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I Am Exposed As a Spy

(See Page 5)

ROOSEVELT CONTINUES DRIVE TO SLASH RELIEF AND WAGES

OLD HOOVER PLAN FOR "RECOVERY" IS REVIVED

By John Newton Thurber

Even while he was away on his fishing trip in the Gulf of Mexico, Franklin D. Roosevelt carried ahead his rapid rightward drive. He is giving further proof of his full intention to bury his once vaunted New Deal for good and all.

Using the same device employed when the end of the New Deal was first officially voiced through the person of Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau in New York, Roosevelt followed with a speech given by "Uncle Dan" Roper, ultra conservative Secretary of Commerce, to the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce in Chicago.

In the past Roper has given conservative speeches, reassuring the business community. This time Roosevelt demonstrated his complete solidarity with this tendency by sending a wire from the Potomac, inviting the business men to a later conference in Washington. There the proposals of Roper will be given more detailed attention.

Paraphrases—G.O.P.

The Roper proposals were more detailed and positive than any before voiced by this reactionary member of Roosevelt's official family. Such a writer as Jay G. Hayden, Washington correspondent of the conservative Detroit News, comments on the fact that Roper's program is almost identical with the recently enunciated program of Senator Arthur Vandenberg, right wing Republican senator from Michigan. Hayden calls the Roper speech the most significant development of the week, in indicating the growth of right wing influence in the administration. It was "close to being a paraphrase of the last Republican national platform and it followed almost exactly the 10-point program for relief of business which Senator Vandenberg voiced," Hayden observed.

The telegram from Roosevelt, which featured the meeting, was taken an indication of endorsement for the views propounded by Roper. This gesture was unnecessary in the case of the Morgenthau speech a few weeks ago. Following Morgenthau's speech, FDR has taken steps to follow out each of the points outlined. The significance of Morgenthau's speech was correctly evaluated in the CALL for November 20.

Roper's Program

Roper's program for further revival of business confidence includes:

Revision of the tax structure favorable to business.

Revision of the income tax structure, so as to shift the burden from the wealthy to "a larger proportion of the population."

"Equal responsibility of labor with management in collective bargaining" and "creation of public agencies for the settlement of industrial disputes."

Direct relief instead of work relief during the coming winter, as an economy gesture.

Increased rates for the railroads.

Peace between the administration and the utilities.

Stimulation to private investments in building industry.

Reduction of the national debt as well as establishment of the balanced budget.

Labor, through following the policy of voting for Roosevelt and the Democratic ticket, finds itself in a curious position. It has been thoroughly betrayed by Roosevelt in his killing of the New Deal. It has few if any members in Congress to voice opposition to Roosevelt's rapid rightward course. No more complete demonstration of the bankruptcy of labor's political habit of "rewarding friends" has been seen in recent years.

The rightward movement of Roosevelt is not limited to speechmaking by cabinet members. Before departing on his fishing trip, FDR sent two messages to Congress which indicate his desire to establish a bloc with the business community. The Roosevelt who "was just beginning the fight" against reaction in November, 1936, who cried "a plague on both your houses" in the midst of the steel strike last summer, is now the Roosevelt who is leading the conservative drive on the standard of living of

American workers. Meanwhile American plunges deeper into new depression.

Housing

The immediate endorsement by the conservatives in Congress, the real estate and construction interests, and the conservative press shows they well understood the import of these words. The protest by building trades union leaders show that they, too, realize the meaning of FDR's proposal.

Landon

Arthur Krock, chief Washington writer of the New York Times, noted the growth of conservative ideology in the housing message. He commented on the references FDR made on "the American way." He suggested that a certain disappointed would-be statesman in Topeka, might be interested in this recent turn of events.

American labor, including hundreds of thousands who once voted Socialist, and the entire Communist Party, united in the supreme effort to keep Landon out of the White House at all costs. German labor voted for Hindenburg to keep out Hitler. Similarly, American labor now finds that the program of Landon is being established in Washington by "the man with the smile" who was elected to prevent this very eventuality.

The New York Times editorially comments on the fact that Roosevelt has rejected the "mass purchasing power" theory of prosperity on which New Deal legislation was based. He has turned to the balanced budget and curtailment of government expenditures as the corner stone of his new program, it writes. The reactionaries in Congress, strengthened after their recent rest period, find nothing emanating from the White House to criticize in four weeks, from their point of view.

In fact the only point for criticism yet handed the Congressmen was the Highway Message, in which FDR suggest-

Five Years—and Then Fascism or Revolution

"It is extremely unlikely that prosperity can be restored soon enough to prevent the destruction of the economic and political system of which you are a part."

Statement of Virgil Jordan, President of the National Industrial Council Conference Board before the "Congress of American Industry."

"Within five years, the only question would be whether the new American system was to be fascism or communism."

(The New York Times report of the essence of Jordan's speech on December 7, 1937.)

ed a drastic cut in expenditures. The balanced budget enthusiasts are crying out in pained agony, because FDR put them on the spot by proposing a more drastic slash than they themselves wanted.

Raymond Clapper, Scripps Howard Washington columnist, writes on this whole situation:

"It does seem as if in dealing with the business recession President Roosevelt is growing more like Hoover every day . . .

"Roosevelt's housing message might well have come from the hand of Hoover himself . . . He offers the old reliable Coolidge-Hoover formula—stand behind business and help it go ahead with the job . . .

"Along with this Roosevelt has offered other aids, all equally orthodox.

"There are the business conferences, the appeals for coordination of industry and labor and the eminently respectable proposal for Government economy. He is asking Congress to curtail highway expenses. Think of that!

"Roosevelt proposing to cut down road expenditures in the best Coolidge tradition. And he wants to balance the budget. That is becoming an obsession with him, as it was with Hoover in the early '30's.

"This is a most complete and fundamental reversal of a basic New Deal principle—that the Government should spend in times of receding business activity and curtail with prosperity . . .

"Thus if you look at Washington now, you see Roosevelt playing the role created in 1929 by Hoover. The only difference is that Roosevelt plays it with a little more verve. The lines are the same, only brightened up with the Roosevelt personality."

WANTED A POLICY



Cordell Hull, in charge of American foreign policy, can find no way out of the present international maze. Although America is pledged to "neutrality" in the Far East, he has not called upon the president to enforce the "Neutrality" Law. American interests in the Far East are so great, that Hull finds it impossible just to turn his back on events in Europe. Neither Hull's plan for international "cooperation" nor Wilson's old plan for "neutrality" can keep America out of wars so long as it has imperialist interests in other lands, and so long as a capitalist government, compelled to guard these interests, is in office.

Against Labor

Labor finds that in voting for a smile, for no program at all, it is getting just what it asked for.

New Depression Makes Labor Unity Desperate Need

By Arthur G. MacDowell
Labor Secretary SPUSA

CHICAGO.—The first direct meeting of William Green of the AFL and John L. Lewis of the CIO has ended without result for an agreement on unity of the labor movement capable of organizing the unorganized and holding present lines.

The need for agreement and eventual unity of CIO and AFL is greater than when the two head spokesmen of the trade union movement of America first met.

In appealing to Socialists and all progressives in the two union movements to support the "Committee of a Million for Unity"; a campaign is on by union members to their leaders to stay in conference until agreement on unity is reached. Norman Thomas, National Chairman of the Socialist Party reported here that conditions throughout the country tended to indicate that short of the fatal surrender of industrial unionism in basic mass production industries no price was too great to pay for the establishment of unity of labor.

With the return of depression (a fact of the harshest sort now clear to all but the willfully blind), Thomas reported that employers were now in a position to be malignantly and gleefully neutral while the two labor forces were at each others throats. In addition the spectacle of labor inner conflict was acting as a stimulant to the fascist sentiment latent among the middle classes and the unemployed youth of both middle and working classes.

With a sharp increase of the muddle headed radicalism characteristic of the middle class as a group, inevitable with the return of depression conditions the picture of labor unable to run its own house, will give disastrous impetus to fascist propaganda, Thomas declared.

In addition, reports throught the country-side show disillusionment growing in the ranks of the workers themselves. Company unions gain strength where inner-conflict in the labor movement has reached the tragic stage it has in the lumbering section of the Pacific Northwest. Here rival picket lines surround mills which all too many employers can well afford to shut down and leave down.

Physical clashes are a daily occurrence. Thousands of dollars are being poured out as in the case of the Carpenter Union of the AF of L which is reputed to be spending better than a \$1,000 per day to fight the Woodworkers Union of the CIO.

Furnishes Deputies

In Champaign, Illinois, the head of the Central Labor Union sank to the depth of furnishing the Mayor and Sheriff with deputies from his unemployed union members at union hall to break the picket line of the girls and boys on strike under the CIO in the city's laundries and dry cleaning establishments.

It should be recorded that the local unions of the typographical and electrical workers severed their connection with the Central body on this account rather than be identified with such treason to the fundamental interests of the labor movement.

