

OFFICIAL
ORGAN
SOCIALIST
PARTY
U.S.A.

Socialist Call

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 21, 1935, at the Post Office at New York under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. III—No. 127

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1937

PRICE FIVE CENTS

The Auto Workers' Convention Has Serious Problems of Growth

Lambert Reports Unity Group Calls Progressives To Join Against Reactionaries

By George Lambert

DALLAS, Texas.—Herbert Harris was badly burned when they tarred and feathered him. All that they did to me was to knock me down a couple of times, kick me on the head and back, and cut a two or three inch gash in the back of my head with

a brass-knuckle. I'm pretty well bandaged up around the head and sore around my shoulders and hips, but not seriously hurt.

It happened this way. We showed "Millions Of Us" for the first time in City Council Chamber here on Sunday night before a good audience. The following night we went to a park in the Cotton Mill section of the city.

Everything went along smoothly until after the picture, when they started heckling E. M. Lane, a local Socialist, who was doing the speaking, asking what connection the picture had with the CIO.

"Smash It"

I heard a group of men muttering: "It's a goddamned CIO picture. Let's smash the stuff up and get the bastards!" I went back to start getting the equipment together hoping to forestall trouble when a gang of about fifty or more broke away from Lane and headed towards us.

I tried to stop the first few from breaking up the equipment, but they started hitting and kicking at me from all sides. I went down once and got up again, and then got knocked down a second time. This time I decided it was useless, as I had seen that the projector had been smashed against the pavement and everything torn up completely, so I stayed on the ground.

As the last of the stragglers came past me, some of them kicked me in the face and back. I curled up for protection and stayed put until they stopped kicking me. Then I got up and headed for the school building next door to call the police.

We didn't notice that Herb Harris was missing until four or five minutes later. The cops, who had been called before the fighting started, didn't get there for twenty minutes, although there must have been some police cars in the immediate neighborhood.

The usual park policeman was conspicuous by his absence. From the way the cops snickered about the whole thing, there is every reason to believe that they were in collusion with the thugs.

When we finally thought about Herb, we managed to locate a couple of little girls who had seen the thugs carry him off. One of them bundled him up over his shoulder and carried him out of

the park. They dumped him in a car and carried him off. In the meanwhile, after turning our sound-truck over and smashing it up inside and out and then trying to set fire to it, the rest of the gang of about twenty thugs who formed the nucleus of the mob, left in three cars. They followed the car which was carrying Herb.

We got the license numbers of three of the cars, but the police will probably white-wash the owners.

The gang, which is undoubtedly part of the eighty Detroit gangsters which Henry Ford has brought here to defeat efforts to organize his local assembly plant, took Herb off somewhere south of the city, threatened to burn him alive, poured benzine and tar on him and then added a basket of feathers.

They brought him back into town and dumped him out on one of the main streets with nothing on but his shorts and a coat of tar. He called for help, and they took him to a hospital where the tar was removed.

Meanwhile I had gotten some stitches taken in the cut in my head, and we had seen the police about finding Herb. They "were sure he'd turn up all right in a few minutes," further substantiating our theory that they knew about what was going to happen.

Baer, Slugged

Earlier in the day George Baer, organizer for the Millinery Workers Union, was slugged with black jacks by three men on a downtown street in broad daylight with several hundred people watching. He was thrown in a car and carried off. He was found on a road outside the city unable to see because of the beating he had taken, severely cut and bruised all over his body.

A few weeks ago a local lawyer named Houston, who had interested himself in Ford organizational work, was attacked as he came out of a drugstore on one of the busiest corners in town and at one of the busiest hours of the day and beaten mercilessly by about twenty men. Three of his ribs were broken and several of his teeth knocked out. A client who was with him, who had no interest whatever in trade unions was also severely beaten.

DETROIT, MICH.—The Milwaukee Convention of the United Automobile Workers of America, opening August 23rd, finds the union faced with a critical situation. In the last days before the opening of the convention the Frankenstein-Martin caucus has unleashed a terrific barrage against the Unity caucus, made up of the left wing elements and of progressives in the main.

A front-page streamer headline in the Hearst "Detroit Times" on Friday of last week announced that "Martin Demands UAW Block Red Control." The Frankenstein caucus has sought in this manner to center attention on the efforts of an "outside group" to capture the union. The newspapers freely interpret this as meaning the Communist Party.

In case anyone has any doubt about what the Frankenstein caucus means, the "Workers Age," organ of the Independent Communist Labor League (formerly the CPO), removes such doubts in a series of articles by George Miles, CPO trade union expert and one of the close advisers of the Frankenstein caucus. He explains in detail the Communist plans to capture the union. He does not mention the Socialists even though they play a leading role in the Unity caucus.

In the past weeks, much attention has been centered on the Socialists. The honest pro-union policy of the Socialists combined with their militancy and loyalty in union-building, has gained considerable respect for Socialists throughout the union. This is one of the reasons why the Frankenstein caucus has been hesitant about attacking the Socialists; they can count on traditional prejudice carrying a good deal of weight, however, when they shout "Communist!"

"Socialist" Communist

Another tactic they now follow is classing the active Socialists as Communists. The real drive for this policy emanates from the Independent Communist Labor League, the brain trust of the

Frankenstein caucus which because of its lack of its own base in the membership necessarily must confine its role to advising other elements what to do. Unable to discredit or directly attack the Socialists, they resort to the simple formula of having "inside information" that those who call themselves Socialists are in reality members of the Communist Party.

The attempts to class leading Socialists as Communists may have some success; rumors and mud-slinging usually prove at least partially successful. But attempts to attack Socialists on union grounds have proved futile. The attack against Roy Reuther has fallen flat because Roy Reuther comes to the convention as the strongest and most respected delegate from the powerful Flint local, No. 156.

Reuther, Edwards, Mazey

An attempt to discredit Walter Reuther, president of the West Side local, likewise has failed. He was threatened with suspension by the General Executive Board if he did not return from Detroit to Milwaukee. He had gone to Detroit to lead the remarkably successful distribution of union literature at the open-shop-Ford plant at River Rouge, the main auto plant not yet brought under the banner of the UAW.

This factional attempt to undermine Reuther proved to be a boomerang, placing the Frankenstein group in the position of a petty factional group and placing Reuther in the position of a militant union builder.

Growing out of this incident has been an attack on George Edwards, West Side organizer. First he was attacked in a public statement for reading a telegram from Reuther to the Ford mobilization meeting explaining why he could not be there. There was booing, directed at the Martin-Frankenstein action against Reuther. Edwards did not boo; the workers who had gathered to do a courageous bit of union work did the booing. Edwards was denounced first and then given a hearing. At the hearing he was cleared and in addition was appointed to the Ford Organizing Committee.

The militant leader of the powerful Briggs local, Emil Mazey, a tried and true progressive, was put under attack; the result—Knox, the Frankenstein-Martin supporter who was president of the local, was removed by the membership and Mazey was chosen as their business agent.

It is no coincidence that these attacks are directed in every case against non-Communists while on the other hand the Frankenstein group shouts publicly against Communists in general. The shouting is for popular consumption; the attacks are attempts to undermine the strongholds of the progressive forces in the union. The three largest locals—Flint, Briggs and West Side—form a powerful trio. A realistic attempt to control the convention in the interests of one factional group as against every other element in the union results logically in this type of war against the leadership of the "Big Three" of the UAW.

The crowning folly appears in the program of the Frankenstein-Martin group which announces that they have built the union "despite these elements and their disruptive tactics." Even the most ardent opponent of the Unity caucus must blush when he reads this; the workers who fought so valiantly against General Motors and Chrysler and countless smaller employers have not forgotten and will never forget the heroic and intelligent leadership given by the Reuther brothers, Bob Fravia, Johnson, George Edwards, Emil Mazey, Mortimer, Hall, Allan Strachen, and countless others who are now in the Unity caucus.

What About Ford?

Furthermore, many workers ask the question—"what about Ford?" It is entirely obvious that these same elements are now

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Socialists Back Move to Unite Illinois Miners

The Illinois Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meeting in Chicago last week took action to endorse and place Socialist Party forces squarely behind the move of Local No. 1 of the Progressive Miners to call a state wide joint conference on miners relief in Gillespie, Illinois which will include and have the endorsement of not only the most important locals of the Progressive Miners but has also received the support of District No. 12 (Illinois) of the United Mine Workers and Illinois Workers Alliance.

This is the first time since the split in the miners union in 1932 that Progressive and United Mine Workers have cooperated on any project. The lead for this promising and heartening move among the most strategic section of Illinois industrial workers has come from a group of genuine progressives in the big Local No. 1 of the P.M.A.

Real Issues In Struggle Of Bridges—Lundeberg In CIO Maritime Set-up

By FRANK N. TRAGER

Hardly had the *Socialist Call* of Aug. 7 gone to press carrying the story saying "unless there occurs a national change in the West Coast CIO (Bridges) set-up there will be a justifiable rank and file revolt against the present leadership of the West Coast CIO," then the first reports of this revolt came through.

The Aug. 5th issue of the *Voice of the Federation* carried the minutes of the West Coast Seamen's Conference of July 27. The conference was attended by official delegates from the Marine

workers, shoeworkers, rubberworkers, steelworkers and auto-workers. The lead for the CIO outside of the regular and newly organized CIO groups had to come from the marine workers, one of the largest and most militant groups of organized workers on the Pacific Coast.

There were three factors that created the CIO deadlock that prevailed until the recent mistakes of Lewis and Brophy. First was the '36-'37 "100 days" strike in which the majority of the Federation crafts had to fight Bridges almost every step of the way. It was Bridges who delayed the strike for one month; it was Bridges who tried to break the time honored maritime boycott of "hot cargo;" it was Bridges who tried to play possum on the Copeland-Fink Act and who in the midst of the strike brought irresponsible charges against the then editor of the *Voice* because the editor would not swallow Bridges' bilge.

