

A NEW WAR LOOMS LARGE ON EUROPEAN HORIZON

Socialist Party Seeks Common Action with ALP

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party authorized Local New York to seek closer cooperation with the ALP in the present municipal campaign. This decision was made at a session in New York on September 4-6.

The decision authorizes Local New York to conduct negotiations with the American Labor Party with a view to arriving at common slates wherever possible.

The withdrawal of Thomas as candidate for mayor will be permitted if it is felt that such action would promote cooperative relations between the ALP and the Socialist Party in the future. This action may not be taken, however, until the National Executive Committee gives it specific sanction to the withdrawal.

In no case is the Socialist Party to give an endorsement to any candidate, like LaGuardia, who appears on the ticket of a capitalist party. And with the exception of LaGuardia, the Socialist Party is not permitted to withdraw any candidates from the Socialist ticket on behalf of any candidate running on a capitalist party slate.

The Socialist Party of New York, moreover, is to run a campaign of criticism against LaGuardia as a capitalist party candidate.

This motion was carried by a vote of 8 to 7. The minority is opposed to withdrawing Thomas as mayoralty candidate so long as the ALP endorses LaGuardia, the candidate of a capitalist party. The minority resolution called for cooperation between the ALP and the Socialist Party around candidates who did not appear on the capitalist tickets but called for independent Socialist candidates to run on the ballot against all candidates endorsed by or connected with the capitalist parties.

Those voting for the majority were: Jack Altman, Max Raskin, Murray Baron, Norman Thomas, Alfred Baker Lewis, Roy Burt, Howard Kester, and Devere Allen. Those voting for the minority were: Maynard Krueger, Max Delson, David Felix, Frank Trager, John Fisher, Ben Fisher, and Gus Tyler.

The last-minute recall of Arthur C. McDowell as alternate by Albert Sprague Coolidge, and the former's replacement by Lewis of Massachusetts, swung the vote, by a close margin, to the majority resolution.

The NEC empowered Local Wayne County of the Socialist Party to collaborate with the UAWA in support of the labor slate, but that it shall not in any way cease opposition to any person connected with or seeking the

endorsement of capitalist party machines.

The National Executive Committee also acted upon the matter of the Trotskyites in the Socialist Party and the action of Local New York in regard to them.

The National Executive Committee decided that an illegally constituted two-thirds expelled the Trotskyites in New York. The action of the branches in Local New York refusing to recognize the action of the Central Committee was likewise held illegal, but in view of the unconstitutional character of the Central Committee, the NEC ordered the reinstatement and proper reorganization of branches.

The NEC found the Trotskyites guilty of having set up a new party, with an independent public press, in opposition to that of the Socialist Party. The committee called for disciplinary action against all those who associated themselves with this new party and its paper, *Socialist Appeal*. The NEC also called upon all local and state organizations to open their doors to all those formerly connected with the Trotskyites in the party who were ready to disaffiliate themselves from and repudiate adherence to the *Socialist Appeal*.

The NEC ordered the setting up of a committee empowered to readmit those expelled who dissociated themselves from the new Trotsky party and its publication.

Those voting for this motion were: Charles Sandwick, Maynard Krueger, David Felix, John Fisher, Ben Fisher, Frank Trager, Gus Tyler, and Max Delson. Those against: Jack Altman, Norman Thomas, Howard Kester, Alfred Lewis, Max Raskin, and Murray Baron.

Gus Tyler was reelected editor of the CALL, following his resignation after the vote on the matter of the possible withdrawal of Norman Thomas as mayoralty candidate. His reelection was based on the motion that he shall not be responsible editor for those articles dealing with the New York electoral campaign. A New York committee, which is to work in collaboration with the editorial board, is to work on the New York campaign material for the SOCIALIST CALL.

Reports were heard from Frank Trager, National Labor Secretary, on the trade union and unemployed work of the party.

Soviet Union Charges "Piracy;" Fascists Boycott Power Parley

War is nearer today in Europe than it has been since the Treaty of Versailles. For Italy and Russia have reached the breaking point in diplomatic relations.

The official organ of the Red Army threatens force against Italian "piracy" in the Mediterranean by declaring that the Soviet Government "will find the necessary means for calling the sea pirates to their responsibility and forcing them to fulfill the legal demands of the Soviet note."



Anthony Eden, Britain's dapper foreign secretary, has a worried look in his eye as he pulls up at 10 Downing Street, London, for a few words with Prime Minister Chamberlain. No doubt he is quite concerned about how to preserve the interests of British capitalists, as the hungry capitalist nations move toward another rich man's war for re-division of the world's wealth. The Mediterranean's "mystery submarine" and the Chinese situation aren't exactly designed to soothe him either.

Resolution on American Labor Party

That the action of Local New York municipal campaign is endorsed by the NEC, but subject to the following conditions:

1. That on the committee to conduct negotiations with the American Labor Party shall sit as observers two representatives of those opposed to the New York majority resolution.
2. It shall be made clear to the A.L.P. that no support is to be

given by the Socialist Party to La Guardia and that criticism of La Guardia from the Socialist point of view is to be presented.

3. The S.P. shall not give any backing to Dewey, Morris or any other Republican or capitalist party candidate, and will carry on traditional Socialist criticism.
4. Support by the A.L.P. for certain candidates of the S.P., while not mandatory, is to be urged vigorously on the A.L.P.

Following his report, Trager resigned from his post. Arthur C. McDowell was thereupon unanimously elected to take his place as Labor Secretary of the party.

The National Executive Committee sent its greetings to the Convention of the Young People's Socialist League, meeting in Philadelphia. In line with the party

decision, the NEC empowered Al Hamilton, National Secretary of the YPSL, to call the official convention of the youth, when Ernest Erber organized a rump convention. An emergency sub-committee on the YPSL convention was elected, composed of: Lazar Becker, Morris Cohen, Hal Siegel, and Mickey Harris.

Italy retorts with equally biting language: "If we were to reply, we should have to tell the Soviet Government what we think of it and of its methods, and since abusive language is not permitted by diplomatic usage we prefer to keep quiet."

The crisis arises out of Soviet charges against Italian piracy in the Mediterranean. Several Russian, and several more British, ships have been attacked, although they were engaged in purely commercial and non-military pursuits.

A conference of the nations is scheduled to be called in Switzerland to prevent a recurrence of these incidents.

The issuance of two Russian notes, prior to the conference, pointing the finger of guilt at Mussolini, has caused Italy to threaten non-attendance at the conference.

Britain and France, however, have announced their intention to proceed with the conference under any circumstances. They have further declared their confidence in their ability to protect their shipping even if Italy should refuse to collaborate in the attempt.

In this line-up, Germany has again thrown its weight behind its Fascist ally.

U.S. Involved

Official sources in the United States have, meanwhile, cautioned American shipping against piracy in the Mediterranean. This may be the beginning of American participation and involvement in the present European tangle over merchant shipping in Spanish waters.

Once more the capitalist nations are faced with an old dilemma. If France and Britain, together with the Soviet Union, wish Germany and Italy, who are reinforced by the aggressive Japan, to back down, the former powers must resort to the threat of and probably the use of force. This means war.

Should the Western Powers, however, decide to bridge the present gap, they can only succeed in strengthening Germany and Italy and Japan, thereby merely postponing, but not stopping the rush to another war.

Either way, capitalism finds itself whirling headlong toward another international conflict.

The only force which stands for peace in the world today is the working class. Only their international strength can paralyze the war machine and overthrow the war making system.

A SPANISH INCIDENT

By Liston M. Oak

It was Andres Nin who introduced me to Hans.

Hans came into the cafe in Barcelona with Molines, a member of the executive committee of the POUM, and an editor of La Batalla. It was a small cafe in one of the narrow crooked streets leading from Via Durruti to the Ramblas. We had agreed to meet there because it was a cafe frequented by Anarchists and there was little danger that a Stalinist would happen in who would recognize me.

When I asked Molines for this interview he warned me against coming to the POUM headquarters. "If you want to get out of Spain safely," he said, "you'd better not let them know that you are interested in getting the viewpoint of POUM leaders. The Stalinists don't like to have foreigners in Spain talk to us. Especially members of the Communist Party. No use taking needless risks."

While we were eating snails and drinking bitter black coffee, Nin had told me—I was frankly skeptical—about the activities of the Spanish GPU built by the Spanish followers of the big boss in the Kremlin. He also said that the Stalinists were black-mailing the other parties in the People's Front Government.

Russian Aid

"The Anarchists reluctantly agreed to expel the POUM from the Generalitat," Nin declared "because the Stalinists demanded it as the price of military aid. That was in December. Madrid had been saved the month before by belated eleventh-hour aid from Russia—paid for of course by gold shipped to Moscow, but welcome nevertheless, since France and England refused to sell us munitions. But the antifascist militia was in desperate need of more planes, machine guns, ammunition, tanks. With sufficient equipment in December we might have decisively defeated the fascists on the Madrid front, driven them back. It would have been the turning point of the civil war.

"The Anarchists and some left Socialists held out, indignantly protested against the Stalinists slanders against us as Trotskyist agents of Franco. But they finally capitulated so that the badly needed war materials would be supplied by Russia."

At that point Molines arrived with Hans.

