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**The New Deal  
Confesses  
At Last**

(See Page 3)

## ROOSEVELT SEEKS NAVY INCREASE IN JAP CRISIS

### Will This Mean War?

### Norris Moves For Big Navy



Three American sailors landed ashore after their gunboat, the Panay was riddled by the bullets of Japanese military fanatics for reasons of their own. Why was the Panay in the interior waters of China, the Yangtze River? Why do we have battleships built for us in Shanghai shipyards which never even see American waters? These are questions American workers are asking themselves as propagandamongers begin their dirty work. (See the editorial on page 4).

With giant strides, America is marching toward war, in defense of financial interests in the Far East.

Close upon the heels of Washington's growing diplomatic friction with Japan comes the request of the president for an increased navy. Coming as it does at a time when relations with the Nipponese are so strained, the action of Roosevelt has been interpreted both here and abroad to indicate a military threat to Tokio.

This new request would ask Congress to make an additional appropriation above the present half-billion dollars.

In a letter to the Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, the President wrote:

The preliminary estimates submitted by the Director of the Budget to the Naval Subcommittee were prepared some time ago and called for appropriations to commence during the fiscal year 1939, two battleships, two light cruisers, eight destroyers and six submarines.

Since that time world events have caused me growing concern. Under the Constitution the President is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and has, therefore, a very specific duty to safeguard the defense of national interests. In speaking of my growing concern, I do not refer to any specific threat against the United States. The fact that in the world as a whole many nations are not only continuing but are enlarging their armament programs, I have used every conceivable effort to stop this trend and to work toward a decrease of armaments. Facts, nevertheless, are facts, and the United States must recognize them.

The government's military program scored a victory when Senator George W. Norris, the only man now in the Senate who voted against American participation in the World War, expressed readiness to back the government's naval program.

"I've always been against increasing the army and the navy, but I've changed my mind some about the navy at least.

"The capture of Manchukuo without cause or reason; the present invasion of China without excuse whatever and the knowledge that is becoming more or less generally known that Japan expects eventually to try for the whole world—these things cause me to believe that as long as such an outlaw nation exists in civilization other nations must be prepared with a naval force to resist the onslaught that might come when these countries are least prepared to meet it."

## Student Union Is Endangered As Pro-War Forces Carry Move For Support of U.S. War Plans

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.—Breaking with its traditional position of uncompromising opposition to all wars of capitalist nations, the American Student Union, under the pressure of the Young Communist League, is about to swing its support behind the pro-war forces in America who seek to involve the United States in a World War.

through the devices of "collective security."

The position of the collective security elements was considerably strengthened by the action of Joe Lash, Executive Secretary of the Student Union, who abandoned his position of last year to join the forces backing the war policy of the government.

The new turn of the Student Union, under the pressure of the new war propaganda and of the jingo-minded Communist forces who wish to see America at war with Japan for Soviet purposes, seriously endangers the unity of the organization. Founded as it was on the Oxford Pledge and

the Student Strike against support of any war undertaken by the United States Government, the Student Union finds its previously firm basis gravely weakened.

This unity has been further placed in jeopardy by the refusal of the Communist-led elements to grant elementary democratic rights to those who disagree with them. The demand of the liberal and Socialist elements for proportional representation on the National Executive Committee has been denied.

Urging the Student Union to reject support of the govern-

ment's war-making plans, Norman Thomas indicated that no good can come of wars conducted by capitalist nations with their imperialist armies. Such wars could only end with settlements of an imperialist character.

To those who hoped in vain that by support of a coming war it would be possible to realize a workers' revolution, Thomas declared:

"It is folly to hope that one may rise victorious capitalist armies for revolutionary pur-

poses."

Frederick L. Schuman, speaking for the Communist Party, called upon:

"American youth to support the democratic armies in a war against Fascist nations."

Almost in anticipation of the Student Union, President Roosevelt sent a letter to the convention in praise of the organization.

## Wear Lisle For A While!

# Drive To Oust Relief Head Masks Attack on Jobless

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Democratic Party spokesmen at a six-hour conference in the office of Governor George H. Earle, December 20th, made clear their determination not only to force a drastic cut in relief and a purge of the relief rolls, but also to bring the services of the Department of Public Assistance under political domination.

The conference was called by Governor Earle to consider charges of inefficiency and favoritism preferred against Secretary of Public Assistance Karl de Schweinitz by Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, Democratic national committeewoman and sister of U. S. Senator Joseph Guffey. Those present included members of a special investigating committee; members of the Pennsylvania Committee on Public Assistance, appointed by the governor to draft a permanent program of assistance and relief; various State officials; the governor's advisers; spokesmen from the House and Senate; Mrs. Miller; de Schweinitz, and spokesmen for the Department of Public Assistance.

**Calls Jobless "Chiselers"**  
The utter contempt in which the leaders of the attack hold the unfortunate victims of economic collapse was expressed by the spokesman for the investigating committee who gave as his personal opinion an estimate that forty per cent of all relief recipients are "chiselers." Other investigations have placed this number at less than two per cent.

Charging that the findings of the investigating committee were pre-determined by caucus and that the doom of de Schweinitz was sealed in advance by powerful partisan interests, Charles M. Sandwick, former secretary of the Workers Alliance of Pennsylvania and lone Socialist member of the governor's Committee on Public Assistance, challenged Governor Earle to show that de Schweinitz was not acting in accordance with the law and the governor's own announced policy when he exceeded his budget rather than cut relief or restrict eligibility.

"Did you not issue a public statement that 'no one shall starve in Pennsylvania'?" Sandwick demanded. "Does not the law require that relief funds be expended on the basis of need?" Governor Earle admitted that de Schweinitz may have been influenced by his pledge to the jobless, but referred the legal question to Attorney General Margiotti, who expressed the opinion that a State official has a primary legal obligation to "operate within his budget."

Half a million persons are dependent on direct unemployment relief in Pennsylvania, and the "recession" is contributing thousands of new clients to the rolls every week.

**Anticipate Deficit**  
De Schweinitz was given a clean bill of health with regard to honesty, but was denounced as inefficient, primarily because he failed to restrict the relief load and refused to cut grants to stay within his budget. A \$26,000,000 deficit is anticipated. Bitter resentment was also expressed against him because in his zeal to conduct a non-political administration he refused to accept a political stooge assigned by the governor's office as his deputy.

Cognizant of widespread public sentiment in support of de Schweinitz, the governor gave him an extension of time in which to answer the charges, and reserved decision in the case until "after Christmas."

Speaking against a proposal by an administration spokesman that relief expenditures be cut to the bone, Sandwick advocated

## Democrats Plot Relief Slash, Purge Pennsylvania Jobless

By Charles M. Sandwick

Pennsylvania is facing a relief crisis more desperate than the one which provoked three hunger marches to the State Capitol in 1936, culminating in a seventeen day siege of the Senate chamber by thousands of hungry jobless. The second richest State in the richest country in the world is preparing to cut relief and purge thousands of the hungry from the relief rolls.

Secretary of Public Assistance Karl de Schweinitz, the well-meaning liberal who administered the state relief set-up, is slated to be fired. He made the tactical error of taking seriously the pledge of Governor George H. Earle to the jobless, that "no one shall starve in Pennsylvania." He made the fatal blunder of trying to obey the law, which stipulates that relief funds shall be expended on a basis of need—a provision won through desperate struggle by the unemployed.

Unable to avert starvation by providing the most elementary needs of the jobless, and at the same time to keep within his department's budget, de Schweinitz chose to feed the hungry and thus increased the ire of the Democratic Party and of the interests which it serves.

### Schweinitz A Scapegoat

De Schweinitz, who is charged with gross inefficiency by his Democratic accusers, is merely the scapegoat to hide the two real issues behind the relief furore. The main issue is a proposed drastic cut in relief grants and a purge of the rolls, to which de Schweinitz is unwilling to consent. Another issue is a drive by leading elements in the Democratic Party to politicalize the Department of Public Assistance, a policy to which de Schweinitz has offered such stubborn and outspoken resistance that he has embarrassed the Earle administration.

If Governor Earle once desired to keep politics out of the relief administration, his judgement has been corrected by ultimata delivered by caucus spokesmen from the House and Senate, who declare that not another cent will be appropriated for relief

a special session to find new sources of revenue, and reminded the governor that he (Sandwick) had received the lone dissenting vote against the estimate of the Committee on Public Assistance, on whose figures the legislative appropriation was based.

On that occasion, early this year, Sandwick advocated an appropriation for the biennium of \$250,000,000 for all forms of assistance, as opposed to \$138,000,000 finally appropriated. At that time, Sandwick declared that the Committee took an unduly optimistic view of the probable employment trends both in private industry and on WPA.

