

Drive
for
Labor
Unity

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Reaction Plot Unity To Fight Labor Gains

A program calculated to unite the anti-New Deal forces in America was advanced by Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan this week in a radio address. The present business recession was seized upon by the Republican Party spokesman to propose a platform which claimed to "correct the dangerous drift" toward crisis.

This program calls for a complete governmental surrender to the capitalist interests, for a cut in relief spending, for a virtual ending of the social security program, for the institution of compulsory arbitration by amendment of the Wagner Act, for scuttling of the wage-hour bill, for a policy of international isolation, for curbing of presidential powers.

Despite the conservative claim that this program will put an end to the present business recession, many see in the Vandenberg proposals a mere reiteration of the old Hoover plan for pulling out of the depression.

The Republican's hope that this platform will unite the forces of conservatism in America rests on the experiences in the last congressional session, when reactionary Democrats joined with the Republicans in blocking whatever progressive legislation Roosevelt proposed.

Roosevelt's failure to find a sure path out of the crisis of capitalism has served to embarrass him and to give the Republicans new hope. The Republicans hope that a new crisis will do for them what the panic of 1929-32 did for the Democrats.

The Vandenberg program would shift the burden of the business relapse on to the shoulders of America's masses. Not only would capital be released from its present obligations in carrying government expenses but big business would be further assisted by freedom from corporate and surplus profits tax. Such a program would deepen rather than end the crisis, since it would curtail buying power—the prime force for prosperity.

The strength of the new Hooverian appeal will depend upon the degree to which the American masses have become

convinced that neither the Republican nor Democratic parties can find a way out that, indeed, there is no way out under capitalism, that Socialism is the only answer to the crisis.

Colby Opens Fire Against New Deal

The realignment of political forces in the United States moved one step ahead this week when Bainbridge Colby, former Secretary of State and prominent Democrat, called for a united front of conservatism in America at an address before the Union League Club of Philadelphia, Republican stronghold.

Colby assailed the New Deal, called for a relaxation of taxes on the rich, for curtailment of relief.

This speech, which underlined the main points of a program advanced by Republican Senator Vandenberg, was a continuation of the conservative Democratic practices in the last congress and is seen as a prologue for the special session.

The possibilities of a major split in the Democratic Party are increased by the continued adherence of the conservatives to a common program. Concessions made by Roosevelt to the conservative elements at this new congressional session have not ended the continued pressure of the reactionary forces for a complete scuttling of the New Deal.

The new outbreak of a fight within the Democratic Party is expected to have serious repercussions within the labor movement. The administration, deserted by its conservative wing, may appeal to and receive the support of the organized labor movement. Such a continued development would seriously jeopardize the formation of a labor party in the United States.

ALP TO ELECT 4 COUNCILMEN

The American Labor Party expects to have elected four or perhaps five, members to the city council when the vote has been completed in New York City.

B. Charney Vladeck, in Manhattan; Michael Quill in the Bronx; Andrew Armstrong and Louisa Hollander, in Brooklyn seem assured of election. The election of John Gelo in Brooklyn or of Salvatore Ninfo in the Bronx is probable.

The election in New York City was on the basis of a system of proportional representation, allowing the voters to register first and subsequent choices, and permitting the election of minority groups. The Socialist Party supported the ALP candidates as second and third choices following the Socialist candidates.

Russian Masses Have No Choice In Soviet Vote

The Russian people are getting their first taste of the new Soviet democracy in the coming elections, where they will find that in virtually every instance only one man is running for office.

The official explanation of the Soviet head, Kalinin, lies that the Russian masses are so united in their desire that there is no need for more than one candidate for any office.

The result of this one man choice is that the election will be little more than a plebiscite in which the masses will not even have an opportunity to register a negative vote. Those who want another candidate will just have to stay away from the polls.

This election was expected by some observers to mark a step forward in Soviet democracy because of the introduction of the secret ballot.

Wild-Cat Strikes

An unauthorized strike is one conducted by workers without official authorization from their responsible union bodies.

Such a strike is, of course, not the best kind of action. Every "unauthorized" striker knows perfectly well that it is far better to conduct a strike that is backed with the authority, the strength and the finances of the union. Nobody prefers unauthorized strikes.

Wildcat strikes will not be halted, however, by the whining yelps of management nor by the threats of the union leadership. "Wildcat" strikes will end when the cause for these strikes is removed.

The primary responsibility for these "illegal" sit-down rests squarely on the shoulders of the bosses. If the employers refuse to abide by the spirit of a union agreement, they can not expect the workers to stick to the letter of the contract. The bosses can snipe at labor without seeming violation of the law. They can invoke all the technicalities of production to discharge, to harass, to overburden, to annoy the good union men. And precisely such provocations are behind the present wild cat replies of labor.

A secondary responsibility for these "irresponsible" strikes rests with a vacillating, much-too-trusting, and timid trade union leadership. It must be admitted that is not the job of leaders merely to give the rank-and-file a free hand to strike every time there is a slight provocation. Responsible leaders must also hold the ranks in check, to hold fire on the boss until they can see whites of their eyes. But when a leadership becomes so intimidated by the threats of the corporations that it makes a major activity of reining-in the militant workers, the self-same leadership must expect strikes to break even without benefit of clergy.

If the union leadership were now and then to back a couple of "unauthorized" strikes and give them authority, then perhaps the employers would cut down their provocative behavior in the shops and make strikes during period of contract unnecessary. The way to fight the basis for guerrilla warfare in industry is to unite labor in a fight against those making such warfare necessary; namely, the bosses. If, however, the union leadership joins with the bosses in scolding the workers on every occasion, the result will not be the end of wildcat action—the pressing needs of the workers are too great—but a habit of action without authority.

The union leadership, of course, imagines that by outlawing the wildcat it will gain the respect of the bosses. The union will appear to be more responsible. An agreement will be obtained more easily with less strife.

To an extent this argument is true: a union must act as a responsible body keeping its agreement. But a union owes a responsibility not only to the contract but also to the membership. And when employers violate the letter and spirit of a contract, it is not responsibility for a union leadership to object to all militant action against the employers. Such behavior is irresponsible. Such crawling behavior will lose the respect of both the bosses and the workers.

The continuance of unauthorized actions will seriously injure the new unions and their membership. In the shops, militant and far-sighted workers will have the job of indicating the danger of wildcatism and the need for discipline. The rank-and-file must not be provoked into untimely action by the bosses, nor into virtual union-splitting by their own impatience or by their leaders lack of guts and common sense.

But mere education of the rank-and-file to an awareness of its responsibility is not enough. Others, besides the hard pressed workers, must also act in a responsible way. The bosses must act with responsibility. And it is the duty of the union—in an authoritative way—to make the bosses live up to their word.

During the last week, many voices have been raised for "dual responsibility." The employers must keep their agreement if they wish labor to do so, the liberal press declares.

Such a declaration is important and necessary; but it is insufficient. Such a declaration does not advise labor on what to do in the event that the employers do not keep their side of the contract.

The workers must solve this problem, and they can not do it with simple editorial declarations. The liberal press, which recognizes "dual responsibility" must likewise recognize the right of the union to strike action during the term of an agreement should the employers fail to keep their terms.

That is the real problem. And for damn labor every time it raises its voice to keep faith, to maintain an actual responsibility, is dangerous inconsis-

Militant Unionists



Suspension of these three UAW workers in the Fisher Body plant at Pontiac precipitated the crisis in Union affairs last week. Left to right: Arnold Rawling, shop steward, Lester Cizmas, and George Method, chairman of the bargaining committee.

"End Civil War—Organize The Unemployed"—States S. P. Labor Committee

By Arthur G. McDowell
Labor Secretary, Socialist Party U.S.A.

DETROIT, Michigan. — The National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party meeting here on November 20th and 21st worked out plans for throwing the entire trade union influence of the Party behind the drive for encouraging and making easier unity of CIO and AFL on the basis of industrial unionism in mass production industries and the continuation of the vigorous drive for the organization of the unorganized.

To give concrete expression to this policy of the Socialist movement the Committee worked out complete plans for nation wide backing of the petition of the "Committee of a Million For Unity" initiated by the "Kenosha Labor" and the "Sheboygan Times," Wisconsin trade union papers, and both with Socialist editors although one is published in a town where the AFL dominates and the other in a strong CIO town.

The petition carries one simple demand—"END THE CIVIL WAR IN LABOR'S RANKS. A PETITION." We the undersigned members of labor unions, hereby petition the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of the Committee for Industrial Organization to meet and continue in Conference until such time as they can establish a united labor movement capable of organizing the still unorganized millions."

