

CIO AND AFL UNIONISTS BUCK CRAFT SPLITTERS

The attempt of the American Federation of Labor craft leaders to split the organized labor movement by a direct campaign of expulsions against the National and International unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization is meeting with vigorous resistance not only from CIO adherents but from local unions, city and state labor bodies of the AFL hitherto unaffiliated with the industrial union bloc.

Persistent As They Are Pretty



Some of the sit-downers in the Woolworth five-and-ten cent store strikes in Detroit. The strike wave is not confined to basic industries only, it seems.

The decision of the AFL to make workers choose as between it and the CIO is acting as a boomerang, forcing trade unionists into the Lewis camp.

Sit-Downs Condemn Fire Traps

By BRENDAN SEXTON

NEW YORK. — More than 5,000 WPA workers, representing more than 110 locals of the New York Workers Alliance, are conducting sit-in strikes in every district office of the Relief Bureau, demanding adequate housing to free the unemployed from fire danger.

This strike action is the direct result of fires which swept through two tenements in the

The growing sentiment for industrial unionism among the workers of the basic industries promises to put to naught any move of the AFL leaders to disrupt the CIO organization campaign by entering into direct rivalry with it.

By JOHN NEWTON THURBER

The long dreaded direct strife between the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization was forced into the forefront of the American labor scene when William Green issued his order to state and local central labor bodies and federal unions to expel all elements sympathetic to the industrial form of organization.

Green's action climaxes over two years of growing battle within the AFL, which started at the 1934 convention in San Francisco over the age old question of how workers are to be organized in the mass production industries.

The order extends the action taken by the Executive Council of the AFL in arbitrarily suspending the CIO unions. The CIO was formed after the Atlantic City convention of 1935, when John L. Lewis, militant Mine Union leader, uncovered sabotage in organization of basic industries—as voted by the San Francisco convention.

The ouster follows the decisions of the 1936 Miami convention of the AFL, which ratified the previous action of the Executive Council in suspending the CIO unions. This move was headed by craft union leaders Hutcherson, of the Carpenters Union, Froy of the Metal Trades Department, and Wolf of the Photo Engravers.

Midwest

Even before the Green order was promulgated, steps had been taken in the midwestern industrial area to force the breach within the labor movement. Prime cause of this was the phenomenal successes of the CIO unions in organizing auto, glass, steel and rubber workers. In each of these

See Jack Fahy's graphic account of the Suffolk Street fire, Page Six.

lower east side, killing two children and two adults and making more than 30 families homeless.

The houses, which are the property of the Central Saving Bank, were admittedly deficient in the fire-prevention material which is made mandatory by the multiple-dwelling law. The law has been made a travesty by the failure of the Saving Banks—the largest owners of the fire-traps—to comply, and by the refusal of the LaGuardia Administration to enforce it.

"Impractical"

It is not long since this writer heard Norman Thomas, speaking before the City Housing Administration, make a stirring, eloquent plea for enforcement of the law, pointing to the dangers resulting from permitting its continued violation. The representative of the Tenement House Department replied that its enforcement was "impractical." Five human beings have now paid with their lives for that "impracticality."

Fifteen families, members of Local 15 of the Workers Alliance, were among those who lost their

70,000 in Oil Fields to Rally With CIO Aid

By GEORGE PAPCUN

HOUSTON, Texas. — On April 5 the CIO will help to launch a drive to organize 70,000 workers in the immediate vicinity of Houston, into the International Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers' Union.

Executive leaders of the union and the CIO are rapidly forming the method of attack for their proposed drive. At the same time preparatory steps are being taken by the various district officials who are holding district conferences arranging the machinery for the influx of thousands of oil workers into the union.

Robert Oliver, a president of a local Union in Baytown, Texas, has resigned as the President to assume the position of a coordinator in the proposed drive of the CIO. Oliver and Roy

Socialist Party Condemns AFL Attacks On CIO Unions

By FRANK N. TRAGER

The conflict between the American Federation of Labor leadership and the Committee for Industrial Organization is reaching more advanced stages.

The Socialist party regrets that the AFL has now opened up a period of split, already hitting such important centers as Cleveland and Columbus, and being prepared in Illinois, Wisconsin and the key industrial centers across America.

Central labor unions have begun to suspend charters; charters of central labor bodies have been suspended. This brings the split down into the most vital roots of the labor union movement.

The Socialist Party regrets that this must come at the very time when the great mass of industrial workers in the key industries are beginning to flock to the trade union movement and when the future appears brighter than ever so far as labor's interests are concerned.

The Socialist Party National Executive Committee declared at its meeting in November that:

"In our opinion, and in that of the progressive and enlightened leaders of labor, the AFL has been steadily drifting away from the position which it should occupy in America. It has not only failed to make serious efforts to organize the basic industries, but has even gone out of its way to block efforts and illegally attack those unions which are trying to do the job."

The truth of this statement is being amply demonstrated by the attitude taken by the AFL leadership in the auto strike, the steel

Every CALL Reader Turn To Page 7

Union Progressives Buck Labor Splitting Moves Of Craftists

(Continued from Page One)

cases, paper jurisdictional claims of AFL unions have been violated.

Glass

Even in mid-summer, 1936, the civil war which is being feared by all in the labor movement, came into the open in Toledo where the Federation of Flat Glass Workers had succeeded in organizing the Closure Service Co., a subsidiary of Owen-Illinois Glass Co., only to see an almost extinct AFL affiliate, the Glass Bottle Blowers, revived under company auspices. Subsequently the AFL group won a plant election—one of the few set-backs suffered by the CIO.

Ohio

On the eve of Green's ouster order, the open breach appeared in the Columbus (Ohio) Federation of Labor. Here progressive forces have been in control of the administration for nearly two years. During the recent General Motors strike, the Columbus central body endorsed and actively aided the CIO. Upon the request of craft union leaders, Francis J. Dillon, Green appointee as first president of the Auto Workers, was sent in to quell the growing industrial union spirit of the body.

Dillon demanded last week that the books of the central body and of the Labor Tribune, militant official organ of Columbus labor, be turned over to him, and that George DeNucci, president, resign. A temporary injunction was secured to restrain Dillon, and at a special meeting of the body it was voted 51 to 2 not to accept DeNucci's resignation. Unions supporting DeNucci number about 9,000 members, while only 3,000 are on the side of the craftists. Dillon's visit was climaxed by his action in revoking the charter of the Columbus Federation.

In arguing in Common Pleas Court against the injunction, Dillon denounced the CIO, saying that "It is closer to the Soviet order in the United States than many of us realize."

Cleveland

Very quickly the fight shifted to Cleveland, which seems destined to be the testing ground in this struggle for supremacy in the labor movement. On the very night that Green sent out his letter against the CIO, Thomas A. Lenehan, secretary of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, presented it to a regular meeting of that body.

The breach has been long prepared in Cleveland, where craft union forces have dominated the central body for the past year and a half, and where every effort has been made to keep the organization of the mass production industries under control. During the recent General Motors strike, craft union leaders offered to organize striking Fisher Body workers along craft lines for the company in the midst of the strike.

John P. Frey, spear-head of the AFL drive against the CIO in metal industries, held a conference to map the battle against the CIO in Cleveland's Metal Trades Council a week before the Green ouster move. If possible, it was agreed, all workers in the auto industry are to be organized into the Machinists Union, most powerful of the Metal Trades group.

By a vote of 294 to 111, it was voted to expel CIO unions from the Cleveland Federation. Expelled unions include the Ladies' Garment Workers, Auto Workers, Textile Workers, Steel Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Some idea of the nature of the struggle to come followed when a

party of AFL organizers, led by George A. MacKinnon, were repulsed when they attempted to enlist members at the gates of the Fisher Body plant. After a brief slugfest, MacKinnon and his party retired in their cars. The AFL has opened recruiting headquarters close to the plant, where 7,000 of the 7,200 workers are already organized in the Auto Workers Union.

On the day following the CFL meeting, Abraham W. Katovsky, manager of the ILGWU in Cleveland, was brutally set upon and beaten. It has not yet been determined who his assailants were, but suspicion attaches the cause of the attack to the CIO-AFL breach.

Fight Within

Industrial Union workers of Cleveland have already established their own organization, the United Labor Congress, of which Beryl Peppercorn, manager of the Clothing Workers, is president. Adolph Germer, CIO representative, stated before this body last Saturday: "We do not advise any unions to withdraw from the Cleveland Federation because of these suspensions. We feel that the fight for unity on an industrial union basis in the mass production industries must go on within and without the federation."

Peppercorn, in addressing the Labor Congress, said: "Our intention is not to make the United Labor Congress a dual organization. We shall continue to muster our CIO and craft forces in the cause of a united and solidified labor movement. The bureaucrats of the AFL are bringing about these suspensions without the sanction or full support of the rank and file. The scabbing and strike breaking of the top leadership of the AFL will not be tolerated for long by the rank and file."

Toledo

In Toledo, Walter Gunthrup, militant editor of the Union Leader, official CLU organ, faces discipline for a bold editorial he published last week against the splitting tactics of the AFL. He will be backed in his fight by progressive members of the CLU, who have already forced postponement of ouster action, including John C. Taylor, Tim McCormick and Sam Pollock.

Steel

Some idea of the nature of the fight which is being forced into the labor movement by the unwillingness of the AFL to adapt its organizational form to the needs of mass production workers may be seen by the move of the company union of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Company. The contract between this company and the CIO may be said to be the last straw which provoked Green to take his ouster action. Immediately the company union appealed to Green for aid against the CIO. Green declined to give this aid; but John P. Frey, less principled in his fight, is now offering aid to the company union in order to defeat the CIO.

Not only is the struggle taking form in the ouster moves in various central labor unions throughout the country, but battle lines are forming in a variety of unions where the CIO is organizing and the AFL is doing more than just maintain its paper claims.

The auto arena is a bitter battle ground, where the Metal Trades council seems decided to pose its Machinists' Union against the Auto Workers industrial union. Later, if by a miracle this device succeed, the AFL would divide

Workers Thank CIO



Chairman Phillip Murray (right) of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, subsidiary of the CIO, is congratulated by a union member. The union won a pay rise, a 40 hour week, and recognition.

Strike Against Aid to Franco Backed by CIO

BOSTON—The New England Committee for Industrial Organization sent messages of solidarity to the seamen of the British freighter Linaria, who conducted a sit-down strike in protest against the scheduled trip of the ship to Virginia to pick up a cargo of nitrates for the Spanish Fascists.

Thomas F. Burns and Powers Hapgood, chairman and secretary-treasurer of the New England CIO respectively, sent the following telegram to the seamen:

"New England Council of the Committee for Industrial Organization endorses your courageous action in protesting shipping of nitrates to Spanish Fascists."

A similar telegram, signed by Louis La Rocca, secretary of the Boston Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was sent to the striking British seamen. It read:

"We wish you success in your valiant fight to prevent shipping of nitrates to Spanish Fascists."

As a result of the strike, the seamen lost their berths on the freighter and were fined.

their recruits among various craft unions.

Electric

In the electrical production industry another nation-wide battle seems brewing. CIO's United Electrical and Radio Workers has already received recognition because of the success in organizing Gen-

eral Electric workers. The AFL's Brotherhood stands ready to fight this.

New England

Civil strike seems brewing in the New England district, where up until recently there have been three unions in the shoe industry. CIO efforts there have achieved unity of two of these unions through the efforts of Powers Hapgood and others.

The AFL is fighting this successful move for unity by throwing its strength behind the third union. Green's ouster order, however, was received with much fridity by Robert J. Watt, secretary of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor. The CIO is going ahead with its tremendous organizing campaign here as elsewhere, despite the efforts of the AFL to check it.

Aluminum

Foremost in what seems to be destined to become the major stream of labor from the AFL to the CIO was the action of the Aluminum Workers in New Kensington, Pa., in voting to affiliate with the CIO. One of the industries voted industrial organization by the 1934 AFL convention was aluminum.

Taxis

Close behind came the striking taxi drivers of Chicago who have pronounced strongly their preference for the CIO over the AFL Teamsters Union, dominated by reactionary Dan Tobin. Toledo reports that pickle workers, art museum employees, telegraph messenger boys and other miscellaneous workers are applying to the CIO organizers for assistance and charters.

Labels

AFL reports from Washington indicate that a drive along trade union label lines will also be waged against the CIO. Precedent for this came at the Miami convention of the AFL, when it was voted to boycott the Amalgamated Clothing workers union label. AFL leaders are even hoping to boycott steel made by CIO's Amalgamated Association members.

AFL Rank and File

A decisive factor in the struggle ahead between the CIO and the AFL leadership will be the growing unrest of the rank and file of the AFL craft unions against their leadership. This will make such a boycott effort impossible. It will cause more and more unions to shift their allegiance to the CIO as time passes. It will make uncomfortable the position of many of the AFL craft union leaders.

In a deathbed proclamation the AFL has announced a brave program of organization. At the eleventh hour William Green is announcing a counter campaign of organization in aluminum, cement,

WAA to Plan Wide Attack On WPA Cuts

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The national Conference on Unemployment and Relief Needs, scheduled for March 13 and 14, has been postponed by the national resident committee of the Workers Alliance of America. Postponement of the conference was decided on when it became clear that several more weeks of preparation would be necessary to insure the broadest possible representation.

