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## AUTO UNION CONVENTION HITS BOSS' HOPES FOR SPLIT

### The Unity Caucus is Strengthened

By HY FISH

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The auto magnates and other anti-CIO forces are not at all pleased that—in spite of an intense factional struggle—the United Automobile Workers of America emerged from its historic second annual convention with a strong determination to complete the organization of the 600,000 workers under its jurisdiction.

Unanimously the 1,200 delegates voted a \$400,000 war chest to organize Ford's 90,000 employees. Every member of the union will pay an assessment of \$1 into this war chest.

For months previous to the convention two caucuses had been working to win delegates to their respective policies and slates for officers.

"Preserve the Union" was the rallying cry of the Martin-Frankenstein group.

"Unity, Democracy, Militancy" was the slogan of the Unity group.

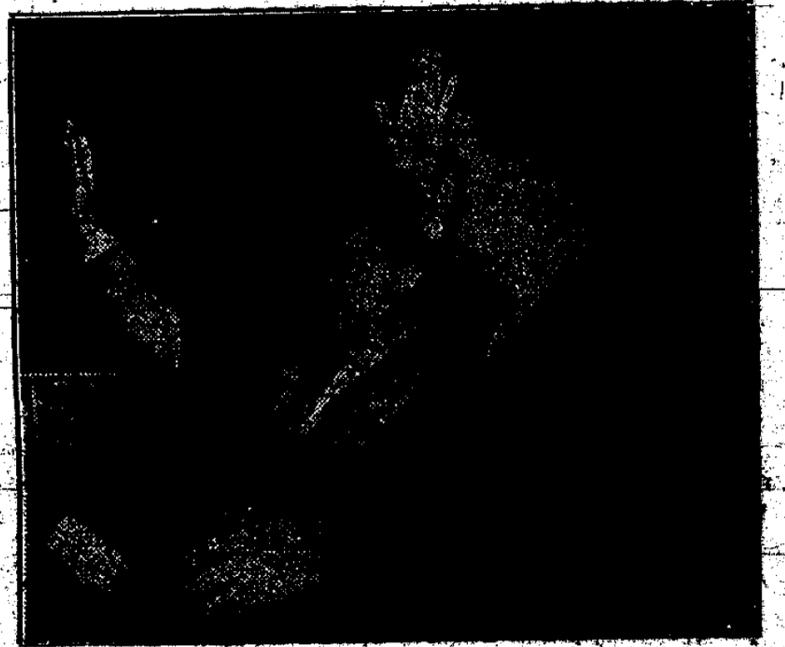
The Martin-Frankenstein Progressive Caucus program called for centralized authority in the hands of the international president while the Unity Caucus proposed a resident board of six officers with equal power to decide policy and strategy between meetings of the general executive board.

On the slate of officers of the Martin-Frankenstein group were Homer Martin, for president; Richard Frankenstein, R. J. Thomas and N. Wells, for vice-presidents; and George Addes, for secretary-treasurer. All, with

a militant, class-struggle organization. For profits to the capitalist class are zooming. And driftnets manage to pour down to the middle class. Capitalist economists, in the face of an artificial boom which is paving the way for a new collapse, sing choruses to the new prosperity. Ever more, in these next few years, will the Alliance be aware of the truth that only the working class can free the working class. For the gains to be made by the unemployed and WPA workers will be won, as always they have been won, only through their own efforts and the support of their class.

Already this is startlingly apparent. Wholesale condemnations are heard of the dismal lack of accomplishment of the last session of Congress—on the Supreme Court, on the wretched emasculation of the wages and hours bill, on the watering-down of the housing program to a saturation point. But few outside the ranks of class-conscious workers stop to analyze the plight of the unemployed and WPA workers.

Our "new prosperity" is building up to an awful let-down—but it will let down the men and women capitalism can't use even sooner... unless they lift themselves up by the strength of their own struggles.



A United UAWA re-elects Martin, and cries "Ford, Next!"



Down Washington streets Workers Alliance, demanding an end to WPA lay-offs.

## Workers Alliance Marches—6,000 Jobless Keep Jobs

SIX THOUSAND WPA WORKERS IN NEW JERSEY, SCHEDULED TO JOIN THE APPALLING NUMBER OF RELIEF LAYOFFS IN RECENT MONTHS OF THE NEW DEAL.

will keep their jobs. And they will keep their jobs as a result of the National Job March of the Workers Alliance, where nearly 3,000 members of the Alliance descended on the nation's capitol on August 23 to register their vigorous protest against the mass layoffs.

So announced David Lasser, national president of the Alliance this week.

A primary purpose of the rally, in which workers from all over the country took part, was to muster support for the Schwellenbach-Alten Joint Congressional Resolution, which would end the firing of WPA workers unless they could be guaranteed a job in private industry at not less than the prevailing rate of wages.

Over 300,000 WPA workers, scheduled to lose their heads in the New Deal's job-smashing guillotine by mid-October, will be affected directly by the gains which the march forced. For the sequel to the March was a letter from Harry Hopkins, WPA's national administrator, to Senator Schwellenbach, which was read into the Senate record. No more WPA workers, he promised, would be laid off "during the rest of this calendar year and through the winter months."

Inevitably, the victories of the march are only the beginning of a struggle which will deepen in intensity as time goes on. Harry Hopkins, in effect, said: "Well,

boys, since you're so insistent, we'll postpone the slaughter. But the layoffs must begin in earnest with warm weather!" And there is every reason to believe that the threat to the jobs of 300,000 workers, postponed by the Alliance march, will hang over heads of even a larger number next spring.

**Fight Not Over**  
And the Workers' Alliance realizes this. The Executive Board has decided to conduct an even more vigorous campaign for the important Schwellenbach-Alten resolution, which was not acted upon by Roosevelt's "all-wind-and-no-work" Congress before adjournment, even though over 200 Representatives and 40 Senators had made public their intention to vote for its passage.

"The National Job March is not over," Mr. Lasser declared. "Only the Washington phase of it is ended. We have transferred the job march to every community to carry on the fight."

He reported that the Alliance is demanding a deficiency appropriation at the next session of Congress, not only to reinstate laid-off workers, but to expand the WPA and gain substantial wage increases to meet a skyward bound cost of living.

**Build Alliance**  
Ever more, in these next few years, is there going to be a vital need for the Workers' Alliance, as

the exception of Addes who was neutral, are Martin supporters.

### Unity Position

The Unity group believed that the best interests of the union would be served by electing officers representing every progressive viewpoint in the organization. While supporting the four proposed by the opposing group, Unity added two of its supporters, Wyndham Mortimer and Ed Hall as additional vice-presidents. Both were vice-presidents last year.

For the first four days of the convention it looked like it would be a knock-down, drag-out fight between these two groups. Feeling ran high. Open caucuses were held. Delegates wore buttons and badges of their factional allegiance. Every issue became a factional issue. The size of the factions appeared about equal. Who would win?

Every one knew there was only one person who could decide—John L. Lewis. Master politician that he is, his solution was simple: Enlarge the number of officers to include all candidates on both slates and by mutual agreement elect them unanimously.

The Unity group accepted the proposition immediately but the Martin-Frankenstein group had its troubles. It exposed itself as not a caucus but a federation of caucuses. Afraid of a showdown

both Martin and Frankenstein urged acceptance of the agreement before the caucus. They were opposed by their "allies," the Black Legion elements, the real reactionaries. Another "ally," the CPO, (Lovestoneites), was hesitant.

At previous caucus meetings Martin, Frankenstein and others had whipped up a hatred of the Unity forces. The Unity leaders were accused of being "stool pigeons," "communists," and "disrupters." This tactic boomeranged when their followers asked, "How can we make agreements with 'tool pigeons'?"

After a four hour caucus session what was left of the Martin-Frankenstein group decided to support the agreement. Lewis' strategy worked. All the officers were elected unanimously.

### Lewis Reps

Playing a leading role in this compromise, were David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Ora Gassaway of the United Mine Workers of America, John Brophy, director of the CIO, and Ray Edmundson of the UMWA.