Hans was the sort of man that an American visualizes as a "typical German." Big, stout, a broad round florid, jovial face, surmounted by a shock of a close clipped blond hair. Indubitably an "Aryan." With the first bottle of wine, and in answer to my persistent questions, Hans told me a little about his experiences on the Madrid front. He had arrived in October from Russia, where he fled from Germany after Hitler took power. He was a member of the Thaelmann Battalion and had been wounded twice. He was now recuperating from the second wound, was still a patient in a hospital near Barcelona, established in a beautiful villa abandoned by a fascist landowner when the plot to seize power was defeated on July 19th.

With the second bottle I learned something about Hans' opinions of what was happening in the Soviet Union. I had recently been there myself and wanted to check up on my own impressions and what I had heard from so many others.

"I am very glad to be here, not in Moscow," Hans stated simply.

"Why?"

It was difficult to get him to talk freely. But when it came, it came in a torrent of words, bitter, harsh words.

Russian Tyranny

"Soviet Russia" has become a new kind of tyranny for those Communists who do not worship Stalin and give constant and humiliating obedience to the Stalinist distortion of Marxism. The fascist totalitarian dictatorship of Hitler, under which I was tortured in the Columbia House, and spent two months in the Oranienburg camp, is far worse, of course. But it is the great tragedy of our time that there are more Communists, more political prisoners, in prison in Russia than there are in Germany and Italy combined."

Hans paused and all the joviality, all the light, had gone from his face. Suddenly I felt the impact of his disillusionment. That silence was embarrassing, disconcerting, painful.

"Perhaps I was too optimistic, too naive, too idealistic, about the Soviet Union," Hans continued quietly. "I had gone to Moscow once before, as a member of the delegation of German workers. We saw a celebration on Red Square on May First, in 1930. It was tremendously impressive. We were shown magnificent new industrial plants, apartment houses, schools, hospitals. For the week we were there we saw nothing but signs of great progress—and there is no doubt there has been very great progress since. When I returned in 1933 as a refugee from the Hitler terror I saw proof of continued building, enormous industrial development, everywhere.

"But after a few months I began to see another side of Soviet life under Stalin. I was no longer a tourist, but a worker, and saw things differently, from the Soviet worker's viewpoint. I saw that the bureaucracy is getting the largest share of the benefits of this progress. I saw that there is a gulf between the bureaucrats and the masses. I saw that the wages that most workers get is just enough to live on, and not a very good life either. I saw that the bureaucracy is a new tyrant, guarding its privileges and power zealously and liquidating opposition even more ruthlessly than the capitalist class crushes revolutionary opposition.

"To me democracy, liberty, is as precious as bread and wine. I do not like a totalitarian dictatorship whether it is fascist or Stalinist. I don't think a Trotskyist dictatorship would be much better. I recognize the differences, and they are important, but life is intolerable when one cannot think, speak, freely, cannot breathe freely, cannot have an opinion unless it has received the official stamp of approval of a dictator.

"Every Communist in Russia is expected to be a spy. Children spy upon their fathers and mothers and brothers. You cannot be sure of your best friend—he may report you to the GPU if you get tired of seeing Stalin's moustaches everywhere, or if you don't like the tiresome diet of black bread, cabbage soup, herring and potatoes, meat once a week, and tea. More comrades suddenly disappear, their wives say mysteriously they have been sent on a long trip, you never hear from them again. Party leaders who have given their lives for the revolution, former comrades of Lenin, trusted, praised, are today heroes and tomorrow traitors.

LABOR RESEARCH FRONT UNCOVERS JOKERS IN "BABY" WAGNER ACTS

(This is the first of several articles on material uncovered by the Labor Research Front revealing the efforts of employers to negate the effect of the Wagner National Labor Relations Act. Others will follow in subsequent issues.)

Following the Supreme Court decisions on the Wagner Act, employers have sponsored reactionary drives to hamstring labor's use of the law. This movement was in evidence in the state legislatures, where "baby Wagner acts" were introduced to cover industries not affected

by the interstate commerce clause of the National Labor Relations Act. Only the vigilance of organized labor prevented these state acts from becoming anti-union legislation. As it is, the state laws make few advances over the Wagner act, and there is nothing in them more progressive than the interpretations of that act by the N.L.R.B.

Bills creating State Labor Relations Boards were introduced in Arkansas, California, Colorado, Georgia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Utah, and Wisconsin. ("Survey of Labor Law Administration," U.S. Dept. of Labor, March, 1937). This study was made on the basis of the laws passed in New York, Massachusetts, Utah, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania, as well as the Michigan bill, which was vetoed by Governor Murphy under pressure from the unions. The Utah and Massachusetts statutes follow the Wagner act almost verbally while the others make only minor changes and elaborations.

EXEMPTIONS

In addition to excluding agricultural laborers, domestic servants and persons working for a parent or spouse, none of whom are given the protection of the Wagner act, all state laws exclude government employees. Pennsylvania and Utah exempt workers coming under the Railway labor act. The vetoed Michigan act withheld the right to hold elections from shops of few-

er than 20 workers (2b). These exemptions concern large classes of the most underprivileged workers, and there is no reason why the same right to organize should be denied them.

COMPANY UNIONS

The N.L.R.B. gives a most sketchy definition of a company union, in forbidding an employer to "dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it" (Sec. 8, par. 2). It does not specifically exclude a company union from its definition of a labor organization. The Pennsylvania, Utah, and Massachusetts statutes duplicate the Wagner act, adding nothing in the way of a definition and failing to exclude company unions from employees elections.

The laws of Michigan, Wisconsin and New York, however, elaborate on this definition along the line laid down in the N.L.R.B. decisions, and make it impossible for company unions to participate in elections or gain any recognition. In view of the development of "independent" unions, which approximately do not come under the strict definition of an employer-dominated organization, careful phrasing and liberal interpretation of the law is needed.

EMPLOYERS' INITIATIVE

One of the tactics employers were able to, use under the N.L.R.B. was the call for an elec-

tion before the union was fully organized or at some other time disadvantageous to the workers. The N.L.R.B. recognized this danger and adopted a policy of refusing to consider applications for elections when presented by employers—a decision that met with vigorous opposition from reactionaries.

The New York law specifically prohibits the calling of an election on the request of either an employer or a worker acting on his behalf (705.4). Under the other state laws, however, this is not prohibited, and the way is opened for the enemies of workers organization to use the state board to defeat the very purpose of the act.

CLOSED SHOP

Recognizing the benefits derived from the closed shop, the Wagner act specifically provided for its legality (8.3). The state acts make similar provisions. The Wisconsin statute, however, omits the qualification that a union must have a majority of the workers to obtain a closed shop (111.08.2).

When two union federations are in conflict, this clause makes it possible for a union not representative of the majority of the workers to secure a closed shop contract and exclude the other union. The Michigan law was ambiguous. Sections which apparently permitted a closed shop contract (Sec. 2j and 15) were contradicted by provisions which clearly prevented such a contract (Sec. 21a).

In the Wagner act as well as the state acts, the labor relations board is given wide discretionary powers. Partly because of the personnel of the N.L.R.B. and partly because of the political and economic power of labor at this time, the interpretations and decisions of that body have been generally fair. However, labor must be wary of all powers delegated to the boards in statutes.

The time may come when reactionary pressure on the government is stronger than what labor can muster, and the boards, as well as the courts, are filled with elements hostile to the working class. With this in mind let us examine the powers of the boards under the state acts.

REGISTRATION OF UNIONS

Reactionaries have long clamored for the licensing, incorporation or registration of trade unions: anything to make them more susceptible to attack or domination through the machinery of government and the courts. Both the Wisconsin (111.06.2) and Michigan (5-6) statutes provide for registration of the unions with the board.

Only the name of the union, the name and address of its secretary, the date of its organization, and its affiliations need be stated in the application for admission to the board's "approved" list of unions. Company unions cannot be registered. These provisions, innocuous enough now, may pave the way for more stringent qualifications for registration, and confer on the boards the power of life and death over unions.

(Continued next week)

"I escaped and other Communists have escaped, from Hitler's concentration camps, but no one ever has escaped from Stalin's. Dimitrov and others were tried before Nazi courts and released with Durruti, and that others have been jailed or just disappeared.

"Remember that German comrade we talked to a week ago? The day after you saw him, he walked out of the Hotel Falcon, where our POUM comrades stay. Comrade Ortega saw him across the street: he was hailed by someone, evidently an old friend, sitting in an automobile. Hans got in and they drove away. That's the last we have seen of him."

"But . . . what does it mean?" I asked.

"It can mean only one thing. Hans was to go next day to the Hueſca front. He'll never get there. His wife got a letter yesterday. It was a queer letter, from Madrid. Hans wrote that he had made a mistake in leaving the Communist Party to join the POUM. He wrote that if he was killed in action at the Madrid front, she should remember that he was loyal to the Comintern to the end. She'll never hear from him again. He was kidnapped by the GPU and taken to Madrid where he'll either be shot secretly in jail, or sent out at the front into no-man's land, in a special squad, composed of soldiers the Stalinists don't like, and if the fascists don't kill them all the Stalinists will. That's the way they killed Durruti. Another hero killed defending democracy."

Three months later Nin was himself murdered in Madrid by the Stalinist GPU.

A Week Later

I did not see Nin until a week later.

"You were skeptical when I

Baron Replies Again To The Communist Slanders on Spain

By Sam Baron

In a series of four articles in the Daily Worker a new "expert" on Spain was uncovered, I. Amter. Amter is the third "expert" to deal with the "problem" of Spain and the Socialist Party. Naturally Harry Gannes, who led the pack, had to be replaced, since Gannes in his column of June 14th was entirely too objective in dealing with Baron, when he characterized his views on Spain as "... a pretty clear estimate from that hand experience."

