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CALL UPON JOHN L. LEWIS TO LAUNCH LABOR PARTY

SOCIALISTS SEEK INDEPENDENT CAMPAIGN BY WORKERS

FOLLOWING the attack upon the Democratic Party of America by Labor Leaders John L. Lewis and William Green for the failure of the party in power to carry the Wage and Hour Legislation pending in Congress, the Socialist Party called upon the Labor Non-Partisan League to disentangle itself from endorsement of capitalist parties and capitalist party politicians and to launch an independent party of the working farmers and city laborers.

In this statement the Socialist Party declared:

"We believe that the criticism of the Democratic party by John L. Lewis, chairman of Labor's Non-partisan League, is indicative of the fact that labor is awakening to the realities of the political situation in the United States. Many workers voted last year for Mr. Roosevelt on the assumption that he could lead the country out of the economic wilderness and bring security to the masses.

The Party

"In so doing, they overlooked, as we Socialists contended at that time, that Mr. Roosevelt, no matter how well intentioned he personally may be, was the leader of the Democratic party, that the Democratic party machine was largely controlled by such corrupt political organizations as Tammany Hall in the North and by numerous reactionary groups in the South.

"On the momentum of the election, some labor legislation might be enacted, but when it comes to vital wage and hour legislation the reactionary industrialists of the South in control of much of the Democratic machinery in that section would combine with other corrupt and tory groups in both Democratic and Republican parties to prevent the passage of such legislation by every means at their command.

"As for social security, that is not possible under a system where the natural resources, the public utilities and the basic industries are monopolized by the few.

"Labor has been given another lesson in the make-up of the Democratic party by the sabotage of the wage bill and other needed social and labor bills. Mr. Lewis in his recent statement shows that he and others are beginning to realize what weak support labor has in any leader of the two old parties. By implication he suggests that labor may have to develop a party of its own.

"There is no doubt about this. As the British coal miner, Keir Hardie, declared years ago, 'labor will have "friends" in politics when it is so strong that it does



Sidney Hillman

not need friends and it will be strong only when it develops a party of its own.

Let Mr. Lewis and other

labor leaders and let the rank and file of organized labor come out unequivocally for a national Farmer-Labor Party. Then, and only then, will labor begin to receive a square deal.

Lewis Speaks

In the attack of John L. Lewis, to which the Socialist Party referred, the CIO leader stated:

"To the leaders of the Democratic party it presents the challenge either to restore sufficient party discipline to permit government to function under their guidance or to confess that their party is not the vehicle by which the people of the country may progress to a solution of their pressing social problems.

"Sabotage of the Democratic party by a small group of its more conservative members which came to a head in the House Rules Committee and in the caucus of last evening, shows that Democratic leadership is unable to carry out the pledges made in

(Continued on Page Seven)

Increase of 340,000 In Membership Of Auto Workers Union

By Hy Fish

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Jumping from a membership of 30,000 to 375,000 in one year is unparalleled in labor history. It is a record to be proud of and to rejoice over. And the delegates to the second annual convention of the United Automobile Workers of America are rejoicing.

Using every excuse they could find—and sometimes without excuse—the 1,200 delegates staged spontaneous demonstrations, parades, and song and cheer fests. One demonstration, when the members of the general executive board and President Homer Martin mounted the platform, lasted for almost an hour.

The keynote speech, the opening day of the convention, was delivered by Leo Krzycki, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Krzycki defended labor's new and effective weapon—the sit-down strike—and condemned the employers, the police and public officials for violence during strikes.

Next week the SOCIALIST CALL will run a full length analysis of the developments in the auto workers' convention written by our special correspondent in Milwaukee.

His advocacy of independent working class political action was cheered by the delegates.

No official business was transacted the first day. As this is being written the delegates are still looking forward to working out a solution for democratically conducting an organization so large and planning a full program of activity for the coming year. Speakers scheduled to appear before the convention include John L. Lewis, David Dubinsky, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, and Sherman Daltymple.

Miners In Illinois Plan Joint Moves On Unemployment

By Gerry Allard

GILLESPIE, Ill.—Things are beginning to look bad for the coal operators in Illinois. The miners of two unions in this state—the Progressive Miners and the United Mine Workers—are sending delegates to a conference which is to be held here at the Colonial Theatre,

unions, since the problem of unemployment is to be the foremost subject for discussion. Edward C. Morgan, state secretary of the Alliance, has issued a call to all branches to send delegates. At this writing, local unions at Nokomis, Collinsville and Edwardsville, and the sub-district conference board of sub-district 6, P.M.A., voted to endorse the conference. Indications are that several other local unions will follow suit.

Stop Forward

Although called for the specific purpose of working out a joint program of action to meet the unemployment situation, which is being further aggravated by the iron loader, the conference is being greeted by all progressive elements as a step forward in restoring peace and unity within the ranks of the Illinois miners.

It is the first time efforts have been made for a united conference of both miners unions since the split in 1932.



"Jock" Fischer, president of PMA Local No. 1.

Sept. 12. The prime purpose of the conference is to devise ways whereby the miners of both unions can protect themselves from the steady encroachment of the mechanical loader and its increasing replacement of man power.

The movement is sponsored by Local 1, P.M.A. A committee of seventeen, elected by the local union to make conference arrangements and conduct negotiations with the state officers of both unions, reported that remarkable progress is being made for a successful conference.

The District Executive Board of the United Mine Workers has endorsed the conference. Ray Edmundson, district president, issued a call to more than a hundred local unions asking that elections be held immediately for delegates to represent the U.M.W. of A. at the conference.

P.M.A. Officials Reject

On the other hand, the district leaders of the P.M.A. rejected the invitation. They stated in a recent issue of the reactionary "Progressive Miner" that the rank and file conference would be a "company union" affair. Representatives of Local 1 were not surprised at the rejection of the P.M.A. state officers as this position conforms with their policy of rejecting any proposal for the amelioration of the split in the coal fields of this state.

The Illinois Workers Alliance was extended a special invitation by the representatives of both

Socialist Review Discusses Inner Party Situation

By John Newton Thurber

Appearing for the first time in a new format, with a new mast-head and under new editorship, the Socialist Review, official theoretical organ of the Socialist Party, U.S.A., made its debut this week.

Outstanding in the issue, dated September, 1937, and selling for 15 cents a copy, are the article by Norman Thomas on the European Socialist movement and the article by Liston M. Oak on the struggle in Spain.

A sharp divergence of opinions is expressed between Theodore Dan, one of the co-authors of the Dan-Bauer-Zyromski thesis, and Herbert Zam, on the question of Socialist attitude toward the coming world war.

In a new section are three articles bearing on the question of Socialist attitude toward the A.L.P.-LaGuardia campaign in New York City. A fourth article in this section, by Gus Tyler, treats on the current situation inside the Socialist Party, a topic which is discussed in less detail by the writers of the other inner-party articles. The articles in this section are the view of the groups in the party, not the party stand on the questions discussed.

Common Gains of Farmer And Worker Stressed As CIO Sets Up "Ag" Union

By Frank N. Trager

Once again the agricultural workers of the West have a union—with national aspirations and scattering support from coast to coast. The United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, with headquarters in Washington, D.C. has been chartered by the CIO. Its first convention created this new organization at Denver, Colo., July 9-12.

In the annals of American labor few groups have suffered more from brutal capitalist-class punishment than the agricultural day laborers, shed and migratory workers in the fruit and vegetable fields. They, together with the tenant farmers and sharecroppers of the South, represent the most exploited section of the American working class.

From the early pre-war efforts at organization by the IWW through various though unsuccessful post-war attempts by the AF of L and the heroic failures of a handful of radicals in the early '30's these "ag" workers seldom were able to profit by strong, militant unionism. They and their organizations have been beaten and crushed at Wheatland, in the valleys of California, beet fields of Colorado, onion fields of Ohio, truck areas of New Jersey and scores of other sections of the United States.

Lynchings, burnings, tarring and featherings, the armed vigilanteism of official and unofficial state and national apparatus, old and new deal, have in turn been used against the sharecroppers, migratory workers and field laborers.