Flushed by a minor victory at the beginning of the convention, Martin, as chairman of the convention, made no attempt to hide his factional interests in the handling of the chair.

"The gavel is the majority," (Continued on Page Six)

# The Teachers' Convention Debates AFL-CIO Issue

By Max Harway

MADISON, Wis.—The main issue confronting the 21st Convention of the American Federation of Teachers at Madison was the problem of the CIO.

At its 1933 Convention the Union had expressed its sympathy for the purposes of the CIO and condemned the action of the Executive Council in suspending the CIO union. Developments in the past year made it necessary to consider directly the question of CIO affiliation.

Resolutions from the New York and Philadelphia locals urging immediate affiliation were countered by a campaign on the part of the powerful Chicago local in favor of the AFL. While the CIO forces did not press for their original program of immediate affiliation, they won several significant victories.

The question of affiliation was submitted to a referendum of the membership to be held at some time after February. Meanwhile, however, the Convention reaffirmed its support of the principles and organizational work of the CIO, and went on record against paying the double per capita tax demanded by the AFL, as a war chest against the CIO. The resolution passed in regard to CIO affiliation reads as follows:

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Teachers stand for unity in the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, a united labor movement is necessary for the continued success, both economically and politically, of the trade union movement in the United States; and

WHEREAS, at the 1936 convention the American Federation of Teachers went on record as being sympathetic to the aims and purposes of the Committee for Industrial Organization; and

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Teachers is on record as endorsing the principles of industrial unionism; and

WHEREAS, the CIO has achieved great organizing campaigns; and

WHEREAS, the Committee for Industrial Organization has influenced and aided both the unionization of teachers and the securing of progressive teacher legislation; and

WHEREAS, this convention of the American Federation of Teachers now has before it the question of the next step in its relation to the Committee for Industrial Organization, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers reaffirm its endorsement of the principles of industrial unionism; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers at this twenty-first convention direct the Executive Council to undertake a referendum of the membership on the question of affiliation of the American Federation of Teachers to the Committee for Industrial Organization; such referendum to be conducted in accordance with existing constitutional provisions at the discretion of the Executive Council; such referendum to be conducted no sooner than February 1st, 1938; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that preceding such referendum, the Executive Council be instructed to make an exhaustive study on (1) the structure, functioning, dues, contracts, autonomy, etc., of the CIO in its relation to labor; (2) the significance to the American Federation of Teachers of the proposed affiliation with the CIO, as concerns organizational campaigns, and national and local legislative campaigns, as well as the future position and program of the American Federation of Teachers in the Committee for Industrial Organization; if affiliation is decided upon by the membership; and that the Executive Council be instructed to send a written report of its findings to every member of the American Federation of Teachers; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers protest the undemocratic action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in suspending unions affiliated to the Committee for Industrial Organization,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers refuse to pay the special per capita tax proposed by the Cincinnati conference of the American Federation of Labor; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED; that

for the purpose of unifying the American labor movement this Twenty-First Convention go on record as favoring the holding a national convention of all bonafide trade unions, AF of L, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, and genuine independent unions; and accordingly instruct our delegates to the 1937 convention of the American Federation of Labor to introduce such a resolution into that convention.

The resolution of the minority merely provided for the postponement of the entire issue until the next convention. The vote on the resolution was 285-227.

While no significant group in the AFT is opposed to the CIO on principle, there are besides the outright supporters of CIO affiliation, a large group loyal to the AFL primarily because of the liberal and the local central trades, and another group which prefers to wait until the CIO is somewhat stronger (or certain local problems have been solved) before affiliating.

It is mainly to placate this third group that the proposal for a referendum was substituted for the idea of immediate and outright affiliation.

## Forces in the Convention

The three largest groups in the Convention center respectively around the Chicago local, the Ohio delegation, and the New York and Philadelphia delegations. There was also a large group of scattered locals owing allegiance to none of these major geographical groups. However, any proposal or candidates supported by two of these groups was sure of being carried.

On purely political issues there was very little disagreement, as the Communist Party position, influential in New York and Philadelphia differed in no respect from the position of the liberal and conservative elements dominating the other two large blocs on such questions as war and a farmer-labor party.

Save for the Socialists there was no opposition to the attempt to make the labor movement the tail to a rehabilitated Democratic Party, nor to complete reliance on collective security and sanctions as a preventive against war.

The Communist Party distinguished itself from other groups only in its determined drive for power. This was clearly shown not only in the elections but in its

effort to keep the editorial board of the "American Teacher" susceptible to CP influence. So obvious were their maneuvers in this respect and so great was the resentment aroused that they were finally forced to consent to the reference of the whole matter to the Executive Council.

## Results of the Elections

In the contest for the presidency between Jerome Davis and Charles Stillman of Chicago, and in the vice-presidential contest in the Minnesota, Georgia and California areas, the main issue was the CIO. . . . In all these areas CIO supporters were elected by a wide margin, Professor Davis defeating Mr. Stillman by a vote of 221 to 153.

In the other two contests, involving the Massachusetts area and the vice-presidency for WPA and Adult Education, both candidates were sympathetic to the CIO and this issue was not involved.

The CP made a determined effort to limit the latter vice-presidency to a WPA teacher in order to secure the election of a candidate whom they could control. To do this they went to the extent of calling a special meeting of the Executive Council for the purpose of reversing a decision previously arrived at.

In this maneuver they also failed and a Socialist, Joel Seidman, was elected. Other Socialists on the Executive Council are Charles J. Hendley of New York, John Connors of New Bedford, and Paul Preisler of St. Louis. Maynard Krueger, oldest member in point of service on the Executive Council, was barred from re-election by a combination of conservative forces which resented his role in blocking the suspension of the charter of the New York Local two years ago; and by Communists who felt his presence on the Executive Council a danger to the success of their maneuvers.

Within the last year the AFT has increased 46% in membership. This growth has occurred mainly in the New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago areas. The convention voted to raise a fund of \$25,000 by a special assessment in the coming year for organizational work in selected areas through full-time paid organizers. The American Federation of Teachers can therefore look forward to an even more rapid increase in the coming year.

# AN INTERESTING NOTE ON JOBLESS MARCH TO WASH.

CHICAGO, Ill.—It is not the intention of this writer to discredit the campaign of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the leaders of which have performed the seemingly impossible task of organizing and uniting a force of approximately four million

workers—it is only that I wish to disclose an unpleasant experience.

A job march to Washington that is being organized by and is being carried out by the Workers Alliance on a national scale, to protest against the WPA layoffs, while in the meantime, to back the Schwelensbach-Allen Resolution; which gives some aid to the WPA and unemployed workers.

Sufficient funds must be raised so as to be able to carry through successfully this job march to the National Capitol, and being primarily an organization of the unemployed and WPA workers who have not the money needed to transport, feed and house the job marchers, therefore, it is imperative that funds be solicited from labor unions so as such can be carried out on a mass scale.

The unpleasant experience that Mr. Paliferro and Mrs. Wenger had, who formed a committee of two, from the Workers Alliance, took place at a meeting of the CIO top leadership of the Chicago district, in which Mr. Fontachio participated.

The purpose of the committee was made known to them before the meeting was called to order.

Paliferro reminded again of their union by Mrs. Wenger; but, in spite of all these reminders, the committee of Local 2 of the Workers Alliance was deliberately ignored, as the meeting adjourned without giving these worthy representatives a hearing. But Paliferro who was to make the plea for funds, is not the kind that will take it lying down, and he is already fighting back.

## RANK AND FILE

It can be safely assumed that the CIO is a rank and file progressive union, the leading members of which have been born out of the struggle. But now that they reached a point where the average rank and file leader is paid a salary of fifty-four dollars (\$54.00) per week, with an allowance of four dollars (4.00) per day for general expenses plus gas and oil for their cars—they have, apparently, forgotten that there is a struggling unemployed mass fighting for food, clothing, and shelter; fighting for the right to live—they have lost sight of the forgotten man.