The national executive board of the WAA will meet in this city March 10-12. The important issues to come before the meeting include a widespread campaign to defeat the proposed lay-off of 600,000 from WPA, intensification of the drive for higher wages and relief standards, and expansion of the WPA program.

Long-Range Program

The national executive board will have before it proposals for a long-range work and relief program which, when adopted, will be introduced into congress and will be submitted to the National Conference on Unemployment and Relief Needs when it meets early in April.

The national office of the WAA reports widespread increase in militant activity by the membership, with strikes and sit-down actions occurring in all parts of the country. Spurred by the aggressiveness of organized labor, unemployed and WPA workers are making a new bid for better conditions and are fighting with renewed determination against Roosevelt's relief cutting.

5-and-10 Girls Win

DETROIT.—Barbara Hutton, famous heiress and connoisseur of European noblemen, will have to struggle along on a few cases of champagne less, because Woolworth counter clerks here will earn \$15.84 cents for a 48-hour week henceforth.

This represents an increase of 5 cents an hour. Other gains won for 1,200 employes of 40 local Woolworth stores as a result of the dramatic sitdown in two of them are time-and-a-half for overtime, no discrimination for time lost on strike. Male kitchen workers will get from \$22.50 to \$37 for a 54-hour week and other kitchen help will get a 5 cent hourly increase.

flour and gasoline industries.

Such campaigns have been announced from time to time by the AFL, but most of them have ended ignominiously. It can be seriously doubted that the current announcement can be regarded as being an auger of a successful campaign any more than previous announcements of this sort.

The tremendous organizational successes of the CIO which have flown from organization on an industrial basis and have been so greatly augmented by the General Motors victory will show American workers that the AFL effort is a purely factional and splitting tactic.

SWOC



SWOC means Steel Workers Organizing Committee, which means a peck of trouble for the steel bosses if they don't hurry to settle with head organizer (Clinton Golden above.)

WATCH THE WRAPPER

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104 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

Work To Send Men To Spain Proceeds Despite Blockade

While the task of sending men to Spain has been hampered somewhat in recent weeks by the tightening of the blockade on the French border, and the difficulties put in the way of getting passports by the United States State Department, the Friends of the Debs Column announced that purposes of the organization continue to be carried out.

As was predicted in these columns last week, the Italian are continuing to give aid to the Fascists in Spain, and it is confidently expected that the farcical "blockade" will soon be lifted.

In the meanwhile, volunteers continue to be accepted and money for them is still needed.

From Louisville, Kentucky Arthur Kling writes that not even the floods are able to dampen the ardor for the Debs Column, and sends a check of \$46 from the Socialist Party.

Last month at the Hippodrome meeting somebody pledged \$50.00 out of her first month's check and now sends it along "in the memory of Aaron Muravchik."

Chicago Sends Off Volunteers

CHICAGO, —Several hundred people cheered the boys of the Debs Column as the father of one, already in Spain, accepted a banner on behalf of the Midwest Volunteers.

The occasion was a "Send-Off" party March 6 for the Midwest volunteers, sponsored by the Chicago Friends of the Debs Column.

Roy Burt, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, made the dedication speech, stating that the Debs Column was not merely fighting against Fascism but was moreover fighting for a new world for workers where there would be no basis for fascism.

United Front

Among the many organizations that have recently aided the Debs Column in this city is a United Front Committee of Hungarians which include Communists, IWW's, Socialists and non-affiliated Hungarian workers. This Committee gave \$50. for the Debs Column.

On Wednesday, March 17, the James Connolly Club is holding a Card and Bunco Party with part of the proceeds going to the Debs Column and part to a column of Irish revolutionaries also fighting with the Spanish loyalist forces. Tickets can be secured at the office of the Cook County Socialist Party.

Symposium On Peace

A symposium on "The Road to Peace," sponsored by the student department of the Young People's Socialist League and the Young

Taxi Drivers Organize Chi. Unorganized

By JANET ADLER

CHICAGO, —A strike of taxi-cab drivers in this city, which began in an entirely unorganized fashion following a discussion among a few of the drivers of their grievances, took less than 24 hours to spread throughout the city and to win the support of practically every driver in the Yellow and Checker Cab companies.

With negotiations with the companies under way, the men began to lay the framework of an organization. Rejecting the attempt of the Teamsters Union to affiliate them, they made application to the CIO to take them into its ranks.

Jacobs Union Lawyer

Joseph M. Jacobs, Socialist, has been acting as attorney for the men in their negotiations. Jacobs is a well-known labor attorney who took the lead in breaking martial law in Terre Haute, Indiana, under the Workers Defense League. Douglas Anderson, who has done organization work for the ILGWU in the South, has given valuable aid to the strikers.

In view of the disorganized situation in the Chicago Federation of Labor, the progressive delegates of that body voted to work with the strikers in rallying aid of unions and civic bodies for the drivers.

A committee consisting of Abe Fineglass, Fur Workers local 45 and Arthur G. McDowell, Adult Teachers 346, met with representatives of the taxi-drivers and arranged for a meeting of progressive delegates with the strike committee to work out details of cooperation.

Communist League, will be held in New York at the Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th Street, Friday, March 19.

Speakers will be Harold Draper, member of the national executive committee of the American Student Union and a prominent Young Socialist; Celeste Strack, High School secretary of the ASU and Young Communist; Frances Draper of the Foreign Policy Association. The symposium is for the benefit of the Spanish loyalists.

Talks



Gerard Swope, president of General Electric, is now ready to meet representatives of the CIO to discuss terms for settlement with the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America.

WPA Workers Demand End To Fire Traps

(Continued from Page One) homes in this tragedy. The Relief Administration refused to deal with their cases as emergencies, insisting they must be handled through regular channels. No provision was made for housing their children, nor for hospitalization for those residents of the houses who were ill.

Partial Victory

The Workers Alliance led its members in a sit-in at the Bleeker Street Bureau, which finally won a partial victory for the fire-victims, and kept them under a roof for at least a time.

Merely to indicate what the attitude of the authorities was: the families were offered \$1 per room for linoleum, 25 cents for a coffee pot, 10 cents for one pan, 30-cents for one double boiler. They were allotted \$1 for one chair for each member of the family, \$3.50 for single cots, with no provision made for living room or other furniture.

The Alliance is continuing the fight which was so splendidly begun by the members of Local 15. Playing an important role in the fight on behalf of the fire-victims were Neil Harrison, chairman of the Local, and a member of the Socialist Party, Joe Farber, Tobias Wolfe and other members of the Local Grievance Committee.

CAPITALISM

OAKLAND, Cal.—Two Oakland workers, unable to obtain jobs, committed suicide on the same day. Emil Johnson, 63, hanged himself, and Alex Sprachan, 53, died in his car of carbon monoxide poisoning.

Pro-Fascist Neutrality Hit By Socialists

The McReynolds Neutrality Bill has been attacked as an aid to the Spanish Fascists in a letter to President Roosevelt, issued in the name of the National Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party, by its chairman, Norman Thomas.

The statement follows:

In behalf of the Socialist Party I renew our endorsement of the principle of American neutrality in international war, extending to an embargo on loans and war supplies, with exceptions to be made by Congress and not the President.

But neither this nor any hard and fast rule you can or will lay down will automatically guarantee the peace of this nation in a war-cursed world; and to extend this principle to civil war is a disservice to peace. There is little or no danger that the United States will be involved in war by permitting democratically elected government to buy supplies (if desirable on the cash-and-carry plan) to use in the struggle against armed fascist insurrection. Congress should judge problems arising from civil wars as they arise.

Intervention

We respectfully but urgently submit that your judgment in denying to the Spanish government rights freely granted Japan, Italy, Germany, and the Chinese dictator Chiang, is not an example of non-intervention, but of intervention. That is the inevitable effect of changing the rules of the game in the middle.

General Franco has hailed its aid to his cruel, dictator-subsidized attack on a government with which we are on friendly terms. A check to Franco is a check to Fascism arrogance and the universal danger which it presents to the peace of the world.

Aids Franco

And your action has made it enormously harder to check Franco, who is generously supplied by Hitler and Mussolini with arms and men while it has been made impossible for the workers and other loyalists, struggling for all they hold dear, to buy for themselves. The inconsiderable danger to peace of permitting to Spain the usual rights of governments dealing with armed rebellion is blotted out by the enormous danger of this encouragement to Fascism.

To Stop Funds

In particular, we denounce the section of the McReynolds bill which seeks to stop the collection children, for either side of the of any funds, even for feeding Spanish struggle. In effect this will hurt only the loyalists for whom partially all funds are being raised.

This is an utterly unprecedented and unwarranted extension of governmental power, without tenable excuse, over the conscience of Americans who want, like their forefathers, to support the cause of justice and peace. It will make the Spanish struggle more, not less an issue in American politics. It must be defeated.

Convention Mass Meeting to Hear Socialist Leaders

CHICAGO. The special convention of the Socialist Party to be held in this city March 27-29 will be preceded by a mass meeting at which outstanding American Socialists will speak.

Norman Thomas, America's foremost Socialist and American member of the executive of the Labor and Socialist International,

Labor Sweeps London Election

The Labor Party strengthened its control of the County Council of London by a sweeping victory in the municipal election last week.

Labor won 75 seats, increasing its majority from 14, which it had gained at the elections three years ago, to 26. The conservatives elected 49 to the council.

Liberals entered 18 candidates, but elected none. For the first time the British Fascists ran candidates. All six were unsuccessful — their combined vote being 7,640.

Akron Rubber Union Demand Closed Shop

By JAMES WRIGHT

AKRON, O.—Ten thousand rubber workers are on strike here at the industry's fourth largest plant, the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., demanding recognition of the United Rubber Workers of America as the sole bargaining agency for all the employees.

Although the union members, who comprise about 90 per cent of the total factory force, conceded to the officialdom's order of no picketing, they refused to accept the agreement offered by the Firestone management and the union executive board.

"The membership of local 7 stood by their original demands of union recognition, abolition of the "Employee Conference Plan," (company union), and a signed contract embodying wage, hour and working condition adjustments.

Locked Out

The strike came when workers in the company's plant No. 1 walked out after plant No. 2 workers were locked out while a sit-down was being settled.

The sit-down which led to the strike began the day the CIO signed with the Carnegie-Illinois steel company, and the union's demand for abolition of the company union came after Goodyear workers succeeded in destroying that company's fake union.

The company has announced the resumption of negotiations, and has promised the workers their pay on regular payday.

Although no picketing is permitted by the leadership of Firestone local it is expected that members of more progressive locals of the URWA will keep the plant closed until the demands of the membership are met.

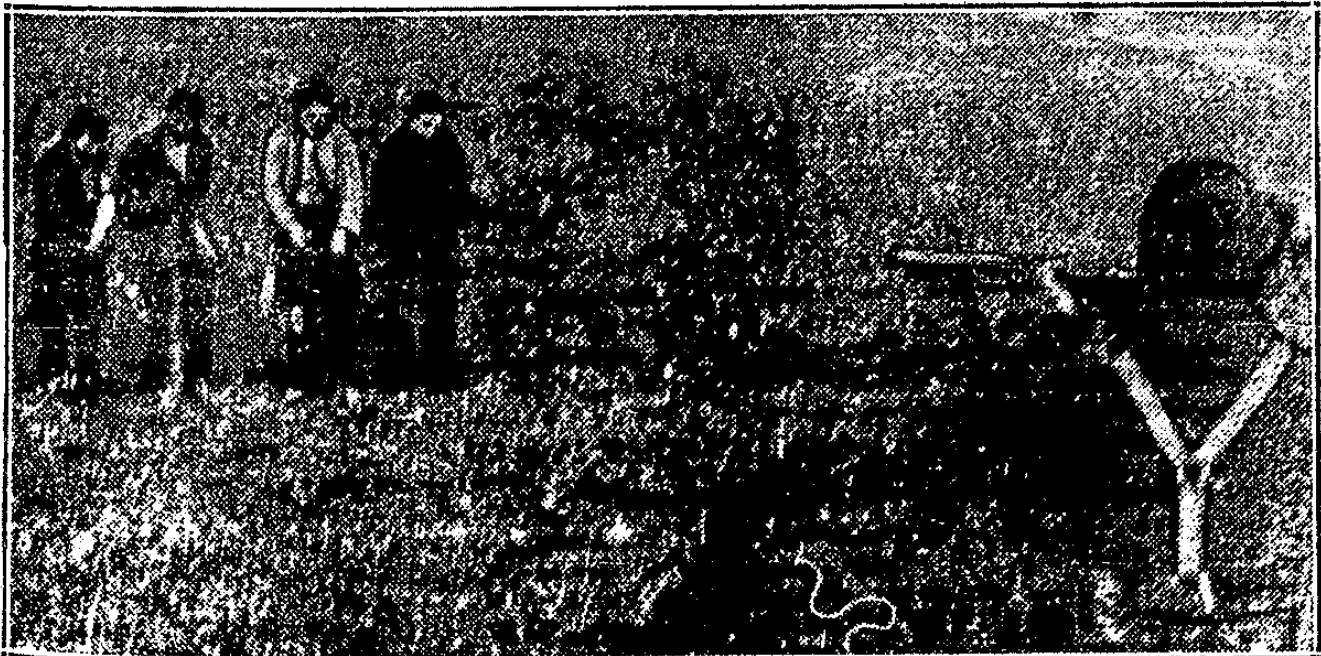
Widespread criticism was made when Firestone workers were told to go home and not molest the office workers who were seeking entrance to the plant.

will discuss "World Prospects of War and Peace." Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, will speak on "Independent Labor Action, Past and Present."

