. But if the proletariat is not ready to seize power in the name of all humanity, Liberalism must perforce give way to fascism. The immediate future depends now more than ever on the development of the American working class and on the ability of the Socialist Party to adapt itself to a great task.

Arizona, Nevada, and New Mexico Set Up CIO

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Formation of a council to organize locals and extend CIO activities in Arizona, Nevada and New Mexico was undertaken at a tri-state CIO convention here, at which Brig.-Gen. Pelham Glassford, local chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League, delivered the keynote address.

Glassford defined the purpose of any responsible labor movement as "the establishment, by peaceful and legal methods, of a prosperity that will find its way into the home of every worthy citizen." He said that the CIO came into being "because of the waning confidence in the leadership of the AFL," adding that competition between the two organizations "must be healthy and constructive" as "a community will not section a destructive struggle for control."

James R. Lord of Jerome, Ariz., provisional tri-state chairman for the CIO, described CIO policies as identical with the original ideals of the AFL, under Samuel Gompers, its first president.

Christmas, 1937

Conservative Program In Congress



A homeless Chinese girl, separated by war from her parents.



General Iwane Matsui, Commander-in-Chief of the victorious Japanese forces in China seems to be quite pleased with his handiwork.

(Continued from Page One)
upon security—the soundness and stability of values; and those are governed by the profitable operation of the concerns in which stocks are certificates of interest or in which bonds are evidences of debt.

Taxes Blamed for Farm Flight
“7. The spread between the prices paid farmers and the prices paid by consumers for their products is notorious. One explanation of the difference is the fact that the amount of annual taxes, Federal, State and local, comes to at least one-fourth of the national income. It is the price to the consumer, with the burden of taxes therein, which accounts for consumer resistance, depresses demand for goods, and tends to pile up unmarketable surpluses. There ought to be reduction in the tax burden, and if this is impossible at the moment, firm assurance of no further increase ought to be given.

“8. In a country so large and so complex as ours it is always difficult to fix uniform national standards for universal application in respect to the lives and livelihoods of our people. Except where State and local control are proven inadequate, we favor the vigorous maintenance of States rights, home rule and local self-government. Otherwise we create more problems than we solve.

Cut Relief

“9. We propose that there shall be no suffering for food, fuel, clothing and shelter; and that pending the contemplated revival of industry, useful work shall be provided to an extent consistent with the principles of this address.

“The deserving must be provided for when and if their resources of energy, skill, or funds cease to avail.

“To be done well, this must be done economically with the view to encouraging individual self-reliance, the return to self-dependence at the first opportunity, the natural impulses of kinship and benevolence, local responsibility in county, city and State.

“We hold to the conviction that private investment and personal initiative, properly encouraged will provide opportunity for all who are capable, and we propose employment for all who are capable as the goal of our efforts to justify the investment of savings in productive enterprise.

Rely on Capitalist System

10. We propose to preserve and rely upon the American system of private enterprise and initiative, and our American form of government.

This program is a more detailed statement of business desire to preserve capitalism, to eliminate economic reform, and to place the burden of the present crisis on the backs of the workers. It means a cut in relief for the poor, and the extension of tax relief to the rich.

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Anglo-French-American Alliance is Tightened for War Against Rome-Berlin

The military alliance of Britain, France, and America in preparation for a war against the Jap-Nazi-Fascist bloc is being hastened toward completion.

The tour of Yvon Delbos, French Foreign Minister, through Eastern and Central Europe to “line up” the smaller nations is netting results.

In Prague, Czechoslovakia, Premier Hodza virtually assured France of its military cooperation in the event of war. His plea “for the consolidation of Europe in cooperation with other democracies on the basis of peace” was understood to be a ratification of the Franco-British proposal for “collective security.”

In Yugoslavia, Delbos was not so successful. The present Premier Milan Stoyadanovitch has been bargaining with both Italy and France, refusing to commit himself either way.

Poland, likewise, indicated its vacillating character in a proposal to weaken the League of Nations so as to make possible the readmission of Italy. In this way Poland signifies that it still remains attached to the League but that it is unwilling to commit itself in advance to any drastic League action. This attitude arises from the recognition of the fact that the League of Nations today is dominated almost completely by the anti-Rome-Berlin bloc, and that the League, if it functions at all, will do so along the lines of Franco-British imperialist interest.

English Seek US Alliance

While Delbos seeks to cultivate the Central European arm of the Franco-British alliance, the English press, including its representatives in America, propagandize for closer American participation in the tri-power alliance.

The *Yorkshire Post*, considered the personal paper of Captain Anthony Eden, big mogul of Britain's foreign affairs, proposes that the US set up a joint naval patrol with Britain, and other powers, to protect their interests in the Far East.

Sir Arthur Willert, in syndicated copy sent out by the North American Newspaper Alliance, tells us that in Britain there is “much more speculation regarding the advisability, especially if the United States takes similar action, of preparing for emergencies by sending more war vessels to Far Eastern waters.”

For A Disunited Front In the Event of War

A RESOLUTION has been introduced in the United States Congress to amend the Constitution so that “except in the event of an invasion of the United States or its territorial possessions and attack upon its citizens therein” Congress may not declare war until confirmed by a majority vote in a nation-wide referendum.

This resolution is far from a guarantee against American capitalism going to war. This resgression to declare war in defense of the American empire, should the technical violation of Uncle Sam's dignity take place by an act of “invasion.” This resolution does not weather-proof the nation against the storm of propaganda that will sweep the country before a new war. Such propaganda is powerful enough to win popular sanction for a war.

The resolution fails, as does any such resolution, to extirpate the causes of war. It signifies no irreconcilable opposition to war waged by capitalist America.

Yet the Ludlow resolution has met with the sternest of opposition from the pro-war forces in America. And for reasons that should cause opponents of capitalist war to give support to the Ludlow resolution, while recognizing and indicating its vast short-comings as an anti-war palliative.

The jingoes abhor the Ludlow Resolution because it would delay the declaration of war. To this objection we say: *All the better.* A nation can use a little time to cool off, after an incident.

The second big argument is: “Once a nation goes to war, consideration of vital self-interest require it to present a united front. The only practical effect of a referendum which gave sanction to a state of war would be to destroy an essential sense of unity.”

And to this argument, we reply: *All the better.*

The only hope for the working class in its struggle against capitalist war lies in its ability to defy the attempts of the government to “unify” the nation under the war-time pressures. Such unity will mean virtual dictatorship. At such time, a maximum of national disunity, a maximum of open opposition to the war-making plans of the government is desirable. For out of such expressed opposition to the declaration of war can alone arise the movement that will overthrow the war-making system of capitalism.

