

Debs Brigade Rally At N.Y. Hippodrome Friday

THE
SOVIET
TRIAL

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Socialist Call

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DANGER OF FORCED AUTO ARBITRATION

Outstanding Writers Back Debs Brigade

The mass meeting at the Hippodrome this Friday in support of the Debs Brigade will be one of the most spectacular and colorful ever held by the Socialist Party. The Men's and Women's Socialist Guard will be out in force. Elaborate and unusual decoration have been prepared by the artists of Rebel Arts, and the full Rebel Arts chorus, consisting of more than fifty voices, will sing revolutionary songs.

Louis Fischer, correspondent for the Nation who has just returned from the Spanish battlefield, will make his first public appearance in this country since the Spanish civil war at the Hippodrome mass meeting.

Another of the outstanding speakers at the meeting will be Angelica Balanoff, foremost Italian woman anti-Fascist leader and close associate of Lenin.

Other speakers include outstanding leaders of the working class and prominent anti-Fascists. They are: Norman Thomas, Pietro Allegro, chairman of the Italian Anti-Fascist Committee; Gerhart Seger, noted German refugee and Socialist member of the pre-Hitler Reichstag; Louis Boudin, labor attorney; Roger Baldwin, secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union; Girolamo Valenti, editor of the Italian labor daily, La Stampa Libera; Isadore Laderman, president of the Pocketbook Workers Union; James Burnham, professor at New York University; Brendon Sexton, chairman of the New York Workers Alliance; Frank R. Crosswath, chairman of the Harlem Labor Committee; Amicus

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Tilting Against the Government



(Above) Striking auto workers outside the Briggs plant clash with police, with tear gas "bombs" bursting in air, telling them a sad story about the government which many of them "so proudly hailed." And (below) a parade of 2000 representatives of unemployed marching upon Washington to make their demands for an expanded WPA. Whether employed or unemployed, workers, in their clash with the capitalist run state, feel the growing need to support a party of their own.

Sec. Perkins Invokes Law 15 Years Old

By FRANK N. TRAGER

FLINT, Mich. — General Motors is still closed down by the month-old strike of the United Auto Workers Union, CIO affiliate. Seventy-five thousand workers in Flint, Detroit and Cleveland are the stalwart backbone of the strike with the main center of conflict still at Flint.

Another 50,000 are scattered throughout Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Georgia, Maryland, Wisconsin, Tennessee, Connecticut and Washington.

Fight Off Police

Police brutally fought off at the battle of Flint, threat of the Michigan State Militia have contributed to the militancy of the sit-downers in Flint and the picket-line in Detroit and Cleveland.

The strike will be won, but not by fooling around with Ma Perkins or the President in Washington. The strike will be won when the Union leadership plus the CIO get back to the front line trenches with the rank and file.

Roosevelt's slap in the face to Lewis should be instructive to organized labor. For Labor cannot expect that the President, class representative of the capitalist state, will fight its battles. Only the working class by militant struggle on the firing line will do that. Class collaboration never benefited any section of Labor no matter how much they paid for it in terms of compromising policies or by huge donations to capitalist parties' campaign funds. Lewis expected a pay-off for the \$500,000 gift to Roosevelt's re-

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WE NEED \$10,000—NOW!!

Two weeks ago a Drive for \$10,000 was inaugurated in the CALL. Last week, due to the shortness of time which had elapsed, we made no report on the income from this appeal.

This week we make our first report.

Party members and CALL readers can take no comfort in this report.

Those of us who are working faithfully on the CALL from week to week get no comfort from it.

Creditors who have backed the CALL, as it embarked on several ventures in pushing its drive for the

cause of Socialism, fully expecting to be paid for goods and services furnished, get no comfort from it.

There are those who will read our first report gleefully.

William Randolph Hearst's hirelings, who have to go through the CALL each week to find what is going on in the revolutionary movement, will gloat!

American capitalists, who have been inquiring into the stirring and restlessness in the Socialist Party, will smile.

Those Federal Agents, whose duty it is to keep

check of what is going on in the radical movement, will ask their bosses for a month off to go to Florida, feeling that things are pretty dead.

Are you willing to let this impression go out? Do you want the capitalists to gloat over the demise of the SOCIALIST CALL?

The choice is up to you!

If you come to the aid of the CALL now, you will not only be saving it for today, but you will be throwing fear into the hearts of reaction.

We can't wait. Send your donation in today!

Soviet-American Diplomacy Behind New Soviet Trials

By GUS TYLER

The American public is stunned by a new Soviet Trial. And the American public should be, because there is strong reason to believe that the present show in Moscow is being staged for an American audience.

What is the present charge? A plot on the part of so-called Trotskyites to conspire with Germany and Japan for the purpose of upsetting the Soviet regime and to furnish Japan with oil in the event of a Japanese war with the United States.

The "Plot"

This plot was to be carried through by—assassination of Stalin, Molotoff, and Voroshiloff, with incidental murder of workers who were building Soviet industry, and deals with "certain" men in "certain" countries representing "certain" governments—all under the leadership of the absent Trotsky.

Who are the chief defendants?

KARL B. RADEK: Revolutionist since 1896. Collaborator of Rosa Luxemburg in formation of left wing in German Social Democracy during the Great War. Participant in Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences. After Brest peace placed in charge of Central European section of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Participated in post-war revolutionary movement in Germany. Arrested there on Feb. 15, 1919. Released December, 1919. Active participant under Lenin in the work of the Communist International. Prominent at Second and Third Comintern congresses. Secretary of Executive Committee, Communist International, 1920. Member of Opposition in Russian Communist Party. Exiled by Stalin, 1928. Recanted, 1929. In later years the most authoritative Soviet spokesman on foreign affairs. Was outstanding publicist in Soviet Union at the time of his arrest last summer.

Old Bolsheviks

The other defendants have parallel records. All of the major defendants held important posts in the Soviet regime up to very recently. Gregory Piatakoff as Assistant Commissar for Heavy Industry; Gregory Sokolnikoff as Ambassador to Great Britain; L. Serebryakoff as Assistant Commissar for Communications.

All of them—Old Bolsheviks.

"Write As Stalin Pleases"

The new trial is a special American performance—politically motivated by Stalin's desire for a Soviet-American pact, dramatically arranged by the experienced, but far from perfect, Prosecutor Vishinsky, and press-agented in this country by Stalin's well-paid public relations counsel, Walter Duranty of The New York Times.

Mr. Duranty says: "I write as I please." Well, let us see what pleases Mr. Duranty.

In one of his many "impartial" reports on the trials he tells his reader: "As far back as 1923 I became convinced that Stalin would win and that Stalin was the man Russia needed and Lenin's destined successor. From that conviction I have never wavered."

The unwavering Mr. Duranty is America's No. 1 newsmen on Russia. He lays down the line for an influential section of the capitalist press. And right now he has a dirty and difficult chore to do.

No Easy Task

He must convince the American public that the trial in Russia is not a fairy tale, but a true story. And this is no easy job before a fairly sober American audience to whom the trial looks like a heavy handed Gilbert and Sullivan farce.

The first question a practical minded American man-on-the-street will ask himself is: How can it be that so many men, intimates of Stalin, with freedom of movement, plotting the death

of Stalin for half dozen years, ready to die in the attempt, should have been so completely unsuccessful in touching a hair on Stalin's head?

To Be Or Not To Be

Duranty must answer. He does so by quoting Shakespeare and Dostoevsky. These makers of the Russian Revolution, men who feared nothing, who acted with decision and courage, are just a collection of Hamlets and Roskolnikoffs, according to Mr. Duranty's fantastic explanation. They had the energy to overthrow Czarism but not to scratch the skin of Joseph Stalin.

"Any one of them might have killed Stalin, but they did not," admits Duranty, "not from fear but on account of this inner contradiction . . . This is a strange Russian story which only readers of Dostoevsky will understand."

"Why do they act like that, these Russians? Why don't they fight back and defend themselves as we should in a similar case? The only answer I have is that they are Russians, who are a different breed from us."

Unable to explain the trial in terms of human behavior, Duranty explains it by telling his readers that we must remember that these people do not act like humans, because—they are Russians. Russians, apparently, have no instinct for self-preservation. Page Dostoevsky! Poor Duranty! The chief figure in the trial, Radek, is unfortunately not a Russian at all—but a Polish Jew.

Confessions—No Facts

Why does Duranty concoct such childish fantasy? Because, otherwise, no rational person could have any trust in this trial.

Who can think that Radek is serious when he "confesses": "I am guilty of all the charges, of all the terrorist plots—even those I didn't know about!"

Who can believe in a trial where, once more, there is nothing but confession after confession—but not one bit of material evidence?

When the witnesses talk about conferences with men abroad, the court makes it impossible to have concrete proof. Justice Ulrich shouts: "Mention no names." Vishinsky cries: "That will be discussed in a closed session!" Everything open—except facts; these for the dark.

Time and again, poorly coached witnesses miss the cue and fall down on details. When Piatakoff tells of a bizarre trip to Trotsky, Vishinsky asks: "How was this arranged?"

Duranty reports: "Piatakoff shrugged his shoulders." Then one of the brighter pupils on trial jumped up, unasked, to recite: "Stimmer knew how to arrange such things." Very definite indeed!

Vladimir Romm

A new character, with a new role, has entered the latest Moscow show; Vladimir Romm—a conspirator not placed on trial with the others.

Who is this Romm? Among Washington newspapermen, Romm is quite popular. During this week, America's "ice cream" Ambassador to Russia, Mr. Davies, received the following note from our capital's newsmen:

"All members of the Washington newspaper corps have read with anxiety of the arrest of our colleague, Vladimir Romm of Izvestia . . . He did more than any

On Trial



Karl Radek, famed Russian revolutionist, who half year ago called for death to Zinovieff and Kameneff, and is now on trial, cheerily urging his own death.

To Drop a Million Or More From WPA

WASHINGTON. — Slashing of WPA rolls by 600,000 additional persons to 1,600,000 by June, 1937, is planned by the administration, Harry L. Hopkins, WPA administrator, told the House Committee on Appropriations, according to his secret testimony just made public.

Hopkins also told the committee that the country can expect a permanent unemployed group of four to five million and that this group will increase with recurring depressions.

other Soviet envoy to popularize Stalin's regime in this country."

Mr. Duranty, attempting to strengthen the value of Romm's testimony and, also, to get a better hearing with the American press writes:

"He (Romm) spoke with the (Continued on Page Eight)

Debs Brigade Rally At N. Y. Hippodrome

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Most representing the Friends of the Debs Column; Jack Altman, executive secretary of Local New York, Socialist Party.

Daily more noted Americans are joining the sponsoring committee of Friends of the Debs Column. Upton Sinclair, world-famous novelist, has joined the sponsoring committee. Sinclair is at present at work on a novel of the International Brigade fighting in Spain on the side of the workers and peasants. The novel will be called "No Pasaran (They Shall Not Pass)."

Jack Conroy, author of "The Disinherited," is another outstanding American writer who has signified his desire to support the Debs Brigade.