The subsequent emasculation of WPA and the current spread of industrial lay-offs have served to confirm the correctness of the stand taken by Sandwick in support of a larger appropriation, which would also have made possible an improvement in relief standards to the level of health and decency declared socially desirable in the report of the Committee on Public Assistance.

so long as de Schweinitz controls its expenditure, and who threaten to desert the Earle camp unless the Governor will agree to throw the Assistance Department to the political wolves.

### Bureaucrats Capitulate

A shameful sidelight on the situation is the extent to which some labor bureaucrats, beneficiaries of the Earle administration in exchange for political support, have capitulated to the demands of the Democratic reactionaries for a raid on relief standards and political control of the relief administration.

In sharp contrast with the subservience of these few leaders, however, large sections of the rank-and-file of the labor movement are mobilizing in protest against the political aims of the reactionaries and the threatened relief cuts. Particularly in those industries most affected by the current "recession," such as steel, militant committees of the unions to secure speedy and adequate relief for all laid-off workers are being set up.

The CIO union covering employees of the Department of Public Assistance has adopted a vigorous resolution against political degradation of the relief services.

The Workers Alliance and other jobless organizations are faced with the task of organizing militant, determined actions throughout the State, not only in protest against the political and relief-cutting aims of the reactionaries, but also for an increased standard of relief, the extension of relief eligibility, and an end of such humiliating practices as the requirement that relief clients must produce periodically signed statements by prospective employers to the effect that the client has applied for work and has been rejected.

The Communist Party, which gave critical support to the Earle administration and to the Democratic Party to defeat the Republican reactionaries who formerly controlled the Legislature, now finds to its embarrassment that the "victorious people" of Pennsylvania have a fresh crop of reactionaries on their hands, this time of the Democratic stripe.

The Socialist Party, which has steadfastly warned the workers against the "lesser evil" policy of supporting "labor's friends" in the capitalist camp, must renew with increased vigor its drive for an independent political policy of the working class. As the crisis deepens, only militant struggle will avert the consequences of repeated concessions to reaction by labor's avowed "friends."

### Jobless Must Regain Losses

A defensive struggle, however, is not enough. Weakened by membership losses resulting from temporary improvement in employment, and by policies of a leadership which has been more disposed to class collaboration than to class struggle, the unemployed have suffered many losses during the past year. These losses

## Continue to Uncover Fraud In Carpenter's Union Count

More evidence that the National Referendum in the Carpenters Brotherhood held a year ago was faked by General President Hutcheson's Tabulating Committee was recently disclosed by the New York Carpenters Local No. 787.

In a special circular mailed 3 weeks ago to all the locals of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, Local No. 787 shows a comparative tabulation of votes listing 102 Carpenter locals whose votes were reserved by the Tabulating Committee appointed by General President Hutcheson to count the return ballots. According to this circular the number of votes cast by these locals against Amendments No. 10 and No. 12 and switched over to column "For" amounts to almost 5,000 including the 501 votes cast by Local No. 787.

The circular makes a sharp attack on the General Administration of the Brotherhood of Carpenters accusing it in the "Willful Misuse of Power" and in ruling the union as "dictators". Local No. 787 is demanding that if the Tabulating Committee has switched the votes, the members of this Committee should be forever debarred from holding any office in the union. The circular appeals to all the locals of the Carpenters Union to endorse its resolution demanding from the General Executive Board to "expunge" the two Amendments, No. 10 and 12 from the Constitution of the Brotherhood of Carpenters as the evidence shows that these two propositions were defeated.

But the number of switched votes uncovered by Local No. 787 are far from final. There is another local in New York which is in possession of evidence showing more than 4,000 votes from 94 locals reversed by the Tabulating Committee.

This is Carpenters Union Local No. 2090 located at 247 East 84th Street in New York City.

According to the letters that Locals No. 787 and No. 2090 received from the recording secretaries of hundreds of Carpenter Locals throughout the country, the number of switched votes reaches over 6,000, involving more than 160 locals throughout the nation and Canada. This is not the final picture yet. There are hundreds of Carpenter Locals where the said two propositions were reversed. Hutcheson's henchmen in various Carpenter Locals are suppressing the fact that their votes were reversed, partly because many of them have committed that crime themselves by filling out the return ballots contrary to the actual vote cast by the members. But as the swindle becomes more exposed, many conservative local of-

es must be regained, and adequate standards of relief, which never have been won, must be fought for. If jobs at living wages are withheld from the workers, then the capitalist class must be made to pay for a standard of relief sufficient to maintain the jobless and their families in health and decency.

The owning class would like to cut relief to an irreducible minimum. Socialists would prefer to abolish it altogether, but not at the expense of hunger and misery for the working class. Until capitalism, the begetter of unemployment is destroyed, the displaced workers must be fed, clothed, housed, and provided a share of the good things of life which the ample resources of nature and human labor have yielded.

The Socialist Party, while supporting the jobless in their immediate demands for relief, points the way to an end of recurrent depression with its toll of misery and starvation, the way of struggle for emancipation from the system of capitalism, which is the only road to a workers' world of peace and abundance for all.

officials are forced to come out with the facts.

Among the locals whose votes were switched are Locals No. 787, 284, 366, 2163, 1204, 2305, 1164, all of New York City. Other locals are 1073 and 1050 of Philadelphia, Penn.; 325 of Paterson, N. J.; 341, 1784, 1376 and 504, Chicago, Ill.; 188 of Milwaukee, Wis.; 98 of Spokane, Wash.; 1296 of San Diego, Calif.; 1765 of Orlando, Fla.; and many others which space does not permit us to enumerate.

## Picketing Made Illegal In Jersey

NEWARK, N. J.—Picketing is illegal the moment sufficient strike-breakers have been hired. This is the latest contribution of this sovereign state of New Jersey to its long list of fanatical anti-labor legislation.

Noting that "a strike is ended when the places of the strikers have been filled and the employer's business is operating in a normal manner and to a normal extent," Vice Mayor Meja Leon Berry restrained all picketing at the plant of the Mode Novelty Co., 242 Thirteenth Ave., Newark, by members of the United Product Workers Local Industrial 132, a CIO affiliate.

Last month Vice Chancellor Bigelow restrained 18 pickets at the factory from uttering threats to scabs on the job; now Vice Chancellor Berry completes the job.

The fight for civil liberties is evidently not confined to Mayor Hague or to Jersey City.

## Plans Forums

Starting Monday, January 3 the Knitgoods Workers Union will hold a series of Monday meetings for unemployed members. Forums of the union and the unemployed will be taken up. At the first meeting Manny Tatz will speak on the "Labor Bureau and Organization Work." Following meetings will have speakers on Unemployment Insurance, Situation in the Industry, Relief, The Coming Agreement.

These talks are to acquaint the unemployed with their rights under Unemployment Insurance Law and how to go about getting unemployment benefits. With them the union plans to continue its organization drive and to draw more workers into the campaign.

## BALABANOFF SPEAKS ON FASCISM'S NEW DRIVE AT LOS ANGELES LOCAL

Angelica Balabanoff, famous leader of the Italian Socialist and Labor Movement, an outstanding figure in left wing circles internationally for the past forty years, will speak on "Fascism's New Drive in Europe" under auspices of the Socialist Party of Los Angeles on Sunday night, January 9th.

Dr. Balabanoff was secretary of the Zimmerwald movement during the world war. At the conclusion of the war she returned to Russia where she was active in the Third International. As an active figure in both the Second and the Third Internationals, she has known intimately such figures as Jaures, Blum, Plekhanov, Zetkin, Lenin and Trotsky.

She was a trusted confidant of John Reed in Russia and knows the true story of his relations with the Comintern. She left Russia in 1922 because of disagreement with the methods of the Comintern leadership, and is neither a "Stalinist" nor a "Trotskyist."

For some time past Dr. Balabanoff has been at work in California on her memoirs, and now this work completed, is returning to the east.

## CLEVELAND LEE MORGAN BACK IN HARNESS

The prominent Socialist and Workers Alliance figure, has recovered from a bus accident. After many months in hospitals practicing racial discrimination, Comrade Morgan was moved to his home.

# NEW DEAL CONFESSES

## What Can Be Done About 60 Families That Run Us?

Proof that modern capitalism has reached a monopoly stage wherein a handful of men own the bulk of corporate wealth, choking off private initiative in business enterprise, endangering social legislation and imperiling political freedom was submitted to the American Political Science Association by Robert H. Jackson, Assistant Attorney General.

The material, which Jackson submitted in order to shift the responsibility for the present depression from the shoulders of the administration to those of big business, composes an indictment which damns the entire capitalist system.