A job of character assassination had to be done, which resulted in dim failure by the first two "experts;" so, in the wisdom of the hierarchy of the Daily Worker, we have the undraping of I. Amter. Far be it from me to advise the Daily Worker on how to carry on their third period tactics, from the right, but if they would only learn from their comrades in Spain, they would no doubt do a more effective job of getting rid of their opponents.

The Spanish communists have substituted murder for argument. Even in setting the stage for this characteristic "direct action" by the GPU, the Spanish Communists have done a better job. Let us look at an example of how the Spanish Communists enact their "prologue." In Claridad of recent issue the Politburo of the C.P. thunders...

"We learn by trustworthy sources that certain 'extremist' groups included in certain organizations (the UGT and CNT no doubt) in intimate relations with the fifth column, are planning to provoke disturbances and criminal actions in our rear-guard, in order to create difficulties for the Government of the Popular Front, thus carrying out the plan which was suggested to them by national and international fascism and which our party (C.P.) has denounced in time."

"We call this to the attention of all our leaders and of all anti-fascists so that they may be alert against such maneuvers and may reinforce their revolutionary vigilance, ready to support all measures of the Government which tend to crush implacably, wherever they may arise, these criminal attempts of the enemies of the Spanish People."

Bravo, hurrah and a couple of vivas. A courageous statement of policy that probably had the fascists trembling with fear. But was it that they were looking for fascists... not at all... let us look at what followed.

Frente Rojo, official organ of the CP of Spain, had uncovered a plot and denounced three prominent working class leaders, Lopez, Araquistain (Ambassador to France under Caballero) and Babahir. Challenged, Frente Rojo had this to say...

"It merely wanted to show with this publicity that the Government (sic!) was perfectly aware of what was happening, and this publicity should serve as a warning against clandestine maneuvers. It is very difficult to conspire with impunity and to feel the attention of those who are resolved that enemies (sic!) should not move quietly in the dark with friendly faces in the light."

Lopez Answers

Juan Lopez one of the "plot-ers" answered... "My words are directed to the attorney-general of the Republic. Does he read Frente Rojo? If he reads it, why does he not bring me to trial or, if there is no reason, why does he not bring to trial the editor of Frente Rojo? Because

if what has been given out is true, I have committed a crime and I have no right to go free.

"But if I have committed no crime, I demand as an anti-fascist, as a revolutionary worker, as ex-minister of the republic and as a man, that Republican justice punish those who, creating conditions of discord and slander, outrage the cause of the Republic. Because if these campaigns are not stopped, then the moment will have arrived to decide the case as a free man."

He ended his statement by saying that this was not a question of personalities, but one of knowing whether or not there were individuals or groups privileged to serve Franco in the name of the anti-fascist cause. It is the duty of the district attorney to bring light to this matter.

Does anyone suppose that the Communists of Spain would join with Lopez by going into court to sift the charges made? Nonsense... the world might then find out who are the ones that "move quietly in the dark with friendly faces in the light."

Made in U.S.A.

But let us deal with some of the slander against members of the working class here in the United States by our "expert" Amter. In fine style, aping his comrades in Soviet Russia and Spain, columns of space, thousands of words are devoted to impress upon the minds of the readers of the Daily Worker that Baron and Oak, who had spent many months in Spain, are not to be trusted for, argues Amter, aren't they "agents of Franco" and "Trotskyite-Fascists." I do not wish to use the column of the

Socialist Call to answer in detail, the distortions, the innuendos, the lies, the vicious slanders, the name callings that make up Amter's series of articles, but some answer must be given, in order to reveal the purpose of these slanders, i.e. to conceal the real tragedy of the workers and farmers of Spain, as a result of policies pursued by the Spanish Communists in splitting the workers' front fighting fascism.

Liston Oak

First, who is Liston M. Oak, whom the "experts" have called "counter revolutionary" renegade, Trotskyite-Fascist, sniper for Franco, wrecker, diversionist, saboteur, wrecker" (the readers will forgive me if I have omitted a few "unity" characterizations.) Oak, a prominent member of the Communist Party for years and editor of their magazine Fight and Soviet Russia Today, went to Soviet Russia the early part of the year and then to Spain. In Spain he was placed in charge of the English section of the Press Department for the Loyalist Government in Valencia. After months of arduous work, Oak's health broke down and he was forced to leave Spain as the medical authorities advised him that the Spanish climate and food were injurious. He left over the objections of Rubio, chief of the Press and censorship in Valencia who offered (in my presence) to have him hospitalized at Government expense.

Of course that does not make Oak a fascist in Amter's eyes. What does, though, is that Oak had the courage to face slander AND WORSE by speaking truthfully and without equivocation the conclusions he came to and which were presented jointly with myself in the Socialist Call.

The Baron Slander

Secondly, Amter reaches a new high in slanderous innuendo when he whines "What Baron did in Spain has not been publicly reported. Whether he went to the front, saw actual warfare, helped the boys ideologically and otherwise, we do not know." Baron did not feel that as correspondent for the Socialist Call (Don't you read the Call Amter?) and on an official mission for the Socialist Party, that his job was to exploit himself in "public reports" as is the case with many of the gun-

Radio Workers' Union Registers Huge Increases

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—A renewed drive to enroll thousands of unorganized workers was determined upon this week by the United Electrical and Radio Workers Union, meeting in national convention from September 3-6 in this city.

The union boasts of being the most rapidly growing trade-union in the United States, with the lone exception of the United Automobile Workers of America. At its first convention, in Fort Wayne, Indiana, last year, only 26 locals were represented. This year over 200 locals sent delegates. In one year the membership roles have increased over 300 per cent, to total well over 100,000 members.

Concentration points during the coming year will be in the electrical and utility fields, the convention decided. The CIO will assist by rushing a corps of 40 organizers into the field, from the central office. By no means will other fields be neglected, however. The convention determined to enlarge its jurisdiction to include machine-shop workers,

toting uniform bedecked strutting bureaucrats—many of whom have never seen a front line trench—in Albecete and elsewhere, sent by the American Communist Party. But if Amter is really serious—which I doubt—in wanting to know what I did, I refer him to various military and political officials in Spain, many of whom are communists or controlled by them.

Amter, the "expert" on Spain, probably knows that you can't make a move without a safe conduct pass. The record will show that I travelled some three thousand miles of Loyalist territory. From the officers in charge of the southern fronts, Motril, Cordoba, Granada, and Jaen and the Madrid fronts of Jarama, Guadalajara, Escorial, Casa de Compo and University City, he could learn that I had been to all those fronts and the first line trenches. From the officials in charge of radio station UGT in Madrid he could learn that I assisted nightly in their broadcasts.

From officials of Government Radio station EAQ he could learn that I cooperated in their work. From Lloyd of the Associated Press and Gorrell of the United Press in Madrid he could learn of what "Baron did" in helping the fight against fascism.

From the Press and censorship department in Madrid he could learn that I spent one month in Madrid during the most intensive shelling that that brave city has suffered since the beginning of the war. From Ed Kennedy, Associated Press, Valencia, he could learn what my role was in a shooting between Communists and Anarchists in the town of Gandia.

Be assured that "expert" Amter knows full well where to get his information but his is a job of character assassination so that he can avoid answering the charges ak and Baron have made against the CP of Spain and Soviet Russia.

One more word on slander and insinuations... Amter writes... "Others who met Baron in Spain have none too praiseworthy accounts to give of his actions or non-activity." I do not know who the "others" are—impartial observers I suppose—and I do not know what they have to say, as Amter does not think that he need bother supporting a flat statement of that kind. But I think he does. So I say to Amter, in words that his sport page readers can understand, "PUT UP OR SHUT UP."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

and to change its name to the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.

Increase Per Capita

After spirited discussion, a raise in the per capita tax for the international office of from 25 to 30 cents on the dollar was voted, in order to grant increased funds for organizing the unorganized.

Jim Carey, youthful president of the UERMWA, and Julius Emsbach, secretary-treasurer, were re-elected unanimously. In addition, a new international post was created, that of organizational director, to be filled by Maties of New York. And for the first time an educational department was set up, to be directed by a full-time person.

The electrical workers, most of whom are under 25, voted to demonstrate their solidarity of interest with other working class and student youth by affiliating their union with the American Youth Congress. They also endorsed Labor's Non-Partisan League.

All convention decisions must be approved by membership vote before going into effect.

Canada Labor Wins

MONTREAL, Que., Canada—(FP)—one of the greatest strikes in Canadian labor history has been settled. The agreement ending the walkout of 10,000 French Canadian textile workers in six Quebec towns is significant not only for the union gains it registers but because union consciousness has been instilled into a group described as the lowest paid on the North American continent.

Quebec dailies, inviting industry to the province, had repeatedly assured chiseling manufacturers that "the province is deeply religious, free of strikes and a source of some of the cheapest labor." At the Drummondville textile plant, \$3.50 was the established wage for a 60-hour week.

Though regarded as a docile source of labor, French Canadian workers proved by the recent strike that they could be pushed too far. At least some hints of the shocking revelations of last year's Turgeon inquiry, showing the enormous profits of the Canadian textile combines, had reached their ears. Their own state, by comparison, was unendurable. So, however, "deeply religious" they might be, they struck under the name of the Catholic Textile Workers Syndicate. Within a few days, the police in Montreal, Sherbrooke, Drummondville, Magog, St. Germain and Montmorency had demonstrated they were just as ready to smash Catholic as Protestant or Jewish heads.