Other speakers will include: Victor Reuther, militant auto union leader, who will talk on "The Road to Organization of Industrial America;" Howard Kester; leader of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, who will discuss "The Outlook for Farmers, Tenant and Agricultural Workers;" Maynard Krueger, member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party. Devere Allen will be chairman.

The mass meeting will be held Thursday evening, March 25, in the Exhibition Hall, LaSalle Hotel.

Candid Camera



A remarkable picture, taken secretly in Spain, showing the shooting of four anti-Fascist militia men by Fascists.

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STEEL LABOR IN WAR

The steel bosses of America are acting out of character—it seems.

These stiff-necked tyrants, who have been holding nearly half a million motley-raced workers in feudal subjugation for more than a quarter century, suddenly tip their hats to their serfs and offer to sit down and bargain—collectively.

What act of God or man melted these hearts of ice?

Let there be no mistake: Benjamin Fairless, negotiator for Carnegie-Illinois, saw the handwriting on the wall. It was the clumsy scribbling of raw workers. But there it was . . . as clearly as if it had been inscribed by a bolt of lightning burning its livid message across the venerable portrait of Old Andy Carnegie Himself.

There it was! No incomprehensible *Mene, mene tekel upharsin*. There is was. Just plain: STAY-IN!

Let there be no mistake: the auto strikers won the steel strike. The sit-downs in Flint! That's what put the fear of CIO into the steel bosses.

But it is not fear alone that made up the minds of Carnegie-Illinois and now General Electric and in a short time others. It was also good business sense and calculated politics.

The bosses, having fought it out in the auto fields, have made up their mind that they must bargain collectively with labor. And since they must, they prefer to deal with a tame, rather than a wild, labor.

The piece of sugar which the bosses proffer to steel labor is the beginning of what they think is going to be the taming process. Soon they hope to have the unions eating out of their hands.

The steel bosses have to and can afford to deal differently with their workers in 1937 than they did in 1919. Sugar now! The club then!

1919 came at the end of a war! 1937 comes just before a war. And therein lies a vast difference!

By 1919 labor had done its dirt for capital. It had been fooled into fighting. It was promised democracy, including industrial democracy. It was asked to be patient, to keep the wheels turning while the war was on. After the war, it would get its reward!

Once the war was over, labor got it—in the neck. Unemployment, wage cuts, union smashing, terror in steel towns!

But 1937 comes just before a war. The steel bosses need labor's cooperation. And with the prices zooming to the sky, capital can well afford to pay for that cooperation.

America's steel furnaces are pouring fatal steel for the world. Peaceful Britain is spending what amounts to forty-five billion dollars for armaments. Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, the U. S.—are demanding steel. The factories are operating on a war time basis, and they demand war time cooperation. Out of overflowing coffers, they pay a few cents for it!

Just as behind the grim prosperity of the steel bosses stands the awful specter of war, so behind the growing stature of labor stands the power for peace.

Capital is trying to tame labor, not only because the former fears the sit-down but also because it fears what an aroused working class can do when industry operates on a war-time basis.

For the moment, capital says to labor: "Eat, drink and be merry."

Labor must reply: "But not that tomorrow we may be dead."

Working class militancy, labor's weapon against the boss in time of peace, is labor's weapon against the boss in time of war. A thousand peace societies, a million good-will tours, a dozen American Leagues Against War and Fascism do not possess the power to stop the war machine that resides in the hands of two or three million workers in the basic industries. One blow from them—and the war machine is shattered!

The bosses are preparing for their war, and the steel settlement is part of it.

But by bringing the union into being in the steel and allied fields they have created a weapon that can break their war plans.

The rest is up to the workers. Shall that weapon for peace lie idle? Shall the union only be a collective bargaining agency, ready to be made part of a gigantic machine to kill innocent workers in other lands? Or shall it be used to end war and bring peace?

Yes, brothers, the bosses are acting up so nice now because they are looking for a favor, a rotten inhuman favor, a scabbing favor, a murdering favor. They can't get you to cut one another's throats in the shop, so they'll get you to do it on the battle field.

What joy it would be to them. What money! What orders! Their cup of pleasure would run over.

It is up to you, brothers, to make sure that the bosses won't have one long sweet drink. You can stop that with joy. You can see to it that the last drops of capitalist war shall be poisoned dregs.

ORGANIZATION



For Unity Against Capitalism

To the Editor:

There is a tide in the affairs of labor which taken at the flood leads on to Socialism (Comrade Shakespeare). But time and tide wait for no party.

The present tide in labor movement is not going to wait for the Socialist Party to achieve a united front in its own membership. This front must be achieved at the coming convention. Therein lies the momentous importance of party action at this crucial time.

On whatever line that front is made, there the party must stand. No group must be permitted to take a different line. To permit it, is to permit paralysis of party effort, and frustration of party appeal at a time when Socialism has an opportunity that it has not had in its whole American history. To permit it, is to lay party open to a counter-attack, to an attack on its integrity.

In the Socialist Party it is the convention that establishes its line. A more correct line might be achieved by a Scientific Socialist Supreme Court. But the party recognizes no such tribunal, and can not tolerate in its ranks any group posing as such tribunal, assuming the power to judge party decisions in the name of Scientific Philosophy of any other kind of Socialism.

The greater the importance of any member's position in the party, as that of editor of the party press, the greater obligation to abide by the decisions of the party, and to present party posi-

tion honestly and vigorously to the ranks of labor. The party does not support its press to afford any one, however brilliant, the opportunity to display his ingenuity, but to uphold the party integrity. The party press is of necessity a critical journal, but as a party press, it must represent the party's criticism of the present scene.

The Socialist goal remains the same—a genuine co-operative commonwealth of workers. Several roads to it have been tried. Some came to a stop in a dead end. Another, if not to a dead end, to a detour to the right.

The great responsibility lies upon the Socialist Party today to mark out a new road, guided by experience of previous Socialist road-builders. May the weight of that responsibility so temper our debates that the decisions of the convention may be those arrived at after clear calm presentation in plain English and after patient open-minded audience to all proposals. May the zeal for Socialism had every member to forsake whatever road he had been following, to join without reservation the majority on the road that the convention deems wisest.

But where zeal for Socialism is insufficient to keep any group on this road, and to restrain it from urging others to desert it, there is but one course left open to the party. Failure to take that course will be failure to preserve the party, and failure to spread socialism at a time most

favorable for its growth. Failure to do so will be a betrayal of Socialism.

FRANK D. SLOCUM,
New York City.

Italians Hit Mussolini

To the Editor:

Premier Mussolini's ruthless murder of unarmed Ethiopians, gallantly defending their homeland against fascist oppression, is deplored as a blot on the name of all Italians.

As one of the founders of the Italian American anti-Fascist movement in the United States, and as an organizer of the Italian anti-Fascist Committee, I desire to express the strong condemnation of the 50,000 Italian Americans, supporters of the Italian Anti-Fascist Committee, to Mussolini's actions.

First Ethiopia, now Spain! The Fascist dictatorship in Italy prevents millions from speaking out, from expressing their disapproval of wanton murder, destruction and open intervention in democratic Spain.

We Italian Americans in the United States wish to express, for ourselves and for our Italian brothers who are without voice under the present regime, our determined and unqualified opposition to the actions of Italy's Fascists in Ethiopia and Spain.

PIETRO ALLEGRA
For the Italian Anti-Fascist Committee

Ask Observers At Impending Soviet Trial

The American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky has asked the Soviet Government for the right to send observers to the impending trial of Nikolai Bukharin and Alexis Rykoff in Moscow. The request was embodied in a communication to Alexander Troyanovsky, Soviet Ambassador in Washington.

The date of the new trial has not yet been publicly announced. An Associated Press dispatch of March 5, however, stated that "there were authoritative indications" that Bukharin, former editor of Izvestia, and Rykoff, former president of the Council of People's Commissars, "would go on trial soon."

In making its request, the Committee declared that a precedent for such action had been set in the Moscow trials of August, 1936, and of last January, when the Soviet Government "showed sufficient awareness of public opinion abroad to invite foreign observers of its own choosing."

Set Precedent

"Moreover," the Committee's letter to Mr. Troyanovsky stated, "the Soviet Government, as evidenced by the timely presence of these gentlemen in Moscow, apprised them of the impending trials in ample time."

The Committee therefore asked that it be notified in advance of the date of the trial, and that the Soviet Government guarantee the safety of the observers and grant them the right to be accompanied by stenographers, to use telephonic communications freely, and to interview the prisoners privately.

"It is clear from the record of this Committee that it is composed of staunch friends of the Soviet Union" the letter declared. "In the interests of the USSR itself, the Committee seeks to clarify an issue thickly befogged by polemics. The rights requested by us are normal in political cases in democratic courts."

Ohio Students Plan Anti-War Strike

By BILL HOLLISTER

DELAWARE, O. — Norman Thomas spoke Saturday night to three hundred students, faculty, and townspeople in the Negro Methodist church at Delaware Ohio, when the state-wide American Student Union conference was barred from the Ohio Wesleyan University campus, and from the white churches in town.

The Conference was called around the general subject of relationship between the student movement and the labor movement. In addition, plans were laid for the April Student Strike in Ohio, and there was general discussion of many ASU organizational problems.

Besides Norman Thomas speakers were: John Keller, secretary of the CLU in Lima, Ohio, and Arthur Price, chairman of the Lucas County (Toledo) Workers Alliance, largest WAA local in the county. Both are members of the Socialist Party. Bob Burke of Youngstown, whose case of expulsion was fought at Columbia University this fall by the ASU, spoke on the program with Thomas of his recent experiences as a CIO organizer in the Republic Steel plant.

FOOD FOR SPAIN

A ship loaded with 22 tons of food and 55 tons of clothing for Spain has left New York, according to an announcement by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. For obvious reasons the name of the ship and the port of destination cannot be made public.

MURDER IN THE SLUMS

By JACK FAHY

A TWIN pillar of flame roaring up through old-law tenements at 137 and 139 Suffolk Street last Wednesday night at 3 A.M. burned at least three persons to death and sent 200 others into the streets homeless. Fire Department officials said it was the worst fire they had fought on the lower East Side in years. Although alarms were turned in soon after the fire started and the Fire Department responded promptly the flames spread so quickly that the best firemen could do was to hold the blaze within the two tenements.

Suffolk Street at three in the morning is quiet. Grim, ugly tenements show few lighted windows. A gust of chill wind fitfully scatters rubbish across the pavement. A pair of alley cats set up a sick-baby wail. Behind the grimy brick walls thousands of people are asleep in "cold water, railroad" flats. Lack of steam heat, bad ventilation, over-crowding, and unsafe sanitation don't make for attractive homes. Rotting wood floors and crumbling plaster belie the brick fronts of the tenements.

Built nearly 40 years ago, the old-law houses have paid for themselves many times over. For a decade scarcely anything has been spent by the owners for repairs. Suffolk Street is not a nice place to live. There are hundred of similar streets in the country, but the people who live in them have no other choice.

Death at Night

Mollie Mamles was being escorted home last Wednesday night by a young man friend. She arrived in time to hear her mother and father screaming helplessly from an upper window at 139 Suffolk Street. Flames had trapped her parents in their tiny flat.

Mrs. Sadie Alter weighs over 200 pounds. With the stairways burned out she attempted to descend the old-fashioned vertical fire-escape ladder. Her foot slipped and she crashed to the sidewalk below.

Moe Parness, 52, has a wooden leg. When he finally awoke to find his room filled with smoke, his escape by the stairs had been cut off. Unable to descend the illegal ladder fire-escape, he was forced to wait until firemen could rescue him with the aid of an aerial ladder.

Within a few minutes after the arrival of firemen on the scene the roofs of the two buildings crashed. All further hope of rescue was given up.

Next day charred bodies were pulled out of the smouldering ruins. Dismembered arms and legs were discovered. Probably it will never be known exactly how many lost their lives in the blaze.

Assistant District Attorney Sylvester Cosentino talked of criminal prosecution of the owners. Thirteen violations of the Tenement House laws were reported against the building at 139 Suffolk Street last December. At the same time eleven violations were turned in against the premises at 137.

Profit Rules Slums

A tour of the lower East Side will show hundreds of tenements that have been boarded up after violations have been proved. The owners don't care about renovating their property to make it fit for human habitation. Speculation in property values, not rents, is what interests owners of slum property. The city claims that the new tenement laws cannot be enforced all at once for fear of producing an even more acute housing shortage than exists now.

Banks, corporations, millionaires, and fly-by-night speculators are holding out for fabulous prices because they know that eventually the government or some other agency will be forced to buy them out.

The New York City Housing Authority and PWA have been balked at every turn in their efforts to build modern low-rent housing for a million people who now live in dismal, unsanitary tenements. After four years they have been able to get the Harlem River Houses project under way. Out of 20,000 applications they will be able to supply 2,000 Negro families with decent flats at \$7.50 a month per room. The only other project of importance in the New York area is at Williamsburg, Brooklyn, where 6,000 families soon will be able to move in.

