Socialist Convention Rally-May 23rd

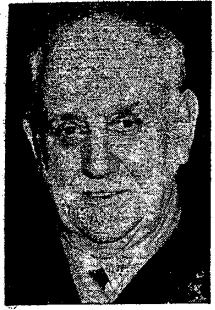
CLEVELAND. - In conjunction with the national convention of the Socialist Party, a mass meeting will be held in the Public Music Hall, St. Clair Ave. and East 6th Street, Saturday, May 23 at 7:30 p. m.

Admission to the meeting, which is open to the general

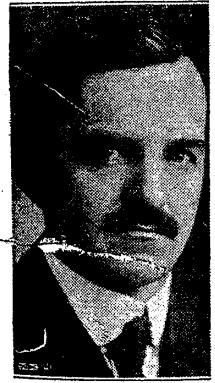
public, is 25c.

Speakers for the evening are George Lansbury, leader of the British Labor Party; Norman Thomas; Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee; Frank Crosswaith, chairman of the Negro Labor Committee, New York; Leo Krzycki, member of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union; and Julius Hochman. vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

On this page are photos of some of the speakers.



George Lansbury, British Laberite, who will address the convention mass meeting.



Daniel W. Hoan, Milwaukee's famous Socialist Mayor, who leads the Milwaukee delega-



Leo Krzycki, party chairman, who will open the convention.

Socialist Call

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SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

Greetings, Convention!

Raise High the Banner of Socialism!

The Socialist Call extends to the delegates to the national convention of the Socialist Party of the United States its warmest fraternal greetings.

Great tasks are before you. In the name of the organized Socialists of this country, you will act upon matters that affect the Socialist Party and the cause which it must serve. You will be called upon to lay down policy that will guide the party during the next few years—a period that already looms dark before the workers of the world, a period of impending war, of threatening fascism, of even severer economic breakdown than we have thus far known.

By your decisions you will assert your faith in the philosophy of Socialism and in the Socialist Party as the agent for its achievement.

You must announce by your conduct at this convention that you will suffer no compromise with the forces of capitalism. There may be some who will knock at the doors of our convention, seeking to gain admission in the hope that they may take the floor to extol the virtues of the capitalist, Democratic Party candidate for the presidency. Louis Waldman, for example, has already been quoted by the New York Herald Tribune as saying:

"Personally I admire Roosevelt, and I have said publicly that if I could not support a Socialist candidate, I would support him."

Fight Roosevelt!

The national convention delegates must make it plain that they do not share Louis Waldman's admiration for a man who has burdened the United States with the greatest military preparedness budget this nation has even seen. Real Socialists have no admiration for a government under which at least 12 million workers are slaves to unemployment. Real Socialists have no admiration for a man under whose presidential administration wholesale terror is unleashed upon workers without his uttering a word of protest. Real Socialists will not fall victim to the "liberalism" of a capitalist politician who is leading the country along the road to war, whose policies have solved none of the basic economic problems of the nation, whose political machine includes as important cogs the flogger and the lyncher, the night-rider and the terrorist, the union-smasher and the exploiter.

Our national convention must assert its determination to wage a war against all sections of the capitalist defense-against Roosevelt and the Liberty League alike, against the Democratic and the Republican agents of capitalism! It must also make plain its refusal to harbor within our party any who would take their stand with the defenders of capitalism.

In Cleveland, you can, by your decisive action, lift the Socialist Party to new heights of dignity and forcefulness. The eyes of the United States are turned on our convention as never before. Millions are waiting to see what path the party will

Build Party Loyalty!

For two years, would-be Samsons of the old guard have been tearing at the pillars of the party structure in the hope that they might send it crashing into the dust. Though only a small group, they have assailed every important decision of the party, denounced the last national convention, condemned the membership in the capitalist press by attacking its decision as expressed in the national referendim on the Detroit Declaration, vilified the national leadership of the party. They have even taken steps to organize a new party to fight the Socialist Party, looking to Franklin D. Roosevelt to serve as its god-father.

With forces moving in that direction, there can be no compromise. To yield to them is to surrender the philosophy which makes our movement the hope of the toiling masses in America. In New York, where once they exercised influence, they have been repudiated by the membership. When they sought to flout the will of the party and called upon the enrolled Socialists to come to their aid, little thinking that those who vote for Socialism want Socialism, the enrolled votors defeated their candidates overwhelmingly and spoke the demand for an aggressive, militant Socialist Party, fighting on a disciplined basis for a new social order.