Paul Porter, editor of "Kenosha Labor" reported to the Labor Committee that close to 3,500 trade unionist have already enlisted in the circulation of this simple but eloquent petition of the rank and file of all labor. All trade union forces of both the AFL and the CIO which are subject to Socialist, militant and progressive influence will be mobilized to quickly roll up the names of the first "Committee of a Million Trade Unionists For Unity." Every Socialist trade unionist will be supplied with a petition and Socialist trade union league will organize full fledged campaigns in their field.

In the older AFL unions progressive local unions are being asked to send the petition to all the locals of their international union in a given area or district under their local union seal. State district councils which are now on the sharp increase among the older unions are being worked through while in the new CIO unions the petition is being taken up and approved by shop and plant councils and signed right on the production line throughout the shop.

As the signatures mount towards a million both AFL and CIO will receive certified statements at regular intervals as to the standing of the petition. Copies of the petition will be distributed direct to its sections by the Socialist Party from its headquarters at 549 Randolph Street Chicago where additional copies may be secured.

Socialist Activity Rises
The report of the Labor Sec-



retary showed the increase since even September 1st of participation in the activities of the trade unions new and old, of Socialists working effectively under the banner of militant, progressive, class-conscious trade unionism with emphasis on the principles of democracy within the working class movement, and independent labor political action. Word arrived from every section of activity in the new unions of steel, aluminum, furniture, agricultural, clerical, rubber, packing-house and auto workers.

A national conference of Socialists active in the building and founding of the vigorous Automobile Workers Union was held at the same time as the Labor Committee meeting. Socialist auto workers hailed with pleasure the promises of vigorous steps by this important union to establish itself finally in the field by the organization of Ford and the disciplining of General Motors and Chrysler. The latter, in spite of their defeat early this year by the nation-wide sit-down are endeavoring to steal every gain in wages and working conditions.

Reports were also submitted of work among unemployed and in the coal miners union division in Illinois where the war still wages between Progressive and United Mine Workers but where

Socialist leadership thru the Gillespie local of the Progressives has initiated and successfully carried thru the organization of a joint conference of local unions of both sides to meet the problem of mechanization and unemployment particularly affecting coal miners. Report on this work was submitted by John Fisher working miner and member of the labor committee who is also a member of the Socialist National Executive Committee and state chairman of the Socialist Party in Illinois.

Labor Political Action On The Gain

The reports from Socialist-trade unionists led the Labor Committee to the submission of a report to the National Executive Committee for action at its Pittsburgh meeting, December 10-12, declaring that both the temper and the prospects of labor political action movements among the trade unions gave more basis for hope of the creation of a genuine independent Labor Party movement than at any time since 1924.

In summing up the results of recent elections where labor was an organized factor the National Labor Secretary reported that in those cities where a year ago organized labor was nothing politically as in Detroit, today it was something, where last year as in New York state it was something politically, today it is more.

The West Leads The East

Two national centers of political action of labor and allied forces now exist. The obviously best known is Labor's Non-Partisan League with its policy still relatively vague and undefined but with vast forces at its disposal. The second center is the present Mid-West three state committee for promotion of a Farmer Labor Party composed of delegates of the Wisconsin Farmer-Labor Political Federation, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor-Party and the Illinois Labor Party. This committee represents the well established contradiction that in terms of advancement along the line of independent working class and farmer political action, the midwest working class forces are markedly better developed than the older labor movement of the east where at its highest point, in the American Labor Party of New York state, the labor political movement is still organizationally and in terms of personell badly tangled up with the two major capitalist and employer class parties. This lag in the development between east and west made inevitable the organization of the Midwest Promotion Committee this October in Madison, Wisconsin.

The Midwest Committee has been successful in preserving an independent political agency in Illinois and more recently South Dakota where Communist Party intrigue for its artificial policy of forcing labor to re-

Brookwood Closed; Aid Board Named

The closing of Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, New York, operated as a resident school for labor education since 1921, was announced by the college's Board of Directors through Julius Hochman, Chairman. The college was closed at the end of the summer session because of a combination of circumstances, chiefly inadequate financial support, according to the Director's statement. While the Directors hope to see the school resume operation there is little probability that it will be re-opened in the immediate future.

A special committee has been set up to meet the present situa-

tion and work out plans for carrying on the work of Brookwood of her at Katonah or at some other site. On the committee are: Miss Evelyn Preston, Roger Baldwin, Director Civil Liberties Union; Dr. E. C. Lindeman, Prof. N.Y. School for Social Workers; A. J. Muste, Director of Labor Temple; Julius Hochman, Fannia M. Cohn, Dr. A. Lefkowitz, and Tucker Smith.

In announcing the closing of the college Mr. Hochman said: "A combination of unfortunate circumstances has obliged us to close Brookwood Labor College. The absorption of trade unions in the present organization campaign and the dearth of desirable students because of the demand for every available organizer, and lack of funds, are among the factors which make it impractical for Brookwood to reopen at the present time.

"In the early years, liberal sympathizers, contributed generously, but as a result of the depression these contributions have been steadily curtailed, and the college has faced serious financial difficulties during the past few years. The college had of late become largely dependent upon trade unions for contributions and scholarships. Unfortunately, because labor unions are now much involved with intensive organization activities they are not at the moment in a position to provide adequate financial support for the school.

"The Board has reached the decision to close only with the greatest reluctance, believing that there is still a useful role for a resident college for workers' education. In the sixteen years of Brookwood's operation, hundreds of students have been turned out who are now rendering service to the labor movement.

"The influence of Brookwood has thus been great. Its extension, department, its books and pamphlets published by its distinguished faculty, have made possible much of the progress now so apparent in the trade union movement. It has long emphasized the principle of industrial unionism, the necessity of organizing the unorganized, independent political action, and widespread workers' education. For these principles the school has maintained a wholly neutral attitude to controversy in the labor movement."



200 sit-down strikers called off a strike after a dramatic appeal by President Homer Martin. Seen above are Leonard R. Netzberg, counsel, left, and Vivian Fox, Martin's secretary.

NOW OUT

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Edited by HERBERT ZAM

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Oil Lease Cancellation Latest Step of Cardenas Against Alien Imperialism

By S. Fanny Simon

The announcement of the cancellation of two oil leases of the Standard Oil Co. of California on 350,000 acres of land, as part of the decree, issued by President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico, nationalizing 2,000,000 acres of oil lands in the three southern states of Campeche, Tabasco, and Chiapas, must have raised the blood pressure of American imperialists to the boiling point. Ever since General Cardenas became president of Mexico, foreign capital has been somewhat nervous. This nervousness has grown as his policy of "Mexico for the Mexicans" has unfolded itself.

The strikes which began before Cardenas became president have continued and spread to the basic industries. It is the opinion of capital that they have often had official support and encouragement. At the time of the lockout by the manufacturers of Monterrey, Pres. Cardenas took the side of the workers and invited any manufacturer who was tired of running his plants to turn them over to the workers.

President Cardenas has pursued more vigorously than his predecessors the expropriation of land to be given to the people. While land expropriation has hit primarily Mexicans, foreign land holdings have not been exempt. In the Laguna region of the north 1,217,286 acres were expropriated.

Of this total foreigners owned about 48%. Americans owned a negligible fraction. The expropriations in Lower California have hit eleven American companies. These lost 268,535 acres. The government has recently distributed the large sugar plantation in the state of Puebla belonging to William O. Jenkins an American, and consisting of 271,700 acres. The distribution of the lands in the state of Sonora to the Yaqui Indians which is now under way will affect American interests.

Altogether the Cardenas government has distributed in three years a total of 25,000,000 acres to 69,600 heads of families, formerly peons on the estates which are now theirs. As yet neither the Mexican nor the American government has issued figures giving the total number of acres expropriated which belonged to Americans.

Other Expropriation
The expropriation of land has gone hand in hand with expropriation of other types of capital. On November 25, 1936, the government passed a general expropriation law making possible the nationalization of property other than land. The law had as its immediate objective giving the government the right to take over the wells, irrigation system, and machinery of the cotton planters of the Laguna for the benefit of the recently established communal farms or ejidos.

The general expropriation law has, of course, revolutionary possibilities but as at present, drawn and interpreted the government gives the owners greater protection than it does to the owners of land. When the government gives these owners greater than land, it must pay in cash in four installments a year. In the case of land, it pays in bonds. For much of the recently expropriated land not even bonds have thus far been issued. There are those who predict that none will be issued or if issued, they will never be paid.