But 8,000 apartments is far short of New York's need. Half a million families are in immediate need of better housing. A fire such as the one in Suffolk Street merely throws the spotlight on the situation for a brief moment.

The real obstacle to better housing is the land speculator. There is only one weapon to fight him and today our political machines are nearly always able to prevent its use. Condemnation proceedings must be used to acquire property at fair prices so that the City, State, and Federal Governments can go ahead with their slum clearance plans.

A Mass Arrest



Douglas Aircraft strikers being marched off under police guard to the Courts of California, shortly after their sit-down. Any more mass arrests of this sort and the state will have to be erecting concentration camps—ala Hitler or Georgia.

PA. COMMUNISTS ENTER DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES

By MICHAEL HARRIS

PHILADELPHIA—Within the next month the membership of the Communist Party of Pennsylvania, its sympathizers and innocent organizations, and an astonished working class will learn that in the coming state and local primary elections up-to-date-Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism calls for the CP to enter candidates on the Democratic ticket in the hope of capturing the nomination and subsequently running as a regular Democratic nominee.

The motive, in the words of a CP spokesman, "is to capture the

Democratic ticket. Then we will have only one enemy—the Republican Party. This we hope will lead to a labor party and the People's Front."

Thus in the holy name of a labor party and the People's Front, the Communist Party officialdom—the rank and file are unaware of the plan as yet—is attempting to capture the Democratic Party and lead it on to its "revolutionary destiny."

Move Admitted

All this has been admitted by an authoritative local Communist spokesman to this writer. This

week the Communist district bureau, according to him, meets to learn of the plan and the functionaries will gather later to discuss it and adopt ways and means of putting it into effect. After the district bureau and the functionaries have been convinced that it is Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism a number of clarification meetings will be held to enlighten the membership.

The latter presents, admittedly, a problem that will not be easily solved. As the CP spokesman stated, "At first our members might not understand the revolutionary implications behind this move. There might even be outspoken expressions against it. But eventually they will be enlightened and clarified and realize that the tactic is dialectically justified be-

Detroit Labor Militant After Auto Victory

By FRANK MARQUART

DETROIT.—Just as the Toledo Auto-Lite victory in 1934 led to the complete unionization of the Auto-Lite Plant and of the entire auto-parts factories of Toledo, so the General Motors victory is rapidly leading to the complete unionization of most of the auto divisions in Detroit and its environs.

So fast are workers pouring into the various auto union locals that the office staff are finding it difficult to handle the records.

Moreover, pressed by the need to keep their pay up with rising living costs, the workers in other establishments are also using the sit-down to good advantage. At the beginning of the month there were 31 major strikes in Detroit.

Real Wages Fall

As a rise in real wages is often a forerunner of crisis, so a fall in real wages is usually the immediate consequence of "prosperity." The rising prices due to the increasing turnover of goods soon leave wages behind. If they are not to suffer a decreasing standard of living, the workers must put up a fight for more wages. The following table shows how this applies to Detroit:

Average weekly food bill for workers. Figures from Mich. State Dept. of Labor & Industry.

Jan. '34\$5.83
Jan. '35\$6.98
Jan. '37\$7.68

Average monthly rental:

Jan. '34\$19.07
Jan. '35\$20.87
Jan. '37\$25.90

One of the problems arising from the rapid influx of workers into the unions is the need to consolidate the gains. Most of these men and women have never had union experience before. Their enthusiasm outstrips their knowledge of labor problems. They do not know that the labor movement is marked by defeats as well as by victories. Unless they are given some labor education many of them will drop out at the first set-back.

Hence the crying need for education in the unions. It is this need that the Socialists are doing all they can to meet.

cause of the changing conditions in the political world. Marxists must change their tactics to meet with a world in flux."

Will there be a Communist Party ticket in the field if the Democratic primaries are lost?

"That we don't know. All the minute details have not been worked out. But those are unimportant matters. The main thing is that we have lost our last vestiges of sectarianism."

"Win or Lose"

Suppose you win the primaries, what then?

"Then we will defeat the Republicans. But win or lose, the tactic is essentially sound because large masses of workers are now in the Democratic Party and we must enter it to reach them. Eventually the Democratic Party will split—and by this move we will lead the split and set up as its logical successor Farmer-Labor Parties and Peoples' Fronts."

Have you informed the Democratic Party of your intentions and how do they take it?

"That is a rhetorical question and needs no answer."

The spokesman would not commit himself on whether the move would also be applied in the South where the Democratic Party is comprised of bourgeois and holds vast masses of Negroes and white-workers in virtual peonage and slavery.

Pre-Convention Discussion

Reply To Statement By Mass. Committee

By CRARY TRIMBLE

(In the February 27 issue of the Call, a statement signed by Alfred Baker Lewis was printed with an answer by John Wheelwright. This same statement was sent to state secretaries for their comment. As state secretary of the Socialist Party of California, I wish to submit this reply to Comrade Lewis' statement—Crary Trimble).

Alfred Baker Lewis, state secretary of Massachusetts, in a signed statement "for the State Executive Committee," maintains that the "travesties of justice (expressed in the Moscow Trials) are the inevitable result of 'dictatorship of the proletariat' when practiced by those who believe that other working-class parties are their enemies."

The purpose of this statement is not clear, except as Comrade Lewis uses it, by some strange logic, to prove that we should "take a strong stand against such tendencies (presumably illustrated by the Socialist Appeal) within the Socialist Party." A careful analysis of what the "dictatorship of the proletariat" really means and to what extent it exists or does not exist in the Soviet Union today is lacking in Comrade Lewis' statement. He points to a centralization of power in the hands of a bureaucratic clique in Soviet Russia, and asserts that some of our Socialist Party comrades are attacking all working-class parties as our "special enemies." The two are supposed to be an illustration of the "dictatorship of the proletariat as practiced by those who believe that other working-class parties are their enemies." Added together, they produce such travesties of justice as the Moscow Trials and prove—that we should crack down on the Socialist Appeal!

Is this an illustration of the clarity of reasoning and Marxian criticism of world events by which we hope to convince the working-class of our superiority as a political force?

Lessons

It would seem more logical to draw from the events in the Soviet Union the lessons that must be learned if we are to save the international Socialist movement from being confused by just such abuse of Marxian principles as have become apparent under the Stalin regime. Instead of attacking our own party members who are attempting to point out the dangers of this corruption of principle, we should courageously throw the light of principled truth on the perpetrators of these crimes against the international Socialist movement.

Has the Stalinist corruption of the principle of workers' democracy proved the weakness of the principle? Or should it be a challenge to revolutionary Socialists to make clear what IS meant by the Marxian conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and so constitute our party machinery on a democratic basis that it will be impossible to fall victim to the same abuse?

Heresy Hunt

To dismiss the whole tragic corruption of the Stalinist bureaucracy as merely an illustration of the fact that we should start house-cleaning the Socialist Party seems to me to be an indirect appeal for a heresy-hunt. In other words, we hurry over the rather difficult problem of deciding what the Moscow Trials really do prove to the international Socialist movement, and use them to foster a split in the ranks of the Socialist Party at a time when it is imperative that we

lay down a clear, aggressive revolutionary Socialist program, on the basis of which we can win over the militant elements of the working-class (as illustrated in California where agricultural and maritime workers joined the Socialist Party on the basis of just such a program!).

As to the charge that some comrades are attacking "other working-class parties as our special enemies," I think it is in order to ask Comrade Lewis for a clearer statement of his own attitude. Let us be frank. Comrade Lewis obviously refers to the attack of revolutionary Socialists on the present Communist Party line. Are we to refrain from exposing a group, or a group of leaders, which did their best to sabotage the maritime workers' strike so as not to embarrass a capitalist presidential candidate? Are we to remain silent while the C.P. tactics wreck an Agricultural Conference (as they recently did in San Francisco) which had every possibility of securing for the most exploited of all working-class groups, the agricultural workers, a chance for a statewide organization campaign with the backing of the official labor movement in California?

Sacrifice Workers

Are we not to point out why the C.P. was willing to sacrifice the interests of the working-class in these instances? Are we to give complacent consent to the C.P. campaign to herd liberals and deliberately confused workers into a "people's front" to back American Imperialism in the coming war? What claim to being a working-class party in the true sense of the word has a group which will sacrifice the interests of the international working-class for the sake of a spurious "Socialism in one country"? Is this the Socialist lesson to be learned from the Moscow Trials?

Such betrayals of workers' interest must be exposed when and where they occur, else we, as Socialists, share the blame for the betrayal. If we are not to be permitted to set forth revolutionary Socialist principles (because they show up the incorrect and reactionary tactics of some other group), we might as well tuck the Socialist Party away in moth-balls and hop onto the

The two articles appearing on this page are printed as pre-convention discussion on matters which will be taken up at the special national convention of the Socialist Party, which will be held in Chicago, March 27-29.

Contributors to this discussion are requested to keep their articles less than one thousand words in length. In fairness to D. Martin, it should be mentioned that his article on the Labor Party question had to be cut considerably because of its extreme length.

Needless to say, articles appearing under this heading do not necessarily represent points of view held by the Editorial Board of the CALL. All points of view within the party will be given space.

band-wagon of the "people's front" and begin to beat the drums for "democracy" in the coming war.

Comrades, the challenge of the odious Moscow Trials is a challenge to every believer in revolutionary Socialism—to correct the tragic mistakes that have been made; to correct them on a principled basis. If we use the Moscow Trials as a basis for persecuting the revolutionary forces within our own Party, we have imitated the trials themselves, and have at the same time allowed ourselves to be intimidated into the ranks of class-collaboration, support of imperialist war (so long as it is "democratic"), and dealt another blow to the international Socialist movement.

Revolutionary Socialism

The lessons to be drawn from the Moscow Trials are that we must KNOW what we mean when we say we stand for revolutionary Socialism and then fearlessly fight for it on any and all fronts and at all times. No one in the Socialist Party today singles out any particular group as the "special enemy" of the working-class. We attack all false principles, fake promises and vile betrayals of the workers' interests. And it is our Socialist duty to do so.

The article of Comrade Lewis is in essence a call to shirk this duty and persecute those party members who perform it. He will not get much support for such a program in California.

The Many Problems Of A Labor Party

By D. MARTIN

The Socialist Perspectives on the Labor Party issue, which were recently carried in the CALL, stimulate a number of reflections. First of all, a consideration of the problems that a labor party involves.

1. As Socialists we are accustomed to speak of inner contradictions, the inner contradictions of the Capitalist System, etc. We might as well recognize that there is an inner contradiction involved in a labor party, and it is this: If it doesn't achieve a fair degree of success and attract large masses into its organization, it won't be a labor party. And if it is successful, it will become conservative.

It will become conservative for two reasons. First, because an extensive organization will require an extensive bureaucracy, and second and more important,

the very successes on which it will thrive will create the illusion among its followers that it is an irresistible force in the march toward Socialism.

2. The liberal Democrats and Republicans present a tremendous obstacle in the formation of a Labor Party. It's difficult to imagine Labor turning against men like Murphy, Wagner, La Follette, Norris, Nye, Earle and Wheeler.

3. This brings up the skepticism of Americans towards organized politics. The "pressure" and "good man" methods of Labor are not primarily indicative of firm faith in these methods; they indicate rather a strong distrust of political organizations.

Why a Labor Party?

Why, then, a labor party, in view of all these difficulties?

1. History, it seems, moves in the direction of the most active,

Just now, as I stand in front of Union halls distributing CALLS, and watch the young, vigorous auto-workers striding in by the hundreds and thousands, I feel that history is moving in the direction of the auto-workers. Here is Labor Action, vigorous and keen.

But the fever will pass. The Union apparatus will become established. There will be demands for a slackening of tempo. After all, the auto-workers have families to support, or girls to take out, or payments to make. They can't strike every day in the year.

But they can act politically every day in the year. They can—but will they? Yes—but only on two conditions: They must constantly be provided with live, reformist issues, and they must be provided with the basis for an extensive political organization. Only these two conditions will inspire and provide for mass physical action, and only mass physical action will enable us to give the American worker mass political education.

Masses Will Move

2. Regardless of what the Socialist Party will do or decide, the American masses will move in some reformist direction. The Minnesota FLP, the Farmer-Labor-Progressive Federation, the Epic movement, the American LP, the Commonwealth Federation, are all elementary expressions of American mass-political action.

They may be unstable, they may be loaded down with careerists, they may over-emphasize the lower middle-class viewpoint, but they click. They set large numbers of people in political motion and get them thinking politics. Our job as Socialists is to try to set these movements on a trade-union base and to keep egging them on.

The only way for Socialists to even hope to be able to do this is for them to play an active role in the formation of a Labor Party in the same way that they can hope to press their viewpoints in the trade-unions only if they are active in building the unions.

Struggle for Power

3. A Labor Party will channelize reformist activities. It will provide a common stamping ground for reformers, develop a common legislative program and voting bloc. Such a channelization would result in a rapid acquisition of reforms. So rapid, I am convinced, as to provoke a psychological crisis among the reactionary elements of the country.

Then would come the inevitable "strike back before it's too late." Whether this "strike-back" would take the fantastic form of a march on Washington as supposedly suggested to Smedley Butler or a wholesale owner-stoppage of industry or what-not, the strike-back would catch the masses on the aggressive. The reactionary elements would attack to prevent "communism, socialism and anarchism."