The Workers Alliance of Amer-

ica is deserving of praise and support of every workers organization in the country, as it is only because of them, that there still is some relief for the unemployed and the present number of the WPA workers still employed.

It is also, because of the admirable work in the unemployed field, in preaching the gospel of organized effort against the common enemy of labor, that the CIO drive has made such gains.

But the most astonishing fact is, that every one attending that important meeting is a member of the Communist Party—the following being present: Joe Weber, Mike Morton, John Dwal-sky.

All members of the District Central Committee of the Communist Party.

# S.P. Man Beaten In South

NEW ORLEANS, La.—Henry Hermes, secretary of the Socialist Party here, who was arrested on a war-time act for distributing a pamphlet attacking the New Orleans city government, was brutally beaten Tuesday by two unidentified men at 9:15 a.m. after his release on bond.

The men, using gangster technique, drove behind Hermes, beat and kicked him, then leaped into the waiting car, and sped away. The license was carefully bent, Hermes said, so that he could not make out the full number.

## Distributing Circulars

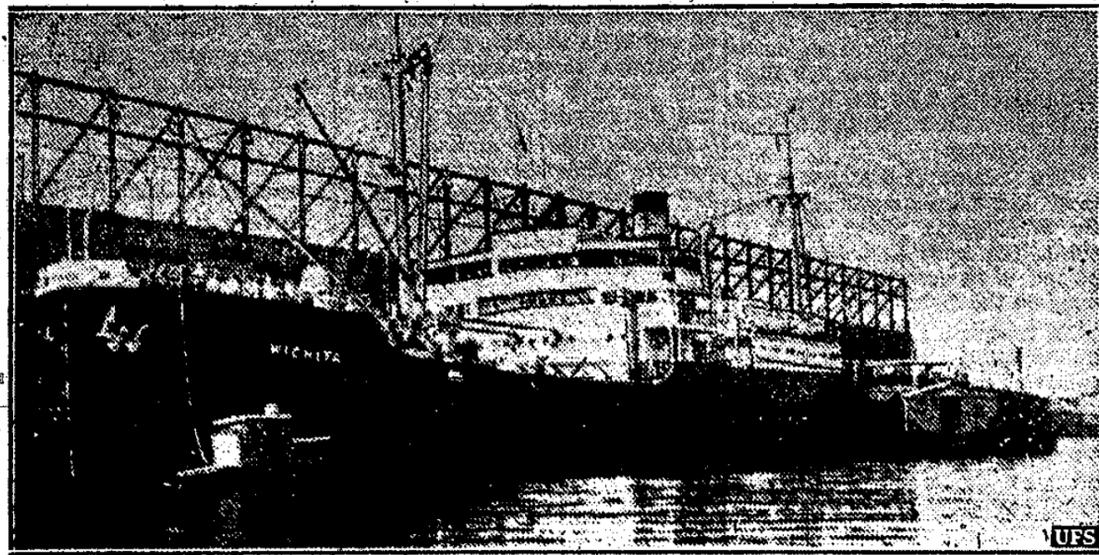
Hermes, 39, is gray-haired, a barber; he suffered two broken ribs, cuts and bruises about eyes, nose, mouth and ears and possible internal injuries.

Hermes was arrested by police last week for distributing circulars attacking prevalence of slot machines, the state and city luxury sales tax, parking lot operations, Public Service rates and rackets permitted by New Orleans officials.

Chief of Detectives John Grosch arrested him and said: "You've been criticizing the city and state. We won't have that. And I'm going to clean this city out of people that try to do that."

Both Chief Grosch and Superintendent Reyer said they did not think that the brutal beating was done by gangsters.

Hermes at home declared, "this bears out just what I've been saying. It carried out everything that was in the circular that the police objected to so much. This is Hitlerism over New Orleans. There's plenty about this that the public ought to know. I was beaten because I dared to protest about conditions in the city."



CIO Maritime Union threatened to stop shipments of airplanes and barbed wire to China through sit-down strike at Baltimore dock.

Does Your Neighbor Read the CALL?

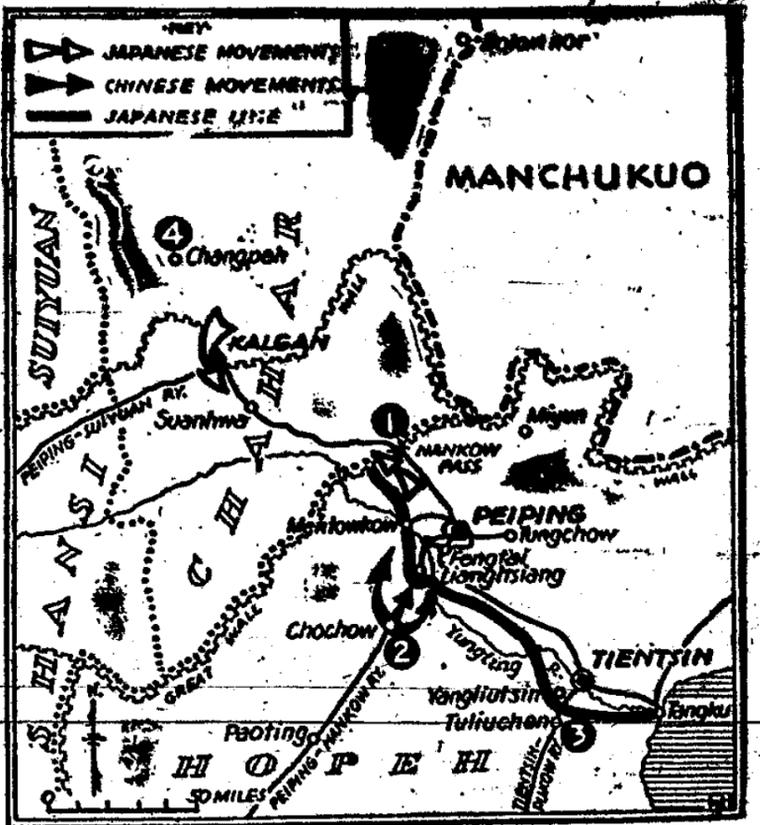
# Will The Sino-Japanese Conflict Become A War Involving Americans?

By John Ball

When is a war not a war?  
When it is in China!  
This is the mature decision of the present administration in Washington.



Four Chinese airplanes bombed the President Hoover and wounded seven of the crew. They were looking for a Japanese troop transport. "When is a war not a war?"



A graphic view of the four points in China where war is raging despite the ostrich's-head-

in-the-sand attitude of our Department of State.

the enemy at the rear, about the international and the colonial front. The international crisis in capitalist economics placed before these same imperialist powers the specter of proletarian revolution under the double pressures of war and poverty.

Taking advantage of these embarrassments of the victors of Versailles, Japan, Italy and Germany have carried on their separate ferays

Italy in Ethiopia; Japan in Manchuria; Germany on the Rhineland; Hitler and Mussolini in Spain; now Japan in China.

Each new victory strengthened these anti-status-quo nations. Each new victory weighted the scales of international politics in the direction of equality in mili-

tary strength, thereby bringing closer a new world war.

Almost as in a Greek tragedy, the imperialist powers of the West had the choice and have the choice of going to war now or going to war later, to kill now or prepare for the killing to-morrow.

But within this capitalist world, the steady movement toward war was and is inevitable.

Only one thing, now, can postpone a new international war—for France, England and America, to throw Russia to the dogs. This has been the British policy, to buy off the wolves at the expense of the innocents.

The Soviet Union knows that it is being prepared for the sacrifice and it cries desperately for a pact with the capitalist powers. Britain and France retaliate with a new Locarno Treaty, a Four-Power Pact, excluding the Soviet Union.

## Then What

Virgil insisted that the Gods made blind those whom they would destroy.

The blindness of the capitalist powers today—"no war in China"—is but the prelude to their own destruction.

As if dragged by the hair in the hands of some invisible Fate, the capitalist powers are—some reluctantly, some less reluctantly—entangled in the meshes of Marx.