On the whole, however, another loss is the decline of strong CIO sentiment in AFL unions like the Paper Makers which came very close to affiliating with the CIO at its last convention. Sentiment for unity on a decent honest

basis is strong everywhere and can be made to grow. Response to the "Committee of a Million For Unity" and its petition to the officers of both AFL and CIO as announced and endorsed in last week's SOCIALIST CALL reached nearly from coast to coast. This includes a member of the Woodworkers Union on Puget Sound on the Pacific coast who wrote in with feeling that "we

are having just plain Hell out here," and an active member of the Teamsters Union of the AFL in Quincy, Massachusetts, who declared with pride that due to the work of the local secretary of the Socialist Party the workers in their lumber yard were all a class conscious lot and strong for getting an expression from the rank and file of their sentiments for unity.

Workers Alliance Must Be Saved from Stalinist Disruption in New Crisis

CHICAGO.—With the sharpening of winter weather in this lake city, the crisis in the life of the unemployed of the city and state also sharpened. Governor Horner, sales-tax and nausea-gas liberal announced that "danger" of a special session of the state legislature was past for all state legislators who could now rest easy until after the April primary.

This announcement means that Chicago and Illinois unemployed have been kicked in the face. Funds have already shrunk to the place where food budgets are cut to bone and only half of rents are being paid. Families are being evicted out into the Hell of raw lake-city winter weather.

Funds will not be renewed or increased thru any further dipping into surplus from sales tax funds but relief budgets will be further cut as the thousands of new unemployed are forced on to the relief rolls.

If ever there was a need of an organization of unemployed and part-time workers to wring concessions from the Horners and the Roosevelts who, with their talk of balancing the budget, are preparing the way for the further attack on the present meagre relief standards of the unemployed and WPA workers, now is the time for that militant organization of the unemployed.

It is high tragedy that at this moment the Communist Party in its insane swing to adventurism and opportunism within the Democratic Party has invoked its old rule or ruin tactics.

Having within the week captured mechanical control of the Workers Alliance in Cook County, it has launched a purge of its political opponents in this unemployed organization which Socialists took the lead in founding on a non-partisan basis.

Expell Opponents

The Communist controlled executive board immediately upon taking office, expelled without charges, trial or hearings, five members of the Alliance opposed to their policies, and suspended two locals containing better than 10% of the entire membership in the county and threatened others. Robert Foley, Communist Party fraction secretary and now elected executive secretary of the Cook County Alliance struck the keynote when he declared for the new administration that what the Alliance, needed was more "unanimity."

Considering the fact that this same Foley, also a member of the National Executive Board of the Workers Alliance had previously demanded that Socialists support his proposal for illegal expulsion of his opponents by name at the convention explaining that "we cannot afford to monkey around giving these people the benefit of 'bourgeois democracy' in a time like this," this sweet plea for unanimity or else—is a call to turn the Workers Alliance of America into an arm of the Communist Party USA. This is a proposal to split the Workers Alliance to which the Communists were admitted two years ago in the mistaken idea that they wanted the unity of all organized unemployed and part time workers.

Appeal To Illinois Alliance

Appeal has been made to the Illinois Executive Board of the Alliance to stop the disruptive and unconstitutional action of the new power-drunk Communists in control of the Cook County Executive Committee; the National Executive Board of the Alliance meeting in Washington this week was fully acquainted with the nature and significance of events in the mid-west.

The tactic and program is national. As related in another place in this issue, the Communists in the state of Washington in order to carry thru their diversion of the Washington Commonwealth Political Federation into a liberal accomplice of the outright capitalist elements in the Democratic Party in that state, brought up on charges leading members of the Workers Alliance on charges of consorting with enemies of the people's front (that is Socialist Party members.)

SAVE THE ALLIANCE FOR STRUGGLE.

STOP THE COMMUNIST SPLITTERS AND PURGERS must be the slogan of every class-conscious unemployed worker.

Join CIO

Mobile Alabama—Two locals of the ILA bolted to the CIO here. Their membership is 2270.

NJ Labor Party Strong for Break With Old Parties

The wave of political action which is sweeping the nation's trade union movement reached New Jersey on December 5 when 368 delegates, representing 150,000 workers, met in Newark to launch a state-wide labor party.

Despite the fact that the State Federation of Labor had issued a statement requesting all its affiliates to boycott the convention, 34 AFL locals joined with 110 from the CIO in the meeting which was called by Labor's Non-Partisan League.

A resolution was adopted condemning both the Republican and Democratic parties for their traditional anti-labor practices, and went "on record" favoring the formation of a Labor Party.

An indication of the growing awareness of the labor movement toward the ramifications of political action was given by the huge delegation representing more than 12,000 members of the Dyers Federation whose caucus resolved to contribute financial support only if the embryonic labor party refused support to capitalist politicians.

To Call Second Meeting

It was decided to call a second meeting within six months at which time the constitution and principles of the labor party will be adopted, and it is probable that at that time the forces which desire collaboration with the old party politicians will suffer a stinging defeat by the Socialist and progressive elements.

Meanwhile a committee of 42 will survey the field, contact more organizations, and bring in a comprehensive report to the second gathering. Although the Dyers originally declared for an immediate formation of the party, suspicious that an attempt might be made to continue the "non-partisanship" of the Non-Partisan League, they acceded to the postponement.

One of their spokesmen, in criticizing the League and stating a refusal to follow its policies, declared that the capitalist class and its politicians are not non-partisan, and the labor movement, which is not non-partisan on the economic field, cannot be so on the political field.

Among the delegates representing the Dyers Federation was George Baldanzi, who was a member of the Labor Committee for Thomas and Nelson in the 1936 Presidential campaign.

Militancy Greeted

The Convention opened in a packed hall to hear speeches by Senator Lundeen, Farmer Laborite from Minnesota, Luigi Antonini, Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and a representative of Labor's Non-Partisan League. Interestingly, the most militant and radical statements received the greatest ovations from the delegates and visitors.

On each side of the platform were banners, one inscribed AFL, the other CIO. Over the platform was the slogan: "LABOR UNITED CONQUERS ALL." Each mention of the presence of an AFL local by the Credentials Committee, drew forth a burst of applause.

The delegation from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was the instrumental force in securing postponement of the actual formation of the party. Many of those representing the ILGWU committed themselves privately to an uncompromising position in their refusal to permit the endorsement by the labor party of Republicans and Democrats.

CP DISRUPTION WRECKS WASH. JOBLESS ORG.

By Robert J. Pearsall

In the state of Washington, within the last 18 months, the Stalinists have used every trick and method of disruption known to them precisely because here the ground-swell of disillusionment with capitalism is perhaps the strongest in the country.

Worming into the once more than progressive Washington Commonwealth Federation, the Stalinists captured control through alliance with old-line Democrats, headed by the now discredited John C. Stevenson. Stevenson got WCF endorsement for governor, and paid by assisting the Stalinists to sabotage the production-for-use initiative, the most economically advanced measure ever presented to American voters. In spite of that sabotage, it won a higher percentage of votes than ever given in any state to a similar measure; but in the name of "realistic politics," it was removed from the platform of the Federation, which thereafter became but a "people's front," subservient to the Democratic machine.

Into it, "for defense against fascism," were fed all progressive movements which might embarrass the Democratic state administration—then they were diluted and destroyed. Working-class demand for repeal of the sales tax, and for tax exemption on low-cost homes, were first supported, then renounced and betrayed.

Old age pension groups were sucked into the Federation and shackled by it. Now has come the turn of the CIO and the Workers Alliance. With the CIO, the issue is in doubt, but the Workers Alliance has been wrecked beyond any possible present usefulness to the unemployed or WPA workers.

Use International Method

The methods are identical with and those used in Spain, in Russia and elsewhere throughout the world. Besides alliances with reactionaries, character assassination is practiced. Overnight, even liberal Democrats, who revolt against Stalinist rule become "wreckers" and "enemies of the workers." Every Stalinist tongue is set wagging against them. Long ago, all Socialists became "Trotskyites." Within the Alliance, Stalinists elected to committees fail to function, thus nullifying the will of the membership. So honest workers are disgusted and driven out, holding the Alliance to a small membership, which can be controlled by the Stalinists.

In Tacoma, two earnest, aggressive young workers succeeded in building the Workers Alliance to a total membership too large for CP control. A campaign of vilification was started, baseless charges were brought against them, and they were brought to trial. All charges were disproved except one, that they had "consorted with enemies of the people's front," i. e., with Socialists. Even the Communist-packed jury was forced to acquit them.

Baron Back, Flays Stalinist Disunity and Persecution

Sam Baron, editorial Board member of the CALL who was arrested in Valencia a few weeks ago at the instigation of Communists, declared on his return to New York this week that the "re-establishment of an all-inclusive government would within forty-eight hours result in such revitalization of Loyalist strength that all uncertainty as to the outcome of the civil war would be removed."

Baron was released from the dungeon where he was held incommunicado on the insistence of his friend, Luis Araquistain, former Spanish ambassador to France and well-known Spanish Socialist. The Socialist representative had spent five months in Loyalist Spain.