Now the CIO

No national legislation has been designed to cover them as workers. No "arm of the law" even under the "humanitarian" in the White House has been extended in their behalf. And now the CIO with its unparalleled opportunities, its great and deserved popularity during this upsurge of American labor, has decided to help organize this army of the unorganized. Mindful of its task it approached the first convention of these "ag" workers through the person and words of John Brophy who said:

"For another reason all of us, no matter what our role in American life, must be concerned about the welfare of those who are forced to live under such terrible conditions. Persons who have only \$300 or \$400 income a year cannot buy the products of American factories or American dairy farms. . . . The task of seeing that agricultural and cannery workers make a decent living is a community problem. "I want to make it clear that in undertaking the organization of agricultural and cannery workers the CIO hopes and expects to cooperate with the organized working farmers. The agricultural workers and the farmers have many problems and interests in common. The farmer cannot pay decent wages to the men who pick lettuce or fruit unless he gets enough money himself for his crop. Both the working farmer and the laborer alike must be concerned with improving the whole agricultural situation. When the farmer is broke, the laborer suffers. When the farmer gets a good price he can afford to pay more to the laborer. The forces affecting price and the amount the farmer gets for his crop operate far outside the limits of his farm. Many basic economic and political questions are involved and the working farmer and the laborer have a common

interest in joining together to solve them."

Clear Recognition

No one of us who was present and listening to John Brophy could not be both impressed and hopeful at this clear recognition of the manifold problems involved in organizing these workers—and could not be greatly satisfied in Brophy's conclusion which called for a CIO agricultural committee to investigate and advise in this situation that affects not only the "ag" worker but also the small farmer and industrial urban worker.

It must be remembered that the problem of organizing the agricultural workers has been complicated by the multiplicity of national and racial groupings involved in this aspect of the agricultural industry. Japanese, Filipinos, Mexicans, Spanish Americans, native white and Negro all work in the fields. No union of "ag" workers can possibly succeed unless it militantly fights not only for an industrial organization but also for democratic union free from race and nationalistic prejudice. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union of the South, affiliate of the new CIO union, has to a major degree solved its white-black problem. But in the West, especially since the collapse of the 1932-4 militant strike period, the organizational structures that remain (and that in some places have developed) have taken the form of "nationalist" unions based on country of origin rather than economic class alignments.

Here in brief then is the setting:

1. Pro-CIO sentiment among thousands of unorganized "ag" workers.
2. Real CIO interest as evidenced both by John Brophy, spokesman, and Gardner Jackson, CIO representative at the Denver convention.
3. Expressed cooperation by some of the militant farm leaders of the middle west (John Bosch, leader of the Farmers Holiday movement).
4. Large independent organizations (Southern Tenant Farmers Union) with pro-CIO orientation.
5. Scores of independent cannery and shed workers and federal AF of L locals long since determined to forge a national industrial union.
6. Progressive forces in some state federations of labor, favoring an industrial union inclusive of field and migratory, cannery and shed workers.

The Stage Set

The stage was set for the building of a union. What happened? When Bridges received a "blank check" from Lewis part of its write-in was the go-ahead signal to the CP boys in the cannery and packing unions. A number of these had been organized by Bridges' "March-inland" through the Warehousemen unions. These CP controlled locals of cannery and shed workers were immediately used as the signers to the "Call" to the first National Convention scheduled for July 9 in Denver. With the ex-

ception of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, included under pressure as a "local" union signing the "Call" and a few scattered locals, the "Call" went out in the name of only those unions (Federal locals and independents) with Communist leadership or control.

A number of the locals were "paper" locals with defunct membership. Some of the accredited delegates such as Merrill Jackson of Indiana, now a national board member and regional organizer were not remotely connected with the industry. Jackson was—maybe still is—the state secretary of the Indiana Workers Alliance and more recently a temporary organizer for the TWOC working out of the Chicago office. In some locals, e.g., the CUCOM of Los Angeles (Mexican Field Workers Confederation) only the CP fractions were informed of the convention.

This process of "preparing" for a convention could not help but "insure" the convention for those who called it. Just as in the case of the Office Workers Convention. When proposals were made that the Call be a Call for a conference the purpose of which would be to create an organizing committee for the industry—leaving the appropriate question of a convention to a later date thereby making it possible to have a democratic convention—the proposals were disregarded.

It is useless to go over the details of the convention. It began on a distinctly red-baiting note introduced by Frank Hefferly, president of the Colorado State Federation, district president of the UMWA who assured the 100 delegates present that the American people would not tolerate Communism and Communists, and that the delegates should elect leaders who did not believe in Communism and who were Americans devoted to the principles of democracy and collective bargaining, etc. Whereupon the delegates, after four convention days, elected Don Henderson president of the new union. But Hefferly's remarks were unchallenged.

Migratories Excluded

The composition of the convention almost completely excluded the migratory field workers of California whose great struggles in recent years focussed the eyes of the nation on their problems. The union as now set up is primarily directed at the Cannery Workers indicated in its change of title from United Agricultural, etc., to United Cannery, etc. Of course, the Cannery Workers should be organized but this union was called into existence primarily to meet the needs of the field and migratory agricultural workers. What may happen to them now is difficult to predict. It is probable that the Bridges-Henderson combination in agriculture on the west coast will produce the same type of split-situation as is now taking place in maritime. (Since last week an insurgent movement has started in Bridges' own ILA organization. It has issued its own paper and while fighting for democracy within the longshoremen, like the sailors' movement it is incorrectly coupling

The Life of A Striker In A Company-Town

ELKLAND, PA.—Surrounded by armed "company loyalists" and vigilantes, 400 men, women and children attending a mass meeting of strikers in Elkland, Pa., were forced to spend the nights of August 4 and 5 outside the company town.

For two days and nights the majority of the crowd remained on the hill, shut off from their homes. Most of the women and children slept in the tiny Backes house the first night. A few of the more daring slipped back to their homes the next day, but not until Friday was there any

this fight with one against the CIO as such because Bridges represents the CIO.

Henderson has already appointed certain of his henchmen (Goldblatt) as organizers who had little or nothing to do with "ag" workers and who are part of the well-known Bridges machine. The federal locals and some independent unions which would have entered a democratically set-up International CIO union, are now being shoved back in the direction of Vandeleur, who has succeeded in perpetrating a first-class sell-out in a recently negotiated contract for these "ag" workers. The net result is not only confusion but rank and file disgust and distrust of any union leadership including the CIO.

Outstanding Leaders

It should be clearly understood that some of the supporting forces around Henderson, particularly Leif Dahl in New Jersey and Conrad Espe of the northwest, are outstanding examples of clean, militant unionism regardless of their politics. This list could be extended to include many of the rank and filers of the Alaska Cannery Union in San Francisco and certainly John Donovan, formerly of the AFGE, and now organizer among the best workers in Colorado, but their efforts may be shunted into a dark alley unless there is a fundamental reexamination of this whole Bridges-Henderson "ag" set-up.

West Coast CIO

In concluding this series of articles on the west coast CIO situation, I want to emphasize that the militant unionism and militant organization that have characterized the west coast for the last few years are being endangered. A split in labor's forces on the west coast at this time cannot but set back the movement many years. Only direct intervention on the part of the CIO national leadership, including John L. Lewis, plus a rank and file protest against the bureaucratic attempt to impose the Bridges leadership on the west coast CIO can prevent what would be in effect a national catastrophe.

It is to be hoped that the Lundberg-led forces will surrender their anti-CIO attitude but will conduct a fight for the original program that both they and the CIO represent: industrial and democratic unionism. It is also to be hoped that Lewis even before the Aug. 30 meeting of the Maritime committee will re-examine the entire situation and use the opportunity presented by the Aug. 30 conference for fundamental changes. In any event, Socialist and militants everywhere in the trade union movement will zealously fight for principles which they have for many years supported and which can find expression through the CIO. These embody our trade union ideals which call for class-conscious industrial organization of all workers based upon democratic control of an enlightened rank and file.

appreciable let-up in the tense situation.

A Nightmare

Elkland, Pa., is the unbelievable nightmare of all unionists. The E. H. Ellison Co., the largest sole-leather factory in the world, controls all the jobs in town. Even the town burgess is a foreman in the factory, as well as one of the members of the town council. Even the school committee is completely controlled by the firm through its employees on the "loyal" side.

This situation may be a familiar one, but where else can a man work for 16 years and during that time receive only two pay checks—one for 2 cents and the other for 5 cents? Is there any other place where a worker who feels he cannot meet all the payments on a new car is forced to keep the car and have the payments for it deducted from his wages. This in the State of Pennsylvania where there is no garnishee law providing that a man's wages can be attached by court order to pay his debts.

Forgetting these feudal atrocities, even on the basis of modern industrial practices, E. H. Ellison Co. stands condemned.

The employees of the company have been working 48 hours a week, 8 hours a day for an average weekly wage of \$19.60. State Senator G. Mason Owlett, manufacturers' lobbyist, Republican National Committeeman and attorney for the Company, in his campaign claimed that he had "fixed up" the pollution problem so that now the poisonous dyes and lye from 30 vats go into the Cowanesque River, instead of a decent sewage system!

Padrone System

The factory operates under the padrone system—every worker pays a foreman for his job through some form of commodity bribing.