For his role during this past year Bridges was repudiated at the last convention of the Federation recently concluded in Portland.

The second factor arises out of the opportunist and reactionary policies of the Communist Party which gave to and received from Bridges complete support. It was the CP that stalled on the Copeland-Fink Act because it did not want to embarrass the FDR presidential campaign. It was the CP that deliberately held back on the CIO drive. Until the Cincinnati meeting of the AF of L, its national and therefore its west coast orientation was toward the AF of L. The CP forces and Bridges played around with Vandeur and Ryan until they no longer could get anything in those quarters and then overnight they changed to full support for the CIO.

This line went so far as to attempt to get the SUP back into the arch reactionary ISU. But when the CP changed its line it then used its entire national apparatus to persuade Brophy both at the Portland Maritime Convention and the Agricultural Workers' Denver Convention that its boys were the real CIO McCoy.

Lundeberg's Role

The third factor comes from the temporary indecision that characterized the Lundeberg leadership in the late winter and early spring of this year. Lundeberg had seen Lewis and received the go-ahead signal for a national organizing campaign on the east coast and the Gulf ports. Lundeberg was to beach his militants and organizers in these ports and through them build up, outside of the ISU, a national maritime industrial union for the unlicensed crafts. Lundeberg for various reasons including the 1936-7 strike and the confusion over the role of the SUP in connection with the amalgamation move among the unlicensed men, failed to do the CIO job, except for some work in the Gulf ports.

And in the meantime the Curran-led "rank and file" movement on the East Coast staged a comic-



Ivan Hunter, many years leader of the Conservative International Seamen's Union.

back after the earlier defeat by means of the National Maritime Union.

Thus we arrive at the call issued by Lewis on June 28 to a National Maritime Conference to be held in Washington, D.C., on July 7. The call went to individuals. The Maritime Federation convention was then in session at Portland. It elected a representative to the Lewis conference. The other conference were, with the exception of the CIO leadership and John Green of the Shipyard workers, part of the national Bridges faction. John Green got on the final committee of seven only by a last minute decision to make the committee somewhat more representative than it was.

The whole committee includes John Brophy, Green, Malone the elected rep of the Federation (MFOU&W) and four Bridges men including Curran, Rathborne and Bridges. The fourth, Captain Pinchin, should have had no place on that or any other important committee, as he represents a very small group in the licensed crafts.

The program adopted will give some aid to unions such as the shipyard workers but it has nothing to offer the well entrenched west coast unions. What is more, it flies in the face of the rather clearly defined position for a National Industrial Maritime Union as distinct from a Federation of existing crafts.

This appointed committee now plans to hold a national conference at the end of August which can do no more than continue to antagonize those unions which are already making such steps as the recent (referred to above) West Coast Sailors' conference.

What To Do

The net result of this series of events may be to strengthen temporarily, the hand of Bridges who has already received a CIO charter for the west coast Longshoremen which opens warfare on the east coast with Ryan's reactionary, controlled outfit. But it also means that the CIO movement is tragically split on the west coast.

Sacco—Vanzetti Martyrdom Must Never Be Forgot!

By McAlister Coleman

Ten years ago the writer was in Boston on the most harrowing assignment which many years of news writing ever brought to him. He was covering the Sacco-Vanzetti case for Socialist and Labor papers. When I arrived in Boston a reprieve of twelve

days had just been granted the "good shoemaker" and the "poor fish peddler." Hope had come again to the hopeless. There was an air of feverish uncertainty about the crowded headquarters of the Defence Committee. There were some there who had plucked up courage to believe that after all, the slot-mouthed men in the Governor's office might not go through with it. That the mighty protest of the world's "elite" as one picket sign had it, might yet avail to save two innocent men from official murder. Others knew in their hearts that the reprieve was merely a prolongation of the long agony and that the State would, in the end, claim its victims.

Whatever their attitudes toward the reprieve which had snatched the two anarchists back from the door of the death chamber, none of that gallant band who had labored, since the first sentence came from Judge Thayer's bloodless lips, to save the men he hated so, dreamed of re-mitting for one moment their heroic work. They were going down to the streets with their picket signs, men and women whose names were honored by America's aristocracy, as well as those who long had struggled for the underdog.

No Mercy

In the end, to confirm the dark forebodings of such realists as Sacco himself, who had said all along that he expected no mercy from a capitalist state intent upon vengeance, the switch was

John L. Lewis has seldom been known to reverse his own mistakes. He may make peace with former opponents. He even may go so far as to make some former opponents chief lieutenants, but the only time he publicly acknowledged the error of his ways was in the justly famous debate on the question of industrial unionism at the Atlantic City Convention of the AF of L (1935).

Then he admitted that he had agreed to the 1934 AF of L resolution because he was "a year younger"—because he was "seduced with fair words" and neither liked the process nor his previous "gullibility." There is no reason to believe that he will go through that process again. He had been seduced by fair and unfair words. That time, the damage to his virtues was somewhat belatedly, but none the less effectively wiped out, in the new ink, words, and deeds that became the CIO. This time the damage may be more difficult to repair. For it concerns not the passage of a resolution which initiates policy, but the acceptance of an act which may well destroy the good effect of that policy.

This coming national maritime conference, either must be called off or it must be completely reorganized so as to bring the west coast workers their just demands for rank and file, democratic procedures, and industrial not federated unionism. Lewis of course can do this. If he does not, he will assist in a course of events that may well resemble the sad experience of the mine workers in the 1932 days. We no longer want to have independent unionism, no matter how pro-

thrown. And thrown, as Brown pointed out in one of journalism's history-making columns by none other than the President of Harvard University and his respectable colleagues on the Governor's investigating committee.

We came back from Boston, after the executions, as though somehow life had ended for us in that fiercely lighted room in the Charles-wm prison. The emotional shock was as intense and lasted longer than any physical shock inflicted by a surgeon's knife could have been. We went about our separate businesses as people stunned by a vast and unspeakable disaster. The August sunshine had no kindness in it.

We thought of that blustering murderer in the Massachusetts State House and his dress-suited co-conspirators as the loathsome figures of some terrifying nightmare. A night-mare from which we would arise to go again in a world of deceracy. But there was to be no awakening. It had happened. There was the blood on the hands of Fuller, Thayer, Lowell.

Never Forget

Then, because life cannot be sustained in the mood which Thoreau described as "silent despair" we took up again the old ways. But we did not forget, nor will we forget until the last breath has gone from us, what happened there in Boston ten years ago.

gressively it begins (PMA) because its path will lead to the usual abortive historical attempt. But we also do not want to have the CIO in its infancy create the conditions, which will promote such tendencies.

Socialists believe that the CIO at this time must be the concentration for organizing the unorganized, for serving as the united center for industrial unions and unionism. We believe that the west coast sailors in their recent two decisions are trying to correct a bad Lewis decision by withdrawing support from the CIO, as such. To make efforts to change the Lewis decisions is not only desirable, but also necessary—but it should not be done by withdrawing support of the national organization of unions and locals now centered in the CIO.

Pressure from the unions on the west coast must go directly to the national council of the CIO to get it to reverse its Bridges-maritime decisions. Pressure must also be used directly on Lewis to get him to reverse himself, and thereby to assist in preventing this sort of tragedy.

Only by insuring the democratic nature of the militants of the west coast in an industrial union of seafaring workers can a national union be built. Bridges and the Communist Party cannot succeed precisely because of their record during the last period. The CIO may succeed but the necessary precondition for its success depends on prompt action NOW by all CIO supporters—especially those who want to see a National Maritime Industrial Union built on firm foundations.



Harry Bridges

Firemen and Sailors' Union, fraternal delegates from the Masters, Mates and Pilots and the Marine Engineers. These delegates, who undoubtedly have the majority backing of their respective union membership, voted unanimously to refrain "from sending delegates to the CIO (maritime) conference at Chicago on Aug. 16" (now postponed to Aug. 30), and recommended "that we do not affiliate with the CIO." This represents the line proposed and supported by Lundeberg of the SUR.

Bridges, that is the west coast CIO, immediately replied. The *Western Worker* for Aug. 9 carried the story with an attack on Lundeberg. Bridges "challenged the decisions" and called upon Lundeberg and Ferguson of the Firemen to give up their "dictatorial" control over the rank and file. To anyone familiar with union practice on the west coast the Bridges charge of dictatorship is in the same category as one of red-baiting. Neither could possibly be true among the overwhelming majority of rank and filers and leaders.

The Real Issues

Behind the verbal conflict there is a deep seated controversy which the National CIO leadership intensified, by a series of incorrect and hasty moves in the whole maritime situation. John L. Lewis and John Brophy are both responsible, because they intervened without full knowledge and made decisions on a national problem after consideration of only certain factional and therefore unreliable claims.

The Longshoremen and the unlicensed seafaring crafts of the west coast have long pulled for a national maritime federation. They won their '34 and '36-'37 strikes by militant action on a unified basis. The Sailors, led by Lundeberg, long had an industrial union perspective partly because of "wobbly" influence and partly because they regard the CIO as a progressive tendency.

There can be no denial of the fact that the CIO movement on the West Coast had the support of the militants and progressives. This was true not only in the maritime crafts but also in the wood-

The Auto Workers' Convention Has Serious Problems of Growth

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of the front firing line of the Ford campaign; the administration is tackling Ford not despite these elements but one can say possibly because of these elements.