Though he was equipped with letters of introduction from the Spanish Ambassador in Washington to high government officials, including Premier Negrin, Baron was arrested in Valencia on his second trip to Loyalist Spain. He charges that the Communist Party of Spain is responsible for disunity by persecuting other working class groups and cited his own arrest as an illustration.

Caballero Quoted

He quoted former Prime Minister Caballero, left Socialist leader, as saying in an interview in Valencia that "the abandonment of this policy of persecuting other working class groups is the insistent demand of all who seek the speediest victory over Franco and the establishment of a political and economic regime in Spain which will assure happiness to the people."

The text of Mr. Baron's statement follows:

"Though the disunity behind the lines of Loyalist Spain impairs the prospects of early victory against the brutal invasion by the international Fascists, I am firmly convinced that the establishment of an all-inclusive government, based on a reunited Socialist movement, the restoration of peace in the trade-union movement and the cessation by the Communists of their practice of persecuting other labor and anti-fascist forces, could within forty-eight hours result in such a revitalization of Loyalist strength that all uncertainty as to the outcome of the civil war would be removed.

"The most significant of recent events behind the lines is the suicidal determination of the Communists, following the line laid down by their International, to suppress all sections of the Spanish working class who find themselves on the left. My own experience at their hands, my arrest in Valencia, gave me concrete evidence of the lengths to which they have gone.

Under Surveillance

"Despite the fact that I came equipped on this my second visit with credentials from the Socialist CALL, the Socialist Party of the United States and personal letters to Premier Negrin and other government officials from the Spanish Ambassador in Washington, I was at all times under the surveillance of secret agents of the Communist Party. My sympathies, it is well known, have always been and will always be with those who are fighting Fascism and my first concern as a Socialist is to aid in the victory of the Government. Nevertheless, because of my differences with Communism, its Spanish agents brought about my arrest which ended only because of the intervention of Luis Araquistain, well known Socialist and former Ambassador to France.

"I am thoroughly convinced on the basis of my own observations that former Prime Minister Largo Caballero is correct in this statement that he made to me in Valencia, that the masses in Spain are overwhelmingly desirous of peace among the different sections of the working class and that they detest the operations of the Communist Cheka. He declared that 'the abandonment of this policy of persecuting other working class groups is the insistent demand of all who seek the speediest possible victory over Franco and the establishment of a political and economic regime in Spain, which will assure happiness to the people.'

Communist Tyrannies

"During the time I spent in

Loyalist territory, I learned only a portion of the many tyrannies for which the Communists are responsible. It is tragic that their concern is not primarily with serving the anti-fascist cause but with entrenching themselves into positions of power. A soldier on furlough told me at Socialist headquarters in Valencia that he had been summoned to a conference with a Communist political commissar, for writing a letter to Socialist Party headquarters complaining that the Communists were using their positions at the front to proselytize for their organization—this despite a standing government order against such agitation. He was warned that the writing of such letters might

(Continued on Page Eight)

World Labor Unity Needed To Defeat Fascist Forces

By Sam Baron

The English lion roars periodically, not in anger, but to drown the cries of anguish from betrayed Spain. Her foreign policy remains unchanged i.e., a willingness to give the proverbial shirt off your back for "peace." The recently signed commercial pact with General Franco will protect her interests in Spain, likewise in China after some diplomatic manouvers with Japan.

France, helpless France, sees its interests best protected being tied to England's apron strings, hoping against hope England will not be too inconsiderate. Internally, Fascist and Monarchist plots scream from the front pages of her press.

Externally, Italy at her back door thunders in Spain, her ships are sunk in the Mediterranean, Japan barks ultimatums in the Far East; Germany bellows demands for return of her colonies. England whispers words of love so France remains neutral in Spain, takes orders from Japan in the Far East, rails against the "pirates" in the Mediterranean and pitifully begs England to keep Hitler in line.

Russia places its trust in the League of Nations, dominated by England, and the Popular Front, dominated by the politicians of the middle class.

The League of Nations pass high sounding resolutions about "civilization," "the sanctity of agreements," and "peace" while Germany tears up her post war treaties, Mussolini devours Ethiopia, Japan rapes China and Spain is left to the tender mercies of Mussolini, Hitler and the benevolent English Imperialism. "Peace" is a wonderful word; war of invasion rages in two countries yet no nation has declared war.

The Popular Front in Spain, under the leadership of the Communists, a middle-class party—criminally divides the anti-fascist front by its repressive, dictatorial and terrorist methods against all groups to the left of the Communist Party. They are the Caballero (Francisco Largo Caballero, the former Premier, is the most popular leader among the Spanish masses) groups in the Socialist Party and the UGT trade unions. The Anarchists and the CNT trade unions. The anti-Stalin though communist POUM. The Communist International can very well be proud of its record in Spain.

The greatest concern of all who love justice and peace should be the defeat of Fascism, the defense of the Soviet Union against German and Japanese invasion and the victory of the Spanish Republic.

Soviet Russia has the power to bring this about. She must be an example of democracy in sharp distinction from all dictatorships. She must get her own house in order by putting a stop to the terrorism about which we read daily in the press, and such as I have seen in Spain, under the direction of the Communist Party.

Soviet Russia, if it wants international unity of the working class, must cease its efforts to dominate working class groups in all nations through the Communist International. The net result to date is division, discord and veritable warfare within the working class, thanks to the policy, under the slogan of "Unity," of absorption or exterminating those groups differing with the Communist International.

International working class unity is mandatory to defeat Fascism and insure peace. SOVIET RUSSIA MUST LIQUIDATE THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Imperialist "Haves" and "Have-Nots" Prepare Deal At Expense of Soviet

By Gus Tyler

The warriors of Europe are calling their battalions into battle array. They are calling the roll.

Yvon Delbos, foreign minister of France, is touring Europe, lining up the smaller nations for "coming events."

He visited Warsaw, Bucharest, Prague and Belgrade, to



Oskar Trautmann, German ambassador to China, who seeks to mediate the claims of Japan.



Yvon Delbos, French foreign minister, tours Europe to line up his allies. For what?

interview the governmental heads concerning matters which are a "public secret" Each of these countries, in the event of a new World War, will play an important strategic role.

Delbos is touring not only for his own country, but for the Anglo-French group. His trip to Central Europe was preceded by important conversations between his government and the British government. Following an agreement still secret, he left for the continent.

Alliances Are Made

The Delbos tour is the "democratic" counter-part of the Rome-Berlin axis. The Fascist powers have been making a public display of their united stand.

Germany, Italy and Japan have made it perfectly clear that they seek a reformation of the world's colonial system. They demand what they call their proper "share" in the imperialist spoils of international capitalism.

The point of friction between Fascist and democratic empires arises from the unwillingness of the Anglo-French bloc to discuss colonies alone, and from the refusal of the Fascist bloc to discuss an all-around agreement.

Soviets in Danger

There are indications that Britain would be glad to give Hitler a free hand to expand in the direction of the Soviet Union, provided Hitler gave guarantees not to disturb the British Empire in other respects. It is suspected that in the conversations between Bri-

tain and France, Downing Street prevailed upon the Quai d'Orsay to abandon the Franco-Soviet Pact in favor of a general European settlement at the expense of Russia.

Workers—Must Act

Thus, while the two great imperialist groups—those who wish to maintain the present imperialist division and those who would like to redivide the world—move rapidly to consolidate their international alignments and armies, behind the scenes deals are being prepared which may momentarily avoid a clash of the great empires at the expense of the Soviet Union.

Such an eventuality, and even likelihood, makes it of paramount importance for the workers of all countries, including America, to refuse all aid to building the armed forces of the capitalist powers.

Working class opposition to military budgets, to armaments, to militarization, to war-time dictatorships must be organized on the widest scale. Actions, such as those taken by the French Socialist and Communist Party in voting for the military budget, will not help the workers in the long run. Those arms will be used not only to protect French imperialism and French finance, but also to break strikes, to injure the Soviet Union, to arm a Fascist minded officer corps.

Only by consistent opposition to capitalist war, and all war preparations, can the system of imperialism be ended.

Texas Oil Strikers Hold Ranks in 3rd Week

(Special to CALL)

HOUSTON, Tex.—Entering the third week of their strike at the giant Houston refinery of the Shell Petroleum Corporation, the more than 1,200 striking workers held their picket lines in solid and expressed determination to remain on strike until the Shell company had signed an acceptable contract.

During the two weeks the strike here has been in progress there has not been one instance of violence. The attitude of the union and its ability to conduct the strike peacefully has won it a large amount of public support in this area.

A chorus from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union sang labor songs at all picket posts as well as at the mass meeting on last Tuesday.

WATCH THE WRAPPER

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EDITORIAL BOARD

Jack Altman, Sam Baron, Robert Nelson, Herbert Zam

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For an Independent Labor Party

"Everything For Business" is Mayor Frank Hague's municipal slogan. He therefore suppresses all workers' rights in Jersey City. Protect the profits of the rich, say the Republicans. And they burden the poor with sales tax and permit the unemployed to starve. Long suffering, the working class in New Jersey finally delivered its forceful answer to the parties of capitalism last Sunday. The trade union movement, both AFL and CIO, resolved to form its own party.