Many of the factory buildings are beginning to crumble, yet no safety investigation is ever allowed. True, the floors in the Beam House were patched two weeks before the strike was called. This was done not out of any consideration for the man's safety, but because of strategic seasons. The Company felt that a strike was imminent. Therefore using the repairs as a pretext they laid off the whole Beam House Department—about 120 men—to starve them into submission. The Company figured that the return to work of these men would force others into line and break the back of any prepared strike.

When the Company Union petition was circulated just previous to the strike call, the men were threatened with their jobs if they did not join.

After the strike was called on June 26, the sheriff threatened strikers and their wives; and local police visited the homes of strikers, worrying them and their families.

Boss Violence

All these things were known to the workers and their families when they gathered on the hill in the chicken house of Elmer Backes, President of the National Leather Workers, Local No. 37 on August 4. Suddenly three blasts from the factory whistle pierced the night air and the group saw 60 of the "loyal" workers thoroughly armed charging the hill.

"Do-Nothing" Congress Ends; What is Next Step for Labor

By GUS TYLER

The iron is hot for a Labor Party in America. Organized labor must strike

now. The mass of iron—present in the millions of workers organized in both the AFL and CIO—has been heated by the failure of a "promising" Democratic Congress to keep its promise. The American workers have been heated by Congressional betrayal to the point where a strong arm could beat them into a firm independent party. The Socialist Party calls upon organized labor bodies to strike—now!

Guffey's Fight

The last days of this session did not bring peace within the ranks of the Democratic Party. The struggle between New Dealers and anti-New Dealers attained a "fury seldom witnessed in the Senate."

Republican Senator Burton K. Wheeler, in a united front with Democratic Senators Mahoney, Burke and Holt, levelled a heavy barrage of bombastic fire at Senator Guffey of Pennsylvania, and through Senator Guffey at James Farley—and by implication at the President of the U.S.

It all came about as a result of a radio speech by New-Dealer Guffey, in which he charged Wheeler with betrayal of his one-time liberal principles on the Federal courts and accused the Democratic Senators of ingratitude to the Democratic Party and to Roosevelt on whose name they capitalized during the last election campaign.

The attack of Guffey, carried behind it the implied threat of election reprisals upon the insurgent senators for their failure to support the President's Court Plan. And since Guffey is the Chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, the threat carried the weight of party authority.

Despite the formal disclaimer of official party responsibility for Guffey's speech by Charles Michaelson, publicity director of the Democratic National Committee, it was openly charged by Wheeler on the floor of the Senate that "Mr. Farley's office arranged with the broadcasting company for the Senator from Pennsylvania to deliver the speech over the radio." To guarantee against party reprisals in the Congressional elections next year, Van Nuys of Indiana circulated a petition to remove Guffey from his important campaign post in the party.

United Front

One after another, the assaulted Democratic Senators arose and challenged Guffey to fight them on home ground.

This squabble, which Senator La Follette constantly interjected was too utterly undignified for the haughty Senate, was a most appropriate ending for this Congressional Session which expanded the fissure within the Democratic Party into a sharp cleavage, almost an open split. And it was no accident that the formal spokesmen for a fictionally united party should have found themselves politically paralyzed, embarrassed out of speech, maneuvering unsuccessfully to stop the spectacle by moving sudden recess.

During the coming months, in municipal and state elections the struggle between Conservative and Progressive Democrats is going to be carried out of the legislative chambers into the streets, from the ears of Senators to the ears of the voters.

The almost laughable way in which each of the "offended"

senators rose to declare his pride in the Guffey insult, his solidarity with his injured comrades (Democratic or Republican) is a declaration of resolute unity on the part of the Conservative bloc in Congress. They are going to fight.

And so will the liberals fight back. The Virginia Dare speech of the President is another Madison Square Garden pronouncement that the administration has "just begun to fight". But this time the enemy—named as the Chamber of Commerce, the Liberty League, and a well-known newspaper publisher—is not only outside the Democratic Party but also within it.

Hoover Returns

Republican leaders are now speaking openly about the new alignment in American politics which they seek and which they shortly expect to realize.

Herbert Hoover, writing in the Atlantic Monthly, declares: "There is bound to be more discussion of a new alignment that will bring a better junction of Republicans and so-called Jeffersonian Democrats."

The problem for Hoover is not that of a new alignment—for that has already come—but the form of that new line-up in national politics. He maps three possibilities:

- "1. A new party.
- "2. A changed Republican party.
- "3. A working coalition of Democrats and Republicans against the New Deal."

Hoover chooses the last as best—since it will permit, at this time, the easy transition of rank-and-file Democrats to the Republican position. To use the language of the Third Period, Hoover wants a "united front from below" with the anti-New Deal Democrats.

And while doing this, the ex-President proposes to polish up the party a bit by some self-criticism, such as:

- "Failure to defend the party against calumny.
- "Failure to involve the youth.
- "Failure to crystallize a positive program for today."

What Next?

The reactionary alliance that will without doubt be present at the next Congressional Session shall make impossible any truly liberal program of legislation. The betrayal of labor—covered up today by promises of what will happen next time—will be complete.

In these few months labor must prepare to launch its own party—or to surrender a great historical opportunity.

The statements of Lewis, Green and Hillman are encouraging. They indicate a loss of faith in many men who had labor's backing in 1936.

The separate statements of Lewis, Green and Hillman, however, reveal differences in attitude after a careful reading.

Green confines his attack, almost entirely, to the Rules Com-



Senator Guffey

mitted. He does not attack the Democratic Party or even a sectional group within it.

Hillman extends his attack to include the Southern-Bourbons of the party, while exempting by silence the "progressives" of the party.

Lewis makes the most sweeping attack. Although he does not turn his back upon the Democratic Party as a party of capitalism, he does call the leadership to account, challenging them "either to restore sufficient party discipline to permit government to function under their guidance or to confess that their party is not the vehicle by which the people of the country may progress to a solution of their pressing problems."

The Lewis statement may very well be the starting point for the formation of a Labor Party in America—provided organized labor drives ahead along independent lines and avoids entangling alliances with the "left-wing" of the Democratic Party.

The Lewis declaration shall go down as a great historical event, if it is followed by concrete organizational steps to set up a party of workers and farmers as opposed to all the parties of capitalism; but it shall not even be recorded if it is just another shot in the struggle between Roosevelt-Guffey-Lewis as against Hoover-Mahoney-Burke-Copeland.

The statement of Lewis must be seen against the background of current political life in this country, pointing towards the 1940 campaign.

Sullivan's Line

Mark Sullivan, conservative political commentator of the Herald-Tribune, sketches the situation clearly:

"The split is now open and irreconcilable. The thing at issue is control of the Democratic party, looking to the Presidential nomination of 1940. From the President's point of view, the objective is to hold control of the party, throw out the Democrats who differ with him, and in 1940 either renominate Mr. Roosevelt himself or nominate another radical. That would be the program if the President wins the first battle, which is won now. If he loses control of the party, presumably the program would be to form a third, radical party.

"That next session of Congress, opening next January,

Pollyanna Runs For U. S. Congress

By McAlister Coleman

(Bruce Barton, famous Pollyanna propagandist for capitalism, has accepted the primary nominations to run for Congress in the "Silk Stocking" District of New York, as the running mate of Fiorello H. La Guardia. In the following article McAlister Coleman dissects Mr. Barton under the cutting comments of his razor-like humor.)

As though the coming New York election were not to be complicated enough, there now appears none other than Bruce Barton as candidate for Congress from the Seventeenth district on the Republican ticket.

We are assured by Republican managers that with the emergence of Mr. Barton from his cloistered office in the fantastic headquarters of Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborne (and Who's Got the Button?) the Republican slate is now "perfect."

This is dandy. We have known Bruce Barton of old and assure Mr. Kenneth Simpson of the Republican riding-bosses that no one could better represent the stuffed shirts and silk stockings of the Seventeenth than the present nominee. He is the perfect choice for the city's largest collection of wealthy garbage and rich riff-raff. The pent-house crowd will certainly rally behind their Bruce who has served them so faithfully in his various capacities as "The First Coolidge Man," the "Man Nobody Wants to Know," the top broker for the utility poison propaganda squad, the all-around long-distance, intercollegiate champion boot-lick for big business. They'll rally that is, if they don't forget to register, which is a common failing of the Park Avenue mobsters.

Background

Two events, with neither of which he had much to do started Bruce off on his career which he hopes to climax by an election to Congress. He was born into the house-hold of a long-winded sky pilot who read aloud from the Bible on Sunday afternoons in the parsonage at Robbins, Tennessee. This gave Bruce a line of religious hop which he has peddled successfully to second-story advertisers looking for a respectable front, ever since.