Sponsors of the Friends of the Debs Brigade who joined last week include: Roger Baldwin, James Burnham, Roy E. Burt, Ben Fischer, Harold J. Gibbons, Dorothy Kenyon, Isidore Laderman, Alfred Baker Lewis, Charles Malamuth, Brendon Sexton, Lillian Symes, Frank N. Trager, Glenn Trimble, Jack Conroy, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Upton Sinclair, William Ellery Leonard.

Money Comes In

Meanwhile money continues to pour in from every section of the country. The list has become too long to reprint weekly in the CALL.

The Socialist Party nationally has thrown its full organizational weight behind the Debs Brigade. Detailed instructions for Socialist Party members in the drive for funds appear elsewhere in this week's CALL.

Volunteers for the Debs Column continue to register in great numbers with the Friends of the Debs Column. The New York section has long ago passed the quota it had set for itself. California announces that more than

two hundred trained men and women have registered at the San Francisco office.

Column Attacked

The bitter attacks directed against the Debs Column by reactionaries, pro-Fascists and the Hearst press has hardly surpassed the opposition to the Column of the Communist Party and the Communist press. In trade unions where appeals are made for financial support to the Debs Column, Communists have joined hands with reactionaries to oppose even granting the floor to representatives of the Friends of the Debs Column.

Yet in spite of this a number of volunteers are rank and file members of the Communist Party. Volunteers to the Debs Column represent every working class party and tendency in the country. The only requirements for registration with the column is a sincere desire to fight against Fascism and technical ability and experience.

The Debs Column will join the heroic International Brigade in Spain and its members will fight side by side with their comrades from every country in the world to crush Fascism and build a workers' Spain.

Letter From Volunteer

A number of the interesting letters from men and women who have signified their desire to register with the Column have been reprinted in previous issues of the CALL and in Labor Action. The following letter deserves space. All possible means of identification have, of course, been deleted. The spelling is precisely as in the original.

Dear Sir,

I have read in our local paper of you taking application for enlistment for Spain for the Spanish Government Service. I have had some army Service and know what I am doing. I have a sane and sound mind. I think you have made one of the Greatest moves you could have done for the working class of people. I am a worker and working now but I am one of many around locally here in this small town that are ready to make the same move for the working class of Spain. I am offering my self as a whole to serve in the Services of the Spanish Government. I have served in the U.S. Infantry and would never join any more rich mans army. I would like to be of help in any way to help the working class of Spain. I will take an oath to go, myself any time. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible about my self as an applicant, and about how to do about others as interested as I am. If it is o.k. we will authorize our union organization to take applications. We will wait for an answer from you.

No Recruiting Agency

The Friends of the Debs Column was organized to give financial aid to Americans who have volunteered to serve with the International Brigade. It is not a recruiting agency. Volunteers will join up with the International Brigade when they arrive in Spain.

WATCH THE WRAPPER

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

RENEW NOW!

Men and Women to Spain



These members of a medical relief unit are leaving New York for Madrid. The group includes doctors, nurses, technicians and ambulance drivers. These people are going to aid the Spanish workers and peasants in their fight against Fascism.

West Seamen Fight Copeland Fink Act; East Strike Ends

By JOHN NEWTON THURBER

After 83 days of picketing on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, the strike of the maritime workers of these sections was terminated suddenly at the end of last week. It was decided that seamen would return to their ships "in an orderly manner," where they would continue the work of building their unions, standing in readiness for any further action which may be necessary.

In the meanwhile, picketing against the West Coast vessels operating out of Eastern ports is to continue, and the leaders of the eastern workers are attempting to gain recognition of their organization through hearings before the National Labor Relations Board. Agitation against the present provisions of the Copeland Act seems to have been definitely relegated to the field of lobbying, if not dropped entirely.

Strike Ends Suddenly

The action closing the strike came suddenly and was not expected by union members. It was stated that since owners had refused to negotiate after more than two months picketing the expensive strike action had to be abandoned at this time. An indebtedness of \$10,000 has been incurred and the day before the close of the strike the telephone in strike headquarters was disconnected.

Already the shipowners are demanding that any seamen who sign on following the conclusion of the strike sign a statement denouncing the Strike Strategy Committee, Joseph Curran, chairman of the committee, and state that they had been opposed to the strike throughout its conduct. It is expected that these signatures will be presented before the NLRB hearings at Washington shortly, if enough of them are gathered.

During the past two weeks, when tremendous and much needed energies were being expended on fruitless efforts in mass demonstrations in Washington, with thousands of weary strikers being moved there from various East Coast ports, the contrast between this line of conduct and that which has characterized the Seamen's Union of the Pacific was illustrated by the visit of Harry Lundeberg, militant secretary of the SUP, to the East Coast.

Lundeberg Fights Back

Maintaining picket lines unbroken on the West Coast, Lundeberg appeared before the Copeland committee in Washington, not to protest the terms of his strike-breaking bill, but to inform him of the determination of Western seamen to refuse to accept fink books, no matter what resolutions are passed by Congress. On both East and West coasts forces have been at work preparing seamen for accepting a modification of the Copeland bill.

Fink-Books Will Spread

Militant workers recognize the defeat of the whole working class in this set-back, for it may mean that similar fink books will be introduced in other industries, particularly rubber, auto and steel, where national defense is a primary consideration and where there is a labor militancy which the government wishes to have curbed.

Speaking at a meeting of West Coast seamen in the Manhattan Lyceum, New York, Lundeberg pointed out that the proposed "certificate of efficiency," which has been endorsed by a variety of less militant elements, is even worse than the "Fink Book" of the 1935 Copeland act. Militant

maritime workers will not be fooled by a Congressional resolution which says that the bill shall not be used to blacklist seamen, when the earlier act naturally made no such avowed declaration of purpose either!

"The seamen of the Pacific Coast have practically unanimously gone on record to refuse to take the certificate of efficiency as a condition of employment," Lundeberg told the Copeland committee at its hearings. "For the Department of Commerce at this time to sponsor such vicious legislation is in our opinion simply a means to cover up its own sad inefficiency and neglect in the past. The Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation has failed in its duty as a public servant to enforce the old law in regard to able-bodied seamen and lifeboat certificates."

For Industrial Unions

Lundeberg's forthright declaration for real industrial unionism was recognized during his current trip, and decisions were made which will be of far reaching consequence for the future of the West Coast Maritime Federation and the national federation. He made clear in his New York appearance that he will battle for real industrial unions instead of for a federation of craft unions in the maritime industry.

Lundeberg's firm stand for industrial unionism in the SUP, which stands in contrast to the policy of vacillation by certain leaders of the West Coast federation, which included the influence of Harry Bridges in turning over certain shipyard workers to craft unions in preference to placing them in the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers which was attempting to organize them, was recognized by John L. Lewis and the CIO, and forecasts important future developments for the maritime workers.

CIO Aids Seamen

According to "The Shipyard Worker," official organ of the Marine and Shipyard Workers, "The full support of the CIO was thrown behind the strike of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, and its fight against the provisions of the Copeland Fink Book. This was pledged by Harry Lundeberg of the SUP by John L. Lewis Thursday morning in Washington, at a meeting between the two and National Secretary-Treasurer Phil Van Gelder, of the Industrial Union. The result will be to create the nucleus of a CIO organizational campaign on the West Coast."

More light on the forces behind the tremendous struggle for dominance which has shaken the West Coast, which resulted in the resignation of Barney Mayes as editor of the Voice of the Federation, three weeks ago, has come with the serial publication of the full hearings before the editorial board of the charges which were filed by Harry Bridges, president of the ISA of the Pacific, against Mayes. Most significant charge filed was that which stated that "The editorial, regarding the Copeland Bill is injurious to the Federation."

Readers of the Voice, under Mayes editorship, recognize that his policy was that of a vigorous and relentless attack upon the Copeland bill, and that Bridges' objection could only be to the vigor of this policy.

In his supporting argument Bridges is reported as saying:

Down With the Fink Act



A parade of striking seamen in Washington against the Copeland Maritime Act, which would systematize the black-listing of union workers.

See Danger of Forced Arbitration in Autos

(Continued from Page One)

election campaign. What he got was administration and nationwide capitalist press condemnation.

Dangerous Step

Now Secretary of Labor Perkins is invoking a statute passed in March, 1913 (37 Stat. 738) to force by government intervention renewed negotiations between the Union and General Motors. This type of government intervention by statute is dangerously Fascist. The Union has been and is and should be ready to negotiate with the company for its just demands. In the Auto Workers official strike Bulletin of Jan. 22, it offered the eight point Union proposals for a national contract:

"1. National conference between responsible heads of GMC and chosen representatives of International Union, United Automobile Workers of America. Such conference to discuss and bargain collectively on the following points as a basis for national agreement between the General Motors Corporation and its employees, as represented by the United Auto Workers.

2. Abolition of all piece work systems of pay, and the adoption of straight hourly rate in its place.

3. 30 hour work week and six hour work days and time and one-half for all time worked over the basic work day and work week.

4. Establishing of a minimum rate of pay commensurate with

"When a paper advocates united repudiation of laws it is something that the rank and file should be acquainted with the consequences of before they move into it, because it is a good way of destroying unions." He cited particularly an editorial in which Mayes wrote: "Outright repudiation of the Copeland fink book act and the anti-labor provisions of the subsidy acts alone will safeguard the rights and liberties of waterfront unionism."

The strength of Lundeberg in the SUP was demonstrated in the recent elections in the union, when despite the flood of criticism which has been turned on him he defeated A. Quintenton, one of his leading critics, by a vote of 2146 to 732 for reelection to the position of secretary-treasurer.

an American standard of living.

5. Reinstatement of all employees who have been unjustly discharged.

6. Seniority, based upon length of service.

7. Recognition of the union as the sole bargaining agency between the General Motors Corporation and its employees, for the establishment of joint tribunals and joint rules of procedure for the adjusting of any or all disputes that may arise from time to time between employees of General Motors Corporation and management.

8. Speed of production shall be mutually agreed upon by the management and the union committee in all General Motors plants."

The union also expressed its willingness to utilize the offices of "third parties" to bring together the union and the management.

Union Step Different

But this is absolutely different from any government sponsored legal usurpation of the free right

Bosses' Press Act as Scabs In Auto Strike

By FRANK MARQUART

All through the GM strike the capitalist press has used every trick known to yellow journalism in trying to poison the minds of its readers against the union men. Deliberate misrepresentation of the issues involved, cartoons designed to inspire fear, extravagant display of misleading pictures, hostile editorials, photostatic copies of faked applications and the printing of anti-strike letters these are devices which the press has consistently used in cities containing GM units.

The Flint Journal, Hearst paper, has greatly over-stepped itself in these contemptible methods, with the result that hundreds of workers have discontinued taking it.