The masses would defend in the name of reforms. The ensuing economic crisis would in actuality provoke a struggle for power.

Complementary Forces

The foregoing raises several questions:

1. Are reformists and Socialists complementary forces in our development to a period of crisis? My answer is yes. The reformists will abuse us and denounce all talk of Socialism; they'll decry such extremist actions as we Socialists will from time to time be able to provoke from our followers.

But it will be THEIR reforms, both actual and imminent, that will bring the reactionary elements to a psychological crisis.

Call Elects Committees

Carl Eichandler was elected chairman of the CALL Association and James Lipsig vice-chairman at the first meeting of the newly elected CALL Board of Directors last Saturday. John Newton Thurber was elected secretary.

The following members of the Editorial Board and the Management Committee, were also appointed:

Editorial Board: Jack Altman, Justus Ebert, Max Delson, Robert Delson, Samuel Romer, Hal Siegel, Herbert Zam, and the two editors of the CALL, August Tyler and Bruno Fischer.

Management Committee: Michael C. Arcone, Lazar Becker, Hyman Fromowitz, Reba Pushkoff, Hal Siegel, Harry Simon, Bertha Poole Weyl, and the business manager, John Newton Thurber.

They will strike back, as I stated above, out of a fear of "communism," but they will strike back in actuality at those returns held dear by millions of Americans, and those millions will fight back—effectively, if the Socialists will have done their job of rousing them to a fear of and preparation for a strike-back.

The Farmer

2. Should it be a Labor or a Farmer-Labor Party? I say a Farmer-Labor Party.

One of the stock propositions that most Socialists accept without question is that the real proletarian is the factory-worker, that the factory-worker who joins a Union is the advanced proletarian, whereas the farmer (as distinct from the sharecropper and plantation-owner) is a petit-bourgeois, and when he joins a Farmers Union he is merely a discontented bourgeois. Let's look into this matter:

The average Michigan farmer—I confine myself to Michigan since it's the only territory I know fairly well—in addition to being a wretchedly paid piece-worker has to supply all his own tools and run all the risks of production.

Last Winter, after speaking at a number of Farmers Union meetings, I asked why I never saw any young people at their meetings. They told me the young people were in the cities working in the plants. So it seems that our petit-bourgeois farmers are striving to step upwards into the class of proletarian factory workers.

Dominant Class

Briefly, then, a large percentage of America's factory-workers, farmers, white-collar workers, and managers are in the same category, that of the lower middle class. These sectors combined represent the dominant, controlling class in the American scheme of production. An independent political movement to be of any power must embrace the economic organizations of these groups.

Far from being a discouraging prospect, this is one of the few encouraging conditions in the American set-up. As I look over the British Labor Party, resting exclusively on a trade-union base, or contemplate the one-time German SD Party and contrast with it the aggressiveness of the lower middle classes behind Hitler, the fact that the various sectors comprising the dominant, controlling class in America are in the same category give me the hope that we may be able to develop a complementary and aggressive program up to a period of crisis.

Coal Bootlegged By Miners When Starvation Faces Them

By EDWARD PINKOWSKI

Down in the Southern anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania, where the Molly Maguires terrorized years ago, a number of mines were closed down at the verge of the depression, throwing out of work thousands of men. Not until then did the public awake to the fact that slack work, misery, and degradation were the results of absentee ownership and mismanagement of the coal deposits. The workers have understood what years of exploitation of coal and men has meant to the towns in the coal mining region.

All that has been done in closing mines in Northumberland, Schuylkill, Columbia and Carbon counties has been better understood by the unhired miners. Their answer is the bootlegging of coal.

They are working without permission discarded coal veins from which the coal companies say they can't make profits. The unhired miners are making it and are demanding that this chance to earn a living be preserved.

Mines Closed

When the operators abandoned expensive running mines, they did not care what happened to the lives, homes and communities of the miners. The hard bitten miners now hate the memory of those shrewd coal operators, hate their method of management, and their system of espionage.

Months passed after several mines had been abandoned and there began to be mutterings among the unemployed that coal could be produced on their own in the hills and sold for food and shelter. Suddenly the long smoldering resentment against "King Coal" and the iron rule with which it kept inviolate leaped into flames.

The unhired miners, hundreds of them, supplied themselves with crude devices, and marched to the hills to the veins the coal corporations had given up as unprofitable. More idle miners joined them, when several small groups proved that they could operate successfully in small pits. When this means of subsistence reached enormous proportions and trucking many tons of coal to large Eastern cities, the coal owners sent company police and deputies to the hills, bent on dynamiting the holes and taking the occupants to jail.

Ready to Fight

But when they approached the situation they discovered, 20,000 armed men ready to rout the coal police, if they attempted to stop their chance to earn a living. The police accomplished nothing. Where the men were arrested the courts refused to convict and placed the charge on the complaining company.

The independent miners have entered the political field only to make judicial and legislative bodies consider their needs. If a servant of the court of justice convicts a fellow miner, he is sure to be checked at the polls the next election. Independent miners are a power to contend with in politics and the politicians of both major parties know it. At least three legislators have been re-elected at the past national election because of their support to the interests of the bootleg coal industry.

Besides, the independent miners are powerful because they have a cause and an organization to fight for. Their organization, Independent Miners and Truckers Association, has over 1,300 members and is representative of miners, breakermen, and truckers to and from the breakers. With sympathizers included, it is thrice that number. They have gone so far as having lobbyist watch their interests in Harrisburg, Washington, and large cities where they have attempted to pass ordinances prohibiting illegal mined coal to enter the city.

Defy Property Rights

At least 70 per cent of the independent miners are a part in the

The following story was written by a former bootleg coal miner. He writes from his experiences. He reveals a startling aspect of capitalist chaos in our planless order of society.

This article is the first of a series of two. Next week, Edward Pinkowski will propose a draft solution for the problem of bootleggers in coal.

interests of the union. They are determined to defy property rights and, as their preamble states:

"To fight and maintain the right for us to dig this coal and make the lot of our members more bearable.

"We are undertaking an obligation that will protect the rights of our members, through mass action and mass pressure against the coal companies and all their agencies, and that we will continually fight, side by side, with the rest of the unemployed workers for an increase in relief, rent and shelter to be paid to the unemployed workers by the state in the form of cash relief."

They are willing to recede only when a legal method of control is adopted that will give them a living wage. They are willing to give up this form of work if work can be found in legitimate mines. Until a solution is accepted, the State Administration refuses to block the right to earn a living in coal pits by the Militia or the State Police.

Unemployed miners and idle mines are more common in the middle and Southern coal fields, due to the fact that large coal veins have been available closer to the surface than the veins in the Northern coal fields around Wilkes Barre and Scranton.

Veins Abandoned

The organized coal interests have made millions of dollars by robbing these rich veins and abandoning them. The result is that

veins, which once made fortunes for such capitalists as J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller, have now caved in, so that every where they appear Alex Minetski and John Krustar are making one dollar, two, three and four each day they are able to work.

That is not their real names, but it sufficiently indicates that their surplus does not belong to any company or corporation but to themselves. If there is exploitation, it must be by themselves. They stand no longer in the labor market to sell what physical abilities they have, but they take instead the results of their physical abilities and sell it at its market price to make a livelihood. Many of them have refused to cut in on their buddies at legal mines.

Investigations show that for every year since 1932, 40,000,000 tons of coal has been mined independently; or, to put it another way, communities dependent on coal such as Pottsville, Shenandoah, Mahoney City, Minersville, Lansford, Centralia, Coaldale, Ashland, Mount Carmel, Tamaqua, Shamokin and St. Clair have been compensated with \$32,000,000 every year. It has enabled the government to keep running.

Coal Aristocracy

From this fact one thing is clear. Coal is the base on which the people of this region exist. Yet it is legitimate under the law to earn a luxurious living from coal without getting in the hole to extract it, and it is stealing and criminal to expend human energy in improvising a hole in an abandoned vein to produce coal for a needing market, in order that bodies may be fed, clothed and sheltered. It is obvious that the coal owners are a coal-and man-robbing aristocracy.

The aftermath of anthracite sickness is bootleg coal, and it is an indefinite remedy for the needs of men. There has been much stress placed on private control as unable to meet the situation, of its own making. They have openly refused to lease idle lands to independent operators who are willing to take them over. They are pondering over the next best step. What is it?

Shall the coal lands be taken over by the State and run for the benefit of society? Is the Federal Government

Altman in Paris

The statement in reply to Communist Party attacks on the Socialist Party printed in last week's CALL and signed by the CALL Board of Directors, omitted the name of Jack Altman, a member of the Board. Because he is at present in Paris representing the Socialist Party and the Debs Brigade, he could not, of course, read or sign the statement.

Handbag Union Receives International Charter

An international charter was received by the International Ladies' Handbag and Novelty Workers Union from the AFL, giving the union jurisdiction over pocket-books, luggage, belts and novelties. The committee which received the charter consisted of Isidor Laderman, president of the International, Samuel Reinlib, first vice-president; Samuel Laderman, second vice-president; and Harry Gevertzman, general secretary-treasurer.

Cutters Welfare League Asks Unity of Progressive Forces

The following is an extract of a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Cutters Welfare League, Local 10, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, for the coming election of officers of the union:

The problems confronting the cutters at the present time in our union are in general similar to those of other locals, with some specific and peculiar cutters' problems. The Cutters Welfare League puts forth in the present election campaign the following platform:

When the current agreement in the dress and miscellaneous industries expires, to fight for the elimination of three and four scales of wages respectively; to abolish the practice of temporary jobs; for the democratic conduct of the affairs of our union; to demand the establishment of a labor bureau at the expiration of the agreements in the cloak, dress and miscellaneous industries and partial distribution of jobs; for increase in pay to offset the rising cost of living; for the organization of the remaining open shops; to wipe out the remnants of racketeering in our industry; for unity of all progressive forces in Local 10; for the amalgamation of all needle trades unions into one industrial union; for the full-hearted support of the CIO; for a labor party.

For Unity

Other groups in our local have nominated various candidates for various offices also, namely, the Rank and File League, and some

in a better position to take over control of the industry?

Shall the State force coal land owners to lease idle mines to independent operators who are willing to pay a royalty for the amount of coal they produce on that land?

Next week the author will discuss the solutions to the bootleg coal problem.

independent progressives. Inasmuch as the issues raised by these groups regarding cutters' problems are identical with the Cutters' Welfare League and taking into consideration the fact that the candidates nominated by the other groups are not for the same offices as those nominated by the Cutters' Welfare League, we feel it our duty in the interest of the cutters to adopt a policy of unifying the opposition in local 10 by not splitting the opposition vote, though there are still some disagreements between the Cutters Welfare League and the other groups in respect to union policies.

We, therefore, call upon the cutters to vote for the candidates of the Cutters' Welfare League and we endorse the other candidates of the Rank and File League and individual progressives.

BRANCH DIRECTORY

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POLISH BR. (Oddzial Potega). Meets 1st and 3rd Friday each month. 25 St. Marks Pl. (Bet. 2nd and 3rd Aves.). F. Fiolek, Sec'y.

VILLAGE BRANCH meets every Thurs. night at 107 MacDougal St. Ellen Loeb, Sec'y, 303 West 4th St.

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

YORKVILLE, meets every Thurs. night. Open meetings at Imperial Lyceum, 55th St. and 3rd Ave. Business meeting 1359 1st Ave. Mary Bowers Red, Sec'y.

BRONX

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

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

AMALGAMATED, Upper 8th A.D. meets every Wed., at 9:00 P. M. at home of Comrade Maxlmon, 80 Van Cortland Pk. So. Apt. 7-F-22.

BROOKLYN

DOWNTOWN KINGS. Regular meetings every Thursday at 8 P. M., 42 Smith Street. A. Walsh, Sec'y., 140 Warren Street. Clifford Clark, Treas.

BORO PARK BRANCH, 4914 New Utrecht Ave. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8:00 P. M. Edith Fefersholtz, Sec'y.

LONG ISLAND

SUNNYSIDE. Meets 2nd & 4th Wed. at 3908 48th St., Sunnyside, L. I. Emily Oxhandler, Secretary.

DETROIT

BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday, 8 P. M., People's House, 3946 Trumbull. Tel.: Terrace 2-8612.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

MEETS every Tues. 8 P. M. 1603A So. Jefferson Ave. Bus. meeting 1st Tues. Class in Socialism 2nd, 3rd, 4th Tues. Labor Forum every Sunday 2 P. M.

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With The Party

COLORADO

Referendum for delegates to the national convention has been held. The results show Carl Whitehead and Paul S. McCormick elected as delegates and George L. Slater and J. Austin Beasley elected as alternates.

MARYLAND

The new headquarters of Local Baltimore at 103 N. Eutaw St. is open every Saturday evening for dancing, games and other entertainment.

A card and bingo party will be held at the headquarters Saturday, March 13. On noon of the following day Mar. 14, Jennie Lee, former Labor member of the British Parliament, will address the members.

NEW YORK

Final pre-convention meeting of Local New York will be held March 17 at 8:30 P.M., place to be announced. Speakers will be: Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler, Murray Baron, chairman. There will be questions and discussion from the floor. All

branch meetings must be called off for that night.

City-wide meeting is being planned in support of the Garibaldi Battalion and Debs Column, April 4, 3 P.M., at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 14th St.