Then he went to a New Eng-

will merge into the congressional primaries of 1938, which start about April. And those primaries in the Democratic party will compose a major battle—probably Waterloo for one side or the other. Everything will depend on whether the Democrats who have opposed Mr. Roosevelt's court measure win renominations—or whether they are defeated for renomination by Mr. Roosevelt's friends.

The keen interest of labor in the struggle among sections of the ruling class and ruling party must not so involve labor that it shall be but a pawn in the hands of its class enemy. For to become such, means not only to of its own, with a program and surrender the chance for a party set of candidates of its own, but also barter away a free future for empty promises, to entrust its liberation to capitalist politicians instead of to itself.



Bruce Barton

land cow college called Amherst which he and some other collegiate bazoo players have now elevated to an imitation of the larger country-club universities. A sallow, slot-mouthed, bird-witted fellow collegian of Bruce's by the name of Calvia Coolidge had proved himself so colorlessly amenable to the whims of the hard-boiled New England manufacturers in charge of the political life of Massachusetts that Bruce decided that Cal was destined for higher things.

He went to work for Cal as press builder-up. Barton is generally credited with having written, in the absence of Coolidge, the famous strike-breaking telegram which Coolidge sent to Sam Gompers about "law and order." You'll remember that one. It was sent off in the course of the Boston police strike from which Coolidge had ignominiously fled. By dint of Bruce's telegram and the hard cash of Frank Stearns, pig-shot Boston department store owner and an Amherst man to boot, Cal was nominated for Vice-President during a lull in the Republican National Convention. By the grace of God, who struck down Warren Gamaliel Harding during a dubious fish dinner served by his (Warren's) wife, Cal went into the White House to bring us all that prosperity from whose effects we are just now recovering.

But the best pay-off of all came when Bruce decided to jazz up Jesus. He figured, quite rightly too, that the usual life of Christ made pretty dull reading for the red-blooded folks. So he re-wrote the New Testament in terms understandable to the Rotarians and members of the Hot-Cha Bowling and Barbecue Boys.

His book called, "The Man Nobody Knows," was a wow. He panicked them by describing Jesus as a tall, Arrow-collar blonde with a shock of curly gold locks, shooting miraculous holes-in-one on the North Nazareth Country Club links.

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WAR AND REVOLUTION

In the modern world, war and revolution have become two aspects of the same problem.

The restlessness out of which revolutions are spun is today an international fact. The riots of France, the spontaneous strikes of Britain, the civil war in Spain, the colonial uprisings are merely separate aspects of a world-wide disgust with the present decaying system.

This restlessness, however, is today disarmed. The weapons of human destruction are in the hands of capitalist governments, controlled by officer corps loyal to the profit system. The masses are without weapons, momentarily cowed.

A new world war, which might very easily issue from Spain or the Far East, would not only arm the workers but would create the burdensome conditions that goad the masses into revolt.

Not even the wealthiest capitalist country in the world, such as the USA, can think of carrying the expenses of a new war without imposing cruelly heavy taxes on the people. To the taxes one must add a painful increase in the cost of living; one must add the sorrows of death and disease; one must add the mounting disgust with governmental wartime dictatorship; one must finally add the growing consciousness of war's futility and empty victory—as the true war aims come to the fore.

A new world war would open the gates of revolution.

It is interesting to note how some of the regularly conservative newspapers in America grasp the interrelation of war and revolution. It is especially interesting to note how they recognize the power of a wartime revolution to shake even the mightiest empires and the firmest rulers.

Thus, for instance, does the DAILY NEWS write editorially on the Sino-Japanese war:

Japan has been bleeding its workers for money to put into guns, and its workers are reliably reported more and more restive under their burdens—burdens which American workers, for example, would not tolerate.

So if Japan gets into a long, expensive fight in China, the Japanese Government's outlook will not be bright. Those who have read or seen "The Good Earth" will remember its vivid depiction of the unmitigated hell that breaks loose when Oriental worms finally turn and start looting. The end of this war which Japan has begun so confidently may be the overthrow of the Japanese Government and the communization of Japan.

That may sound like an absurd statement at this time, in view of the Japanese Government's present grip on its people and the power and fanatic loyalty of its army and navy. In 1914 the German Kaiser looked like the most strongly and securely enthroned monarch in the world. In 1918 he had to beat it out of his own country.

The DAILY NEWS observes a great historical truth—and it bemoans the fact. For from the ashes of revolution the capitalist press can only see arising a murky darkness, a smoky chaos.

The working class of the world must likewise observe the essential historical truth—war issuing from revolution—but it must not simply moan. For from the ashes there can rise the Phoenix of a new world, a Socialist society—without hate and without war.

The presence of a strong Socialist Party will determine whether a new war shall bring only death and destruction, new tyrannies and new wars in its wake, or whether a new war shall be followed by a new life of peace and freedom.

AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

The other day I met a thoughtful man whose talk about the wars and confusion in this mad world added up to something like this: "The next World War is almost here. If by some near miracle the flames don't spread from Spain or China, they will spread from another spot. The big task will be to defeat the fascist dictators and militarists, specifically those of Japan, Germany and Italy. The war will be bad, but the Spanish struggle shows that the generals are too stupid and conservative to make effective use of all modern powers of destruction; civilian populations will stand more than we thought, and so new war won't destroy the world.

"We (the United States) can't keep out and so we had better pick our time and place to get in early, or at least let the nations know that we are going to get in." My friend hedged just a little about that final conclusion, but that is what he meant and that, with very little variation, is the present Communist Party policy, as well as the policy of some of the pro-League of Nations liberals.

It is a terribly dangerous policy based on a plausible, but erroneous analysis. World war is all but inevitable. The ultimate participation of the United States in it is all too likely. But we who oppose that participation have no right to treat probability as if it were inevitability. Especially if the World War should be comparatively short, I think there is a good chance that the United States could be kept out, and I am certain that our influence with the masses for any ultimate socialist aim, will depend on how hard we try to keep the United States out.

The World War, if and when it comes, will not be a simple struggle of democracy, even capitalist democracy, against dictators. It will be more of a struggle between the sated empires, Great Britain, for instance, and the hungry ones. Neither Great Britain nor the United States could be trusted to fight for genuine democracy. The "we" who make the war won't be people like my friend and the Communists. They will be the politicians and the profit seekers, and they will put the United States into war for all the old reasons, however fine is their talk. Of course, my sympathies are wholly with the Chinese against Japanese imperialism, but as matters now stand in our nationalist capitalist world, in the long run, the Chinese have far more of a hope from their own efforts than from aid from a nation which happens to be an imperial rival to Japan. The sanctions that count are not the sanctions of a capitalist nation, but of the workers.

JOHN LEWIS

It is encouraging to find John L. Lewis warning the Democratic Party. Few things in political history have been more spectacular than the collapse of the hope of thousands of American workers that the Democratic landslide of last November would mean a sweeping triumph for labor, or at any rate, for progressivism in Washington. The President, who won so spectacular a victory in November, has suffered an even more spectacular defeat for progressivism in the months from January to August. And the basic reason for it is

that under no circumstances was the Democratic Party, as it has existed and still exists, fit to become a labor party or even a truly progressive, "popular front" party. Probably President Roosevelt can beat enough of his nominal party comrades into line to enact some of the legislation at the next session which he failed to get this time. But he cannot make the Democratic Party a party which can be trusted to be progressive, even under the standards possible within capitalism. The sooner the farmers and workers learn that fact, the better.

FDR'S PROGRAM

At first the impulse of a great many workers will be to say "Roosevelt is all right; the trouble is with his Party or with part of it." It is the business of socialists to point out that Roosevelt, or rather that Roosevelt's program is not all right by any intelligent standards which workers ought to apply. Here are some of the facts.

His Supreme Court program was at best a dubious palliative which he sprang on an unprepared country and on which he lost. Had he won, the grave issue of government by judges would not have been solved by having 15 judges instead of 9.

The best that can be said for the President's program of work or relief for the unemployed, is that some Southern democratic senators wanted to make it worse. Reductions in WPA have been arbitrary and according to the Conference of Mayors the families of 75% of the men who have been dropped in most of our cities have had to apply for relief.

The President has not developed a proper program of taxes or finance. We are still paying big money to men who get gold out of the ground in order to bury the gold over again in a vault. The budget is not balanced and cannot be balanced except by a kind of taxation which the President has not recommended.

The President's Farm Tenancy bill was a gesture. His Wages and Hours bill was not well thought out and did present a danger that state bureaucrats would take over the control of wages, possibly almost to the exclusion of unions. The bill for reorganizing the Federal Government had good features, but it contained provisions which partially justified the claim of the President's enemies that he seeks dictatorial power.