The tactics of the Frankenstein group have weakened their position at the convention. To date they have rejected every unity proposal. Their only program is no local autonomy, centralization of power in the hands of a few, and exclusion of all who do not play ball politically with the administration from administration posts. In the name of fighting against the alleged attempts of the Communists to rule or ruin, to dominate at all costs, the Frankenstein group is itself following this policy. It shouts that this is the game of the Communists; is probably hopes to shout loudly enough to hide the fact that its program to date has advocated a general line identical with the one it claims to be opposing. Whoever plays ball will get elected; those who don't, those who maintain a position consistent with their sincere beliefs will be fired as organizers, excluded from the executive board, defeated for the vice-presidential posts if Frankenstein and his group can muster a majority.

Against Reactionaries

Socialists oppose this type of policy no matter who follows it. Socialists are for the exclusion only of the reactionary, anti-union elements who attempt to use the union for their personal and political gain and have no interest in the welfare of the workers. There are such reactionaries in the union; the group is still small but it is vocal and aggressive, and it is feared that the tactics of the administration will lend it added prestige. The pursuance of certain reactionary practices such as red-baiting and the firing of progressives tends to strengthen those who are the consistent champions. The Frankenstein caucus contains many who are unhappy about the tactics it has employed and few who really rejoice. The Hearst papers, the employers, the union reactionaries—these are the groups which rejoice.

An example of how the reactionaries are being strengthened is the incident relating to the Frankenstein slate for the second vice-president. The leading elements wanted R. J. Thomas, president of Chrysler; but Merrill, president of Studebaker, was able to muster strength at the South Bend caucus of their group to defeat Thomas. A special caucus had to be called last week in Detroit to rectify this situation after elaborate preparations were made to check the reactionaries in regard to this post.

As far as the Socialists are concerned, the slogan of unity is not a tactic. It is the slogan which describes the actual needs of the union in its drive to organize Ford and to carry on the fight against the employers who have as yet been only partially defeated. It is hoped that the Frankenstein group will come to understand this and that unity will emerge as a result of general agreement but even if there is not agreement for a united slate and a united leadership the fight will be carried on.

Many workers want to know why they should support such people as, Martin and Frankenstein after the tactics they have used and the things they have done. The answer is simple and important. Socialists support these people because Socialists will not be provoked into supporting exclusion of elements which are fundamentally loyal to the union from the union leadership. Socialists will not support a policy

of domination by one group. Socialists do not want the UAW, one of America's most hopeful unions, to become the scene of continual warfare between factions which do not really differ on union essentials. There is no great issue such as industrial unionism at stake here.

The main issue is democracy and collective leadership. The other issues can be handled easily enough. The main sections of the Frankenstein-Martin group believe in militant unionism, in the defense of the sit-down strike, in a vigilant policy to defend the union and the conditions that have been won. The questions of disagreement could be ironed out if democracy and collective leadership could be firmly established.

No Domination

Some elements fear the Communists. The reputation of Communist actions in other unions is such that many workers do not trust their insistence that they seek genuine unity. Anyone who seriously and objectively examines the forces in the UAW and the mood of the workers in the shops knows full well that Communist attempts to dominate and rule to the exclusion of others who disagree with them would fail, even more miserably than will the attempts of the administration to follow this policy. The auto workers cannot be led around by the noses. The auto worker will fight for his union and will make sure that it remains the property of its membership and not of any small group.

This is why Socialists support the Unity Slate of Martin for president; Frankenstein, Thomas, Mortimer and Bell for vice-presidents; and Adde for secretary-treasurer. Thomas and Adde have not been definitely affiliated with either caucus. Mortimer and Hall are adherents of the unity caucus. A majority will be sought for this slate if agreement cannot be reached. For the Executive Board, Socialists will support the leaders in the various localities who have served the union loyally and effectively, regardless of their affiliation.

It will be a blow to the labor movement if out of this convention comes chaos and continued warfare within the union. Unity on a militant progressive basis is needed. A new GM contract is required. Hundreds of smaller contracts are expiring. Ford has not been organized. The development of labor political action is going forward giving the auto workers a political as well as an economic weapon with which to fight their battles.

End Factionalism

The events of the past few weeks have proved that the continuation of this war will lead to satisfaction for the bosses. Why else should Hearst greet with such enthusiasm the statements issued by the Frankenstein-Martin group? When the main issue was UNIONISM and not FACTIONALISM, it was the bosses and their press who shouted COMMUNIST from the hill-top; it was Columbo, attorney for Ford, who tried to prove that Walter Reuther was a Communist; it was General Motors which charged that radicals were fomenting strikes.

Martin, Frankenstein, Mortimer, Hall, Reuther—all of them together condemned this anti-union propaganda. They did not look for grains of truth in these statements; instead they carried on an offensive against the bosses and their propaganda. Now this same propaganda comes from union leaders. Socialists do not jump with glee and say, "See, Martin plays into the hands of the bosses." No, Socialists re-

MAINE SHOE STRIKERS VOTE FOR THE CIO

By Howard Penley

(This is the last of three articles on the Maine shoe strike.)

Seizing another desperate straw some of the manufacturers re-opened their plants and others re-re-opened their plants in an effort to induce workers back to work before the CIO had time to recover from the loss of their leaders. New strike leaders arrived promptly from headquarters in Boston and the strikers were urged to hold their ranks. "They can jail six organizers but not 6,000 loyal union men," the strikers were told.

Judge Manser offered to release Haggood and the other leaders from jail if they would apologize before him and promise to leave the State. The leaders remained silent at this insulting overture. The manufacturers made a statement to the effect that the Wagner Act was unconstitutional and if the labor board hearing was against them they would go to the Supreme Court.

Then came the first elections in three factories and the CIO won by polling a 3 to 1 victory. The following week two more elections were held and again the CIO won a substantial victory. There followed a wholesale recognition of company unions on the part of the other manufacturers.

The conspiracy charges were shattered by Donzor Fournier who finally broke down and admitted that he was not forced to sign the CIO card. He with two others had previously stuck to the story that they were taken forcefully to CIO quarters and forced to sign cards.

Workers' Defense

Powers Haggood and the other organizers were finally released from jail pending a hearing before the Maine law court. This action was taken by a State Supreme Court justice who differed from State Supreme Court Justice Harry Manser. The action was brought about largely by the Workers Defense League.

The strikers were rallied by an address by Norman Thomas who called the jailing of Haggood a "dangerous precedent." Thomas also forecast a consent election in the factories and within the week the elections were ordered held. The strikers were then satisfied that honest elections were to be held and voted to return to work.

Then as related in the first of these articles the company invented this new "black-list all voters" idea of checking the CIO vote. It is quite possible that the NLRB will declare the CIO the bargaining agents in the eleven factories where this "black-list voters" idea was used in elections, on the grounds that the manufacturers interfered with the elections. Although the CIO did not poll over 50% of the number of workers in the factory they polled almost 99% of the vote cast.

gret what is happening. Only a petty sectarian factionalist could rejoice; a friend of the union, a sincere champion of the fight for the auto worker, whose concern deals with the whole union and the whole struggle cannot rejoice. Socialists will applaud only when all the progressive and honest forces in the union re-form their lines, march together, hammer out a common fight against Ford, prepare for the other struggles ahead, and make it possible for factionalism to be relegated to the back seat with solidarity of the workers at the driver's wheel.

With the Party New York Socialists Expel Trotsky Heads

Over fifty members of the Socialist Party, Local New York, formerly members of the Workers' Party (Trotskyists) were expelled by the local organization

because of alleged indiscipline and failure to carry out the decisions of the local and national bodies. (See Editorial—Page 4)

According to Jack Altman, Local Secretary of the Socialist Party of New York:

"They were expelled—for attempting to undermine the Socialist Party, for loyalty and allegiance to an opponent organization, the Bureau for the Fourth International, and for refusing to abide by the decisions and discipline of the National Convention, the National Executive Committee and the City Central Committee of the Party, and for no other reason.

"The action of the City Central Committee had no connection whatsoever with the matter of conferences with the American Labor Party. Approval of such conferences had been voted by the City Central Committee and approved by the State Executive Committee, which then submitted its decision to a referendum of the Party membership in the city and placed the matter before the National Executive Committee."

The Trotskyites who were expelled from the local replied with a press release to the capitalist papers and with the publication of a new paper, "SOCIALIST APPEAL," announcing the virtual establishment of a new party.

The Trotskyites claimed in their declarations that the issue leading to the break from the party was the controversy over La Guardia.

The real issue in the local expulsion, according to the official statement of the secretary, is the fact that "The Trotskyites have demonstrated that their primary allegiance is to the Fourth International and to Leon Trotsky."

"The New York Party's attitude toward the American Labor Party is certainly not involved," Altman added.

"The Trotskyites entered the Socialist Party on the same basis

as all other applicants. They were never invited into the Party as a group by Norman Thomas or anyone else. They asked to come in as individuals after they had voluntarily dissolved their own party, giving assurances that they came as Socialists. The only invitation ever extended was a general invitation by the National Executive Committee to unattached radicals to affiliate themselves with the Socialist Party and to accept its discipline."

Comrade David Mark at present at Mount Sinai Hospital, Madison Ave. and 106th St., Ward B, requires blood transfusion of type "one" or "two." Any person who is interested should ask for Dr. Nelson at the hospital.

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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 318 Eighth Ave., West Side Labor Center. May Glippa, Sec'y.

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

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Official Organ Socialist Party U.S.A.

Published every Saturday by The Call Press, Inc. Address all communications to The Socialist Call, 21 East 17th St., New York City. Telephone: GRamercy 5-8779

By subscription: \$1.50 a year; \$1 for six months. Foreign, \$2 a year. Special rates for bundle orders and club subscriptions.

Editor: August Tyler Business Manager: John Newton Thurber

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Vol. III 12 Saturday, August 21, 1937 No. 127

THE TROTSKYITES

The editorial columns of the SOCIALIST CALL are not intended for factional use in struggles that go on within the party. For that reason the CALL, up to the present, has made no comment on the Trotskyites in the party or on those who wished the Trotskyites out of the Party.

