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CHINA'S PLEA TO LEAGUE FORCES WORLD SHOWDOWN

Charges Japanese Armed Invasion; Asks for Safety of Territorial Rights

By Sven Gorsend

SPECIAL TO SOCIALIST CALL

GENEVA, Switzerland—The Sino-Japanese Conflict was slapped down loudly on the business table of the League of Nations here this week.

The League must act upon the basis of an appeal from China, which charges that Japan has invaded China and is continuing this invasion with all her army, navy and air force."

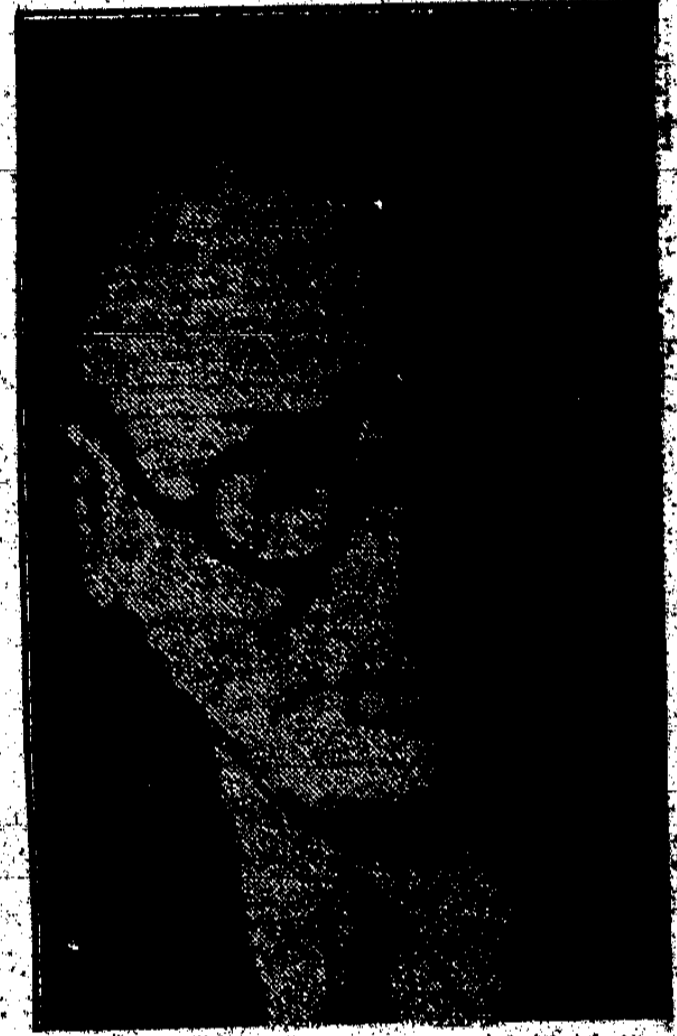
The Chinese appeal fails to declare that there is a war in China. It is generally believed that this is due to the fear that such an open declaration of war would cause the US to invoke its Neutrality Law, thereby depriving the belligerents of whatever American supplies they seek.

Call for Sanctions

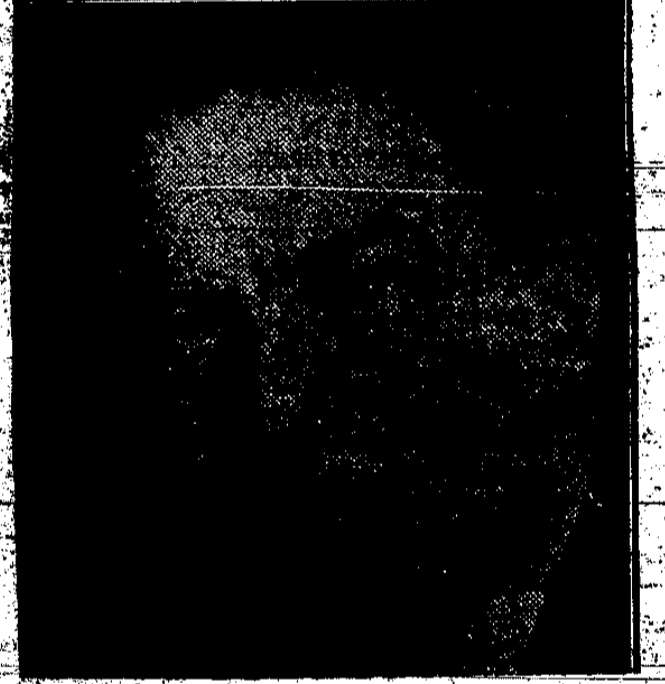
China calls upon the nations assembled at the League to apply sanctions against Japan, under the powers given the League under Article X. This article provides for action to maintain the territorial integrity of member nations.

This is the second time in recent years that China has appealed to the League of Nations to defend it from Japan. In 1933, the League of Nations set up the advisory commission on Manchuria. This committee included the US, Canada and the Netherlands, together with the Nineteen Nations on the League Assembly. Russia was not represented on that commission because the Soviets were at that time unwilling to participate.

This commission has accomplished virtually nothing in the four years of its existence. It elected two sub-committees: one, to deal with arms for the Far East; the other, to handle the matter of non-recognition for the usurped Manchurian government. The first sub-committee never met; the second recommended several sickly measures dealing with non-recognition of post and passports and the like.



Maxim Litvinoff, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, the nation which finds itself actively involved in determining the outcome of both the Chinese and the Spanish conflict.



Though seldom in the headlines, Vansittart is probably the most powerful single individual in the United States today, notwithstanding the world in fixing the diplomatic trend of nations.

Thomas Attacks Dallas Officials

DALLAS, Texas.—Charging police collusion with gangster hirelings of Henry Ford to bring down on this city a reign of anti-union violence and terror in many ways without parallel in the United States today, Norman Thomas, speaking under the auspices of the Texas Branch of the Workers Defense League before an audience of more than 1,000 people in the Dallas City Auditorium last night, warned the people of Dallas that they were "sowing the dragon's teeth of violence."

"And," he declared, "no city sows those dragons' teeth in its violation of the rights of free men to assemble, to speak freely, and to join unions without reaping a relentless army which will rise up and destroy it."

Charges Ford reviewing for his audience the circumstances around the beating, kidnapping, or tarring and feathering of 14 persons on seven different occasions within a period of six weeks, Thomas laid responsibility squarely at the doors of the Ford Motor Company.

"The Dallas situation," he said, "is just a continuation of the policies of violence which the National Labor Relations Board proved Ford has been using against labor organizers in the Detroit area. Henry Ford," he charged, "has deliberately set out to controvert all the laws of human rights."

Serious Consequences

China's new appeal—although couched mildly and avoiding a direct call for military sanctions as in an aggressive war—may very well lead to serious international consequences.

The Western Powers of France, Britain and America, in whose hands the League decision is really placed (Although America is not a League member, its word will carry great weight) are today less willing to yield to Japanese aggression than they were three years ago.

For the rulers of the British Empire, the Japanese aggression appears as part of a concerted attack by the anti-Versailles powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) against the status-quo in Europe and Asia.

Although the Spanish and Chinese wars are geographically separated, they are politically linked. The German-Italian drive in Spain and the Japanese drive in the Far East are a direct challenge to Franco-British supremacy in the world.

Britain's despatch of a fleet to the Mediterranean for the stated object of shooting down "pirates" must be viewed in the light of a possible military outbreak in European waters, necessitating the presence of the British fleet.

Franco-British Tie

The policy of Sir Robert Vansittart, permanent under-secretary of State for Britain,—to buy off Germany by concessions to it—may well prove to be a boomerang. Having won military power, Germany, with its Italian and Japanese ally, may turn against Britain and bite the hand that fed it.

France, the second important power at the League of Nations, has, under the direction of Yvon Delbos, been a British stooge for some months now.

By virtue of an international financial arrangement, Britain holds France by the throat. What is more important, France can look to no other power in Europe as a firm military ally. As a result, France has been dancing to the British tune.

The American Line

The policy of the US has been to keep hands off China. This policy will come to an end, however, if America's interests in the Far East are fundamentally threatened.

Since the World War, the American policy has been to keep Japan in partial rein by getting into the Chinese saddle together with Britain and France. This three-power understanding is one of the cornerstones of



Yvon Delbos, French Foreign Minister. He has been playing no independent role of late; he follows the British line.

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LEADERS IN AUTO



The name of Reuther has become a household word among automobile workers. The Reuther Brothers, Roy, Vic and Walt, are the sons of a veteran union organizer of West Virginia. Walter is now president of the West Side Local of the United Auto Workers; he is the veteran of the

Reuther-Frankenstein battle with Ford's thugs. Vic and Roy were militant lieutenants in the recent sit-down strikes that led to the rapid organization of tens of thousands of auto laborers. Roy is organizer of Flint Local 156. This year Walt Reuther is running on the labor slate as city councilman for Detroit.

Detroit Labor Runs Election Slate in City

The labor movement of Detroit is marching on the City Hall. A mass conference last Sunday started off a historic campaign for labor. The political action committee of the United Automobile Workers of

America, together with other union organizations in the CIO and AF of L, has launched a campaign to put Labor in the city government.

The labor ticket is headed by Patrick H. O'Brien, a liberal lawyer with a long record of service to labor, who is candidate for Mayor. Opposing him are two old party representatives, Richard Reading, conservative, and John W. Smith, now president of the Common Council, and backed by the Democratic Party. The election is non-partisan and party designations are therefore not very apparent.

The candidates for common council are Walter Reuther, president of the West Side local and a member of the Socialist Party; Richard Frankenstein, president of the Dodge Local and an international vice-president; Tracy Doll, president of Hudson; R. J. Thomas, president of Chrysler, an international vice-president and chairman of the Detroit District Council, and Maurice Sugar, well-known labor attorney.

Five candidates are being run by the UAW. There are nine places on the Common Council.