Perhaps next month or year shall find them whipping millions into war-time frenzy, beating the tom-toms for war.

It will not be a short war— from all present military indications, Captain Liddell Hart, in agreement with most military experts, advises us that the defense is stronger than the offense in modern war. No quick victories, no overwhelming defeats are to be expected.

Decisive in such wars shall be the population at home, the industrial machine, the working class population. This is as true of Germany and Italy and Japan as of America, France and Great Britain. Just as soon as the workers wish to they can halt that war, they can cripple the war machine and they can do more. They can overthrow the war-making government and abolish the capitalist system of war.

## At a time when Japanese bombs are sending Chinese cities trembling under heavy bombardment, Cordell Hull advises the two Far Eastern Powers to

refrain from going to war. Senator Key Pittman officially explains that China and Japan are not really at war. They are just playing cricket with high explosives.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt scribbles his approval over Hull's statement: "OK. I heartily approve. FDR."

Japan blockades Chinese shipping. But it is not war; it is a "pacific" blockade.

A Nipponese aviator bombs the automobile of a high British official. That's not warfare; just an accident.

A complete city area is blown to smithereens and hundreds of inter-nationals killed. That isn't war; 'tis merely a misplaced bomb.

According to the most profound nonsense of Pittman, there is no war in China until the "conflict" is going to be carried to a point where one side conquers, or the free commerce of neutral nations is interfered with."

This is a really quaint definition of what a war is. Suppose ten million men are slain and the long rivers of China run red with blood, but no side seems to be at the point of conquest. Well, then, misses the Senator, that just ain't war.

Suppose, moreover, that free commerce is not infringed. Suppose it is even encouraged by the wealthier nation which can take advantage of that free commerce to purchase the military and civil materials needed for waging a war. Well, then, continues the administration, it ain't war. Hail the American ostrich!

## Open-Door

Were England and the US anxious to go to war with Japan, there would be war in the world. The text-book notion that wars are caused by transgressions upon national honor has been blasted to naught by the events of the last few weeks. Incidents such as were used to justify England's and America's declaration of war

upon Germany in 1914 and 1917 have already occurred.

But neither England nor the US is certain of its immediate policy in regard to a war against Japan. "Ever since the end of the World War, the Colossus of the Orient has been a problem for the Occidental imperialist powers.

The Asiatic continent was the natural area for Japanese expansion. The western powers of imperialism knew very well that the same forces that drove them to expansion were at work within Japan and would soon drive her to expand.

With great care, the US and Great Britain threw a diplomatic barbed wire about China. "No Trespassing" signs were planted all over the place.

Neither the barbed wire nor the "No Trespassing" warnings were intended to exclude all powers; they were merely intended to mark off areas of influence and areas of the "open door." The policy of the occidental powers was that of non-aggression in China, not because they were opposed to aggression in principal, but because they feared the outcome of any struggle.

Three-Power Pacts, Washington Naval Conferences, Kellogg Treaties, Pacific Status-Quo Understandings were various aspects of a central policy.

## Scraps of Paper

Like all treaties they were a legalistic definition of the relationship of forces and the clash of attitudes; and, like all such paper declarations, were to be but "scraps of paper" when the relationship of forces and attitudes shifted.

It may be a far cry from Spain to China, but they are merely two halves of a scale that is balanced at its center on the Berlin-Rome axis.

With the rearmament of Germany and the reestablishment of Italy as a world power, both chal-

lenging the bases of the post-war settlements, Japan can afford to break its entente cordiale with England and France.

The occupation of the Western Powers in Spain enables Japan to play more recklessly in the Orient.

In violation of its written agreements and tacit understandings, Japan swings a mailed fist to slam shut the open door in China.

For the Western Powers to admit open war would be to admit the utter futility of treaties in an imperialist world. For the US to admit it would necessitate the application of a Neutrality system that might make it more difficult to "protect" American interests in China.

Rather than admit that their whole system of peace preservation—treaties and neutrality laws—has broken down in the face of the struggle in the Orient, the capitalist powers make believe there is no war in China. A great historical hoax!

## War Ahead

The Sino-Japanese conflict need not grow into an international war immediately, although it may. But there can be no denying the fact that it is a prelude to a great international war.

The comparative international peace of the last two decades has not been a result of the growing pacifism in this capitalist world. It is rather due to the fact that the coalition of World War victors was comparatively so strong and the vanquished so exhausted that a real clash was not possible.

Since 1933, the anti-Versailles powers have been reestablishing their fighting strength.

The imperialist conflicts among the status-quo powers paralyzed early punitive campaigns against Italy and Germany and Japan. The threat of colonial revolt imposed upon the Western Powers the double obligation of worrying about the enemy at the front and



One of 20,000,000 Chinese girls ready to fight Japanese invasion.

Labor Day Greetings to the American Working Class

SOCIALIST PARTY

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# THE SOCIALIST CALL

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# AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

The other day was the anniversary of the signing of the Kellogg Pact. You remember—the pact to outlaw war. Everybody signed: Italy and Germany and Japan. It worked, after a fashion. Mr. Kellogg got the Nobel Peace Prize, and since then no nation—well, hardly any nation—has declared war. All that they do is to fight. Look at Spain and China. The moral? Well, for one thing this: there is no easy panacea for peace in our capitalist-nationalist world.

It is a little gain that we don't any longer hear so much talk about national honor which can only be redeemed by blood. Japan has given cause enough for such talk to Great Britain and America under the old-fashioned code. But at least we know that war is too serious business to be governed by the code of the duel.

### GERALD SMITH

Huey Long's boy friend, the Bible-thumping demagogue, Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, has been holding forth in swanky places on Long Island—the Piping Rock Club and Southampton. I met a man on the train the other day who told me that a woman acquaintance of his had gone to one of the meetings. She said: "You know, my dear, it was wonderful. Mr. Smith is such a good speaker and he didn't ask for any money. All he wants is to save the country. He told us that we red-blooded Americans mustn't stand around and let the Communists take all we've got the way the French aristocracy did. It's lucky we've got a man like that."

Who G. L. K. Smith is this woman hadn't the vaguest idea. Marie Antoinette was a lady Solomon compared with this specimen of our "upper classes."

### THE MILK ISSUE

In at least three counties in New York the dairy farmers are on strike for more pay for milk while in New York City women consumers have been picketing the dairy trust against the latest price rise in milk. Once again it is evident that both the ultimate producers and the ultimate consumers are victims of our capitalist system of distribution. It is just at this point that the alliance between farmers and city workers can best be cemented. And it is just at this point that Congress, yes, and the Administration have given the consumers—and that's all of us—no help.

My friend, John Blair, has let me read his as yet unpublished manuscript on the costs of distribution. They are great, and despite all modern improvements they are growing. Here are just a few facts:

"Out of 44 commodities raised on the farm on 39, or 88.6%, the farmer received less than 50% of the consumer's dollar expended. In 1935 "it cost nearly 12 billion to process and distribute 7.5 billion dollars worth of farm products." The record is almost as bad for non agricultural products.

Yet in the face of facts like these the President signed the Tydings bill, attached as a rider to the District of Columbia appropriations bill, giving manufacturers the legal right to impose by contract or stipulation a fixed price on all retailers. To be sure, the President criticized this provision and the evil practice of

passing it by the rider method. But it is now the law. As one of these News Letters for business men says that son—and secretary—James Roosevelt lobbied for the bill! The consumer pays. Naturally the cooperatives have taken advantage of this vicious legislation to point out that no matter how arbitrary and monopolistic retail prices become, consumers cooperatives give retail profits back again to consumers in dividends. That is a big argument for cooperatives. But it is no reason to encourage this sort of price fixing by law. In Europe the cooperatives have found that they had to establish their own factories to break private monopoly.

The truth is that at no point is the failure of capitalism more obvious than in the growing costs of distribution. Money wage increases mean little when prices rise as fast or faster. The New Deal hasn't helped much. Socialization is the answer.