This encouraging break with the old parties of the bosses must be widened.

In the words of one of the militant delegates from Paterson, the working class in politics cannot be "non-partisan."

Those who desire a party of and for labor, must unite to defeat the attempts of those who would unite labor with its exploiters.

The reactionary line of the Communist Party, expressed in the Daily Worker, December 8, calls for the "establishment of closer collaboration (by the Labor Party) with progressive Republicans and Democrats."

But the major reason which prompted the trade unions to launch their party was the fact that they were betrayed by their "progressive friends" of the capitalist parties.

Not "non-partisanship" and collaboration with the old party politicians, but PARTISANSHIP FOR LABOR, must be the cry of the Labor Party.

The issue must be sharply drawn: The new party of the workers against the old parties of the bosses.

Bosses' representatives do not represent the workers on their union grievance committees; they cannot be permitted to represent the workers in politics.

For such a policy, Socialists and all forward-looking militant unionists in the Labor Party movement can unite—AND WIN.

The adoption of such a policy by the Labor Party of New Jersey at its next convention will assure its success.

The Polish Bund

The Polish Bund celebrates its Fortieth Anniversary. Forty years of heroic struggle against the autocratic Czar and the dictatorship of Pilsudski and Ridz-Smigly. Forty years of uninterrupted underground, illegal and semi-legal, work against a ruling class, which used every weapon of class rule and national and religious prejudice against the Jewish proletariat. With the exception of a few brief months, the Polish Bund could not breathe the fresher air of democratic rights. The Bund is working class heroism incarnate.

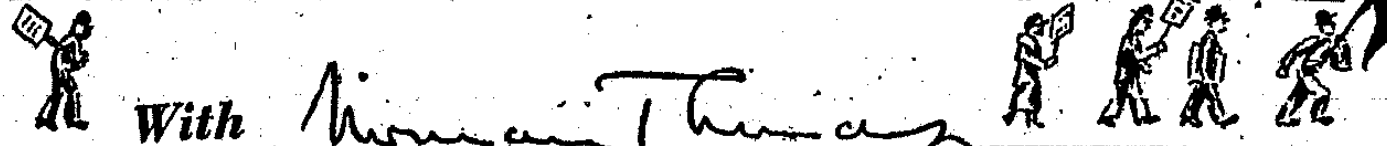
The Polish Bund also represents the spirit of revolutionary Marxism, free from social-democratic reformism and from Comintern sectarianism. For some years, the Bund could find no place in the international Socialist movement. The Labor and Socialist International was a hopelessly reformist hulk, with no lively left-wing tendencies within it. The Comintern was but the loud echo of Moscow, dividing and splitting the international workers as it fit the moods of the Soviet bureaucracy. The Bund rejected both for many years; but by so doing it kept its own ranks intact. The Bund has shown how it is possible for a Marxist party to avoid needless splits, by keeping alive the revolutionary word and deed while maintaining most intimate contact with its mass base among the class conscious workers.

The Polish Bund, by its very existence and program, symbolizes the unity of the struggle for freedom on the part of oppressed minorities and the working class. The Bund has never believed that the Jews of Poland could liberate themselves within capitalism through their efforts, without the support of the Polish masses. The Bund, quite properly, saw anti-Semitism as a movement fomented by the ruling class to enable it to "rule by dividing." In the struggle against anti-Semitism, the Bund has worked for an alliance with the Polish labor movement. Over a number of years, the Bund has gained ground in this direction. Today, the Polish unions and the Polish Socialist Party are firm allies of the Jews in resisting the Polish pogroms.

Finally, the Polish Bund, on its Fortieth Birthday, symbolizes the spirit of eternal youth that is properly the characteristic of a revolutionary movement. There are thirty thousand youth in the labor, active and disciplined, in the movement headed by the Bund, twenty-two thousand in the organization comparable to the Young People's Socialist League; and ten thousand in the movement comparable to the Falcons in America. The Youth movement grows faster than the party.

The Bund is a shining light in our Socialist movement.

AT THE FRONT



If this depression continues—as is all too likely, what sort of a labor union policy will be necessary? That's a question I have heard interestingly and informally discussed in the Pittsburgh and Chicago areas. A wise program, it seems, would go something like this:

1. Peace becomes more necessary than ever in the labor movement, but a peace of active, aggressive unionism. Situations like that in the Pacific Northwest are intolerable.
2. Workers' Education in general and specifically on what has happened when in depressions workers have dropped unions is vital.
3. The unions should become more than ever centers of cultural and social life for their members—not leave that to outside agencies.
4. The work of the union in preventing favoritism, discrimination, etc., is enormously important. The shop steward movement will greatly help.
5. Unions must organize or arrange for the organization of their own unemployed and keep in close touch with them.
6. Unions must stress internal democracy, be responsible themselves, and find ways to hold bosses responsible and to publicize their attempts to sabotage agreements or provoke strikes.
7. Finally political action becomes more imperatively necessary than ever.

ROOSEVELT RECOVERY

Roosevelt's present program is likely to do little for recovery and less for reform. Maybe better use could have been made of road funds—housing, for instance—but suddenly to reduce them will add to depression in scores of small towns. "Balancing the budget" will be at expense to the unemployed.

The proposed housing program is no good to a worker earning less than around \$35 a week and will do little for those who need it most. The annual wage idea is likely to be a snare and delusion for building tradesmen.

The wages and hours bill, properly drawn, will be useful against sweat shop conditions, but workers can't trust a five man commission with too much power. Already newspapers are saying that it will make unions unnecessary!

As for the crop regulation bill, in its present form in the Senate, even Secretary Wallace sees its dangers. It is a beautiful illustration of the capitalist system which knows no way to make a profit for producers except by imposing relative scarcity!

And when will the President put the anti-lynching law on his must list?

GOOD OR BAD MEN

In forums I find evidence of the great American delusion that everything is a question of a good or bad man. One man told me: "Wouldn't Roosevelt be all right if Congress would let him?" Others raise the question: "Green or Lewis?" Still others insist that it isn't the capitalist system but a Wall Street conspiracy which is to blame for a depression which on the whole has cost Wall Street dear.

Part of our socialist job is sound education on these points. And to educate we have to be in unions, in consumer's cooperatives and in a labor party wherever the workers are building a party of their own. Of course we have to be in as socialists.

US AID TO VARGAS

The United States sold Brazil plans for a naval vessel and dickered to lease her boats. Vargas was then a dictator and now has his own brand of fascism.

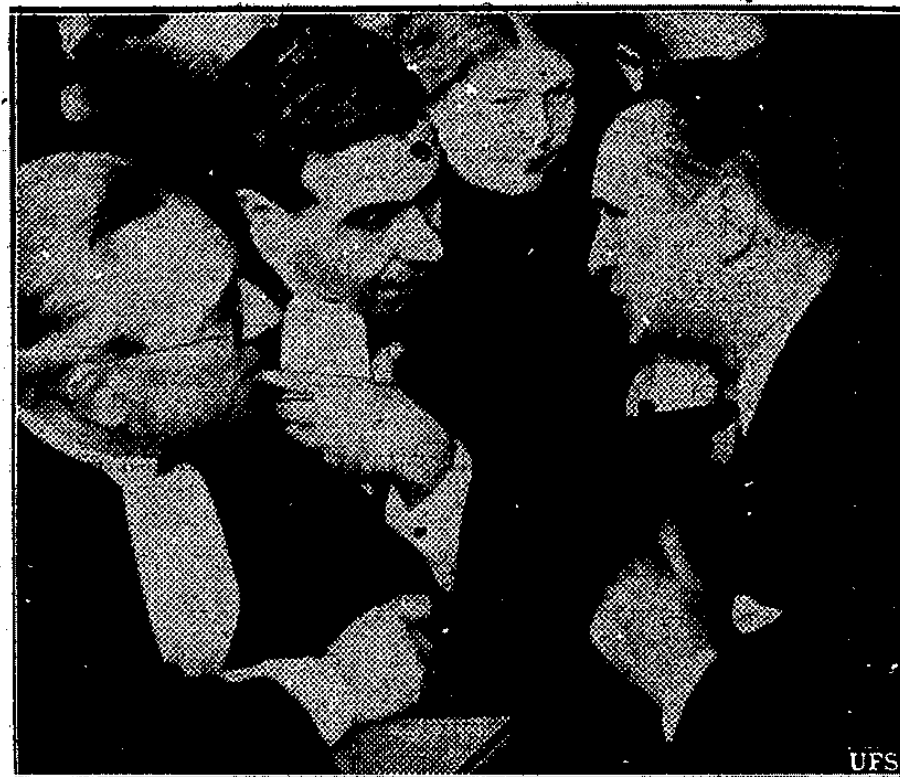
Russia is buying a submarine built in fascist yards at Livorno, Italy.