The position of the CALL has been the position of the Socialist Party of America: namely, no persons shall be expelled or excluded from the Socialist Party while ready to carry out the party line in public, even if such persons do believe in the ultimate formation of a Fourth International.

The Trotskyites have, during the last week, however abandoned the usual means of inner party controversy—debate and appeals through party channels—and, like the Old Guard, have carried their argument to the public, into the capitalist press.

The issuance of a statement to *The New York Times*, falsely attacking the Socialist Party, is not only an unethical practice for a working class group but clearly indicates the desire of these New York Trotskyites to be outside the Socialist Party.

Simultaneous with its release to the press, the Trotsky group issued a paper SOCIALIST APPEAL. Unlike the previous *Socialist Appeal*, the present weekly periodical is issued primarily for public consumption, is peddled in the streets by hawkers who attack the party with their sales slogans, is distributed and sold on news stands.

These are not the practices of a faction; these are the practices of a new party.

In an unscrupulously clever attempt to rally all anti-La Guardia sentiment in the Socialist Party to their side, the Trotskyites declare that the break came over the matter of endorsing La Guardia in New York City's Municipal Campaign.

This is a brazen lie! The Socialist Party has not decided to endorse La Guardia, as the Trotskyites claim in their press release. Nor has it withdrawn a candidate in his favor.

The membership of Local New York is still debating the matter. It will be necessary to procure national permission, from the National Executive Committee, to withdraw the Socialist candidate for mayor.

The New York Trotskyites maintain that they have the right to act as a new party because they have been dropped as members of the Socialist Party of the US.

This is a half truth. The Trotskyites were dropped by Local New York. But any member of the Socialist Party may appeal the actions of a lower body, like Local New York, to the state and the national organizations. The Trotskyites had this alternative—to appeal as party members or to use the occasion to set up a new party. They chose the latter.

The splitting of the Trotskyites is especially patent when it is realized that the National Organization is dealing with the situation in Local New York to ascertain the validity or invalidity of the "mass expulsion." The Trotskyites—fearing even the possibility of a reinstatement that would make it more difficult for them to justify their setting up a new party—hastened to issue a paper and to go into the capitalist press, in order to make their reinstatement most difficult.

The Trotskyites are carrying through in America the final act in a series of international acts. During the last year the Trotskyites have broken from every party in the world with which they were affiliated—in order to launch their Trotskyite international.

In America, instead of honestly declaring that they wanted a separate party now to launch a Fourth International, they beclouded the issue with secondary matters. They seized upon the Moscow trials, the Spanish revolution. They seized upon the La Guardia matter; they seized upon the local action of a group which wished them out of the party; they cried persecution to rally sympathizers for the Fourth International.

We believe that the desire of the Trotskyites to set up their own Trotskyite party; separate and apart from other revolutionists and Marxists, is a return to the sectarianism which has marked the history of the Trotskyists and dogged the trial of Trotsky, throughout his entire political career.

We condemn and deplore this sectarianism, this Trotskyite monolithism. But we shall not permit this to hinder us from joining with all revolutionists in united struggle—not only against the bosses but also against all reformist trends in the labor movement.

We reject the Communist Party designation of the Trotskyites as counter-revolutionists, just as we indicate that the present split action of the Trotskyites has fed grist to the *Daily Worker* mill. We shall join with all Marxists in resisting the suppression of revolutionists by the Stalinists both here and abroad.

Not all the Trotskyites have left the Socialist Party; many still remain. Their very presence proves that Trotskyites are not expelled for what they believe. Within the next few days, these Trotskyites shall have to decide—to work as revolutionists within the party or to work with Cannon and Schachtman and their new party. As they choose, they are deciding to travel the path of building a revolutionary party or devoting their lives to futile sectarian war.

AT THE FRONT



By NORMAN THOMAS

Undeclared war rages in China. Japan's attack on China is one of the most brutal and cold blooded bits of imperialist aggression in history. What we can do, short of war, to bring economic and moral pressure against this raid should be done. But nothing will justify war by the United States against Japan. In it would be no true deliverance for China. The American neutrality laws, intended to prevent such war, already show how far they come from guaranteeing peace. So far the President has a case for discretion in applying them. But there are actions, not dependent on government which well informed and well organized workers can take. How many locals of the CIO or AF of L are working on war orders for Japan? Can they not find out—and act?

LOCAL LABOR TICKETS

It was doubtless to be expected that labor's first political move in this off-year in politics would be to endorse "friends of labor" for such offices as Mayor, Sheriff and Councilman, in local elections. Usually they run in Democratic primaries. The nomination for Mayor of such men in Akron and Canton has just been hailed as a CIO victory. I haven't been in Akron, but what I heard in Canton of labor's friend and the vague kind of platform he ran on inspires little hope.

We want in America a permanent labor party, not shifting labor tickets, made up of "friends of labor." The experience is likely to teach a sorry lesson about these labor tickets. Meanwhile, Socialists, even where for legal or other reasons they cannot run a slate of their own, must point out the inadequacy or worse of some of these labor tickets and show that effective political action by the workers requires their own party.

BLACK APPOINTMENT

With the approval of such of my colleagues on the Public Affairs Committee as I could reach by telephone I have just sent an air mail request to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate for full and open inquiry on the opinions and record of Senator Hugo Black of Alabama on questions of racial justice.

I understand, and sympathize with the reasons which led both John L. Lewis and William Green to endorse President Roosevelt's politically clever appointment of Mr. Black to the Supreme Court. He has a good record on labor legislation. He would probably be an aggressive friend of labor on a court which needs such a member. He may not be a brilliant jurist but he is probably as competent as is necessary.

But no man can serve the workers or justice who in his own opinion is a victim of race prejudice. Senator Black's record seems to be mixed. His Wages and Hours bill apparently excluded discrimination against Negroes in the South. On the other hand, Senator Black as recently as his first Senatorial campaign in 1926 had the open support of the Ku Klux Klan. In Hoover's administration he was reported to have opposed a very poor bill for the help of the unemployed not because of its inadequacy but because it would compel Southern states to treat white and colored unemployed alike.

He is a leading Alabamian but did nothing for justice in the Scottsboro case. Worst of all, he has openly threatened to filibuster against the Federal anti-lynching bill on which he may have to sit in judgment as a member of the Supreme Court. A record like this demands inquiry. And labor support ought to be conditioned on proof that the Senator has completely outgrown the Fascist or Ku Klux Klan taint of his earlier days.

ON SPAIN

Mike Gold takes me to task at great length in the *Daily Worker* liberties of my support of civil war in Loyalist Spain. In line with the present patriotic enthusiasm of the Communists he appeals to the treatment Lincoln gave to the Copperheads in the North during the Civil War to justify what the Negrin government and especially the Communist Party are doing to their political critics in Spain. Now great man that Lincoln was, he made some bad mistakes in dealing with civil liberties. He did not have, however, the example of totalitarian states to warn him; he never sponsored physical liquidation of the Copperheads which the Communist Party seems to desire for the leaders of the Anarchists and the POUM in Spain; and finally it is grossly unfair to compare the Spanish Left-wing leaders with Copperheads. They are not Fascists nor friends of Fascists. If any spy or Fascist has sneaked in let that fact be proved before courts of justice not before special tribunals. The Left-Wing leaders of Spain are revolutionists, not Copperheads.

For reasons that I have repeatedly given in this column, I cannot accept the political program of the Anarchists nor all the tactics of POUM which organization by the way has expelled its Trotskyists. I certainly am not a Trotskyist. Ask them! But military resistance to Franco is not helped but hindered by political persecution and political persecution kills the soul of any genuine anti-Fascist movement. I noticed the other day that certain judges in Russia were officially criticized as Trotskyists and Bukharinists because they condemned to death certain peasants who took a little wheat or a few apples from Communal property. It's ridiculous to blame Trotsky, for that.

What is to blame is the intolerance of a totalitarian state administered by one party which outlaws all other parties of the world. Friends of Spain do not want this kind of situation repeated in the country which is making so gallant a fight against Fascism.

NAVALISM IN BRAZIL

President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull did a mighty bad job when they agreed to lease certain war ships not quite up to date to the Brazilian government. Granting that our government tried to put some safeguards on the possible use of those vessels, nevertheless it was an act that was bound to create ill will in Argentina and other countries. It was a direct encouragement to an unnecessary big navalism in South America. It was an act of special friendship to the dictatorial government of Brazil. It is impossible to lease war ships to other nations without such risk of being involved in some other nation's quarrels.

OPEN LETTER TO HENRY FORD

The following letter calling Henry Ford's attention to the recent brutal beatings and tar and feathering of Union men at Dallas, Texas, was released by Norman Thomas.

Dear Sir:— If you do not know it, you should be informed that on the night of August 9 in a park in the City of Dallas, Texas, a meeting for which the Park Board of the City had issued a permit was broken up. George Lambert was slugged and Herbert Harris was tarred and feathered. The police were late in feathering and indifferent. They neither saved the men, nor the sound truck, nor the movie projector which they were using.

"Why," you may ask, "should this unfortunate affair be any particular business of mine?" Because in the last analysis you are the Ford Company, and because it is the widespread belief in Dallas, Texas, that directly or indirectly, the Ford Company is responsible for a series of outrages of which this was the climax.

In all, during recent weeks, nine people have been beaten by anti-union thugs, and not one arrest has been made. The same night in which Harris and Lambert suffered, George Baer, an official of the United Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Union was also beaten.

Harris and Lambert are regularly accredited Socialist organizers—not Communists as the newspaper alleged. That night they were, however, speaking in behalf of labor organization, and showing the labor film "Millions of Us." The mob asked Harris whether he was working for the CIO.