The notorious Judge Callahan in denying a new trial to the Scottsboro boys has said in open court that "the whole case was closed under the agreement" that is, the agreement to release four of the boys if the rest did not appeal. Samuel Liebowitz has repeatedly denied such an iniquitous agreement. I speak with personal knowledge when I say that the Scottsboro Defense Committee always repudiated it. Here is an issue of veracity which Mr. Liebowitz cannot ignore and an issue of justice to make us fight harder for the boys in jail. They are as innocent as those who were released by the State.

### SCOTTSBORO

A HERO  
Among recent books I should like to commend Nicholas Ostrovski's autobiographical novel, "The Making of a Hero" (Dutton). It gives a singularly appealing story of the revolutionary idealism of a young Russian worker and his friends—greatly to be preferred to Duranty's much ballyhooed book, "One Life, One Kopeck."

### A HERO

A different sort of books is "Europe in Arms," by Liddell Hart (Randm House). Captain Hart is a military expert, not a Socialist, but he writes uncommon sense about war, the conservatism of the generals, the military nature of the next war, etc. It isn't a pleasant picture but he thinks that general staffs are too stupid to work as much destruction as they might and that an advantage still rests with the defense.

INNER PARTY  
At its September meeting our N.E.C. will have a chance to deal constructively with problems before the Socialist Party. In times like these there are bound to be honest differences of opinion among socialists. They can be solved by a party resolved to be a party, not a sect, to keep in vital contact with workers and their organizations while keeping our own flag flying. They cannot be solved by a Socialist Party, some of whose members really are loyal not to socialism but to communism. And at this point it doesn't matter whether the loyalty is to Stalin's Communism or Trotsky's.

At a Sunday afternoon meeting I saw Camp Taree Arrows near

Peekskill, New York for the first time. These cooperators, mostly New York socialists, have found a very beautiful site and are doing a fine job of developing it the right way. There's room for more.

### AN OPEN LETTER

August 25, 1937  
President Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.  
Dear Mr. President:

Your were good enough to see me after my return from Spain and to listen to my representation to the effect that Italy, Germany and Portugal were waging war on Loyalist Spain. I understand you to say then that our neutrality law would compel you to act if this war should be clearly declared or acknowledged or proved beyond shadow of doubt.

Therefore I call your attention to the dispatches in this morning's papers to the effect that the entire Italian press is openly boastful over the triumph of Italian arms in Santander. Such quotations as I have seen do not even pretend that "the great Italian victory" was won by volunteers for whom the government is not responsible. Such pretence would be absurd because men could as easily volunteer to fight outside of Sing Sing Prison without the consent of the warden as to fight outside of Italy without the consent of the government.

I appreciate the circumstances which cause you to hesitate to act under the neutrality law in the Far East. It might, among other things, complicate the business of giving what protection you can to Americans. But the situation in Spain is quite different. Here the neutrality law has been invoked against Loyalist Spain and nominally against Franco but not at all against the nations which are doing the real

fighting for Fascism. Certainly, in the case of Italy, the recent outburst in the Italian press is proof enough that Italy is at war against Loyalist Spain, whether or not that war is declared. The one sided enforcement of our neutrality is really an active intervention in behalf of Fascism.

I do not want or expect the United States as a government to involve itself in foreign wars, or to seek to impose economic or military sanctions in favor of one side or another. But certainly, we ought to expect your Administration to live up to the neutrality law. The only honorable alternative would be to seek to change the law. It is profoundly to the discredit of the United States to enforce it against Loyalist Spain and not to enforce it against Italy, the invader. It makes the law worse than hypocrisy if Italy can evade its operation simply by neglecting to declare the war which its citizens in so great number are fighting to the applause of the government and the official press.  
(Signed) Norman Thomas

## Whither Farley?

Reports of a rift within the Democratic Party are "pure politics," James A. Farley told Pitt T. Maner, newly-elected president of the National Young Democrats.

As machine-man of his party we may well understand Mr. Farley's professional optimism. Yet we think he protesteth too much.

How shall James Aloysius explain the first post-congressional struggle in the Democratic State of Indiana?

Threatening reprisal against Senator Van Nuys, who bucked the President of the US on the Supreme Court Issue Governor Townsend declared:

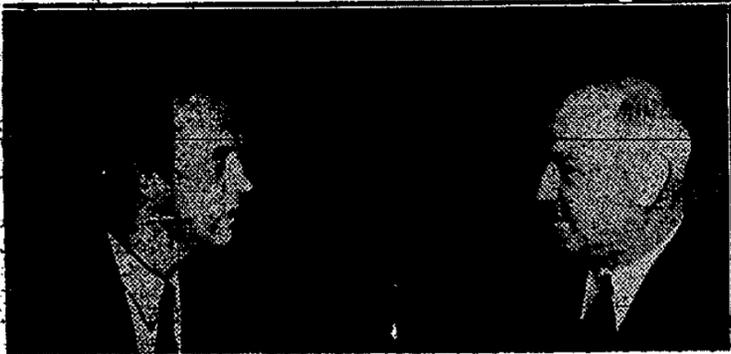
"The people of our state will not tolerate, in my belief, any one in public office who will not put his shoulder to the wheel and give his support to the President."

And Van Nuys tartly snapped back: These remarks are "an indirect and cowardly attack upon myself, my patriotism and my democracy, and I accept the challenge from this hour on."

How shall Mr. Farley explain the new boom



PAUL V. McNUTT



PITT T. MANER

JAMES A. FARLEY

for your old pal, Paul V. McNutt, the Hoosier Hitler, present High-Commissioner in the Philippines? Surely he is not a Roosevelt man!

When the chairman of the Democratic National Campaign Committee stresses the "unity" of his party we feel compelled to comment upon his rather "impure politics."

To Mr. Farley it is important to preserve Democratic Party "unity." The Post-master General thinks, first of all, in terms of being in office to hold posts and distribute patronage. That is his school of politics.

To the workers of America, however, the desirability of maintaining a strong Democratic Party either on its present or revamped basis should be rejected.

What the workers must build is a party of their own, not a new and slightly varied Roosevelt party.

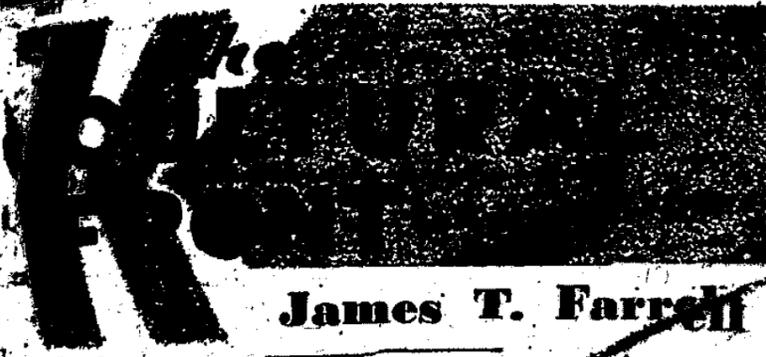
For that reason labor can not bemoan the "rift" in the Democratic Party.

And for that reason labor must avoid joining with the "liberal" Democrats to make a new Democratic Party.

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James T. Farrell

# Far-Eastern Labor Movement Factor in Current Struggle

By Herbert Zam

In view of the world-shaking events now taking place in the Far East, which may well be the prelude to the next world war, it is well to keep in mind that there is a labor movement in Japan, in China, in India, in the Phillipines, in the Dutch Indies, which, in the event of such a war, could become the driving force for the ousting of imperialism from the Asiatic continent and the establishment of workers and peasants governments.

It cannot be said, unfortunately, that the labor movement in these countries is either very strong numerically, or very firm ideologically.

## Japan

In Japan, where it is best organized, it is very timid, limits itself almost exclusively to the economic struggle, and does not always make its opposition to the imperialistic adventures of the ruling class clear.

In India the labor movement is still split into several sections, one of which adheres to the International Federation of Trade Unions. Several attempts at unification have up to the present proven unsuccessful. The Communist movement, at one time very influential, almost disappeared during the third period when its main work was war on the Indian National Congress.