The concentration of wealth, which has characterized the development of capitalism, has not been halted in the last few years. Jackson reports:

"Big Business' has come to exercise an increasing power over the standard of living, the wages and the economic opportunities of our people. It was estimated in 1929 that 200 non-financial corporations control 49 per cent of the assets of all such corporations. By 1933 the percentage had increased to 56 per cent.

"The 200 largest corporations were directed nominally by about 2,000 individuals, but actually the control resides in the hands of a much smaller number of men."

Jackson halts his statistics at 1933. It would have been interesting to add the statistics for those years following Roosevelt's coming to office. Not so long ago, a commission, of which Clarence Darrow was one of the most prominent members, reported on the fate of the small business man under the New Deal. Its conclusion was no less startling than the Jackson report. Under the New Deal, as under the old, wealth was piling up into ever fewer and fewer hands.

### Back to Teddy Roosevelt?

Jackson may damn this concentration of wealth. But what has he to propose? Back from FDR to TR? FD will be as successful a trust-buster as old Teddy.

The concentration of wealth is part of capitalism's jungle law. The strong shall kill or swallow the weak.

This amassing of power in the hands of a few puts to final rest the argument of those big capitalists who don't want Socialism, because it stifles initiative. This very concentration of wealth has already made impossible any successful display of individual business enterprise.

"The real curse of our system of private enterprise today is that it has destroyed enterprise,



It does not offer an opportunity for enough of the ablest men to rise to the top.

"There was a time when it did not make much difference if the son of the biggest director or the son of the biggest customer was vaulted to the head of the company over the heads of young men without connections. While there was real competition from other units in the industry, the rich man's son had to make good or the company went bust.

"But today, when competition has been virtually eliminated by mergers and price agreements over large fields of our economic life, the rich man's son—or the clever corporate politician with a pocket full of proxies—can stay at the top of the company indefinitely because he has no competition.

"The real brains of private enterprise are in subordinate positions, forced to make the best of inept decisions of policy made by their corporate masters.

### Monopoly Prevents Manpower

"The fundamental curse of all this monopoly business is that it prevents the development of the manpower which the country needs even more desperately in private enterprise than in government.

"Parents labor and save to provide formal educations for their children and when that education is finished there is no place for the boy or girl to go to except to start at the bottom of an impossibly long ladder of a few great corporations dominated by America's sixty families.

"One of the ablest of America's young business men was recently quoted in his advice to other young men: 'As soon as you find that your boss is a dumb-bell quit.'

"But except for a few of the most extraordinary of our young men, where does he go if he quits?"

In a strange sort of an attempt to scare big-business out of what it is doing, Jackson calls this new super-concentration of wealth "private socialism." And by this term he implies an end to the competitive system—not in favor of social ownership and control—but in favor of monopoly.

The difference between Jackson's "private Socialism"—which, he quite properly indicates, we have today—and true Socialism is the difference between a dictatorship and a democracy. It is the difference between utilization of the industries for personal profit or for social use. It is the dif-

ference between an economic structure run for and by the people and one that is run by the people for the banks.

### Private Socialism Spells Crisis

The difference between "private" and true Socialism is also the difference between permanent prosperity and periodic crisis. "Private" Socialism means that the masses cannot buy back what they have made—resulting in glut and unemployment. True Socialism means a wide distribution of wealth, insuring a steady flow of consumption and production.

Indeed, so vastly opposite is this "private" Socialism from true Socialism that the very term "private Socialism" constitutes a contradiction. "Socialism" implies "social" ownership and control. "Private" implies just the opposite!

But again one asks of Mr. Jackson: What's to be done?

Even while he speaks, new trusts are formed. New victims among the small businessmen are picked off by the giants. New loans are extended by banks to imperiled petty-bourgeois enterprises, soon to be placed on the auction block.

Mr. Jackson can't turn the hands of time backward. Teddy and Franklin Roosevelt combined cannot do it. THEY HAVE NOT DONE IT.

The world must prepare for the full logic of social development. The next step is not a return to the eighteenth century. The next step is full democratic ownership and control of the monopolies. The next step is Socialism.

### Monopoly Price-Raising

Interestingly enough, Mr. Jackson recognizes the fact that so-



### "Unvarnished Truth"

"The unvarnished truth is that the government's recovery program has succeeded nowhere else so effectively as in restoring the profits of big business.

"Labor has had no such advance. The small merchant has had no such prosperity. The small manufacturer has had no such advantage.

"In the face of those astounding profits under the present Administration big business will never be able to convince the American people that it has been imposed upon, destroyed or even threatened. It has merely been saved from ruin and restored to arrogance."

(From Robert H. Jackson's Speech Before the American Political Science Association)

cial ownership and control would represent democratic control as opposed to the present scheme. Says he:

"If the nation wanted to impose a sales tax of one-half of 1 per cent and thereby decrease the people's purchasing power the question would be publicly debated for months. There would be long discussion and hearings, and those who took the action would be held accountable for it.

"On the other hand, if the great industries subject to monopoly control wish to raise their price 10 per cent there can be no public debate, there is no hearing of those who must pay the exaction, and those who lay the burden need acknowledge no public responsibility."

The only way of saving the capitalist system is to see to it that there is a wider distribution of wealth. Indeed, says Jackson, "an intelligent capitalism would be begging government to go ahead with efforts to so modify this stream of income."

But capitalism is not quite so intelligent, because it can't be.

The existence of monopolies, under capitalist ownership cannot result in planned economy. For despite the high degree of monopoly, there is a constant warfare among the monopolies. The extermination of pigmy warfare does not end capitalist competition. The new war is a war among giants.

### Wars Among Giants

Each capitalist, no matter how great and powerful, is constantly fearful that he will be crushed by a competitor. As the world market contracts and the productive forces continue to expand, each individual capitalist attempts to grab off as much of the market for himself as possible. Governments which hamper his right to cut wages, stretch hours, regulate production appear as a nuisance.

This, too, Jackson recognizes. "No one would expect a voluntary change in the division" of wealth, he states.

But, he complains, when the government proposes a plan for the regulation of industry, big business sabotages the plan by a "strike of capital."

Indeed, Jackson lays the

WHOLE blame for the present crisis at the feet of the capitalists who are declaring a stay-away strike of capital.

Jackson knows that he is exaggerating here. He must certainly be aware of the fact that Roosevelt bears a grave responsibility for the fall in buying power this year, thanks to the program of cutting relief. Jackson must likewise know, for his own statements prove it, that under the New Deal the group that profited most was capital, while wages lagged far, far behind. Such a lop-sided development had to mean a new depression.

Nevertheless there are elements of truth in the fact that sections of capital certainly can embarrass the government and the entire nation by withholding capital—and thus precipitating a crisis—and are possibly doing so.

Very well, Mr. Jackson. What's to be done?

Leave the nation's productive machine in the hands of the capitalists and they will always be able to hold the club over our head. We propose to take this vital machinery out of their hands, to put it into the hands of society, to be run by plan, for the people, and democratically. What have YOU to propose?

The change from economic autocracy to industrial democracy is as necessary for the safeguarding of political liberty as it is for the protection of living standards and working conditions. The presence of industrial aristocrats is a constant menace to the democratic system.

"With all their resources of interlocking directors, interlocking bankers and interlocking lawyers, with all their power to hire thousands of employees and service workers throughout the country, with all their power to give or withhold millions of dollars' worth of business, with all their power to contribute to campaign funds, they are as dangerous a menace to political as they are to economic freedom."



### "Imperial Freedom of Design"

Two of America's richest men died during the past year. At the left is Andrew Mellon, 82; at the right John D. Rockefeller, 97. For years and decades their wealth and power has been multiplying, with the inexorable, terrifying technique of compound interest. Between them they possibly controlled over 100 of the 200 corporations of America, which, Assistant-Attorney-General Jackson, admitted before the American Political Science Association, control the wages, standards of living, and total economic possibilities of all the American people.

Through good times and bad, in Republican administrations and Democratic, their accumulation and concentration continued. What does Roosevelt, (caricatured above) intend to do about this most fundamental problem of the destiny of our people? What chance does he have, if he did want to do something, under the present system of accumulation and decay?

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Saturday, Jan. 1, 1938 No. 145

## Panic Over Panay

Every aspect of the very explosive Panay incident has been probed by the American press.

Pages of pictures have appeared in almost every paper, showing the boat, the river, the bombs, the bombers, and the bombed. Almost every plank and splinter of the Panay has been photographed.

Now the American public has been told everything about the Panay, except the most important thing. Every question about the Panay has been answered, except the decisive question.

It is all very interesting to know how the boat was hit, how survivors rescued themselves, how some men displayed heroism and other showed irresponsibility.

But what we want to know is just what the Panay was doing in the Yangtze River.