Detroit No Better

But the Detroit News has not been far behind the Flint Journal in its wily attacks on the strike. In its editorials it has repeatedly confused the UAW's demand to be the sole bargaining agency with the demand for the open shop. Its public letter box during the last month has been a study in vicious favoritism. For every letter favorable to the strikers there were dozens openly hostile, charging that the strike is conducted by outside agitators, that the whole trouble was fomented by Lewis for his own ends, that the strikers represent but a small minority and that the sit-downers have illegally seized the Corporation's property.

In its editorials the News has also made an issue of illegality as well as prosperity, arguing that the dispute is sure to wreck national prosperity and that therefore the government should step in and settle matters.

The working people are getting wise to the capitalist press. "To say that the News is fair and impartial is laughable. It is merely less rotten than the other two newspapers. And this is a long way from being fair," wrote a worker to the News. "What labor needs is a daily paper of its own."

to bargain collectively. Perkins or Roosevelt must be prevented by the steadfast position of the Union from inaugurating in America the Fascist device of forced arbitration practiced in Germany and Italy.

Another Joan of Arc



An army of modern Joans has risen to fight the battle of the Spanish masses against reaction. Here is one sister-in-arms.

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"HOLD THE FORT!"

In a strange sort of way, we are thankful to Roosevelt for his reply to Lewis. In almost so many words, the President of the United States told the auto workers: "Don't rely on me, boys!"

Sooner or later, this is the lesson labor must learn. Better sooner than later.

With the piping indignation of an irritated school marim, The New York Times, dignified theoretician of the American capitalist class, raps John Lewis sharply over the knuckles. "It was not organized labor, represented either by the CIO or the AFL that re-elected Mr. Roosevelt, and it is not the duty of the President to subordinate the responsibilities of his office to a political obligation."

In plain words this means: organized labor did not elect Roosevelt; and, if it did, what of it?

Both the President and the capitalist press are making one thing very, very clear: the auto strike is not going to be won in Washington. It may be settled there, or any place else. But it will be fought and won—in the shops, by workers and not by capitalist politicians.

Probably the brightest sign in the strike of the auto workers is their healthy distrust about all people who tell them to surrender the plants before doing anything else. Too often and too recent have these auto workers suffered betrayals at the hands of promising gentlemen. They remember the neat doublecross handed them by Roosevelt's late lamented auto board. They remember the nice Mr. Wolman. They remember how their militant machinery was smashed by government intervention, how one by one their best men were hit by company discrimination under the blessing of the government, how a debilitating system of proportional representation was foisted upon them with the expressed approval of the President. They remember—and their memories glue them to the factories.

It is interesting to note that President Roosevelt's auto proposals of two years ago have been snatched up and broadcast for use today by the reactionary Mr. David Lawrence. And to judge from the currency of these ideas in the "liberal" journals it may well be that the government will once more put them forward. They provide for an "impartial board" of nine: three labor men (one AFL, one CIO, one other); three capitalists; three government—President, Secretary of Labor, Governor Murphy. That makes it eight against one to begin with. This "impartial" board shall conduct an election. Workers' representatives shall not be determined by majority vote but by proportional representation; that is, as many different representatives as there are differing opinions among workers. This is the system of divided bargaining.

Should the auto workers submit to such a board? Well—we feel they just won't. They've tasted this sweet poison before—it's bad for the stomach!

No war was ever won by diplomats. They can begin wars; they can write treaties. But they don't win the battles.

When a Genora Johnson, dashing 23-year-old wife and mother, grabs the "mike" in Flint's "civil war" and shouts at the police: "Cowards! Cowards! Shooting unarmed and defenseless men," when she appeals, "Women of Flint! This is your fight! Join the picket line! Defend your jobs, your husbands' jobs, and your children's homes"—she is doing more than a dozen conferences will do!

Those Reuther boys, Roy, Vic and Walter, brothers, worker generals, fighting in Flint and Detroit, may make as great history in the auto industry for the men who toil as have those four brothers du Pont for the men who exploit!

Those workers in Fisher Plants 1 and 2 may be harbingers of a new society, wherein they will be heroes whose stature will cast that of a Roosevelt in the shade.

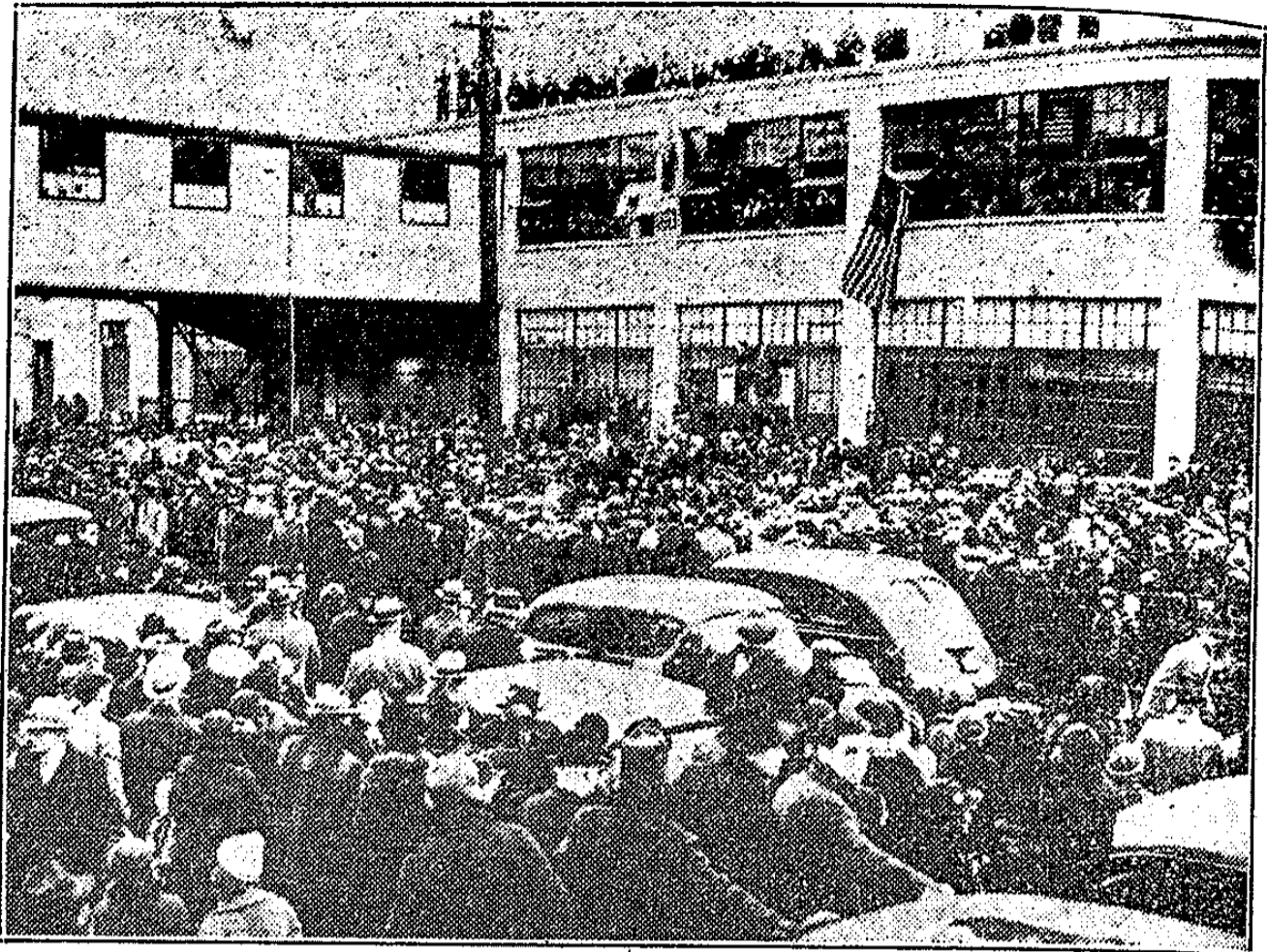
The New York Times fears that if the sit down strike "now succeeds in demonstrating that the easiest way to win a strike is to seize other people's property, may not this practice be followed in the case of many additional companies and industries."

Yes, indeed, my fearful folk. This "practice" may and will! And, by the way, it reminds us of an old labor song, which we guess ought to be going the rounds now in the auto fields:

"Hold the fort for we are coming,
Union men, be strong!
Side by side, we'll battle onward,
Victory will come!"

It was pretty once. It's fact now!

Fort Fisher No. 2



A scene outside of one of the auto workers' fortresses, Fisher Plant 2. It was outside this plant that a miniature civil war was waged recently. For the moment it is the center of the auto strife.

Peoples Front and Moscow Trials

(The following letter was written to a comrade who offered her resignation to the Socialist Party. She did not state that she was contemplating joining any other political party. We reprint the answer written her by Jack Altman, executive secretary, Local New York of the Socialist Party, because of its general interest.)

Dear Comrade —
It is with great regret that I read your letter of resignation from the Socialist Party. I hope it is not too late for you to reconsider your action in the light of my answer to your objections to the Socialist Party. I want to take up the points you raise one by one and show the contradictions which stand out.

1. You say that you find yourself "opposed to many of the stands taken by the Socialists whether in Europe or America."

You no doubt are aware that the stand taken by the Socialist Parties in Europe and that of the United States differ in great many particulars not merely on minor matters but on basic principles. For instance, on the question of the Peoples Front, the American Party differs entirely from the French Socialist Party, as well as with the Communist parties not only of France but of the world. You seem to blame Leon Blum's failure in regard to the French policy on Spain on Leon Blum and on the Socialist Party of France. You ought to be aware that Blum's attitude is a natural result of the People's Front policy, the most ardent advocate of which is the Communist Party and not the Socialist Party.

The Peoples Front is a combination of radicals and bourgeois democrats, and in order to get the bourgeois democrats into such a combination, the radicals will constantly be compelled to relinquish their principled stand on many questions because they differ fundamentally with that of the bourgeoisie, which will demand that as a price of continued participation in the Peoples Front.

The reason why the Blum Government has not changed the ambassadors, the Consuls, and all the other officials, including the generals in the army, is precisely that they are not allowed to change the status quo under pressure of these bourgeois democrats, who go under the name of "Radical Socialists" in France. The fact that the Peoples Front

in France has a program just for defense or things as they are and not for the overthrow of capitalism marks the difference between that kind of a policy and a policy of Socialist struggle to which the Socialist Party, USA, is committed.

I want to point out again, and emphasize as much as I know how, that this policy of Peoples Front was denounced as a coalition policy by the American Socialist Party, especially by the left wing, and also was denounced by the Communists in the past. Now the Peoples Front Government, which I repeat is a coalition government, is the whole stock in trade of the Communist International, and is being pursued in every single country in the world where a Communist Party exists.

The Socialist Party of France was moving rapidly to the left, and left at that time consisted of those who were for the united front with the Communists. The united front was adopted, and then the Communists changed their tactics to a Peoples Front policy, and now those Socialists who were the most ardent for a united front, are against the Peoples Front policy, and bitterly against the Communist Party, men like Pivert and Zyromsky, for instance.