Twenty-fifth annual dance of the YPSL at the Central Opera House, 67th St. and 3rd Ave., April 3.

A mass meeting by the East Side Committee to fight Fascism in Spain will be held Thursday, March 18, at Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Place. Prominent speakers, including Amicus Most, Anita Brenner, Carlo Tresca and Ludwig Lore, will address the meeting. In addition, George Clark will speak for the YPSL, Abe Bluestein for the Freedom and Unitarian Groups, Leibel for the Left Poale Zion, Gelb for the Poale Zion, Joseph Zack for the One Big Union.

The Village Branch and YPSL are holding a rent party at the home of Ed Koppel, 15 Charleton St. Mar. 13.

House party for the benefit of the CALL Saturday, March 13, at the home of Sylvia Alter, 222 Pennsylvania St., Brooklyn.

Social and dance for the Aid of Women and Children of Spain, given by the Italian-American Committee to aid the Spanish People, will be held Friday March 12, at 107 MacDougal St.

Dance and bingo party at the headquarters of 18 A.D., Brooklyn, branch, Saturday, March 13, 287 Schenectady Ave.

Harold Draper will speak on "Youth and Fascism" at the Lower East Side branch forum, Friday, March 12, 31 Second Ave.

PENNSYLVANIA

John Newton Thurber, business manager of the CALL, is speaking at an affair being held for the benefit of the CALL at Reading, Friday, March

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12. The party is being held at 429 South 10th St.

Intensifying its efforts, the Philadelphia chapter of the Friends of the Debs Column will hold a mass meeting on Friday, March 12, 8 P.M., at 1628 Arch St., with Ludwig Lore as main speaker. Other speakers include Brendan Sexton, chairman Workers Alliance of N. Y.; David H. H. Felix, chairman local Friends of the Debs Column, and Michael Harris, Socialist Party organizer. The mass meeting is part of an intensive campaign to rally support and raise funds for the Debs Column in Philadelphia.

Third in a series of pre-convention discussions will be held by Local Philadelphia on March 19, at 8 P.M., at 1628 Arch St., on War and Fascism. Michael Harris will be the reporter for the meeting.

MEETING FOR SPAIN

A mass meeting to raise funds for food, clothing and medical supplies for the Garibaldi Battalion fighting with the International Brigade in Spain will be held March 21, 2:30 P.M., at Mecca Temple, New York City.

Speakers will include, Arturo Giovannitti, educational director of the Garment Workers union, Girolamo Valenti, editor of "La Stampa," Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, strike leader, and others. The meeting is sponsored by the Italian Anti-Fascist Committee.

Mendel Liebowitz, charter member of the Socialist Party and active in the Socialist movement for 50 years, died on February 28. He was an active member of the Bensonhurst Branch, Brooklyn, New York.

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Crisis Faces The CALL As Fund Drive Slumps

By THE BUSINESS MANAGER

The statistics for the CALL Drive this week bear careful examination from every person who is interested in seeing the CALL carry on. Contributions have dropped off to a record low, just as we need the funds most.

In another part of the paper this week, at the bottom of Page 7, we are making a special appeal and a special offer. We have not felt that in the past in asking for donations for the CALL, we were asking for something for nothing. We have to have funds this week. We have told you that frankly.

Send Subs

In order to raise funds now, we are asking every reader to cut out the sub blank at the bottom of Page 7 and either sell a year's subscription to a friend or else give a subscription and send the attached dollar to us. CALL subscriptions should be secured by every reader at this time. If each reader will make a point of getting one subscription, our immediate financial troubles will be solved.

Since this is a part of the CALL Drive, we will credit funds coming in as an answer to this emergency appeal toward the state or city quota when the blank published on Page 7 is used.

If you can send in a larger check at this time and request it, we will send you a pack of prepaid subscription cards which can be sold in turn by you to your friends and fellow workers. The CALL wants subscribers and it wants money. You can help us with both!

Figures

Statistics for the CALL Drive for \$10,000 this week: Previously reported, \$1,188.63; received this week, \$48.25; total thus far, \$1,236.88; must be raised in this drive, \$10,000.

St. Louis had a successful affair last week. Reading is having an affair next week. Several New York branches are having special affairs each week. Arrange an affair. Rush the funds to us. We have a deadline to make. You must be with us if we are to make it!

Standing of states and districts in the CALL Drive at the end of the seventh week:

State or District	Quota	Paid In	Per Cent
Boston	\$ 300.	\$149.50	49.86
Oregon	50.	21.00	42.
California	150.	54.25	36.16
Detroit	150.	40.75	27.16
Kansas	50.	11.50	23.5
New York City	2600.	573.73	22.06
Illinois, state	300.	60.00	20.
New Mexico	30.	6.00	20.
Pittsburgh	200.	39.50	19.75
New Hampshire	35.	6.00	17.2
New York, state	400.	55.75	13.93
Cleveland	150.	18.50	13.1
Texas	30.	3.50	11.67
Florida	40.	4.50	11.2
Indiana	100.	10.50	10.5
New Jersey	400.	40.31	10.07
Idaho	30.	3.00	10.
Tennessee	30.	3.00	10.
Iowa	50.	3.50	7.
Pennsylvania, state	300.	18.25	6.08

ARE YOU LISTED?

SUBSCRIPTIONS
The following comrades have sent in subscriptions during the past week:

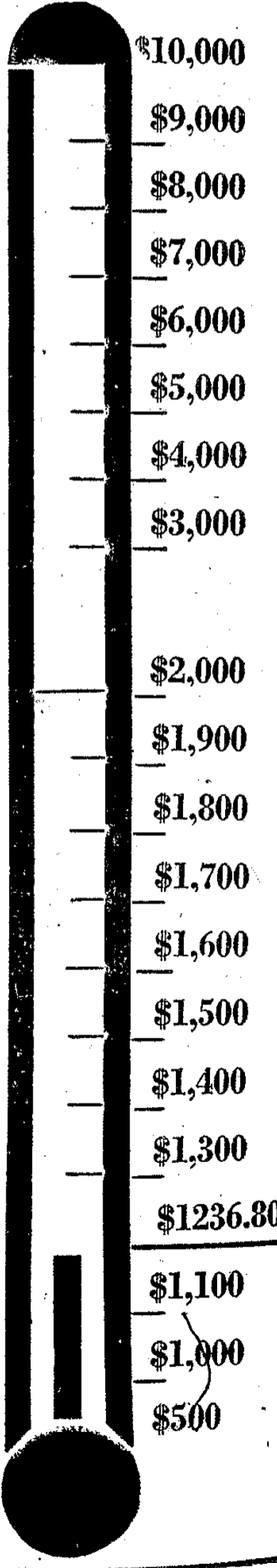
Membership meeting of	
Local N. Y.	24
Edward Grove, Bronx, N. Y.	4
3rd A. D. Bronx, N. Y.	4
E. W. Carr, St. Regis, Mont.	2
F. A. Halsted, Bay City, Mich.	1
Matal Diamond, Bronx	1
S. P. Cuyahoga, Ohio	1
L. V. Farnsworth, Wadsworth, Ohio	1
Kazimier Miller, Phila., Pa.	1

STEEL RECRUITS

PITTSBURGH — First reaction to the signing of a contract by the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corp. was a virtual flood of application cards to join the union.

Connecticut	600.	34.59	5.76
Maryland	100.	5.50	5.5
Ohio, state	150.	6.25	4.16
Philadelphia	400.	16.00	4.
Colorado	50.	2.00	4.
Kentucky	50.	2.00	4.
North Carolina	20.	.75	3.7
West Virginia	35.	1.00	2.8
Missouri	250.	6.00	2.67
Arizona	40.	1.00	2.5
Oklahoma	40.	1.00	2.5
D. of Columbia	125.	3.00	2.4
Massachusetts, state	400.	8.50	2.1
Virginia	25.	.50	2.
Chicago	400.	6.00	1.5
Wisconsin	800.	11.00	1.3
Michigan, state	150.	1.25	.83
Washington, state	75.	.25	.3
Reading	300.	.50	.16

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What Is The Class Struggle?

This is the first of a series of articles on the basic principles of revolutionary Socialism. These installments will appear each week in the CALL. Readers will find that if these articles are clipped and pasted into a book, they will make a complete booklet with a fairly full presentation of fundamental Socialist ideas.

By GUS TYLER

NOT once upon a time, but just a few short years ago, a learned professor in Harvard University, Thomas Nixon Carver, wrote volumes to prove to a believing America that no class struggle would bother our nation.

The class struggle was a European myth. In America there are no classes and no class struggles. Because in America, a worker could buy a share in autos, or subways, or even a bank. That made the worker practically a capitalist, and that made a clear cut struggle of classes impossible.

These words, of wisdom were echoed in all the halls of learning. America was the land without classes and class struggles.

So prevalent was this idea no farther back than 1929 that even men who should know better accepted it and repeated it. Even men who called themselves Socialists joined the chorus. Thus wrote Louis Waldman, for instance, in 1929:

"The old conception of the class struggle as one where the employers stood against the workmen in battle array is not sound. No such line-up exists. It is not a living actual practical fact in daily life. The old woman who invested in a bond in the subway system, the water power corporation, the telephone company or the railroad company may be the best political and social friend the working class has."

A handful of stocks held by an old woman, and—presto—the class struggle disappeared.

This was the official explanation for the calm that reigned on the class struggle front in America. Not that there was complete peace in this country. Far from it. There were strikes. There were frame-ups of labor leaders. There were clashes between workers and the police. There were unions. But all these "unfortunate incidents" were not part of a class struggle. They were due to this little thing or that, to the greed of some boss, to the impatience of some workers, to the corruption of some public official, to the brutality of some police chief. These incidents were just "misunderstanding;" they were not logical expressions of a class war!

The strength of the official ex-

planation of a "classless" America lay in labor's comparative quiescence. The pretty bubble of class peace had not yet been pricked with the pin of a financial crisis. Workers in America's basic industries had not yet exploded. The controversy—is there or is there not a class struggle in America?—was a problem for theoreticians.

Masses Reply

The question today is no longer in the hands of the academicians. The question—and the decision—is now in the hands of the masses. And, defiant of all that Carver and Waldman wrote, they give an answer about which there can be no doubt.

The class struggle is just as genuinely and profoundly American as it is German, French, Spanish or British. The class struggle is not an imported product—brought over from Europe. It is not a manufactured product—created by red agitators. It is native and natural.

Wherever there is capitalism, there, too, is the class struggle. The struggle begins when a worker feels that he is being mistreated. The struggle arises from the simple human desire of the worker to rid himself of an unjust burden. The struggle first expresses itself in a fight for shorter hours, better wages, decent working conditions.

This struggle is spurred on by the crises within capitalism. This struggle is waged on an ever broader front, as new workers are organized and drawn into the general class war. The struggle goes through various stages and expresses itself in various forms. Sometimes it is legal, sometimes illegal, sometimes peaceful, sometimes violent; sometimes just a picket line, sometimes a revolution. But whatever the form, the content is the same.

There are temporary armistices in this struggle; but there is no end—so long as there are classes. So long as labor does not receive the full fruit of its toil—that is, so long as capital lives on interest, rent and profit drawn from the exploitation of labor—the struggle shall continue.

Strange as it may sound, the Socialist movement, which rests upon the class struggle, does not WANT the class struggle. In fact, only the Socialist victory can ulti-

nately end the exploitation of man by man, can abolish all classes, can end the incessant war of classes.

Socialists do not MANUFACTURE the class struggle, any more than Sir Isaac Newton MANUFACTURED gravitation. But when an apple fell off a tree and hit Sir Isaac or the head, he sought to explain it; he discovered the law of gravity; he taught it; he revealed its meaning; he interpreted its role in the life of nature and of man.

Socialists recognize the class struggle as a living fact. The Socialist sees its ultimate logic, the struggle for the means of production, the struggle for possession of all the wealth that labor produces, the struggle for the shops and mills and mines and ships and railroads and land.

Socialists sees that this war will grow, will involve new millions, will become a struggle for political power. Socialists see that only the victory of the working class can end the rule of a small group which owns the means of production. Socialists see that only the victory of the working class in this struggle can transfer the great forces of production which

are socially necessary into the hands of society to be run planfully and democratically.

Strengthen Workers

For that reason, the first objective of the Socialists is to strengthen the ranks of the working class in this struggle, to hasten an early victory, to involve the greatest numbers, to make the masses conscious of the ultimate logic of this struggle.

The class struggle and Socialism are inseparable. They are in fact one and the same thing. Socialism is merely the logic result of a class struggle in which the working class has been victorious and has had the opportunity to build a society wherein all exploitation of man by man has been abolished.

Because our Socialism begins with this FACT—the class struggle—and not with just a hope or a vision or a Utopia, we call it a scientific Socialism. There have been dreamers before Socialists. There have been Utopians throughout the ages. There have been many blueprints of a perfect society. Modern Socialism has little in common with any of these.

Modern Socialism is based not upon some new fangled idea hatched in the idea of some smart guy. Modern Socialism springs from the being and the logic of that class struggle inherent in capitalism, and destined to destroy its creator.