The settlement provides for collective bargaining for the first time in the history of the Quebec textile industry. All workers are to be reinstated. Negotiations and the sittings of the fair wage board are expected to result in some wage increases.



Dictator Mussolini is seen here with Italy's No. 1 stooge, King Victor Emanuel, enjoying himself at war games in Sicily. Is he giving Italy's workers another touch of the "glamor" of capitalist war, before sending them off to do his bidding against the Spanish workers and peasants? These fascists are never satisfied. With a nice war in Spain largely of their own making, they still play soldier at home.

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THE TROTSKYITE SPLIT

The editors apologize to our readers for the amount of space given over in this issue to the question of the Trotskyites. There can be no question that the Trotskyites are certainly not the most important problem before the American workers.

At certain times, however, a group which may rapidly dwindle into historical insignificance looms large in the attentions of a party.

As time passes, the present complications as between the Trotskyites and the Socialist Party will disappear and the basic political differences will alone remain as lasting residue. The manner in which the Trotskyites were separated from the Socialist Party will soon become an affair of purely academic interest. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has already decided that the manner in which the Trotskyites were expelled from Local New York was improper and illegal. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has ordered that the doors of the party be thrown open to all revolutionaries, including Trotskyites, who were ready to repudiate support of the *Socialist Appeal*, the paper of the new party which the Trotskyites have chosen to set up. Not for their views, but for their acts against the party, were the Trotskyites thrown out.

The lasting fact is that the Trotskyites were unable to remain in the American Socialist Party, as they have been unable to remain in all the other revolutionary, but non-Trotskyite, organizations in the world.

The Stalinists acclaim that it is the counter-revolutionary program of the Trotskyites that has caused this. Scarcely! The Trotsky program is less counter-revolutionary than that of the Stalinists.

What lies beneath the split in the SP is not that which separates the Trotskyites from the Stalinists but that which unites them.

The Trotskyites, like the Stalinists, have that sectarian approach to politics which causes them to idolize all those who agree with their narrow program at any given moment and to cast into the nether depths of "counter-revolution" all those who disagree with them.

The Trotskyites refuse to be in a party with those who are not "consistent revolutionists." And all those who are not Trotskyites are not such "consistent revolutionists."

The Trotskyites may temporarily join with non-Trotskyites in a party; but only as a "maneuver," and never to mold a stable party.

The Trotskyite belief that all non-Trotskyites are "centrists" and "reformists" is supplemented by the conclusion that all such "confused" elements will join with the class enemy in time of crisis. On this assumption, Trotskyism like Stalinism conducts a factional quarrel within the working class with the weapons and in the manner of a class struggle.

The consequences of this policy are, prior to a working class revolution, splits and splits; and after a successful revolution, as in Russia, bureaucratic suppression.

The sectarian notion that all those without the perfect line are conscious or unconscious counter-revolutionaries, "Trotsky-Fascists" or "Spanish assassins," must ultimately lead to the institution of a bureaucratic regime by such a sectarian group in power.

Trotskyism and Stalinism, arch-enemies in program, are nevertheless children born of one womb.

For about six months it appeared that the Trotskyites, after the lessons of more than a decade, would change their line; this was during that period when the Trotskyites were dissolving their pure parties and entering the Socialist Parties of the world. Out of these parties, we hoped would come united revolutionary organizations, with various revolutionary—as opposed to reformist—currents within them.

The test of time has found the Trotskyites wanting in an ability to learn from the lessons of history. The single party dictatorship, instead of a proletarian dictatorship resting on workers' democracy, still remains their link with Stalinism. As in the Communist parties, the single-man dictatorship is their method of leadership and policy-making.

Curiously this perspective expresses itself today in an inability to work with other revolutionary elements. The Socialist Party will fight this sectarianism just as it shall continue to fight the reformist program of Stalinism.

Only a united revolutionary party, rejecting sectarianism and reformism, shall lead the working class to victory.

AT THE FRONT



By NORMAN THOMAS

To my deep disappointment this column is written in bed where an attack of dysentery sent me before the N.E.C. meeting was quite over and where it has kept me too late to keep my Labor Day engagement in Bend, Illinois to which I had greatly looked forward. I hope at least to be able to keep my engagements in Dallas, Texas, and New Orleans to arouse public sentiment against the attacks on Socialists and labor organizers.

Had I got to Bend, I should have praised the great achievements of labor within the year and then I should have emphasized the points at which we must hammer away: (1) The necessity of continuing the good work in organizing the unorganized in industrial unions; (2) The increasing peril to labor, and the dangerous encouragement to fascism, which is afforded by a lack of democracy in unions, jurisdictional disputes, and above all the war between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. (3) The impossibility of any gains by labor unions within capitalism sufficient to solve the problems of insecurity and poverty inherent in capitalism. (4) The necessity of the creation of a genuine Labor Party, completely independent of capitalist parties, as one weapon in the workers' struggle for plenty, peace and freedom. This party to be successful must, of course, include the working farmers.

In all this there is nothing original. But to say these things persuasively is the chief, immediate business of socialists.

LEWIS - ROOSEVELT

The widening breach between President Roosevelt and John L. Lewis is not a sufficient guarantee of the emergence of a labor party on a national scale by 1940. Still less is it a guarantee of the right kind of a labor party. But it is significant and increases the chance of a labor party.

John L. Lewis is quite shrewd enough to understand that any President who believes as Mr. Roosevelt does that the clash between capital and labor is not inherent in the system, but a matter of bad men and bad methods on both sides, must act as President Roosevelt has acted and will act. It takes more than big campaign contributions from labor unions to make the Democratic Party a labor party or a Democratic President a labor President. After all, plenty of corporations contributed to the Democratic campaign fund by the wholesale purchase of autographed campaign books at \$250 each.

SINO - JAPANESE

Nathaniel Peffer has contributed illuminating articles to the New York Times and Harper's on the Japanese situation. He argues that Japan is acting in China because it is now or never for her. Japan, he thinks, is in a position where she cannot safely go forward or yet retrace her steps—which doesn't mean that she may not be able to win a temporary military victory over China. But in the end she or her militarists will lose.

After reading these articles I, for one, am surer than ever that I do not want to see the United States Government go crusading in the Far East. And after reading the remarks of Secretary Roper about our trade in China and the growing emphasis on that subject in the press, I am surer than ever that the capital-

ist United States won't go crusading in reality, except for trade. And our whole trade with China isn't worth a day's war. The question is, how can we show our sympathy for the Chinese and yet keep out of war?

One means might be a well organized unofficial boycott of Japanese goods. Mr. Peffer seems to believe that an effective boycott might lead to war. This would not be the case unless the boycott were official. An unofficial boycott gives some outlet to those of us who have a natural desire to do something, and it would add to Japan's economic embarrassment in fighting a war of conquest.

A well organized refusal of union workers to fill Japanese war orders would have value if the necessary facts could be obtained and the necessary action taken by workers who do not want to be responsible for the murder of the Chinese people.

NEUTRALITY

The case for the application of the neutrality law stands on a different basis. We Socialists put little dependence on sanctions by a capitalist state as a means to peace. They are more likely to lead to war. But the neutrality law is not an application of sanctions. In America it arose out of a genuine desire to stop the bankers and traders from doing things with the aid of the government which would lead to war. That desire was not altogether well informed. The neutrality law could be improved in detail. Under no circumstances could it be made a sure defense against American participation in war.

Nevertheless the law is on the books and it should be enforced. It is time to have done with the monstrous hypocrisy of undeclared war. We cannot go on thinking that the United States can avoid the consequences of war trade if only the nations at war will declare it.

There was an excuse for delaying the proclamation of neutrality in the Far Eastern conflict because the proclamation of neutrality might possibly have hindered the protection of lives prior to the evacuation of American citizens from the danger zones in China. Its immediate proclamation might also have made it more difficult for the United States to act informally with other nations to exert diplomatic pressure for peace.

But whatever the original force of these arguments they are not valid indefinitely. Every day sees Americans becoming more deeply involved in war trade. It sees a great emphasis on American property rights. The time has come to proclaim neutrality.

What arouses opposition to the proclamation of neutrality in the Far East is the fact that under the cash-and-carry provision of our law the aggressor, Japan, would be in a better position than its victim, China, to come and get the supplies it wants, short, of course, of actual munitions of war. I have felt the force of that objection very strongly, but have come to the conclusion that it is exaggerated. America is not responsible for the disparity between

Japan and China. It exists anyway and will be lessened, not increased, by the application of the neutrality law. Under proclamation of neutrality Japan could not get loans and would have to pay cash for what she buys.

American bankers are not likely to loan much to China anyway, but they might loan some to Japan. The proclamation of neutrality will at least completely cut off the supply of American munitions or implements of war to Japan. Failure to proclaim neutrality would help China if the United States on moral grounds should put an embargo on exports to Japan, but not to China.

This would be the kind of sanction quite likely to lead to war—a war that would be a curse to the United States, with no corresponding blessing to the people of the Far East. In time, and no long time, they with the possible aid of their Russian neighbors will work out their own destiny despite Japanese militarism. It is the business of the United States to keep out of war in the Far East, and the proclamation of neutrality will help.