Our Wisconsin comrades, in a statement adopted by their state board, have said:

"As to the essential principles of the Declaration, Wisconsin Socialists are perfectly satisfied. We are aware, and every other Socialist should be, that since the agonies of the depression have crept upon us not only the farmers of the west but the people generally have turned leftward."

Maintain Party Democracy!

We shall be true to the glorious tradition of our party only if we face the problems of our present age with determination. Though comrades may sincerely differ on various methods of meeting these problems, there must be an understanding that we recognize the right of the majority to decide the issue.

The unity of the party can be maintained only on the basis of disciplined adherence to party rulings. By decisive action, the convention should make it plain that all sections of the party must accept national discipline. Here again, our Wisconsin comrades have stated very clearly what our policy must be:

"We believe that in the rebuilding of the Socialist Party, the national executive committee must be the duly constituted authority of our party between conventions. It must have the power to interpret questions of Socialist principles and to determine questions of organization in line with the decisions of the national convention. We believe that it must have the power to supervise organization work in general, and if necessary to take steps to prevent states seceding from the Socialist party. It must have the power to step in and re-organize a state where the comrades in charge are utterly incomipetent or inactive in the promotion of Socialist organization, or where warring factions of the party have made any constructive work impossible."

The Cleveland convention meets after two years of bitter internal strife. During that period a carefully worked-out plan to split the Socialist Party has been in operation. Men who had once been loyal to Socialism but who have now lost faith in its power to emancipate the workingclass are eager to join the camps of the old parties. In New York they have played with the Fusion LaGuardia administration, accepting appointments to judicial office. When the people of New York were victimized by the Mayor through the vicious anti-working class sales tax, they kept silent, accepting as the price for their silence a political job. They even condemned the unemployed of New York for demonstrating under Socialist leadership their demand that the Mayor grant higher relief.

On national questions, they have failed to carry on an aggressive campaign against the Roosevelt regime and at the present time are even talking seriously of forming a new party and supporting his candidacy. It is for this they they have striven to split the ranks of the Socialist party.

They shall not succeed. The Socialists of the United States, dedicated to the cause for which men have suffered imprisonment and even death, will not permit the party to be ripped asunder in the interests of a capitalist politician.

Build For Socialism!

American Socialists want to continue the good work that has been accomplished in the past few years in spite of old guard disruptive activity. We have seen an example of militant aggressive Socialist achievement in the building of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, in strikes throughout the country, in the campaign against martial law in Indiana, in the fight against Tampa terror, in the building of the Socialist and Labor Defense Committee, in all of which we have witnessed the stirring leadership of Norman Thomas.

We must go on to new victories. They can be achieved by a re-affirmation of the undying principle of workingclass organization based on the program of social revolution.

We are confident that your deliberations will result in wise decisions, that you will lay a sturdy foundation for the party's future work, that you will return to your communities with the consciousness that you are part of a great movement that is at last beginning its march to victory.

Build the Socialist Party! In its triumph, the workers shall win security and freedom!

Socialists Plan Their 36 Drive

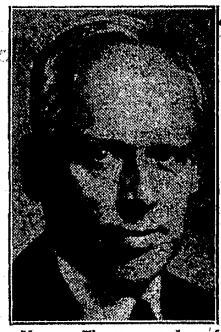
CLEVELAND. - The nineteenth national convention of the Socialist Party of the United States opens here May 23 with 250 delegates representing every state of the union and the District of Colum-

The convention sessions will last four days. Adoption of the 1936 Socialist platform will be the order of business on the second day of the convention,

Nominations for presidential and vice-presidential candidates will be made on Monday, May 25, at 2 p. m. The following day, prior to adjournment the national chairman and a new national executive committee of cleven members will be selected.

National Attention

No other convention of the Socialist Party has attracted such nation-wide attention as this one, in the thirty-fifth year of the party's existence. National radio (Continued on Page Two)



Norman Thomas, member of the National Executive Committee, and New York convention delegate.



Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman of the Negro Labor Committee, a member of the New York delegation.

Norman Thomas

DISCUSSES The National Convention ON PAGE 12

Plan Socialist Drive As Nation Watches

(Continued from Page One) hookups will carry the keynote

address, the reading of the party platform for the coming campaign and the speeches at the nominating session. The first campaign addresses of the candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States will be included in the broadcasts.

Important issues to be decided by the convention include the recent internal party fight that had its inception with the adoption of the militant Detroit Declaration of Principles at the last party conclave in 1934.