Now you have an assembly plant in Dallas, and your people by common consent are believed to be the most active in the campaign of Dallas employers against the union. The mob, I am informed, was a mob of the kind of thugs which, according to the testimony before the NLRB, your company used to beat up union men outside the River Rouge factory. It is certain that these thugs were no spontaneous mob, but one instigated and hired for a job of intimidation and destruction. Your standing, the seriousness of the issue, and the widespread belief that violence is a part of the Ford policy against unionism, makes it a duty you owe to yourself as well as the public, to say where you stand.

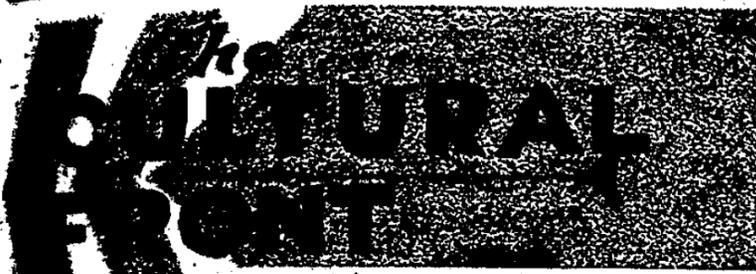
I write specifically in behalf of Harris and Lambert whose case has been taken up by the Socialist Party nationally and by the Workers Defense League. I write as an American citizen in behalf of all victims of the anti-mobs in Dallas, Texas.

Very truly yours,
NORMAN THOMAS

WATCH THE WRAPPER

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127 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!



James T. Farrell

"THE NATION" AGAIN!

I call attention to The Nation's issue of August 14, 1937. On the first page, there is a paragraph of editorial comment which I quote in full: "The mid-summer lull in the Spanish war has been made the occasion for a renewal of sensational reports of disaffection within both camps. Although several of these reports, such as the rumor of fighting on the streets of Barcelona and the death of Andres Nin (all italics in this quotation mine. JTF.), leader of the Trotskyist P.O.U.M., appear to be unfounded, the existence of disaffection on both sides is indisputable. In the rebel camp, feeling against the Italians and Germans has aroused serious opposition among elements that were previously inclined to favor General Franco. In government territory, friction with the Anarchists and P.O.U.M. does not appear to have vanished completely despite the recent rejuvenation of the Catalan armies on the Huesca and Teruel fronts. Particularly disconcerting is the report, thus far unconfirmed, that ex-Premier Largo Caballero, leader of the left-wing Socialists, had issued a statement criticizing the military and political policies of the Negrin government. Responsible observers have insisted from the beginning that the Spanish government could have suppressed the fascist revolt within a few weeks if it had been given the undivided support of all the various anti-fascist parties. While it is true that more progress in obtaining unity has been made in the past three months than in the previous nine, the task is far from completed." (Parenthetically, I wish to add that the same issue contains an excellent article, Vigilantism, 1937, by Benjamin Stolberg.)

"Death" of Nin

The Nation speaks of "the death" of Nin. Why such words? Its readers from out of town, who do not read The New York Times, might suspect that if true, this death was a natural one. It does not use a word like the "lynching," or the "murder," or the "assassination" of Nin. Such however are the correct words. Death here is pallid, and even ambiguous. The New York Times of August 8 printed a long dispatch, describing the "murder" of Nin.

On two successive days, it stated, without any qualifications, that it had printed the story of the "death" of Nin on the basis of authoritative sources. It did not state that it was printing an unconfirmed rumor. Following the tragic Barcelona insurrection last May, The Nation offered comments which were objected to by Bertram Wolfe, the Lovestonite, just returned from Spain. The Nation, in answering Wolfe, stated that it had relied, principally, for its information on Louis Fischer.

Fischer then stated in its pages that one of his important sources was the reports in The New York Times. The Nation then said nothing of unconfirmed reports. It accepted them. Why? What is its principle for accepting some reports and rejecting or doubting others? Perhaps it can explain itself in this particular.

A Trotskyite?

The Nation described Nin as a Trotskyist leader. Perhaps it will present us with a definition of a Trotskyist. The information I have is that Nin and Trotsky broke because of the so-called Socialist turn in the Trotskyist movement. Trotsky, and the Trotskyists also, criticized Nin for having entered the Catalan government as Minister of Justice in the days following the outbreak of the Franco revolt. Some observers, such as Liston M. Oak, have returned from Spain to state that the P.O.U.M. was expelling Trotskyists. Will The Nation please define a Trotskyist?

The Nation states that responsible observers have, from the beginning, contended that the Franco revolt could have been suppressed in a few weeks if there had been complete unity among all anti-fascist parties. Will The Nation name those responsible observers, state their political affiliations, and list the sources where one can find what they have written in support of this contention? I have heard various stories concerning the first days of the Franco revolt. One is that in Barcelona, anarchist workers stormed the fascist and military barracks with their heads, with kitchen knives, with any weapons they could find, with no weapons, and literally tore the rifles and machine guns out of the hands of the soldiery. Is this true? I ask The Nation to check it. If it is, will The Nation explain whether or not this is divided or undivided support, or what it is?

The campaign against Caballero is going on full blast. There is a series running in The Daily Worker, for instance, which blames Caballero for just about every defeat, mistake, and difficulty that has occurred within the Loyalist government and its forces. New Masses now calls him "a disgruntled old man." Six months or so ago, New Masses was printing speeches of Caballero, and describing him as "the Spanish Lenin." Not only The Nation is disconcerted here.

I also am disconcerted too. I would like to know what the truth, what is part of the truth, what is an approximation of the truth here? Do the attacks on Caballero disconcert the editors of The Nation as much as the reported interview which he has given out? Are the Stalinist charges against Caballero true, or are they a slander? Would the effort to find this out disconcert The Nation too much, or would it be worth its while to investigate, and to discover some of the facts in this situation? Only recently, its own correspondent, Louis Fischer, said: "The Caballero Socialists may be outlawed within three months." Here is a clue for the editors of The Nation. And while The Nation is pursuing this task, perhaps, it will look into the career of the dead anarchist leader, Durutti? It might find out if he was one of those who did not give undivided support in the first days of the fight against Franco.

The Nation is interested in democracy. It defends democracy. The struggle in Spain is conceived as a fight in defense of democracy. If The Nation deems my questions worth answering, perhaps it will answer this one also? What is democracy? And this: How is democracy to be implemented? There have been no official denials to date concerning the "death" of Nin. If there is no evidence indicating that Nin is alive by the time this column is printed, perhaps then, The Nation might also seek to tell us how the "death" of Nin is a defense of democracy.

World Socialism

By Herbert Zam

The Norwegian Labor Party, after being independent for more than a decade, is about to affiliate with the Labor and Socialist International. This was a decision made by the meeting of the General Council of the Party held toward the end of June, and was a logical outcome of the general orientation of the Norwegian labor movement in recent months. As announced in this column, the Norwegian Trade Union Center joined the International Federation of Trade Unions some time ago, and undertook to act as an intermediary for the purpose of securing the affiliation of the Russian trade unions. The Norwegian Federation of Labor Youth decided, at the Congress at Oslo of May, 1937, to affiliate with the Socialist Youth International. Of course these steps would not have been taken without a prior decision by the Party in favor of this general orientation.

For many years, the Norwegian Labor Party has remained outside of all international labor organizations, as did also the trade union and youth groups under its influence. It tried for some time to bring the Socialist and Communist movements together on an international scale. At one time it set up a Trade Union Unity Committee together with the Russian unions.

The recent decisions, which have seen the entire movement swing into the International Socialist organizations, mean that Norwegian labor has abandoned any hope of achieving unity by standing outside and acting as a go-between. It will probably press for its position inside the international.

The Norwegian has attained the highest membership ever recorded for it; 142,790. This represents an increase of 22,783 in the last year. The Party now has branches in 710 out of 747 municipalities. It has 42 newspapers, of which 26 are dailies. The youth organization has 32,000 members. The General Council at its meeting also considered a request of the Communist Party for unity. The Council reiterated the decision of the Party Congress of May, 1936: "The Congress invites the Communist Party of Norway to negotiate about unity, in one Party without organized sections, and on the basis of the principles, guiding lines and political practice of the Norwegian Labor Party." The Council decided that this decision was still valid, and it empowered the Executive to undertake negotiations should the Communist Party accept this basis of unity.

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Norwegian Labor Party will be celebrated Aug. 21 and 22, at Arendal, the town of its birth.

British Labor

According to a statement by Hugh Dalton, Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the British Labor Party, several important changes will be made in the constitution and structure of the Labor Party at its forthcoming Conference at Bournemouth. The main proposals are: Delegates of the Constituency Labor Parties attending the Annual Conference shall select their own representatives to the National Executive; the number of these representatives shall be increased from 5 to 7; the discussion on the Party Constitution shall be held early in the Conference, and if the proposals are adopted, the provisions shall be carried out at this coming conference.

The Executive further strongly recommends against the acceptance of any proposal to elect members of the National Executive on a regional basis. Mr. Dalton is of the opinion that the new basis of election will eliminate most of the differences which have found expression in the Labor

Party. He also stated that the main task of the Bournemouth Conference will be to prepare the Party for the next General Election, which must be won by Labor. If the necessary preparatory measures are undertaken, he stated, there should be no difficulty of achieving this.

The impotence of the present Labor Party leadership and policy was dramatically demonstrated last week when by a majority of 6 in the entire parliamentary party, it was decided to abstain from voting on the Government's Defense Estimates, comprising the budget for the Tory Rearmament Plan.

The decision to abstain was defended on the ground that "Uncompromising hostility to the Government's Arm Plan is impractical, visionary. It will not be understood by the electorate." This is the second stage in the capitulation of the Labor Government to the Tory Plan. First it was decided to favor rearmament, but to oppose the govern-

24 Dead Toll of U.S. Bosses

NEW YORK (FP)—Twenty-four strikers and sympathizers killed and 490 injured has been the toll taken by the vigilantism of the Girdlers of the nation in the last seven months as labor fought for the right to organize, according to a compilation made public by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Seventeen of the deaths occurred during the current steel strike. Only one policeman was killed and 70 injured. Illinois led the list of states with 10 deaths. Ohio had six, Michigan two, and California, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, New York, New Jersey and Maryland one each. In none of the fatalities were the dead engaged in other than the peaceful attempt to picket.