ON SPAIN

If, as now seems most probable, it is Italian submarines which are blockading the coasts of Loyalist Spain the case for the application of neutrality against Italy becomes ever stronger. How much longer is the hypocrisy of a non-intervention in Spain, so favorable to the Fascists, to continue?

From a reliable source I learn that two thousand civilian leading citizens of the Basque Republic, officials of the government and labor unions, professional men and others, have been taken prisoners by Franco since the fall of Santander. Perhaps by this time they have already been executed as he has executed so many thousands before. Perhaps they are held as hostages. Or is it possible that the lives of these good Catholic Basques may have been spared at the intercession of those Spanish prelates whose casuistry enables them so easily to support Christ and Fascism?

CALL Features Reprinted in European Left Papers
Recognition of the value of features carried currently in the SOCIALIST CALL is shown by the fact that currently, the "New Leader" (London), official organ of the Independent Labor Party, is carrying the series on "The Rise and Decline of the AFL," which was written for the CALL by Lillian Symes.
In addition, the "Tribune," new left labor weekly review published in London, carries a reproduction of an original cartoon by Nisen our staff cartoonist, on the CIO in its issue for July 15.

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Mellon Charities Tax-Dodge Move

By ELIOT JANEWAY

With the death of Andy Mellon, another of the family oligarchies carved out of the age of the Robber Barons enters the ranks of foundations subsidizing charities and educational institutions that soften the impact of monopoly capital upon our social institutions.

First Carnegie, and after him, Rockefeller, Baker, the Guggenheims and the lesser lights have left their fortunes to the arts and science. Barring only the Morgans, who still feel able to walk with Nicholas Murray Butler and Bishop Manning, the Mellons were until very recently the only reining family in American industry to have kept their estates in their own hands.

In fact, however, the estate remains the property of the Mellon family to be used as they please. This is how it works. The Mellon control a number of the greatest corporations in the country—Gulf Oil, Aluminum Co., Koppers Coal & Engineering, Virginian Railway, Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates, Union Trust Co. of Pittsburgh, etc., etc. In addition, they are one of the leading stockholders in Bethlehem Steel, U.S. Steel, Sharon Steel, Westinghouse, Pittsburgh Steel, United Engineering & Foundry, United Gas Improvement, Pittsburgh Coal, Carborundum Co., and Pittsburgh Plate Glass.

Control
The business of maintaining control of such a billionaire empire is two-fold. It not only involves the collection of dividends from profits. It also involves the freezing of huge sums of money in the securities of the corporations in question: it involves, in a word, owning enough stock to guarantee control of the various companies in the group.

Thus it is necessary for the Mellons to keep hundreds of millions of dollars in Gulf and Aluminum stock. They must do this whether or not they also operate a charitable trust fund. But if

they do operate such a fund they can simply ticket it for this purpose, using it to maintain their control over the corporations they are interested in.

How easy this will be is indicated by the fact that the three administrators of the trust fund are Mellon's son, his son-in-law and his tax lawyer. And how customary this procedure is may be gathered from the parallel examples of the Rockefellers and the Guggenheims. The Rockefeller Foundation draws its income from stocks in which its capital is invested. One of its largest investments is in Colorado Fuel & Iron, the great western steel producer, which the Rockefellers themselves deny controlling. They do not control it; the Rockefeller Foundation controls it, and the Rockefellers control the Rockefeller Foundation.

The Guggenheim charitable trust fund is similarly administered by moguls in the Guggenheim empire, and its funds are invested in Guggenheim corporations on whose boards Guggenheim Foundation officers naturally vote the foundation's stock as the Guggenheims desire.

No Sacrifice
It is not true that the Mellons are sacrificing any income from their creation of this trust fund. In the first place, the funds thus segregated are tax-free, even though they are used by the Mellons for the purpose of maintaining control of valuable properties. In the second place, the Mellon practice is so to manipulate their various properties as to take profits from one and present it to another, usually reserving the greatest profits for those corporations like Aluminum which they



Now that Andy Mellon has passed away, it is thought that Nephew Richard K. Mellon will be the man to assume his uncle's role of economic dictator over the vast financial empire, "earned" through the sweat of other men's labor. Andy's son Paul seems to prefer culture to management of his father's cash. But Andy, Richard or Paul, it's still exploitation

own almost exclusively and whose dividends they need not share.

The government now has the family up on the carpet for one such violation of ethical business practice. The charge concerns Koppers, the largest coal producer in Virginia and West Virginia, and the Virginian Railway, which it controls and which depends largely upon revenues from coal carrying. The charge is that the Mellons diverted all Koppers coal shipments to the Virginian because Virginian profits are paid back to Koppers as dividends and thus constitute a rebate enabling it to undersell its competitors.

Interlocking
This being true, and it is, what is to prevent the Mellon trustees from using their absolute power as administrators of the will to place estate funds in Virginian stock? They want to control the road in any case, and in this way they can avoid paying a tax on their holdings.

The profits of the Virginian, however, can be determined by the amount of Koppers coal shipped on it, and by the freight rates charged. By the simple expedient of lowering rates, they can increase Koppers profits at the expense of the Virginian and of the deserving beneficiaries of the Mellon will. And they can do this up and down the line, for every one of their corporations sells to every other number of the chain. All the trustees need do is keep the trust fund in those of their companies which they are milking.

And so the moral is that the Mellons, like the Rockefellers and the Guggenheims, are remaining in business. And they are following Mr. Morgan's advice. They are resorting to every legal expedient in order to escape having to pay taxes.

The CULTURAL FRONT

James T. Farrell

MUSEUM

According to the jacket on James L. Phelan's novel, *Museum* (published by William Morrow & Co., New York, 1937 \$2.50), the author participated in the Irish Easter Re-

bellion. And after the shooting of a mail clerk in Lancashire, he became known in the British press as the "Silent Witness" because he refused to incriminate his comrades.

He went to an English jail as an Irish revolutionary. While there, he wrote millions of words, literally writing his way to freedom. *Museum* was written in prison and smuggled out. He is the first person, since Oscar Wilde, who was allowed to regain possession of literary work written while serving a term in an English prison.

"Four jail walls make a magnifying glass... whatever little dirt is in a man the four walls magnify it, bring it out... People who'd be only ordinary, mean, lousy bastards outside will go to the most insane lengths to injure someone in a jail; a man who's moderately timid in the big world is a crawling coward in prison." To the contrary, whatever is good in a man is similarly brought out.

The central subject of the story is Mansell, a young clerk who is ushered into the narrative at the outset. He is a new prisoner, a "lifer." The novel describes the prison "education" of Mansell. The British penal system becomes, in the telling, as much of a protagonist as any character we meet in these pages. Mansell runs through just about every gamut of prison experience. During his first days, he sees and hears old "lifers" quarreling and haggling rather ineptly over nothing.

Such a fate will not be his, he determines. He strives to preserve the integrity of his own being. He tries to read, to play the violin, to write, and to compose music. At first, he rebuffs the approaches of the "sissies" (homosexuals). Later, he has his own "fairy."

He joins a fellow prisoner who is "regular" in a daring escape, but at the last minute, he is fearful. The others consider him yellow, and he gets himself transferred to another prison that is less bleak. But gradually, prison gets him. He is unfairly consigned to live with the "weak-minded" prisoners for four years, and this damages his personality irrevocably. He grays prematurely. He is considered a "balmy" (weak-minded) by the other inmates.

Circumstances practically drive him into informing, and he is viewed as a "grass" (stool pi-

geon") by the others. No longer does he have black rights, yearnings and desires for women. He is made over into an "old lifer." In the end, after repeated appeals for pardon, after over fifteen years behind bars, he is released. But he is among the half dead. He no longer has much interest in life. He cannot get a job. Old before his days, he commits suicide.

It is generally difficult to write a prison book which does not at least contain interest of a documentary nature. The very material tends to carry through in such words, no matter if the writing be crude. *Museum* is not a work of such a category. Mr. Phelan has assimilated his material unforgettably, and he is definitely a writer. His novel is full of character vignettes. He sets down on paper both inmates and warders in a convincing manner. Within the prison walls that he describes, there are many contrasts in human types, and these are presented effectively.

He uses the vernacular of the prisoners with skill, although he indulges in phonetic spelling which is sometimes confusing, and occasionally overdone. He is a man of intelligence and insight as well of literary skill. His book is rich in insights concerning prison life, the psychology of prisoners and warders. He creates the British prison system as a small and bitter world, but a world, which surrounds and hemms in its inhabitants, and forms their consciousness. *Museum* is vivid as well as bitter, ironic, and poignant.

As a writer, Mr. Phelan is of an experimental turn. Whenever the harder methods of presentation promise to increase vividness, he tries them. Because of this, there are switches in tone from a third person auctorial manner to stream of consciousness writing. He does not maintain one consistent tone in his narration, and here and there, the writing jangles. While a man of definite literary skill and ability, he has not completely assimilated and organized all his technical facilities. *Museum* is an uneven book in consequence. But it is a novel full of truth, lyric feeling, acute insight into character.

Building The CALL

By John Newton Thurber

N.E.C. and The CALL
Last week's meeting of the Socialist Party National Executive Committee gave serious consideration to various matters pertaining to the welfare of the CALL.

In addition to considering editorial policies, a sub-committee took a close survey of the business side of the paper. A complete summary of the first eight months of business was submitted.

The CALL gets income from four principal sources: Subscriptions; Sale of bundles; Donations; and Advertising.

Party members are in a position to help the CALL, and the party through adding to the income of the CALL in the first three of these categories of income. They can sell CALL subscriptions. They can order CALL bundles. They can send in donations.