The national organization has been attacked for the past few years by the conservative group known as the old guard of New Their defeat in their stronghold during the New York primaries leaves them with little influence, their own organ, the New Leader, expressing their expectation of defeat. According to the decision of the national executive committee, the old guard, by failing to register with the committee, has lost its party membership.

As a result of their failure to retain control in their own city and state, the old guard has announced its intention to organize a secession from the party and call a national convention for the formation of a dual party. They are led by Louis Waldman of New York who recently indicated that his group is considering support of Roosevelt.

Waldman's outlook on political questions is summarized by his statement in the New York Times of May 19: "Even more important than to organize for the reelection of President Roosevelt, is it necessary now to elect a Confrankly committed changes in the Constitution."

The convention, however, is expected to make plans for an aggressive campaign against Roose-

Agenda Questions

The delegates are expected to reaffirm the fundamental principles embodied in the Detroit Declaration, though a re-formulation may be worked out.

Other questions on the agenda include the matter of a united front with various labor organiza-A proposal permitting carefully supervised joint action with communists and trade union groups on specific issues will be considered by the delegates. Little support is expected for a general united front with communists.

Attention will be given to a consideration of the party's policy on the formation of a farmerlabor party in which the Socialist Party would participate as a unit. Socialists are agreed that the time is not ripe for such a party in 1936.

Delegates will be concerned with the adoption of a program to meet the increased war-danger. For the past few months party members have been engaged in discussing the European situation. Resolutions to be presented at the convention are expected to include an analysis of the capitalist roots of war and an outline of the Socialist anti-war program.

1986 Campaign

In connection with the controversy in the party since the Detriot convention, it is expected that steps will be taken to reassert the authority of the national organization to intervene in such situations. Principles of party discipline, it is believed, will be clearly stated.

Among the most important tasks of the delegates will be preparations for the 1936 campaign. Reports from various sections of the country indicate that there is great enthusiasm for a Socialist campaign. Mass meetings are larger than ever before, being attended by great numbers of workers disgusted with the old parties. A record Socialist vote is anticipated.

Welcome to Delegates By Leo Krzycki

National Chairman of the Socialist Party

It is thrilling to look back at the past two years in which we found labor once more awakening to claim its place in the sun. Perhaps even we who participated in some of the important labor struggles do not realize the significanc of these events and the effect they will have on the future course of the workers.

But it is more thrilling to look ahead and see the tremendous contributions: opportunities before us. This big giant of labor has already begun to wipe the cobwebs away and is flexing its muscles for the job yet to be completed—the true emancipation of labor.

With Socialists playing a more active part in the ranks of organized labor, the decisions which will be made at this convention will have a profound bearing on labor's course in the future.

I know that you delegates who come from every walk of lifefrom the mine, the mill, the shop, the farm, the schoolroom, the office—realize the responsibility that has been placed in your hands to guide the destiny of the Socialist Party and the part it will take in future developments.

In this campaign — more than ever before — we should strike out boldly for our complete Socialist program. - Name calling or entering into competitive bidding with other parties about how much we should demand from the government for public works, etc., will not get us very far.

We have but one message for the American workers: No amount of tinkering with capitalism will save There is only one way and that is for them to join the Socialist Party, vote the Socialist ticket and build

Comrades, the future is still before us. Let us make the best

Welcome, Delegates and Visitors

By John Newton Thurber Secretary, Socialist Party of Cuyahoga County, and Chairman Convention Arrangements Committee

We are proud to be the hosts to the 1936 convention of the Socialist Party which also marks the 35th anniversary of the founding of our party.

Our local comrades have worked hard to make the technical ar-

rangements for your convenience.

We know that you will work hard to complete the work before you at this convention and will give the locals throughout the country a program, a platform, and candidates of which we can be proud.

Build for Socialism!







Three of the New York City delegation. From left to right: Max Delson, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Call; Jack Altman, city executive secretary of New York; and Dr. Harry W. Laidler, city chairman.

Convention Broadcasts

CLEVELAND, Ohio-Norman Thomas, Leo Krzycki, Socialist Mayor Daniel W. Hoan and other famous Socialists will broadcast over nation-wide radio hook-ups from the national convention of the Socialist party.

The broadcasts are as follows: Network

E. S. Time Saturday, May 23 10-11 a, m. CBS NBC "Red" 8:30-9 p. m. CBS Sunday, May 24 NBC "Red" 4-4:15 p. m. Monday, May 25 2-4 p. m. CBS

3.30-4 p. m.

9:30-10 pl m.

Program

Keynote Address Keynote Address Mass meeting speakers

Platform

Nominating session ... Nominating session First official speech by candidates for President and Vice-President.