On June 23 this year, the government took every one by surprise by its unexpected announcement expropriating the National Railways of Mexico, the most im-

portant railway system. The government had been the owner of 52% of all the stock outstanding. The roads were organized and run by a semi-public corporation. The National Railways had a bonded debt of \$240,000,000. The interest on this is as large as the principal, since no interest has been paid on them since 1910. Most of the bonds are held by foreigners, half of them in England. Americans own 16% of them. The spokesman for the bondholders is J. P. Morgan & Co. What arrangement the Mexican government will make to meet the bonded indebtedness and pay out the other stockholders remains to be seen. The government intends to set up a special railway administration and to turn over the actual management of the railways to the workers' union.

American Investments
The bulk of American interests in Mexico are in mining and metallurgy and in oil. So far the Cardenas government has made no attempt to nationalize the mining industry. The industry has, however, had to meet the demands of the workers for higher wages and improved conditions. These have been wrung from the industry through strikes led by the militant miners' union, which is now engaged in demanding a uniform contract for all the mines.

The oil industry has been under attack both from the workers and the government. There are in Mexico 16 American and British oil companies, subsidiaries either of Standard Oil or of Royal Dutch Shell with total investments of \$400,000,000. Together they control the entire oil industry. In November, 1936 the workers demanded a uniform contract from the oil companies and increases in wages. Discussion dragged on for months and when no agreement was reached the workers declared a general oil strike in May. Upon the threat from the government to break the strike the leaders agreed to submit the question to arbitration by the Federal Board of Conciliation and Arbitration. The Board appointed a commission of three experts to investigate the economic conditions of the companies and their capacity to meet the workers' demands.

Petroleum Administration
In the meantime, on Jan. 30, 1937, the President issued a decree establishing the National Petroleum Administration as a direct dependency of the executive department of the government. The purpose of this Administration was to explore and exploit all the national oil reserves. To it were turned over all assets of the semi-public corporation known popularly as Petro-Mex, which had been organized in 1933. In addition, the Administration received all the national oil reserves as well as the promise of having those oil lands, now in private hands turned

over to it as soon as their leases expired.

The National Petroleum Administration was obviously a threat to the American and British oil companies, for the government was now in direct competition with the private companies. The companies felt that, while the actual competition was still insignificant, the situation created was dangerous, because the government would refuse to grant new leases and drilling permits.

In fact, in spite of repeated requests by the companies no leases have been granted by the Cardenas government. Moreover, the threat has assumed reality with the recent cancellation of leases to American and French oil interests as a result of the recent nationalization of the 2,000,000 acres of oil lands in the southern states of Mexico.

The Standard Oil Co. of California insists that the action of the government in cancelling its leases is illegal and is contrary to the Morrow-Calles agreement of 1928. The oil companies, also, see this action as foreshadowing the acceptance by the Federal Board of Conciliation and Arbitration of the report submitted to it by the Commission of Experts. The companies have insisted that the acceptance of that report would be tantamount to driving them out of business.

On August 5, the Commission of Experts appointed to investigate the oil companies brought in its report. The experts contended that the companies have at times acted against the interests of the country and that they have long ago recovered their original capital invested in Mexico, that their profits have been on the average 17%, and that they are able to increase wages to the workers as much as 26,000,000 pesos a year. Since then the Board has been studying the report. Both sides have submitted further briefs and as yet no decision has been made by the Board. There may be no decision until the beginning of the new year.

(Continued Next Week)

C. I. O. In Texas Striking Against Shell Refineries

HOUSTON, Tex.—The first large scale strike to be called by the CIO affiliated Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America in a major

oil company refinery in Texas, became effective in the Shell Petroleum Corporation's Houston refinery when more than 1,000 workers, over 900 of whom were members of Oil Workers Local 367 walked out demanding that the company sign a union contract.

The decision to strike was reached yesterday by an almost unanimous vote of the union membership after more than ten months of negotiations had failed to effect a renewal of the contract which had expired in December of last year.

Recently the union leaders charged that the officials of the Shell Company had to all practical purposes ceased negotiations, having refused to discuss the union's right under the Wagner Act to be sole collective bargaining agency for the workers in the refinery as well as other important points in the contract presented by the union.

Immediately following the walk-out, picket lines were set up, and when the last of the few men still remaining in the refinery in order to "pull fires" and effect a systematic shutdown without damage to property come out at midnight tonight, union leaders assert that picket lines will remain solid until an acceptable

agreement is reached. Picketing is to be extended to all Shell filling stations in the Houston area.

J. E. Crossland, Secretary of the striking Local, offered the company the services of picket patrols around the property to prevent vandalism. He denied the company's claim that there had been an agreement that negotiations at the Houston refinery would await the outcome of negotiations now going on at the Shell East Chicago refinery. Crossland asserted that this was just another one of the company's moves to delay negotiations and weaken the position of the union in both plants.

It is believed by Oil Workers Union leaders in this district that the success of the Shell strike will give great impetus to their drive to unionize all oil workers in this great oil producing area. These leaders point to the booming domestic and world oil market to prove their contention that the Shell company cannot afford to leave its Houston refinery closed long, and, therefore, must soon come to terms with the strikers. About 98% of the total production of the refinery, one of the world's largest, is carried away by oil tank boats.

Defense Group Hits Injunction Judges

Supreme Court Justices John H. McCooney, Jr., and Lewis Fawcett have been invited to appear before the next meeting of the Citizens' Committee on Labor Injunctions to answer charges of improper issuance of labor injunctions, according to Thomas Rossi, Executive Secretary of the New York City Branch of the Workers Defense League under whose auspices the committee was organized.

The invitations were signed by Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Committee, who, in inviting them, wrote:

"Our organization is sponsoring a Citizens' Committee in investigate abuse in the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes in the Supreme Court, Kings County, in violation of the State Anti-Injunction Law.

"We are desirous of hearing your version of this case before coming to any conclusions in order that a report which this committee will prepare and forward to the State Legislature may contain all the information relevant to the subject matter at hand."

Sugar Interests Arm Filipinos

MANILA, P. I.—Filipinos are reflecting seriously on the meaning of political independence. The U.S. beet sugar interests and the bankers who control the sugar market are putting wooden rifles into the hands of ten-year old school boys, encouraging "Field Marshal" MacArthur in his spending of nearly \$100,000 on his staff, and building up a false sense of security based on armaments in the minds of millions of Filipinos.

President Quezon has just brought back \$50,000,000 from Washington, the result of the tax on coconut oil collected by the U.S. government. Chances are that much of this will go to the military machine. Money now being spent in the Philippines on the militarization program would be really useful if devoted to providing educational facilities for the 65 per cent of children of school age.

101% American



Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Commonwealth is beginning to have his doubts about the value of Philippine independence. Above he is seen together with President Cardenas of Mexico on a recent visit there.

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THE NEW UNIONISM

The sit-down has struck the Mid-West again. The militant method of the workers in the basic industries, which some interpreted to be just a passing phase of primitive labor organization, seems to be rather a lasting force. In Pontiac, Detroit, and Akron, labor is sitting down.

Although the particular form—the sit-down—is extremely significant in itself, even more significant is the resurgence of that militant spirit which has so far characterized the auto struggles. One wonders how long this militant spirit will live.

The history of trade unionism has in the past been a record of militant and heroic beginnings petering out into conservative channels. Once the union have broken the initial resistance of the employer, the rest was just so much coasting. Elbow rubbing, smooth talk, syrupy relations become normal. The militant terror becomes stodgy bulk, with a hard bureaucratic crust and an enervated constituency.

Will this be the history of the vigorous young unions in the auto, steel, rubber fields?

There are reasons to believe that the new unions will not go the dissipated way of past union flesh. There are profound historical forces operating among the workers of the basic industries in this era, strengthening the militancy of the ranks and delaying the formation of an entrenched bureaucracy.

The new unions are arising in a period of decadent capitalism, when industry is unable to grant the liberal concessions of the last two generations and when the captains of industry are unwilling to grant even what they are able. The era of "liberalism," with its series of economic grants to labor and with its inevitable enervating effect, is rapidly fading into the past.

Capitalism feels itself fighting with its back ever closer to the wall. The vicious desperation of the boss class provokes a display of open force by the workers. Even in Britain, where the trade unions have been conservatized over two generations of gradual reform and where the bureaucracy is toughly entrenched, the working class is beginning to pound its fist and to crack the crust of bureaucracy.