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apologies are in order sorry, ladies . . . but we didn't mean to leave you out of the invitation to come to the aid of the party . . . meaning the rebel press shindig for the benefit of the socialist call . . . so remember to save the date . . . saturday evening april 17th . . . and the place, 107 macdougal street . . . and don't forget it's all for the socialist call . . .

Sunday, 2:30 p. m. **March 21st**

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Books

The Fascist

By DAVID P. BERENBERG

THE FASCIST, His State and Mind. By E. B. Ashton. William Morrow and Co. \$2.50.

When Fascism was new, or rather when Hitler came to power in Germany, Oswald G. Villard foretold that the time would come when its more hideous phases would be forgotten; when concentration camps, castor-oil raids, ruthless murders and all the other accompaniments of a brutal reaction would fade from the consciousness of the outside world; when the Fascist claim to have "rehabilitated" a broken nation would be treated by observers, naive and otherwise, with the earnest seriousness that is due to a new philosophy of government. That time has come.

In Mr. Ashton's book we are told that the "Communist" theory that Fascism is the child of finance capitalism with its back to the wall is nonsense. Fascism, we are here told, is "collectivism and capitalism," whatever that may mean. For the rest, the book rests heavily on the proposition that Fascism is a mystic sort of nationalism to which the German people, the Italian masses, and perhaps peoples of other countries are particularly prone.

The brutality that has surrounded it Mr. Ashton discards

with a wave of the hand as the inevitable accompaniment of any great governmental change. He does, however, concede that Fascism tolerates no difference of opinion; that the dissenter "must" be harshly treated; and that Fascism glorifies war. In fact, he concedes that Fascism will probably lead to a general European war. Hastening back to the defense of Fascism, however, he asserts that the Germans and the Italians like what they have, and those who talk about an overthrow of Fascism in these countries are doing some tall and wishful thinking.

Mr. Ashton's book purports to be opposed to Fascism. In fact, he tells us that his apparently tolerant attitude toward that "philosophy" of government arises from his desire to see it correctly. Only by seeing it correctly, he says, can it be fought.

There is much truth in this. To say so is not to say that Mr. Ashton has seen Fascism as it is. On the contrary, if the Fascist propaganda agencies were to pay a man to write an "objective" study of their "system" to be put over on the innocents of a democratic country, the present book is just the type of book that they would want. It is a book that reeks with assertions of the author's love of democracy, but that is "fair" to the pretensions of Fascism.

Plain Gangsters

Now if Fascism were really a governmental philosophy, one could be "fair" to it. But that is precisely what it is not. It is, Mr. Ashton to the contrary notwithstanding, the dying effort of finance capital to maintain itself, at the cost not merely of democracy, but of civilization itself. Hitler and Mussolini are not "theoreticians of government," but plain

To Celebrate 2nd Birthday Of Call Mar. 21

This issue of the CALL marks the completion of two years of publication.

In many parts of the country, meetings are being held celebrating this event.

In New York the second anniversary of the CALL will be observed at a meeting to be held in the ball room of the Manhattan Odd Fellows Temple, 105 E. 106th Street.

The subject of the meeting will be "A Labor Party?"

Speakers will include Norman Thomas; James Cannon, editor of Labor Action, California Socialist organ; Max Delson, member of the Socialist Party NEC; and Murray Baron, business manager of the Suitcase, Portfolio and Bag Makers Union.

The meeting will begin at 2 P.M. on Sunday, March 21.

This will be the last opportunity which New York Socialist will have of hearing these speakers before the convention. The nature of the discussion is expected to make an appeal to many outside the ranks of the Socialist Party.

and simple gangsters of the Capone type, hired, like the mercenaries of the Middle Ages to do the job that the princes of finance capital want done—and which they couldn't do themselves, even if they would "stoop" to such dirty conduct.

The surface unanimity of the German and Italian populations, which to Mr. Ashton seems the evidence of approval, is the forced consent of peoples at the point of machine guns. He may be right in estimating the strength of the underground movements as very slight, but he is wrong in asserting that the reason for this is the approval of the masses. The reason for it is the efficiency of the secret police.

Wipe It Out!

Mr. Ashton makes a great play about speaking the truth. The truth is that every time you treat Fascism as something respectable you strengthen it. If you lift it to the level of a theory you give it a

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

Last week the Federal Trade Commission stuck out its head, got hit on the scone and promptly withdrew into its shell.

It isn't what you could call a front page story but it certainly throws some light on the kind of help the cooperative movement can expect from the New Deal.

It seems that the commission prepared a report on "Agricultural Income" and submitted it to Congress in accordance with its time-honored custom. And in accordance with the custom as aforesaid, the commission also issued a press release giving the highlights.

Startling Discoveries

Some of its conclusions were no more exciting than last year's straw hat. For example, the commission made the startling discovery that the farmer gets much too little for his produce and that the consumer pays far too much. That's the kind of revelation we have come to expect from official bodies. After something has become a matter of common knowledge, the government sends out some of its boys who investigate and confirm it so that the administration can officially know what's going on.

But at this point the commission bared its cranium. It added a paragraph stating that consumers cooperatives and anti-trust legislation are a necessary check upon mounting costs of distribution and consumer exploitation. And that's when the blow descended.

The very next day the FTC issued another release which declared that the paragraphs about cooperatives had been inserted by mistake. You know, a sort of typographical error.

Boss Pressure

It isn't hard to find who socked the commission on its bald spot.

claim to attention. If you deal with it as a philosophy you do what the Fascists want you to do. Faced with a power like that of the present day Fascists, Voltaire said you could not argue with it. "Ecrasez l'infame!"—"Wipe out the infamous thing!" he cried.

So with Fascism. It is not a subject for debate. It is not a theory to be combatted with argument. It is the enemy itself to be crushed underfoot whenever the workers achieve the power to do so.

At the same time the second release appeared, a release was issued by the Institute of American Meat Packers, that shedder-extraordinary-of-crocodile-tears-for-the-plight-of-the-farmer, which warmly praised the survey completed by the commission.

The moral to this little tale should be obvious to all cooperators who expect big things from Roosevelt but it probably won't.

70,000 in Oil Field to Rally Under CIO Aid

(Continued from Page One)

Session, president of Local 227, are the two outstanding leaders of the oil workers in this region.

Scab Union

Already the Humble Oil and Refining Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey a Rockefeller owned corporation, is preparing to oppose the drive by organizing in Baytown a committee of 50 "loyal employees" who went on record to oppose "outside interference."

Roy Sessions of Local 227 rapped the "loyal employees" organization of the Humble Oil and Refining company as a company inspired move.

The proposed drive is not only causing the oil workers to join the union even before the drive but it has also stimulated workers in other branches of labor to get into their own unions. It is expected that with the actual campaign under way to organize the oil workers that the Houston section will become a strong labor center.

Thomas Speaks

Norman Thomas spoke here on March 1 under the auspices of the Houston Central Labor Union at the Sidney Lanier High School. He pointed out that the only way to combat terrorism is by organization of workers into unions and into a working class political organization.

He also spoke in Galveston, where 600 people crowded a large auditorium to hear him discuss Fascism in the United States.

The Socialist Party branch in Houston, animated by the movement of the oil workers into the union and by Thomas' trip, preparing to work vigorously is in helping the oil workers in their drive for unionization.

Attempts are being made to bring Roy Burt, national secretary of the Party, for several mass meetings in the Houston Territory around April 1. Steps are being taken to enroll more members into the party and to prepare for the establishment of a real political force among the workers of the Houston region.

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STAGE SOCIALIST CALL and SCREEN

LABOR STAGE MAKES SUCCESSFUL DEBUT

Wexley's 'Steel' Rare Experience For Theatregoer

поиску :нашаА уюг ба 'TEELS by Mark Schweid and presented at Labor Stage, 106 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City.

By McALISTER COLEMAN

Here's a rare experience for the most hardened theatre-goer, that is as up-to-the minute as today's newspaper and yet has in it the eternal verities of the struggle of the workers for freedom. With plays such as STEEL and POWER to be seen for low prices, acted by men and women who know from their own experience what economic things are all about, this has turned out to be a history-making season in the theatre after all.

For these players are talking our language. Against backgrounds of power-houses and rolling mills they are enacting the everyday problems that confront all of us both as consumers and workers, trying to keep our heads up in this cock-eyed world.

Workers Join in Solidarity

STEEL has to do with the coming of the CIO into the lives of the workers from along the banks of the Monongahela up to smoke-hung Gary. It shows them at first caught in the stultifying grip of the company union. Then gradually realizing their own power and how it depends upon their solidarity behind one independent union. The actors are all members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, who after working all day have given of their time and energy at rehearsals and public performances to make this first showing of the pioneering Labor Stage the outstanding success that it is.

Actors Are Capable

The conflict here is between the son of a worn out steel worker and the son-in-law who is a good company union Uncle Tom. The son is an organizer for the CIO. The part is well acted by Herbert Weinman. The company union man, finally won over in the breath-taking last act to the principles of industrial unionism, is a swaggering but slightly dumb rough-neck done to perfection by Harry Kadison. And the two have with them as capable a company as have been on the boards this season.

It must be a deep source of satisfaction to Louis Schaffer and his Board of Directors, who have labored so hard to get Labor Stage going, to hear the bursts of spontaneous applause that greet every performance of STEEL. And by the way, keep your eye on this John Wexley. He knows his labor world and the theatre as well. He has made a valuable contribution to what the high-brow call the "proletarian drama" and we look for more big performances from his versatile typewriter.

Lawes Gives His O.K. For Soviet Film Show At Sing Sing Prison

"Prisoners," the Amkino import on the model Soviet jails that have no cells, bars or uniforms, will be shown to the inmates of Sing Sing prison, Ossining, New York, on March 11th. Warden Lewis E. Lawes, acting through Gerald F. Curtin, Director of Recreation at Sing Sing, made the arrangements for the showing with the Amkino office in New York.

The French "Informer"



Pierre Fresnay as "Razumov" at the Cameo.

'Razumov' - Distinguished French Film at the Cameo

RAZUMOV, adapted from Joseph Conrad's "Under Western Eyes"; produced by Andre Daven and directed by Marc Allegret. Dialogue titles in English. Distributed by Garrison Film Dist. Inc., New York. At the Cameo.

BY ALLAN GEORGE

Certainly one of the finest French films ever to reach these shores, and undoubtedly one of the best pictures the Cameo theatre has shown in the past few months, is RAZUMOV. As the story of "Under Western Eyes," which Joseph Conrad wrote in 1910, can be recalled, the filmers have retained enough of the original to make this a distinguished picture.

Simple But Fascinating

The story, whose locale is Russia about 1900; is simple but fascinating. Razumov, a prize student who yearns for "an appointment and social standing" and who has no interest in politics as such, inadvertently shields Haldin, a former student who has assassinated the Prime Minister. He is unwillingly drawn into a circle of terrorists (revolutionists of the period) who naively believe in assassination as a means of liberating their fellow men. Razumov unwittingly betrays himself and in turn Haldin, and eventually becomes a tool in the hands of Mikulin, a shrewd and ruthless police chief.

Razumov Becomes a Spy

Haldin's fellow conspirators are led to believe that Razumov played a noble part in harboring Haldin. At the same time he is being used by the police to spy upon them. There takes place a terrible struggle inside Razumov. His conscience eats up his soul and he finally admits all, leaving his fate to the revolutionaries.

Fresnay Is Admirable

Pierre Fresnay, as Razumov, turns in an admirable performance as a distracted youth torn between ambition and ethical considerations. He is ably supported by a cast of actors which includes Jean-Louis Barrault as Haldin, Michel Simon as Lespara, "chief" of the revolutionaries and Jacques Copeau as Mikulin. Copeau, incidentally is the director of the famous French repertory theatre, the "Compagnie des Vingt."

LECTURES FOR ILGWU

Dr. George W. Hartman, noted psychology expert, will be one of the lecturers in a series sponsored by the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment

Filmarte Scores Again!

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'Tsar to Lenin' Has Makings Of Genuinely Stirring Film

TSAR TO LENIN, a documentary film edited and compiled by Max Eastman, collected and produced by Herman Axelbank. Released by Lenauer International Films, Inc. At the Filmarte.

With sound effects by Max Eastman, the story of the Revolution, we mean the Russian Revolution, not Karl Browder's American Revolution—if we may be pardoned for mentioning Paul Revere and his horse (with the accent on the horse) is told in picture form at the Filmarte on West 58 Street.

The Filmarte, which has put on two of the best pictures of this or any other season, "Carnival in Flanders," and that split personality affair from which a critic who was suffering from schizophrenia was dragged shrieking, has fumbled this one. Patient radicals can stand half an hour of watching the Tsar's family going swimming, riding around in barouches horzoolike and going off in all directions in high dudgeons. But after all there is a certain limit to these intimate details of the every day life of royalty.

Eastman and Trotsky

There are several shots here of the Caucasians which we are not permitted to mention owing to the fact that someone has discovered a communist who can read. To get back to the picture: It begins with the Tsar playing around with the lights and the mujiks and what the mujiks didn't do to Tsar is not worth writing home about. There are hundreds of shots of Trotsky making speeches and where Trotsky does not appear on the scene, Max Eastman makes them for him. Which will brighten up the boys on 13th Street so that they will undoubtedly boycott this picture to the effect that the

Workers Union. His topic will be, "Propaganda and the Labor Movement," and he will speak at the Manhattan Opera House, 311 West 34 Street, New York, March 11 at 8 P. M. Admission free to ILGWU members.