"The prejudice aroused against organized labor, based on alleged acts of violence, is largely without foundation. The record is plain that the vastly greater violence is against strikers, not by them."

ernment's methods of raising. Now opposition to the budget is given up; and the final stage will be complete swallowing of the entire program.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Ben Whitehurst, former chief of correspondence division, FERA and WPA, in his recent book, "Dear Mr. President," printed the following letter that the President received from a Georgia farmer:

"Over the hill trailed a man plowing a mule. Said the man to the mule:

"Bill, you are a mule, the son of a jackass, and I am a man made in the image of God. Yet we work hitched up together year in and year out. I wonder if you work for me or I work for you. Verily, I think it is a partnership between a mule and a fool, for surely I work as hard as you, if not harder. Plowing or cultivating, we cover the same distance.

"Soon we will be preparing for a corn crop. When the crop is harvested, I give one-third to the landlord for being so kind as to let me use the small speck of God's universe. One-third goes to you, and the balance is mine. You consume all your portion with the exception of the cob, while I divide mine among seven children, six hens, two ducks and the banker.

"If we both need shoes, you get 'em, Bill. You are getting the best. You, a mule, the son of a jackass, to swindle a man, the lord of creation, out of his substance! You only help to plow and cultivate the land, and I alone must cut, shock, and shuck the corn, while you look over the fence and hee-haw at me.

"The whole family, from Granny down to the baby, pick cotton to help raise the taxes, and to buy harness and to get money to pay interest on the mortgage on you. And what do you do about the mortgage? Not a damn thing. You ugly cuss, I even have to do the worrying about the mortgage on your tough and ungrateful hide.

"About the only time I am your better is on election day for I can vote, and you can't. And after the election, I realize that I was fully as great a jackass as was your father. Verily, I am prone to wonder if politics were made for men or jackasses, or to make jackasses out of men.

"And that ain't all! When you are dead, that is supposed to be the last of you. But me? The parson tells me that when I die I got to go on to hell, forever—that is, unless I do just what he says, and then I'd not get any kick out of life.

"Tell me, Bill, considering these things, how can you keep a straight face and look so dumb and solemn?"

Ben Whitehurst wasn't sure that the letter was an original composition of the Georgia farmer. It wasn't! Oscar Ameringer wrote it some thirty years ago!

If you like the Georgia Farmer's letter to the President, you'll like Oscar Ameringer's editorials in his weekly The American Guardian. Try it for a year anyway. Just enclose ONE DOLLAR—your name and address in an envelope and mail to The American Guardian, P. O. Box 1355, Oklahoma City, Okla. It will bring you weekly laughs for 52 weeks.

Conservative Copeland— New York Medicine-Man!

By George Baker

There is one bond which unites all capitalist candidates for the office of Mayor of New York City: a desire to uphold the capitalist system. To the liberals, who generally "ignore" the existence of classes in society, the very idea is horrific. To them it is simply a matter of economical and efficient city government. To the Communists, for whom the issue of "capitalism versus social-

ism" no longer exists in the realm of politics, the thought itself is treachery to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Voroshilov (if he's still alive by the time this article gets into print). They are willing to support a recognized capitalist politician for two reasons: one, to get some of their own candidates into the city council, and two, to support the New Deal and pro-Roosevelt forces in New York.

A Little U.S.

Actually, there is being fought in New York, on a small scale, the battle of national politics, and this battle must resolve itself in the long run in this question: Which group or party can best represent American capitalism before the working people of this country? The Democratic Party now in control in name only—is being split by this question in New York as well as in the rest of the country, and it will be interesting to see how the problem resolves itself here, for this may be some clue as to how the politicians of the two tendencies—New Deal and anti-New Deal—will act towards each other on a national scale; whether they will fight it out to a finish or rather compromise, as they have always done before.

Senator Royal S. Copeland, the candidate of the stand-pat and anti-New Deal Tammany machine, is an old line politician who has shifted from side to side, from platform to platform, as the occasion has demanded. Starting out as a high-tariff (that was the big issue in those days) Republican in Michigan he turned into a low-tariff democrat in New York. Using his medical prestige as a stepping stone in the political field, he had been elected as Mayor of Ann Arbor in 1901, and President of its board of education in 1907. When he came to New York in 1908 as head of the New York Flower Hospital he still had his eye on politics, although it was not until 1918, during a political squabble between Mayor Hylan and some of his subordinates that Copeland was able to make large-scale entry as head of the health department.

Hearst Man

Between 1918 and 1922 he solidified his political acquaintances, made his contact with Hearst (who was Hylan's political god-father) and prepared the way for his entry into national politics in 1922, as candidate for Senator from New York on a Democratic platform referred to by the "Call," at the time, as "hash."

When the political campaign opened in 1922 the country had already been brought to a pretty bad state by Harding and the "Ohio gang," and the Republican regime was thoroughly discredited. The road open for prospective office holders in the Democratic party was one of broad opposition to the Republican administration's attitude toward labor, singling out for attack the gay companion of Harding, Attorney General Harry Daugherty. They pointed to his active campaign of terror and injunction against the working class movement (forgetting that it had been

started by Democratic Attorney General Palmer under a Democratic regime).

The Republican party was accused of "playing ball with the big utilities, doing nothing for the benefit of the poor workers and farmers. At the State Democratic Convention Alfred E. Smith, for reasons of his own, carried on an agitation against Hearst, refusing to run for governor if the senatorial nomination were given to Hearst. A compromise was effected whereby Copeland (who was now an active worker for the Hearst newspaper enterprises) was to run alongside Smith.

Smith and Copeland were elected, and the political antagonisms which had sprung up during the campaign soon disappeared. Nor is this unusual. Rather it is the inevitable road of all parties that have no particular political independence or clearly defined program and are in the political arena merely to achieve office. Having made peace with the capitalist system, they are willing to abide by all the rules. Political horse-trading, capitulation for the sake of jobs, these are the essence of the political struggle as it is carried on within these parties.

ET TU, FDR?

At that particular state convention, for instance, Franklin D. Roosevelt was the chairman of the Copeland Campaign Committee. Has Copeland become more "reactionary" since that time, or has Roosevelt become more "progressive?" Neither. That they disagree on the method of keeping the working class in its place (one, by open suppression, the other by a paternalism which would smother it in its embrace) is not a matter of principle so much as one of tactics. Their political forbears and basic ideology are too close, and it needs but a crisis such as war to bring them into each other's arms.

Now Copeland entered the Senate as the great champion of the health needs of the people. There were too many lawyers in Congress, he declared, and the crying need was for a doctor, a man who could "specialize in matters having to do with physical welfare of the American people."

For thirteen long years Copeland talked about health, wrote about health, but did nothing about it, until in 1936, under the sponsorship of "Brain Truster" Tugwell, he introduced a pure food and drug bill which would improve on the Wiley law which had been put into operation 1906, and which was practically dead. An immediate cry was heard from all sides: from drug and cosmetic manufacturers, advertising agencies, newspaper publishers, etc.

Copeland was only too glad to hear this protest, for it gave him an opportunity to point to "public protest" (much as he is doing with the Supreme Court issue today) in his watering down of the bill to please his employer, William Randolph Hearst, largest newspaper seller of space for just those products which would be suspect under the bill. (Whereas the old Wiley law

gives the Food and Drug administration jurisdiction only over misrepresentations on labels, this proposed bill would cover advertising as well.)

The bill was finally brought to the point where even the reactionary American Medical Association called it "an impotent monstrosity in which the procedure is so long and wearisome and the penalties are so inadequate that the forces of Quackdom may ravage the sick and ailing and retire with their booty long before the investigation and prosecution catch up."

Here again it is a matter of connections rather than personal wishes. Any one working for Hearst, as does Copeland, must find himself in a position where he is defending the miraculous "cures" for blood, skin, stomach and all other ailments advertised in the Hearst press. To do otherwise would be committing financial and political suicide.

Relief (Sic!)

But Copeland is a good demagogue, and he knows how to achieve the public limelight, turn his reactionary attitudes and actions into seemingly progressive ones. For instance, in 1935 during the debate on relief appropriations Copeland dramatically declared in Congress that in New York and other large cities there was insufficient relief for the white-collar workers who made up a large part of the working population.

These people, he declared, needed work, not as ditch diggers, but at their established occupations and professions. Very good, so far; but he also had in mind, he said, the reduction of the proposed appropriation of \$4,980,000,000 to a figure between \$1,880,000,000 and \$2,800,000,000 and to offer more direct relief and less of a public-works program, "in this way saving the money necessary for materials, etc."

Even here, however, there was no basic disagreement with the Roosevelt forces. Copeland felt that cutting of relief should have begun in 1936; Roosevelt, as we have seen, decided the propitious time was 1937. From the capitalists' point of view, Roosevelt was correct, for, had there been a drastic cut in 1935 the unemployed might have carried on the vigorous campaign they had previously waged for the establishment of the work relief program. Today they are in a better frame of mind, having been corralled into support of the Roosevelt regime (the political embodiment of the capitalist system) by the reformist labor leaders, the old guard Socialists and the Communist party. Today the reduction of the WPA by about one third has brought forth surprisingly little protest.

"Fink Book"

On his infamous and vicious "Fink book" bill there was complete agreement between Copeland and Roosevelt. The bill, which offers a fifty percent subsidy to American shipbuilders, was signed by President Roosevelt

on the same day on which he announced that food control would have to wait until the following year because Congress had passed a law but had failed to provide the necessary money.