The forces that in Britain are operating to crack the bureaucracy may very well prevent that formation in America. The resurgent militancy in Britain may very well become a permanent characteristic of the labor movement in our country.

Should this happen, America would be the first great imperial capitalist power with a trade union movement resting on a permanently militant mass base in dominant industries. The U. S. would be the first "imperialist" country to have this experience, but other countries of a non-imperialist character have had this experience.

Spain is a case in point. The Spanish trade union movement has, by and large, stood to the "left" of the mass political parties of labor. The great CNT was Anarchist in character. The UGT was a base for the "left" Socialist Caballero, even after his party made him a minority within its ranks. The UGT and CNT are today the mass base of the "left" forces within Loyalist Spain.

The explanation for this curious development lies largely, although not entirely, in the late development of the Spanish trade unions coming in a period of capitalist crisis. Spanish industry is young, having sprung up during the World War. The newly created industrial working class was faced with a crisis immediately after the war in 1921 and has had to conduct its trade union struggles in a crisis atmosphere ever since. The rise of trade unionism in an era of capitalist decadence is the historical basis for militant, almost revolutionary, unionism in Spain.

The same may become true in America. That depends on the depth and length of new economic crises.

The coming economic crises in America will strengthen the power of the bosses in their struggle against labor. The army of potential scabs created by mass unemployment is an army of reaction.

The new industrial unions will have to fight this army in two ways: first, directly in militant combat; secondly, indirectly by organizing the jobless along trade union lines. The organization of the jobless into militant unemployed groups is not just a sign of labor solidarity, but is a measure of labor self-defense.

The advantage that labor will have in America in these coming struggles is the comparative wealth of capitalism in the U.S. The auto, rubber, and steel bosses are far from impoverished. Their dividends are high. Their industries can stand wage increases.

This is an advantage for labor because its immediate struggle can be realistic, in terms of labor conditions within the present industrial framework. This is an advantage which will spur labor on to even more vigorous struggles in the face of a capitalistic refusal to make any concessions in periods of business slump.

AT THE FRONT



With *Woman and Thomas*



The slump continues. The business index drops again. A symposium of economists shows as much uncertainty and confusion among these "scientists" of capitalism as in Congress.

One important business group wants us to cure the Roosevelt slump by going back to the policies of Hoover. But little business, and some big, will soon be crying for more, not less, government spending. And the balanced budget will go out the window.

Roosevelt himself seems to wobble as never before. He offers peace to the utilities and some vague tax revision to business, but without as yet winning their confidence. On the other hand, this apparent swing to the right has awakened a little uneasiness in the breasts of stalwart New Dealers.

What will he do if the slump continues into a major depression? That's anybody's guess, but I think it quite possible that after a few months he'll swing again to the left or what he thinks is the left—always provided that he hasn't first got us into war.

The trouble is that what Roosevelt and all too many of his followers will think is left will not be well based in any economic philosophy. Roosevelt has rather prided himself on lacking that. One result is that in 1936 he can say of prosperity "We planned it," and in 1937 in the slump can talk about the responsibility of business being greater than of government.

Taxation and Slump

Actually one of the dangers of this confused time is the tendency to praise or blame individuals or particular acts of individuals for our fate. Of course they count. But it isn't one tax law, as some say, or one set of plotters, as others say, who—or which—is to blame for the slump. It's the system.

Maybe 60 families almost control America as Ferdinand Lundberg avers in an interesting and important book. (America's 60 Families Vanguard Press). But if the number were 600, 6,000 or 60,000, and we still had capitalism things wouldn't be fundamentally different.

Maybe Roosevelt has made mistakes from the standpoint of the capitalist logic, if any, which he accepts, but those mistakes are no more the basic reason for the slump than were Hoover's mistakes the basic reason for the depression.

Quite probably some capitalists sabotaged and plotted to discredit the New Deal, but they never plotted or tried to plot so great a drop in their system. It is the whole nature of capitalism which gives us crisis, insecurity rather than security, poverty rather than abundance. And to teach this persuasively is the primary task of socialists.

This is not to say that socialists should rejoice in this slump. As a matter of fact I wish that it had held off for at least another year to give labor organization a better chance to consolidate its gains and educate its forces. But here is the slump and here are lessons from it for the workers.

The slump is another reason why labor can't afford the luxury of civil war between the AFL and the CIO. It is another reason for pressing for a real and genuine labor party on a national scale. Reflection more and more persuades me

that organized socialism has no future except as it makes that future by winning the workers now concerned in building their unions and in many regions their labor parties.

Collective Security

Every day's news of British and French activities, yes and of the working of the new Communist line in Russia and Spain and throughout the world, makes me more of a foe of the illusion of "collective security" of non-fascist states.

I am broadcasting on that issue over the Columbia network Wednesday, December 1st at 10:45 P.M., Eastern Standard Time.

I have written the following letter to Professor Harry Ward, President of the League Against War and Fascism:

Dear Dr. Ward:

I write to you as president of the League Against War and Fascism whose Congress on Peace and Democracy in Pittsburgh I cannot attend.

Like many other Americans I am in full sympathy with your declared objects, including your opposition to fascist aggression in Spain and China. But by what methods do you propose to achieve these objects? Has not the time come when your organization must take a clear-cut position on the value of what is called "collective security" as a means of achieving peace and democracy. Let the Congress answer these questions plainly:

1. Do you believe that the capitalist governments of Great Britain, France and the United States will ever unite in imposing any effective sanction for "democracy" as opposed to sanctions for their national and imperial interests? If so, why have they not done it before the crisis was so acute? What evidence has Great Britain ever given in international politics, notably in the Far Eastern, Ethiopian, and Spanish crises that her policy will be determined by anything but her imperial interests?

2. Assuming that you hope for collective agreement, do you think that today, regardless of what might once have been or what may yet be in a different situation, effective economic sanctions, such as Great Britain, France and U.S.S.R. did not impose in the Ethiopian crisis, can be imposed against Japan, Italy and Germany without their leading to a war of desperation by nations which, whatever their economic weakness, are well able to begin such a war? And would not such sanctions imposed by rival imperialist powers tend to unite the Japanese workers with their rulers?

3. Will you, then, acknowledge that effective economic sanctions, in the imposition of which the American government may participate, will almost certainly lead to war—let us say, for instance, by Japanese attack on the Philippines or the Dutch East Indies—for which we should at once prepare?

4. In the event of another war to end war and make the world safe for democracy, or China safe for the Chinese, how do you expect to escape universal conscription and the end of both peace and democracy at home?

5. At the conclusion of such a war by a military victory of a "democratic" alliance of Stalin,

Chamberlain, Chautemps and Roosevelt, do you expect any other peace than a new peace of Versailles? May not Americans stay in China to complete the work of civilization begun by the Japanese?

These questions are fair and must be faced. They suggest my own and the Socialist Party's steadfast opposition to the illusion that peace may be won by collective security of capitalist states to preserve the status quo. Today the best course for the American government is a neutrality which Roosevelt has flouted. He has not lived up to our imperfect law in dealing with Italy's war on Spain and Japan's war on China.

Governmental neutrality should be accompanied by a popular boycott of Japanese goods, and by such sanctions as informed and organized workers may impose. The refusal of consumers to spend their dollars so as to build up the purchasing power of the Japanese militarists for procuring war supplies is obviously not the same as a government embargo backed by a navy.

All this should be accompanied by a new determination of the workers and all lovers of peace, to end not only fascism but the capitalist-nationalist system with its division of men and nations into the Houses of Have and Have Not from which war and fascism spring.

Edward Cassidy, of New York at the time of his death was not a member of the Socialist Party, but in the large true sense of the word he was most emphatically a Socialist. He was one of the finest and most loyal labor unionists I have ever known. A talk with him only a few weeks before his death revealed to me how truly he was concerned to bring together in the maximum possible unity all those who strive for the cause of labor and socialism.



Sir Robert Hodgson appointed as British agent to Franco's forces. This was followed by Franco's appointment of the Duke of Alba as his representative to Britain. Recognition of the Rebels may follow.

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The Public Pays to Educate Youth For War and Fascism

By Robin Meyers

The misleading impression that ROTC must be compulsory in order for an institution to receive full governmental support is often given by administrators in an attempt to cover up their actual favoritism toward it.

During the World War, ROTC was placed upon a two year compulsory basis in all the land grant colleges. However, in 1925 the Wisconsin state legislature prohibited compulsory military training at the University of Wisconsin, a land grant institution, and in 1934 the Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota, likewise a land grant college, followed suit. Ruling both by the Department of the Interior and by the Department of Justice concerning the action of Wisconsin have validated it. On this basis the War Department has since extended the usual aid to the two universities.