2. You also denounce the Peoples Front in Spain as being responsible for the Fascist uprising. Is it not a fact that it is the Communist Party of Spain, which is constantly dampening the revolutionary mood of the masses, by talk of a restoration of bourgeois democracy if and when the Fascists are defeated? It may be a tactic, but a maneuver of that kind can easily become a principle.

3. You link up your criticism of the Socialist Party with the

meeting in New York on the Moscow Trials and the right of asylum for Leon Trotsky. You know that I disagree with Leon Trotsky and the Trotsky philosophy on many questions (which I don't think it is necessary to go into at this moment). However, Socialists can not keep quiet when in the name of Socialism men like Leon Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, and most of the old Bolshevik leaders have been executed or reviled as Fascist counter-revolutionaries. Now Radek, Pyatakoff, and Sokolnikoff, men whose background is at least as clean as Stalin's, are being put on trial for their lives on the same stupid charges.

I claim that such trials at this time serve only to help the enemies of Socialism all over the world, and make capital for Fascists, and dis-unite the workers. We can not keep quiet and see the ideals for which so many give their lives perverted. For the sake of the working class revolution, it is absolutely necessary for the Socialist Party to protest.

This does not mean that we are opposed to the Soviet Union or that we will become enemies of the Soviet Union. Far from it. We criticize because it is a working class state and want to see it continue as the beacon light of world revolution and not become a blemish on the struggle for working class emancipation.

I hope you will think these matters over and realize that your place is with the Socialist Party, precisely because of your criticism of the Party. Such criticism you make does not apply to the American Socialist Party, but does apply to the Communist Party of America and the Socialist and Communist Parties of France.

JACK ALTMAN,

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WORLD SOCIALISM

By Herbert Zam

IN THE usual manner of the capital press of using catch phrases instead of reporting actual facts, last week reports were carried to the effect that a "Peoples Front" had been formed in England by the Independent Labor Party, the Socialist League and the Communist Party. This report is a tribute to the publicity value of the "Peoples Front," but does not happen to be true.

What happened is that the three organizations mentioned met and agreed to conduct a joint campaign for Labor Unity, both inside and outside the Labor Party. No other organizations were involved, and certainly there could be question of organizing a Peoples Front as two out of these three organizations, namely the ILP and the Socialist League are vigorously opposed in principle to that tactic. In fact the ILP, foreseeing the danger of an attempt to convert the move for labor unity into other channels, declared:

"We do not want a unity so wide that it would involve giving up the fight against Capitalism. We do not want a unity which means the surrender of the class struggle. For this reason the ILP rejects unity on the basis of the Popular Front. We are not prepared to become allies with the Liberal Party, Tory 'democrats' or other sections of the capitalist class."

The Socialist League takes a similar stand. An editorial in the Tribune declares:

"And action to be effective must be based upon unity with working class forces, not unity or cooperation with class and defenders of capitalism."

Labor Party and People's Front

It is true that the Communist Party, as previously reported in this column, has been conducting a vigorous campaign for a Peoples Front. But its entire stock in trade consists of a handful of young Tory M.P.s, a few discredited Liberals and G.D.H. Cole. It has been unable to win any substantial sections of the labor movement to this scheme, not because the labor movement is immune to the opportunist propaganda of the CP, but because its leaders have been peoples-fronting for some time without the assistance of the Communists and are tremendously opposed to having anything to do with them.

The CP campaign started off in a very limping manner. At the inaugural meeting in London, where Cole was the main attraction, the Tory representative walked out because Cole declared that the Peoples Front must be a movement directed at overthrowing the National Government. At the meeting the Liberal speaker called for a cessation of the struggle between "the worker and the boss." These incidents in themselves indicate how much value such a movement would have for the working class.

To a certain extent the getting together of the ILP, Socialist League and Communist Party expresses a growing dissatisfaction of the rank and file workers in the trade unions and the Labor Party with the class collaborationist and patriotic policies of the official leadership. The Labor Party has practically given up all independence on all important questions, and meekly follows the lead of the government. It becomes excited when such questions as "slum clearance" and the "distressed areas" are up for debate, but obviously a labor organization cannot distinguish itself from the capitalist organizations if these are the sole points of difference.

Opposition to Policy Grows

Particularly in Scotland is the opposition to the official policy strong, and numerous local organizations have been adopting resolutions demanding militant action from the Labor Party. So strong became the criticism, that the Daily Herald felt itself obliged to open a discussion. It carried a scathing denunciation by Harold Laski of the present policy of the Labor Party, and the next day a reply by Hugh Dalton, its chairman, which, if possible, went even to the right of the official position.

Further expressing the drift to the right of the Labor Party leadership, is a new year's message by Herbert Morrison, who at one time considered himself a "left" and who has ambitions to become the Labor Party leader in Parliament.

We must be positive, he declares, we must stop shouting against war, against Fascism, against capitalism, etc. Let us be for slum clearance, for health insurance, etc. It is noticeable that he wants to drop all the basic "againsts" and include only the secondary "fors." In essence this represents a complete abandonment of class struggle issues and concentration on philanthropic reforms.

In the fight against this drift to the right inside the Labor Party, the Socialist League has been making steady progress. It has been successful recently in publishing a weekly newspaper, The Socialist, and has participated in the launching of a non-partisan revolutionary weekly The Tribune.

But they will find that the job will not be so easy. The British workers are becoming as tired of disunity as of pernicious reformism. A really serious attempt to give them a lead is bound to bring good results.

PARTY DIRECTIVES FOR AIDING DEBS COLUMN

CHICAGO.—Continuing to rally American workers behind the Spanish anti-Fascist fight, the national organization of the Socialist Party has issued suggestions and directions to its locals and branches on giving complete support to the Friends of the Debs Column, which is raising money to aid volunteers in joining the International Brigade fighting fascism in Spain.

To make the functions of the two committees raising funds for the fight against Fascism in Spain clear, Roy E. Burt, national executive secretary of the Socialist Party, made the following statement:

Money Raised

"The Spanish Solidarity Fund committee of the Socialist Party raises money for general aid to Spanish anti-Fascists and is composed of Socialist Party members of trade unions, Spanish and Italian anti-Fascist organizations, liberal and working class organizations in each community.

Directives for Socialists To Aid Debs Column

The following are Socialist Party directions for aiding volunteers to the Eugene V. Debs Column in reaching Spain:

Friends of the Debs Column supporting the Eugene Victor Debs column to join the International Brigade in Spain has been organized to raise money in order to transport to Spain volunteers who feel themselves qualified to fight Fascism.

This organization is the result of the motion passed by the NEC quoted in "Directions for Building the Spanish Solidarity Fund" sent to all locals and branches January 8. Though legally independent of the party it has our wholehearted and complete support. Headquarters are now located at 41 Union Square, Room 1331, New York City, with Hal Siegal as secretary.

What To Do

What to do for the Friends of the Debs Column:

1. Where set up, the Spanish Solidarity Fund Committee should initiate the formation of these wide special committees independent of the party, to be composed of representatives not necessarily party members, of trade unions, Spanish and Italian anti-Fascist organizations, liberal organizations, and other working class organizations in the community.

2. "Friends of the Debs Column" thus formed should plan mass meetings which explain the function of the Debs column.

3. It should get prominent people to go on the sponsoring committee, sending the names of such people to headquarters of "Friends of the Debs Column" in New York City.

4. It should circulate collection lists which can be ordered from New York headquarters.

5. It should put on tag days and make direct solicitation of funds from individuals to whom the committee thinks such a project will appeal.

6. All money collected should be sent immediately to headquarters of "Friends of the Debs Column" in New York City.

7. Directions sent out on building the "Spanish Solidarity Fund" can be applied to this fund.

Two Funds

To make functions of the two funds for Spain clear: The Spanish Solidarity Fund is a Socialist Party project the money from which goes for general aid to Spain, and the committee for which is composed of Socialist Party members.

Friends of the Debs Column is a committee separate from the party having in its organization non-party members, raising money for a specific thing—to aid volunteers in getting to Spain. Because of its wide appeal and

Money raised for this fund can be earmarked 'for the Debs Column,' 'for medical supplies,' etc.; otherwise it is used at the discretion of the national committee set up by the National Executive Committee for the party at its November meeting composed of Devere Allen, Max Nelson and Norman Thomas.

"Friends of the Debs Column is a committee separate from the party having in its organization non-party members sympathetic to the anti-Fascist fight in Spain, raising money for the specific purpose of aiding volunteers in getting to Spain. Because of the urgency of the Spanish anti-Fascist fight it is imperative that this be the immediate task before us, the aiding of this committee!"

the urgency of the Spanish anti-Fascist fight it is imperative that this be the immediate task before the party.

Branches under no condition are to recruit or enlist men, nor to make it appear that such recruiting or enlisting is being done by the party. Refer all inquiries to the Friends of the Debs Column, Room 1331, 41 Union Square, New York City.

ROY E. BURT,
Executive Secretary,
Socialist Party, USA.
MARJORIE KIPP,
Secretary
Spanish Solidarity Fund

Lasser Hits FDR Relief Policies

In a statement commenting on the Inaugural Speech of President Roosevelt and his declaration that tens of millions of Americans are today in the class of the underprivileged, David Lasser, president of the Workers Alliance of America, declared that the relief policies of the Federal Government are primarily responsible for the condition of the overwhelming majority of those underprivileged.

He declared that there are more than 29,000,000 people in the United States, including the WPA workers and their families, those on local relief and their families and unemployed receiving no relief, who constitute the bulk of those whom President Roosevelt in his Inaugural Speech declared were denied the necessities of life.

The first step, he declared, would be the adoption of the program of the Workers Alliance of America, calling for an increase in the number of WPA workers to 2,800,000 and an increase in the wage level of WPA workers to provide a 20 per cent rise for those now receiving more than \$40 a month and a rise to a \$40 a month minimum for those now receiving less than \$40 a month. For this program the Workers Alliance has asked the President and Congress to appropriate \$1,040,000,000 for the period February 1 to July 1.

CHICAGO GUILD GROWS

CHICAGO. — Membership in the Newspaper Guild has spiraled up to 400, about half of the working newspapermen in the city.

In three days the Guild signed up 87 men on Hearst's American. In addition, it has large majorities of the editorial employees on the Times, the Herald-Examiner, International News Service and the City News Bureau.

ELEMENTAL LESSON

By McAlister Coleman

PUT not your faith in governments—unless they be your own.

That might well, be written into every worker's creed. The last election and its aftermath reaffirms the ancient truth that when labor goes for one or the other of the old parties, after the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November comes the double-cross.

All the more surprising, in view of what he is supposed to know about political strategy, is to find a veteran like John L. Lewis, at this late date, appealing to the President to pay his election debts. It is certainly naive to think that politicians pay, any attention to how they got in, once they get in. Any attention, that is, to the mass of their constituents. I never tire of quoting Oscar Ameringer's famous saying, "The business of a politician is to extract campaign contributions from the rich and votes from the poor on the ground that he is going to protect one class from the other."