The Congress Socialist Party, affiliated to the London Bureau (I.L.P.) is the strongest force politically, but is still a relative newcomer (it was established only some two years ago).

In China, where an anti-imperialist movement was on the brink of success in the years 1921-1925, the labor movement is gradually beginning to recover. It is largely under the influence of the Communists, whose sudden swings from one extreme to the other have demoralized the advanced workers and intellectuals. Their present line of an alliance with Chiang

It becomes the inevitability of mechanical construction.

The author's use of dialogue is smart, but on a few occasions, he uses sharp cracks for their own sake. It is a talented first book, but it lacks any real imagination. It is simple characterization, well done. It belongs with the hard-boiled popular books I have already cited, with Burnett, Cain, Hammett and others.

## I CAN GET IT FOR YOU WHOLESALE

A new type of popular and commercial fiction is becoming more and more commercially feasible in this country. It is often described as hard-boiled writing. The popular hard-boiled story and novel is now having an influence on Hollywood, and this influence is to be observed in the styles and mannerisms of motion picture dialogue. Hollywood has reacted upon the popular hard-boiled novel, and in such works, a sense of pace, speed, quick movement in the plot. The popular hard-boiled novel tends to fall on the one hand between the genuinely serious work of fictional art, and on the other, the manufactured article that is put together synthetically.

It tends to take on the characteristics of both these types. One of the prominent characteristics of this type of hard-boiled novel is pace and speed in narration. Another is sensationalism in the genuine meaning of the word sensation—a shock upon the senses. The shock comes from an explosive use of the American vernacular, and from the presentation of urban types and characters who have cynical street-corner cash—and carry views of life and loves. This outlook, in such works, tend to shine through the characterizations as the only view, and theme of the novel itself.

The hard-boiled novel of this type is a work without a genuinely individualized way of feeling and seeing life. It is story pure and simple, characterization of types that are now sufficiently recognizable to be pat, the play and inter-play of contrasts in character on a rather obvious and generalized level whereby toughness is balanced against simple sentimentality, the turning of tragedy, death, and suffering into pathos, the presentation of tragedy in terms of a shoulder-struggling imperviousness of feeling. Such are characteristics of this type of writing.

Writers exemplative of this tendency are now fairly numerous, and I might cite some. There are the mystery stories of Dashiell Hammett. James Cain's *The Postman Always Rings Twice* is almost the type work of this kind. Benjamin Appel's novel, *Brain Guy*, impressed me as belonging to such a category. Some of the work of W. R. Burnett fits in here too. In the so-called proletarian field, a writer whom I should similarly classify is Edward Newhouse.

Much of this writing comes in the wake of two genuinely serious and important literary artists, Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner. In some instances, it can be shown to be little more than direct imitation of one or the other of these men.

## Jerome Weidman

A recent first novel which has been on and off the best seller lists frequently, Jerome Weidman's *I Can Get It For You Wholesale* (New York, 1937, Simon & Schuster, \$2.00) impresses me as being yet another addition to this field of writing. Told in the first person, this novel presents a Jewish lad who can say at the end of the narrative: "Two years ago I was another poor slob from the Bronx. And to-night I'm going to sleep with an actress."

Bogen wants to be his own boss, even if he is only running a peanut stand. He is cheap, ruthless, without scruples, shrewd. He was, shortly before the narrative opens, a shipping clerk in the Seventh Avenue garment district. He gets one Tootsie Maltz, who had been some sort of a Communist, to organize a union of shipping clerks. They go on strike. Maltz leads the strike according to instructions from Bogen.

Bogen drives Maltz into counselling violence. He then goes to the employers and tells them that he is organizing a delivery service which will serve the function formerly performed by the shipping clerk, and that it will do it more cheaply than it had been done when each separate house had hired its own clerks. He then rehires the striking shipping clerks on a percentage basis, and makes his business go. In due time, it appears as if there will be competition in this field. Bogen sells out his interest in the business to Maltz, lying as he sells it.

## Rule and Ruin

He goes into the manufacturing business, and makes a go of that. He drives one partner out of the firm, and uses another as putty in his hand. By connivance, he bankrupts the firm, but gets a private bank account of twenty thousand dollars. At the bankruptcy proceedings, he is able to shift the entire blame onto his partner, ruining this fellow and sending him to jail. But he has come out in the clear. And he is going to sleep with the actress whom he has been chasing and showering with presents.

When I speak of hard-boiled popular books, I do not mean to imply that such books can be utterly dismissed. Nearly all of them are well written. They have some freshness of material, and cleverness in the use of the vernacular; and many of them contain characterization of interest. Such can be said for *I Can Get It For You Wholesale*. The book presents a sound characterization of a heel. It is written in the first person, and this very method of writing itself becomes a constricting influence. The entire story must be unfolded in the eyes and through the mind and language of Bogen.

Bogen is a little bit pat. His interests are limited. His language, although fresh as vernacular, soon becomes equally limited. The pattern of his life follows a simple course. Every so often he has supper with his mother in the Bronx. He is sentimental about her. He talks about her cooking. She wants him to marry a nice Jewish girl. They argue. Every third or fourth chapter has this content. Then he works.

He is always gyping someone and chasing a woman. The novel seriously needed a scissors and some apt cutting. The entire plan and plot becomes mechanical and pat by the time that one is about way way through it. The inevitability then becomes not the inevitability of drama where forces and influences, both of character and environment drive on to a conclusion which one senses in advance.

The conference further adopted the demand that colonies and dependencies should be directly represented in the I.L.O. and that the powers in question should be under obligation to make the conventions they ratify apply also to their colonies and dependencies. The Asiatic governments were called upon to hasten ratification of whatever conventions applied to these places—there being very few of these.

## Other Demands

Other demands adopted were: Forty-hour week without reduction of pay; all-around wage increases to balance the rise in the cost of living as a result of recent inflation (especially in Japan); international control of the currency and the convening of a world economic conference under the auspices of the League of Nations with direct representation of the workers; public works; abolition of child labor under the age of 15; minimum wage laws; social insurance.

Since in most of the Asiatic countries trade unions are either illegal, or exist and function only under the greatest obstacles, the conference decided to make further "inquiries" into this question and the questions closely allied with it: freedom of association, trade union laws, collective agreements, arbitration laws, etc.

The Third Conference was set for Bombay, 1939. In the meanwhile efforts are to be made to convene the tri-partite Labor Conference for Asia (representatives of the Government, Employers and Workers). Also, pressure will be exerted for the selection of the Committee on Asiatic Questions by the I.L.O., as promised in its resolution in 1936.

This conference should serve to indicate the weaknesses of the labor movement and its unreadiness for any sort of serious struggle. Unless serious changes are made in its policy and tactics, it will find itself woefully unprepared to face the onrushing crisis.

## Asia Congress

All of these weaknesses were shown at the Second Asiatic Labor Conference which took place recently at Tokio. The previous year, delegations had been present from Japan, India and Ceylon. This year Ceylon had dropped out. No other country was represented. Japan had twelve delegates and India five, Japan dominating the conference throughout and giving it its own line. Most of the deliberations at the conference centered about the League of Nations and its various subsidiaries, in particular the International Labor Office.

The conference expressed its firm opposition to the "exception clauses" on the various international conventions and treaties, which assign a "special" status to non-European workers, confirming their worst conditions and providing the employers in Europe with an excuse for evading their own agreements. The conference called upon the I.L.O. to delete all "exception clauses" from the conventions which had been adopted and to insure that future conven-

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# Auto Workers' Convention

(Continued from Page One)

someone once said. Martin proved it. His followers had no trouble in getting the floor. The opposition was forced to stage demonstrations in order to get one of its spokesmen recognized. Weak in floor leadership, Martin took the floor on every issue that came up.

Leading the Unity forces of the convention floor were Walter Reuther, George Edwards, Alan Strachan, Roy Reuther, Robert Kantor, and Victor Reuther. Other Unity leaders included John Anderson, Emil Mazey, Mortimer, Hall, and Bob Travis.