AFL Backs Smith

After weeks of bickering, the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor finally backed out of an agreement for a joint ticket and is now opposing the labor slate. The AF of L is supporting Smith and several of the council candidates in the primaries. It is not sponsoring the campaign for these candidates but merely following the traditional custom of endorsements.

The primaries take place October 5th. Two candidates for Mayor and eighteen candidates for Council.

perialism, both at home and abroad.

Charles Hurd explains this remarkable evolution not only by what labor does not do but by the practices of class collaboration initiated by the bosses. "British labor's story might have been quite different," he relates, "but for the liberal conservatism of men like Earl Baldwin, who have in large measure fought labor's battles by urging reforms on their associates—labor's employers."

Thanks to Earl Baldwin and others of his kind labor has been bluffed by the bosses and bullied by their bureaucrats into placing a vain faith in the captains of Britain's Empire. This process of bluff and bully has sapped the strength of organized labor, has weakened it for its present surrender at Norwich.

The hope of British labor is not in the trade union bureaucracy which spoke in the formal name of the workers at Norwich. The real hope of British labor lies in the lower ranks, in the stirrings in the factories, in the new wave of strikes, in the challenge hung at the trade union bureaucrats by the tens of thousands of British laborers who are crying for militant action.

These men and women, these who work in the factories and mills and pits of Britain, are the hope of Socialism. These shall shatter the war-machine of the British Empire just as they are on the move to break the grip of their corrupted and bought trade union bureaucracy.

will qualify for the November elections.

The Socialist Party is giving wholehearted but critical support to the UAW slate. As yet no formal labor party has been organized; the auto workers are expressing themselves politically through their regular trade union machinery rather than thru an organized labor party. A successful campaign in this election may well lead to the rapid development of a labor party.

Alan Strachan, an alternate member of the Socialist Party National Executive Committee, is campaign director of the UAW. In the 1935 city elections, he was the Socialist candidate for Common Council.

Issue Platform

Socialist work for the primaries will include a city-wide mass meeting, the issuance of special literature and a special four-page edition of the CALL as well as numerous smaller meetings in the foreign districts. Speakers are being furnished by the party for the campaign and some two hundred Socialists are active as precinct workers.

The labor platform issued this week contains planks for housing developments, for lower rents, for the ousting of the notorious Police Commissioner Hymie Pickert, for public ownership of utilities, and also planks on health and education, civil rights, abolition of private employment agencies, civic improvement, Negro rights and improvement of working conditions for city employees.

CLU Socialist Pressure in Texas Wins Violence Ban

Twenty-five Texas Rangers have been sent to Dallas by Governor James V. Allred as mob beatings of union men continued, the American Civil Liberties Union has been informed.

Three California men visiting the Pan-American Exhibition were beaten last week because they had CIO stickers on their caps, raising the total of victims of anti-union violence in recent weeks to twelve. The Rangers were ordered to "stop beatings, kidnappings or interference with right of assemblage or freedom of speech."

"If the twenty-five men are not sufficient to assure the right of peaceful assembly and freedom of speech and to prevent floggings and intimidation," declared Governor Allred, "more men will be sent. Any person who is in fear will be furnished a body-guard if necessary."

The ACLU has posted a reward of \$1,000 for information leading to the conviction of assailants of three Socialist labor organizers on August 9th and the Governor has offered a \$500 reward.

British Union Bureaucracy Submits to Imperialism

By Gus Tyler

The shameful degradation of a trade union movement which has lost its fighting soul and its Socialist objective was pitifully revealed at the British Trade Union Congress meeting in Norwich this past week.

The capitalist press of the world has showered its blessings upon the heads of the British trade union leaders who represent four million organized workers of England.

The capitalist press has praised them for their moderation, their patience, their calm, their readiness not to make demands and their readiness to see the bosses' point of view.

Charles W. Hurd of the capitalist New York Times goes positively rapturous over the sickly inaction of the British trade union heads!

"The organization of British labor," he tells us, "has progressed actually to the point where it is frequently a restraining influence on troubles rather than an incentive, as in some other countries."

What Mr. Hurd means by the scurvy phrase "a restraining influence on trouble" is that the trade union leaders in Britain have systematically hampered every militant struggle of the British workers.

Strike Wave

Tens of thousands of trade union workers—beginning in February 1933—have gone out on unauthorized strikes against growingly oppressive conditions. February 1936, 2,500 at Smithfield Market; March 1936, 1,000 aviation workers in London, followed by 600 at Stockport and another 1,200 at the Hayes factory; March 1936, a strike of trainmen in Streatham and Clapham; March 1937, 9,000 Scottish busmen and 6,000 Glasgow busmen; April, 10,000 busmen in the English counties; June, struck in Yorkshire; July, struck in Ribbles and Devon.

In the lighter industries there have been strikes as well as in other scattered factories; February 1937, 9,000 Scottish Leeds; August, 3,000 pit prop workers; September, a one day protest of 30,000 miners; October,

4,000 Glasgow dockers; January 1937, engineers; March, 270 grinders at Rolls Royce; 13,000 Clyde-side apprentices backed by 100,000 engineers; 2,200 more at Parkhead Forge; in April, 1,200 workers at Oxford.

These strikes—provoked by oppressive conditions—were almost unanimously outlawed by the case-hardened British trade union bureaucracy.

The policy of the TUC, as described by Charles W. Hurd, is not to demand "an excess beyond Government and industry could give."

In practice, this has meant to ask for less and less, and to get less and less—because British industry has insisted that it is in decay and is unable to support its working classes.

Bureaucratic Sabotage

The workers, under the pressure of keen economic despair, have been striking. The trade union bureaucrats, anxious to maintain their ten year old truce with the bosses, have actively intervened to halt these militant movements.

Hurd gently pats the trade union leaders on their bald pate: "Labor leaders—contend nevertheless that more than 99 percent of British disputes have been won by the conference method rather than by strikes."

But Hurd does not tell his readers why "conferences" have been so effective, without militant struggle. He does not point out that this peace was bought dearly at the expense of the workers.

The British Trade Union Congress is being used by the international capitalist press today to read a lecture to the militant working class on "how to behave."

Why shouldn't the capitalists rejoice at the behavior of the British Trade Union Congress when it "adopts a resolution thanking the Conservative Government for the benefits it has given the workers."

The War Issue

The Norwich Conference of the British Trade Union Conference met under the shadow of war in Europe. The TUC had two roads to travel: either against the war and, thereby, against the Government; or—toward support of the war and, thereby, cooperation with the Government.

The British Trade Union Congress has made its choice at Norwich: it chooses to go with the government in support of a coming war.

The Conference voted support of the government arms program. It properly criticized the government's policy of non-intervention in Spain. But it did so not to enable the workers to pursue an independent policy of labor sanctions against Franco, by a labor boycott and embargo against Spain, enforced by unions and strikes. The TUC opposes non-intervention because it wants government sanctions, because it looks upon British imperialism as a safe weapon for the maintenance of peace and democracy in the world.

The ten years of emasculating quiescence in the British Trade Union movement—from the General Strike of 1926 on—has brought the trade union bureaucracy to the lowest level of class collaboration yet attained by that labor organization. Today, the TUC, and the British Party, are just ill-disguised stooges of British Imperialism.

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Baron Replies Again To The Communist Slanders on Spain

(Continued from Last Week)

If I've left the impression that the Daily Worker columns are devoted to character assassination and slander, I am sorry for that hasn't been my purpose. You must give the devil his due. In the same issue where members of the working class and of standing in the revolutionary movement are called fascists you can find the Daily Worker weeping and gnashing its revolutionary teeth over the plight of million dollar pugilistic Joe Lewis and \$15,000.00 a year Van Lingle Murgo, suspended Brooklyn pitcher.

Nor do I wish to enter into a Tarzan-like yowling contest with Amter on the question of Volunteers to Spain. But Amter saw fit to raise the question—by claiming that my visit to Spain was to "accompany a non-existent Debs Column." I deny that I was to accompany anybody, and I am sure that "expert" Amter also knows the following: Louis Fisher, often quoted and favorite of the Daily Worker, reports in the September 4th, issue of the Nation.

Speaking of American Volunteers, Fisher mentions four individuals. Of the four mentioned three had been sent by the Friends of the Debs Column; two are prominent Socialists.

Let Fisher speak. "Sam Romer (former editor of the Socialist Call) a Socialist has been elected by the men of his section as political commissar, and Joe East, another Socialist, is a much liked figure." Amter knows Paul Neipold of Brookwood College, a prominent Socialist gave his life fighting fascism in Spain. That wounded Hans Amle, brother of Congressman Thomas Amle, a company commander, was sent by the Debs Column, that two of our men, Jack Weiss and Harry Owens are reported dead or missing.

Of course Amter knows these things and more—that men picked by the Debs Column had varying qualifications which resulted in their being used as commanders, interpreter, transport drivers and ambulance drivers, that the military authorities would have been stupid to keep these men in one company. Of course I could keep this up but I think Amter's motives are obvious in raising this issue along with his other slanders.

Do not be fooled by the smoke screens raised by the "experts" on the Daily Worker to conceal those who are really doing the wrecking in Spain. Let us look at the record since July of last year:

The Record

The Republican Majority cannot wage an effective war against Mussolini, Hitler and Franco. Largo Caballero is called upon by all anti-fascists to take the premiership.

Caballero succeeds in stopping Franco. Caballero succeeds in bringing about unity by getting the Anarchists—for the first time in their history—to enter his cabinet. Caballero is hailed as the Spanish Lenin by the Communists.

The P.O.U.M. enters the Catalonian Government to demonstrate its willingness to cooperate.

Soviet Russia takes three valuable months before sending necessary munition and arms. Although the workers government is to pay for this assistance, Soviet Russia demands political concessions in return.

The P.O.U.M. is driven out of the Catalonian Government in concession.