Lewis, Adolph Germer and others in the CIO dragooned the convention of the auto workers into supporting Roosevelt. The workers didn't want to do it, but they had the promise of the invaluable support of the Lewis group. So they went along, though half-heartedly. And now, when the test comes, quicker than anyone imagined it would come, they are "rebuked" according to the capitalist papers. Rebuked for asking the government to help them in their struggle with the top "economic royalists" in General Motors.

A Lesson in Politics

So now there is added to the wholesale slashing of relief, the desertion of the workers in their hour of need. I'm not in any pulpit and I don't like these "I told you so" boys. But I can't resist the temptation of driving home this neat little lesson in the futility of playing capitalist politics. Especially do I recommend its study on the part of my old friend Heywood Brown.

According to Heywood and other liberals, we Socialists were plain dim-witted to stick to our principles in the last campaign. We should have run with the Commies after the gods of the Democratic Party. The Democrats were on their way to an American Utopia. All they needed was a little help from the Left and everything would be Jake. After all, a vote for Thomas and Socialism was dangerous, under the circumstances, in view of the fact that Landon and the royalists might win the day.

Well, as Earl Browder said in his amazing summary of the election, the Commies and their fellow stragglers succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. Landon and Fascism went down together. Roosevelt went beaming back. Now comes the hour for payment promised, not by Roosevelt, but to the workers by their leaders. And, lo and behold, the White House hands out a rubber check.

All along Thomas had said that the least Lewis could ask for his pre-election support would be some sort of agreement with Roosevelt that labor would have the right to organize freely. That something more definite than pretty Inaugural speeches would be done about the Constitution and one or two other things lying loose around the country that need attending to. But Lewis had no promises. It sounds unlikely but it is apparently true that he trusted in the private word of politicians. And as far as his appeal for the auto workers goes, he is out on a limb, and great is the glee in the kept press of the nation.

Strikes Won by Pickets

This was a pretty bad slip for such a master of "timing" to make. But, of course, it doesn't mean a major defeat for the gallant auto workers. As a correspondent for the CALL pointed out in a recent communication, strikes are not settled by government negotiators. At any rate, not settled satisfactorily for the workers. They are won or lost on the picket lines and back in the homes of the strikers. Political manoeuvrings may loom large on the front pages, but when they are conducted by old-party hacks they mean nothing more than another set-back for the strikers. The issues are determined by the economic strength of the union. When to this is added the political strength of a genuine, independent labor party, the boys go to town.

But they don't go to first base, when they depend upon the political "favors" of the parties of capitalism.

Thus endeth the lesson. Sorry it has to be so elemental. But apparently there's a lot of home work to be done, even by the big boys like John L. Lewis

PARTY PERSPECTIVES—NUMBER FIVE

For A Party of Struggle

Prepared by The CALL EDITORIAL BOARD

The organization of the Socialist Party must be based upon the concept that the Socialist Party is the revolutionary vanguard of the masses. The term "vanguard" does not simply imply that Socialists have a knowledge of the general direction and ultimate result of the forces operating within capitalism, but also implies that the Socialist Party must give such day by day guidance to the mass as will prepare it for an effective struggle for power in a revolutionary situation.

What factors, which can be controlled by human beings in a revolutionary crisis, are necessary for the victory of the working class? They are:

1. A mass upheaval against capitalism, represented in a united struggle of the broadest sector of the population.

2. Working class organization, trained in disciplined, militant struggle.

3. Proletarian leadership over non-proletarian groups which have been involved in the struggle.

4. A party capable of giving such centralized leadership to this upheaval as will convert it into a struggle for the conquest of power.

Now what is the relationship between these four necessary elements for success and our day by day activities.

1. Preparing for United Struggle

To the extent that the will of the masses finds spontaneous programmatic expression, it does so through trade unions, farmers' organizations, unemployed bodies, fraternal societies, and similar mass organizations. These organizations have specific and limited functions. As a result, the demands formulated by such organizations are generally limited both in latitude and perspective.

The task of a Socialist Party is to bring to the fore the general CLASS demands and to emphasize the general perspectives of the working class movement. The task of making the mass organizations aware of these general class demands is one that occupies 365 days in every year. During these 365 days we put forward these demands essentially in order to get these mass organizations to conduct united struggles on the basis of these unifying demands.

2. Training Militant Mass Organizations

In addition to the role of the Socialist Party as a sort of nervous system, with nerve fibers reaching into every mass organization and into the outermost sectors of the unorganized, in order to coordinate the behavior of the entire mass, the Socialist has a more specialized task in training each individual mass organization in militant class-conscious action. In solving the specific problems of these mass organizations constructed for specific purposes, the Socialist must seek to develop, not stifle the membership; to raise, not degrade, the intellectual level of the organization; to encourage understanding devotion, rather than blind obedience and servile acceptance, on the part of the rank and file; to press the class point of view rather than a narrow selfish viewpoint; to propose militant action that will develop the morale and fighting power of the worker.

3. Link Proletarian and Non-Proletarian Elements

The Socialist Party must conduct work not only among proletarian organizations, around purely proletarian demands, but also in non-proletarian anti-capitalist organizations, around such demands as will bring these non-proletarian elements into alliance with the working-class in its struggle for power.

4. Building a Revolutionary Party

Just as human character is a result of habit and training so the party's character will be determined by our activity. Should the party be successful in carrying on the aforementioned work on the

Socialist Party Must Be A Vanguard Body

basis of a revolutionary program, it will prepare both the working class and itself for the final conquest of power.

FRACTION WORK IN MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The chief instrument of the party in carrying through its task as a vanguard organization along the lines above described is "fraction work in mass organizations." It is impossible for the Socialist Party to function as a controlled unit, giving consistent and centralized leadership, unless such fraction work is undertaken by all sections of the party.

No consistent sort of activity can be waged without a political line!

A party of talk, of course, does not seriously have to undertake the development of a detailed political line. All it has to do, day in day out, is just repeat the arguments for Socialism, unemployment insurance, old age pensions, etc., etc., et ad nauseum. It does not have to take stand, give leadership, present estimates of certain vital movements.

But a party of action MUST have detailed political estimates of every situation in terms of the general movements, economic and social forces of the time. Otherwise, no action is possible!

To carry through such a policy there is need first for a National Executive Committee which is ready to hammer out a detailed political line to launch campaigns which will involve the masses to give directives to Socialist fractions and sympathizers operating among the masses. There is need secondly for a National Action Committee which can meet at least once a week to guide the party in its day by day activities.

THE ROLE OF THE PARTY PRESS

Unified party direction takes on real meaning only when it operates on a national, and preferably, on an international scale. Organizing the diversified elements of America for a united struggle is an especially complicated task. Provincialism runs high in the U. S. Topographically, economically, even ethnologically, it is varied. But just because it is so, the party dare not permit a variety of Socialism to grow up but must exert every ounce of energy to give a common line, a disciplined attitude and direction to the entire party.

This in no wise means that a Socialist when organizing farmers should harangue them on the oppressive conditions existing in New York sweat shops. It means that the party's farm program, the party's attitude toward the farm movements, the party's analysis of the Union Party, the party's proposals for struggle on a national scale, the party's plans for forging unity between farm and proletarian elements must be uniformly pushed, with proper accent and tone, in proper time and rhythm, through disciplined party action.

One of the first major tasks in building a Socialist Party of the USA, in fact as well as in name, is the creation of a party press on a national scale with national circulation. Other papers of a local nature may develop, giving local leadership in applying the line to local problems. But all local papers are secondary and subordinate to the national press.

The task of such a national paper is not merely or primarily to cry "Down with Capitalism" and "Up with Socialism." On this point all Socialists are agreed and a national paper has nothing distinctive to contribute along these lines. The raison d'être for a national paper is to give us a national line, to establish a uniform attitude through

constant analyses of changing social events, to propose uniform solutions, to pose uniform tasks.

This is a task always before us, especially before us during election time, and trebly before us in our party today when we are trying to weave the loose organizational strands of our reformist past into a strong revolutionary party.

None of this work can be undertaken, however, unless the coming Convention of the Socialist Party carries out a real line.

As Haim Kantorovitch pointed out in one of his last articles:

PLAN THE HOUSE FIRST, THEN BUILD

"Those who consider themselves very practical and advise us to 'first build a Socialist Party, and then speculate on the future;' those who tell us 'we will cross the bridge when we reach it' are really very impractical. Imagine someone consulting an architect and ordering him to build a house. 'What kind of a house?' the architect asks. 'Never mind. That is a question for the future. You just build the house. Later we will decide such details as kind, size, material, plan, etc.' People would think such a man crazy.

"But that is exactly what our practical people advise us to do. First build a Socialist Party, and later you will decide the kind of party. The question of what kind of a party depends on what we expect it to accomplish and how. If, for instance, we believe that Socialism will come as a result of a gradual, peaceful, quantitative accumulation of social reforms, we will have one type of Socialist Party, a type in which there is ample place for every soft-hearted liberal, reformer, pacifist, even though he is not a Socialist.

"Any one who subscribes to the immediate demands we put forward today is welcome. Let's get this support. Tomorrow he may not agree with our tomorrow's immediate demands and leave the party. But what of it. There will always be other good people who will join us in our fight for a constitutional amendment, or unemployment insurance, or other such reforms. That these people are not Socialists is of no consequence so long as they help us increase the volume of accomplished reforms, because volume is everything. When 'quantity' will reach sufficient volume of development, it will turn into a new quality without our doing anything about it.

"If, however, we believe that Socialism can come only as a result of a revolution, we will have a different type of party. We will have to organize a party that will prepare for a revolution. Good people who are ready to support our fight for a constitutional amendment, will still be welcome to do so, but there will be no place for them in the party. A reformist party can, and should, be an all-inclusive party. There is no reason to reject one from party membership merely because he does not share our 'dream of the future' so long as he accepts and is willing to fight for our demands of today."

OUR RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

From what has gone before, we may establish certain distinctions between a revolutionary Socialist attitude toward mass organizations, on one hand, and the attitude of reformists, third period communists, and sectarians, on the other hand.

The reformist Socialist attempts to establish a sort of, tete-a-tete relation-

ship between the party and the mass organizations on the basis of a quid pro quo proposition, very much like the relationship between Roosevelt and the Labor Non-Partisan League.

The "third period" Communist tried to make the mass organizations appendages of the party, with a full party program and direct party control.

The sectarian of the Socialist Labor variety looks upon the mass organization as a good place to belittle all struggle for immediate demands and to make speeches on the Socialist commonwealth.

The revolutionary Socialist rejects all these concepts. We do not belittle but encourage struggle for immediate demands. We do not desire a mere formal exchange of courtesy cards between the mass organizations and the party, but work to unite them in struggle on an advanced and advancing program. In order to do this we do not wish the mass organizations to ape the party; we recognize the mass organizations to be means whereby non-party, non-revolutionary, backward elements are involved in struggles for specific demands.

The reformist Socialist assures his audience that an accumulation of modest reforms will eventually imperceptibly transform itself into Socialism.