Sections of the working class in Europe, are being lined up in support of the new imperialist war by this “democratic” policy of collective security. The Forty-Hour week is being revised to the disfavor of labor in France, in order to meet the exigencies of war time production. Military industries are completely exempted from the law. Allied industries are getting special modifications.

Handwriting on the Wall?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Memorandum handed to the Secretary of State at 12:30 P. M., December 13, 1937.

Please tell the Japanese Ambassador when you see him at one o'clock:

- That the President is deeply shocked and concerned by the news of indiscriminate bombing of American and other non-Chinese vessels on the Yangtse, and that he suggests that the Emperor be so advised.
- That all the facts are being assembled and will shortly be presented to the Japanese Government.
- That in the meantime it is hoped the Japanese Government will be considering definitely for presentation to this Government:
 - Full expressions of regret and proffer of full compensation;
 - Methods guaranteeing against a repetition of any similar attack in the future.

Handwritten initials: JRP

A facsimile copy of President Roosevelt's note calling for a protest to Japan over the sinking of the gunboat Panay. Is this the first in a series of notes eventually to mean war? Are these the prefatory notes to a declaration of war? Now is the time for the American workers to give serious thought to the government's policy in protecting capitalist interests in the Far East. Tomorrow the workers may be called upon to fight for these interests.

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AT THE FRONT



With *Monica Thomas*



So far the action of the President and the State Department and the temper of the American people in relation to the shocking bombing of American ships near Nanking has

been admirable. It is clear that this latest criminal blunder, or blundering crime, whichever way you want to look at it, has aroused some real consternation in Japan and the Japanese regrets are more than formal. Of course such episodes must not be allowed to lead to war and they raise again acutely the questions: what boats and how many boats flying the American flag should be in the belligerent zone and under what conditions?

Beyond that the episode shows how difficult it is for aviators to discriminate in the wholesale death and destruction which they deal out so freely. It suggests that the amazing efficiency which some alarmists have attributed to the Japanese militarists may be exaggerated, for from the Japanese military point of view this was a shocking blunder.

Ethically the sinking of American boats is no worse than the wholesale murder of innocent Chinese. But the remedy lies not in a war between capitalist nations but in the awakening power of the masses both in China and Japan. We can help by a popular boycott properly conducted. Don't forget that when you do your Christmas shopping!

AUTO AND STEEL

I have come back from a trip which gave me some pretty close contact with the automobile and steel workers. I am impressed by how serious this slump already is and how much more difficult it makes the problems of these new unions. I am at least equally impressed by the fine personnel in these unions and the vigorous life within them. One of the tasks they confront is this: They can greatly serve their workers in a time of lay-offs by presenting discrimination, favoritism and a habit of bribing foremen and straw bosses to keep this worker on or that.

To assure fair play they will have to establish some rule like seniority. This they are doing. In that case what becomes of the people laid off, most of them young folks? Will they drift away from the union? Will they be the raw material of fascist reaction as they were in Italy and Germany?

The unions recognize this danger and are trying to deal directly with the problem of unemployment. The more thoughtful of the union leaders moreover recognize the need of maintaining educational and cultural activities to hold the loyalty of the union members, even the unemployed.

UNIONS IN DEPRESSIONS

There is another problem which is particularly acute in the automobile industry. It lies behind some of the discussions and factional divisions within the union. It is, briefly, the problem of aggressive organization under conditions of depression. It is a problem of union responsibility and it works two ways. The union, of course, cannot tolerate, especially in this difficult time, irresponsible and unauthorized strikes, but neither can the union if it is to protect itself from disintegration allow the bosses to get away with an effective offensive under cover of depression.

They have got to stop the habit of the use of deliberately irritating tactics to provoke unauthorized strikes or strikes that the company will claim are unauthorized. I came away from Detroit impressed by the responsible and intelligent attitude of the Reuther brothers and some other leaders of

landless farm workers, and which begins with the fewest elements of compulsion to be administered by a supposedly omniscient and omnipotent bureaucracy.

THE SOVIET

A year ago I had high hopes that Russia's new Constitution meant a genuine change toward democracy, especially in respect to civil liberty. The contrary has been the case. Stalin's hundred per cent election simply proves the power of his totalitarian state and an absence of unrest. The latter fact makes the present purge, which according to Uroshilov, has only just begun, the more appallingly unnecessary.

The new Parliament is loaded up with high state and Communist Party officials, with disproportionate representation of the GPU and the army. Labor is meagerly represented and Stakhonovites and labor bureaucrats are disproportionately numerous among their representatives. The election itself seems to have been one more mass demonstration of the government's power.

In no way was it democratic. Official spokesmen for Russian "democracy" make much of the shortcomings of democracy elsewhere. Those shortcomings are great but the Soviet spokesman exaggerated them to their hearers. However when those same spokesmen say that there is need for only one party in Russia because there is only one class, namely the workers, they talk dangerous nonsense. It is true that there is no capitalist class in the USSR but there is a bureaucracy, and the very existence of the Stalin-Trotsky feud shows the need of orderly parties to represent different points of view rather than an attempt to settle differences by brute force. The appearance of the Dewey report on the charges against Trotsky on the very day of the election had an appropriate significance.

That report acquits Trotsky of the charges brought against him in Moscow trials. No one can dismiss that report except on the basis of as careful a collection and examination of evidence as has gone into it, and on a basis of as high character and disinterested loyalty to truth as must be attributed to Professor Dewey.

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A Hari-Kari Policy

Reports come from Japan that an officer in the army of the Mikado may commit hari-kari over the Panay incident. And thus may arise the first act of suicide arising from the bombing of an American gunboat.

Important for American citizens, however, is the danger of hari-kari committed by the American people against themselves if they put any faith in the government's present policy in the Far East.

All those incidents which make for war are piling up quickly in the Far East. Ships are sunk. Governments protest. Governments apologize. Yet, the conditions which will lead to future bombings and further friction are not removed or even modified.

So long as American gunboats go floating about the hot spots of China there will be further bombings. Apologies won't stop such incidents.

American gunboats must be withdrawn from China. Their presence can only serve to embroil America in the Far Eastern conflict. They will serve as Uncle Sam's necessary excuse should the government make up its mind that the time has come for war.

The present policy of the United States can only feed fuel to the fires of war.