There is no basis whatsoever for any administrative justification of compulsory ROTC on grounds of necessity, legal or moral obligation.

The position of the War Department on the question of compulsory ROTC is of particular interest since the Department has repeatedly stated that local educational authorities have complete responsibility for the imposition of compulsory military drill. Many Army officers actually prefer voluntary ROTC because they feel that better Reserve Officers result.

Confusion over the status of compulsory ROTC has nevertheless arisen through judicial decisions involving conscientious objectors. Specifically, the United States Supreme Court in 1934 upheld the legality of the dismissal of two objectors from the University of California. But the reasoning of the decision was that the university had the power to make courses compulsory, not that it must make the course in military tactics compulsory, for its students. However, state courts have followed this precedent. But they could not establish a new one justifying compulsory military training under the Morrill Act.

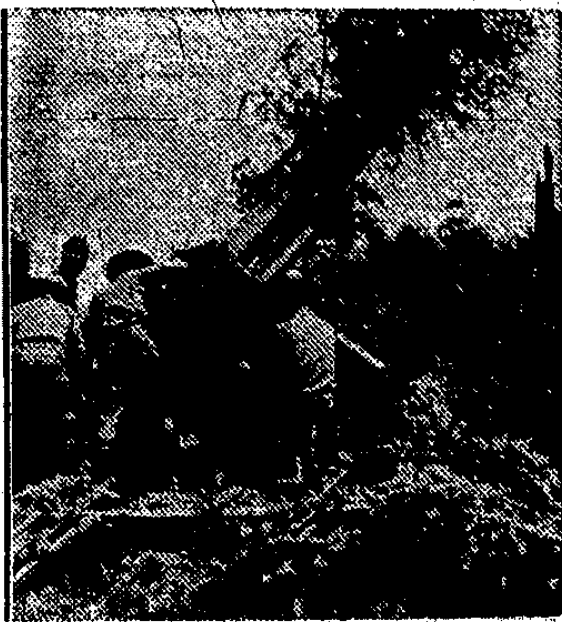
Compulsory ROTC now exists in 90 colleges and 28 secondary schools. The remainder are purely elective, or provide for exemptions.

Wisconsin Enacts Voluntary ROTC

Alone of the various state and federal governments, the Wisconsin legislature has annulled compulsory ROTC. But efforts have been made and are now being made to restrict ROTC by legislation elsewhere.

Among the states, bills have been introduced into the legislative bodies of Massachusetts, Maryland, Georgia, Ohio, Kansas, North Dakota, California, Washington, and Oregon.

On a national basis, the Nye-Kvale bill is the most



widely known attempt to make all ROTC voluntary. Simply an amendment to the National Defense Act the bill provides that no institution shall receive maintenance for an ROTC unit from the government until it shall "have satisfied the Secretary of War that enrollment in such units (except in the case of essentially military schools) is elective and not compulsory. Senator Nye of North Dakota and Congressman Kvale of Minnesota are the sponsors of the bill, which is now before the congressional military affairs committees.

Another method of accomplishing the same end has been tried by Senator Frazier of North Dakota and ex-Congressman Marcantonio of New York in their respective houses. They have attempted to amend the National Defense Appropriations Bill so that it would prohibit the use of funds there appropriated in civil institutions where military training was compulsory. The amendments were defeated by large majorities.

Absurd lengths to which ROTC proponents push their defense is illustrated by their arguments that such legislation against compulsory ROTC would be unwarranted federal encroachment upon local educational autonomy. In so far as ROTC was founded as part of the national defense system and that its control and administration lie with the War Department, this is an issue of military, not educational policy. Any such statement is therefore but a beclouding of issues and can be disregarded as irrelevant.

Why Compulsory?

In the question, compulsory versus voluntary ROTC two points principally are involved: the relative value of the two in military efficiency, and their relative value as part of an educational system.

The normal function of the ROTC is to produce Reserve Officers, for the Army. A study of the comparative cost and efficiency of compulsory as against voluntary military training has proven conclusively (backed by statistics and by statements from ROTC directors and other Army officers) that the work of a compulsory ROTC unit is retarded by unwilling members, and that more and better officers are trained at less expense in voluntary units.

The second, and far more important item, is the place of compulsory military training in an advanced educational system. In the field of education the progressive trend has for many years been away from compulsion of any sort. To introduce it in a course which offends the religious and social ethics of the students is the worst possible approach. Again a sign that the critical struggle is immediate and internal, exemption is made to military conscription in time of war but not in time of peace.

In addition, the land grant and state institutions

which have ROTC are the least expensive and the most convenient for many students to attend. Thus for them the only alternative to education including military training is no education at all. This is a flat contradiction of the spirit of the Morrill Act, and of the democratic idea.

The right of the student to think for himself is denied by compulsory ROTC and its adherents. A thinking citizenry is the first constituent of democracy; acceptance of authority is the one requisite of dictatorship. For what kind of life does ROTC prepare its members? ROTC trains for war, not for peace, for the authoritarian state, not for the democratic. Compulsory ROTC goes beyond this to stifle the individual at once. It controls him and his actions not in the future, but in the present.

The student struggle against ROTC must demand the abolition of the compulsory feature of the ROTC. But jointly and without equivocation it must work for complete abolition.

The Case for Complete Abolition

The case against ROTC is self-evident.

1. ROTC is a part of government war preparations which go beyond national defense into aggressive nationalism and imperialism.

2. ROTC creates a mind-set which looks toward war as the inevitable means of settling disputes.

3. ROTC glorifies war through its uniforms, parades, girl colonels and military balls. It carries on illusions which have before led the American people into war.

4. ROTC fosters an attitude of obedience toward military authority and discourages the creative thought necessary for effective democratic citizenship.

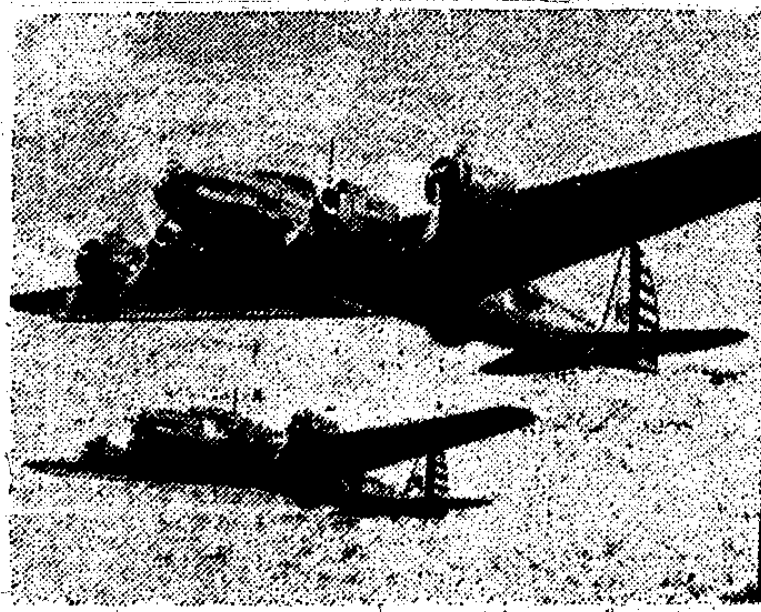
5. ROTC openly propagandizes against democracy, turning government by the people the rule of the mob. It cannot be trusted to guard the interests of the people.

6. ROTC cloaks a conservative student movement and administration stooges under the guise of patriotism. It aims to destroy the progressive trend which now motivates the student world.

7. ROTC trains vigilantes and strike-breakers, the coming American fascists.

8. ROTC can fall back on neither the excuse of adequate physical training nor adequate national defense. It is good for nothing.

Education for war and fascism must be outlawed from the American campus and from the American school. And it will take American students to do the job.



The Call Views the Theatre

Presenting the Workers' Angle on Current Stage and Screen Offerings

Class Angle

Bouquets and Brickbats For the Theatre Guild

By Michael C. Arcone

The Guild Has the Lunts For It

If you are one of those people who enjoy their bedroom farce tastefully salted with philosophical dissertations on the foibles of godhood and mankind, as I hope you are; and if you are one of those people who go for the Lunts in anything from Maxwell Anderson and blank verse to Sil-Vara and Viennese comedy, as your reviewer admittedly does, then "Amphitryon 38," the Theatre Guild's second offering of the current season, now playing to capacity at the Shubert Theatre is your dish for an evening's relaxation from the sound and fury of the class struggle.