From the fleeting references to this matter, appearing in the American press, we get the impression that the Panay was bombed while escorting tankers of the Standard Oil Company.

**If this is correct (and so it seems), then once more America finds itself involved in an international war entanglement in defense of the almighty dollar.**

In a speech made by Franklin Delano Roosevelt so recently that the words and their bold ring still seem to echo in our ears, the president told the American people that when we have to choose between profits and lives, this country would decide to protect human beings and not money-bags.

Especially in the light of this speech have we the right to ask just what it was that the Panay was protecting in China.

What America is viewing in the Panay bombing is just one incident in the scheme of imperialism. American business has for many years been spreading its tentacles around the world. While workers walk the streets of America idle, the capitalists strive madly to invest capital in other lands. While citizens of the United States go about unclothed and unfed, the capitalists exploit foreign markets. While American labor organizes for higher wages, American capital tries to beat down their standards by producing in backward countries with cheap labor. This whole scheme to exploit the world for the greater glory of American capital is only made possible by the fact that behind the American dollar stands the American gunboat.

This procession of business, diplomacy and the army goes on in periods of peace, as well as in war-time. In periods of peace the struggle of American imperialism for markets, raw materials, places to invest capital, takes on the "peaceful" form of trade agreements, political deals, suppression of natives, bribery and threat, military pacts. When a major conflict breaks out any place in the world, the finely woven net of American imperialism, with all its complex diplomatic, military and economic fibres, begins to rip.

The Panay incident is just one rip in that fibre. That tiny rip has been placed under the magnifying glass of the American press and radio and movie to make it look like a gigantic hole imperiling the lives, the property, the honor of the American people.

The Government hastens to repair that rip. It demands apologies. It threatens reprisals if there are no apologies—and guarantees, which are impossible to give. Roosevelt rushes a still bigger and even better navy appropriation.

And all this—why? In defense of American imperialism.

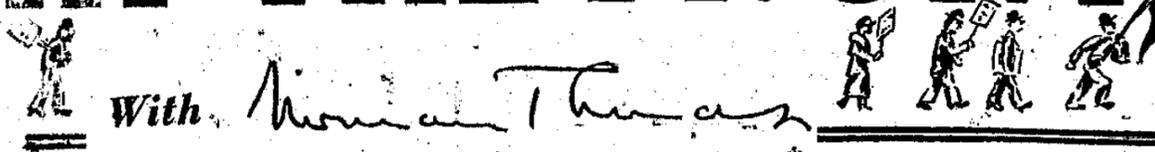
There is no denying that the loss of American lives is no matter for levity. Neither is the loss of the lives of Chinese workers, who are defending themselves from Japanese imperialism. Neither is the loss of the lives of Jap workers who have been propagandized into believing that theirs is a war of defense. The loss of a single human life in such stupid struggles is a grave matter, an indication of capitalist waste, cruelty and insanity.

But surely the lives lost in the Panay are not so much more valuable than the lives of the men who were shot in cold blood in South Chicago, who were killed on the picket lines of the steel union. Did the president of the United States demand an apology from Tom Girdler? Did he threaten reprisals? Did the press go wild? Did the government demand a military appropriation to make war against the steel barons, with their private arsenals and their personal armies?

The lives of the American steel workers are just as meaningful as the lives of the Panay victims. Both are victims of capitalist exploitation. The Panay incident is the result of a clash between American and Japanese capitalism. South Chicago is the result of a clash between American workers and American capitalism.

As war fever mounts, American workers must seriously begin to ask: Shall we lay down our lives in defense of those men who would shoot us as readily as they would shoot Japanese workers? Shall we die for the greater glory of American imperialism?

# AT THE FRONT



The week brings us a strange conglomeration of news good and bad. The Panay incident is closed, although no one can predict its possible after effects. It was as well handled and as well settled by the government as one could expect. The question still remains: how long will America gunboats convoy oil tankers for the Standard Oil in belligerent zones?

The news from Teruel brings new hope for Spain. On the labor front at home the news is not so good. Not all the Liberty League and Manufacturers' Associations in the world could do the harm to the workers of America that will be done by a continuance and intensification of civil war between the AFL and CIO, and such is likely to be the result of the utter breakdown of peace negotiations. Let the rank and file speak out. There must be peace and peace consistent with clean, democratic, aggressive industrial unionism. There should be no room in the American labor movement for leaders who say, "Yes, we want peace but only on terms and on conditions that will perpetuate our jobs."

It is to the good that the NLRB has come to grips with Henry Ford and has ruled against him for discharging workers simply for union activities. It is not good to pick up a headline and read that in New York spokesmen of organized labor have nothing to say about Mayor LaGuardia's plan for 9 cent milk except words of opposition. Of course I grant that the 9 cent milk plan must not be allowed to jeopardize wages and working standards in the milk industry or reasonable pay to the farmers.

But there won't be much of a milk industry if consumers are forever to be gouged as they are now gouged for the price of milk. At the very least let labor support something positive for the consumers and the only positive thing that I can see is not one city milk supply station as a yardstick but a socialization of the milk industry. Organized labor and organized farmers play with fire when they show no sympathy at all with the consumers in a case like this.

### LAGUARDIA

Mayor LaGuardia's political strategy seems to be that of entering as a member of the ALP and then appointing Republicans or conservatives to most important offices. He has made two good appointments from the ALP, Marx Lewis as Deputy Treasurer and Samuel Orr as Deputy Comptroller. The latter appointment technically should be credited to McGoldrick. It is significant that both of these good men are to have charge of the collection of the sales tax which is used for relief. Does the Mayor think that an improper tax can be made acceptable to labor if labor men have to supervise its collection and administration?

Another feature of the Mayor's policy is to pose as the friend of housing by making a loud noise in criticism of other people for being slow. Actually his record is decidedly mediocre in the field of housing. He has not got the City of New York to make any appreciable appropriation for housing. He has not ordered or initiated the sweeping revision of taxation which is necessary to a housing program. According to some rather weighty testimony it would appear that he has not changed the very unjust assessments which he inherited from his Tammany predecessors.

### U.S. AND BRITAIN

British officials rejoice that the relations between Downing Street and the State Department are more intimate than at any time since the World War. They declare that the Japanese have done them a great service in hastening American emergence from the isolationist state of mind. . . . But if the first objective of British policy is cooperation with America the last thing desired is a democratic front as such. The government is sincere in the apparently contradictory course of seeking a concert of democratic powers, while opposing the division of Europe on ideological lines." (Anne O'Hare McCormick, New York Times, December 27th.)

Mrs. McCormick speaks with authority. See where her statement leaves the idealist supporters of collective security by a league of democratic nations. Such security means that nothing can be done without a general agreement and the advocates of it assume that it will be on the basis of a defense of democracy. Yet here from a friendly source is a plain statement that British policy rejects such an ideological agreement; that what it wants is an Anglo-American alliance for the purpose of maintaining Anglo-American power.

In the Far East this means primarily English power. The resultant measure would probably mean imperialist war. Everything that led Americans on reconsideration to disapprove American entry into the war of 1914-'18 would

virtually a totalitarian state. Internal and external considerations make him doubtful of the survival of the liberal democratic and parliamentary state. It is precisely this point which to my mind has become central in any worthwhile socialist debate, and the answer to arguments like Hoover's or for that matter like Walter Lippmann in his "Good Society" are extraordinarily important. Here I have space only to say that Mr. Hoover seems to assume that democracy means the elementary political state, which is too narrow a definition of what democracy ought to mean.

A second book of a different sort is "Plot and Counter Plot in Central Europe" by M. W. Fodor (Houghton, Mifflin Co.). It is possible to imagine and perhaps to desire a more profound and philosophical analysis of the facts which Mr. Fodor deals. But the facts themselves are of the utmost importance and they are fairly and authoritatively stated. The book is immensely interesting as a history of events from the Peace of Versailles on. No one can read it and maintain the illusion that there will be a return to Europe on the simple basis of democracy or dictatorship. All sorts of nationalistic economic interests will enter in.

There is really no love lost between Hitler and Mussolini and their interests do not run along together except in so far as they can hurt England. So unstable are conditions that Fodor is able to discuss at some little length the possibility of an understanding between Hitler and Stalin. He says he has heard of a good many people in the United States who have determined to support Hitler out once more when the determination to people without any adequate basis of economic cooperation. That was one of the results of the first war to make the world safe for democracy.

What possible reason have Communists or anybody else to believe that the second war to make the world safe for democracy will be more successful? Fodor, although doubtless he has no such intention, has written a book the implications of which are wholly against more American crusading for hypocritical democracy.

**A Correction**  
The Workers' Defense League has brought it to our attention that last week's headline in the CALL: "Defense League Breaks Hague Ban Against CIO," had an ambiguous meaning. Although the Workers' Defense League meeting went on unhampered by the Mayor, the ban against the CIO as such still stands.