The only policy worse than the present would be one of sending more ships to the Orient to protect the few ships now in the Far East. Such a punitive move against Japan can only hasten the movement toward war.

And such a punitive policy is not improved by calling it "collective security." A military alliance on the part of the US, France and England to "put Japan in its place" can only result in war in the very near future.

Out of such a war there will not arise a world of peace and democracy. Out of such a war, as out of the last war fought by imperialist powers, will arise a treaty that will serve as the basis for a world of new wars and new dictatorships.

Going to the Right

The failure of the Conservative Coalition in Congress to organize itself into a formal caucus in no sense, signifies a defeat for the reactionary program in the present session. Quite the reverse! Paradoxical as it seems, the caucus has been rendered inadvisable largely because it is unnecessary.

The formation of this bloc is only possible if the Conservative Democrats are willing. And they are only willing, if they find it absolutely necessary.

At this time, when Roosevelt is moving to the "right" so rapidly, it would be the height of folly for the Conservative Democrats to jeopardize party unity unnecessarily. Why antagonize the administration with an anti-administration bloc if the president can be brought into line without an opposition caucus.

It may very well be that Roosevelt's continued attempts in the future to walk the tight-rope of politics may lead the Congressional conservatives to make an open break with him. The reactionary elements are rarin' to go. And they are not going to lose the fine opportunities offered by the present business slump to embarrass Roosevelt.

But should a break become necessary later, the conservatives could carry it through anyway. For the moment they are content to advance their anti-labor, pro-capitalist program through an unofficial caucus, welcoming presidential cooperation in the move.

the unity caucus towards these basic problems. Their position has been much misrepresented, notably in such summaries of it as appeared in TIME and NEWS WEEK.

Depression marches on and it won't be stopped under capitalism by the President's housing program, especially through the interest there fixed at 5 1/2 per cent on housing loans. The depression is least obvious in regions protected by the increased spending power of the farmers.

That fact will be used by the farmers and the Administration in favor of some sort of agricultural aid through crop restriction or crop regulation. Ideally of course there is a case for social control in agriculture to maintain as nearly as possible an adequate food supply in good years and in bad, to prevent soil erosion, etc. These social controls ideally would be the more valuable at a time when depression in the cities sends more people to the country, although really efficient use of modern agricultural methods would enable something like a fifth of our farmers, it is said, to produce what we need by way of food supplies.

The trouble is that capitalism knows just one way to help farmers, and that is to make things scarce in order to maintain prices. Favored groups of farmers and political pressure for direct or indirect subsidy the easiest way to deal with their problems.

The inescapable risk under capitalism of any agricultural legislation is that it will aid the farmers at a dangerous cost to the consumers either in prices or in special taxes.

A second danger is that the compulsory machinery which may be set up will be expensively and irritatingly bureaucratic and at the same time inefficient. For instance, the Bankhead Bill limiting cotton production would have broken down completely except for the aid of drought, and later, of course, the decision of the Supreme Court knocking out A.A.A.

Finally the danger of all agricultural control is that it will be primarily in the interest of the more powerful farmers—the landowners and the farm operators—and if anything will make the lot of certain of the farm laborers and share croppers worse. This was clearly the effect of A.A.A. in large areas in the cotton country.

I cite these facts to show how extraordinarily difficult the whole situation is and how impossible of ideal solution under the profit system. That law at present will be best which most carefully considers the fact that there are such people as consumers as well as

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Democracy and War—1

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

By Gus Tyler

TWENTY years ago, the best brains of the "democratic powers" of the world wrote a treaty intended to safeguard peace and democracy in the world.

The treaty was written by the statesmen of the great and victorious "democracies" of England, France and the United States. In the halls of Versailles, Trianon, and Saint-Germain, the grey-haired Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson and Georges Clemenceau penned their "peace".

According to these "settlements", Germany, Austria and Hungary were held solely responsible for the war guilt, were stripped of their possessions, were partitioned, were prevented from entering into necessary economic agreements, were forcefully disarmed.

The publication of these treaties came as a shock to the liberal conscience of the world. *These were not peace treaties.* These were war-making treaties. These treaties settled no questions; they created new problems. These treaties were in complete violation of that spirit of "peace without victory" about which Wilson had spoken to the world.

According to these treaties, national boundaries were ruthlessly created in disregard of economic necessities. Self-determination of minor nationalities was carried out only to the extent that such partition of the great empires served to weaken the defeated powers. Within Poland, Czecho-slovakia, Hungary, the problem of minor nationalities remained unsolved. The declaration to establish "open covenants openly arrived at" was violated in the very meetings to draw up the post-war treaties. They were drawn up in secret; and then they were forced upon the defeated powers as an ultimatum, without discussion.

Democracy Betrayed

Liberalism had been betrayed. Those many idealists who went to war for a world of peace and democracy had been betrayed. The people of Europe, who lit candles under Wilson's portrait, had been betrayed. The European revolutionists, who were inspired by Uncle Sam's Fourteen Points to turn against their own governments, had been betrayed.

American liberals, unwilling to believe that their good Wilson had so cruelly betrayed them, concluded that Wilson himself had been betrayed by the wily politicians of the Old World.

Those who had hoped that from the pen of Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau there would come a treaty "of peace" were outraged. But their rage was futile. They were beseeching men who were thousands of miles away, out of touch with their people, bitter for revenge, and—sworn to defend the system of profit with its imperialist bulwarks.

After the war was over, it was clear to the world that once more the liberals had been tricked into supporting a war whose ultimate result was a violation of the whole spirit of democracy. It was not the first time that the democracy-loving masses of the United States had been tricked. It may not be the last time!

The great wars undertaken by the United States during the last two generations have been fought in defense of democracy. Yet, somehow, they have failed consistently to accomplish their purpose. Why?

A Capitalist America

The answer lies in the fact that America is not alone a "democracy"; it is a capitalist democracy. The present American governmental system may be regulated along "democratic" lines; but the American economic system rests upon a capitalist basis.

Such a capitalist country goes to war when it finds it an economic necessity to do so, in terms of that capitalist society. It wars for control of foreign lands where it can obtain raw materials cheaply, where it can find cheap labor to exploit, where it can peddle its overstocked goods, where it can invest its surpluses of capital.

A nation is like a man. You can't judge its character just by looking at its face. The face of America may be democratic; but its soul is capitalist.