For this 38th retelling of the Jupiter-Alkmena-Amphitryon legend, (the Jean Giraudoux version adapted from the French by that old Greek, S. N. Behrman) after a few off-hand but very pertinent remarks on the how and why of warfare at the very beginning of the first act, contains not a line or a situation which can be class-angled. And for this your reviewer is duly thankful.

There is a necessity, I feel, to get away from the class struggle, at least once in a while. And by and large, the modern theatre offers no such relief. The contemporary drama, whether valid or not, attempts to deal with social and economic problems. Which is as it should be. But one tires . . . and when something that is as delightful as this comedy, comes along when something seeks to be pure entertainment and nothing else, and what is more important, succeeds . . . three cheers.

The story is simple . . . a god's whim for mortal women. And among all women, his eyes rest upon the virtuous and happily wedded Alkmena. How Jupiter woos her and possesses her . . . and the aftermath, is all there is to the story. Thin theatre and not much meat, here, but the lines are brilliant and witty, the situations are clever and amusing, the acting almost perfect. The Lunts, Alfred as Jupiter and Lynn Fontanne as Alkmena, ably supported by Richard Whorf as Mercury, Barry Thomson as the god-betrayed Amphitryon and Sydney Greenstreet as the Trumpeter, are quite incomparable. The settings, by the versatile Lee Simonson, are gorgeous. It is a grand comedy, full of beauty, and although slender of narrative, urbane and refreshing, expert in its theatre, exuberant and clever and exciting in its faint bawdiness. I shall see it again . . . would the gods could provide us with more like it.

Madame Bovary in Question Marks

And would I could speak as well of the Guild's third offering, Gaston Baty's dramatization of Flaubert's "Madame Bovary," at the Broadhurst Theatre.

It is my feeling that M. Baty had too much competition—from the dead Flaubert. Had he perhaps taken the outlines of Flaubert's theme and written a play and called it by any other name, your reviewer would perhaps be more kindly inclined to it. But the Guild presents a Flaubert who is nothing of the sort. M. Baty has taken characters and the surface of situations . . . and completely missed the author's intentions. Which is to be regretted.

The failure of M. Baty's dramatization lies in the fact that it presents personalities where Flaubert presented processes, individuals where the great realist showed the machinations of the forces that move society.

Behind Flaubert's "Madame Bovary" stood a complexity of social forces . . . and there is nothing of this in the Guild's staging. All that is staged at the Broadhurst is the episodic presentation of items from the life of an individual whom Gaston Baty chose to call Emma Bovary.

Flaubert, as we understand him, was concerned basically with the large question of human destinies, as shaped and moved by the social forces which drive the characters of his books. In "Madame Bovary" the villain is bourgeois society, with all its pettiness, all its vileness, mediocrity and timidity and murderous viciousness. Emma Bovary is the dreamer who seeks escape. The importance of Flaubert lies in his realistic understanding and realization of the futility of escape. All his characters, however alive and valid as personalities, serve but one purpose . . . to present Flaubert's concept and criticism of society; the delusions of romanticism, the failure of a romantic approach to life and its problems.

One clear-cut example of M. Baty and the Guild's failure to grasp the essential in Flaubert is probably sufficient. In the novel, one of the most poignant and moving scenes is at the agricultural fair, when the local pomposities award a medal to an old farm servant for forty-five years of continuous service in one household. Flaubert tells us about the bourgeois, gives us the long speeches . . . and presents the peasant, scared by the noise and the flags and the frock-coated parish officeholders, her bony hands, although scrubbed clean, a mute testimony to years of servitude. "So she stood before these florid bourgeois, a half-century of toil."

Here was criticism of an entire social order . . . and all that the stage of the Broadhurst presents is a series of off-stage noises—while the audience looks upon the countless jars and long counter of M. Homais' apothecary shop, where Rodolphe Boulanger takes the first timid steps toward cuckolding the good Dr. Bovary. What a travesty on Flaubert!

There are many other sins of omission—the list is far too long. And in spite of a fine performance by Constance Cummings and a most excellent supporting cast, it remains nothing but pretty theatre. Sorry, Mister Theatre Guild, I no like; and I think you got a nerve, Monsieur Gaston Baty. When you label something "Flaubert," give me Flaubert.

Two Plays of Social Protest—Bad and Better

"Too Many Heroes," by Dore Schary, at the Hudson.
"Many Mansions," by Julius Eckert and Eckert Goodman, at the Biltmore.

"Too Many Heroes," at the Hudson Theatre is a good example of what happens when an author attempts to weave drama out of the opposing themes of social protest and individual problem. The two, except in the hands of a playwright far more skillful than the author of this drama, become so mixed that the result is a bad play . . . one might almost say two bad plays, when the complete understanding and dramatic resolve of either theme alone would have produced a good drama.

The social protest in this drama is directed against lynching, and against the venality of the state (in the persons of law enforcement officers) which condones it. Jeb Williams, in the person of James Bell, is the conscientious objector who is persuaded by the jeers of his family and his fellow-workers to join in mob action against two kidnappers.

It is in the handling of the personal problem of remorse for Jeb's part in the lynching where the play falls down. Haunted by the thought that he is a murderer, Jeb tries to give himself up . . . to the sheriff who has been told to forget the entire incident.

Rebuffed here, he tries to atone by helping the widow of one of the lynched men . . . but even here he is doomed to failure. His fellow-workers, his family, his wife all turn against him. Jeb is finally killed in a scuffle with some of the same mob of lynchers, who seek to drive the widow from the town.

And so the drama ends, saying little and solving nothing of either problem. The play's weakness lies in the sudden switch in object and theme, and thus it becomes a little of both drama of social protest and personal problem, but not much of either, and sadly weak.

Dore Schary has evidently taken his themes from various sources. Both subjects have been successfully handled in their own right in other mediums. One thinks back with some satisfaction on the movie "Fury," a valid, realistic and effective protest against lynching, complete in story and satisfactory in propaganda. Robinson Jeffers' verse narrative, "Give your Heart to the Hawks," is a psychologically sound study in remorse. "Too Many Heroes," has its many points of similarity with both the above, but Schary's attempt to combine them remains that sorry thing, a decided dramatic failure. And James Bell, remembered hereabouts for his fine performances in "The Last Mile" and in "Tobacco Road" doesn't help a whit.

Radical Religion

We are a pit peevish at the Goodman's, father and son, for a badly resolved but pertinent drama of the conflict between the pure radical gospel of Christ and the conservative preaching of worldly churchmen, which under the title of "Many Mansions" is holding forth at the Biltmore.

In this day and age, when the church, with but a very few exceptions, is definitely on the side of reaction; this indictment of the role played by the church in modern society is indeed timely. All too few of its members take their

Negro Ballet In Debut

By MARGARET HOLMES

At last someone has dared an undertaking long awaited in the modern dance. As the Negro spirituals and spontaneous Negro rhythms have vitalized American songs and dances, so again the inaugural performance of the American Negro Ballet, at Harlem's Lafayette Theatre last Sunday night forecasts a potential and unique contribution in the ballet.

This all Negro group of twenty-three young artists, who for the past three years have been training under the direction of Eugene von Grona, illustrate the necessity for extending the Negro talent beyond the limited dance forms of jazz, swing and so-called modern social dancing to a broader, co-ordinated interpretation of more basic American themes.

While technically the solo work lacked finesse and at times the performers verged on self-consciousness, the defect as well as the simplified choreography results from limited stage experience rather than from lack of ability. The whole showed originality and vigor seldom found in classic ballet.

The program included an ambitious ballet to Igor Stravinsky's "Firebird Suite," an amusing interpretation of W. C. Handy's "St. Louis Woman," with a vocal chorus, the simple and poetic "Southern Episode," by Duke Ellington, the impressive and beautifully staged "Children of the Earth," to a suite by Reginald Forsythe and a choreographic interpretation of Bach's "Air for the G String."

Due to an enthusiastic capacity audience and the inability to meet the demand for tickets, the performance will be repeated this Sunday evening, November 28th at the same place. Definitely worth while, but get your tickets early as even your reviewer had to stand at the opening.

Christian ethics seriously; on the whole they are but too ready to make compromises for the sake of prestige and pocketbook.

True enough that this play has its shortcomings . . . had the authors resolved their ideology in more basic terms they might have written a play of great dramatic force and social value . . . as it is, it remains a good play, a sincere play, an honest play . . . but hardly more than that. The authors are too concerned with broad and rather indefinite human values; their criticism of the church is valid enough but hardly dramatic. It is a play that should be seen . . .