Through an interpretation of the constitution, Martin was able to control every convention committee. Having this control, his rules committee cleverly included a rule which made it impossible to present a minority report or amend the report of any committee. The only alternative for the delegates was to refer the reports they disagreed with back to the committee for revision.

## Martin Defeats

When Martin was defeated on the first three major constitutional changes he beat a quick retreat when the section of the powers of the president came up and, without discussion, ordered the report back to the committee for further "consideration."

The three defeats were on the recommendation to hold conventions every two years instead of every year, provisions making it difficult to hold referenda and call special conventions by requiring that at least 50 per cent of the members must participate, and, third, the provisions for the number of votes and delegates locals were entitled to. The proposal of the constitution committee would have cut down the voting strength of the larger locals. Martin's strength was in the smaller ones.

At the request of Lewis the convention finally adopted the two year convention section but "Unity" won out on the other two points. Most of the powers which the constitution committee wanted to give to the president were finally given to the general executive board of 17 members plus the seven officers.

Throughout the convention the delegates demonstrated their instinctive recognition of what was democratic and what was not. When the forces for more democracy were defeated it was only by parliamentary tricks and the inability of certain delegates to get the floor.

The battle between the two factions became most heated when the various district delegations met to elect board members. The real fight took place in the Michigan delegation which was entitled to seven of the 17 places. Voting was close. Two Unity men and four Martin men were safely elected. The seventh place went to a Unity man by less than five votes.

Here Martin played his trump card. Up till the last session of the convention, the credentials committee, controlled by Martin, had not reported on the eight contested delegates, all Unity people, from Flint Fisher Body division. If he had the eight votes, his man would nose out the seventh Unity man.

The credentials committee recommended that the eight not be seated and that their votes be divided among the 15 delegates from that division, all Martin men. Amidst a noisy, tumultuous protest against the committee's report, Martin took an aye and nay vote and declared the report of the committee accepted.

The howl that went up at this decision was the loudest of any during the convention. In spite of cries of "Division," and appeals from the decision of the chair, Martin remained adamant.

A riotous adjournment of the convention seemed imminent until Addes and Mortimer followed by Walter Reuther pleaded for quiet. Reuther told the delegates that for the sake of the union the decision should be accepted but accepted under protest. This move on his part made it possible to finish the remaining work of the convention and adjourn.

During the convention the delegates heard Leo Krzycki, vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, defend the sit-down strike and advocate independent working class political action. He was

applauded when he mentioned that he was a member of the Socialist Party. At three other points in the convention, great numbers of delegates applauded when the Socialist Party was mentioned.

Frank Walsh, noted attorney, in talking on Tom Mooney, said, "Mooney was a member of the Socialist Party and was never affiliated with any other party." The reading of the wire of greetings from the national headquarters of the party and the declaration of Hoan were the three instances.

## Labor Party

Dubinsky delivered an attack against red-baiters. He attacked the two old parties and told the delegates, "Do not rely on the old political parties. Let us form our own. We supported Roosevelt and other candidates but after they were elected they forgot us. . . There is a great need for independent political action."

Other speakers were Thomas J. Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the UMWA, Patrick H. O'Brien, candidate on the Detroit labor slate for mayor, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, and Governor Phil LaFollette.

For the defense of Tom Mooney, \$10,000. was voted.

Labor's Non-Partisan League was endorsed and any candidates or actions recommended by the CIO or Lewis. This resolution came up as a surprise in the middle of the final report of the credentials committee and in the heat of the fight for board members, catching off guard those who were in favor of labor political action entirely divorced from the old parties.

The members of the general executive board are Wisconsin, F. J. Michel (Martin), Racine; Ohio, Ellsworth Kramer (Unity), Toledo, R. E. Reisinger (Unity), Cleveland, Paul E. Miley (Unity), Cleveland; Canada, C. H. Millard (Martin), Oshawa; South, Fred Pieper (Martin), Atlanta, Ga.; Indiana, Russell B. Merrill (Martin), South Bend; Missouri, Delmond Garst (Martin), St. Louis; East, Frank Tucci (Martin), Tarrytown, N. Y.; West Coast, Irwin Carey (Martin), Los Angeles; Michigan, Walter Reuther (Unity), Detroit, Morris Field (Martin), Detroit, Laurin Hauser (Martin), Detroit, Leo LaMotte (Unity), Detroit, Tracy Doll (Ind.), Detroit, Lester Washburn (Martin), Lansing, and Charles E. Madden (Martin), Pontic.

# Youth Fights Job Cuts

The American Student Union in cooperation with other youth organizations, is planning a campaign to restore the one-third cut in National Youth Administration funds recently announced in Washington. At a meeting of the National Administrative committee recently, plans were laid for this campaign. Molly Yard, organization secretary of the Student Union, announced:

"This is just another indication of the general policy of the

Democratic Congress and the relief administration. They are attempting to solve the problem of relief and unemployment by forcing people off works relief rolls and on to direct local relief.

"The cuts in WPA have been vigorously protested by the Workers Alliance, national organization of unemployed, in their march on Washington. Last winter, the youth of America had a similar march. If necessary, we will again go to Congress and the President to state our demands, and to see that these urgent, minimum needs of unemployed youth are provided for.

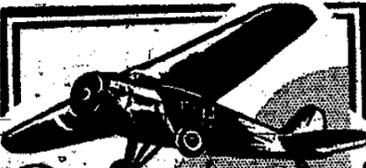
"One of the main drives of the Student Union this fall will be to organize unions of N.Y.A. workers to carry on the fight, and to pass the American Youth Act, which we consider a fair and adequate provision of youth's need."

the workers on constant guard in keeping the union democratic and militant.

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# Labor Needs Its Own Political Party;—Not A Popular Front

## Sharp Differences Between Socialist And Stalin Lines

By GUS TYLER

The American labor movement stands at a political crossroads. One arrow points in the direction of an American "Popular Front." The other points toward an American Labor Party.

The organized labor movement can not travel both paths. Between today and 1940, labor will either launch its independent campaign on the political front by building its own party or it will go sliding into the morass of capitalist politics by tying its fate to some party of the ruling class.

Politically speaking, this is the central issue before the rising labor movement.

The choice—Labor Party or People's Front—is being forced upon labor not only by labor's rapid maturity but also by the divisions within the capitalist class. In fact, the problem of a popular front is only posed when one sector of the ruling class is in a struggle with another sector of the capitalist class and calls on the working class to do the dirty work in the fight, to supply the broken heads or the many votes.

### The New Party

A new party is being born in America. It may hold on to an old name; it may be christened anew. But it will be different from the parties of present capitalist politics.

This is the Rooseveltian Party. It may be that Roosevelt can swing the bulk of the present party behind him; in that event the name won't change. It may be, on the other hand, Roosevelt's forces will be in the minority. Then the name shall be different.

But this party shall differ from the present Democratic Party in that there will be a separation of this party from the patent anti-New Deal Democrats.

The new party will not be a working class party. It will not be a party of the class struggle, the outspoken representative of an oppressed class utilizing every possible weapon in the struggle against an oppressor class. It will be a party of capitalism with a liberal outlook.

Just as every trade unionist knows that there are good and bad employers in the shop, so there are good and bad capitalist politicians in government. The union, however, does not organize to fight only the bad employer. Workers organize to fight the employing class, taking good with bad, on the theory that the union may reform the bad and make the good better. The union is not disinterested in differentiating good from bad employers; the union may meet them and fight them differently; but, the union does not go forward under the banner of the good bosses to fight the bad ones.

In millions, workers are learning that on the economic front, workers must rely upon themselves. Friends are welcome, are sought. But the backbone is labor's own class or-

ganization, labor's very own weapon—owned, controlled, built and wielded by labor.

### Anti-Capitalist

The next great step for labor is a class party. It may not be a perfect party, anymore than all unions are perfect. It may fall far short of being a revolutionary party. But it must be a class party—not a good capitalist party, not just a liberal party, not a party of labor's friends, but a party of labor.