Not only CAN they do this. It is absolutely necessary that everyone who wants to see the CALL continue its week-to-week work MUST sell subscriptions. MUST order bundles of CALLS. MUST send in donations to us. If you like the CALL, if you believe in the CALL, if you want it to carry on, get behind it right now!

The income of the CALL has been sharply curtailed during the past two weeks, chiefly due to the uncertainty which has been sponsored among party members by the proponents of Socialist Appeal. The N.E.C. decision which gives the Trotskyites the independent status which they have been working for wipes away that uncertainty. The CALL goes on as the official organ of the Socialist Party, and CALL builders must get to work again with redoubled activity.

Bouquets From Readers
The day after Labor Day we got these two letters, among others, which tell the attitude of two readers:
From Paul Allen, New York State, who sends in a new sub.: "I would like to take this opportunity to tell you how much I enjoy the CALL. I

am not a member of the Party but I find it always stimulating because it is written and edited with intelligence and adult humor. When I read that you were in difficulty I made it my business to drum up trade. The enclosed subscription is one of the results. I owe it to you for the delight I get from Farrell's articles."

From Emily P. Stearns, Virginia, renewing her sub.: "I can't recall the date my CALL expires. I receive it regularly. I shall remember next time. Enclosing \$1.00 for fifty-two weeks. I don't want to miss one issue. Good luck to you all! Yours in absolute sympathy!"

Subscription Drive
- Racine continues to lead the National Sub Drive, pushing its total to 51 this week. Reading, Pa., is second with 32, having used re-registration to good effect.

Philadelphia Yipsels stand third, with 28, and the Massachusetts State Office is fourth with 24.

New York Yipsels have secured 19 subscriptions since the start of the drive, and Washington Heights has raised its total, as leading New York branch, to 18.

Sioux City, Iowa, through the single-handed efforts of Comrade Mrs. Prescott, has a total of 16 new CALL readers.

Lillian Symes, who contributed the fine series of articles on the AFL, has pushed the total of Local San Francisco to 14, tying it with the Upper West Side branch, New York.

New Haven, Conn., has sent in 12 new subs. the 8th A.D. Bronx and 18th Ward Cleveland have secured 11 each and the Village branch has sold 10.

Branches securing 9 subs each are: 5th Ward Chicago; North Adams, Mass.; and Central Newark.

Seven subs have been sold by: Jamaica, L. I.; St. Louis County, Mo.; Branch 1, Detroit; Evansville, Ind.; and 24th Ward, Chicago.

The Illinois State office and Strawberry Mansion Branch, Philadelphia, have sent in six subs.

Five subs each have been sold by: Wilton, Conn.; Penobscot, Maine; Dayton, Ohio; Houston, Texas; 18th A.D., Kings; and Downtown Kings. Don't let the fact that you have no sub blanks on hand keep you from selling CALL subscriptions. Use the blank on page 7.

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

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Chelsea Br. Meets every Wed. at 313 Eighth Ave., West Side Labor Center. May Gippa, Sec'y.

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

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

Young Socialists Reaffirm Revolutionary Positions

Trotskyites Split From League Plan Extensive Activities;

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—The Young People's Socialist League dedicated itself anew to the building of a strong organization of revolutionary socialist youth, as delegates from all over the country gathered here last week for its ninth national convention. The convention met in the Central YWCA, 18th and Arch Streets.

Among the delegates, 16 international unions were represented. Most of the unions to which the delegates belong, such as radio, textile, auto, steel, and transport workers, are CIO unions. And in addition there were many delegates and visitors who are leaders in the American Student Union, the Young Circle League, and other mass youth bodies.

Previous to the convention, the Trotskyite faction within the YPSL completed the sustained drive toward a split for which they have been striving for some months. Fifty-two delegates walked out, leaving 97 accredited delegates loyal to the YPSL and the Socialist Party.

The split was consummated by Ernest Erber, former national chairman, who rose at a meeting of the National Executive Committee before the convention and declared that he could no longer accept its authority. He then called for the opening of the Trotskyite convention.

(See the statement by Al Hamilton on this page for a detailed account of the split action and its background.)

The final break ended a period in League history marked by bitter factionalism, which hampered the work of the League severely. The discord and friction before the convention contrasted markedly with the unity and enthusiasm which marked all convention sessions. Freed from the paralysis of factional strife, the delegates put their shoulders to the wheel. They drew up concrete plans for a membership drive to double their numbers, and for a new national magazine to serve as the official organ of the YPSL. Enthusiasm ran high when those attending the convention pledged almost \$1,500, to be paid within the next three weeks, in order to translate the extensive convention plans into action.

Basic Line

Basic political resolutions were adopted, expressing the League's position on a labor party, Spain, fascism, the role of the YPSL, and other questions.

Al Hamilton, re-elected national executive secretary by unanimous vote, struck the key-note of the convention, and of YPSL perspectives of the future, in the statement he presented, and which the convention adopted, on the role of the YPSL:

"The YPSL joins with the Socialist Party," the statement declared, "in renouncing the concept that the masses can be won for the Socialist struggle by propagandizing.

"Instead, the YPSL accept the basic task of revolutionary Socialism as leading, guiding, and intensifying the economic and political struggles of the working class. Only through the development of a party of struggle that plays a leading role in the struggles of the workers can there be the deepening of the consciousness among the workers of the role of the working class and the training

of the working class in solidarity, unity, discipline, and workers' democracy. The development of the working class in militant struggles is the first job of revolutionary Socialists who seek to lead to working class power."

"Only this program," the convention stated, "can effectively lead in channeling the rebellious youth movements into genuinely progressive channels. This means rejection of the sterile propagandistic approach of individual conversion that has characterized the reformist and left sectarian attitude toward youth in general."

Spanish Protest

In conjunction with the Spanish resolution, a special resolution was unanimously adopted, vigorously condemning the "lynch-murder of Andres Nin by Stalinist gangsters," because of his exposition of the Marxist principle that no war against reaction can be won at the front without an extension of the social revolution at the rear. The convention set aside the first week in August of every year as a week dedicated to the memory of Nin, with the following words:

"Nin must take his place with all the heroes of revolutionary socialism, and serve as an inspiration to renewed effort to build a socialist society. Nin, together with Luxemburg and Liebknecht, will be remembered as one who, while fighting for our cause was murdered by those elements who merely give lip-service to socialism."

Delegates and visitors stood a moment in silence in tribute to the Spanish martyr.

Emphatically, the YPSL reasserted its position that the struggle against fascism in Spain must be fought under the banner of socialism, to be successful; that the program of social revolution at home and an anti-fascist war at the front is the only program which can succeed in maintaining the unity of workers and peasants against fascism. At the same time it pointed out that the military struggle must be confined to the front, that the incessant struggle for socialism, "which proceeds

behind the lines must at present be of a purely peaceful character."

Against People's Front

People's Front moves were rejected as an instrument in the fight against fascism, the convention declaring that the "liberal" section of the capitalist class can not be relied upon to unite with the working class in the fight against fascism. "If the struggle against fascism is to be successful," it affirmed, "it cannot be divorced from the struggle against capitalism, which breeds fascism while retaining a democratic form." To struggle for the maintenance of this democratic form, fast losing its stability and ability to govern, the delegates pointed out, means to turn over to the Fascists those despairing groups frantically seeking a way out.

On international affiliations, the delegates pointed out that neither the Second or Third International could serve the interests of the workers. They emphasize that a revolutionary international cannot be built overnight or by a few hundred in each country that a preparatory period is required for establishing contacts between left-wing forces throughout the world; and that the immediate perspective must be to maintain League affiliations in the Second and Socialist Youth Internationals, and to establish a revolutionary center there to agitate for a revolutionary international line.

Other important resolutions, on the trade-union movement, on the YCL, on China, the Soviet Union, etc. will be put into final shape by the incoming National Executive Committee.

On industrial work, the YPSL re-emphasized the necessity for disciplined work within the labor movement, as an intensification of its activity as the arm of the Party

Greetings

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YPSL Elects NEC

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Al Hamilton, elected national executive secretary of the YPSL by the National Executive Committee to succeed Ben Fisher last spring, was re-elected at the YPSL national convention here this week by unanimous vote. Other members of the new NEC are:

Irving Barshop, executive secretary of the New York district of the League. Member executive committee of Socialist Party, local New York.

Hy Bookbinder, member District Executive Committee of the YPSL, New York district.

Mark Brown, Reading, Pa. organizer for the YPSL.

Lewis Conn, National Executive Committee of the ASU, YPSL and Socialist Party organizer in western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh.

Judah Drob, retiring administra-

tive secretary of the YPSL, Chicago.

Ben Fischer, former national secretary YPSL, organizer Local Wayne County, Detroit.

Milt Friedman, member last Yipsel NEC, Newark.

Clara Handelman, Newark, former Eastern states organizer

Bill Hollister, eastern Pennsylvania organizer YPSL, Philadelphia.

Ben Horowitz, member executive committee of New York district, and former educational director for N. Y. YPSL.

Charles Rubin, secretary Milwaukee, Wisconsin YPSL.

Gloria Waldron, continuing member YPSL NEC, chairman Goucher college ASU, organizer Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union, Baltimore.

Hy Weintraub, city executive committee ASU, Cleveland.

Ann Wollo, executive board, local No. 2 of United Office and Professional Workers, Philadelphia.