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Democracy and War—3

# THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS— LAST BOURGEOIS UTOPIA

By Gus Tyler

In writing of the League of Nations, Karl Radek, the famed Soviet journalist spoke of it in 1924 as "the last Utopia of the bourgeoisie, a Utopia which inspired millions of people during the years of the World War, a Utopia which is the last great idea of the capitalist world. After the crash of this Utopia the capitalist world will live only so long as the working class permits it . . ."

This last great Utopia of the bourgeoisie, the hope for lasting peace under capitalism, was the handiwork of Woodrow Wilson, then President of the United States. In part, the League of Nations as finally presented to the world was a product of Wilson's weaknesses. Cornered between the elbows of the tough Clemenceau and the wily Lloyd George sat this "quondam professor with no concrete knowledge of European affairs, and this American puritan came to the sittings weak and muzzy from sittings of a different nature with the elegant French ladies with whom French diplomacy surrounded him. But even had Wilson not shown himself a fool, weak among tough wolves, had he really been a man of iron, even so, none of his promises could have been fulfilled.

"For even if Wilson were crystal pure, and of great heroic character, his ideas were doomed to fail. The capitalist world is a world based on competition. Against any one organization of bandits which strives to organize the plunder of peoples, others inevitably rise up, and seek new methods of acquiring super-profits. The interests of the propertied classes of the nations are intimately bound up with dynasties and military cliques and they are all directed toward the maintenance of rivalries, of armaments, of wars and discord among the peoples.

"The idea of an organized mankind ceases to be an illusion or a Utopia only on the day when the one class really interested in the abolition of all exploitation of one part of the world by another . . . it up; and this class can only conquer finally through its own international organization, which, when it finally wins, it will be its duty and its task to replace by an international economic organization."

## The Prophecy

Today, a full decade and a half after this writing, Radek's comment upon the futility of the League of Nations, reads like a prophecy. For against this "one organization of bandits" others have "inevitably risen up." Against the League of Nations has arisen the organization of the German, Italian and Japanese bandits.

And both organizations of banditry are pouring their national wealth into the "maintenance of rivalries, of armaments, of wars and discord among the people."

Within the League of Nations, setting its tone and directing its policy, are the two great victor powers of the last war: France and England. In the League, they saw an instrument to impose their post-war settlement on the world. And for this purpose they have sought to use the League.

Outside the League of Nations, today, are those

great powers which were unhappy with the post-war settlement, which demand revision, whose capitalists are as unable to accept the present division of plunder as the capitalists of Britain and France are reluctant to surrender any part of their spoils.

The League of Nations is today what it could only be as the creature of Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson. It is the mouthpiece of the world war victors, speaking against the world war vanquished. It is an instrument of one imperialist gang against another.

The presence of Germany in the League for many years did not fundamentally change its character. The weak were permitted to enter the bandit's den—to beg for mercy. In League councils, Germany petitioned on bended knee for a change of the post-war arrangement. The lower it stooped the harder was it kicked. Until mad with national rage, Germany suddenly shocked the world by a chauvinist outburst.

## League of Nations

The League of Nations was incapable of keeping Italy, Germany and Japan within its councils, because the League of Nations could not sit as a body of disinterested individuals seeking to solve the problems of the world in accord with general notions of mercy, justice and efficiency. When the interests of Italy, Germany and Japan clashed with the imperialist interests of Britain and France, one group or the other had to leave the League of Nations. The nations that assembled in Geneva were not disinterested parties; they were capitalist powers in life or death struggle for their imperialist lives.

But just as the League of Nations was, as a body, incapable of settling the world's problems by common agreement, so was it unable to act as a decisive punitive body. The League, if it was to have any value at all, had to look like an all-inclusive aggregation of the world's people. Within it, therefore, were many lesser nations, who from time to time, travelled in the anti-Versailles orbit.

Finally, even England and France were not too-ready to employ the League of Nations as a warrior force. While these two powers were not anxious to see the revisionist powers gain strength, they preferred aggressions by the revisionists at the expense of "third" parties to the hazards of open war. Britain and France, with their pockets stuffed, were afraid of what might be lost in a tussle with other great powers. So they have always been ready to purchase "peace" for themselves at somebody else's expense.

## Soviets and Geneva

For many years, the Soviet Union recognized the imperialist character of the League of Nations and refused to have any dealings with it. So abhorrent was the League to Lenin that on occasions he went to ridiculous extremes in order to avoid contact with it.

When in 1922, the League of Nations Health Committee summoned a conference to deal with

the spread of typhus and other epidemic diseases, the Soviet delegates "assumed a suspicious and hostile attitude." The Soviet delegates "noisily demanded on their arrival in Warsaw that the placards bearing the taboed 'League of Nations' be torn down from the conference building. They likewise stipulated that they must deal directly with the national delegates present and not through the intermediary of the 'League of Nations' Delegation."

Even this did not satisfy the Soviet delegates, however. They demanded that the name of the conference be changed to cut out all reference to the League of Nations. They finally agreed upon a name: "A Special International Commission sitting at the same time in the same place as the League Health Committee."

The recent turn in Soviet policy in the direction of the League has not been the result of a changed Russia. Soviet entrance into the body has not changed its character.

Russia's entrance into the League has not led to a satisfactory revision of the post-war settlements, to a liberation of the colonies, to self-determination of oppressed nationalities, to disarmament, to the realization of peaceful means for the settlement of international disputes. The presence of the Soviet has not prevented the rape of Ethiopia, nor its diplomatic recognition; the fascist intervention in Spain; Italian piracy in the Mediterranean; Japanese invasion of China.

## A Stronger League?

The idea of a League of Nations is in itself not a bad one. In a workers' world, based on co-operation instead of constant competition, a league of nations will be the means for ordering the economic activities of the world.

The present League of Nations has, however, proven to be either meaningless or harmful because it is part of a great imperialist system. As such it is powerless to bring peace and freedom.

There are those who maintain that the failure of the league arises from the fact that it did not assert itself enough. These people wanted, and some still want, a strong league.

One wonders what such a strong league could do. In the hands of imperialist Britain and France, it can only be strong in its insistence upon maintaining the present division of colonial spoils. It might have, and it still can, threaten and employ force against those who wish to change the map.

But is this the road to peace? It might be, if all the world were unanimously agreed as to the culpability of any one little power. Then the present division of spoils might be maintained "peacefully" at the expense of some little fellow.

But in the present world, torn asunder with imperialist rivalries, a display of force by the league could only harden the counter-force, the "League of Revisionist Nations." Peace enforced at the point of the bayonet can never be a lasting peace. Such an idea of world peace is truly the last great Utopia of the bourgeoisie.

# RETURN FROM RUSSIA

By a Special Correspondent of the London Daily Herald

A small army of proud men retreated from Vienna into Czechoslovakia in February, 1934, beaten but undismayed; 600 Austrian Socialist Schutzbund men went into exile, bearing still the arms which they had taken up in the cause of democracy and Socialism.

Later they went to Soviet Russia, where they were received with open

arms. The families followed them. Three years have passed. The men who went to Russia full of enthusiasm are now trickling back in a steady flow anxious to go home to Austria, where prison awaits them.

One of the returned men told me that in the beginning of October there were 130 Austrian

Schutzbund men on the list of the Austrian Consulate in Moscow waiting for their Russian exit visas.

### "Driven Out"

I have talked with several of the returned Socialists after their release from the Austrian prison in which they were put for about

a month while the extent of their "guilt" in the 1934 fighting was investigated. Most, after this month's imprisonment are released and join the ranks of the Austrian unemployed.

It seems clear from my talks with such men that there has been no large act of expulsion.

They state, however, that foreigners are being driven out systematically as a result of petty bureaucratic pressure.

I give below the statements made to me by a number of these Socialists, who have returned from Russia.

### In Prison

"My Soviet working permit was originally for one year," one of them told me. "Later it was shortened to three months and periodically renewed. But recently the renewals were given to me only for periods of ten days, and then I decided to leave."

A man who had been working in Kharkov told me that at least ten Austrian Socialists are in prison in that city. One of them, he stated, is Erjautz, who was one of the brilliant commanders of the Schutzbund in the Vienna fighting.

"I went to Moscow," one man told me, "and lived in the Austrian Consulate. There were other Austrian Socialists there at the same time."

"We rarely left the house, because it happened that men who had left the Consulate to go for a walk were arrested and never came back. We waited until we got our Russian exit visas."