The Housing bill was good but inadequate. It would have been far more valuable had the President pushed it during the depression. The President criticized but signed a bill containing as a rider the Tydings price fixing provisions most harmful to consumers.

The important thing is that the President plays favorites as he himself has admitted. He accepts capitalism and tries to reform it. He believes that we can keep the profit system and still avoid economic crisis; that we can protect wages for workers and prices for working farmers, and at the same time leave the con-

trol of land and natural resources to their owners, and the operation of great industries, including the power to fix prices, in the hands of finance capitalists. This cannot be done.

It is the first and almost the last business of socialists to teach the workers why it cannot be done, and to present more adequate plans for the conquest of poverty.

FOREIGN POLICY

The Administration's failure in a domestic policy, despite some features of it fairly favorable to labor will become increasingly evident in the hour when new crisis overtakes us. It is matched by his failure to develop an adequate foreign policy. The President like the American people, does not like war, but he supports great armaments, which by their nature are not defensive. He made a militarist-like Woodring Secretary of War. He re-awakened suspicion in Latin America by his proposal to lease American war vessels to the dictatorial government of Brazil. His mis-called Neutrality policy in Spain has discriminated against Loyalist Spain, and in favor of her enemies, the dictators, of Portugal, Italy, Germany. The good done by Secretary Hull's trade treaties is not great enough to make us forget this record.

But the point of my telling it is not to balance by an attack from the left the many vicious attacks on President Roosevelt from the right. What he has done and what he has left undone are about what we ought to expect from anyone who accepts capitalism, and tries to make it what he calls "democratic." It's a job that can't be done. The issue is not what Roosevelt calls "the rule of the majority" against Lord Macaulay's conception of the rule of the few. It is still democratic socialism against oligarchic capitalism in whatever form modern capitalism may take.

GREETINGS TO AUTO AND TEACHERS

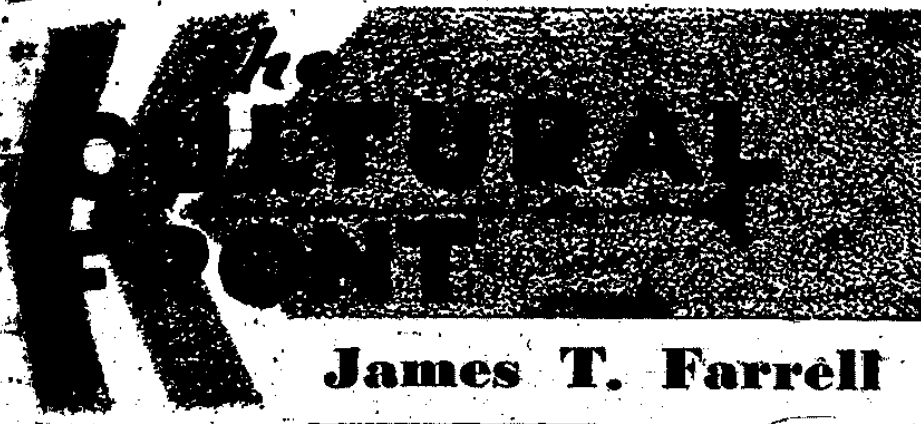
This is the season for union conventions of great importance, and this column offers greetings to the automobile workers and to the teachers. We Socialists as individuals and in Leagues have a real contribution to make in unions in these troublesome times.

We have to stand for genuine democracy, for an end of the internecine warfare which threatens labor with fascist reaction; for independent working class political action and for working class sanctions against war and fascism. The primary concern of socialists in unions is not power politics but principles, and it is our business at all times to make this clear. We are not trying to capture unions or run them from without, but to work in friendly and democratic fashion within.

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James T. Farrell

A Book of Documents

Many of those who have accepted and defended the Moscow trials have adopted an approach such as the following: One, they have distorted the trials from a historic background. They have read the official documents, in whole or in part, and presented two basic conclusions. They have concluded that these documents by themselves are internally consistent. The test of verification has been applied only inside of these documents, and within the confines only of Mr. Vishinsky's perspectives.

And they have concluded that the trials were conducted in accordance with the formal dictates of Soviet jurisprudence. In addition, they have then bolstered their conclusions with two additional types of argument, arguments from historic analogy, and arguments of circumstantial deduction. Their arguments of analogy have been of the following order:

They have combed history in order to find previous instances of treason. Duranti went back to the Greeks. Some have gone to the biblical story of Judas. Others have dragged forth the instance of Benedict Arnold. Because Arnold, Judas, and others were traitors, ergo, Leon Trotsky is a traitor. Q.E.D. The arguments of circumstantial deduction have been of a psychological, political, and tactical nature. Thus, Dostoevski wrote of "the Russian soul." The defendants, including Radek, a Jewish Pole, exemplified the "Russian soul." The Russian soul explains their guilt.

Shakespeare's plays have been similarly used. A series of assumptions concerning the tactics and morality of Bolsheviys and revolutionists have been strung together. These have been used to support the conclusion that Trotsky is a traitor and an assassin because such a course was the only tactical course open to him. On top of this, there have been assumptions concerning international relationships at the present time, and hypotheses concerning the psychological makeup and the political views of Trotsky. These likewise have been made the basis for circumstantial deductions. One such argument runs that Trotsky should have done what he is charged with having done, therefore he did just that. Ergo, he is guilty.

Arguments of historic analogy must be based, not on the cases of an individual jerked out of his entire historic setting. They must be based on the aim of finding uniformities in the process of history. They must be based on uniformities, not in the conduct of isolated individuals, but of uniformities in the history process, the social relationships, the tendency.

Using the method of analogy I have indicated above, one can just as easily state that Thomas Paine did not sell out to the English, therefore, Trotsky is not a traitor. It is to be noted that the proponents of the official version have not drawn their analogies on the Thermidorean reaction in the French Revolution.

Arguments of circumstantial deductions must be based on a set of verified facts. Verification here is as crucial as it is concerning the direct testimony presented at the trials. Circumstantial deductions are worthless, unless they are a rigidly logical interpretation of a wide background of verified facts.

No one can present convincing circumstantial arguments without familiarizing himself with the history of the controversy between Stalin and the Left Opposition. The moment one goes into the facts in this history, the circumstantial deductions of those defending the Moscow trials begin to seem silly.

The Stalin School

A book compiled by Trotsky, *The Stalin School of Falsification* (Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1937, \$2.50) has now appeared in English. It deals, not with the Moscow trials, but with the early days of the struggle within the Communist Party of Russia. It is composed of a series of documents, some of them published in English for the first time in a complete version. These are among the documents which Trotsky has frequently cited in his other writings.

The contents of the book are the following: A Letter to the Bureau of Party History written by Trotsky on October 21, 1927, shortly before his expulsion from the CPSU. It is a long letter, written in answer to a questionnaire sent Trotsky concerning his role in the Russian Revolution.

Beginning it, he states: "I will indicate a few dozen examples of a conscious and spiteful distortion of the past, which is now organized on an enormous scale, sustained by the authority of all kinds of public institutions, and even carried into textbooks."

Documents and quotations are cited to prove his contentions. These can be denied if they are untrue. There are a number of letters written in 1927 and 1928 by Radek and other Oppositionists, concerning the origin of "the legend of Trotskyism." These testify that the signers heard Zinoviev describe how he and Kamenev, members of the ruling "troika" with Stalin following Lenin's death, systematically strove to create this "legend."

Another document is the minutes of the Petersburg Committee of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia (Bolshevik Party) on November 14, 1917. This was just after the Bolshevik Revolution. According to Trotsky, these minutes had been set up for publication, but never published. There is a photostatic copy of two pages of the minutes. The translation of those minutes quotes Lenin as stating at one point: "As for conciliation (with the Mensheviks) I cannot even speak about this seriously. Trotsky understood this and from that time there has been no better Bolshevik." Had these minutes been published, they would obviously have refuted the charge that Trotsky was always a "conciliator."

On one side of the galley, a line is drawn down beside these words, with the words (according to Trotsky) of a "concocted" official historian:

"Junk that." Anyone who reads Russian can look at this photostatic copy, and tell me if I am wrong in believing the English

text and comments on this point. I shall await any such word.

Also, there are copies of two speeches delivered by Trotsky in July, 1926, before a joint session of the Central Committee and the Control Commission. He had been brought up on charges of making a faction speech, and of participating in a farewell demonstration when the Oppositionist, Smilga, left Moscow. The Party claimed that Smilga was going to the provinces to do Party work. The Opposition claimed that he was being exiled because of his political views. At all events, Trotsky was charged with participating in a demonstration at the railroad station. In his speeches, Trotsky accused, rather than defended himself, and these speeches reveal the views of the Opposition at that time.

He also predicted that Rykov, Tomsky, and Bukharin, then aligned with Stalin, would meet the fate of the Left Opposition as soon as the latter was cleared from the Party. This happened.