Russia sends help and the Communist Party in Spain under slogans of Unity and Democracy starts a public drive for the extermination of the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

Getting no support, and as a matter of fact denounced by Caballero, the Communists start a campaign of carping criticism and character assassination of Caballero.

From Hearst-like screaming, lynching headlines in the Spanish Communist press, against all who disagree with them, the Communists start mopping up a campaign. Shootings, assassinations and murders are reported.

The Communists call for breaking up worker's control of industry, transport, utilities, carrying arms etc. Resulting in the Barcelona street fighting.

All responsible elements are heart broken, the Anarchists, the P.O.U.M., the government leaders over the radio plead with their followers to stop fighting. Only the Stalinists and the Trotskyists call for more bloodshed. The Stalinists, reminded this writer of what a lynching party in the South looks like.

The Communists use the Barcelona events to drive Caballero out of office.

The Communists add all Caballero supporters to their list of Fascists and work for their extermination.

Nin and other working class leaders are murdered.

Thousands are in jail.

Newspapers are suppressed.

The working class in Spain hopelessly divided.

Who is doing the work of the Fascists in Spain? Shall the choice be a Stalin dictatorship as against Franco Fascism?

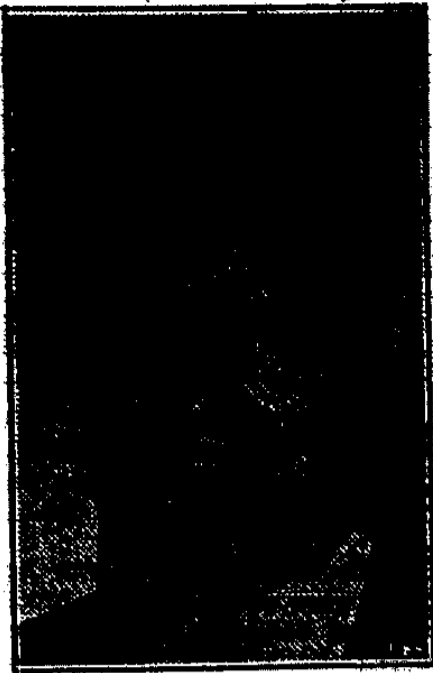
Dos Passos

Let us hear from John Passos who returned from Spain in May and can't possibly be accused of being a "Trotskyist-Fascist, saboteur, diversionist, wrecker—right or left, . . . in the July issue of the magazine "Common Sense" Dos Passos writes. "The anarchists and Socialists with their ideas of individual and local freedom and selfgovernment have given way step by step before this tremendously efficient and ruthless machine for power (Communist Party). And again . . . "it must be admitted that they (Communist Party) have brought into Spain along with their enthusiasm and their munitions, the secret Jesuitical methods, the Trotsky witch-hunt and all the intricate and bloody machinery of Kremlin policy."

My last words I address to all radicals, trade unionists, progressives an anti-fascist who oppose capitalist dictatorship and dictatorship in the name of the working class and place working class democracy first. You must cry out against the importation to Spain from Soviet Russia of the GPU system, the Trotsky witch-hunt, the mass arrests, the torture chambers, the assassinations and murders.

In short all that is reprehensible in the Communist ideology. You must protest the murder of Nin and other working class leaders, the Communists' destroying working class unity in Spain, the murderous blackmail by the Communists (arms and munition from Soviet Russia for the—as put by Amter—"extirpation" of all revolutionary forces, the Caballero

Unemployed



John D. Biggers, president of a glass company in Toledo, O., is not unemployed. He is just in charge of taking a census of the unemployed. He seems to be anxious to conduct a voluntary registration. Maybe that will please his boss, Mr. Roosevelt, a bit. Fewer jobless will be recorded.

Thomas Hits Dallas

(Continued from Page One)

although George Baer, Vice-President of the Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union and perhaps the most severely beaten of all the victims of anti-union violence in this city, was connected with an AF of L union Green did not once refer to the reign of anti-union terror in any of the speeches here.

Anti-Semitism

Thomas found much significance in the fact that the mob which had kidnapped and tarred and feathered Herbert Harris, Socialist Organizer, after he had shown a picture, "Millions of Us," in a Dallas Park on August 9th, had asked him if he were a Jew. He reminded his audience that the Jews have been the most badly treated people in Nazi Germany and pointed out, "That is just a dress rehearsal for Germany. Instead of twenty Ford thugs as in Dallas, over there it is hundreds of thousands of organized brown shirts."

At several times during his speech Thomas made reference to the nation-wide notoriety of Dallas as the "worst open shop city of its size in the United States." He called upon the constituted authorities of the city to protect citizens in their lawful right to organize.

George Clifton Edwards, Dallas representative of the Workers Defense League, read a resolution condemning local officials for their inaction in bringing to justice those responsible for mob violence which was approved by a roar from the audience. Edwards also read a telegram from Maury Maverick expressing his regret that he could not be present for the meeting and also condemning the lack of action by Dallas authorities.

Socialists, the Anarchists and the Prouists.

Yes, send telegrams and delegations to your nearest Spanish consul and register this protest, so that the Loyalist Government shall know that workers devoted and loyal to its fight against Fascism are asking that the Negro Government break the murderous-blackmailing hold of the Communists.

Krueger Warns Against Labor-Boss Coalition At Huge Kenosha Rally

(From Kenosha Labor)

"I'd walk five miles to hear that guy talk."

This comment from a member of the Coke and Gas Workers' union appeared to express the opinion of a great number of Kenosha unionists who warmly applauded and cheered the stirring Labor day address of Prof. Maynard Krueger at Washington Bowl Monday.

The admiration seemed to be mutual, for Krueger, speaking for the third time in two years under the auspices of the Trades and Labor Council, praised the Kenosha trade union movement as one of the most outstanding in the country.

"This is a place where it is a great honor to be privileged to deliver the Labor day address. In Kenosha, you have built what is probably the best organized movement in any American city. You have also done a remarkable job in preserving unity between the AFL and the CIO."

Krueger, a professor of economics at the University of Chicago, was until recently vice president of the American Federation of Teachers.

Estimates of this Washington Bowl audience ranged between 15,000 and 20,000.

In his talk he reminded his audience that when he had spoken on the labor institute program last winter he had warned that many so-called friends of labor would desert when a critical situation arose.

"Davey is typical of his kind. But there are many more Daveys who have not yet unmasked themselves."

Instead of depending upon "friends" in public office, Krueger called upon unionists to organize their own political party and put men under their discipline in public posts.

Cites Three Great Dangers

He cautioned the Labor day crowd against three principal dangers, which he named as:

1. A split between AFL and CIO.
2. Dependence upon capitalist political parties.
3. A false belief that the interests of labor and capital could be

reconciled.

"The muscles of labor remain strong only so long as they are exercised," he said. "In Germany a powerful movement allowed itself to be lulled into a false sense of security. It grew flabby, and fell before Fascism without fighting."

Where industrialists have not been able to defeat labor in an outright fight, they are beginning to turn to more subtle tactics, Krueger declared.

"When a union movement becomes too strong for them to stop with strike-breakers, spies and vigilantes, they pretend to discard their operation and to play the Piped Piper tunes of peace."

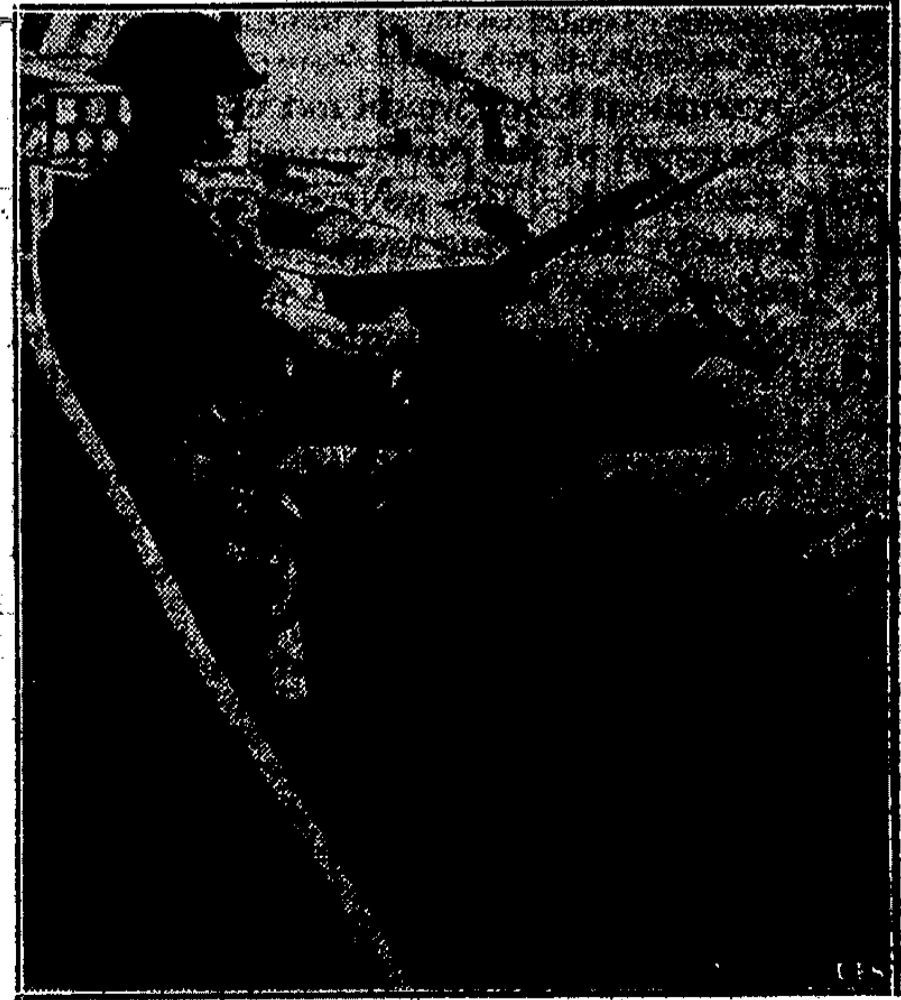
"They proclaim that labor and capital have mutual interests, and as the British ruling class did in the sad case of Ramsay MacDonald, seek to woo labor leaders into their camp."