The crass opportunist of the ward heeler variety puts forward certain reform measures just as "vote-catchers," entirely disconnected from the struggle of the working class and the fight for Socialism.

The sectarian either attacks or omits discussion of immediate demands. "Reforms are chloroform."

For the revolutionary Socialist immediate demands constitute the basis for struggle. Because immediate reforms bring immediate gain to the working class, they will fight for it. And because the workers, in great numbers, will undertake such struggles, we consider the fight for immediate demands to be the grindstone for sharpening the swords of revolution.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

It is clear that the conduct of a revolutionary Socialist Party during a campaign is many sided, radically different from that of a reformist party or a bourgeois party both in form and content. The form is different to the extent that we do not limit ourselves to a direct appeal to the electorate by individual effort, but work in an organized manner through mass organizations. The content is vastly different not only in our differing programs but also in the fact that we do not limit ourselves to the platform as a basis for votes but extend our work to analysis of every important social phenomenon in order to develop a broad and immediate struggle of the masses.

The party must not only make analyses, but on the basis of such analyses, must give directives, limited not only to how to vote but also what to do. And to the extent that the masses follow our lead on what to do they will also know how to vote.

From the coming Convention, therefore, must issue the following:

1. A revolutionary perspective.
 - a. Rejection of class collaboration and Popular Frontism.
 - b. Revolutionary opposition to all capitalist wars.
2. A disciplined centralized party to carry this line into mass work.
 - a. Fraction work.
 - b. An NEC and National Action Committee giving the Party constant directives.
 - c. A party press that will act as a collective agitative organ and organizer.
 - d. Subordination of parliamentary work to the fundamental revolutionary nature of the Party.

New Men Replace the Fallen



A charge of Spanish workers in the outskirts of Madrid takes them across the graves of their fallen comrades.

Secretary of Spanish Societies Exposes Lies of Daily Worker

By SAM BARON

Executive Secretary, United Spanish Societies

Rarely has any organization endorsed so irresponsible, vicious and slanderous a canard as that which appeared in the Communist Daily Worker of January 22, 1937, and in the Communist New

Masses of January 26, 1937, in regard to the United Spanish Societies and its conduct of the Madison Square Garden meeting January 4 in New York for the Spanish Ambassador. That this statement must be issued is the cause of great personal regret to me. Throughout the conduct of the meeting, I was most concerned primarily with the presentation of a solid front of American public opinion favorable to the heroic fight against Fascism of the Spanish Republic.

The lies which concerned the United Spanish Societies, an organization composed of seventeen fraternal and benevolent organizations in the metropolitan Spanish colony, occurred in an article about the Socialist Party. We are here not concerned with the statements made about the Socialist Party, but first we must make clear that the United Spanish Societies is a non-political organization. That the Socialist Party enthusiastically supported and endorsed the Madison Square Garden meeting, along with other labor organizations, has been a source of gratification to the United Spanish Societies. But this must be made clear: the United Spanish Societies had no organic connection with the Socialist Party.

Asked Cooperation

When the United Spanish Societies was first formed for the sole purpose of sponsoring and conducting this meeting, it sought the co-operation of other organizations sympathetic to the cause of the Spanish Loyalists. From the very beginning, we found (especially in the North American Committee) that Communist representatives blocked endorsement of the meeting and instead demanded that control of the meeting be taken from the United Spanish Societies and handed over, contrary to the Ambassador's expressed desire, to a group which included political parties.

Finally, the secretary of the North American Committee was even sent to Washington, there to see the Ambassador and to seek from the Ambassador retraction of his expressed stand that the meeting be conducted under strictly non-political auspices. They were unsuccessful in their attempt.

Demand Control

Coincident with this was an attempt to accomplish the same purpose by seizing control of the

United Spanish Societies. At a meeting of the Societies individual Communists representing uninvited organizations entered and demanded control.

Peace was finally restored—we thought! We were later to discover that promises are sometimes merely empty words!

The basic Communist charge is that the meeting costs were exorbitant, thus implying that individuals connected with the United Spanish Societies had benefited personally from this.

Budget Agreed On

Let us make the following clear. At a meeting of the Societies, attended approximately by every affiliated organization on December 14, a tentative budget totalling costs of approximately \$8,000 was read and approved. This budget was used as the basis for financial operations of the Societies. According to the financial report submitted by Morris A. Greenbaum, Certified Public Accountant, (whose services were recommended by Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker) Mr. Greenbaum says:

"All receipts as recorded were properly accounted for. All disbursements were made by checks properly endorsed and supported by invoices on file, except petty cash payments, which were paid out through cash vouchers and filed accordingly. We have also checked the proceeds from the sale of tickets and found the cash income corresponding with the number of tickets used."

But Hathaway prefers to ignore the certified report of his own accountants. For the purpose of making a political football of the United Spanish Societies and the cause it represents, he proceeds to twist these figures until they are unrecognizable.

Didn't Get Together

Evidently, Hathaway and the New Masses didn't think of getting together before they began crawling. According to Hathaway, "The Communist Party never spends more than \$4,500 on a full Garden meeting." The New Masses, however, insists that "the Communist Party's expenses for such meetings never exceed \$4,000." As a matter of fact, vouched for in the receipted bill in the Garden, there are mandatory charges such as rent, special police, platform, clearing,

etc., which make the basic cost for any Garden meeting, without advertising, printing or any other expenses, \$4,033.

Perhaps the Communist Party, through some bookkeeping calisthenics of its own, can keep the cost of a Garden meeting down to \$4,000 or \$4,500—we cannot answer that. Is it not true, so far as receipts from admissions are concerned, that the Madison Square Garden meeting sponsored by the North American Committee to hear la Palencia just broke even? (We're not attempting here to accuse the North American Committee of anything untoward; it is important to show that the cost of the Madison Square Garden meeting to the United Spanish Societies was not only inexcusable but actually a modest figure.)

More Lies

One of the specific charges of exorbitance Hathaway does make is, according to the Daily Worker, "They even paid out an extra \$902 to the Garden management for ushers and ticket salesmen." A barefaced lie. Of the \$902 item, only \$194 was spent for non-mandatory charges such as extra ushers (for the reserved seat section), ticket sellers and ticket takers, and the balance of the \$902 item was spent on mandatory charges mentioned above.

With an obvious sneer, Hathaway writes that the Ambassador "spoke to put a little more than a half-filled Garden. The Garden seats 18,000 people. If Hathaway would but read the Daily Worker, he would find that the Daily Worker reporter declared that there were 18,000 people in the Garden; if from his own experience, he knows better than to believe the Daily Worker, let him read the New York Times and the Herald-Tribune whose reporters declared that there were 15,000 people in the Garden. Whose purposes does Hathaway serve in sneering about a "half-filled Garden?" Does he seek to give comfort and aid to those enemies of the Spanish workers, like Hearst, who libel the Spanish cause and declare that it has no public support in the United States?

Communist Sabotage

It is true, regrettably, that we did not have an overflow crowd. Perhaps, if the Communist Party had done its share as others did theirs, we could have greeted the Ambassador with an overflow crowd.

The most vicious canard is that employees of the United Spanish Societies including the secretary, collected \$1,120 as salaries for

Why Does Hathaway Refuse An Answer?

Two weeks ago, the CALL carried an editorial, which was reprinted in other papers, charging the Communist Party with refusal to support the Debs Brigade campaign to send men to Spain. We dealt with the question because we considered it politically important to class conscious workers.

Too often militant workers have been told by timid "leaders" not to do this or that because they will "provoke" the boss. "Don't strike! You will provoke the boss!" "Don't be too militant! You will provoke the police!" "Don't be too revolutionary! You will provoke reaction!" And so on ad nauseum!

Bosses Like Timidity

In the long run, the bosses take advantage of this timidity; they interpret it to mean weakness and step on the workers just a little bit harder!

We criticized the Communist Party for its false policy! We stated that this new found timidity was a result of the Communist policy of conforming with Soviet diplomacy and a catering to the so-called "respectable" elements who trail along in the Communist wake.

We expected a political reply. We would have been glad to read it, to have workers read it, to have the militant elements compare the Communist arguments with our arguments. We know how they would have spurned the philosophy of "Don't provoke the bosses!"

Rank and File Knows

And the Communists too know how they would have spurned it.

themselves as their charge of "aiding" Spain." Thus put, it would seem that to collect wages for full-time employment is criminal. But Hathaway singles out the United Spanish Societies alone for his vicious attack; he does not mention either the North American Committee or the Medical Bureau Friends of Spanish Democracy in his charges. Why? Don't full-time employees of these two groups receive wages?

The only other implication to be drawn from Hathaway's charge is that the wages paid were exorbitant. Suffice it to say that the item included the employment of seven full-time workers, one for eight weeks and six for five weeks. The wages were duly voted and approved by the finance committee of the United Spanish Societies, composed of representatives of affiliated organizations. The finance committee of the Spanish Societies meeting after the Daily Worker and New Masses lies had been published, condemned the Communist Party for making "a political football" of the meeting and declared that "the financial information included in the Daily Worker and the New Masses attacks is false and malicious."

Hathaway Figures

Further, Hathaway speaks smugly of "a loss of \$16 of the meeting that should have netted \$20,000. In the first place, there was no loss of \$16 on the meeting; Hathaway based his attack on the provisional financial report and ignored the same report which showed at that time \$1,718.98 still outstanding in tickets and money. As a matter of fact, today there is a clear profit of about \$400 with many accounts still outstanding.

I doubt whether there have been many meetings run at the Garden where no collection was taken which showed any kind of a profit. No collection was possible at the meeting sponsored by the United Spanish Societies, because of the delicate diplomatic position of the Ambassador. Hathaway knew of this! If a collection had been taken, Hathaway knows as well as anybody

So they just refuse to argue honestly, openly, politically before the workers. They answer with the charge that the Socialists are—"Thieves!"

The big charge? Socialists ran a Madison Square Garden meeting at which no money was raised for Spain!

We're Lucky

Fortunately for us, Clarence Hathaway does not have us before a Soviet prosecutor in a Soviet court. Hence we can answer.

Simply put:

1. The meeting was not run by the Socialist Party.
2. The meeting did show a profit.
3. No Madison Square Garden meeting, run at low admission prices, WITHOUT A COLLECTION, ever shows a great profit. This is as true of the meeting run by the Communist influenced North American Committee as it is of the meeting run for de Los Rios.

In reply to Hathaway we carry a statement by Sam Baron, secretary of the United Spanish Societies which ran the meeting.

Too bad Clarence does not have Comrade Baron before Vishinsky; maybe he could then get him to "confess" burglary—ala Dostoevsky!

that the profit would have been \$20,000 and over.

It was our endeavor to raise money to aid Spain through sale of boxes at \$100 a piece. Here, I must report that Louis Weinstein, a prominent Communist and secretary of the Painters' District Council, actually refused a representative of the Societies the right to appear before the committee of his union to ask that they take a box. This is criminal irresponsibility, Hathaway, and nothing else!