Zola

Thirteen weeks have passed since the Socialist Call said, in writing of "The Life of Emile Zola:" This picture must go on the must list of every CALL reader. It is a great story of a great man . . . a man whose philosophy was "to live indignant, to live enraged . . . at false honor, at universal mediocrity! To be unable to read a newspaper without pating in anger! To feel the continual and irresistible need of crying along what one thinks, above all when one is alone in thinking it, and to be ready to abandon all the sweets of life for it."

We still think that Paul Muni's "Life of Emile Zola" is the finest picture to come out of Hollywood. And one of the greatest films of all time. So we are happy to see that it has finally left the ranks of the two-shows-a-day, with its prices beyond the means of ordinary workers. It is now playing at the Strand, at popular prices. Don't miss it.

Edward F. Cassidy, former Socialist leader and vice-president of the Typographical Union, No. 6, died Thursday night, November 18, at the New York Hospital. He was 69 years old.

Active in Socialist affairs for the last thirty-seven years, Cassidy engaged in many election campaigns as candidate for the party. He ran for Mayor of New York City in 1909, for President of the Board of Aldermen on the ticket headed by Morris Hillquit in 1917, and for Governor of New York on the Socialist-Farmer-Labor ticket in 1920. In 1919 he was elected after a 22 month count vote as Alderman in the Twentieth Assembly District in Manhattan.

in fact a play which every churchman in this country should see . . . and take to heart. Its weakness lies in its failure to present the fundamental aspects of the problem . . . the role deliberately played by the church, in the present time. This really a play that should be rewritten . . . by someone who is better grounded in Marxism than the Goodmans. On the whole, it is interestingly staged and well acted, with Alexander Kirkland and Flora Campbell in the leading roles.

Michael C. Arcone

A GROUP THEATRE PRODUCTION

"Odets Has Written the Best Play of his Career."
—Lockridge, Sun

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BY CLIFFORD ODETS

With Frances Farmer, Luther Adler, Morris Carnovsky, Jules Garfield, Elia Kazan, and Roman Bohnen.

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PARTY NOTES

NEW YORK STATE

State Secretary Lipsig announced that the State Committee of the New York organization of the Socialist Party would hold its quarterly meeting in New York City on November 27. At the same time, a State Organization Seminar will be opened, which will also meet on November 28.

A prominent place on the agenda of the State Committee will be occupied by consideration of the recommendations as to future relationships of the Socialist Party with the American Labor Party, drafted by a sub-committee of the State Executive Committee. Also on the agenda are the following matters: consideration of a report on the votes at the November 2 election; discussion of the advisability of reviving regional organizations throughout the state; formulation of a legislative program for the 1938 State Legislature; with Bills on approved subjects to be drafted by Labor Research Front, and the initiation of widespread campaigns to push the Socialist program on war, housing, milk, relief, the need for the abolition of labor injunctions, health insurance, public ownership, and operation of utilities, and numerous other issues.

Detailed plan will be worked out for strengthening the Party during the next year.

As a first step, State Secretary Lipsig will leave on Dec. 1 for a four-week tour of the western section of the state. Frequent field trips are planned to keep him in close contact with all locals of the organization.

The State Organization Seminar, which will open at 10:00 A. M. at Rebel Arts Hall, 6 East 17th Street, is designed to present a rounded picture of all aspects of Party work. Representatives from over a dozen upstate locals are expected to attend. The sessions are grouped under the general headings of 1, Party Organization and Structure; 2, Political Activities and Campaigns; 3, Work in Outside Organizations; and 4, Youth and Cultural Work. They will be addressed by leading Party members in each field.

Both the State Committee meeting and the sessions of the Seminar are open to all Party members.

United Rubber Workers Organize Unemployed

AKRON, O. (FP)—A nationwide union drive to organize the unemployed was indicated here by officials of the United Rubber Workers following settlement of the layoff dispute at the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. which culminated in a 2-day sitdown strike.

The sitdown caused Goodyear to recede from its position that the layoffs were nothing to discuss. Regional Labor Board Director James P. Miller came to town and together with company and union representatives worked out a layoff program which was adopted by a stormy 5-hour session of the Goodyear local.

Seniority Included
Main points of the agreement include company pledges not to lay off any more men in the tire and tube division beyond the present scheduled 1,600 laid off; adherence to seniority rules; giving to older service workers the opportunity to take work of workers with younger service provided they are qualified; maintaining a proportionate share of Goodyear work in Akron, and maintenance of seniority for laid-off workers.

Action is to be taken by the union looking toward organization of committees of the unemployed in each local union. These committees will cooperate with similar groups from other bona-fide labor and unemployed organizations to bring pressure to bear on state and federal governments for adequate relief for the unemployed.

BOOKS

THE SORDID STORY OF THE LABOR SPY RACKET

THE LABOR SPY RACKET by LEO HUBERMAN, Modern Age Books, Thirty-five cents, 185 pgs.

By Maxwell Harway

The reading of Congressional reports is generally confined to proof-readers and potential Ph. Ds. In most cases it's no loss to society. However, when the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee publishes its partial findings in eight volumes, something should be done about it.

And Leo Huberman has done it. He has taken that portion of the Senate Committee hearings that deals with labor espionage, and written a short, concise account of the "the Labor Spy Racket," in the same simple style that made "We, The People" such a popular history of the United States.

The story has been told many times before in every labor newspaper in the country. It is a story of leading "respectable" industrial corporations spending millions of dollars a year to spy on their employees. It is a story of seducing honest workers into the spy racket, the violation of civil liberties, and the tear-gassing of workers. It is a story of capitalism sending agents into unions in democratic America, just as czarism sent agents pro-

vocateurs into working class organizations in old Russia.

To a naive liberal who sees America as a classless country, these revelations come as a shock. To a Socialist, they are the everyday workings of the class struggle. The author correctly points out that there is a class war in America and the tactics employed are the tactics of warfare. Sections of the testimony before the Civil Liberties Committee are used to give the reader a picture of the "ethics" of the American employing class. "Industrialists love to make speeches about the 'The American Way.'" Billboards all over the country are plastered with those familiar words.

In Europe there is also a class war. Yet a map like the one above (showing the sale of tear and sickening gas and equipment in the U.S.) before the advent of the Nazis, could not be understood by a European. And labor spying by detective agencies is almost unknown there. It is completely an American institution.

The book is a valuable supplement to Levinson's "I Break Strikes" and because of its popular price and form should be widely used in labor educational circles.

Jupiter and Alkema



Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne in the Guild's production of "Amphitryon 38" at the Shubert.

Thurber Leaves CALL; Delson Named

John Newton Thurber, for the past year business manager of the SOCIALIST CALL, has resigned from that post and is leaving New York to do party work in California. He has accepted appointment as state organizer of the Socialist Party of California.

Before becoming a member of the CALL staff, Thurber served a year and a half as Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party in Cleveland, during which time the 1936 National Convention was held there. He was chairman of the Arrangements Committee of

that convention. Before that he associated with the Affiliated School for Workers in Cleveland, and the League for Industrial Democracy in Buffalo.

In his place the Management Committee has designated Robert Delson, who has been a member of the Editorial Board of the CALL since its inception. Delson's appointment is to hold until the coming meeting of the National Executive Committee at Pittsburgh. A sub-committee on management has been named to aid him, composed of Lazar Becker and Michael C. Arcone.

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America Faces New Depression

By Scott Nearing

(FP.)—Between the middle of August and the middle of November, 1937, the Annalist index of U. S. business activity dropped from 111 to 95, along a line that closely paralleled the recession of 1924.

The index is still receding, at this writing, toward a new depression level that will probably reach about half the depth of

the depression of 1932-33.

The present recession in business rounds out the business cycle that began at the depression level of 65 (Annalist index) in the spring of 1933, rose irregularly for three and a half years to the prosperity peak of December, 1936, and began the new recession plunge.

Limit of Priming Reached

There is every indication that the new period of recession, depression and revival will be brief in comparison with the 7-year cycle from 1929 to 1936. At the same time it is now triumphantly asserted by New Deal enemies and reluctantly admitted by New Deal friends that pump-priming has reached the limit of its effectiveness, and that the business cycle, with its profit-making and profit-taking ups and downs, is again in full possession of the economic field.

President Hoover began to prime the pump in 1931 with the huge loans extended to banks, railroads and other business concerns by the Reconstruction Finance Corp. President Roosevelt expanded the process with WPA, PWA, HOLC and a number of other relief organizations.