He cited the case of John Mitchell, first president of the United Mine workers, who was persuaded to join the National Civic Federation, ostensibly a labor-capital organization, and who was ordered by his union to withdraw, which he did. He referred also to the case of Frank Ferrington, one-time president of the Illinois district of the miners, who accepted an executive position with the coal operators, and who was expelled from his union.

In Springfield, Ohio, Krueger recalled a school board had sought to soften the militancy of the teachers union by offering its president the superintendency of schools. The president declined.

"Let nobody drag into the ranks of labor a wooden horse of Troy containing agents of the industrialists," he exclaimed. "Resist the efforts of the manufacturers to smuggle up close to the labor movement so that they may better strangle it!"

American Soldier in China



American soldiers are posted on active duty in the International Settlement, to protect American lives. Should American investments and interests be placed in jeopardy, the imperialist forces behind the United States Government will bring pressure to bear to have the military machine of this country become actively engaged in the Sino-Japanese conflict. The Far-Eastern clash has brought the workers of the world face to face with the question of a new war.

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Saturday, Sept. 18, 1937 No. 131

A NEW CRISIS

The stock market is back on the front page again. Three breaks in one week; three unexplained slumps; three cold chills up the spine of the financial world.

The "quality" stock led the decline. Big firms, like U.S. Steel, Coca Cola, and Chrysler were at the head of the sharp nose dives.

The government tried to help matters by freeing \$300,000,000 of gold to ease up the credit needs of the country. The result was just the opposite of that predicted: stocks did not go up; they went down again.

No doubt, behind all these falls and rises stand the Wall Street Wolves, wiping out little fortunes and accumulating greater fortunes. No doubt, the explanation of these fluctuations can partly be found in the strange working of the stock markets.

Yet the real reason for the uncertainty and waverings in the market is to be found in far more fundamental economic trends in the U.S.

Every wise financial brain knows that the present era of "prosperity" is very definitely limited; and nobody knows just when the end shall begin.

Conservative economists set 1940 as an outer limit. Others speak of 1938 or 1939. But all are agreed that it is coming.

The present era of prosperity has been a very shallow one. At least 8,000,000 unemployed have been with us during this "prosperity." Other millions are employed or partially employed at below existence wages.

The rise in wages—won by strikes in basic industries—has been closely paralleled by a rise in prices. The real purchasing power of labor has, as a result, not been greatly improved for the better.

This means that the increased output of the last year is not being absorbed by the consumer.

This means that America is going into an economic nose-dive again.

The stock market is the seismograph that records the tremors in the bowels of our economic system preceding the eruption. The present waverings in Wall Street portend a new crisis.

The U.S. Government does not look with equanimity upon the possibilities of a new economic collapse.

Who shall carry the burdens of a new crisis?

The Federal Government is bankrupt. Its deficit is now way up in the tens of billions.

A new depression would seriously limit the tax income of the government. Taxable wealth will be deflated; moves to tax wealth will be fought off with vicious determination.

Government loans would not be easy to float, since the credit of the government would be seriously threatened. The government could only float loans by promising to pay a pound of flesh the bankers. The banks would determine whom the city and state governments of many localities, would place its financial affairs in the hands of the banks. The banks would determine whom to tax; the banks would demand a cutting of social services and social securities; the banks would demand an end to laws regulating the profits of industry. The banks would rule.

The history of one European country after another has taught us that a bankrupt capitalism, fallen into the hands of bankers (as it must), is not only unable to meet the needs of the workers but begins to attack whatever measures of progress labor has won.

The American workers face a hard battle.

But that battle will be increasingly futile if it is limited to a struggle for the impossible: that is to the simple modification of capitalism. That battle must be waged against capitalism itself.

The workers of America can enjoy the great wealth of America only when the factories are run for the common good and not for individual gain, for use and not for profit.

Labor can only end the see-saw ride of up-wages than up-costs by breaking the see-saw system of capitalism. A socialist society, wherein the workers and society, own and control industry can alone insure decent hours of work, decent income, and highest standards of living.

AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

Nothing can be clearer than the facts in recent attacks on labor and Socialist organizers in Dallas, Tex and New Orleans, La.

In Dallas, in six weeks or less, there were seven assaults involving two kidnappings. There were eleven victims—one, vice-president Baer of the Millinery Workers, is still, I was told, in danger of losing the sight of one eye. All the victims were attacked because they were supposed to be CIO organizers or sympathizers. This was true of Harris and Lambert, our Socialist organizers, who had been showing a labor film, had been showing a labor film. office have been, at the most favorable interpretation, completely indifferent or incompetent or both. The men who kidnapped and tarred and feathered Harris left a broad trail. They actually returned him to the city and dumped him out in front of a newspaper office. There have been no arrests. In the Baer case two men were admitted to bail for a lesser offense than was committed and were allowed to depart unquestioned about a third man who was involved.

The two men had personally pleaded guilty paid small fines for an attack upon a victim who denied that they were the perpetrators of it. Publicity in the Harris affair and possibly the fact that the governor sent some state rangers into town have brought these attacks to at least a temporary end (Previously these Rangers had broken a strike in Worth.)

PROTEST MEETING

Our protest meeting was held in the City Hall Auditorium with police protection. The Dallas News in announcing the meeting said that in any event there would be no mob attack since my "national prominence" would cause such an attack to reflect on the city. But my "prominence," the City Hall location and the "police protection" were not enough for the company from which we tried to rent a motion picture projector to show the labor film, "Million of Us" one copy of which the mob has destroyed in the attack on Harris. The man in charge wouldn't take a chance.

I told the audience that nothing could better prove to what the fine words the Texas Bill of Rights had come. You can talk in Dallas, Texas if you agree with the powers that be or if you are prominent enough so that to beat you up might win the city a black eye.

OPEN SHOP TOWN

The saddest part of the Dallas story is that William Green came to this open shop town for a Labor Day address. He had been informed of the situation; yet his address praised Dallas and vehemently attacked John Lewis and the CIO. Included in the welcoming Committee for Green was a public utility magnate named Denning, a few of whose striking employees marched in the Labor Day Parade which he reviewed. Behind the story of these strikes in Dallas is the fact that it is one of the leading open towns in America and that the open shop manufacturers and, above all Henry Ford, are determined to keep it so. It is the third largest center for women's hats in America, with wages about half the union scale. And the open shoppers have temporarily smashed a millinery strike.

There is every certainty, short of legal proof, that the mob of thugs who got Harris was somehow instigated within the organization. This is one of the ways American fascism begins.

NEW ORLEANS

New Orleans has a long record of red-baiting and the denial of civil liberty. Our gallant comrade, Henri Hermes, has been carrying on a steady attack against the corruption and tyranny of the city government. The police arrested him inside the Socialist hall under a war-time state sedition law. With him they arrested John Antonovitch, who had dropped in to see whether there was a meeting (It was the night of a meeting of the automobile workers which Hermes had been organizing, but the meeting had not yet begun.)

The police asked Antonovitch where he was born; he said "Jugoslavia." So they arrested him for sedition or what have you. It was a week before he could get bail.

Hermes got out on bail in thirteen hours. A week later, when he was leaving for work in the morning, near his own house, two thugs beat him up terribly, saying that they'd teach him to attack the Government. It is generally believed that these men are collectors for one of the underworld rackets which has complete police impunity. The police have made no arrest.

Again the background in New Orleans is anti-labor, especially anti-CIO. A detective told Hermes: "Put me on the payroll and I'll play ball the way I do with the other boys." The background also was well stated by Dorothy Thompson, in one of her columns entitled, "Hitler Over New Orleans," in which she described a city "reeking with gambling, prostitution, slot machines, and gang rule." Mayor Maistre is openly said to have become mayor because he first became a kind of king and political spokesman of the underworld.

The old city machine and the Huey Long machine have made peace. They are all for Roosevelt, ever since his administration dropped the income tax suits against some of them in the "second purchase of Louisiana."

Beautiful political harmony prevailed in robbery; the masses are the suckers who pay forty-nine per cent sales tax and Hermes is still under charges for sedition for writing what I read to the audience about the grafters and anti labor politicians! Dorothy Thompson had better look out if ever she wants to visit New Orleans.

The Socialists in Dallas and New Orleans, and the handful of liberals who back them, in Dallas—the local Workers' Defense League and, in New Orleans, the Louisiana Constitutional League—deserve immense credit. Most of the newspapers have also been fairly good, but the general cowardice of liberals and AFL labor leaders is amazing. It was impossible in either city to get a committee of prominent citizens to risk sitting on the platform while I talked. They admit all our charges and do nothing. And the situation from what I have heard on this trip is not confined to two cities. It is what is happening in many parts of America. The Workers Defense League has its work cut out for it.

DELTA COOPERATIVE

By contrast it was an immense

joy to come up from New Orleans to the Delta Cooperative Farms at Hillhouse (now Rochdale Miss.) That farm, with its co-operators, thirty-five families, white and colored is the single most encouraging thing I've seen in a thousand mile travel. It convinces me that under leadership, such as Jim Franklin and Blaine Treadway supply, the cooperative is the answer, as subsidized peasantry is not, to the problem of the plantation.

The general situation of sharecroppers and day workers in plantations in the Memphis-Arkansas area is temporarily better largely due the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and to publicity. Moreover, Governor Carl Baily of Arkansas, who now wants to succeed Joe Robinson in Senate is an enormous improvement on Furtell, his predecessor. The union, in recent months, has been able to hold big meetings outdoors in the Arkansas cotton country, such as the one I addressed last Sunday without attack by mobs or police. That's something!