The Record

The Communist Party through all its units and branches and through the entire network of Workers' Bookshops sold only \$81.85 worth of tickets for the Garden. This is a record in "do-nothingism" rarely equalled.

(Two of the smallest Socialist Party branches in the city, out of more than 60, alone sold more than \$100 worth of tickets.—Editor.)

While on the question of sabotage, it is also interesting to review the record of the Daily Worker. Although press releases were sent regularly to the Daily Worker, not a word appeared until after plans for the meeting had been under way two weeks; after this, a strange quiet again descended upon the Daily Worker until four days before the meeting when, for the first time, the Daily Worker began treating the story of the meeting as if it were worthy of support.

Meeting a Success

The meeting was a great success in view of the difficulties to be hurdled; we are satisfied that favorable publicity and loyalty to the fight against fascism was engendered by the meeting and by the Ambassador's clear-cut speech, the first official presentation in America of the Republic's position.

The purpose of this meeting was not to make money. We set ourselves the task to conduct a propaganda meeting that would mean added support for the cause of the Spanish loyalists. In that respect, we are satisfied that we have done our duty as class-conscious workers.

Call Association Meeting

A meeting of the Call Association will be held on the third floor, 21 East 17th Street, New York City, at 3 P. M. Saturday, February 6. Agenda for the meeting includes the election of officers for the ensuing year and other matters pertaining to the good and welfare of the SOCIALIST CALL. Only members paid up in good standing will be admitted and allowed to vote.

HAL SEIGEL,
Secretary.

New Pact Move Seen Behind Soviet Trial

(Continued from Page Two)
same charm and courage that made him popular among Washington newspapermen—one of the most exclusive and intelligent groups in the world and one that would never tolerate any one shoddy or second rate."

Romm's Role

What is Romm's role in this trial? It is his job to imply that Trotsky was plotting not only against the Soviet Union but also AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. Romm confesses that he "agreed to keep Trotsky informed on Washington happenings."

Having established Romm as Trotsky's man in Washington, the next step is to prove that Trotsky was "bad medicine" for the U. S. A supposed quotation from a supposed letter of Trotsky to Radek is produced, reading:

"We shall have to yield the oil of Sakhalin to Japan and guarantee her a supply of oil in case of war with America."

The "Line-Up"

The case is clear. Trotsky, together with Japan, plotted against the United States—and Russia discovered the plot and punished the plotters.

And by some strange coincidence of history this happened just at a time when Trotsky was in the New World and WHEN

THE SOVIET UNION WAS LOOKING FOR A PACT WITH THE UNITED STATES — AGAINST JAPAN.

In his over-anxiety to prove his fidelity, Duranty's pen slipped a little when he wrote: "On the whole the trial bids fair to be much more convincing to foreign opinion than the Kamenef-Zinovieff affair." Indeed! So the last trial was not so "convincing." So Stalin tries again! Tries to do what and convince whom of what?

Will Stalin convince the workers that he is a better "helmsman of the world proletariat" by these trials? Never! Not even if these workers read Dostoevsky.

Will Stalin convince the world capitalists that he is ready to kill the makers of the revolution to prove his sincerity about giving up the idea of a world revolution? Maybe! Even if these capitalists don't read Dostoevsky!

Framed Seamen Denied New Trial On West Coast

OAKLAND, Cal.—As was expected, Judge Frank Ogden denied a new trial to Earl King, E. G. Ramsey and Frank M. Conner, maritime unionists and sentenced each of them to five years to life in San Quentin prison.

Appeals to the higher courts is the next step in the fight for freedom for the three men whom shipowners framed in order to discredit the West Coast maritime strike.

Anderson Family on Extensive Tour With Party Red Special

By DOUGLAS AND LINNEA ANDERSON

Three foot-loose rebels are on their way to California in sound truck No. 1 of the Socialist Party. We left Chicago with our ten-year-old daughter on December 12.

After four meetings in Missouri and the re-organization of Socialist locals at Tulsa and Oklahoma City, we moved on into Texas where we spent more than two weeks. Street meetings with the use of the sound equipment and local meetings of comrades and sympathizers have been held in ten cities and everywhere the new emphasis of Socialist work in mass organization has been met with great enthusiasm.

Texas Is Ripe

Texas is ripe for the mass organization of workers and farmers and the unemployed. Our Socialist comrades are taking up in earnest the elementary work of organization among these groups. Although few in number in such a large state, the Socialists are loyal and sacrifice a good deal to maintain the state Socialist organization. More power to them!

We are now traveling through Arizona. Last week was spent in New Mexico, two days of which we enjoyed the cordial hospitality of the Duncans and Powells of Clovis, the faithful and loyal leaders of Socialism in this state. These comrades and others in the state are deserving of the highest regard for they are giving all they have in time and money to maintain the state Socialist or-



DOUGLAS ANDERSON

ganization against the greatest obstacles. We stopped in the following places in New Mexico—Estancia, Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and La Cruces.

Red Special

We are proud of the privilege of representing the Socialist Party in Sound truck No. 1—the Red Special!

Glass Union Wins Major Victories

PITTSBURGH — After 13 weeks on the picket line, the Federation of Flat Glass Workers obtained major concessions and a year's agreement from the Pittsburgh Glass Co. The outcome is also a victory for the autoworkers, whose morale will be lifted by the flow of glass toward General Motors' competitors at auto centers.

One of the most profitable industries in America, with a reserve of \$37,000,000, the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. forced a lockout Oct. 25 by refusing every union proposal.

Only a few days before the settlement, Ernest T. Weir, Liberty Leaguer and potent member of the Iron and Steel Institute, made a personal appeal to "hold the lines" against the strikers.

Glass was to be the "goat" of the mass production industries. Wrecking the FFGW or whittling its demands down to zero was intended by big business to be the "object lesson" for auto, steel and other semi-organized industries.

Three Plants Sign

Though disgruntled employers and an unsympathetic press did its best to feature the fact that the federation did not win its closed shop demand, this strike loss is more apparent than real. Three Pittsburgh Plate plants are already closed shops in fact—Clarksburg, W. Va., Mount Vernon, O., and Henryette, Okla. The plate and laminating plants at Ford City and Creighton, Pa., have a 90 per cent membership or better.

Libbey-Owens-Ford is expected to sign with the union on nearly identical terms.

Steel Union Aims At Recognition In a Few Months

CHICAGO. — Serving notice that they intend to get union recognition within the next few months, delegates to a tri-state convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers at Indiana Harbor, Ind., mapped out plans to speed the organization campaign.

The confab, called as a preliminary to the steel union's coming national get-together, attracted about 150 rank-and-file leaders of 32 lodges in Wisconsin, northern Illinois and northern Indiana steel towns.

Declaring that more than half the steel workers are now lined up with the union, Regional Director Van A. Bittner of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee called upon steel workers to rush their union campaign. The union already has such strength that it cannot be stopped short of its demands for recognition, he added.

Build the Party of Eugene V. Debs the Socialist Party

Carry on
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Your
Comrades

- Leading the striking auto workers
- Protestings WPA lay-offs.
- Organizing steel workers.
- Aiding the Spanish workers and peasants.
- Struggling side by side with the maritime workers
- Fighting against war and fascism.
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GIVE NOW TO THE DEBS ORGANIZATION FUND!

STAGE and SCREEN

'HIGH TOR' TOP IN SEASON'S ENTERTAINMENT

Anderson Is Humorist Of Great Charm

By McALISTER COLEMAN

The critics didn't exaggerate. **HIGH TOR** is indeed a high mark in the season's entertainments.

HIGH TOR, a fantasy by Maxwell Anderson, with Burgess Meredith and Peggy Ashcroft, presented by Guthrie McClintic at the Martin Beck Theatre on Forty-fifth Street is all that its advance notices proclaimed.

Meredith In Sympathetic Role

It reveals Anderson, usually conceived as a brooding, unhappy fellow with a knack for writing high-sounding verse, as a humorist of infinite charm. It shows us the disarming Meredith in one of his most sympathetic roles. It gives us the fat parts played delightfully by Thomas W. Ross and Harold Moffet and some eye-filling Hudson River scenery that will be memorable in what the fancy writers call the "decor" of the season.

Dutch Sailors and Steam-Shovels

HIGH TOR has to do with strange events on a mountain in the general neighborhood, we take it, of the Hudson's Tappan Zee. There come a group of unconscionable, but immensely amusing rascals to quarry away Mr. Meredith's beloved rocks. There too comes a Washington Irving melange of ghostly Dutch sailors to help ward off the steam-shovel invaders.

Silly, But Hustle to See It

Written down, after the moonlit glamor of the performance has been exposed to the strong glare of daylight, it sounds a little silly. But if some evening, you're in the mood for fantasy and satiric foot-notes on the struggle between beauty and the machine age, hustle up to Forty-fifth St.

This is going to be an easy week for your far-darting reviewer with only one opening, **TIDE RISING**, at the Lyceum on Forty-fifth St. There's a pause in the theatre's occupation and while it cannot exactly be called the Children's Hour, it comes pretty close to being that, judging from some of the childish efforts at entertainment we've watched this year.

If Krutch O.K.'s It

For some reason we decided that you would not be much interested in **THE ETERNAL ROAD**, Max Reinhardt's spectacle of the wanderings of the Children of Israel. So we skipped it.

Irish Rebel



PRESTON FOSTER AND BARBARA STANWYCK in Sean O'Casey's drama of the Irish "Easter Week" rebellion of 1916 which will come to the screen of Radio City's Music Hall, Thursday, Jan. 28.

Now, we're sorry. Even the usually reserved and not easily stirred Joseph Wood Krutch becomes almost lyrical about it in *The Nation*. It just so happens that we don't go for spectacles and pageants and such. About ten minutes of scenery and unhappy crowds lamenting their fate all over the lot is enough for us. Sorry, but that's the way it is. So take Krutch's word for it, rather than ours and if this is the sort of thing you like, this is the sort of thing you'll like.

Group Theatre in Comeback

We're delighted to see that the Group Theatre crowd plans a come-back. Any bunch that could give this sparse season such a fine show as **JOHNNY JOHNSON** deserves a longer life than the Group has had. They are out to raise \$100,000, poor wretches. Our heartiest sympathy goes out to them. May they have an easier jack-raising time than is the fate of our radical enterprises.

8 Russians Jailed In New Artef Play

"**CHAINS**," a drama in three acts by H. Leivick; settings by M. Solotaroff; music arrangement by Ben Yamen; directed by Joseph Buloff and presented by the Artef Players Collective at the Artef Theatre.

Reviving a production of Maurice Schwartz and the Yiddish Art Theatre of more than a half dozen years ago, the Artef Collective once more thrill and continue to satisfy profoundly their enthusiastic followers. It is our opinion that the Collective, the only Jewish workers' theatre in America, is unsurpassed by any English-speaking repertory group.