Federal government expenditures from 1923 to 1930 averaged just under three billion per year. In 1931 they were 3.6 billion; in 1932, 4.7 billion; in 1934 they rose to 6.7 billion.

Spend 5.3 Billion a Year

Between 1931 and 1935 the average federal government spending was 5.3 billion. During these five years the federal government alone spent about 11 billions more than during the five years from 1926 to 1930.

This increase of federal expenditure was supplemented by the expanded preparedness programs of all of the principal nations and by the war spending incident to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, the Italian raid on Abyssinia, and the Spanish war.

In the fairy tale only the little boy had the sense to realize that the king had no clothes on and the courage to say so. When Stanley Storey interrupted Armistice Day ceremonies in London by screaming the truth: "You're preparing for war!" he was committed as a lunatic.

Unemployed Demand More Relief, Expansion of WPA

WASHINGTON, D. C. (FP)—Launching of a concerted campaign to combat lay-offs was announced here by the Workers' Alliance, and a plan of action was formulated and sent to affiliates and cooperatives that make up the business cycle.

"The present business recession is partly due to the failure of purchasing power to keep pace with industrial recovery," the announcement of the Alliance said.

The combination of relief-spending and war consumption undoubtedly postponed the present recession from the winter of 1936-37 to the late summer of 1937. That was all. Under a system of profit economy the business cycle is stronger than even the most ardent pump-primers. It can be postponed. It cannot be prevented.

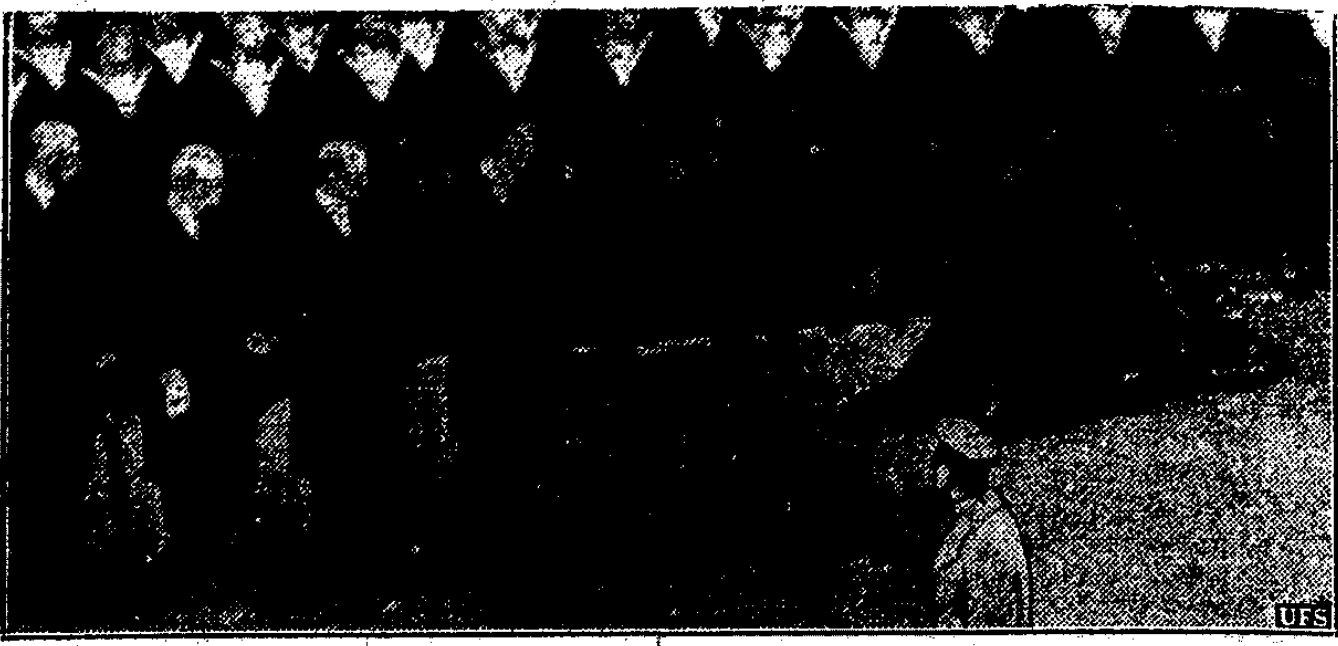
Pump-priming has its uses and its limits. The latter are soon reached. The workers, farmers and professional folk of the United States who are eager to stabilize the economic conditions under which they live must be prepared to go far beyond pump-priming, into the realm of socialized planned economy, before they can hope for any real end to the mad ups and downs.

"The workers, the farmers and the unemployed are unable to buy as much as they need and as much as industry has been able to produce."

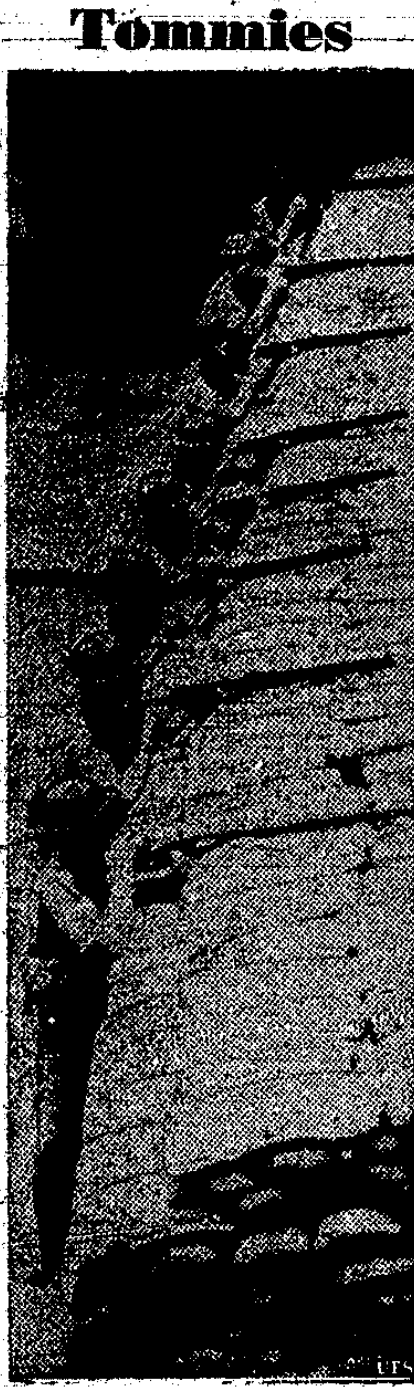
Immediate expansion of WPA, increased relief for the unemployed, enactment of a real minimum wages and maximum hours

bill, refinancing of farm mortgages, legislation to guarantee cost of production to the farmers, large scale housing, and improvement and extension of social security benefits will effectively build up purchasing power, according to the Alliance.

In line with these needs the Alliance urged its members to wire the President and congressmen in support of the program in financial districts to protest "against the efforts of the economic royalists to precipitate another depression," lend immediate assistance to unions when their members are laid off, and invite unions to conferences where plans will be made for action whenever a lay-off takes place.



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England waits anxiously behind sandbag barricades in Shanghai's international settlement as Japan continues to edge her out of the Far East.



Florida Klan, probable murderers of Shoemaker in Tampa two years ago, now gets official sanction from the sovereign state of Florida as a municipal park in Miami is rented to them for initiation ceremonies.

New Depression Comes

In the midst of official jubilation in Washington, with Mr. Roosevelt highly pleased with the "recovery" achieved by the New Deal, Depression has again struck the country.

Roosevelt had taken all credit to the New Deal for "recovery."

Roosevelt now turns to private business to achieve a new recovery.

Roosevelt has made his peace with big business. In the 1936 campaign

he declared his battle had only begun.

He has ended his sham battle with business. He is holding conferences with these economic royalists he lashed so bravely.

Capitalist economics is victorious over "liberal" politics.

The Socialist Party alone is willing to tackle the big job of pushing home to workers the fact that Roosevelt has sold them out.

The Socialist Party has to mobilize workers for a strong fight against all capitalists, "liberal" and reactionary, in the coming depression.

The Socialist Party must organize the workers of America against the imperialist war which the capitalists will brew as its means of meeting economic crisis.

The Socialist CALL is the Main Weapon of the Party in This Struggle! It Works With Bared Fists in the Fight Against Capitalist Depression and FDR'S Political Deal! It Needs Your Aid!



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