The men who wrote the post-war treaties were not simple men, good or bad, wise or stupid, composing a new map for the world. The men who

were redividing the world's colonies were the representatives of capitalist nations operating within an imperialist framework. Their personal actions at Versailles, Trianon and Saint-Germain were motivated, conditioned and limited by their class point of view; by the system within which they were working.

Those who refuse to analyze wars by asking: *What kind of a country is making the war?* will always be betrayed. For no matter how base the real motives of any country in going to war, the leaders of that nation will find noble phrases to cloak ignoble interests. It is really impossible to find out what a country wants from a war by listening to its official spokesmen. If they spoke the truth, no one would back the war. It is only possible to find out the real reason, (not the excuse), by grasping the character of the nation at war.

Imperialist Peace

The post-war treaties were not written by men, but by countries. They were written by a Lloyd George who came to the conference table with the blood of Chinese, Indians, Africans, Boers on his hands; by a Clemenceau, jailer of Congo natives, Syrian tribes, weak and defenseless people cowed by French arms; by a Woodrow Wilson, inheritor of a policy resting upon the mauling of an unarmed Mexico; the bullying of weak Latin-American countries, the conquest of the West Indies, the Philippines, the humiliation of an Hawaiian queen. The treaties were written by countries which, jointly, were the slaveholders of men and women in five continents; by the greatest enslavers in the world.

How could these countries give the world peace and democracy?

Woodrow Wilson could no more write a treaty of "peace without victory" than Simon Legree could be the author of abolitionism.

Capitalist wars can only result in capitalist "peace," a peace imposed by conquerors upon the conquered, a peace from which must spring new wars.

(Continued next week)

A Political Biography—2

I am Exposed as a Spy

By LISTON OAK

We talked also to Charlie and Adelaide Walker, close personal friends with whom we were associated on the executive board of the Theatre Union. Of course we knew that, although they were not members of the Trotskyist organization, they were Trotskyist sympathizers. But we did not feel as the good Stalinists do, that discussing political questions with revolutionists with differing opinions is a crime—like a good Christian having intercourse with Satan. We then defended the idea that the Comintern was not hopeless—that in fact the only hope was a change in line of the C.P., for we did not believe that the Trotskyists were capable of building a mass revolutionary party, nor did we have faith in the Socialist Party or the Lovestoneites or any other group. We saw the Comintern at that time, as the only organization capable of leading a successful revolution—IF it would rectify its colossal mistakes.

A Big If!

Yes, I had doubts. But I wanted to be certain. For nearly nine years I had given almost all my time and energy to the C.P. as a paid functionary, a professional revolutionist. I had been director of publicity for the National Office of the C.P. for election campaigns and strikes and the Gastonia trial; I had been manager of the Workers' Library Publishers; editor of SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY for three years; editor of FIGHT for a year; the party representative on the board of

the Theatre Union; I had worked on the editorial staff of the Daily Worker; and I had made several national tours lecturing for various Communist-led "innocent's clubs."

I had almost no interests, no personal life, outside the party; I glorified it and gave it my loyalty, justifying its mistakes.

Went To Russia

I did not break with the C.P. lightly, but with the greatest reluctance and a hell of a lot of agony of heart and mind. I had to be sure. I went to Russia. I did not expect Utopia. I knew it was no paradise, that Socialism is not easily built, nor in a day, especially in a backward agricultural country surrounded by hostile capitalist powers. I recognized the enormous difficulties and I knew what tremendous progress had been made against obstacles of all sorts. My observations in Russia confirmed what I had read about the economic achievements.

But unfortunately it also confirmed my worst fears about the Stalinist dictatorship, the suppression of all honest opposition, and democracy and civil liberty, within and outside the C.P.S.U. and the Soviets. Worst of all, I saw the great gulf between the bureaucracy and the masses. The reigning apparatus which included party members and the Red Army, was reaping the lion's share of the benefits of "socialist" construction. I saw that party members were living in terror, that all independent thinking, all intellectual

integrity, had been destroyed.

Despite this, I still hesitated. I wanted to investigate thoroughly, and accepted an offer of a job on the Moscow Daily News from Borodin and went to Paris to await the necessary okay from the American party. I don't know whether or not it ever arrived. For after spending a couple of painful weeks in Paris in soul-searching uncertainty, I had decided to go to Spain instead, where I was sure I could serve the revolution better than in Moscow. I was still unwilling to make the break.

The only Communist credentials I had was my record as a Communist, known to Spanish comrades, and the only letter was one from that staunch Stalinist, Louis Fischer, to Alvarez del Vayo. He approved my proposals and I organized and directed a bureau for propaganda in the United States and England, for the Valencia Government. I was asked to extend the work and to organize similar bureaus in Madrid and Barcelona. I have letters from Spanish governmental officials thanking me for the fine work I was doing for the antifascist cause. I cite these facts merely to show that my activity was hardly that of a fascist spy.

After three months I was sick, mentally and physically of working for the People's Front, of being a cog in the Stalinist machinery of falsification, repression and reaction. I went to Barcelona to learn the truth about the POUM and the CNT-FAI which were being reviled by the Stalinists.

I talked at length with Andres Nin, Julian Gorkin, Jose Andrade, Jose Escuder, N. Molines, all leaders of the POUM, and with Souchy and other Anarchists. I found out that what I had suspected was true—that the C.P. in the Spanish People's Front was playing a counter-revolutionary role, that it was kidnapping, torturing and murdering revolutionists, suppressing their meetings and newspapers, carrying out reactionary measures to destroy the revolutionary conquests of the workers and peasants made in July and August, 1936; blackmailing the other organizations in the government by making Russian aid conditional upon Stalinist control.

I met George Mink, American Communist, who boasted about his part in organizing the Spanish C.P.U. and offered me a job—to put the finger on "untrustworthy" comrades entering Spain to fight against fascism, such as the members of the British Independent Labor Party and the American Socialist Party. The POUM also offered me a job, but I refused both and left Spain.

I went to London. On May 3rd fighting broke out in Barcelona. I knew what it meant—that it was provoked by the Stalinists who figured they were strong enough to crush the POUM, the Friends of Durruti and the left Socialists, to defeat the revolution and assume monopoly of power together with their allies, the right Prieto Socialists and the Left Republicans. But I walked the streets of London debating with myself, before

I made up my mind to tell the truth about what was happening, to attack the Stalinists who had been my comrades.