All of which shows that we won't end militarism merely by

nationalizing armament manufacture.

Speaking of Russia and remembering the zeal of the Communists to get the United States into war with Japan, and their far more admirable support of a popular boycott here of Japanese goods, why is the U.S.S.R. negotiating so amicably with Japan for continuing the fishing rights which they granted to Japan and which mean so much to her?

Fascist Takes Offensive Again in French Trial



Colonel de la Rocque (right), French Fascist leader, has turned the tables on his accusers. He has decided to sue people who charged that he was being subsidized with government funds.

The Government has been playing cat and mouse with the colonel. After the Fascist Croix de Feu was outlawed, de la Rocque reorganized it as the French Social Party. The change was in reality but a change in name only.

The timid Popular Front Government has not yet taken drastic action against anyone. The recently uncovered plot of "hooded ones," it is reported, was sprung to frighten the people into support of the constantly vacillating and weakened Popular Front. Fearing the workers would break from the restricting hand of the Popular Front and strike out for themselves, the government "scared" the workers by "uncovering" a plot, known to them long ago.

While the government goes on to the "defensive" against the Fascists, de la Rocque takes up the offensive, by opening his libel suit.

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RATES: 3 lines, 25c. 5 cents per additional line.
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VILLAGE BRANCH meets every Thursday night at 107 Madison St. (E. 42nd St.)
SUNNYVALE BRANCH meets every Wednesday at 345 West 19th St. Open meeting every Thursday.

GERMAN BRANCH meets every Tuesday of each month, Yorkville Labor Temple, 345 E. 84th St., G. Robinson, Chairman.

CHERRY HILL BRANCH meets every Wednesday at 301 W. 22nd St. (at Hudson River).

BRONX
5TH AVENUE BRANCH meets every Wednesday at 107 Madison St. (E. 42nd St.)

DETROIT
BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday at 2 P.M. 1150 West Warren.

Slavery In the U. S.

New Orleans—2,000 negroes were virtually shanghaied on Thanksgiving morning and forced to work on the sugar plantations of southwestern Louisiana. They were given their choice of accepting these jobs or going to the chain gang.

The salary on these jobs is 75 cents a day.

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Campus Militarism - 7

THE CAMPUS STRIKES BACK AT MILITARISM

By Robin Meyers

When the United States was swept into the last war by malicious propaganda and economic necessity, there was only the whisper of student protest, all that the Intercollegiate Socialist Society could muster.

But since that war, and especially within the past half-dozen years, a vigorous student movement has developed, a movement whose root has been its crystallization of student peace sentiment into anti-war activity. Its culmination has been the student strike against war, an annual dress rehearsal for the fulfillment of its keynote, the Oxford Pledge:

"We refuse to support the government of the United States in any war it may undertake."

This student peace movement has grown with, and largely indistinguishable from, the struggle against ROTC. Originally, conscientious objectors were the only objectors. But they grew in number and progressive groups, especially religious groups, and students rallied behind them.

In eight states (California, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Missouri, Ohio, West Virginia) universities refused to let objectors continue their education. Slight modifications were made. Some colleges permitted students to attend classes and complete courses without taking ROTC but would not allow them a degree (i.e. Cornell). A few colleges permitted exemptions for conscientious objectors (i.e. M.I.T.).

But aside from its psychological impetus, the role of the conscientious objectors is not of material importance in the fight on ROTC for two reasons: First, scattered individuals are weak, their resistance futile; organized student action alone can make a dent in the ROTC armour.

Second, not merely compulsory ROTC, but ROTC as an institution must go; ROTC is everybody's problem.

Strike Against War

Thus, the inception of a student strike in 1934 marked a hopeful advance in student anti-war tactics. Reaching half a million students in 1937, the strike united liberal students with radicals, pacifists and religious students of every persuasion around a program which demanded complete abolition of ROTC, asked a definition of adequate national defense, and challenged the excessive war preparations of the government by upholding the Oxford Pledge.

Equally, the entrance upon the collegiate scene of the American Student Union, with a year around program to carry out strike demands has been significant. For the present, the all-important concern is not technique of mass action. Individual and sporadic group activity is not enough. National organization and concentrated effort, widespread education and the implementation of sentiment for peace, must follow.

No Compromise

Recently, the spirit of the ROTC campaign has seemed to wane. 'Demilitarize education' has become a routine phrase rather than a call to action. 'Democratic ROTC' has been raised as a slogan and 'Abolish ROTC' has slipped into the background. Just as on the world scene labor and radical parties have voted armament credits, so on the campus the very group which is expected to lead the anti-war fight has wavered.

The example of ROTC reflects an ominous trend. The last war was characterized by the desertion from pacifist ranks of leaders and masses, deluded into fighting for peace—for democracy against Czarism or Junkerism; for freedom of nationalities, for a more equitable world. Again the tide toward involvement in international war has begun. Its camouflage today is collective security; cooperation among nations for the 'maintenance' of peace.

For the realization that war is the inevitable companion of capitalism, the substitution of conflict between the political ideas of democracy and fascism is attempted. Thus would they justify the absurdity of expecting action for peace from democratic governments controlled by financial and military interests! Military pact follows military pact, and rearmament. A line-up of 'good' nations against 'bad' nations is delineated, and collective security is the term applied to the alignment of the 'good, democratic' powers (who have the colonies and the markets they feed) for the protection of their spoils.

Fight War Now

Such an alignment is but the predecessor of another imperialist war—to end all war—which can be result in another imperialist peace—the seed of new war. The slogans are appealing: democracy, peace, and perhaps, socialism. The collective security bloc would halt the onrush of war by checking fascism; it will increase war and spread fascism. The only

possibility of staving off conflict lies in delaying the war preparations of governments; abolition of ROTC is one concrete way to do so.

Together with work towards the abolition of ROTC must go the demand for the removal of American political domination in Latin America and over the Philippines. Removal of CCC from War Department control, abolition of CMTC, increasing opposition to military appropriations, are likewise immediate demands. But these steps merely delay war, which cannot be eradicated until fundamental economic changes are made.

Unite with Labor

There is no peace today. The fight against war and against fascism is one fight—a fight against capitalism. War undertaken by the United States will bring fascism, not stop it; will breed war, not check it. We must arouse ourselves to oppose the physical and moral preparation of a peaceful people for such war; we must destroy ROTC as the initial step in the destruction of the system that created it, that creates war.

And we must ally ourselves with the force which also struggles against that system, with the labor movement. Students will unite with workers in the task of defeating war which is also the task of building socialism.

On every side, leaders of the peace movement take the road that leads to war. Governments arm. Battle lines spread out. The structure of our capitalist society totters and reaches out to steady itself for a moment on the crutches of war and fascism. It is time for us to call a halt, to unite every person, every group to resist. The Oxford Pledge and the student strike are our directives. One challenge can thwart the government, its war machine, its economic status quo; we mobilize behind that challenge:

"WE ARE NOT YOUR ARMY!"

"THIS IS NOT OUR WAR!"

A Political Biography

I am Exposed as a Spy

By Liston M. Oak

I have had the dubious honor of being thoroughly and frequently denounced by the *Daily Worker* in recent months. Not content with several editorials, Harry Gannes, Israel

Amter and Mike Gold wrote a series of articles in which they heap upon my head all their extensive vocabulary of expletives—including the charge that I am a Trotskyist agent of fascism, a sniper for Franco, and a spy for the Gestapo.

Doubtless if the Stalinists had the power in the United States that they have gained in Spain, I would be pulled out of bed some midnight, found guilty of conspiring with Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, and promptly executed for treason, on the "evidence" cited by Gannes, Hathaway, Amter and Gold—perhaps they might even be able to torture me into a "confession," implicating Sara Baron, Norman Thomas, Harry Milton, Hugo Ochler and others in the plot, directed, of course, by Trotsky!

Mike Gold cites a letter written

to me by Manuel Gomez while I was in Spain, which I never received—it was intercepted by the G.P.U., to prove me a fascist spy. He quotes from this letter: "We have not discussed these particular notes with Charlie and Adelaide in detail, as we have discussed your other letters and articles."

Gomez wrote: "The class struggle in this country is advancing steadily... but revolutionary leadership is still unsatisfactory as before. There is plenty of healthy spirit among the comrades but it has not yet found conscious expression. The work we talked about before you left is being carried out but in desultory fashion."

"Certainly," Gomez continues, "as you point out in your letters, it looks as though the USSR is achieving a growing domination among the revolutionary forces,

and that this domination carries with it the danger of subordination of Spanish needs to the Soviet Union governmental interests."

These are the only excerpts from Gomez' letter quoted by Gold. On this basis Gold concludes that "Liston Oak was an active Trotskyist before he left for Spain and Russia. He went there, not like an 'innocent,' but like a spy sent to search out the land. He saw only what Charlie Walker had already taught him to see. And he used Communist Party credentials and the letters of friends who still thought him a Communist. So, Norman Thomas, you can stop feeling sorry for him and the other 'disillusioned' and poisonous people who find a happy home on your paper. They lied to their Communist comrades, and now they are lying to you."