Alternates elected were Abe Weiss, Melvin Wilbach, and Joe Meyerson, all of New York City; Pearl Weiner, Cleveland, Alvaine Hollister, Philadelphia, Jerome Tucker, Baltimore, and Martin Cohen, Chicago.

among trade-union youth. Renewed work in building the Workers' Alliance, the American Youth Congress was determined.

The convention called upon all young workers and students to support the anti-war program outlined in the Socialist Party resolution. On the student field, the task of young Socialists was expressed as developing the American Student Union into a more effective anti-war instrument through support of the Oxford Pledge, militant anti-war strikes and demonstrations, and emphatic rejection of any program for collective security such as the Young Communist League is advocating today. In addition, a specific program for student work in which

Socialists would lead the economic struggle of students and the fight against war, was approved.

A rebirth of YPSL publications seemed assured as a result of the convention. In addition to the magazine, pamphlets on collective security and on the relationship of young Socialists to the labor movement, and a handbook of convention decisions and YPSL information will be issued within the next two months.

The new national executive committee met in an all-day session in Philadelphia on Monday, in order to see that convention decisions are carried into action immediately. They will convene in New York City this Sunday, September 12.

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Trotskyites Set Out on Sectarian Political Lines

By Al Hamilton
National Secretary

During the spring of 1936, the Young People's Socialist League admitted several hundred members of the dissolved Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Workers' Party, a Trotskyist group. The YPSL maintained that it was possible for various tendencies within the revolutionary youth movement to work together within a single League.

In the ensuing period every attempt was made by the national and local committees to integrate the new comrades and, wherever possible, place them in positions of leadership and responsibility.

This process met with some success for a time. However, within recent months, it became apparent that the leadership of the Appeal (Trotskyist) Group within the Party and League were making every effort not to become integrated but to stand apart, not to put forward the party line but their own, not to foresee a permanency of their stay in the SP and YPSL but to envision an independent existence.

Although attempts have been made to place the events which consequently took place on an organizational and technical level, their can no longer be doubt as to their political motivation.

4th International

The Trotskyites, deeming the time ripe for the immediate formation of a section of the Fourth International in America, indicated that their underlying conception was the sectarian view that only a Trotskyist group can be revolutionary—that all other parties and tendencies are centrist or reformist, and ultimately, in time of crisis, all must become counter-revolutionary. Unlike the SP and YPSL, this group denied, both in theory and practice, the possibility of the co-existence within a single party of more than one stream of revolutionary thought. The application of this line led them, once again along the road (so recently abandoned) to sectarian and sterile isolation.

In order best to accomplish the split, the astute leaders undertook to raise in the sharpest form every major or minor difference within the left wing of the party and in the League. They initiated a campaign, totally unprincipled in its distortion and misrepresentation, against the resolution on Spain adopted by the Party N.E.C. at the instruction of the March National Convention. The vicious internecine strife engendered by this campaign against the party compelled the N.E.C. to act in the interests of preserving and building the party.

Although the N.E.C.'s decision called for an immediate cessation of the bitter factional warfare (simultaneously declaring that comrades shall not be expelled for their ideological differences with the party line), the Appeal Group turned its fire toward this by ignoring the positive and vital features necessary to restore a sane inner life and labeled it a "gag" resolution. This despite the comment of Burnham, leader of the Appeal, to the N.E.C. that its action was appropriate, and not bureaucratic, for a democratic organization.

Seek Split

Following this, 52 members of the Appeal were illegally expelled in New York City—to their great satisfaction. Rather than bring their cases for reinstatement be-

made to appear that the League was expelling these comrades for their political (left-wing) line.

NEC Meet

The N.E.C. met prior to the opening of the Convention. The situation resulting from the formation of the provisional committee was the main item on the agenda. During the Committee's deliberations the elaborate and widespread statements concerning gerrymandering, dues stamps manipulations and scores of other devices to "prevent Appeal from controlling the Convention" were one after another answered, along with the nailing of lie after lie told by the Appeal leaders in a desperate effort to heighten the morale of a worried rank and file which did not want to leave the League.

(Needless to say, if there had been even the slimmest hope that the Appeal could swing 51 per cent of the League, they would NOT have set up a rival organization a week before the opening of the national convention.)

The N.E.C. upheld the action of the National Secretary and condemned the split line of the Appeal leaders. The split was consummated by Erber, Appeal leader, who insisted that the regularly elected delegates from New York not be seated, but be replaced by representatives selected by the Appeal Group. When the N.E.C. refused flatly to unseat the New York delegates (the elimination of the large New York delegation might have given the Appeal a bare majority and thus covered their small minority into the ruling force at the convention), Erber declared that he was leaving the League and called upon his followers to follow.

A group of Appealites who were visitors, and a smaller group of about 40 delegates remained with him. The convention then proceeded to take up the political and organizational tasks before it, while the splitters continued the "convention" they had begun two days previously.

Admit Revolutionists

The Y.P.S.L. however, continues to reaffirm its desire to admit into membership all young revolutionists who will carry out the line of the League and abide by the discipline of the organization. It reaffirms its belief in the maintenance of inner-League democracy and welcomes all who understand the necessity for the struggle for Socialism and will work for that objective.

To the group of comrades, who have mistakenly felt that they are pursuing the correct policy

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OUTSTANDING —on Spain

The straightforward articles which the *Socialist Call* has been carrying week after week on developments in Spain today cannot be duplicated in any other paper in America today!

No other paper has the services of two such capable writers, writers who have spent considerable time in close touch with the Loyalist leadership in Spain, as Liston M. Oak and Sam Baron.

No other paper, having the services of such writers, is in a political position to carry these articles, which come to *Call* readers week after week.

Oak and Baron, in their series of forceful articles on Spain, have shown that:

1. The Spanish section of the Communist International, with the powerful backing of the Soviet Government, has maneuvered itself into a dominant position in the Valencia Government; the Stalinists seek to impose their dictatorship upon Spain.
2. The Spanish CP through control of the Republican Guard and through unofficial agencies in various provinces has built up a Cheka (GPU) which has imitated the methods of the Russian Cheka.
3. The Stalinists have forced through the Government a series of reactionary measures, the purpose of which is to destroy workers' control of loyalist Spain, its army, its police forces, its industry and agriculture; and they seek to confine the government's program to the ending of feudalism and the establishment of a democratic capitalist republic, robbing the workers and peasants of revolutionary conquests already made even during the civil war.
4. The Stalinists have launched a campaign ruthlessly to crush all opposition from the left—first the FOUM, then the CNT-FAI, and finally the left wing of the Socialist Party and of the UGT; all workers' organizations advocating a revolutionary Socialist program for the defeat of fascism have been thrown out of the People's Front, climaxed by the ousting of Caballero.
5. All this has been done in response to the demands of Anglo-French imperialism, and at the behest of the Soviet Government which seeks a military alliance with the democratic capitalist powers against the fascist powers in the coming war.
6. And finally, that all who support the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against fascism should also protest against the suppression of workers' democracy by the Spanish Communists.

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A Party of Labor Must Break From The "Friends of Labor"

Working Class Displays Great Strength Labor Day

By Gus Tyler

LABOR DAY 1937 finds the American labor movement more powerful than at any time in all its history. The war-time high of 5,000,000 members has been surpassed; the number of organized is now over 7,000,000.

This 7,000,000 is, moreover, far more solid than the 5,000,000 of the war-period. No special circumstances—such as war production or grant of gov-

ernment military contracts to union firms—is responsible for this new growth. Labor has organized itself out of its own strength and will.

What are the forces that have brought this mass labor movement into being?

First and foremost, the organizing work of the Committee for Industrial Organization. The will to organize expressed by the CIO in its aggressive and militant campaigns is as important a factor as the industrial form of organization that the CIO offered to the workers in the mass production industries.

Second, the new business upturn. As the wheels of business began to turn, labor's power to cripple production was enhanced.

Third, the re-election of Roosevelt, which was interpreted by many workers to be a mandate to organize. The comparative protection offered by the Wagner Labor Act aided unionism.

Fourth, the attitude of a considerable section of the capitalist class in basic industry, which sees the need for a "cooperative" labor movement in the event of a war. The pressure of war-time orders and the imminence of an international war were considerable factors in effecting a quick settlement with Carnegie-Illinois in the first steel strike.

Flint Onward

The really great strides were made by the CIO from February onward.

Almost by accident the first test of the CIO strength came in autos. This was not as planned. The chief point of Lewis' concentration was steel. The strike in glass, however, followed by sympathy movements in auto, led up to the shut-down in General Motors and precipitated the great battle in the Mid-West auto fields.

In February 13th, 1937, in the very midst of the struggle in Michigan the CALL wrote:

"Men and women of Flint, your city is today the center of the United States for every honest and self-respecting worker. In the city of Flint the big bosses of America have ganged up against a handful of courageous men and women.

"These wise men (the capitalists of America) know how to do everything but one—they don't know how to make autos while you hold the factories.

"Hold them, brothers. Hold them as long as you can!

"And the bold outlines of your knuckles wrapped around your factories is a signal for the workers of America to clench their fists to crack a few gold-filled teeth out of the miserly maw of America's bosses.

"Flint, Michigan, is today the Hindenburg line of the big bosses of America."

We are too close to the events to place the struggle in Flint, Michigan, in its proper perspective. But it is not at all unlikely that

later-day historians will list the names of that handful of unionists and their women-folk as the people who lit the fuse that caused the great American labor explosion of 1936-7.