Breaks With Stalinism

I took the step toward which I had been impelled for several years by the force of events, by the accumulation of overwhelming evidence, by indisputable facts. I could not remain in the C.P. and I could not remain silent, without surrendering all intellectual and revolutionary integrity. I had found that "the work" to which Gomez refers in his letter—the attempt to reform the Comintern—is futile. No discussion, no opposition, is tolerated any longer in the C.P. Democratic centralism is only a memory.

And so today I am writing and speaking for the Socialist Party, for the Anarchists, the Trotskyists, for any working class organization and publication that will permit me to tell the truth about Spain as I see it.

While it was painful to break with the Comintern, it is a relief to be free to think and write and speak without consideration for the rigid and mechanical discipline of a party that is no longer revolutionary. I wear no longer the Stalinist uniform. I am no longer in the ranks of regimented intellectuals like Mike Gold. I am an independent revolutionist, who is more firmly convinced than ever that Marxism and a revolutionary Socialist program is the only answer to the world's problems.

The Call Views the Theatre

Presenting the Workers' Angle on Current Stage and Screen Offerings

CLASS ANGLE

When the Bough Breaks
The Cradle Will Fall

By Michael C. Arcone

Once in a long while there appears in the arts: literature, the dance, the cinema, the graphic arts, the theatre—something of such absolute validity and vitality in its treatment of the contemporary social, economic and industrial scene that anyone looking at it from the viewpoint of a Socialist ideology must of necessity stand up and cheer.

So perhaps we will be forgiven if this column seems overburdened with praise for the subject of its review—the Worklight Theatre's presentation of "The Cradle Will Rock," the Mark Blitzstein two-act opera which raised such merry hell among the bigwigs of the Federal Theatre Project last summer. Some eight hundred lucky New Yorkers will see it at the Mercury for its last scheduled performance next Sunday (December 19th) evening, and others perhaps later at a larger theatre for eight performances each week.

It is no wonder that the Federal Theatre refused to produce it, even after thousands of tickets had been sold and countless theatre parties arranged for. For, as the New York Times points out, a theatre supported by government funds cannot be free agent when it comes to producing art which has an insurgent political motive.

Which is to be expected. The Times makes a belated discovery. We could have told them a long time ago. What we are thankful for is that the Mercury thought enough of it to give it at least a temporary home . . . we shall be equally thankful if some Broadway producer thinks enough of it to (1) give it a permanent home and (2) to take it on tour. Not that we have any illusion about it. We haven't. If any producer takes it over it will be to make money. But we don't mind . . . for it will give a good cross-section of the labor and radical movements the chance to see it.

But we hope that any producer who takes it over will leave it strictly alone. We'd hate to see it prettied up by as much as one iota. For a great deal of the power of this opera lies in the manner in which it is presented . . . bare stage, without costumes, props or scenery, the actors sitting in three rows of chairs facing the audience, rising and coming forward to speak or sing their lines, no stage business at all. It is exactly this nakedness of staging which brings the drama into the laps of the audience, which makes the audience an integral part of the performance, which gives the entire thing a reality which would not be present were the stage to be dressed, were a more formal production to be attempted.

What Marc Blitzstein has written, and what the Worklight Theatre presents is opera in its most simple and most essential terms . . . the music, the lines, the songs . . . and the actors to step forward to speak them or sing them. It is a tour-de-force at once intimate and dramatic, cast in the mould of an old-fashioned "Everyman" play, which is a powerful indictment of modern capitalism in no unMarxian terms—it is Marc Blitzstein's, Labor's "J'Accuse."

As such it is valid drama, bitter and biting in its satire, sardonic in its humor . . . a humor which produces laughter, but laughter which is forced out of ones guts when the only alternative is to get up and curse.

What if its characters are naively labelled: Cop, Dick, Moll, Gent, Druggist, Steve, Sadie and Gus Polack, Mr. and Mrs. Mister, Junior and Sister Mister, Bugs, Larry Foreman, Editor Daily, Doctor Specialist, Yasha and Dauber, Pres. Prexy, Ella Hammer, Rev. Salvation, Trixie. There is no mistaking who they are and what they represent. Labor has met them and labor knows them.

And there is nothing at all subtle about "The Cradle Will Rock." When it strikes it uses a sledge-hammer. When it indicts, it indicts principals. Its hero is Labor, its villain Capitalism. Its episodes are unashamedly the stock episodes of every working class play; it crucifies with grim effectiveness capitalism with its kept press, its kept church, its kept culture, its kept educational institutions, its kept courts and strikebreaking police with a contemptuous fury, which for effectiveness has no equal on the current stage.

But it is more than this . . . it is labor's marching song and labor's call to arms. And it is labor's savage warning to capitalism, brutal and grim, insurgent and rebellious.

Forecast of Johnstown Committee

And the message of it, after we are shown the machinations of capitalism through the device of a steel magnate who unscrupulously organizes a citizens' committee against a union organization drive (did Blitzstein inspire the Johnstown committee?) is, that labor is at last feeling its power, at last hurling its challenge at capitalism . . . at last uttering its ultimatum:

"That's thunder, that's lightning and its going to surround you . . . no wonder those stormbirds seem to circle around you . . . Well, you can't climb down and you can't sit still . . . That's a storm that's going to last until the final wind blows . . . and when the wind blows the cradle will rock!"

That's thunder, that's lightning and its going to surround you . . . no wonder those stormbirds seem to circle around you . . . Well, you can't climb down and you can't say no . . . You can't stop the weather, not with all our dough . . . For when the wind blows . . . OH, when the wind blows . . . THE CRADLE WILL ROCK!"

This is all that Howard da Silva, as Larry Foreman, in a solo and then the entire cast in the finale sings . . . what isn't spoken or sung, but implied so that there is no possibility of mistaking the implication, are the last two lines of the old nursery rhyme:

"When the bough breaks the cradle will fall . . . and down will come baby and cradle and all."

Or, translated into other words:

*"We are coming, unforgiving, and the earth resounds our tread;
Bone and sinew of the living, spirit of the rebel dead,
You who sowed the seeds of sorrow now the whirlwind you must dare,
As ye face upon the morrow the advancing Proletaire!"*

This is the theme and message of "The Cradle Will Rock." It is a play which is truly labor's own . . . for in nothing else has labor's insurgency and rebellion received more valid treatment!

Martha Graham In Two Recitals

The program which Martha Graham will present at her first concerts of the current season at the Guild Theatre on Sunday evenings, December 19 and 26, will introduce two new solo dances, "Immediate Tragedy" and "Deep Song," and the new solo and group suite, "American Lyric," and will repeat "Chronicle," the full-length anti-war suite which she presented last year for the first time.