There was no protest by Roosevelt when he signed the bill. It was only after the west and east coast seamen refused to take the books and threatened to tie up shipping on both coasts that the administration

was forced to tack, and Copeland drew up a compromise bill which made the use of the "fink books" optional. Like any good politician he understands but one language, that of organized protest, expressed in militantly working-class action.

What is most important, however, is the status of the Democratic party, his position in it. With these we shall deal in our next article.

As Comrades to Comrades let us advise you that it pays to be insured where it pays.

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Zola, For A Moment, Was The Conscience of Man

Just as Anatole France has characterized Emile Zola as "For a moment the conscience of man," so the Warner Brothers presentation of Paul Muni in "The Life of Emile Zola" is for a moment the conscience of Hollywood. But only for a moment and

one of very few. For Hollywood still has a long way to go to atone for the endless miles of cinema garbage foisted upon a long suffering and patiently unprotesting public since the first camera turned on Sunset Boulevard.

But as has happened only a few times before (offhand your reviewer can only recall "All Quiet," "The Man I Killed," "Fury," "The Informer," "Pasteur" and "They Won't Forget") Hollywood has in a slight measure justified itself, and Warner Brothers, who have been guilty of trifling with history, may be honestly thanked for presenting for the first time a picture sincere and dignified, truly great not only in its acting and casting and inspired direction, but also for the courageous eloquence of its story.

Muni's performance in "The Life of Emile Zola" at the Hollywood Theatre is a long-to-be-remembered portrayal of the French pamphleteer as a man of letters who uses his especial talent as a fearless crusader for justice.

The Story
The story opens with scenes of Zola in Paris, sharing with Cezanne a cold, bare garret. As a young novelist Zola is bitter and intense . . . a mole-digging here-rooting there-turning up material for books, reviews, articles—finding much that is obnoxious to the dainty nostrils of the smug and complacent bourgeoisie—and the public prosecutor . . . "But I have noticed that when a stench becomes strong enough something is done about it."

His writings disclose the conditions of the day, the vicious exploitation of the poor, the tragedy of preventable mine accidents, squalor and wretchedness and misery as a result of the profit system, official corruption in the high places.

"Nana"
But, with the years, Zola achieves fame; his "Nana" runs into uncountable printings, and, as a rich man, he settles into complacency to enjoy his deserved serenity and repose. He takes leave of the still struggling Cezanne who ruefully observes that "an artist should always remain poor, otherwise his talent, like his stomach, grows fat and stuffy."

And then the Dreyfus affair; the case that stirred not only France, but the world as well. Dreyfus was accused, tried, found guilty of treason, stripped of honor and rank, and shipped off to a living death on Devil's Island. The evidence was flimsy and unsubstantial, but he was a Jew, and his trial and conviction were necessary to prevent a scandal in the army.

The real culprit, Major Walsin-Esterhazy, later suspected, is tried and acquitted to prevent an even further scandal in the ranks and to save the "honor" of the army, and the case of treason, in the military dockets, is closed.

But not forever. In a subtly moving scene, (historically incorrect, for it was Mme. Dreyfus' attorney, Bernard Lazare and the Protestant statesman, Scheurer-Kestner, who appealed to Zola to throw the weight of his truculent pen on the side of justice (and truth) Mme. Dreyfus, with evidence that will absolve her husband, and which evidence will not be admitted by judicials, appeals,

as a last resort to Zola, whom she tells is the only man in France to whom all will listen. Zola hesitates.

To challenge the military decision, in a matter that does not concern him, is to forfeit his quiet life, perhaps even to risk his reputation. But, upon examining the evidence before him, he too is so convinced of the innocence of Dreyfus that he writes the famous "J'Accuse!" the open letter to the President of the Republic which appeared in the *Aurore* to the tune of three hundred thousand copies and which brought upon Zola the accusation of traitor, and the calumnies of the opposition press.

Libel
Zola is charged with criminal libel, and the camera gives us his trial in a court room scene made tensely superb with the eloquence of Zola in his little masterpiece of logic. But the court, firm in its suppression of even the name "Dreyfus," finds Zola guilty. The writer flees to England and continues his written attacks against insurmountable odds, the united opposition of the most powerful forces of a nation. Little by little the barriers crumble as more than a million words pour from the pen of the exiled Zola. Eventually the entire case is reviewed, Dreyfus is vindicated, and broken in mind and body after four years of a living death, he returns to France to be restored to rank and honor.

Zola dies without ever having met the man for whom he so passionately fought, and at his funeral in the Pantheon, Anatole France eulogizes the man who "knew there was no serenity save in Justice, no repose save in Truth." He was," ends the story, "for a moment the conscience of man."

It might be unpolitic or professionally unethical for a reviewer, (which I am not) to give so much of the story as is already revealed, but it is a story of the type of man who might well serve the world today, a crusader for justice, a zealous and tireless fighter against hypocrisy and exploitation, who knew that "truth was on the march and nothing could stop her." And as such it is a story more than worth the retelling.

It is a tribute to Muni's rare and gifted talent that he so convincingly fuses himself with the personality of Zola that throughout the entire film is felt the living personality of the immortal Frenchman. Indeed, this interpretation by Muni may serve, in movie history, to make him more so, and to give a breathing and living image to an audience that might not otherwise have heard the name of Zola.

Cast
Not less appraisable are the performances of the supporting cast: Joseph Schildkraut as the innocent Dreyfus gives us an indelibly

haunting bit of acting when he receives his freedom from prison. And Vladimir Sokoloff as Cezanne, Henry O'Neill as Col. Picquart, Morris Carnovsky as Anatole France, Donald Crisp as Maitre Labori, Erin O'Brien-Moore as Nana and Louis Calhern as Major Dort deserve no lesser mention, as each has contributed admirably to make "The Life of Emile Zola" without question the one truly great photoplay to come out of Hollywood.

And the Warners too should be thanked, and William Dieterle congratulated for presenting the issues of the story without compromise (except in the case of the anti-semitism which was the fundamental motivation of the entire Affaire Dreyfus) and in offering forthright the facts that is story knows. For certainly it is a rare thing, a moving picture with ideas consistent with the problems of our own day, and the courage to present them.

This picture must go on the must list of every *CALL* reader. It is a great story of a great man . . . a man whose philosophy was "to live indignant, to live enraged . . . at false honor, at universal mediocrity! To be unable to read a newspaper without paling in anger! To feel the continual and irresistible need of crying aloud what one thinks, above all when one is alone in thinking it, and to be ready to abandon all the sweets of life for it."

We are humbly grateful for this picture . . . a picture not so much of the man Zola, the frail, pathetic, quaint Zola, but of the essence of Zola, Zola the instrument of freedom, truth and social justice. And this essence has been written into the film just as the life of Zola has written it into history. And when a picture has this quality and this greatness, one can ask no more of the cinema.

RUTH BROOKE.

EIGHT MILLION UNEMPLOYED

WASHINGTON, D. C., (FP).—The American Federation of Labor reported here that the post-depression employment rise "is beginning to weaken" with "more than 8,000,000 still out of work."

The federation reported that "in industry as a whole there were 139,000 more jobs in June than in any other month this year, but this June gain compares with gains of 300,000 to 400,000 in every previous month, showing that the employment rise is beginning to weaken."

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Max Winter, Founder Of Red Falcons, Dies

Max Winter, Austrian Socialist and one-time Vice-Mayor of Vienna, has died in Hollywood (U.S.A.) at the age of 67. The International Labor Movement knew him as the founder of the Friends of the Children Movement which, starting in Austria, spread to many other countries.

This together with its offshoot, the Red Falcon Movement, has grown to a mighty organization. The idea behind this movement was that the working class must itself take care of the education of its children.

What Max Winter did in this department of the great Socialist cultural movement was the achievement of a pioneer. Laughed at at the beginning and often misunderstood, he nevertheless had the satisfaction of seeing his handiwork grow. Out of the Friends of the Children Movement there sprang the Socialist Educational International, of which Max Winter became the first President.

Journalist

But his love of the children of the working class, whom he saw playing in the dusty streets and the gloomy courts and stairways, and whom he desired to protect against capitalist society, which denies light and joy, education and possibilities of development even to the children—this love was only one characteristic of the great and warm heart that beat in Max Winter's breast. He was, in addition, a talented Socialist journalist, a great social reporter, who went to the weary and heavy-laden, and by his moving and accusatory descriptions of the lives of the workers tried to awaken the public conscience.

His "Walks Through the Underworld of Vienna," to write which he had gone down into the very sewers of the great city, where he met a misery which had thus far never been the subject of social study, made him famous. A pupil of Victor Adler, who made him a member of the editorial staff of

the "Arbeiter-Zeitung," in spite of all his thirst for adventure and all his fondness for bold projects, Winter was never an idle dreamer or a firebrand; he was proud of the fact that during the whole of his long career as a journalist no insult had ever come from his pen.

Winter was always full of new ideas. To him the Austrian Party owed, among other things, an excellent women's weekly called "Die Unzufriedene" (The Discontented Woman), and a whole network of children's libraries. During the latter years of his life he was considering the idea of internationalizing these children's libraries and of the international exchange of working class children on a large scale.

Before the war he was a member of the Austrian Parliament, after the revolution of 1918 a member of the First Chamber of the Austrian Parliament and, for a time, the Vice-Mayor of Vienna.

When Fascism seized power in Austria, Winter was about to go on a lecture tour in the United States. His Socialist propaganda activity abroad made a return to his own country impossible. He spent the remaining years of his life in exile. He lived in privation but he was always active, always busy with new plans and devoted heart and soul to the Socialist idea, which for him meant first and foremost a new culture and a better humanity. He will go down in the history of the Labor Movement as the great Socialist friend of child and man.