A new Rooseveltian party would certainly be better than a party of Smith and Hoover; it would probably be even better than the present Democratic Party. But it will never win for labor what labor can win for itself and, in a real pinch, it will line up with its own class, with the capitalist class—for, in politics, blood is thicker than friendship.

This new Rooseveltian party, unlike a Labor Party, would be an American People's Front. Its philosophy, like, the philosophy of the People's Front in general, is that everything would be just too grand if all the "people" got together against the "wicked" capitalists. The fight is that of the "people" versus the "bankers."

Now while it is true that the bankers have given the people more than a normal share of misery, it is not true that the bankers, as bankers, are basically at fault. The real fault lies in the economic system, the capitalist system.

Here is a society which proclaims that the wealthy shall be those who master the art of exploiting labor, and that the poor shall be those who only have the brain and brawn to peddle to the exploiters. Take the 110,000,000 or more men, women and children of America and whirl them as you please on the wheel of fate. So long as the system is based upon the exploitation of man by man, there will be the banker, and boss, and the poor and the clan.

There will be small bosses and big bosses, petty exploiters and colossal thieves. But until the exploited, the workers, sweep away the whole rotten mass and take over the factories to be run by themselves, by society, the sorry tale of poverty will be told and retold from generation to generation. And until labor takes the first steps in the direction of seizing political power for itself, for the exploited to be used against the exploiters, it does not even have the hope of sweeping up this reeking system.

### Basic Principles

When we wrote these ideas on previous occasions, some of our

critics whom we shall shortly mention, accused us of penning school-boy essays, repeating too-simple stuff.

Now while it is true that politics is no simple matter—often very complicated—and workers must follow its daily trends, it is equally true that one can never find his way out of the maze of politics without a guide.

When we argue for a Labor Party against a meaningless People's Party, it is true that we approach the subject from a certain definite viewpoint.

We assert that within capitalist society there is an irreconcilable conflict of interests between labor and capital, expressing itself daily in numerous petty struggles, expressing itself ultimately in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Is that a school-boy maxim? Very well then, let every worker make the most of it!

We assert that the workers can not liberate themselves economically until they have liberated themselves as a class, intellectually. And that intellectual liberation on the political front is a refusal to put any faith in any capitalist party—including a liberal capitalist party.

The great task for the working class has not been to separate itself from the openly reactionary capitalist politicians. The moment workers have their first trade union experience they recognize the open enemy. The real problem has been to liberate the workers from the influence of the "labor friends," the "Liberal," the Rooseveltian.

### Our Stand

There is much to indicate that the mass labor bodies are being tempted into an alliance with Roosevelt to set-up a new capitalist party.

The Socialist Party has not tried to hide the fact that it is opposed to the creation of such a party and is opposed to movements in the direction of its creation.

In line with its class struggle concept of society and politics, the Socialist Party called upon John L. Lewis to join with others in launching an independent party of labor.

This cry is being echoed by alert and class conscious workers throughout the country.

This cry—for an independent party of labor—(note the "independent") must be echoed and re-echoed, as a signal and a warning to labor.

The workers must be advised, however, against trusting those who wish to use the term Labor or Farmer-Labor Party when they really mean a liberal capitalist, a "people's" party.

Because of the violence that the Communist Party is doing to the cause of a Labor Party by its notions of an alliance with the liberal-capitalist politicians, we are printing in length a quotation from the Daily Worker. It stands in sharp contradiction to the position of the Socialist Party. Workers must choose as between one course or the other.

"The adjournment of Congress does not adjourn the needs of millions of Americans. It does not adjourn the dangers that threaten the liberties of the people.

"It does not adjourn the fight against reaction. "What are the next steps in that fight?"

"Over the weekend the Socialist Party and the Social-

Democratic Federation, the organization of the right-wing Socialists, issued statements dealing with this question.

"The Socialist Party urged John L. Lewis, and Labor's Non-Partisan League, whose chairman he is, to sever "all connections with the Democratic and Republican Parties" and to "come out unequivocally for a national Farmer-Labor Party."

"The Old Guard Socialists called on the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization to join hands in forming a new party to combat both the Republicans and Democrats.

"The policy proposed in both these statements is essentially the same: the breaking of all connections with the two old parties and the immediate launching of a new national party.

"The Communist Party, has for the past two and a half years tirelessly advocated and worked for the formation of a nationwide Farmer-Labor Party as an American People's Front against reaction, fascism and war.

To work for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party is, however, quite different from merely raising a slogan and issuing an appeal. It is in every situation to advocate those concrete steps which will bring nearer the goal. Those who demand that it be reached in one leap may have the best of intentions, but they should not be surprised if they find themselves sprawled on the ground.

"The slogan of the immediate launching of a Farmer-Labor Party substitutes a phrase for flesh-and-blood reality. Such phrases only create confusion and serve to cover up the failure of both the Socialist Party and the Social-Democratic Federation to do the day to day work which alone can make possible the emergence of a new national party. The Socialist Party, for example demands a national Farmer-Labor Party, but has all sorts of reservations and hesitations about the American Labor Party in New York State.

"If we examine the situation in the country today, what do we find?"

### DEMOCRATS

"Since the election the Democratic Party has become a house divided against itself. On Supreme Court reform and other basic issues reactionary Democrats in the Congress just adjourned joined with reactionary Republicans to defeat the New Deal program and frustrate the mandate given them by the people last Nov. 3.

"It must be said that on many occasions these Liberty League Democrats have been encouraged by the readiness of the Roosevelt administration itself to make concessions to reaction.

"In the course of this struggle the progressive forces in the Democratic Party have grown stronger and have rallied around them the organized labor movement, particularly the CIO and Labor's Non-Partisan League, as well as large sections of the farmers and the city middle classes.

"These are the forces that are potentially the backbone of the People's Front movement. The fact is, however, that they are at present not

ready to break with the Democratic Party. That is why the Central Committee of the Communist Party, estimating the situation realistically, declared in the resolution adopted at its June meeting:

"The development of the People's Front can only proceed along such lines as will combine the Farmer-Labor Party form of the People's Front with the simultaneous development of progressive movements within the Democratic Party (in some localities also within the Republican Party), in elections as well as in other economic and political movements of the masses."

"To urge John L. Lewis and Labor's Non-Partisan League to turn their backs on the Democratic Party and form a new national party at this time is to urge them to break all ties with the progressive masses and leaders of the Democratic Party and to isolate the labor movement from its allies.

### WITH ROOSEVELT

"Lewis' own perspective seems to us much truer. In the statement he issued Friday he demanded that the leadership of the Democratic Party act to curb the reactionaries or "confess that their party is not the vehicle by which the people of the country may progress to a solution of their pressing social problems."

"The immediate job for all those who want to hasten the formation of a national Farmer-Labor Party is to do everything in their power to see to it that in the municipal elections this fall the forces of progress are victorious.

"In New York City this means work for the election of the candidates of the American Labor Party and the other progressive groups. In Akron and Canton, O., it means support the candidates, backed by the CIO, and the A.F. of L., which won the recent Democratic primaries."

There is the position of the Communist Party; once a revolutionary organization, now little more than Roosevelt's "left-hand."

Against both the revolutionary and reformist Socialists, the Communist Party pleads for an alliance with the liberal capitalists, on the basis of a Rooseveltian policy.

In one respect, we agree with the Communists. It is not sufficient just to raise slogans. Something must be done.

### What to Do

Quite right! Workers in unions must be re-educated not to vote for capitalist candidates; they must be warned and warned again of liberal treachery; they must feel through experience and learn by logic that between class conscious labor and the liberal reformer is an unbridgeable chasm, a permanent gap, an irreconcilability of inherent interests—a class struggle.

And workers are NOT enabled to learn this lesson, this basic lesson, this class difference between themselves and their mortal foe, by being asked to vote, to speak for, to support the candidates of capitalist parties.

The People's Front is not a step toward a Labor Party. The People's Front is the exact opposite of a Labor Party. The name tries to amalgamate classes; its practices deny the struggle of classes; its service is to disarm labor when the weapons of the class struggle are most needed.