The program in full for December 19 will be: "Frontier and Celebration," by Louis Horst; "Deep Song" and "Immediate Tragedy" by Henry Cowell; "Chronicle" by Wallingford Riegger; in three parts:—Dances Before Catastrophe, Dances After Catastrophe, Prelude to Action—Louis Horst will conduct the orchestra.

The program for December 26 include "American Lyric" for which Alex North has written the music. The details of this program will be announced later.

"Pins and Needles" Advances Nightly Run To December 17th

Although the week before Christmas is supposed to be the worst theatrical period in the year, "Pins and Needles," the musical revue playing at Labor Stage, will begin its regular nightly run this Friday, December 17th. Thereafter, it will give seven performances a week, only Wednesday afternoon performance being omitted for the time being from the orthodox run, according to Louis Schaffer, manager of Labor Stage.

"Pins and Needles" is the topical musical revue which is acted by the I.L.G.W.U. Players. It started on its run with only week-end performances, but so great was the public demand for it that Louis Schaffer was forced to announce a week ago that it would start a regular run on Christmas night. Now even that date has been advanced. The 17th is Der Tag.

—XMAS GREETING CARDS—

Three Christmas cards stressing the social significance of the day and bearing the union label have been issued by the youth section of the Religion and Labor Foundation. One card wishes "A Most Merry Xmas" from a list of people for whom Christmas will be anything but a season of good cheer: Tom Mooney, the sharecroppers and others. The cards are attractively printed in two colors and can be secured at 5 for 15c, 25 for 65c. from Charlotte Bentley, 25 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C.

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Books

CASTE AND CLASS IN A DIXIE TOWN

CASTE AND CLASS IN A SOUTHERN TOWN

By John Dollard. Yale University Press, \$3.50

In the Communist Manifesto Marx speaks of the growing "mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation" which drives the working class to revolutionary action.

During periods of economic upswing it used to be the fad for reformists to quibble over the precise meaning of Marx' statement. It was pointed out that workers frequently owned cars, radios, homes, etc. Certain reformists even insisted that since labor organizations increased in membership during periods of prosperity that therefore the entrance into socialism would be effected during the prosperous times when workers joined unions and the labor parties.

Marx' statement, they implied, was to be taken as a rhetorical flourish and nothing more. They could not understand that it is during economic upswing—in the period of so-called prosperity—that the old labor organizations were of value to the worker. Equipped to function as bargaining agencies in the capitalist framework, it was during the lush years that the workers found it to his interest to utilize their services.

The worker was then willing to pay dues for the real or imaginary services that the old labor organizations could perform. During periods of depression, on the other hand, the unions were neither able or desirous of taking upon themselves the burden of fighting for unemployed workers who could not pay dues. Union membership therefore declined.

For that reason a host of self-appointed theoreticians as well as the union leaders and party spokesmen came to the conclusion that their "success" was bound up with the health of capitalist society. Notably in England, the labor leaders, basing their program on this theory, perpetrated blaring betrayals of the militant masses behind them.

The present crisis, which comes upon us long before the short-lived upswing (1934—summer 1937) had attained the 1929 reduction level, has knocked these weasel ideas into a cocked hat. Capitalism faces permanent crisis; the working class faces increasing misery, degradation in a literal sense.

The Negro's Status

But there is a large social group in the United States which has for centuries labored under the most vicious oppression. Deprived of social and political rights; forced into the least remunerative of the occupations, twelve million Negroes, largely concentrated in the South, are close to the verge of utter desperation.

Dr. John Dollard of the Yale Institute of Human Relations went into a typical Southern community and in his volume Caste and Class in a Southern Town he draws an accurate sociological picture of the forces and people at work in the south. Dollard did not concern himself primarily with figures. He undertook the task of finding out what the figures mean when translated into human beings, their problems and their social relations. His well-written study is an interesting and important account of the present situation below the Mason-Dixon line.

"Southerntown," he reports, "is a veritable Cheka in its vigilance on caste matters. There are constant and potent pressures to

compel every white person to act his caste role correctly."

Negroes are commonly regarded as animals: they must never be addressed as "Mr." or "Mrs.;" they should be called by their first name; they are expected to say "Sir" or "Mam" when replying; a white man must not invite a Negro as a guest into his home; a Negro must never approach a white man's residence by the front entrance.

Under slavery for a Negro to strike a white man, no matter what the provocation, meant immediate death by lynching. Today the situation has changed but little. No political or economic organization of the Negro is permitted. In the past he has had only one recourse: to move away; but recent newspaper reports indicate that he is fast being deprived of that "privilege." Negroes have been restrained by force of arms from leaving one county to accept work in another county at higher wages.

Very Low Wages

Female house servants receive from \$1.50 to \$3.00 weekly and in most respects they are virtually slaves. One Southern white woman "said she loved to be able to reach up to a bell at three in the morning, ring, and have the girl come scrambling in with a pitcher of ice-water." The history of Russian serfdom is replete with incidents of a character similar to those described in Dr. Dollard's volume.

Of the farm-laborers, in Southern town, more than 80% are Negroes; unskilled labor is paid 75-cents a day. Sharecroppers are entirely dependent on what the white planter chooses to pay them. Let us assume that there is a difference between the landlord and the Negro over what is due him. "The Negro has kept accounts and knows the advances to be, say, \$100. The landlord or his overseer calls in the tenant

and tells him that he did very well this year: he made \$10. If the Negro offers a mild challenge, he is told, 'Do you mean to call me a liar?' This settles the discussion because to call a white man a liar is extremely dangerous for a Negro."

The white man also presumes dominance over the Negro women. While Negroes are lynched on the flimsiest suspicion, white men stride through the Negro section of the town and flagrantly flaunt their abuse of Negro women. This has raised the indignation of the Negroes to a high pitch.

On one occasion the situation almost precipitated open rebellion. Negroes resenting the white men's treatment of their women prepared to defend their homes. Threatened by the white men, "The Negroes sent the word, got other Negroes in from nearby towns, and prepared for action on their principal street. Informant said that there were more than twenty thousand rounds of ammunition in the houses along this street. For his part he was ready to die rather than have the sexual situation get any worse. But some of the leading white men surmised the state of affairs and forbade any white man to go down into the colored district, otherwise 'we will have to kill every nigger down there.'"

Explosion Is Near

The arrogant Southern ruling class, which for various historical reasons is an amazingly stupid grouping, is swiftly rolling the power keg to the flames. Degraded to the point where death is frequently preferable to continued existence, the Negroes represent imminent revolutionary timber.