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The Labor Party is Endangered As The Democratic Party Splits

By GUS TYLER

The Democratic Party has pasted a giant ad across the pages of current journals, reading:

"Wanted—A composer of close harmony."

The Democratic Party needs him badly. Yet, we predict, he shall not be found.

The Democratic Party needs him for everyone else who has tried to write the score has failed.

pigeony, replied: "I hope not." Otherwise, he added, "everything is peace and harmony."

While the present figureheads of the Democratic Party are writing Pollyanna letters about men "who know by instinct that on occasion party harmony is aided and abetted by close harmony" (Roosevelt to Garner apropos of Barkley), politically alert elements are thoroughly aware that the peace in the Democratic Party is gone. As Senator King said of the ice cream peace doves: "They looked a little dead."

The Split

The Republicans know that the split is here—and they want it. They are working for it by joining the Conservative Democrats in a Congressional bloc which has successfully wrecked every single piece of legislation proposed by the President. The Republicans map the strategy and let the Southern Democrats do all the scrapping.

The leading Democrats know that in Congress there are being drawn new lines, which are the rough draft for a new party. Roosevelt knows that there are Democrats who are Republican stooges. By a slip of the tongue, Senator Barkley let out a great historical truth. When one of his party conferees asked how to vote in a recent legislative tangle, Barkley, Democratic floor leader, snapped back: "I don't know. Ask McNary" (Republican Senator).

And then instead of singing "Wagon Wheels," as Roosevelt's letter promised he would, Alben added: "That was a hell of a harmony dinner we had last night."

Smith

Those political wiseacres who talk about the lunacy of Smith in running Copeland for mayor in New York do not know what Smith and Copeland do know. The Smith-Copeland move is a bold action of tough political leaders in preparation for the new party of Conservative coalition.

Smith and Copeland, the Northern allies of the Southern Bourbons, are using every little event, every point of friction, to fuel the inner party fires. When Wagner introduced his anti-lynching bill in the Senate, the *New York Times* news story shrewdly observed:

"The conservative Democrats, most of them Southerners, sat by, amused but alert. In their position were epitomized the strange cross-currents that have been shooting through the administration Congressional set-up ever since the death of Senator Robinson, the keystone of the heterogeneous Democratic majority. . . .

"Indeed, some of them secretly hoped that the measure would be passed and thus FURTHER COMPLETE THE DIVISION BETWEEN THE CONSERVATIVE AND LIBERAL ELEMENTS in the Democratic South."

The *Advance*, paper of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, commenting on Roosevelt's struggle with his conservative comrades, puts the matter clearly: "Master craftsman of leader-

ship that Mr. Roosevelt is, he will be guilty of political suicide, in this case a crime against this nation which has trusted him, if he chooses to temporize instead of driving forth with all his power against those who seek, through him, to destroy the liberties of the American people. We do not suppose that will be the case.

Why 1937

"That realignment of forces in 1940 of which we have been hearing so much is closing in upon us. It looks as if it is going to be in 1937."

Nineteen thirty-seven is the proper date indeed for this "re-alignment" of political forces in America. That realignment began to take form immediately after the national elections when the combined conservative forces of America decided to use the subsequent four years to unite their ranks for the overthrow of the New Deal.

Although the President of the US has not been altogether consistent in pressing his New Deal policies, there can be no mistaking the fact that his line has been that of "saving capitalism" through humanitarian concessions to the masses. The Conservative Democrats and Republicans are anti-New-Deal. Most of them "went along" in the days of the darkest crisis. They were scared; they were cowed; they nodded assent.

But now that Roosevelt has tided them over the darkest days—saved them from riot and revolution, as he boasted at the Lehman nominating convention last year—the Tories rally to defend their conservatism.

And, for the moment at least, the Tories are winning.

Roosevelt's entire program is scrapped.

The President's Supreme Court reform. Ruthlessly killed by the broadest united front of Republicans, "liberals," Conservative (and even New Deal, e.g. Lehman) Democrats yet realized up to that time under Roosevelt:

Roosevelt Wage-and-Hour Bill.

Castrated, emasculated and finally procrustinated for the next session. Bankhead—(Democratic spokesman) declares that there will be no time for it now.

The Administration's Housing Proposal. Perverted in the hands of the conservatives into a travesty of the bill the liberals wanted.

The President's plea for a farm program. Chucked to the winds as the Southern pork-barrel pickers demand cotton crop loans, without a plan for crop control.

The President's Executive Reor-



Joe Robinson, deceased leader of the Democratic Party.



Vice-President Garner (Conservative Democrat of Texas) greets Alben Barkley, new floor leader of the Democrats in the Senate.

ganization Draft. Gone with the wind that the Conservatives blow.

The Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-Lynching Bill: Impaled on points of order.

Black

So arrogant and insolent has the Congressional, especially the Senatorial, opposition become, that it takes time off to tease the President and his legislative representatives. The new regime pricks FDR with unnecessary points of order; it challenges customary dignitaries and naughtily heaps new indignities; it is behaving like a wicked school boy who has learned how to run teacher ragged.

The refusal of the Senate to extend the usual "courtesy" in the matter of Black's appointment is downright "naughtiness" of the vicious variety. The most dignified Senate is just sticking out its collective tongue at the Administration.

Hugo Black is certainly not a surprise appointee. His name may have come as a surprise; but certainly his type of man was long expected. A Southerner—to please that wing of his party. A Liberal—to give progressive legislation a safer majority in the Supreme Court.

Custom dictates an immediate consideration and vote on this sort of appointment. Under almost any other set of conditions, this would be the practice. But not so now. The "opposition" holds the whip; and the opposition cracks the whip—most demonstratively.

The "Left"

Even as the Democratic Party of America begins to split, new members are grafted to its body politic. As the right arm is amputated a new left arm is attached.

Those rooting most loudly for the "split" are the labor reformist forces at the left who are orientated in the direction of a labor-liberal coalition party in America.

The *New Leader*, organ of the Old Guard (right-wing Socialist paper), goes positively jubilant, in a front page five-column editorial, over the Democratic Party "split." Together with the Rooseveltian liberals, the Old Guard shall build a "new party of the masses."

The Communist Party sees in such a party an American People's Front—which it most certainly is. Whereas in Europe, however, a People's Front is a coalition of parties on a liberal capitalist program, in the United States the loose party forms and the primary campaigns can unite a coalition of parties into one party.

The more far-sighted trade unions hail the split and drive in the direction of the Popular Front Party, the revamped Democratic

Party. Reexamine the above quotation from the *Advance*, and see what orientation is behind that line. The *Advance* expects a split, expects Roosevelt to break from his own Tories, expects a new party which they hail—and which they shall support.

Throughout the country there shall spring up a "left-wing" faction of the new liberalized party, usually with a trade union mass base. This "left-wing" shall enter primaries; it may from time to time become the majority group in the party. But its policy can never go beyond the policy of the liberal capitalists with whom it is a party alliance.

This "left-wing" is today being built on the basis of giving Roosevelt true Rooseveltians, instead of his present party comrades.

At the Kings County convention of the New York ALP, A. A. Bell Jr. declared:

"As honest progressive Democrats we can do nothing else," he said. "The Democratic Machine in New York City has proved false to its trust and to its party. It did its best to cut the throat of Governor Lehman last year. It would have cut the throat of President Roosevelt if it had dared. Its antics today are betraying the trust of every decent Democrat in New York at this minute."

Lib-Labism

Hence, concludes Berle, but the American Labor Party. Such a perspective fits in very tightly with the realities of a labor-liberal coalition party, a "true" Democratic Party, a thoroughly New-Dealized party.

In Akron, the labor forces acted this year as a regular part of the national Democratic Party. Entered the primaries; even won the primaries; now the real backbone of the Democratic Party there.

The really dangerous thing in labor, in this movement, is the continued existence of the local "left-wing" clubs of the rising new party will give the hallucination or, at least, the mirage of a real labor party. permanent "left caucus" in the New Democratic Party (perhaps under different name) will become the official substitute for labor party, for a class party of labor, independent of and publicly opposed to all capitalist political groups.

The immediate danger arises from temporary coalitions—capitalist candidates. But the time peril that these present fortunes foreshadow is a PERMANENT coalition, of Lib-Labism.



Hugo Black

Roosevelt can't do it; every time he puts his pen to paper he composes discord. Farley can't do it; even the sweet tones of party patronage have failed to bring the sour notes of the party into concord. Joe Robinson can't do it; he's dead. And if he were not, the impossible task of reuniting the party of Jackson, Cleveland, Wilson, and Roosevelt would kill him.

The Democratic Party sounds like a maddened cat clambering over the keys, today, because two different sections of that party are playing two different tunes in two different keys to please two different pipers.

And every time the boys get together in close harmony, my what a mess!

Getting harmony has indeed become the chief work of the leading Democrats. They harmonized at Jefferson Island; they tried to pitch their keynotes to tune at the most recent dinner to Alben Barkley; they mingled notes at Representative O'Connor's little get-together.

But—No Peace

After Jefferson Island, Roosevelt introduced his "harmonizing" compromise court bill; it was thrown out of the legislature, by his own party pals, with a most discourteous discourtesy.

At O'Connor's "get-together," the Southern Bourbons raised their voices in song. Dies of Texas joined some of his Dixie lads in acclaiming songfully to the President: "We Shall Not, We Shall Not Be Moved."

At Alben Barkley's Inaugural Dinner, the President of the US went through the subtle contortions of writing a note halling party unity while absenting his person for fear that some untoward phrase might precipitate a split. Otherwise there was harmony. Pigeons were all over the place. They had pigeons overhead and pigeons on their plates; they had pigeons alive and pigeons dead; they had pigeons circling the ceiling and pigeons a la ice cream.

Senator King, when asked whether he thought that the Democrats would now vote together, united by the ties of