From Flint onward, the citadels of capitalist reaction in the shops toppled.

Little Steel

The victory of the CIO in signing up "big steel" marked the end of a great movement which had risen in 1918 to be beaten down by the boss' club and emasculated by the era of prosperity only to rise again in the Spring of 1937 for a swift victory.

But all these battles were waged against what might be called the "left" wing of the American finance and industrial capitalist class. This sector of capital did not favor unionism; it opposed unionism. But it thought in terms of world events, of coming wars, of great productive periods, and the need for industrial truce. Under the shadow of an impending war, a large section of capital prepared the ground for the class peace, for the union sacré.

In "little steel," labor was to meet the capitalist "isolationist," that section of the capitalist class which thought primarily and almost solely in terms of production in its own shops. The Girdlers and Weirs think not along broad social lines, even from their own class viewpoint; they discount the danger of strikes and upheavals in time of war; they only know the rule of the club for labor.

Even before the struggle between the CIO and "little steel," there was a preliminary skirmish in the steel institute between the bosses of "little" and "big steel." Only by a close vote did the "right-wing" of the steel institute, the Girdler crowd, carry the day.

The Liberals

The essential difference between the strike against autos and that against little steel does not lie in that the former was a clear victory and the latter only a face-saving settlement; nor does it merely lie in the fact that the former were brief and the latter protracted. The enduring mark of differentiation is the fact that the strike against little steel brought the political question to the fore.

The role of the state as strike-breaker was not cast into clear relief in the first CIO drive. The "liberal" governors withheld the use of the troops until a settlement was reached. The comparatively short duration of the strikes permitted the governors to act the

role of mediators and to avoid being "put on the spot."

The battle in "little steel" put every liberal very definitely "on the spot."—And every liberal reacted the same way—for the capitalist class.

When the strike first broke out, Governor Davey of Ohio, thinking he had another brief affair on his hands tried to make it even briefer—in the meantime winning labor support—by sending in his troops to shut down the factories and to keep scabs out.

Never forget this! Davey—now the pet hate of the CIO—was one of the first governors in this country to use the troops, the armed forces of the capitalist state on the side of labor.

But this could, at best, last only for a few days. As the strike continued the Governor of Ohio, as guardian of property under a capitalist society, turned the troops against labor, providing an armed citadel for scab labor.

The very "liberal" Governor Earle was quick to follow suit. The most liberal" Governor Murphy of Michigan set to work drafting a law on curbing mass picketing. The Democratic Governor Townsend of Indiana acted in true strikebreaking fashion. And the New Deal Democrats of Chicago sent the police out to perpetrate

the infamous Memorial Day Massacre.

The "liberals" in Washington began to carry out the same line. Secretary Madame Perkins—at a time when the sit-down strike was not in use—took a gratuitous slap at the sit-down, at a time most embarrassing to labor.

And then to symbolize the crumbling of the liberal support for labor in the show-down, President Roosevelt cast a plague on both houses. As John L. Lewis pointed out in his Labor Day address, Roosevelt's words were in effect not a sign of impartiality but an indication of unfriendliness to labor.

Friends of Labor

In his Labor Day address, John L. Lewis referred to these people as poor friends of labor. The truth of the matter is that they are about as good friends as labor may expect to have so long as labor depends upon "friends" to serve it politically. In a class society, wherein the class struggle is inherent, the very best "friends" of labor are in the long run representative of an opposing class with opposing interests. In this battle, labor has no real friends except those who know that there is a class struggle, that the forces of labor must be strengthened in this struggle, that labor must march forward to the capture of political power and the creation of a workers' world.

The problem before the American working class this Labor Day is not that of finding "new friends." The real problem is that of building a great party of the working class, independent of the liberal "friends," standing on its own feet in opposition to all the capitalist parties and candidates.

The 7,000,000-organized workers in this country, with their families and their friends, could cast a vote that would lay the foundation

stone for a great political struggle in America. It would not be a struggle between the fair weather friends of labor and the avowed enemies of labor; it would be a struggle between labor and capital. It would be a political parallel of the present trade union struggle.

In this struggle for a new party labor must avoid the illusions that beset it, at times, in its trade union struggles. A new liberal party—with a labor left-wing and a capitalist right-wing—formed with Roosevelt and Wagner and Murphy, would not be a labor party. It would be just another capitalist party. It would serve labor, just as Davey served labor—up to the moment of a crisis. Then it turns against labor.

Independence

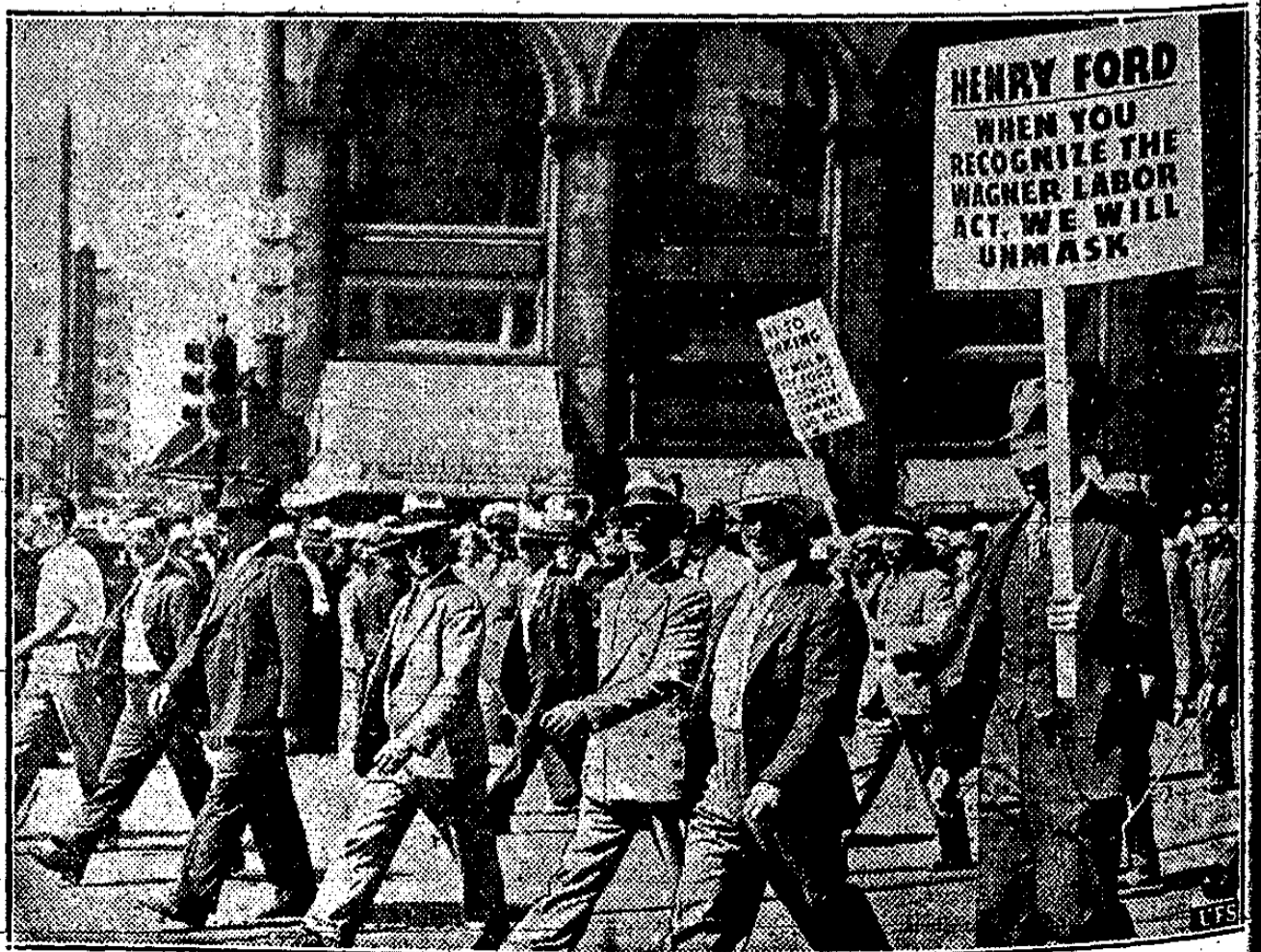
This Labor Day 1937 comes prior to important municipal campaigns throughout the country. In these campaigns, labor is playing a varied role. In some cities labor is running its own candidates; in other cities it is running in Democratic Party primaries; elsewhere it attempts to capture the Republican machine. Nowhere, however, has labor broken clean from the capitalist parties and capitalist party machines.

These municipal campaigns undoubtedly reveal the power the labor can wield as a group. The power must not be permitted to remain captive in the hands of capitalist politicians and liberal parties. This power must break the chains of the old parties, must declare itself independent, must issue its challenge to all the capitalist parties.

As an independent force in the economic arena labor has established its place in America. Now it must pen its political declaration of independence.

Labor must now inscribe on its banner: No support for any capitalist politicians, Democratic or Republican. A party of labor in open struggle against the parties of capitalism.

Masked Unionists Thumb Noses at Ford



Automobile workers, marching in Detroit's Labor Day parade, affirmed they would wear those masks until Hank Ford recognized the UAWA. Both CIO and AFL workers joined hands for the parade. They have another job at

hand—that of unmasking the "friends" of labor in the service of the capitalist class and forgetting a genuine class-conscious labor party free from all ties with the capitalist parties.