Any month the Southern Negro may set in motion forces of tremendous potentiality.

Those Northern revolutionists who look to reality and not to the phrase will not raise their hands in horror at this prospect. They will understand its basis, its meaning. With such understanding they may help to co-ordinate such revolutionary action with the struggle of the proletariat throughout America. The vengeance that a desperate people will wreak is perhaps not going to make a pretty picture.

But against the bleak canvas of three centuries of oppression the physical extirpation of a social system which has challenged every conception of human dignity and freedom will be wholly comprehensible. The American ruling class may well heed the byword—Look to the Negro.

M. M.

CIO Conducts Course In Americanization For Mayor F. Hague

William J. Carney, New Jersey Director of the Committee for Industrial Organization announced this week that the CIO was conducting a correspondence course in Americanization, "for the benefit of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City and other Jersey officials whose understanding of the subject appears to be limited."

Mr. Carney said:

"In view of the fact that Mayor Hague has said that he wants no CIO organizers to enter his city, we are forced to use the mails for the purpose of enlightening the Mayor as to the nature and functions of our system of government. Although the Mayor has been attached in one way or another to the public pay-rolls since the age of nineteen when he was made constable and custodian of the City Hall, there is reason to believe that he does not yet understand the workings of a democratic form of government.

"Proof of this is his assumption of the powers of judge, jury and prosecuting attorney in the case of the ejection of union organizers who had gone to Jersey City for the purpose of announcing a meeting. No other organization than the CIO is better fitted to explain the fundamentals of democracy to those in need of such instruction.

"I have therefore requested our educational department to prepare an elementary correspondence course for the benefit of the Mayor of Jersey City and other officials who are contemplating the adoption of the Mayor's peculiar formula for the destruc-

tion of civil liberties. The lessons will be similar to those which we give to our members starting courses in civics and should not be beyond the grasp even of Jersey officials."

The first lesson, according to Mr. Carney, contains such definitions as: "Democracy. The form of government under which we presumably live. Although there have been many definitions of democracy the best is undoubtedly that of Abraham Lincoln's, a former President of the United States, who said that we have here a 'government of the people by the people and for the people.'"

"Rumors to the contrary, the majority of the people of the United States, including New Jersey, still work for their living and the function of a democratic government is to care for the welfare of the majority. That welfare is best preserved when the workers organize into trade unions of their own choosing. The present Administration has recognized this fact and the rights of the workers so to organize has been written into the law of the land. Home Work—a thorough reading of the Constitution of the United States with particular reference to the Bill of Rights."

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MASS MEETING
Thursday, December 23, 1937, 8:00 P. M.
WEBSTER HALL—11th ST. and 3rd AVE.
Speakers:—Juan Lopez, minister of commerce under the Caballero cabinet in Spain
Serafin Aliaga, delegate of the Libertarian Youth Movement in Spain
Norman Thomas
James Alvano, Gen. Organizer Shirt Makers Union.
Chairman Oswald Garrison Villard, Amalg. Clothing Wkrs. Union
Auspices—Workers Anti-fascist Committee
United Libertarian Organizations
Admission 25 Cents

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FRIDAY, DEC. 31, 1937
AT STUYVESANT CASINO
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Contests - Noisemakers - Prizes
Music by Red Caballeros
AUSPICES OF SOCIALIST PARTY
Admission \$1 in Advance (11 W. 17th St.)
\$1.25 at Door

Stalin Methods Danger To World Justice, Says Trotsky Commission

A sharp criticism of Soviet judicial methods was expressed this week in a report of a Commission of Inquiry into the case of the Soviet Government against Leon Trotsky.

The report is signed by Professor John Dewey, Chairman; Suzanne LaFollette, editor and author, sec'y; John Chamberlain, formerly of the staff of *The New York Times*; Alfred Rosmer, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and former editor-in-chief of *L'Humanite*; Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, Department of Sociology of the University of Wisconsin; Otto Ruehle, biographer of Karl Marx, former member of the German Reichstag and close political associate of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg; Benjamin Stolberg, labor journalist; Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*; F. Zamora, liberal Mexican publicist; and Wendelin Thomas, former member of the German Reichstag; John Finerty, counsel to the Commission, concurring.

The Commission's conclusions flatly contradicted the verdict of the Moscow court on twenty-one separate counts. Basing its judgment both on the trial records and on a mass of new documentary evidence and new affidavits it affirmed, among its more important findings:

"That Trotsky never instructed any of the defendants or witnesses in the Moscow trials to assassinate any political opponent . . . to engage in sabotage, . . . rocking, and diversionism . . . or to enter into agreements with foreign powers against the Soviet Union. On the basis of all the evidence we find that Trotsky never recommended, plotted, or attempted the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. We find further that the prosecutor fantastically falsified Trotsky's role before, during and after the October Revolution."

A Hack Judicial Method
Contradicting the assertions of the English jurist, D. N. Pritt and others, the Commission reported that "the conduct of the Moscow trials violated Soviet law at every important point." In support of this statement the report cited an official Soviet textbook on criminal law by Professor M. S. Strogovich, published in 1933, and edited by the state prosecutor himself, A. V. Vishinsky. In this text Professor Strogovich writes that "denunciation"—the testimony of a defendant implicating another defendant or extraneous individuals—is regarded under Soviet law as "the least meritorious" category of evidence.

The Commission found that it was upon precisely this category of evidence, entirely uncorroborated by documentary proof, that Trotsky and Sedov were declared convicted in both verdicts. Professor Strogovich declares that whereas "the fascist criminal trial fixes its course upon the admission of guilt by the accused, extorting this admission by all sorts of violence and torture," the Soviet procedure requires that "the testimony of the accused, particularly his admission of guilt, like every other piece of evidence, is subject to verification and careful evaluation as a result of juxtaposing it with all the other evidence gathered in the case."

The Commission found that despite this stated requirement of Soviet law, no other evidence of any importance was presented in either case than the confessions of the accused and of self-inculcating witnesses.

In presenting the report, Dr. John Dewey, chairman of the Commission, spoke in part as follows:

Appalled by Evidence
"It is not too much to say that, particularly as this new evidence accumulated, the mem-

bers of the Commission have been without exception appalled by the utterly discreditable character of the whole Moscow trial proceedings, at once flimsy and vicious. Others, like a distinguished colleague of mine who declined to share our labors, may still take the position that it is impossible to prove a negative, hence, in that technical sense impossible to prove Trotsky guiltless of the fantastic charges made against him. It is, however, possible to prove, beyond reasonable doubt, the existence of a frame-up, and I submit that the Commission has done just that.