But what a miserable life it is for human beings. The Delta Farm show how much better it can be made even in a few short months. The union is beginning a fight for raising the pay for cotton picking to a dollar or more a hundred pounds. It's running 50, 60, 75 cents in large parts of the region.

NO WAR

One good thing! Americans want this government to keep out of war. But wanting isn't enough. The politicians, the "national honor" folks, and those sentimentalists who want America to play St. George against the Japanese dragon will get us in except as we know the art keeping out and insist on playing it.

AFL Join World Labor

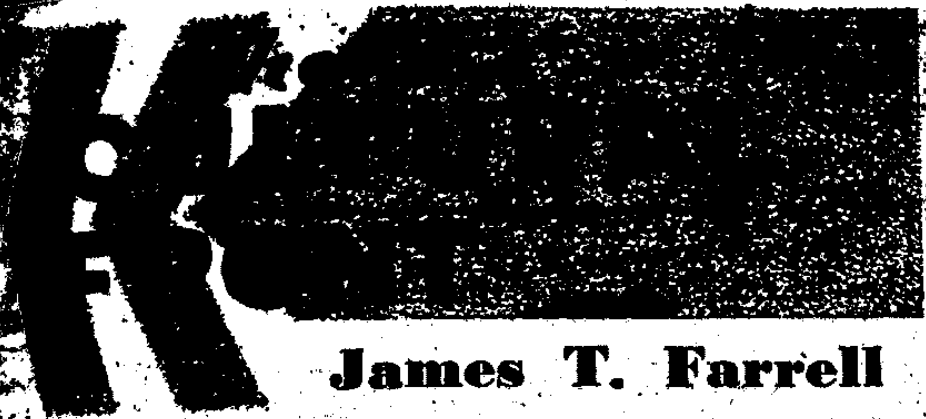
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J. (AP)—The American Federation of Labor goes back into the Intl. Federation of Trade Unions after 25 years, as a result of acceptance by the executive council of the report on this subject of Vice-Pres. Matthew Woll.

Woll recently attended the I.F.T.U. assembly in Warsaw and negotiated conditions for A.F. of L. affiliation with the world trade union body sometimes known as the Amsterdam International. The A.F. of L. left the I.F.T.U. before the World War because officials felt it was too greatly bound by European labor policies on socialism and general anti-war strikes and because there was disagreement over methods of computing tax payments.

WATCH THE WRAPPER

on your copy of the Socialist Call. If the number on the lower left of this notice, or any number less than this number appears on your wrapper it means that your subscription has expired. Renew immediately.

131 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!



James T. Farrell

The Local Boys Are at Their Old Stand Again

A recently issued circular announces that the magazine, *Partisan Review*, will reappear this November after having been suspended for one year. It will have new offices at 22 E. 17th St., a new format, and a new editorial board consisting of F. W. Dupee, Dwight Macdonald, Mary McCarthy, George L. K. Morris, William Phillips, and Phillip Rahv.

It promises to be left wing in orientation, and broadly cultural in its interests. It declares that it will have "no commitments, either tacit or avowed, to any political party or group," and that it will seek to avoid the dangers of "political dogmatism." It concludes in part: "To revive the integrity of the Left movement in culture means adopting a polemical attitude toward our contemporaries."

The "local boys" on *New Masses* have responded to this announcement according to schedule. In their issue of September 14th, they discuss it in an editorial paragraph under the heading of *Falsely Labeled Goods*.

What do they mean? Their principal charge is none too subtle. They claim that the new editorial board is stealing the name of the old *Partisan Review*. They point out that *Partisan Review* was originally established as the organ of the John Reed Club. Among its original editors were Joseph Freeman, Sender Garlin, Milton Howard, Joshua Kunitz, Louis Lozowick, Wallace Phelps, Ben Field, and Phillip Rahv. Contributors to the first issue included Grace Lumpkin, Ben Field, Joseph Freeman, and Granville Hicks. Presumably, the old editors and contributors made a fine name for *Partisan Review*.

And who are the ones now stealing that name? The new editors "have attacked the Communist Party, the people's front, the League of American Writers, and the Soviet Union. They have been extremely fond of Leon Trotsky, the POUM, and the Trotsky Defense Committee. No matter what attempts at camouflage may be made, there is no reason to suppose that the present activities of the editors do not clearly outline the future policies of the magazine."

Therefore, you can understand if you are one of the "local boys," why the "new" *Partisan Review* "will attack the policies upheld by the magazine which once bore that name and the authors who made that name worth stealing."

Partisan Review

I happen also to have contributed to the old *Partisan Review*, perhaps more so than did anyone who was not officially an editor, and also much more so than most of the so-called editors who allegedly contributed to the glories of its name. I believe that I can speak here with an authority equal to that of the "local boys." The John Reed Clubs were disbanded in 1935. *Partisan Review* continued publication for some time after that, largely because of the efforts of two of its editors, William Phillips and Phillip Rahv. The last issue of *Partisan Review*, in the fall of 1936, before its suspension, contained the names of the following editors on its masthead, Phillip Rahv, William Phillips, and Alan Calmer. Two of these are now on the board. They were among the original board of editors, for the name Wallace Phelps on the original list of editors was a pseudonym for William Phillips.

About two years ago, Granville Hicks, who presumably helped to contribute to the glories of the "old" *Partisan Review* contributed an article to *New Masses* in which he called for the abandonment of *Partisan Review* on the ground that it served no independent function. *Partisan Review*; while existing within the orbit of the Stalinist cultural movement, fought the insane leftist tendencies which were continuously exemplified in *New Masses*, in the strident dogmatic literary criticism of Hicks, the heresy hunting of Joshua Kunitz and others. Original editors such as Freeman were political appointees, and took no active part in the continuing editorial work of the magazine.

Occasionally writers like Hicks and Freeman contributed to the magazine, but their contributions were not especially distinguished, most notably in the case of Freeman. Also, let us recapitulate. Some of the original editors, were Milton Howard, Sender Garlin, Joshua Kunitz. What, precisely what, have they contributed to recent American criticism or culture? What? Who are they to have helped make a name for a cultural magazine? And Hicks and Freeman might also be thrown in for good measure. Freeman's efforts at literary criticism have generally been long winded apologies for whatever cultural policies suited the party line at the time of the writing. Hicks, during the period when he was literary editor of *New Masses*, provoked bitter criticism from any number of writers who were contributing to *New Masses*.

Further, let us look at the active editorial board of *New Masses* today. In the last issue of *New Masses*, the active editorial workers on that organ are named as follows: Herman Michaelson, Alexander Taylor, Theodore Draper, Crockett Johnson, William R. Smith.

In addition, it might be pointed out that *Partisan Review* in its new period is looking forward to the future. The left wing cultural movement which was so noisily proclaimed a few years ago is bankrupt. Its theatres are closed. The new generation of young writers is not being heard from. Most of the emphases which were made critically and theoretically with such aggressive and intolerant assurance are forgotten like a bad dream. They are pulled forth only as a kind of false glory to serve the purposes of casting unfounded insinuations on the attempt of others to establish an independent and skeptical literary magazine. For the rest, it is forgotten.

We need new magazines. We need magazines that are free of political dogmatism. We need a note of skepticism, independence of judgement. We do not get this from the "official" literary left. *Partisan Review* promises to work in such a direction. So let the old boys

**LABOR RESEARCH FRONT
UNCOVERS JOKERS IN
"BABY" WAGNER ACTS**

(Continued from last week.)

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES

The N.L.R.B. has adopted a "hands off" policy in internal union matters and jurisdictional disputes. The New York statute states this specifically (705.3). Michigan does the same (7c), but another clause (8i) permits the board to pry into the internal affairs of unions under the pretext of investigating "racketeering," that ancient bogey of the foes of unionism.

RIGHT TO STRIKE

Each of the state acts follows the national law in specifically guaranteeing the right to strike. Even so clear a statement as that in the N.L.R.B. (13) is capable of misinterpretation by judges with a bias, as happened during the Maine shoe strike of April 1937. The Wisconsin law makes it clear that even if a group of employees loses an election it may go on strike (111.09.0).

Such a provision becomes important in view of the reactionary demand that employees of a plant be polled to see whether a majority favors a strike before they are allowed to walk out. By the New York law, the board cannot require that workers on strike go back to work before it takes legal action against the employer (706.5).

The Michigan law forbade picketing of a plant by people who were not employed there, excepting union officials. Since there was no question of the picketers obstructing the entrances to the plant, (this became illegal by another section of the act), the effect of this clause was clearly to interfere with the constitutional right of assembly.

The Massachusetts legislature succeeded in slipping in a section declaring it an unfair labor practice "for any person or labor organization to seize or occupy unlawfully private property as a means of forcing settlement of a labor dispute." (Sec. 8a) This clause makes it the duty of the labor board to enforce the law dealing with trespass, which properly came before the courts. This makes the board an instrument of the employers instead of a defender of the guaranteed rights of labor, and points the way to more extended use of the boards in repressing union activities.

MEDIATION AND ARBITRATION

The Wagner act made no provision for mediation or arbitration by the N.L.R.B., those functions being rightfully vested in other bodies. In this the New York, Utah, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania laws concur. The Michigan bill enables the board to create special boards of mediation, and to "encourage or induce the parties to submit any industrial dispute or controversy to arbitration whenever that appears feasible or advantageous."

stay at their old stand. Let them bask in the glories of the critical work, which was done by Joshua Kunitz, Granville Hicks, Joseph Freeman, Milton Howard, and Sender Garlin. Let the "local boys" on *New Masses* have this suddenly rediscovered past. As autumn comes on, comfort themselves with days of the John Reed Clubs, fancying that there they conceived themselves as a vanguard.

(8c, 9) The Wisconsin act goes even further, permitting the board to act as arbitrator, or to appoint one, and providing not only for voluntary submission of a case to arbitrate by both sides, but mitting the signers in advance to also for written contracts to submit any future disputes to this body for arbitration (111. 12). This law would make it easy for employers to force unions into accepting such contracts. Once signed, the contracts would make a strike virtually impossible, even if the arbitration award were against the union, for the awards are enforceable by a court judgement.