# The Call Views the Theatre

## Presenting the Workers' Angle on Current Stage and Screen Offerings

### CLASS ANGLE

#### Hollywood—1937

By Michael C. Arcone

#### Six Out of Thirteen

From the viewpoint of the bourgeois reviewers, Hollywood has turned out a fair number of good pictures during the past year, and, indulging, as is their custom, in the game of guessing the Film Academy awards, our colleagues here seem fit to mention a good baker's dozen of films, which, by Hollywood standards, may be considered top-notch. But thirteen out of a total of about 500 full-length feature pictures which have come from the eleven major Hollywood studios during the past year is a very small percentage. Hollywood is still overproducing . . . hogwash, garbage and intellectual rotgut.

From this column's viewpoint six of the thirteen are not to be considered for any sort of citation. "The Hurricane," "Captains Courageous," "Lost Horizon," "Stage Door," "A Star Is Born," and "The Prisoner of Zenda," while interesting if one is looking for entertainment, are escape media . . . they serve the ends of a class, but not of the working class. In this respect "Lost Horizon" may be singled out for specific indictment. It is bad enough that such a large percentage of films must be classified as escape entertainment . . . but when a picture propagandizes for a withdrawal from the reality and the problems of our present social system . . . 'nuf said.

Seven of the thirteen are worthy, pro and con, of more serious consideration. But mostly, with one outstanding exception, unfavorable. For each of them, good as they may be in direction, plot, acting, photography, etc. is basically unsound from a Socialist standpoint.

"The Good Earth," to take the first of these, is as good a picture as can be filmed from a bad book. It is faithful to the original story, and the fault is not completely Hollywood's. For the book, if we can take the word of Younghill Kang and Lin Yutang, to mention but two Chinese authorities, is a romanticized story of the Chinese peasantry and their basic problem, economic security. Which is definitely the problem of the exploited classes the world over. Both book and film fail completely in presenting realistically the Chinese landowners. Blame Hollywood's worship of the box-office. The Pearl Buck book was a best-seller, and although more valid books on China may be found in the 49-69-cent remainder stores, Hollywood could hardly be expected to invest a million or so dollars on any little-known, although actually more valid book on China. So we have the romanticized "Good Earth," with the very lovely Lulse Rainer instead of a more basically honest approach to China.

#### "Dead End" Ruined

"Dead End," if this column is to be honest with its critical canons, must be dismissed as only another display of Hollywood's fine disregard for an author's intention and message. As a play the Kingsley tragedy was valid social theatre . . . showing honestly and vividly the results of a slum-environment. But the producers had to give it love interest and a happy ending . . . and we got more hogwash.

"They Won't Forget" was a

good picture. It should be seen. Warner Brothers, who fathered it, are to be congratulated. It is an authentic story, based on the Leo Frank lynching. But here again Hollywood showed its lack of courage. The lynch problem is almost completely a racial problem . . . it would have been a more valid indictment of lynching and of the lynch spirit . . . and of justice . . . as would have been 1936's "Fury," if the character through which Hollywood sought to indict had been negroes . . . who constitute 99% of the victims of lynching . . . instead of whites. But Hollywood hasn't got that much guts.

#### Two Morbid Studies

"Night Must Fall" and "Love From A Stranger" were both valid studies in morbid and abnormal psychology and the Committee on Exceptional Photoplays from the National Board of Review has nominated the first as the best picture made anywhere during 1937.

Personally we enjoyed "Love From A Stranger" more than we did "Night Must Fall." But this department must agree with Archer Winsten of the New York Post that the subject of this picture is not significant enough to deserve this rating. Psychopathic killers, treated for suspense and shock content do not make great pictures.

According to Winsten, the top rating should go to Leo McCarey's "Make Way for Tomorrow." But we must again disagree. True enough that it handled the problem of old-age security with some understanding and with a great deal of sympathy. But not basically or radically enough. The problem is not a problem of isolated individuals but of the mass of worn-out workers who can't get jobs and whose wages, while they were able to work have not been sufficient for them to save anything toward their old age. Winsten has seen fit to call it the most tragic approach to depressing truth that the season has seen . . . but to us it is just another Hollywood muff.

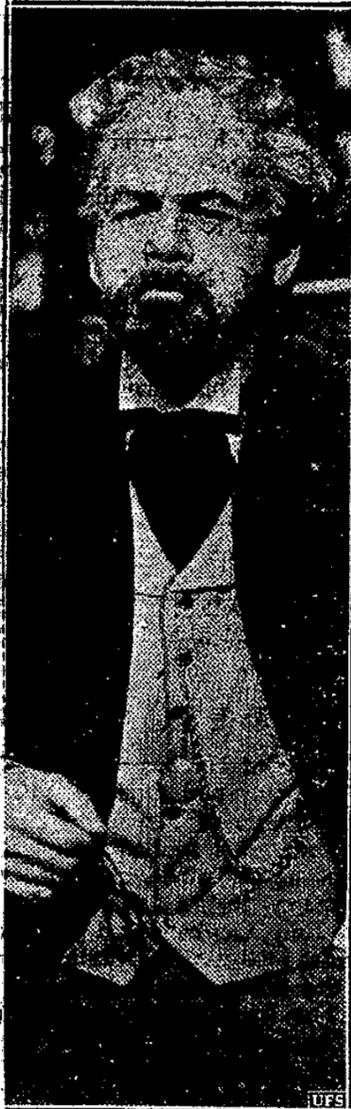
#### Greatest Muff of All

But the greatest muff of all was the filming of Remarque's "The Road Back." As a book it was fully the equal of "All Quiet on the Western Front." As a picture it is absolutely the worst "great" film that Hollywood has ever turned out. If ever a book was butchered, an author's message distorted, if ever high tragedy was turned into low comedy, this picture does the job, beautifully. It fully deserves all the abuse we can heap upon it, but we have neither the space nor the inclination for invective.

All of which leaves only one picture for any sort of citation from this column. And in spite of many shortcomings, due in the main to Hollywood's subtle disregard for historical detail, Paul Muni's "Life of Emil Zola" stands high above everything else. It is, in my mind, the finest photoplay Hollywood has ever turned out, ranking with the greatest of the Russian and French films.

Lack of space prevents a reiteration of all that has been said about this picture's social content. But may we refer our readers to Ruth Brooke's review

### Paul Muni



Paul Muni, as Emile Zola, in the Warner Brothers film which receives *The Socialist CALL'S* accolade as the most important film of the 1937 season.

### Spanish Earth Banned In Providence

Providence now has the distinction of being the only city where the brilliant documentary film SPANISH EARTH, is prohibited. Chairman Roberts of the Bureau of Police and Fire banned the film in toto, saying that the dialogue "criticized friendly powers."

Such an attitude by a public official towards a film which has received unqualified praise from all leading film critics as being one of the finest documentary films ever produced, parallels to a great extent Mayor (I am the law) Hague's current antics.

This action is arousing storms of protest, because, not only is such censorship undemocratic, but it completely ignores Hitler's and Mussolini's announcements that they are and will actively continue aiding the insurgents in Spain.

The American Civil Liberties Union aided by church, peace, social and liberal organizations have already undertaken a campaign to reverse this decision of police censorship.

of this film, which appeared in the Socialist CALL for August 21st, 1937.

We honestly feel that in this picture and in this picture alone has Hollywood in any measure justified its existence during 1937. It is, as the CALL reviewer points out, for a moment the conscience of Hollywood. But only for a moment and one of very few. For Hollywood has a long way to go to atone for all the garbage it has turned out during the year. And we are thankful for Paul Muni's characterization of Zola. It is something greater than Hollywood actually deserves.

### Current Artef Showing Inconsequential Comedy

By Bruno Fischer

An inconsequential comedy which turns into outright farce after the first couple of minutes, called "The Good Soldier Schweik," is the current offering of the Artef Players at their theatre on West 63 Street.

### Call Board

The new year brings two shows of working class interest to Broadway. Monday night, January 3rd will see the opening of the regular 8-shows a week presentation of the Mercury Theatre's "The Cradle Will Rock," at the Windsor Theatre and Thursday evening, January 6th will see John Steinbeck's "Tortilla Flat" on Broadway.

The ILGWU will award two cash prizes at a dinner at the Hotel Lincoln Tuesday evening, January 4th, for what it considers the best labor plays entered in its prize contest which closed recently. First prize will be \$2,000 and second prize is \$1,000 and winners will be chosen from "Model Tenement," by Meyer Levin; "Pier 17," by Melvin Levy; "The Child's "After the Gun," and "Sunup to Sundown" by Frances F. Faragoh. The winner will probably be the next Labor Stage production, as soon as everyone in New York and other cities have had their fill of the current "Pins and Needles." And speaking of "Pins and Needles," now that the ILGWU has a hit on its hands, it is dreaming of Chicago and the road, just like any other producer. Decision later.