Left Opposition

Also, he discussed the Thermidorean analogy as it applied to the Russian Revolution. In addition, there is a speech he delivered on August 1, 1927, discussing the war danger. Then, he was accused of aiding Chamberlain. Today such an accusation draws forth some irony! There is a chapter, A Contribution to the Political Biography of Stalin. It contains thirty damaging points, based on quotations from Stalin, and other corroborative evidence. Unless these are refuted, another view of Stalin must be adopted, rather than that held by many in and near the Stalinist camp.

There is a brief note, written on March 3, 1937, dealing with the October Revolution, and citing as evidence, a quotation from a speech of Stalin. In the appendix, there is an article, Stalin and the Red Army, written by one N. Markin. It accused Voroshilov with trying to "refresh" history after the fact. It contains many telegrams sent by Lenin, Trotsky, and others during the Civil War. Finally, there are the notes remaining from the minutes of a Bolshevik Party Conference held in March 1917. Support of the Provisional Government was discussed. Such a tactic was defended by Stalin. Lenin arrived late, and delivered his famous April Theses.

Historic Document

This book is one of historic documents, shedding light on the background of the trials. All deal with the history of the Bolshevik Party. Unless they are proven unauthentic, they completely destroy the basis for any circumstantial deductions, such as those which I have referred to. They refute several successive Stalinist versions of the Revolution and of Party history. "Facts are stubborn things." Denunciation will not destroy them. Can anything more solid than denunciation be marshaled to destroy the facts in this book? If not, then the title of the book is fully proven and justified. Will any one who defends the official version of the trials give us a sober, sane, and intelligent analysis of this book?

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With the Party

WITH THE NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE

Several important steps of the National Action Committee have become effective recently with their approval by the National Executive Committee. The National Action Committee, permanent administrative committee of the National Executive Committee which meets at least weekly in the National Headquarters in Chicago at present consists of Roy E. Burt, Frank Trager, Maynard C. Krueger, Anton Garden, Arthur G. McDowell, Gus Tyler and Max Raskin, Marjorie Kipp and Clarence Senior being proxies for Tyler and Raskin who are not Chicago residents.

ORGANIZATION

Since action of the National Executive Committee in revoking the state charters in Washington, Oregon and Montana there has been a revival of Socialist organization by hitherto inactive locals which have started registration in their sections in all three states. The Action Committee recently severed these three states from the inactive Western States Federation which included California, and set up the Northwest District under direct National Executive Committee control to include Idaho, Montana, Washington and Oregon, pending the reorganization of these areas as state organizations.

The mid-Atlantic District composed of Eastern Pennsylvania, Wilmington, Delaware and Baltimore has been approved and authorized to proceed under the district plan provided for in the new 1937 national constitution.

REGISTRATION

The final date for the deadline on national registration has been set for October 1st, the extension of time being principally for the benefit of the big and laggard states and locals. There will be no mid-year registration at the beginning of 1938 but all new members must henceforth be registered on the proper forms as they join.

SPAIN

The National Executive Committee's standing sub-committee on Spanish affairs has been instructed to take up the matter of participation of the Socialist Party in an impartial international investigating committee to inquire into the suppression of workers rights in the territory of the Spanish government.

SOCIALIST PRESS

The appearance of the American Socialist Monthly under its new title of the American Socialist Review and in its new format, after long delay due to financial difficulties is welcomed. The New Review will fulfill not only the function of a general theoretical organ but will also be the forum for the presentation of current controversies within the Socialist Party and movement. The National Action Committee heard its press manager report that the drive for a thousand dollars moving and printing fund for the "Socialist CALL" had received first response from Max Schwind in California, Ed Adams in Anderson, Indiana, Tony Zager and the Waukegan, Illinois Local and from Local Evansville, Indiana.

In addition funds were raised to meet current needs of the Socialist CALL in New York through an appeal from the National Office which brought prompt and generous response from George Gibson in Louisville, Kentucky, Sam Oshry in Pittsburgh, Fran King and Secretary Ben Fischer in Detroit.

DISCIPLINE

The National Executive Committee upon initiative of National Action Committee has condemned the action of Local New York in issuing a public statement on its intended action in relation to the controversial cooperation with the American Labor Party on the matter of La Guardia support. The action of Local New York was held unconstitutional in view of failure to consult the National Executive Committee for approval before public commitment. The National Executive Committee has further directed Local New York to refrain from taking any further public action or making further statements on controversial questions concerning cooperation with the American Labor Party until the matter is properly presented to the National Executive Committee and becomes the Party decision by formal N.E.C. approval.

The state Charter of California was last week suspended by the N.E.C. and its state office placed in charge of N.E.C. member Ward Rogers pending report of a special investigating committee appointed by N.E.C. to investigate charges of irregularity in state office administration and to discover reasons for drastic drop in Party membership in the state.

YPSL
 There is at present a group calling itself the "provisional committee for the New York Young People's Socialist League." This group has no connection with the Young People's Socialist League of America or the New York District Organization whose secretary is Comrade Irving Barshop. This dual organization is not recognized by the National Organization or the New York District.

All sections of the Y.P.S.L. throughout the country are hereby instructed to immediately sever communications and relationships with the group calling itself the "Provisional Committee for the New York Young People's Socialist League."

The New York District of the Young People's Socialist League through the Executive Secretary, Irving Barshop has been instructed that: "All comrades who support those who have created an organization dual to the Y.P.S.L. are not to be recognized as members of the Young People's Socialist League, New York District."

"The New York District shall immediately act to make certain the integrity of the membership of the constituent circles in the New York District. All circle organizers are to be instructed to call immediate meetings of their circle and any comrade who supports the group which has split from the New York League shall not be considered a member of the New York District. In those circles where a majority of the comrades support the creators of this rival organization, loyal members of the League and shall be instructed to immediately withdraw and reorganize a new circle of the League."

"Those who have withdrawn from the Young People's Socialist League of America and who now are attempting to create a rival organization, are to be treated as non-members of the Y.P.S.L. for they have acted in such a manner as to make it clear they no longer desire to work and carry on their political activities through the Young People's Socialist League."

AL HAMILTON,
 NATIONAL SECRETARY,
 YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

NEW YORK CITY

The city-wide referendum of New York Socialists has ended with the majority proposition, as approved by the City Central Committee, endorsed by the membership. The resolution which indicates a willingness to cooperate with the American Labor Party in the coming city elections was carried.

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MANHATTAN

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

GERMAN Branch. Meets second Tuesday of each month during summer. Yorkville Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. G. Hoffman, Organizer

Chelsea Br. Meets every Wed. at 319 Eighth Ave., West Side Labor Center. May Gippa, Sec'y.

BRONX

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

DETROIT

BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday, 8 P. M., People's House, 3946 Trumbull. Tel.: Terrace 2-8512.

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Latin-America Youth Protest Roosevelt's Imperialist Dictatorship

By Al Hamilton

National Secretary Young Peoples' Socialist League

This week the national office of the YPSL received a copy of the July number of GRITO (Call), the official organ of La Confederacion de Estudiantes

Antimperialistas de America. This Federation of anti-imperialist students is composed of Communists, Socialists and nationalist youth and student organizations of Central, South and Latin America. It is a genuinely anti-imperialist organization whose primary orientation is the organization of students for a struggle against imperialism, against war and fascism.

The Declaration of Principles of the Federation states: "We see in the economic phenomena of imperialism, a political problem which arises because of the necessity of finance capital to assume control over the development of the productive forces in the countries subject to its penetration. In consequence its revolutionary action will be directed toward the overthrow of reactionary dictatorship and native oligarchies of national treason which constitute the forces allied with imperialism and against feudal overlordship; and against imperialist domination in conjunction with these forces."

Good Neighbor

From their Declaration of Principles, it is clear that they have not been taken in by the "good neighbor policy" of President Roosevelt. The third point of the Declaration of Principles is: "struggle for the liberation and independence of all the various countries which find themselves in the situation of being imperialist colonies of America (Porto Rico); for the abolition of oppressive treaties which oppose the national interest; against the politics of pan-Americanism in all of its various aspects, serving as a front for imperialistic penetration, (the Monroe Doctrine, the politics of the "good neighbor," inter-Americanism, etc.) for economic and social equality.

In connection with the anti-imperialist struggle it is good to note the position taken at a recent congress of Young Socialists of the Argentine, where they say that "the struggle for national liberation should be made the first step in the final struggle for Socialism."

These things more than ever before demonstrate the need for the YPSL and the American Student Union to orientate itself toward

the building up of close fraternal relationships with the anti-imperialist struggles of the class conscious youth in the South.