Filmarte: I lose 35 potential customers, or to put it conservatively, 15.

Needs More Blue Pencil

If someone had gone to work on this with a blue pencil, or whatever the cutters use, it would have had the makings of a genuinely stirring film. It's just too bad and as a permanent booster for the Filmarte this is nothing we want to say.

McALISTER COLEMAN.

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AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

STEEL AGREEMENT

Far and away the biggest news of the week, one of the biggest pieces of news of the decade, was the agreement between the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Company and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Hats off to the CIO and John L. Lewis!

But behind this momentous achievement were many forces and factors. First and foremost, the CIO and its good organizing work in the steel regions; then the victory of the automobile workers at Flint which was a warning of what kind of fight the workers could put up, to which must be added the fact that the company unions seemed inclined to turn on their makers. Politically the defeat of Landon and the Republicans, and the Walsh-Healy bill governing working conditions on government contracts helped.

And behind it all was the big demand for steel—much of it, alas, for armament—and the possibility of passing on additional labor costs—and then some?—in prices which the steel barons promptly did.

That's where we Socialists come in; to insist that valuable as these gains are in recognition of the unions, they can be wiped out or frustrated to no small degree under capitalism by raising prices which eventually the ultimate consumers, that is, the workers, must pay. We can't finally win without planned production for use resting on social ownership. The German workers had collective bargaining and didn't stop Fascism.

But the basis of all hope is effective organization, and that the CIO has mightily advanced.

LESS RELIEF IN COUNTRY

My travels reveal two things of outstanding interest to workers, one bad, one good.

(1) Outside of steel and automobile centers and a few others, there is still terrible unemployment with fewer WPA jobs and less relief. I heard in Kansas City that 1,000 fewer children were in school than a year ago, largely due to lack of clothes! I spoke at a CIO meeting in Tarentum and heard men boast that the whole Allegheny Valley would soon be unorganized.

(2) Organization work for labor booms. In Kansas City and open shop, Dallas, Texas, the ILGWU has got a foothold at last. In Houston, Texas, it is beautifully organized. And two or three years ago it had nothing!

In Dallas a strike is on involving apparently only one small shop. But that shop is backed with lavish funds by the Manufacturers' Association and the taxpayers as usual have to pay for big police protection so that the Sheba-Ann shop can defy the union and pay sweat shop wages.

When will these bosses learn that they can't do what U. S. Steel and General Motors can't do?

TO ORGANIZE OIL FIELDS

Keep your eye on the oil organizing campaign. That's likely to be big and important news, especially in Texas. There's a grand group of leaders and rank and file around Houston.

We now have a young Socialist organizer in Houston. We met with some comrades and friends there and in Galveston and I believe the Party can be of real help to the labor campaign and places itself.

AFL ATTACKS LABOR UNITY

The one bad feature in the labor situation is the AFL aggressive campaign in local federations against the CIO. I ran across

plenty of evidences of it. Most local federations want peace. They want at least to aid by sympathy all organizing campaigns. They don't want to expel CIO unions or denounce them.

Yet they are under continual pressure. In Columbus, Ohio, Frank Dillon, whom the auto workers threw out of office, lifted the Central Union's charter in behalf of Mr. Green. That rather conservative body had endorsed the auto strike and its paper had spoken well of the CIO and, horror of horrors, accepted some paid Communist ad! Off with its head!

The matter is now in the courts on injunction proceedings but may temporarily be settled by a compromise. But what a business now in the hour of labor's opportunity! Will rank-and-file workers let the AFL become the bosses' main hope.

BAD NEWS FROM NEW ORLEANS

There's no good labor or other news from New Orleans. I was tremendously impressed that the evil Huey Long did lived after him; the good (and it wasn't much) was interred with his bones. The ring which succeeded Long made peace with the Administration in Washington; income tax cases against its leaders were dropped; election fraud cases hushed up; and dictatorship by fraud and force perpetuated. Huey's interest in the under-dog was dropped. New Orleans has a campaign; police brutality against 4 per cent sales tax; a red-baiting workers; a Mayor forced on it for or against whom it can't vote for six years!

FDR RAISES FALSE HOPE

Roosevelt made one of the greatest speeches of his career on the Supreme Court issue. What a pity that he did not make it during the campaign and get a mandate for a fundamental cure of judicial supremacy through a Constitutional Amendment!

It is a rather serious weakness that the President should now discover a crisis he would not admit during the campaign. We do need action now, but while I should vote for his proposals they are no real

cure. They encourage false hope. This Rooseveltian demand for temporizing action now to save his laws in the name of saving society is, I fear, a symptom of the President's self-confident belief that he can by a few laws save the third of our people who are ill fed, ill clothed and ill housed under the capitalist system.

Neither he nor an angel from heaven can do it—not if to save them means to bring to us all plenty, peace and freedom. Meanwhile, it's up to us to push the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment.

MISTRUSTS FASCIST AGREEMENTS

Traveling as I am, I have only meager news on Spain. I welcome all evidences of loyalist strength, and especially a report that the workers' organizations are drawing together. If England should succeed in getting a bona fide withdrawal of all foreign troops I, like the loyalist press, should rejoice. But I mistrust any agreement by Italy and Germany or any impartial blockade they may be supposed now or later to enforce.

The fight here in America on the provisions of the McKinley neutrality bill which in effect penalize the Spanish government and help Franco must be continued with renewed energy.

NAVY BUILT FOR AGGRESSION

There is no possible excuse for the size of the Administration's Naval bill. It would build a navy not for defense of our shores, as its proponents claim, but for long range aggression. Its size adds fuel to the flames of international suspicion.

The so-called plan to draft wealth for war, now before Congress, is, as Stephen Raushenbush showed in the Nation, a scheme to draft all men while giving capital a little higher profits than in time of peace! It must be fought.

AIM FOR PARTY UNITY AT CHICAGO

Among Socialists there is a lot of healthy realization of the opportunity and duty before us and some apprehension that the constructive tasks before our special

Socialist Party Condemns AFL Attacks On CIO Unions

(Continued from Page One)

organizing campaign and now by its attempts to disrupt and disunify the entire labor movement in America.

The Socialist Party condemns these actions of the AFL leadership. It is confident that the mass of American workers will continue to rally to the CIO organizing campaigns. It is confident that the workers who are now in the craft unions will rebel against the disruption and the anti-labor practices of their own leadership. The Socialist Party sincerely hopes for and will renew its efforts to maintain the maximum possible unity. But the AFL splitters will be repudiated unless they reverse their present policy.

Progressive trade unionists must now more than ever make every effort to resist suspension and expulsion of CIO unions and to meet attacks on those unions which support the great strikes and organizing campaigns in the mass production industries.

Socialists will leave no stone unturned in their efforts to bring into reality the slogan of "Workers of the World, Unite!"

Death Of Nockels Injures CIO Cause

By **ARTHUR G. McDOWELL**

CHICAGO—The Chicago Federation of Labor at its March 7 session, with the delegates jamming the hall to capacity with largest attendance of years, postponed any consideration of the famous split letter of William Green in

order to honor the passing of Edward N. Nockels, veteran secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor and head of Station WCFL.

Nockels, while esteemed a conservative in independent political action of labor, was famed for his hard-hitting militant tactics in the trade union field where his name was a symbol of unrelenting struggle against the frame-up of

convention will be neglected in favor of the sort of wrangling that certain communications and statements suggest to the rank and file membership.

It is necessary and possible to build an effective united front of Socialists and that is the corner stone of any other building we may do. If we can't and won't do that, our opinions on European affairs—or American—won't matter much. We can do the job right at Chicago.

Tom Mooney in California. Nockels personally not only was largely responsible for making the Mooney case a national issue but individually directed the detective work which revealed the case as a naked case of frame-up.

Progressive delegates, including a large group of Socialists, are organized and prepared to fight any attempt to follow the Cleveland split in the Chicago Federation of Labor. The ousting of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and ILGWU would mean withdrawal of nearly 100 delegates from these two unions alone, to say nothing of rubber and steel workers unions, the sympathetic printing trades, millinery workers, bakers, teachers and progressive locals of many of the Machinists and building trades.

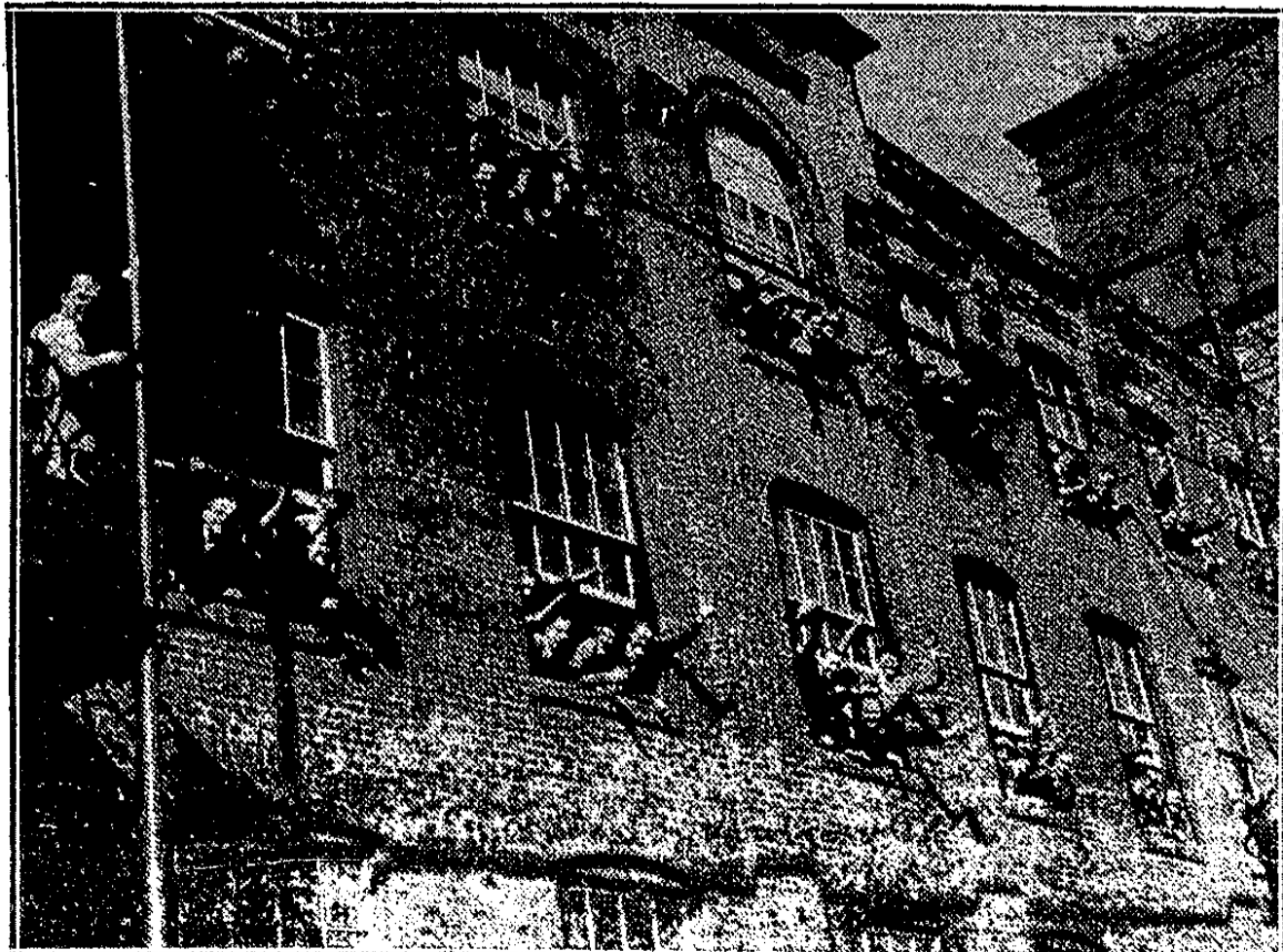
The death of Nockels may have direct consequence in this fight as Nockels although a craft unionist was strong for the industrial organization.

President Fitzpatrick, on whom Nockels had a moderating effect, has taken a reactionary stand against the CIO when left to himself. He prevented any endorsement of the General Motors strike and even a protest to Governor Cornor over police violence in the Fansteel strike by the autocratic use of his president's power to prevent the majority of delegates giving expression to their views unless they were willing physically to remove him from the chair. The swing of the once progressive John Fitzpatrick in a reactionary direction is one of the unfortunate results of the CIO development.

Progressive Fight

This loss of an outstanding progressive unionist became evident nearly two years ago when Socialist and allied progressive delegates opened fire on the double dealing of the arch-conservative Victor Olander of the Illinois Federation of Labor and the discarded national officialdom of the Sailors Union, who in a political deal with the only "liberal" Governor Holtz, endorsed the hated sales tax. Fitzpatrick, who had once fought Olander influence in the Mid-West labor movement, now defends that same influence which is now thoroughly entrenched in Chicago with the passing of Ed Nockels.

Spring Fever



These stay-in strikers at the Nolde and Horst hosiery plant seem to be infected with what threatens to be the latest kind of spring fever in 1937; namely, the sit-down. It's nice outside, as their rush to the windows lets us know. But it's nicer inside—especially when it means no pay-cut.