The Cardinal Sin

The "evidence" cited by Gold surely proves that I was guilty of the cardinal sin—entertaining

doubts about the infallibility of Stalin and his Charlie McCarthy puppets, that before I went abroad I was not a 100 per cent Stalinist, incapable of critical thinking. The debacle in Germany in 1933 when both Social Democrats and Communists capitulated before Hitler without firing a shot, in contrast to the heroic struggle waged by the Austrian Socialists and now by the Spanish antifascists, marked the turning point in my political thinking, although previously I had been deeply worried by the ultra-left sectarianism of "third period" Stalinism.

The completely wrong estimate of Hitler fascism, the rejection by the C.P.G. of a genuine united front with the Social Democracy, in those years when every Socialist was labeled a "social fascist" and the "main danger" by the Communists; the infantile leftism of the C.P. with its isolated dual unions and its "united front from below" policy; the Seventh Congress of the Comintern with its

flop from one line to another exactly opposite and worse than the first; the glorification of the League of Nations and collective security; the Moscow trials and execution and imprisonment of many hundreds of old Bolsheviks—all these and numerous other disastrous "mistakes" of the Stalinists had already made me feel uncertain, worried, and doubtful about the Third International.

I had not only entertained doubts, I had discussed them with friends, with Manuel Gomez and many others, including many comrades who still remain within C.P. ranks. Gomez and I refused to believe, then, that revolutionary Marxism and Leninism was dead in the Comintern. We felt that it was our duty to do some exploratory work among our Communist friends, to see if it was not possible to build some opposition within the C.P. to the new social democratic, opportunist and social patriotic line.

(Continued Next Week)

The Call Views the Theatre

Presenting the Workers' Angle on Current Stage and Screen Offerings

CLASS ANGLE

Labor Stage Shows the Way

By Michael C. Arcane

Last week the Socialist CALL carried a short review of the Labor Stage production of "Pins and Needles." It was a short review, it should have been longer and more detailed, but lack of space prevented this page from saying all that should have been said about "Pins and Needles." So hence one reason for this column.

The other reason is that this column wants in some measure to pay a deserved tribute to Labor Stage and to its sponsors, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. There is a certain amount of satisfaction in reading the very biased critics on the New York papers, Brooks Atkinson of the Times, John Anderson of the Journal, Richard Watts of the Herald-Tribune, Burns Mantle, Robert Garland and even Variety, the theatrical profession's own Bible and Das Kapital render unstinted praise to "Pins and Needles." What is presented on the small stage at 106 West 39th St. fully deserves every acclaim it has received.

For, as this page said last week, the proletarian theatre has stepped down from the soap-box and (paradoxically) up to the level of intelligent working-class (and now, we fear, Broadway) audiences. Which is something to be applauded.

Thanks to the ILGWU

But what is, to this column, of greater importance, is the courage and the vision of the ILGWU, the sponsors of Labor Stage. The European trades union movement has always had its own theatre. Not in isolated cities, but throughout Germany and Austria before the advent of fascism, today in the Scandinavian countries, in France, in England and Scotland, the labor unions follow a policy of not only fighting to better the economic status of their membership, through the struggle for better working conditions, shorter hours, higher wages . . . but also seek the cultural enhancement of their forces. The European labor movement has its press, its libraries, its cultural groups, its theatre . . . all designed and purposed to wean the working class from the escapist amusement and recreation devices of capitalism. Its press is a social press, its theatre a social theatre, presenting amusement and recreation, but emphasizing the struggle of the working class against capitalism, presenting propaganda for the new social order.

American Labor Theatre Weak

Unfortunately the American labor movement has been particularly short-sighted and weak in this respect. Its press is dry and factual, presenting little or nothing of recreational value; its theatre, until the advent of Labor Stage, has been practically non-existent. Once in a while a union would get together an amateur group, would seek to provide some cultural outlet for its membership, entertainment for a dance or other social function, whipping together a hurried conglomeration of skits and songs, with little or no real value. Or half-heartedly, present a one-acter or two, under bad direction, with little or no staging, and a very, very bad cast. Your reviewer has witnessed dozens of such performances and they were truly tragic things. There has never been any organized, sustained effort to build a valid labor theatre in this country.

What there has been of the radical theatre has generally been sponsored by political groups . . . Socialist and Communist . . . presenting their own particular brand of flag-waving and their own peculiar point of view. As for example the short-lived and not regretted New Playwrights Theatre. And the Theatre Union. True that the Theatre Union was a more fundamental effort, honestly attempting to be non-political, seeking to appeal to a trade-union and working-class audience with plays of social significance. It failed, because in spite of its ideals, it was essentially a professional group, and it did not have official trade-union support or recognition.

Other Unions Must Follow

It remained for the Educational Department of the ILGWU to recognize the fact that a labor theatre must have its roots in the labor movement. And with this realization there has been the courage and the vision to do something about it. The General Executive Board of the ILGWU provided the money, the energetic Louis Schaeffer was given carte blanche, a theatre was secured and the various locals were combed for talent. The result was that a year and a half ago work was started with a few timid but interesting performances of what now finally shapes up as "Pins and Needles." This was dropped when the CIO organization drive against steel made a play dealing with that subject imperative. A too short but very fine season of John Wexley's "Steel," rewritten for Labor Stage, was well geared to the SWOC drive and lucky New York theatregoers were given a foretaste of what to expect from Labor Stage. With the SWOC campaign settled down to the ordinary routine of day by day organization, Labor Stage went back to its original dramaturgic baby, the revusical now being presented.

We would like to see other unions follow in the footsteps of the ILGWU. We would like to see the Steel Union, the Rubber and Auto Workers, the Miners . . . CIO and AFL unions alike, seriously recognize the need for rounding-out union activities with a cultural program; theatre, press, dance and vocal groups. It is important. Of what worth is union organization if capitalism and industry are going to offset all the good work a union can do by bombarding the workers with a kept press, a kept theatre, a kept culture. Labor must see to its barricades . . . it cannot afford to ignore the theatre.

Angna Enters In 1st YMHA Recital

Angna Enters, famous dance mime, whose autobiography of over 180,000 words has been announced for publication by Stackpole Sons, under the title "First

Person Plural," will make her first New York appearance of this season on Sunday evening, December 12th at the YMHA Auditorium, 92nd St. and Lexington Ave., in a recital which includes several numbers created as a result of her very recent experiences in Spain.

"Four Little Angels of Peace"



Scene from the current Labor Stage Revue, "Pins and Needles."

New Welles-Mercury Show Wednesday, December 29th For Socialist Call Party

With "Caesar" definitely established as the season's outstanding hit, playing to standing room; and "The Cradle Will Rock," Marc Blitzstein's labor operetta a decided success

Orson Welles and John Houseman, co-directors of the Mercury have not permitted success to go to their heads and are going ahead full blast with the production of Thomas Dekker's "Shoemaker's Holiday," the Elizabethan comedy dealing with labor's first organized rebellion against exploitation. Welles has been rehearsing the cast for the past five weeks and readers of the SOCIALIST CALL will have the opportunity of witnessing the results at the SOCIALIST CALL-SOCIALIST REVIEW THEATRE PARTY on Wednesday Evening, December 29th.

While the enthusiastic appraisals of the drama critics are still on the newsstands, the Mercury office announces that among those who will appear in the Dekker comedy may be counted George Coulouris, now Antony in "Caesar." Coulouris will be remembered for his performances in the Guild productions of "The Applecart," "Mary of Scotland," and "Valley Forge." He also played with Katharine Cornell in Shaw's "St. Joan," and was starred as the psychology professor in "Blind Alley" and last season as the munitions manufacturer in "Ten Million Ghosts."

Another of the "Caesar" cast who will appear in the new production is Norman Lloyd, whose performance as Cinna, the poet, is one of the highlights of the current season. Lloyd originally appeared with the Civic Repertory's "Alice in Wonderland" and "Lilliom." He later played the title role in "Dr. Knock" for Associated Actors and appeared in "Gods of the Lightning," the play through which Maxwell Anderson first presented the Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy to the theatre-going public.

Others who will appear in the new Mercury production, joining the company for "The Shoemaker's Holiday," and subsequent productions include Vincent Price, last seen as the masculine lead in "The Lady Has a Heart," and former leading man for Helen Hayes in "Victoria Regina," Whitford Kane, well known actor, Edith Barrett, who played the lead in Benn Levy's "Mrs. Moon-

light," and Marian Waring Manley.

John Hoysradt, now playing Decius Brutus in "Caesar" and Dauber in "The Cradle Will Rock," and Joseph Cotten, playing Publius in the streamlined Shakespearean tragedy will also be seen in the Dekker comedy.

CALL readers can still secure tickets from the CALL office for the December 29th performance. The play will officially open to the general public on New Year's Eve.