"The implications of this finding are of course profoundly disturbing. These implications are not a matter of intellectual speculation; they have been fulfilled and demonstrated by the events which followed close upon the trials. The continuing arrests and executions of the Soviet officials and citizens on charges of terrorism, wrecking, sabotage, "Trotskyism," etc. have strengthened the suspicion of thousands of genuine friends of revolutionary Russia that the present regime is seeking to identify political opposition to itself with criminal activity against the Soviet Union and people.

"Still more shocking is the systematic use by the Communist parties throughout the world of the vicious "Trotskyist-terrorist-fascist amalgam" as a means of destroying political opposition and even of justifying gross frame-ups and assassinations, as in Spain in the case of Andres Nin and others.

"Even in this country, the Communist Party and its labor and liberal sympathizers have used this strictly amoral tactic, indistinguishable from the tactic of Fascism, to slander and persecute opposition, with a resulting confusion and disruption of the forces of economic and political progress which cannot be too strongly condemned.

"This is no strife of personalities or of political factions, which the American public can afford comfortably to ignore. It signifies the repudiation by a disciplined political organization, world-wide in scope and influence, of the principles of truth and justice upon which the foundations of civilization are laid. It signifies an extraordinary corruption of the idealistic heritage of the Russian revolution. It signifies a danger against which our own people must guard themselves without illusion and without compromise."

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CIO wins Vote In Timber

PORTLAND, Ore.— With 300 timberworkers wearing CIO buttons voting in a body in the special labor election ordered by Gov. Martin of Oregon, the Intl. Woodworkers of America, CIO affiliate, won the poll of Inman-Poulsen Lumber Co. employes by 376 to 183 for the AFL carpenters' brotherhood. Of 595 eligible workers, 559 voted.

The labor board had already certified the CIO union as collective bargaining agency at this and other Portland mills. Controversy has raged for months at this focal point of AFL-CIO warfare. Federation forces attempted to set up land and water patrols and to institute a nationwide boycott of CIO lumber. At Denver, Pres. William Green told the 57th AFL convention that the CIO would be crushed in the west coast lumber belt "no matter what the cost."

The Inman-Poulsen election followed by a few days an I.W.A. convention at which 500 delegates heard their president, Harold Pritchett, and CIO Director John Brophy report on union progress. Two hundred charters have been granted to CIO woodworkers' locals, not only on the west coast, but in Arkansas, New York, Texas, Wyoming, Alabama and other states, Pritchett said.

S. P. Is Active In Oregon Commonwealth Fed.

PORTLAND, Ore.—Collective security was in the limelight when the board of directors of the Oregon Commonwealth Federation met here recently.

Forced by the Oriental situation to take a stand, the OCF board heard a resolution by Nathalie Panek, Socialist from Salem: "We reaffirm our support of the struggle of the people of every nation to secure their freedom from imperialistic or dictatorial oppression, especially the struggles being waged at this moment by the people of Spain and China.

"Therefore, we now call upon the people of Oregon to impose a voluntary boycott upon all Japanese products, including raw silk, and that this policy be carried out independent of governmental policy on this question.

"Furthermore, inasmuch as the Neutrality Act has already been invoked against the friendly republic of Spain, we call upon the government to impose the Neutrality Act upon Italy, Germany and Portugal because of their unprovoked aggression against the Spanish people."

Communist sympathizers on the board attempted to add the phrase "and the board endorses the steps the Roosevelt administration has taken toward invocation of the 9-power treaty." After long debate the amendment was defeated by a vote of 11 to 5. A substitute amendment was finally passed stating that "we endorse the principle of the Roosevelt proposal to impose a quarantine upon aggressive belligerents."

The Washington Commonwealth Federation, largely due to the activity of the Communist party, endorsed the 9-power treaty and collective security. This is the first important question on which the federations of the two states have differed.

Socialist participation in the OCF will soon be considered by the National Executive Committee,

following the report of Roy Burt, executive secretary, who recently returned from a trip to the coast. In Oregon most Socialists are in favor of active participation in the OCF in an attempt to swing it leftward away from the capitalist parties, and in order not to be isolated from the politically-awake farmer and labor groups.

It is almost certain, however, that the OCF will support some progressive democrats and possibly a few Republicans in the primary and general election of 1938.

Monroe Sweetland, executive secretary of the federation, and a Socialist for many years, has been under constant fire from the Communists but is almost sure of being re-elected to the secretary job at the December convention. Socialists are counting on the affiliation of a number of progressive student and farmer groups to push the federation program leftward at the convention.

PARTY NOTES

BINGHAMPTON N. Y.

Noting your call for news from Locals I immediately thought of a few developments here that might be interesting to your readers. Elsie Bunts, our new Secretary-Treasurer, and I have become members and prospective speakers for the Broome County Co-operative Council. I was also elected the Secretary-Treasurer of this Council. I am also a member and Secretary of the Triple Cities Co-operative Association Inc. Educational Committee. The Socialists are quite active in both of these organizations.

The Local is responsible for the establishment of a co-op grocery extension of the Triple Cities Co-operative Association.

Readers and Friends of the Call!

May We Present

NEW YORK'S NEEDIEST CASES

Comrades: Please remember that there are only seven more days left to Christmas . . . we hope that yours will be a very merry one.

You know what a struggle it has been to put the CALL out each week . . . you know how many appeals we have made in the course of the past year . . . and we wish to thank all of you who have responded. It has been through your generosity that the CALL has come out during this past year . . . missing only one issue.

But what funds have been raised from these appeals, what income there has been from donations subscriptions, bundle orders, advertising, has gone first of all to pay the printer, the post office, rent, phone bills, in fact, everyone but the staff of the Socialist CALL.

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

Without the loyalty and unstinting sacrifices of these comrades there would have been no Socialist CALL this past year and a half . . . there would be no CALL now . . . they have been willing to struggle along, some of them actually going into debt in order to meet their current living expenses. We want to make the members of the staff of the Socialist CALL a little Christmas gift in the form of some of their back salary. They are all in actual need of it. Will you help us.

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

Socialist Call Xmas Fund
11 West 17th Street,
New York City, N.Y.

Comrades: Enclosed please find . . . as my donation to make this Christmas a happy one for the members of the CALL staff.

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Address
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