It is significant that two of the potentially most dangerous provisions found in these state acts

—compulsory arbitration and compulsory registration of unions on an "approved" list—should have appeared in the Wisconsin act. That traditionally progressive state is still a step ahead of the others in its labor relation policies. In the immediate future the trend will probably be toward a greater degree of government intervention and control in industrial relations. In an economy which can offer only a limited share of wealth to its workers, this government control will eventually be used to suppress their demands for more. To protect itself, labor must become increasingly jealous of its freedom and watchful of attempts to write the machinery of suppression into law.

With the Party

Along with the decisive action taken on vital questions before the party the NEC, at the meeting in New York, authorized the national office to launch an immediate drive for a sustaining fund.

This fund will be party-wide and will go for the support of the national organization—and the party press.

Now that certain issues have been settled in the party, the road is open for constructive party work.

With the completion of registration during September, the party will be in position to push a recruiting drive for new members. The work of the party in mass organizations is indicative of what can be done when a real job is undertaken.

New literature is needed, organizers must be put in the field to satisfy the requests that are coming in for help. Conferences of state and district secretaries and organizers must be held. The press must be enlarged and strengthened, and all this requires funds that the work may go forward.

A sustaining fund was decided upon as the most satisfactory plan of providing these funds. Individual party members and friends, branches, locals and state organizations will be given an opportunity to make it possible for this go-ahead program of party building. Full details of the program will appear in next week's issue of the CALL and will be mailed to all branch, local and state organizations.

Sustaining Fund

At the request of San Francisco, the following resolution is submitted: "That the resolution of the National Executive Committee, 'A Temporary Policy During Party Reorganization' be submitted to a referendum vote of the members."

To submit a Resolution to a referendum it is necessary that it be seconded or endorsed by at least five locals in three states having a total membership of 20% of the total membership of the party.

Locals seconding or endorsing a motion for a referendum should transmit the action of their local in a letter signed by the Secretary and the Chairman of the meeting. The letter should state clearly the

date of the meeting and that the action was taken by a majority vote of the members present. The letter should also report the total number of members in the local.

Locals have until October 30th to second or endorse this move for a referendum.

The following motions have been received from local Rochester and are published giving opportunity for seconds.

RESOLVED: That local Rochester hereby officially moves for a national referendum of the membership of the Socialist Party of America on the NEC action suspending the charter of California.

RESOLVED: That we officially move for a national referendum for the purpose of calling an immediate Special National Convention.

Locals have until December 15th to second the above motions submitted by local Rochester. Above regulations on seconds apply to these motions.

Does Your Neighbor Read the CALL?

BRANCH DIRECTORY
RATES: 2 Lines, 25c. 3 cents per additional line.
 Minimum 1 Month.
 Deadline: Monday at 3 P.M.

MANHATTAN

VILLAGE BRANCH meets every Thurs. night at 107 MacDougal St. Ellen Loeb, Sec'y, 803 West 4th St. Open discussion last Thursday every month.

GERMAN Branch Meets second Tuesday of each month during summer, Yorkville. Labor Temple, 245 E. 84th St. G. Hoffman, Organizer.

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) Rm. 26. Ruth Auerbach, Sec'y.

DETROIT

BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday, 8 P. M., 110 West Warren.

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

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 714 Seneca Avenue Brooklyn, N. Y.

Evaluate Program Of New York ALP

Declaring that the Socialist Party will issue its city platform, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, State Chairman of the party yesterday both praised and criticized the municipal platform of the American Labor party published on September 8.

Dr. Laidler singled out for praise the party's plank in favor of public ownership of such services in which "private enterprise and capital failed to meet public necessities adequately" and declared that if this plank were carried out to its logical conclusion, "the grip of our electrical, gas and transit monopolies, of our giant milk trusts and of predatory landlordism would be broken and the city would be redeemed from some of the economic controls of the gentleman who for years have dominated the Republican and Democratic parties."

GOP Endorsement

"The platform, however, is so vague on many points," declared Dr. Laidler, "and subject to so many interpretations that such representatives of the Republican party, the party of big business, as Kenneth F. Simpson and Sam Koenig, for years an important leader against Tammany, can pretend to read into it a 99 per cent approval of Republican policies."

Dr. Laidler also criticized the platform for evading any discussion of such inequitable forms of taxation as the sales tax; for failing to point out the weaknesses of the Berle-Seabury plan of unification and for failing to urge the immediate public ownership of all of the city's electrical utilities.

Dr. Laidler said: "The Socialist Party, whose Central Committee is issuing the platform on which Socialist candidates will stand in this campaign, welcomes the appearance of the first platform issued by the American Labor party. Four years ago the Socialist party was the only party among the present legal parties of the state which issued any constructive program during the Mayoralty campaign. Last year the American Labor party supported only Democratic candidates, and waged its campaign without presenting any platform of its own. The issuance of the platform just adopted by the American Labor party is a step in the right direction."

Attacks Slams

"The Socialist party finds itself in agreement with the American Labor party in its demand for public ownership in cases where private enterprise and capital have failed to meet public necessities adequately. It would put concrete meaning into this plank. The Socialist party was the first party to urge the elimination of the slums."

"It agrees with the American Labor party that 'public ownership of transit is inevitable and imperative; that the city should enter the business of distributing milk to the consumer; that it should develop a publicly owned electrical plant; should extend its free hospitals; begin a frank attack on venereal disease; expand its park and playground program; eliminate racketeering in markets; refuse to use force in the suppression of the peaceful activities of labor; improve the quality of its education; eliminate overcrowding in the schools; and give proper representation to minority groups."

"However, the platform leaves much to be desired. It says nothing about the inequity of the sales tax, the most burdensome of all forms of taxation, foisted on the people by the banking interests. It presents no program of taxation, and yet a scientific and adequate taxation program based on ability to pay and benefits re-

ceived is imperative, if the city is to expand its public services. It fails to state its position on the Berle-Seabury transit plan under which the city was to pay a sum of money for the BMT and IRT which exceeded by more than a hundred million the market value of the stocks of these two companies.

"The platform fails to urge the complete public ownership of electrical light and power, and proposes the development of a 'yardstick,' though experience has fully proved the need for a hundred per cent public ownership and the 'yardstick' method of encroachment on such ownership, though better than attempt at regulation means unnecessary duplication of plants and labor force and possesses numerous disadvantages not found in complete public administration.

Public Utilities

"The program throughout is so vague on many points and subject to so many interpretations that such representatives of the Republican party, the party of big business, as Kenneth F. Simpson and Sam Koenig, for years an important leader against Tammany Hall, can pretend to read into it a 99 per cent approval of Republican policies. If the plank on public ownership is carried to its conclusion it will break the grip of our utilities, utilities that long backed and controlled the Republican party. It is to be hoped that the A.L.P. will explain clearly how far it means business in this regard.

"If it is truly to represent in this campaign the great mass of labor and of consumers, the A.L.P. must work for a program that will utterly fail to obtain the approval of the party of big business, for that platform will inevitably cut drastically into the profits of the big utility and landholding interests of the city. The A.L.P. has a rare opportunity in the next few weeks to put teeth into their platform and to show that they are determined to be the militant representative of the masses. The Socialist party hopes that the American Labor party will take advantage of this opportunity, even though, in doing so, they may receive the condemnation of Sam Koenig and the Republican party as doctrinaire and 'impractical dreamers.'"

Spanish Youth Homes

PARIS—(FP)—France is dotted with refugee camps for Spanish children. Most are supported by French factory or civil service workers, who contribute a few francs a week to make up the 350 francs a month required for the maintenance of a child.

French workers who thus contribute become good-parents and frequently visit "their" children or take them on outings. Many of the 10,000 refugee youngsters in France are with private families. They will remain there until the end of the war. If there is no family left in Spain to claim the children then, they will be available for adoption. About 11,000 other children are in Belgium, Sweden, England and other countries.

Southern Tenant Farmers' Union To Convene

A special convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union has been called to decide upon affiliation with other farm labor organizations in the Committee for Industrial Organization.

This call states:

You are hereby invited to elect a delegate to participate in a special convention to be held in Memphis, Tennessee, September 24, 25 and 26. The purpose of this convention is two-fold:

The day of September 24 will be given up to deliberation in closed session by delegates from the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union locals only. In accordance with the preamble of the Constitution of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union which states our readiness to affiliate with other agricultural workers' organizations whose principles are in accord with our own and to build one big union of all agricultural workers, this special meeting will vote whether or not to affiliate with the new agricultural international union established by the Denver Convention, July 9 to July 14. Southern Tenant Farmers' Union delegates should be instructed by their locals as to their vote on this question. If we vote to affiliate we will then go into the District Convention of Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, chartered by the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Beginning on the 25th of September the first convention of District IV of the Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America will open formally. Delegates from all locals representing workers in the industries and agricultural organizations under the jurisdiction of the International will be seated.

The convention will proceed to set up the District organization, elect officers for the coming year, establish policies, wage scale, etc., for the proper conduct of the organization in this District. The District will of course be chartered by the International Union. All locals participating will also be chartered by the International with the approval of the District Executive Board.

Locals participating in the convention will provide travel expenses and room and board of their delegates while the convention is in session.

Fraternally yours,

J. R. BUTLER, President, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Vice President—United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America.

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"THE SPANISH EARTH"
by the distinguished Dutch Director JORIS IVENS
Commentary and Narration by ERNEST HEMINGWAY
Collaborators: Archibald MacLeigh-Lillian Hellman

China Pleads To League

(Continued from Page One)
American policy in the Far East. To the extent that the British and French imperialist governments arrive at some agreement with Japan on the division of the booty it will be possible for Amer-

ica to avoid involvement. Should the Western imperialisms, however, be bluntly crossed by Japan the possibilities of an immediate international outbreak are heightened.