Pioneer Youth Camp

Children Show Own Movie Boys and girls of the Pioneer Youth organization are actors in a moving picture to be pre-viewed at a Symposium on "The Movies and Children," Sunday evening, December 12, at the Labor Stage theatre.

The film is about two brothers and what happens when the union starts to organize the Hudson river brick yard in which they work. A cast of about thirty campers appear in scenes taken in the Pioneer Youth camp grounds near Kingston, N. Y. and along the neighboring Rondout and Hud-

CALL BOARD

The world premieres of new choral music by Virgil Thomson and Nicholas Nabakoff and the American premiere of choral music by Francis Poulenc will be given by the Lehman Engel Singers at the Mercury Theatre, Sunday afternoon December 12th at 3 P.M. The program includes four Thomson numbers, Nabakoff is represented by four chants for the Greek Church, Poulenc by seven songs. Other items include a rendition of the 67th Psalm and a group of English madrigals.

"Haiti," a new play by William DuBois, author of "Pagan Lady," will follow the four Eugene O'Neil one-acters as the next all-Negro production for the stage of the Lafayette Theatre in Harlem, it was announced by the WPA Federal Theatre project. Also announced was the fact that the opening date still three weeks off, the WPA Living Newspaper " . . . one third of a nation . . ." has already sold over 15,000 tickets. The new edition of the "Living Newspaper" is a dramatic story of the housing situation and will open at the Adelphi during Christmas week. Also announced for the near future are "The Common Glory," by Paul Green and Kurt Weill, and a new George Bernard Shaw opus, "On The Rocks."

With the fourth birthday of his "Tobacco Road" gone but not forgotten, Erskine Caldwell will devote all of his time to directing the forthcoming production of his novel, "Journeyman," dealing with an itinerant Georgia preacher. It will reach Broadway early in the new year.

Though "Mayerling" is now in its fourteenth week at the Filmarte, and seems slated to run indefinitely, the management has already selected a satiric farce to follow it, "Generals Without Buttons," adapted from the French novel, "La Guerre des Boutons," by Louis Pergaud. . . .

Keeping the cash register jingling merrily, with all indications that it may establish a new box-office record at the Strand Theatre, Paul Muni's "Life Of Emile Zola" starts its third week. The picture, acclaimed as one of the finest films of all time, has been playing to capacity, following one of the most successful roadshow engagements in Broadway history at the Hollywood Theatre.

The Marc Blitzstein tour-de-force, "The Cradle Will Rock," a labor operetta done in an extremely modern manner, will continue to be presented by the Worklight group of the Mercury Theatre for an indefinite number of Sunday evenings. At 3 p.m.

son, water fronts. The campers spent five weeks in research, scenario writing and the construction of "sets" before the film was actually taken by Elias Katz of New York City.

"By all odds the most exciting, most imaginative, most topical, most awesome and most absorbing play of the season."
—JOHN MASON BROWN, Post

CAESAR

(DEATH OF A DICTATOR)
MERCURY New York's Classical Repertory Theatre
41st St., East of B'way, Evgs. at 9:00
Pop. Prices 55c to \$2.20. Mat. Wed. & Sat. 3 p.m.

THE PULITZER PRIZE PLAY 1937
"THE SEASON'S FUNNIEST COMEDY"—The New Yorker
SAM H. HARRIS presents
YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU
By MOSS HART and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN
BOOTH THEATRE - 45th ST. WEST OF BROADWAY
Evenings, 8:40; Matinees, Wed. and Sat., 2:40

"Is Not to be Missed by Anyone."
Her Trib.
Richard Watts,

A GROUP THEATRE PRODUCTION
"ODETS HAS WRITTEN THE BEST PLAY OF HIS CAREER."—Lockridge, Sun.
"GOLDEN BOY"
BY CLIFFORD ODETS
with
Frances Farmer, Luther Adler, Morris Carnovsky, Jules Garfield, Elia Kazan, Roman Bohnen.
BELASCO Theatre, 41th St. E. of B'way
Evs. 8:40 Mats: Thurs, Sat. 2:40

IN HAGUEDOM

By McAlister Coleman

It seems to happen this way. That when things are dull-est around the fire-house and the sight of a checker-board causes slight nausea, bang, in comes a three alarm and all hands go sliding merrily down the old pole.

Anyhow that's the way it was in Jersey two short weeks ago. Ever since my whirlwind campaign against Bruce Barton blew me clear across the Hudson back to Radburn, I had been sitting idly at my typewriter, watching the Wall Street boys do their recession on the way to the light-thirty.

The hours crept by on oxen feet the while I tried to write little whimsies for a publication that pays for whimsies. I can assure you that being bright and gay and altogether whimsical amid the depressing environs of a white-collar New Jersey suburb is a man-sized task. It is like being told by your hostess as you are going into dinner, "Now I am counting on you to be the life of the party." Instantly you are sunk in such gloom as would make the black despair of a starless night seem like high noon.

Then as I was about to throw the type-writer out the window and myself after it, (with no serious effects, I hasten to add, as all our windows are on the ground floor) in came the alarm from Jersey City. Frank Hague's cops, it seemed, were going to work on the CIO organizers and the representatives of the Workers Defence.

Let Freedom Ring

Arthur Garfield Hays in his revised edition of "Let Freedom Ring," which by the way should be compulsory reading for anyone who wants to know how civil liberties flourish in a democracy, gives the background for the present Jersey City embroglio.

Long ago "I am the Law" Frank Hague devised a simple union-busting formula that goes even farther than the famous Mohawk Valley formula. He decides who can and who cannot organize in Jersey City and he has his tough-baby cops oust any-

one who is not on the Mayor's white list. Some time back it was AFL unions that were being pushed around. Now it is CIO.

When Hays, seeking an injunction against the police in the case of the striking seamen a year ago, put Hague's Commissioner on the stand, the latter said, "As for the seamens (sic) they can't picket."

It seems that Hague had informed his Commissioner that the seamen's union was not "bona fide." The exact meaning of "bona fide" was not of course clear to the Commissioner but he got the general outline of the instructions which were to throw the pickets into Hoboken.

Play Roughhouse

On this last occasion the J. C. cops roughed up Dave Clendennin and Sidney Herzberg of the Workers Defence, threw the CIO men into the bastille and searched any stranger they found on the dawn-dimmed streets of their fair city. In Dave's case they went into a building after him and threw him down stairs. Dave might have quoted, "I know that you wish to dissemble your love, but why do you throw me down stairs?" As they pushed Sidney around, they kept yelling, "Why don't you act like a gentleman?"

From then on was plenty to do beside whimsies. Experienced and competent CIO organizers in Jersey, such as William Carney and Carl Holderman went into action on all fronts. They took to the radio to hold meetings that had been denied them in Hague's Little Reich. They got their legal staffs busy. They stated their side of the case so clearly that even reactionary papers out this way wrote editorials denouncing Hague.

The affair gave point, if point were needed to the stirring convention of Labor's Non-Partisan League of New Jersey meeting in Newark to discuss the need

PARTY NOTES

WANTED!

NEWS FROM PARTY LOCALS:

Under a new policy the CALL will hereafter publish a great deal more local news than it has in the recent past. The news may be about activities of the party, or of labor organizations in the locality. Be sure to get an extra order of all issues containing such items.

BRIDGEPORT

The Socialists of Bridgeport will gather on Saturday eve, December 18th to celebrate their Annual Banquet and installation of officers for the coming year at the Socialist Hall, 117 Wall Street. Leaders of the State organization and prominent speakers will grace the Banquet with their presence. Comrades from Connecticut and surrounding territory are invited to attend. Tickets 50 cents in advance. Write to J. C. Bergen, 437 Spruce Street, Chairman of arrangements.

NEW YORK

Norman Thomas and Gus Tyler will discuss the Socialist position on war at a meeting under the auspices of the Bronx Section of the Young Peoples Socialist League. It will take place on Friday, December 17th, 7:45 P.M. at the Herman Ridder Jr. High School, at 173rd Street and Boston Road. Admission is 10 cents, and free to the unemployed.

The N.E.C. of the Socialist Party will meet in Pittsburgh from Dec. 10 to 12 etc.

Clerks Adopt Constitution

Pittsburgh—The United Retail Employees of America adopted a program of organization for the next year designed to organize the 7,000,000 retail clerks throughout the United States, at its convention which recently closed here.

The clerks also adopted a democratic constitution, which provides a system of electing and recalling officials.

The executive committee of 17 members come from New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Wisconsin, and New England.

for a labor party in this corporation-ridden sweat-shop "Traitor State" as Lincoln Steffens once so appropriately called it.

History of USA Told In Graphic Marxian Fashion

The United States—A Graphic History by Louis Hacker, Rudolf Modley, George Taylor. Modern Age Books. Seventy-five cents. 237 pgs. 76 charts.

By Maxwell Harway

It is difficult to praise some books in ordinary terms. When Louis Hacker writes, even the bourgeois historians must concede the authoritative character of his work. Hacker, who is undoubtedly the out-

standing Marxist historian in America, has just written a history of the United States in graphic form. But to say—a history of the United States—sounds like just another weighty tome that goes on for pages listing presidents and battles, and explains nothing. There is nothing like that here—just plain cold facts and figures about the social and economic forces that created America.