Open Letter

The Central Executive Committee of the Confederation of anti-imperialist Youth of America has recently issued an open letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt which deserves the wholehearted support of every Socialist comrade and supporter of the struggle against imperialism. All comrades and friends are urged to send copies of this letter, with a statement of support to Roosevelt, their Congressman, and to hold meetings on the unjust imprisonment of the leaders of Porto Rican national freedom.

Copy of letter follows:

"With that haste which justice demands we address you in behalf of the youth of America to bring before you the wide clamor rising from its midst in view of the unjust imprisonment of Pedro Campos, Juan Antonio Corretjer and other leaders of Porto Rican Nationalism are suffering, in the Atlanta Penitentiary, in Georgia, charged with most honorable act that man can undertake: the struggle for the liberty and independence of their country.

"It was in your country where the concept of political democracy had its birth, and a defense and praise of that was made by you at the Peace Conference recently held in the city of Buenos Aires. The firm and solid basis of that democracy is "the free self-determination of the people."

"General Ulysses S. Grant, one of the illustrious Presidents of the United States before you, uttered a sentence that history has recorded and which sounds today more compelling than ever: 'All the Peoples of America have the right to be free.'

"Now is Puerto Rico, a people whom we regard as a brother of ours, engaged with infinite desire in the task of seeking liberation. Its historical development leads it to freedom no matter what imperatives may be opposed to that issue. We affirm that the people of the United States, a great people harboring fraternal good will in its strength, favors the independence of Puerto Rico. You are called upon, Mr. President, to decide.

"The young people of America are eagerly watchful over the doom that may overtake our brother country, and hoping that your utterances at the Peace Conference will be made effective, and Puerto Rico may win its freedom.

"History does not shrive those who curtail freedom and even the most prominent figures are severely judged by the future generations when such figures have sought to enslave the people.

"We sincerely believe that at this moment, when the world feels itself on the eve of a new war, the union of the peoples of this continent which you bespoke, depends largely on the attitude that the United States may take with regard to the Puerto Rican problem.

"In the latest address made by your Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, dictatorships were decried. In order that your own utterances and those of your Secretary of State may arouse an authentic echo in the peoples of this continent, you must make them good by giving Puerto Rico its liberty and by freeing its prisoners at Atlanta."

CALL Sub Drive Passes 600 Mark

The CALL Drive for new subscribers is pushing past the 600 mark this week. While this total is high, it is not nearly as high as it should be. It must be pushed much farther by party members over the country if they want the CALL to be the collective organizer for the party. Racine, Wisconsin, continues in the lead in the Drive. Thus far they have rolled up a total of 45 new readers for Racine alone. On the heels of Racine comes

"Not only America, but Europe and the whole world are watching your attitude, as what you do will bring to a close a historic cycle of political democracy, which you claim to defend.

"We address you in this tone, Mr. President of the United States, because the youth of America ought not to speak in veiled voices."

TALL TIMBER

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Reading, Pa., which has used party registration to add 32 new readers. CALL'S mailing list. Being done at the Philadelphia office, resting on their laurels, of 20 and 24 respectively.

The New York branch has secured 19 subscriptions to the CALL after starting late in the drive. From Sioux City, Iowa, comes enough more to bring the total for this branch to 16, tying it with Washington Heights, leading New York City branch.

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Call For Labor Party

(Continued From Page One)

the name of their party during the 1936 campaign.

"Positive governmental action is necessary if we are to correct basic abuses in our industrial life. The chaos of unchecked private power in industry will inevitably culminate in new and probably greater business depressions unless the workers and the farmers of the nation are given legal protection of their basic rights.

"The Democratic party" was chosen by the voters in 1936 because its chief and his subordinate leaders promised to take the positive action required by our critical situation.

Rules Committee

"The spectacle of four or five members of a House Rules Committee defeating the will of the people of the United States is one that must cause the gravest concern to all believers in democracy.

"Add to this the refusal of Democratic Congressmen to answer to their names at the caucus of last night, thus preventing a formally valid party action, and we are witnessing a major test of our governmental system."

Green Attack

William Green, speaking in the name of the AFL, placed the burden of responsibility for the failure of the Wage and Hour Legislation on the shoulders of the House Rules Committee.

Mr. Green said: "It now becomes quite clear that the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives has thus far prevented the enactment of the wage and hour measure into law.

"Apparently, the Rules Committee of this session of Congress is stifling and defeating legislation just the same as did the Rules Committee which operated under the complete domination of Cannon and his reactionary controlled and dominated Congress in days gone by.

"Here is a measure which passed the Senate by an overwhelming vote and which was practically unanimously reported by the House Labor Committee. Notwithstanding this fact, the Rules Committee arbitrarily says Congressmen shall not be permitted to vote for or against the measure.

"What right has the Rules Committee to defeat the will of Congress? Surely, the members of Congress ought to be accorded the privilege of passing the Wage and Hours Bill, or of defeating it. That is democracy and democratic procedure.

"Congress should remain in session until it passes the Wage and Hours Bill."

Hillman

Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, and in charge of the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee, issued a simultaneous statement directed primarily at the Southern Bourbons. Hillman was formerly on the National Labor Relations' Board and is considered, in political and labor circles, to be a close associate of Roosevelt.

Mr. Hillman charged that the legislation was held up by Southern members. He said: "Labor in the Southern States is more in need of the minimum wage, maximum hours, and child labor bill than is Northern labor. Workers everywhere, and fair, reasonable employers everywhere, require protection against the

chiseling fraction which lives practically upon every industry.

"Unless this bill is brought to a vote at this session, res-

ponsibility must rest directly upon the individuals who have defied their party, repudiated the pledge to which they were

bound, and condemned workers and employers alike to a con-

tinuation of intolerable and inhuman conditions."

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ALL STORES OPEN EVENINGS

Where Is The Democratic Party Moving in New York

By George Baker

The Irishman and the farmer have a healthy disrespect for politicians. Bound to long hours of arduous toil, they find it difficult to rationalize the possibility of any good coming from a well liveried chair-sitter who spends his time in highly decorated chambers where little else but argument goes on, and from which emanate no tangible aids to back-breaking burdens. To the more "so-

phisticated" city liberals fall the task of patiently explaining to those backwoodsmen from

the task of patiently explaining to those backwoodsmen from

Walker's City Chamberlain then as Roosevelt's Secretary of State. He now has the job of turning over the Democratic Party in New York, and that means Tammany Hall, to Roosevelt.

The Flynn group feels that a pro-New Deal Tammany Hall can continue in New York, for, while it may be cut off for the time being from the lucrative field of city politics and its sinecures, the Roosevelt forces, with Farley at their head, can hand out enough Federal posts to keep the machine going until either the "reform" or fusion movement dies of its own inertia or the "Hall" is won over and gilded for public consumption.

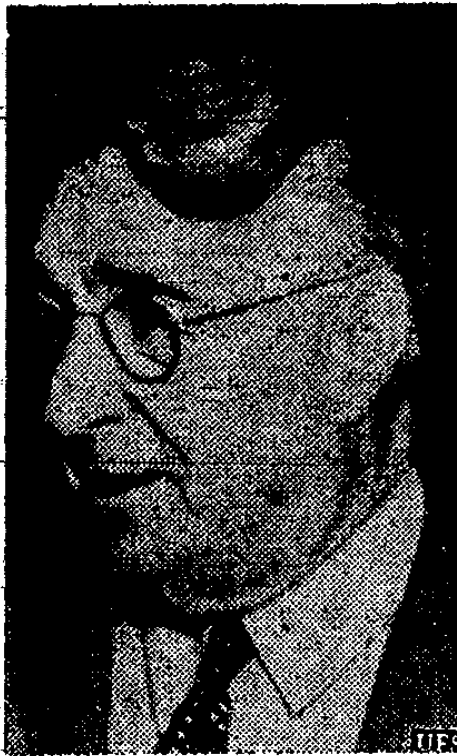
About two years ago the press buzzed with excitement when the whole matter came out in the open. Roosevelt, it seems had appointed Lamar Hardy as U. S. Attorney and John J. Kelly as U.S. Marshall for the southern New York District. Aimed directly as a blow at the Dooplind forces in Tammany, Copeland refused to confirm either one. After six months Copeland finally agreed to stand with Wagner and confirm Hardy, but he still held out against Kelly. Wagner himself had originally been against Kelly (who was the leader of the 22nd Assembly District in New York), but out of loyalty to Roosevelt he had agreed to confirm. In the end Kelly was confirmed by both senators.

New Dealers

So the battle is carried on, by tightening or loosening the strings of the "pork barrel" purse; and the four New Deal leaders, Flynn in the Bronx, Kelly in Brooklyn, Sheridan in Queens and Fetherston in Richmond know which way the wind is blowing, and they're opening their sails to get some of the patronage wind being blown by big Jim Farley.