Eight Russian revolutionists, incarcerated in a Siberian jail, are induced to escape by their leader who hopes that, with proper direction, the expected strike of the gold miners on the outside might be transformed into a rebellion which will be the spark for the anticipated Russian revolution of 1905. Recaptured and returned to their prison, they enter a hunger-strike in protest against additional punishment. Dismayed by seven days' hunger, they barricade themselves against the warden, but a red banner thrust into their cell tells them that the gold miners have struck and have come to set them free.

The strike is turned into a revolt. However, there is disagreement amongst the leaders and the dissenters are arrested and returned to their dungeon. The failure of the revolt sees the remaining revolutionists returned to their comrades and their old cell. As a penalty the warden decides to execute one of them. The curtain falls as they again prepare to escape.

Cameo to Show Spanish Film

One of the most vital film documents ever screened, "Spain in Flames" will have its first showing in America at the Cameo Theatre on Forty-second Street on the 28th.

His Excellency, Fernando de Los Rios, Spanish Ambassador to the United States, introduces the film.

'Black Legion' Is Useful Warning to People of U.S.

BLACK LEGION, produced by Warner Bros., with Humphrey Bogart, Dick Foran and Erin O'Brien-Moore. At the Strand.

By **MANUEL WEIN**

Having discovered long ago that the production of an occasional "social" film was not only smart box-office tactic but also a contribution to the company's prestige, Warner Brothers, have recounted the

shameful story of the Black Legion, the hooded mid-west terrorist gang, whose lurid activities were a national scandal last year.

Useful Warning to People

That the picture follows closely the actual incidents, organizational make-up and political and social significance of this incipient Fascism is denied in a totally unnecessary foreword. However, **Black Legion** for all its omissions, is a tremendously useful warning to the people of America of the nature, if not the name, of a growing tendency in certain regions of the country.

Auto Worker Joins Legion

Frank Taylor, a simple auto-worker marks time before he is promoted to the position of foreman of the plant. He is bitterly disappointed when a younger, more inventive chap gets the post. His rival's name ends with a "ski." Taylor, played by Humphrey Bogart, is influenced by the demagogic claptrap of a radio patriot and is soon approached by a member of the secret "Black Legion."

Vows to Kill Anarchists

After taking the oath to exterminate anarchists and catho-

lics, he participates in the night riding atrocities of the gang, incurs the suspicion of his wife and best friend, is soon detected by the latter whom he murders, is apprehended by the police, stands trial and exposes his accomplices. That is the story in a couple of nutshells.

Hollywood Not Social—Yet

BLACK LEGION, it has been said, is a manifestation of Hollywood's growing social consciousness. We doubt it. Bearing in mind the real service of pictures like **BLACK LEGION**, "I Was A Fugitive," "Fury" and "Wild Boys of the Road," Hollywood is not going to cut the throat of a system which provides it with back-yard swimming pools, high living and the luscious accoutrements that are supposed to come only to those who go to church on Sundays.

Despite everything **BLACK LEGION** is a film that must be seen by every worker. Watch the **CALL** for further notices when this unusual Hollywood product will be shown in your neighborhood—and when you go, don't forget to bring the entire family—AND your neighbors.

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BARBARA STANWYCK
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WILL GEER presents
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Play by Ford and Rewritten. With Members of the Actors Repertory Co.
SATURDAY EVE., FEB 6th
Labor Stage, 106 W. 39th St., N.Y.C.
TICKETS: 50c, 75c

AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

Once more the roaring waters of the Ohio and Mississippi mock man's boast that he has conquered nature. Human folly and human selfishness play some part in the story of devastation the floods have wrought.

Yet on the whole we in America are better organized and more willing to bring help to the victims of natural disasters, and perhaps even to plan for limiting the future ravages of the waters, than to deal with the consequences of an economic and political system resting upon exploitation. Capitalism day by day has more victims than any flood.

STRIKE EFFECTIVE WORKERS' WEAPON

The obvious advantages of the sit-down strike as a weapon for the workers have been beautifully demonstrated in Flint where the spirit and discipline of the workers have been remarkable. In the General Motors strike the workers are fighting in disciplined fashion for one essential thing, and that is the recognition of their union as against the company union, company favored workers' alliances, and what have you, as the one instrument of collective bargaining.

Because the sit-down strike properly used is a powerful weapon for the workers—and incidentally a weapon which by its nature challenges some of the basic premises of the capitalist system—it does not follow that it has no dangers. If it is used for the advantage of some small group rather than for the advantage of the whole body of workers; if it is used without discipline; if it is used so as to create public hostility, then the sit-down strike is not an advantage.

The moral, of course, is that the all-important thing is not the particular kind of strike but the kind of union which the workers built.

EAST MARITIME STRIKE NO COMPLETE DEFEAT

The end of the shipping strike in New York is a defeat not only for maritime workers but for labor generally. It is a defeat primarily brought about by divisions in the ranks of workers.

Nevertheless it is a defeat not without compensation. The seamen showed a magnificent solidarity and power to act together. They showed an honest desire for clean unions. These things are bound to count in ultimate victory.

NON-INTERVENTION AIDING FASCISTS

The German and Italian notes in reply to the British proposals to withdraw all foreign intervention of every sort from Spain may mark some progress but not very much. Hitler and Mussolini have left themselves time to go right on aiding Franco. Once Spain is left to herself there is no question that Franco would be defeated, and the dictators know that. The way to get the dictators to act to withdraw aid is not for the opponents of Fascism to withdraw it first. From the beginning the British policy of nominally supporting non-intervention aided Franco.

UNITY THREATENED IN SPAIN

From many sources one hears the cry: "The struggle in Spain is only after all a struggle between Mussolini and Stalin." That is not a correct statement of the situation and to the degree that it is true it is Mussolini's victory that most will menace the future for the workers and the peace of the world.

But this is not to give blanket praise to the Communist program in Spain. Exceedingly disquieting reports are coming out, especially from Catalonia, concerning the lengths to which the Communists, backed by Russia, are ready to go to liquidate other working class groups—notably the CNT and POUM.

For this whole situation, part of the responsibility must fall not only upon the government of the bourgeois democracies, which have directly or indirectly aided Franco, but upon parties like the British Labor Party for their indifference. When they have done so little it is no wonder that Stalin more and more looks to Spanish people like their only savior.

MOSCOW TRIAL AND PARTY DEMOCRACY

Extended comment on the trial of Radek and his companions would be premature. These things can be said: If the Soviet government were merely charging conspiracy against Stalin's rule among Communists in a country in which the dictatorship denies the right of criticism and all effective machinery of orderly change, the charge might be plausible. But that Trotsky and other fathers of the Russian Revolution would betray it, as well as their native land, to any sort of alliance with Germany or Japan—that is incredible. Of course, the whole machinery of Russian justice deprives the confessions of the weight that they would normally have.

Socialists and workers generally are justified in seeing in this situation the natural outgrowth of the Communist theory which would ruthlessly sacrifice the individual to the alleged interest of the mass, which interest of the mass is interpreted in terms of the revolutionary group able to get and keep power, a group which permits no proper channels of criticism within its governmental organization. This is what lies behind the assassination of Navashine in France after he had broken with Stalin. Of course, this lies behind the attack on Trotsky.

Never did it seem to me so important that Socialists should vindicate Sovietism by preserving civil liberty, keeping open channels for discussion and criticism, and by democratic Party structures. Anything else tends to blur the all-important distinctions between Fascism and Socialism. It divides the workers in the hour of danger. If we cannot agree on our tactics at least we can agree on a certain mutual respect as the basis of working class progress. Without it every sort of united front is sham and hypocrisy.

Considerations like these strengthen the case for an inclusive, not sectarian Socialist Party in America, centralized enough to be efficient but thoroughly democratic in its control.

CONSTITUTION MUST BE CHANGED

Even among workers and some Socialists I discover a tendency to think that about all that is the matter with the Constitution is the power of the Supreme Court. This is a long way from the truth. The Constitution without a Supreme Court would be no good influence for governing a cooperative commonwealth. We cannot even make decent progress toward a cooperative commonwealth without amending the Constitution to make it easier to amend as necessity arises and without providing for direct election of the President and Vice President.

Thomas on National Hook-Up Feb. 10

Norman Thomas will broadcast over Columbia Network on: "What Next for the Share-cropper?"

This broadcast will be heard February 10 at 10:45 P. M. Eastern Standard Time. The New York Station of the network is Station WABC.

So far as the power of the Supreme Court is concerned, even if that were abolished, Congress and the President would have to take an oath to support a Constitution which clearly gives protection to property rights and to states rights of a sort greatly to empower constructive economic and social legislation. This oath will stand in the way of progress unless there is a positive grant of power to Congress to legislate in social and economic fields.

It is entirely possible that merely to deprive the Supreme Court of power to declare Congressional legislation unconstitutional would at some moment invite a state or states, backed by powerful financial interests, to defy Congress in the name of the Constitution. This is the primary case for the Farmers and Workers Rights Amendment as the best approach to constitutional reforms. Moreover, it is true that to a limited extent the courts by interpreting the Bill of Rights do give some protection to civil liberty against Congressional and state legislation. Witness the recent decision in the Oregon criminal syndicalist case.

We Socialists ought to be more interested in preserving civil liberty both because it is necessary for us and because it is valuable for all society than in academic devotion to Congressional supremacy. We ought at least to weigh

Father Coughlin Backs GM Against The Auto Workers

Father Coughlin has aligned himself with the General Motors management and is giving them active support in their attempt to break the strike of the United Automobile Workers. Ever alert to engage in red-baiting, the Reverend Father is now using the pages of his weekly organ, Social Justice, to attack John L. Lewis, the CIO and the auto workers as Communists taking orders direct from Moscow.

In a recent issue of his publication Father Coughlin turns reporter and "reveals" under his own name the "Inside Story of the Motor Strike." Coughlin tells of a purported interview with a leader of the sit-down strikers and how this leader told him that the main objective of the strike was to "force the owners of industry to submit to the dictation of the leaders of labor unions" in running every phase of their business. The auto workers' union, according to Coughlin, is seeking "to Sovietize industry" with "a Communist program."

Although every newspaper in the country carried the story of how the union tried to bargain with the General Motors management before it called the strikes, Coughlin accuses the strikers of sitting-down before attempting to bargain.

the possibility of depriving the Court of supreme legislative power in the field of social and economic legislation while preserving its rights to protect civil liberty. This I think can be done through the Farmers and Workers Rights Amendment.

It may be true, as some lawyers say, that that amendment needs to be strengthened in wording. It may be true that as long as the Court has any power of review the Workers Rights Amendment will be endangered. If so, or if nothing else is politically possible we should accept legislation curbing the power of the Court. But we want a lot more realistic examination of the situation than we have yet had before we rush to the con-

clusion that an amendment merely denying to the Supreme Court power of review of legislation or limiting that right in adequate.

PUSH SALE OF DEBS STAMPS

Despite bad weather we had a fine Party meeting in Philadelphia the other night and made a good start at raising the consolidated budget. Once more let me remind you that all the talk in the world will mean nothing for us Socialists unless NOW we save and build our Party press and solve our own budget problems—local, state, and national.

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