The book is divided into three parts—1. "The establishment of capitalism—taking the reader from the European backgrounds of the American colonization through the civil war." 2. "The triumphs of capitalism" covers the achievements and the development of the capitalist system in America. 3. "Capitalism in crisis" presents a picture of the social and economic problems developed under capitalism and the economic crisis facing the system.

The crowning glory of this work and the factor that makes it invaluable to any Marxist or any one else interested in really understanding America is the inclusion of 76 full-page-charts. These charts use Neurath or pictorial statistics showing at a glance what the author wishes to present. For example, one look at a chart comparing the resources of the North and the South on the eve of the Civil War will explain why victory was inevitably on the side of the newly developing capitalism in America. To glance at a chart entitled "The Class Composition of the American Farmers" is

worth volumes discussing agricultural problems.

Presenting as it does just cold facts mostly from government or other authoritative sources, Hacker has placed a weapon in the hands of every Marxist propagandist. It is so much easier to demonstrate the validity of the Socialist criticism of capitalism when we can substitute graphic visual arguments for involved economic and philosophical theories. The statistical research was done by George Taylor and the charts by Rudolph Modley.

—XMAS GREETING CARDS—

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

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Due to the fact that production will not be ready for the date originally announced—December 22nd—Theatre Party has been postponed to the 29th.

Capitalism, NOT The CIO Caused Crisis

By Leonard Woodcock

From the middle of August until the end of November, the business index of the New York Times has dropped in an uninterrupted decline. The fall

has been more than 25 points and has already wiped out the gains made in the two years between August, 1935 and August, 1937. Thus is blighted the fond hope of millions that depressions are a thing of the past.

Blame for the recession was placed on the CIO by Harold G. Moulton, director of Brookings Institution, in an interview on December 4th. as reported in the Detroit News. Wages, said the good doctor, were forced up too suddenly, with a resultant too sharp jump in prices and a consequent paralysis of capital.

"In the years 1934 to 1936 the situation was about ideal. There was a gradual increase in wages, while prices remained about the same and efficiency increased."

There is little doubt that the situation then was "ideal," the only part neglected was: "ideal" for whom? Profits during those years were increasing so fast that the profits bill for 1936 was the approximately equivalent of 1929. The increase in wages, it can be agreed, was "gradual," extremely so. And certainly efficiency was increased, so much so that the "gradual" increase in wages was more than wiped out. Add to these conditions an increase in the cost of living, that is prices of necessities, which did not remain about the same, and the conclusion is obvious that the period 1934-36 was "ideal" for the capitalist class.

To economists who deny that labor power is exploited, a rise in wages must mean an equal rise in prices. Profits to them are the difference between costs of goods and selling prices, and rise in the realm of exchange. Profits, they argue, do not come out of wages. That this, of course, is false is attested by the fierce-ness of capitalist opposition in any rise in wages.

It is therefore untrue that the wage gains obtained by the CIO at the end of 1936 and after increased prices.

Prices Rise Internationally
Prices were rising on the world market and were led by chemicals, metals and oil, the materials of war needed in the world-wide armament program.

Domestic prices were further affected by the increase in stocks of goods which were bought for months ahead in order to save on what was expected to be a perpetual price rise. (All upsurges in capitalism are believed to be eternal; compare 1929).

As supply equaled, and exceeded, demand, the price level swung downward, led by the same materials which had caused the increase. The business picture changed overnight from incipient boom to a slump, the length of which is still uncertain.

The true reasons for the recession are not hard to find. To take the constantly increasing stream of goods off the

market, consumer purchasing power is needed. But consumer purchasing power can increase only through economic expansion, which means the production of capital goods.

Capital goods industries in the wages they pay to their workers create consumer purchasing power without at the same time creating consumer goods. This enables the workers in capital goods industries to buy the surplus of consumers goods which the workers in that branch of industry cannot buy.

As long as the manufacture of capital goods continues, a comparative equilibrium is obtained. But the greater the production of capital goods, the more capital and the less workers used in general production. The more capital in relation to the workers, the greater the portion of income which accrues to the capitalist class; this leads to the still greater production of capital goods. But the consumers goods created in ever greater volume by the new capital goods, added to the old, flood the market beyond its effective demand.

The capital goods industry becomes unprofitable and slows down, further intensifying the crisis in the consumers goods branch. A depression follows and continues until, with the gradual clearing of the markets demand for capital goods once more appears.

The 1929 Boom

The boom, which culminated in 1929 was fed by the growth of the electric power, automobile, aluminum and radio industries. But as the capital equipment needed for a new industry can be turned out in increasingly fewer years, it needs less than a decade for an industry to rush from birth to decay.

After 1929, it was possible for the electric refrigeration industry to develop in the very years which marked the depression, viz. 1930-34; and by 1936 it was already past the period of expansion. New industry, because of the advanced stage of technical no longer has the ability to revive the system to a healthy vigor.

The recovery which began in the spring of 1933 was only partially due to the revival of the capital goods industries; as late as the end of 1935 the steel industry was at a very low level of output. The margin between 1932 and 1936 was chiefly government spending.

A demand for consumption goods was created through the CWA, PWA, CCC &c. which was able to revive the consumption goods industry. Even with continued government spending; however, a time would soon be reached when the increased efficiency of consumption goods industry (which required a mild boom in capital goods industry in 1935-36) would more than offset

ORGANIZATION DRIVE AGAINST FORD LAUNCHED

By Carl Haessler

DETROIT (FP).—The Ford organizing drive of the United Automobile Workers, already nine months overdue, is beginning to gather speed and to produce results. It is now generally agreed that it should have been launched last April, immediately after the General Motors and Chrysler triumphs of the UAW.

At that time a major drive, would probably have succeeded. But the leadership had to consolidate the gains in the other companies and Pres. Martin was somehow diverted into a witch hunt for Reds that now seems to be coming to a mysterious end. Its death rattles were heard on the front page of the New York Times last month in a fantastic series of red-baiting stories by the usually staid and sober Louis Stark.

The present drive, ordered by the convention last August to proceed under full steam, is producing new union members within the open-shop Ford fortress at the Rouge plant. The names and Ford files are kept confidential, locked up in a vault so that Ford's busy snoopers can't get at them.

There will be no open Ford meetings until the union is ready to proceed in full force for the final showdown. That Ford is getting worried is a known fact.

the increased demand and restore the crisis.

The stopping of government spending merely aggravates the situation; but the continuance of such spending beyond income must eventually end in the chaos of inflation. A capitalist government in this era of capitalist decline is continually caught on the horns of a dilemma.

Help The Rich

There is evidence that the Administration is going to grant the wishes of business and revise its system of taxation for the benefit of the capitalist class. The budget is to be balanced, and, if "persecution" of the utilities is stopped, they are prepared to spend two billion dollars. Finally, there

Baron Hits Communist Disruption in Spain

(Continued from Page Three)

proves very dangerous.

"It is common knowledge in political circles in Valencia that the Communists, without governmental authority, have been arresting persons identified with other work-class organizations under charges that they are Fascists. Recently the government learned that the Communist C'ek'a was maintaining such a prison in the old Santa Ursula monastery; and speedy steps were taken by the authorities to liquidate the institution. I have learned from reliable sources, however, that a similar prison in Catalonia is still functioning.

"The persecution of other radicals has been maintained on a systematic basis. It has been revealed, for example, that one Balleu representing the Communist International, who functions without any connection with the government, has a staff of about a thousand men who are used for purposes of Communist espionage.

Working-Class Alienated

"It is the attempt of the Communists to maintain a government within the government that has sorely weakened the defense. Their success in ousting Caballero and his cabinet has alienated the working class from their movement and has left them a political organization of the middle class, concerned not with purposes of socialist revolution but with mere control of political power.

"The workers of Spain resent deeply the persecution of the Anarchists, the POUM (Party of

Marxist Unity) and the left Socialists led by Caballero. The arrest of the POUM leaders, the failure to bring them to trial, and the fact that they would have been released were it not for the arguments of the Communists that the government could not afford to confess its error and must continue to hold them, has been further cause for discontent among the workers who are genuinely concerned with fighting Franco on the most efficient basis possible. They know that the Communist cry of 'Trotskyite disrupters' has no basis in Spain where the influence of the Trotskyite brand of Communism is almost nil.

Defeat Rule—or—Ruin

"Two factors will determine the outcome of the Spanish civil war; first, the re-establishment of solidarity in the ranks of the loyalist forces, and second, the success with which the international conspiracy against Spain can be defeated. Workers outside of Spain, in the democratic countries, must keep their governments from giving aid to Franco through the medium of the farcical Non-Intervention agreement. Spain needs the help of the international labor movement, and that help must take both forms—we must through our pressure defeat the Communist rule—or ruin policy, by insisting on a cessation of persecution, and we must compel our own government to quit playing the fascist game of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco."

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