League Decision

The decision of the League of Nations will be a barometer of the international war fever. The decision will let the world know whether Britain and Japan have chosen to fight it out now, or whether they have decided to bide their time to set the world ablaze a little later.

The complicating factor, of course, is the Soviet Union, whose immediate interests coincide with that of the Western Empires, but whose working class character makes it persona non grata in the European chancelleries.

Japan's and Germany's renewed outbursts against the danger of international Communism may be an indication of what these nations will settle for in a deal with Britain. Hitler's Nuremberg speech of this week—re-emphasizing the war against Communism—may well be taken as a bid to settle with Britain, provided—revolution is crushed in Spain and Russia is thrown to the Fascist wolves.

What course Britain pursues, what open conflict or what deal is worked out between the capitalist democracies and dictatorships, what nations shall immediately be involved in the onrushing world war is a matter of days—and no longer a question of years.

Fascists Arrest Socialist Seaman

The Workers Defense League asked that the State Department investigate the arrest of Rentie Wolrath, a member of the Village Branch of the Socialist Party in New York City, who was arrested by Fascist police in Naples, Italy, while the Excalibur of the American Export Line was docked there. Wolrath, a member of the National Maritime Union and active in the last seamen's strike in New York

was employed as a wiper on the ship. The nature of the charges against him was not revealed.

The incident started, according to Wolrath, when he came aboard one night and found a 'blackshirt' and a fascist soldier rummaging his locker. After an argument he chased them off the ship with a cleaver. When he reached the bottom of the gangway and turned back, the blackshirt fired four shots at him, missing each time.

The next day the police, with an interpreter, visited aboard ship, questioned him, and advised him that he would be safe if he remained aboard ship. Two hours later fascist soldiers boarded the ship and took Wolrath to prison. The only apparent charge against him was dodging four fascist bullets.

"Terror in Texas"
A gripping account of the recent kidnapping and farrago and feathering of Herbert Harris. Traces the slimy trail of well organized mob of thugs to the very door of the Ford Motor Co. in Dallas.
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Right Next Door to The Call

Greenbelt Community Experiment in Coop

By Ben Wolf

Most newspapers recently carried the story of a whole community to be run on a cooperative basis at Greenbelt, Maryland. "America's first model town," as it is characterized by the Cooperative League, is being planned and built by Consumer Distribution Corporation, which may be recalled as the organization established to manage Edward Filene's million dollar gift to the cooperative movement. Mr. Filene has the idea that cooperatives ought to be pushed in this country and CDC was set up to be the prod.

The Greenbelt project is the first venture of CDC in the business of pushing. Exactly where the project will end is difficult to forecast. It certainly starts under severe handicaps. Anything Filene does in the cooperative movement is bound to attract widespread publicity. The glare of the spotlight may not be the healthiest atmosphere for such an experiment. Then, again, this is going to be one of those ready-made affairs dumped into the laps of its future members. Co-ops have a much better chance when they are built from the ground up out the necessity of the class struggle rather than handed down from above.

A Weakness

There is one feature of this business, however, which should be pointed out as the essential thing which it shares in common with the general movement in this country and which damns it from a revolutionary socialist point of view. It stems directly from the escapist philosophy which pervades the movement because the validity of the class struggle is denied.

The class struggle is the real basis for the cooperative movement. It is essentially a class movement, or should be. Its aim is the abolition of capitalism and it draws its support from the oppressed working class consumers. That support is enhanced by its correlation with all other forces on the class struggle front. Its worth is impaired and eventually the movement itself is destroyed when it is built upon a denial that the class struggle exists or upon an escape from the struggle when the fact cannot be denied.

It is the guilt of the American Cooperative movement that it has so completely accepted the denial of the class struggle that it regards all persons as consumers thereby alienating the class conscious members of the working class who cannot regard without suspicion an organization which caters to the upper classes. Leaders in the movement have been permitted to denounce anti-capitalist tendencies within the movement as subversive and dangerous.

Class Issues

Class issues have been sedulously avoided as for example on the Spanish question. Individual co-

operatives have found themselves snarled up on the question of unionization. Altogether, the situation has become most unsatisfactory. Apparently the purpose of the present leadership is to build the cooperative movement into a giant industrial enterprise without concern as to the sacrifices in principles or eventual goals. The fair-haired boys in the movement to-day are those who, like Jacob Baker, maintain there is no essential conflict between the cooperative movement and capitalism and that both can and should exist side by side.

Greenbelt is cut from the same cloth. Avoid the logic of class struggle and you become either capitalist-reformist or escapist. In Greenbelt, CDC will build an ivory tower as a refuge to those in the cooperative movement who cannot deny the reality of the class struggle, and refuse to accept it as the life force of the movement.

Starve Amidst Plenty

WASHINGTON—(FP)— Facts and figures relating to the nourishment of industrial workers were made available here by the International Labor Office following an exhaustive study of the problem in all countries.

In a book published by the organization, affiliated with the League of Nations entitled "Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy," the supply of food-stuffs and the ability of workers to purchase such foodstuffs is examined.

The first conclusion of the international organization is that "large numbers of workers not only in impoverished or depressed areas but even in the most advanced industrial countries are inadequately nourished," and that this condition "is not just a depression phenomenon. It is found among many employed workers in times of normal business activity."

The second conclusion is that "the main ground for inadequate nutrition is not so much the ineffective use of existing incomes as the insufficiency of the incomes themselves, however wisely spent."

It is pointed out by the ILO in its study that, although many workers do not receive an adequate diet, technically, agriculture in major countries is in a position to meet the requirements for foodstuffs for an adequate diet. Putting the poten-

N. Y. Socialists Declare Cooperation With ALP; Write in Vote for Nagler

Declaring its desire to cooperate with the American Labor Party "in the election of candidates for the City Council and in support of such other of their candidates not running on the Republican and Democratic tickets as is practicable under New York's primary laws," the Socialist Party of New York, through Jack Altman, Secretary, yesterday issued its platform for the coming campaign.

The Party at the Central Committee meeting which adopted the platform took no official action on the question of the withdrawal of its Mayoralty candidate leaving that question to a subsequent meeting. It did, however, endorse Isidore Nagler, the A.L.P. candidate for President of the Borough of Bronx, and decided to ask the enrolled voters of the Socialist Party in the Bronx to conduct a write-in campaign for Mr. Nagler, in place of Julius Umansky, whose name had previously been filed for that office and who is actively urging the voters to substitute Nagler's name.

Nominates Coleman

The committee also nominated McAlister Coleman, author, columnist and advertising man, former Socialist candidate for limited United States Senator, as Congressional candidacy of the Seventeenth Congressional District in opposition to Bruce Barton, advertising man, Republican candidate for Congress.

The platform, approved by the Central Committee of the Party, to which it was submitted by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, State Chairman and candidate in Brooklyn for the City Council, vigorously criticized both Tammany Hall and the Republican party, declared that the pressures of the Tammany and Republican machines and of big business had burdened the city with the sales tax and kept the municipality in the grip of the electrical monopoly and other private utilities, and maintained the "imperative need for a vigorous, intelligent, powerful party representative of the laboring masses of New York."

Attacks Old Parties

"For years," it declared, "Tammany Hall, allied on one hand with the predatory forces of the underworld and, on the other, with many of the predatory forces of big business, has long regarded public office as an opportunity for pri-

vileges into practice is the economic problem facing nations."

Detroit and Elsewhere

Figures comparing the consumption of certain foods by workers in Detroit with workers in other nations during the 1927 to 1929 period are published. Detroit, it was noted, is a relatively well paid industrial city when compared with other industrial cities in this country.

vate self. The City government, under Tammany years of misrule, became notorious throughout the world for its widespread racketeering and corruption.

"For years the Republican party of the city, controlled by land-owning public utility and banking interests, utterly failed to present effective opposition to Tammany's corrupt rule. During its occasional terms of office, it made no attempt to stop the exploitation of the public by the utility, the banking, contracting and big landlord interests which largely finance the Republican machine.

"Four years ago Tammany was swept from office. Mayor La Guardia and his slate were elected with the organized backing of the Republican party and the City Fusion party. Following the election, the Fusion party practically ceased to function. The Republican machine hungrily sought the spoils of office.

"Prominent Republicans, members of banking, utility and industrial organizations, aided in many instances by the Tammany machine, brought continuous and relentless pressure to bear to cut down needed relief, to kill public housing undertakings, to foist upon the poor of the city the iniquitous sales tax, to keep the pri-

vate monopoly in control of the city's electrical services, and to prevent the government from meeting its just obligations toward the educational, health and other vital needs of the people.

"As a result of these pressures, relief is still far below the standard set by the Mayor's Committee on Unemployed Relief. A fourth of the population still lives in old law tenements. The sales tax continues to burden the great mass of the city workers. New York continues in the grip of the electrical trust. Our schools and hospitals are overcrowded and the great task of rebuilding the city in the interest of the masses has yet to be undertaken.

"Some advances have, it is true, been made. Numerous small grafts have been stopped. Relief agencies have become more efficient. Parks and playgrounds have increased. A new City Charter has been adopted and other reforms have been undertaken. But the advances have been few as compared with the possibilities of municipal progress if the city were controlled by a far-seeing and independent party of the masses dedicated to fundamental social change.

"To the building of such a party, the Socialist party pledges itself."

OUTSTANDING —on Boss Violence

Since its beginning, the CALL has given full and brilliant coverage to boss violence against American workers as they proceeded in their efforts to improve their conditions through organization.

CALL readers know the fine coverage which has been given to these grim episodes—Terre Haute martial law, Arkansas planter violence, Ku Kluxism in Tampa, violence against migratory workers in California, against the steel workers in Chicago and Canton and wherever class warfare flares forth in America — down to the current violence in Dallas and in New Orleans.