More than 30,000 seats have been sold for . . . one third of a nation . . . the Living Newspaper about housing which will be presented by the WPA Federal Theatre at the Adelphi early in January.

The new program now showing at EMBASSY-THE NEWSREEL THEATRE, Broadway and 46th Street, New York features the largest issue of the March Of Time containing three interesting subjects: 1. "The Human Heart." The newly discovered cause of heart diseases, social diseases, artery inflammation, and how Science is learning to control this greatest single cause of death today. 2. "Britain's Gambling Fever." Twelve cents a bet and the odds are 14,000,000 to 1—improvised Englishmen are spending one hundred million dollars a year on their fantastic new kind of gambling. 3. "Alaska's Salmon War." As Japan invades the Alaskan salmon fishing grounds—the world's greatest—Washington rushes plans to defend the fabulous resources of this last and richest U.S. outpost. Launching its new year season with a big "boom" is literally the complete truth for MGM when it presents "Eosalle" at the Capitol Theatre De-

As this Yiddish-speaking group has in the past produced some of the finest social drama in the country, one assumes that the play is intended as a satire on militarism. Perhaps it is, but its barbs are so gentle, its humor attitude so mild, that non-Jews possibly the church would greatly resent it. Or greatly enjoy it.

As a matter of fact, it's not really a play. Written by Mark Schweid, who based it on Hasek's novel, it continues to be a novel, and very episodic at that, transferred to the stage. It concerns itself with an Austrian half-wit (according to official army designation) who, at the outbreak of the World War, enthusiastically lines up to get into the army, and from one mess into another, most of them quite unfunny.

It is possible, of course, that this reviewer has not the temperament to enjoy this particular kind of play, or does not fully understand and appreciate the humor of the Yiddish stage. The audience laughed quite often, which may or may not mean something.

The old touch was still in evidence by the quality of the acting, especially that of Michael Goldstein as Schweik, and the excellence of the staging by Mark Schweid and the lighting by Mel Solotaroff.

December 30th. One of the new Embassy spectacles shows Eleanor Powell dancing her way into the arms of Nelson Eddy down a stairway made of huge bass-drums of graduated sizes. Her tap-dancing on the drum-heads is a sound effect of such spectacular impact upon audience-senses that theatres will be compelled to establish new "settings" of the control gadgets which regulate the sound-volume.

Providence on January 17th will probably be the first city to see the road company of the Mercury Theatre's "Julius Caesar." Thereafter the schedule will be Hartford, Jan. 19th, New Haven Jan. 20-22nd; and Boston, January 24th to February 12th. More later.

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# Sailor's Union Of Pacific Votes On Affiliation

By John Newton Thurber

State Organizer, Socialist Party of California

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—Throughout the month of December the membership of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, militant, independent, west-coast Seamen's Union, are voting in a referendum in which the future course of the organization is being decided. A choice is being made as to whether the SUP will affiliate with the AFL, with the CIO or will continue in an independent role.

Three propositions are offered to the members of the SUP. The 2,000 members of this fighting organization are recognized as a key organization in the whole American maritime union organization and attempts have been made to win them back into the fold of the AFL. The SUP broke from the antiquated International Seamen's Union when Paul Scharenberg was suspended by his local union and in turn the local was suspended by the ISU, precipitating the independent existence of the SUP.

### Proposition

Now the AFL is offering to abolish the ISU, give the SUP complete autonomy within the AFL, with control of funds and property, the right to negotiate and sign their own agreements, call and end strikes, guarantee of no political assessments, election of officers by referendum, no check-off, and the right to select organizers as needed. These attractive terms have been dangled in front of the militant sailors as bait to get them back in the AFL fold, as a part of the AFL's liberalization, in order to gain allies wherever possible in its fight against the CIO-National Maritime Union.

The proposition offered by the CIO contains no such roseate guarantees of autonomous rights. It proposes that the SUP join with the other maritime organizations in a conference in January at which time a national maritime organization will be established and questions of autonomy, jurisdiction, etc. will be determined. This conference will be dominated, of course, by the NMU, which has been diligently organizing all types of seamen in the Gulf, on the Atlantic and in the Great Lakes.

The third proposition in the referendum is that of maintaining independence. This contemplates remaining as the collective bargaining agency for west coast sailors, control of hiring halls, complete autonomy, control of funds and property, no loss of jurisdiction to any other group,

no dictation from top committees, and no payment of per capita to any other organization.

### Lundeberg

The outstanding protagonist of the third proposition, which seems likely to secure the majority of the votes in the current referendum, is Harry Lundeberg, secretary-treasurer of the SUP. A statement inspired by Lundeberg, and approved by a meeting of 700 members held in San Francisco on Nov. 22, has been circulated among the membership.

Here the arguments against both the AFL and the CIO affiliation are advanced. The AFL offer and the previous record of their IDU is quickly disposed of. Much more time is spent in attacking the CIO and its record. The statement does not hesitate in places to distort the picture in order to present the CIO in a bad light, including such tricks as pretending that the CIO prefers to have "268 contracts all expiring on different dates" in steel, in stating that in auto each plant has its own local and that each local has its own agreement, and finally in calling names in order to blacken CIO maritime leaders when other arguments fail.

CIO type "Industrial" unionism is bitterly attacked. "The use of the word 'industrial' in the propaganda of the CIO-leaders must not mislead us," the statement declares. "Hitler marched into power over the German trade-unionists and herded them into labor camps in the name of the National-Socialist Party, but no-one would claim that there was anything 'Socialistic' about Mr. Hitler nor his program."

Beyond a broadside attack on the whole CIO, the statement attacks the CIO Maritime organization, which has been developing since the end of the 1936-7 strike and in the various steps which have been reported in these columns from time to time. The full dislike by Lundeberg of the Curran-Bridges combine, growing from past experiences, is allowed to find its outlet in a proposal to win workers' organizational struggles by retreating into the seclusion of an independent existence, which is painted in glowing terms. It is proposed to build the Maritime Federation of the Pacific into a stronger and more independent unit, as an example to the

# Camp Seeks Members

Membership in Camp Three Arrows, the Socialist cooperative camp and colony, is still open, according to an announcement by the Board made last week. Improved recreational and social facilities are being planned for the coming year, the second of the camp's existence.

The cooperative, which consists of 120 acres of beautiful forest and meadow land and a fifty acre private lake, is located near Shrub Oak, New York, less than fifty miles from New York City.

maritime workers of the other areas of how organization should be built, and as a basis for eventual unity.

### Incorrect Line

Lundeberg, because of his bitter experiences with Bridges and his Communist controlled machine on the west coast and his suspicions of Curran and his Communist controlled National Maritime Union, has allowed himself to be won to the advocacy of an incorrect position.

Originally Lundeberg and the west coast sailors were the proponents of the CIO and industrial unionism, at a time when Bridges and the Communists were still playing ball with the AFL and suspicious of the CIO. However Lundeberg let himself be outmaneuvered by Bridges, who won the inside track through negotiations with John Brophy and John L. Lewis and the top CIO leadership.

Even with the Bridges gang on top, the SUP should have proceeded as rapidly as possible into the CIO maritime set-up, where the fight against the Bridges policies could be fought from the inside and eliminated by rank and file as soon as they could be organized for this purpose. Effective militancy can be won better through the main channel of the organization, not through this type of syndicalist sectarianism.

Chief cause of Lundeberg's faulty position on this most crucial issue has flown from the extreme hatred of the Communist which Lundeberg has allowed to color his union decisions, which found comfort in the advice given to him by James P. Cannon, Trotskyist leader and editor of the late "Labor Action." Outright hatred of the CP blinded them into a false and ineffective tactic which aids, not attacks, the influence of the CP.

There was a time, even after the 1936-7 Maritime strike, when a correct policy could have resulted in the SUP dominating the west coast maritime situation, and the Communist Party would not be the dominant force in the San Francisco CIO situation.

# The Jingo Line In Peoples Press Must Be Halted

By Arthur G. McDowell

Labor Secretary Socialist Party U.S.A.

CHICAGO.—The "People's Press" liberal-labor scheme for publication of a series of semi-liberal, semi-labor papers throughout the United States this week swung into the ranks of the forces beating the drums for a war by the U.S. government on Japan and other "Fascist aggressors."

In an editorial entitled, "Maniacs At Large," the "People's Press" ran through all the Christmas issues of its numerous editions for unions and other labor organizations an appeal to "Americans" for the uniting of "democratic" countries against Japan lest these insane "marauders may overrun the earth."

The article is written in the very best style of those who fanned the flames of irrational hate against the "huns" involving the United States in the last World War on the side of the Allies in order to make the world safe for "Democracy" and John P. Morgan's loans, twenty years ago last April.