It's only Smith and Sullivan who stick to their guns for a "pure" anti-New Deal Tammany. Even Jimmy Walker is rumored to have become recoiled; his latest trip to Washington, where he saw Roosevelt, is said to have brought him back into the fold, with the possibility that he may campaign for Mahoney if he gets the Democratic nomination. (Whether this would be more to the advantage of La Guardia or Mahoney is another point.)

Behind Mahoney are lined up all these Democrats who feel that only the nomination of a New Dealer can unite the party, or at least keep it going as a force in New York City politics. The purely altruistic feel that, while it would be a good idea to have clean municipal government, it would be just as well if it were a clean Democratic government; the politicians, of course, are always in favor of a strong party government, for it enables them to carry on deals, trades, etc.; to them La Guardia is not only an anomaly, but a man, who having a large machine of his own to support, does not find it absolutely necessary at all times



Royal S. Copeland

to bargain with the other machine politicians.

Labor Angle

So far the machine politicians like Flynn and the others have made no move to take over the "labor angle;" they have made no concerted effort to make the American Labor Party an integral part of the Democratic party. The only link they have with the ALP is through A. A. Berle, one of the early "Brain Trusters, who saw what was coming, and supported La Guardia in 1933. He has been rewarded by La Guardia with the same position Flynn once held, city chamberlain. Perhaps the lesson will sink through to Flynn.

With an enrollment of more than two and a quarter million, compared with a Republican enrollment of less than a half million, the Democratic Party still stands as the major party in New York politics. With its present perspective of about a half million votes the ALP and its labor politicians if they seek material "success" above all can get it only on the basis of an alignment with the Democratic Party; first, because many of the large unions they hope to win over, such as the longshoremen, building trades, etc., have long supported the Democratic machine, and secondly because their present alliance with the Republican Party can never last beyond the immediate temporary issue of La Guardia. The fact that they are willing to unite even with their "arch" enemies of the reactionary Republican party shows how simple it will be for them to become an appendage of the Democratic Party here, particularly when it has on its front door mat the label: New Deal.

As we pointed out in our last article . . . a party with no clear cut and definite program, a party which has made its peace with the capitalist system and which is in the political arena merely to achieve office . . . such a party will not be a working-class party. Such a party can only be a front for the capitalist politicians who wish to keep the profit system going; who wish to keep their own jobs

Dallas Local Carries On Despite Beating

DALLAS, Tex.—Herbert Harris, Socialist organizer who was kidnapped August 9 from a Socialist Party meeting in Dallas Park by a band of thugs believed to have been under instructions from the Ford Motor Company and tarred and feathered, made his first public appearance Sunday in a meeting in City Park sponsored by the Socialist Party Open Forum.

Harris, together with George Lambert who had also been beaten by anti-union thugs on the night Harris was kidnapped, were the featured speakers at the meeting which, in spite of heavy rains just before the scheduled time, attracted a crowd of more than 200 people. Earl E. Miller, member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Texas, was the third speaker. The meeting was chaired by Carl Brannin, State Secretary of the Party.

Governor's Pledge

A number of Texas Rangers in plain clothes as well as several Dallas police although not asked for by the party stood guard over the meeting as a result of the pledge by Governor Allred that he intended seeing to it personally that "free speech and free assembly are maintained in Dallas."

Harris spoke on the subject, "Why Dallas Needs to Hear the Socialist Program." He outlined the principles and aims of the Socialist Party, and expressed his belief that if these principles and aims were carried out in Dallas there could never be another act of mob violence in this city such as have occurred during the past few weeks.

Lambert, speaking on "Socialists and CIO," pledged the cooperation of the Socialist Party in the efforts of the CIO to organize workers at the Ford Motor Company plant here.

Police Scored

Miller, speaking on "Labor Rights and Free Speech," excoriated the local police department for the little progress made

in apprehending the persons guilty of the kidnapping and tarring and feathering of Harris, and the beating of George Baer, Vice-President of the Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers Union, on the same day.

However, this week two men, for whom the police had gotten out warrants a week previously, charged with the Baer beating, walked coolly into the office of the Sheriff and posted bond on charges of "aggravated assault" amounting to \$500 each. Neither the deputy sheriffs nor the Dallas police detectives "thought" to question them as to who the third man in the car was.

The Socialist Party's Dallas Local is carrying forward plans to show the film "Millions of Us" at a huge mass meeting with either Norman Thomas or Maury Maverick as chief speaker, with in the next week or ten days.

ARMS TO FRANCO

German anti-fascist workers in Hamburg have organized an illegal "Arms Control Commission" to check up on the delivery of war materials from Germany to the Spanish Rebels. They have discovered that a special wharf is used for these shipments which they refer to as "Franco's Wharf."

The ships that carry these arms are German but they fly the flags of countries which have not adhered to the Non-Intervention Agreement, such as Panama and Peru. They disembark at Vigo two days by train from the Basque front.

Sometimes these ships find it convenient to change their name. The "Amalienburg" for instance, has become the "Acme" and carries the Panama flag. Frequently, too, foreign ships load innocent looking cargoes which turn out to be war materials. This, in turn, has led to strikes among the crews who refuse to carry arms.

intact by making concessions . . . and in this instance the concessions are not the working class, but only to a select few labor politicians who stand over the working class.

So, we see, there are three possible perspectives for the Democratic Party in New York City:

1. Copeland and his outright reactionary machine which may eventually tie up with the Republican Party;
2. Mahoney and his New Deal Democrats, with the support of Flynn, Farley and other old and new politicians; and
3. The Democratic Party with a "New Deal" program and the American Labor Party as a left appendage.

Which Perspective

To take them in order: Copeland is thoroughly discredited and it is possible that he will win neither the Republican or Democratic nominations. In New York City, with its large industrial and trade union population his chances for success on a blatantly anti-labor program are rather slim; furthermore, if he gets neither nomination he won't even have the opportunity to test the strength of a new coalition of Republican and old guard Tammany forces.

Mahoney, running on a "clean up Tammany" and New Deal program, and with the backing of a large group in the Democratic party, has this role to play: to win a large enough section of the working class vote to demonstrate to the American Labor Party that its place is with the Democratic party; also

to capture the Manhattan organization of the Democratic party, thus putting the entire city under the control of the Flynn-Farley New Deal group and further clearing the way for a possible coalition with the ALP.

None of these perspectives offers any hope for working class political advancement; the last, the tie-up with the American Labor Party would very clearly chain to capitalist politics the political militancy which comes as a natural consequence of the trade union militancy of the past three years.

Socialists advise the working class against travelling this path, which may seem to be a step towards independent political action. The path of coalition leads into the hands of the capitalist politicians and political reactionaries in the labor movement.

To the Socialists, must the working class look for real independent working class political action this year . . . based on a genuine program reflecting their everyday needs, leading toward Socialism.

On this basis, the Socialist Party calls upon the class conscious workers to vote this fall in New York City. The Socialist Party calls upon the workers to make a display of their independent strength against all capitalist party politicians, placing their principles above mere office building for a workers' world power, instead of postponing forever the realization of a free world by grasping for the semblance of power.



Jeremiah Mahoney

year to year, that an upheaval is taking place this time; that a really significant change is in order. Inside the Democratic Party, they tell us, it's old deal versus new deal, and it's the Tammany-Copeland, Smith-Hearst (ooh, ooh) boys against the New Deal Mahoney-Flynn-Farley-etc. boys.

Roosevelt has from time to time been ballyhooed as pro-Mahoney; at other times the La Guardia boys have declared that La Guardia is the real New Deal man in town, although nobody has shown why Roosevelt should support La Guardia for that reason alone. After all, there is the question of the Democratic Party in New York City, it being but one of many Democratic machines throughout the country, and if it comes to a choice, it is safe to say that Farley will know how to choose.

Mahoney

Mahoney himself is no particular importance in the present situation. Leader of the "silk stocking" Park Avenue Democrats, he has spent a rather uneventful career in politics, starting out as a law partner of Senator Wagner and ending up on the bench of the State Supreme Court. His big splash in the public eye came in 1935, when he opposed the United States' entry into the the Nazified Olympics. He is a good Tammany man, and recently expressed himself to the effect that he would wholeheartedly support Copeland if he should get the Democratic nomination.

His Backers

What is most important about Mahoney are his backers. At the top of the list stands Edward J. Flynn, Tammany chieftain of the Bronx. An old friend of Jim Farley's, a close friend of President Roosevelt, who appointed him Secretary of State when he was governor of New York, he is one of newer type politicians who has seen the folly of "dishonest" graft.

Nevertheless he has built up for himself a thriving law prac-