Not only does the CALL report these incidents as news, but the CALL aids in the drive to secure workers' rights — building workers' organizations to win workers' rights and suppress the perpetrators of boss violence. It points out the class nature of the state which is a party to this violence in most instances.

This is one of the regular policies which makes the CALL indispensable to workers who need a collective organizer to help weld American workers together in their struggle today.

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What Does Constitution Day Mean to America's Workers?

By Gene Johnson

This week America celebrates the Constitution of the United States which has been the supreme law of the land since 1789.

In vapid orations, professional patrioteers link the constitution with the

barren of the American revolution, causing the latter to shine in the reflected glory of the former.

In point of historical fact, the Constitution of the US was less the completion of the American Revolution than it was a reversal of much that the American people hoped they would attain by the great war against the British monarchy.

One often wonders what it was that caused the battle-weary farmers to freeze at Valley Forge in order to rid themselves of the British yoke? What drove them on to make these great sacrifices?

The great struggle between the Thirteen Colonies and Great Britain has overshadowed a most significant historical fact: the class struggle that was being waged before 1776 on this side of the Atlantic. This class conflict within the colonies was bitter, often resulting in armed strife between the troops and the lower classes in the colonies.

Colonial Classes

Just prior to the American Revolution this struggle had risen to a high fever. As Van Tyne, the recognized historian on the American Revolution, declares:

"A new class, formed within a decade, growing rapidly in numbers, was rising to power.

In Pennsylvania, as in a number of other colonies, it consisted of small farmers in the back country, Scotch-Irish and German immigrants, reinforced by the voteless laborers and artisans of Philadelphia or other seaboard cities . . .

For over a decade this rising democracy had struggled for power against the little seaboard aristocracy of wealth and accepted social leadership . . .

The colonial masses could no longer be controlled by reverence for high born. The Quaker merchants of Philadelphia, the holders of manors on the Hudson, the tobacco and rice planters of Virginia and South Carolina, and even the great merchants, clergy, and professional men of New England, could no longer rule without question their social inferiors . . .

Thus, in 1774, came the climax in the struggle between rich and poor, East and West, those with a vote and those who were voteless, between privilege and the welfare of the common man.

This rebellious class was the backbone of the American Revolution. The struggle against Britain was viewed by them as a simultaneous struggle against the colonial ruling class which was in such close social and political contact with the British monarchy. The pressure of the lower classes had driven the wealthy classes of the colonies—with few exceptions—into the arms of the British Empire. The colonial governor and the British militia were used to suppress the insurgent movement of the colonial masses.

Who the Revolutionists

When the revolution broke out against Britain, the American population was far from unanimous in its opposition to the kingship. About one-third of the colonials was active Tory; about one-third was indifferent; the remaining

one-third did the fighting. And, of that final one-third, only a section of it—composed of the lower classes—was for independence.

The famous characters of the revolution, Washington, Madison, Hamilton, were not "independence" people to begin with; they just wanted concessions from the mother land. The pressure of the lower classes, together with the momentum created by the war itself, drove these "leaders" to an acceptance of the Declaration of Independence.

"Loyalism," write Morrison and Commager, "was strongest in the upper classes . . . It is easy to understand that they could not carry their entire class into a revolution which involved not merely separation from the mother country, but the stability of American society. The question of home rule in the empire could not be divorced from the question of who was to rule in America.

"When the conservatives realized that liberty could only be won by opening the floodgates to 'dirty democrats' many drew back in alarm; others, like John Jay, held their noses and carried on, to be rewarded by capturing the government in 1789."

The real motive force behind that revolution was not the John Jays of textbook fame but the unnamed heroes of the lower classes. They, the lower classes, organized for their struggle which was at one time a battle against Britain and their own "Tories." They organized self-appointed committees of revolutionaries who applied terror to the colonial conservatives. Those who opposed the revolution were sent to "Hell, Hull, or Halifax." Huge quantities of Tory property were confiscated; many of the upper classes were exiled.

The Committees

Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, describes a revolutionary committee:

"A Committee is chosen in every county to carry the Association of Congress into execution. They inspect the trade and correspondence of every merchant; watch the conduct of every inhabitant; may send for, catechize and stigmatize him if he does not appear to follow the instructions of their congress. Every city, besides, is arming an independent company to protect their committee and to be employed against the government, should occasion require. Not a justice of peace acts except as a committeeman. Abolishing the courts of justice was the first step taken."

These committees, like the Russian Soviets, set up as an organ of struggle against the old government, became the basis for the new government. As Beard writes:

"The Stamp Act Congress was more than an assembly of protest. It marked the rise of a new agency of Government to express the will of America. It was the germ of a government which in time was to supersede the government of George III in the colonies."

Continental Congress

The real struggle for independence had to be settled first of all

in the colonies, and it was done so by these revolutionary committees. The crucial fight in this battle for independence, as expressed politically WITHIN the Thirteen Colonies took place prior to the Second Continental Congress, with the election of delegates.

Only the militancy of the lower classes forced the elected delegates to come out for independence.

"The alternative that faced the conservatives in such colonies as New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina was not pleasant. If they tried to stem the popular tide, they would see themselves denounced as Tories, hurled out of office, and old institutions exposed to the mercies of the radical democrats. They could maintain their accustomed position and influence, and save their property, only by acquiescing in a policy of war and separation. In Pennsylvania the struggle was particularly bitter, coinciding as it did with the ancient feud of Scotch-Irish frontiersmen and the city artisans against the Quaker oligarchy and the wealthier Germans. The success of the radicals here was achieved only by overthrowing the old government, establishing a new one with full representation of the frontier counties, and drawing up a new constitution. The new revolutionary government promptly instructed the Pennsylvania delegates for independence. The effect of this radical victory upon the Congress, sitting in Philadelphia was tremendous." (Morrison and Commager).

The American Revolution was a revolution of the lower classes of America—against the British monarchy and the American ruling class.

A section of the ruling classes went along with the stream, biding its time, until the storm would blow over. Then the ruling classes would against raise their head—to recoup their momentarily lost prestige and power.

The Counterrevolution

The years following the American Revolution were years of fear for the upper classes of America. In the South there was danger of a slave rebellion. In Massachusetts the underpaid soldier-farmers took up arms to march against the capitol and demand their due. The colonies were seething with discontent and revolt.

John Adams, another textbook hero of today, writes in his memoirs of an encounter with a countryman:

"Oh, Mr. Adams, what great things have you and your colleagues done for us. We can never be grateful enough to you. There are no courts of justice now in this province, and I hope there never will be another."

"Is this the object for which I have been contending? Said I to myself, for I rode along without any answer to this wretch. Are these the sentiments of such people, and how many of them are there in the country? If the power of the country should get into such hands, and there is a great danger that it will, to what purpose have we sacrificed our



The torch of the Statue of Liberty will be smoking this week in celebration of Constitution Day. What rejoicing shall the founding of the Constitution bring to the workers of America? In the adjoining article by Mr. Johnson, workers will learn the why and wherefore of that long venerated document.

time, health and everything else?"

Adams' statement—his very use of words—seeth with hatred for the lower classes, the "wretches," the men and women who suffered for who fought for American independence—for what they thought were their own democratic rights as individuals.

Adams, together with his whole class of pseudo-revolutionists, were groping for a means to keep the down-trodden down.

The constitutional convention gave them their chance, to write a law that would remove power from direct control of the masses, that would establish a strong centralized army to hold the nation in check. In the struggle between these men of wealth and the lower classes the former had the advantage. They were the men of political prestige; they had a press; they had the church; they had a plan for a new society, their "line" coincided with the progress of America from a petty bourgeois to a capitalist society. The lower classes were disorganized, lacked class consciousness, were entirely without a program of fundamental social organization, were "out of step" with the trends of the time, which was outgrowing the old petty-bourgeois type of production on the single-family farm.

The Leviathan

Adams put the matter squarely when he wrote:

"The petty aristocracy of clergy, loyalists and merchants scorned the poor, had no belief in their political wisdom and at the same time was thrown into

US Sells Iron to Japan

America is supplying scrap iron to Japan for its war against China.

In the first seven months of this year, two-thirds of the scrap-iron exported from the U.S. went to Japan. The Japanese purchased 1,318,803 tons out of a total 2,172,660.

In January of this year, Japan purchased only 33,246 tons. By June, Japanese purchases rose to 713,077. It is estimated that, at the present rate, Japan will have purchased over 2,000,000 tons by December.

The giant purchases of scrap-iron in the U.S. coincide with the period of warfare by Japan against China.

Large purchases of scrap-iron by other countries, in addition to Japan, have created a boom in the American market.

Other Customers

Other customers are Italy, Poland, Great Britain, China and Japan. Germany has registered a huge increase in the first-half of this year. The total export in 1936 was 395 tons; in the first six months of this year it was 31,288 tons.

How much of this material was used by Germany in the Spanish war has not been statistically ascertained. Nor is there any governmental check upon the use of this scrap-iron after purchase by foreign powers.

periodic panic on account of fear of them. It was all very well when the common people were to be goaded to action and war . . . to talk about all men being treated equal and of the rights of all to the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness, but once the war was won, the old doctrines of the superior rights of the well-born to govern and the superior sanctity of their prosperity came once more to the fore.

"The people had been under the delusion that they had fought an eight years war for the rights of man and at the time of the formation of the constitution many towns objected strenuously to this further limitation of the franchise. Dorchester claimed that men might be useful and respectable members of society even if they did not possess £50."

By bluff and bullying, by maneuver and manipulation, by glossing over the fundamental aristocratic character of the US Constitution with a Bill of Rights, ratification for the Constitution was obtained. But as Amos Singletary wrote then, and as we know too well today:

"These lawyers, and men of learning and moneyed men, that talk so finely, and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves; they expect to be managers of this Constitution, and get all the power and all the money into their own hands, and then they will swallow up all us little folks like the great Leviathan; yes, just as the whale swallowed up Jonah."