The mischievous damage of this editorial alignment of a series of labor papers with the Roosevelt big-stick naval, military and diplomatic policy in China will be considerable. The People's Press under the astute management of Frank L. Palmer, former radical and extremely capable news manager has built up a circulation of a couple of hundred thousand. The People's Press has become the official organ of new and growing CIO unions such as the Aluminum Workers, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, United Electrical and Radio Workers.

Every Socialist and class conscious worker in these international and local unions using the "People's Press" should see that protest is lodged thru the union with the People's Press in either its New York branch or Chicago central office, against this "pro-war policy of the Press which is completely irresponsible in its editorial policy outside of the pressure which can be bought from supporting organizations.

### No Direct Control

The Unions which support the Press have no direct voice in its editorial policy save as they are willing and able to cut off the use of the Press at a moment's

notice after having substituted it for a press of their own and having built up the institution among their members.

This course is not open to the new unions which are not as yet strongly established and the editorial policy of the People's Press remains in the hands of Frank L. Palmer, editor and publisher of the "Press" subject to such influence as may be applied to any paper by occasional economic pressure.

The general editorial policy of "People's Press" from the start tended to be a popularized version of the policy of the Stalin variety of the Communist Party in the USA. In this matter of war policy this influence asserts itself altho the Communist Party organizationally as in the case of the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers and the establishment of the new Chicago Communist Daily (with liberal mashead camouflage) as the Midwest Daily Record has occasionally fought "People's Press."

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# Baron Finds CP 'Line' Fits Stalin's Needs in Europe Not Needs of Spain's Masses

By a Staff Reporter

Sam Baron, CALL correspondent, recently returned from the dungeons of Spain to America, was sitting in our office preparing an address for his first public appearance in this country since his return, Friday night, January 7, at the Central Hotel in New York City.

Comrade Baron has been making so many thrilling exposes to us of what is happening in Spain, in the course of personal conversations, that we thought it strange that he should be pouring so diligently over his notes.

"Why so much thought, Sam?" we asked him.

Baron looked up with a quizzical smile.

"Well, the problem of what to say and how to say it is not an easy one. We all want a victory over Franco. Our heart beats high every time we hear even the slightest news of Loyalist gains. We become impatient with those who dare to speak out from behind the Loyalist lines in criticism of the government's conduct of the war and of its social aims. That is the problem before those of us who are not Communists or their Charlie MacCarthy's, who wish to tell the full truth about Spain and not just repeat the Stalinist slogans in gramophone fashion.

"We are so anxious to see Franco defeated that the wish often becomes father of the thought. We are so anxious to maintain complete unity of the anti-fascist forces, especially among those sending aid to Spain, that we hesitate to tell what organized workers of Spain consider vital to the very conduct of the war along successful lines within Spain.

"It is certainly not with joy and most surely not with ease that one feels compelled to state that the success of the war can not be determined by separate victories alone, as in Teruel, but can be only safeguarded by a unification of the proletarian forces behind the Loyalist lines.

## The Soviet Union

"Despite the fact that the Communist Party boasts that it stands at the forefront of the struggle in Spain, there is no doubt that the CP is the most hated single

party among the Loyalist forces. And justifiably so! For the Communist Party, acting as nothing but the army of the Soviet Union in Spain, has been pursuing a course which fits in with the dictates of the current Russian diplomatic line but which runs entirely counter to the needs and aspirations of the Spanish masses.

"And the broad masses of Spain, who wish to solve their own inherent problems, find themselves being crushed under the heel of the Communist Party, just as the voice of protest is stifled in the Soviet Union itself.

"In Spain, the Communist Party does not do this in the name of 'revolution' or even in the name of 'protecting the proletarian dictatorship.' In Spain the Communist Party suppresses the militant masses to make a revolution and proletarian power impossible. And this it does to win the pleasure and favor of British imperialism.

## Transport Chekha

"This policy of the Communist Party is the explanation behind the drive against the Anarchists, against the POUM, and against the man who symbolizes the united aspirations of the Spanish masses of today, Largo Caballero. The Communist Party has carried the Soviet 'confession factory' to Spain, bag and baggage.

"They control the International Brigade, although the majority are non-Communists. And by their control, they seek to suppress all revolutionary elements who differ with the line of the CP within the Brigade. In the military jails of these 'independent' battalions are men of many

nationalities including Americans, whose only crime is their difference from the CP line.

"Then there is the Chekha, which operates among the civilians. This Spanish GPU is held responsible for the disappearance of Nin, (Poumist) of Mark Rein (Socialist) and of Irwin Wolfe (Trotskyist).

"Finally, there is the control of local police agencies, whose officials take orders from the Communist Party, not the government. I have a vast collection of details to prove this contention which I shall present Friday. My own arrest is just one among many.

"Outside of Spain, the Communist parties claim that the growth of the Spanish CP is due to its popularity in Spain. It most certainly is popular—but among whom? Among the job seekers, who want soft places in the bureaucracy imposed on Spain by Russia in exchange for supplies; among the merchants, the factory and land-owners, who wish to curb the militant advance of the masses; among Fascist agents who can operate most successfully as part of the bureaucratic apparatus. (Caballero was aware of this; he therefore closed the books of his party to new members, as a safeguard against careerists and Fascist agents.)

## Where Are the Spies?

"Despite the Communist charge that every other party is full of spies, the fact nevertheless is that the majority of the proven fascist spies carried Communist Party membership cards at the time of their arrest. The Caballero ne-

## Franco Carries On



While Loyalist forces may have won a tactical victory, the control of Madrid goes on to the Francoists. Hospital was completely destroyed.

## Aid For Spain



Little Flora Wright of Washington, D. C., contributes her gift at a Christmas party at the Spanish embassy to the families of Spanish victims of the never-silent guns of General Franco. Ambassador Ferrnando de los Rios receives the gifts.

ple requested publication of a detailed list of proven spies and their political affiliations in August.

The government refuses to make this list public. Strangely, there is not yet a single case of a Poumist, who has been found guilty of the charge. In fact, many—given the opportunity—have been freed after examination in open court.

"If one wished to make out a case to prove that the Communist Party is the Fifth Column, he would have a much easier time of it than the Communist Party has had in trying to prove the same of other parties.

"Thus, in the Madrid set-up, controlled almost exclusively by the Communist Party and their man, Miaja, the right-hand man of the general, Lujan, recently went over to the Fascists.

"On December 20th, Fernsworth reports that a colonel on the Teruel front went over to the Fascists. While I was in Spain, this was the big talk in Valencia and Barcelona. This colonel was a much-heralded member of the Communist Party, who deserted, taking full plans with him. This seriously delayed the Teruel offensive, scheduled to take place after the Brunete offensive.

"Just imagine what would have been said by the Communist press of the world if Lujan and our deserting Colonel were members of the POUM or the Anarchists, or of Caballero's faction. We mention these men in stop criticism of one of many anti-Fascist parties. The Communist Party of Spain invents such events in order to call their critics 'Fascist agents.'

"The great make-up of the Communist Party after the May events was a General Poesas. He, with General Lister, was ordered by shooting workers, broke up peasant collectives by force, smashed whatever resistance there was of proletarian control of the army.

"Now we have had reports in Madrid of his troops. He is now in the hands of the Francoists. The Communist Party is now in a desperate situation. The Francoists are now in a position to take Madrid. The Communist Party is now in a position to take Madrid.

population into accepting the CP practices have met with stony opposition. While in Valencia, I saw a movie of infants who were being given refuge in Madrid. The film opens with the tots lined up against the railing of the boat, with their tiny fists clenched, and a picture of Stalin in one hand. Then they are conducted through several public ceremonies, pulled and paraded here and there, with the pictures of Stalin, and with a look of bewilderment.

After more such painful display the infants are finally allowed to bed—with Stalin's picture pinned close to their heads.

"Some loyal clack in the audience tried to get a popular response. He started to applaud vigorously. But he stopped quickly. For his applause was drowned in a thick atmosphere of silence. Only then did I realize that thunderous silence can be.

## Socialist Convention This Spring

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The 1938 National Convention of the Socialist Party will be held some time shortly following the first of April of the coming year. St. Louis, Missouri, Detroit, Michigan and Kenosha, Wisconsin are the cities for the place of the convention. Convention participation will be based on average dues paying membership in the states for the twelve months preceding December 31st, 1937. The decision of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meeting in Detroit, December 10-12th.

Members attending the meeting included National Chairman John Rain Thomas, Executive Secretary Ray Dutt, Albert Springer, Carl Lunde, David Felix, Al Hunsicker, YENIS, A. R. Lewis and 150 delegates. The meeting was held at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, and was presided over by John Rain Thomas. The meeting was a success and the delegates will meet again in the near future.