Handreds of house parties have been arranged all over the country to listen to these broadcasts, according to Clarence Senior, executive secretary of the Socialist Party of the United States. He urged Clevelanders who could not attend the sessions of the convention which are open to the public to arrange similar gatherings.

NBC

NBC "Blue"

Radio listeners will have an unusual treat Monday afternoon at two e'clock when the Socialist cardidates for President and Vice-President will be nominated. It will be broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Flash!

The Call drive is making real Contributions, subheadway! scriptions and bundle orders continue to pour in. It is impossible to list all those who are aiding in the campaign, but a partial list is given below.

Among those who have sent in

	Amount
Cutters' Local 10	
H. Diamond	
S. Pineless	
H. Mailman	
B. Malman	
B. Maiman	
R. Sugarman	1.00
M. Feldman	
I. Civik	7 45
S. Sultan	70.44
t W. Kutnitz	7 44
H. Nash	1 44
M. Diamond	
P. Liebowitz	
H. Reichel	
,	· · · 1,60
Upper 6th A. D., Bz.	
H. Lippenholtz	3.00
Mrs. Segali	1 64
Joe and Yetta Kitzes	5 48
Mrs. Kramer	1.08
Supreb	
Lapine	I.M
Mackofsky	<u> چې</u>
Tobatchnick	,50
TABLECTURES 111 10111111 1111111	7.00
Sugarman 4-14th A. D. Kings	
4-14th A. D. Kings	1.50
SOFG A. D. KIRES	. 9 AA
Pikas & Gutchin	1.00
R Polsky	
Ostrowsky	30
Yctta Neuworth	
Wald	
Tielennis	
Liebowitz	
Greene	
Sympathizer	1.00
Jos. Schafer	1.60
Hyman Fromowitz	5.M
L Cyrus Gorden	16.66
Joseph G. Glass	10.00
Ed Koppel	5.00
Man Dalan	5.00
Max Delson	5.00
Eleanor Emerson, Harrisburg, Fa.	. 5.66
Gertrude Bussey, Baltimore, Md.	5.60
Edgar Williams, Baltimore, Md	50
N. Brillion Fagin, Baltimore, Md.	50
Hilda Zack	1.00
Among those who have	

subscriptions:

;
R. R. Genois, Phila.
Alan Silvius, San Francisco
Forrest Rogers, Indianapolis
Harry Simon, Bronz, N. Y.
Ralph Holland, State Sec'y, Ohio
Harry Simon, Bronx, N. X. Ralph Holland, State Sec'y, Ohio John Hucker, Bronx, N. Y.
Paul S. McCormick, Denver
J. E. Lemmon, Sebring, Ohio
Elizabeth Gilman, Baltimore
Milen Dempster, Stockton, Calif
Wash, Heights Br., New York City
Leonard Woodcock, Detroit
C. Harribine, Newport, Maine
Marvin Ralversin, lows
Jos. Metter. Williamsport. Pa.
Crary Trimble, Los Angeles
Bruno Rantane, New York
Amicus Most, New York City
C. Schmidtchen, Valley Stream, N. Y.
2nd A. D. Br., New York City
Sam Ettinger? Brooklyn, N. Y
Henry Pinski, New York City
Frank Orean, Bakersfield, Calif
A. M. Prescott, Sloux City, lows
Andrew Sempa, Pitiston, Pa
Mayme Hartman, Evansville, Ind
John Ford, Westchester Co., N. Y
Max Delson, New York City Downtown, Kings Br., New York City .
Downtown, Kings Br., New York City .
Gladys Rider, New Orleans, La
A. Signer, New York City
Slovenian Soc. Br., Cleveland
Local Rochester, New York
5-17th A. D., Kings, New York City

Program

Build Socialism!

1936 National Convention of Socialist Party

May 21 . 27. 1936 -Cleveland Ohio.

(Convention sessions will Lau Room of Public Auditorium, Ea ... and Lakeside Avc.)

Thursday, May 21—Pre-convention conferences on organization problems; Halls A and B and Club Rooms B and C, Public Auditorium.

Friday, May 22-Organization conferences continuc. Meetings of National Executive Committee, morning and afternoon, Public Auditorium.

8 P. M.-Labor Reception by local trade unionists to delegates at Metal Trades Hall, 1000 Walnut Avenue. Music by Frank Mates WJAY orchestra.

Saturday, May 23-9:30 A. M. Opening of convention. 10:00 A. M. Keynote address.

Afternoon session of convention.

7:30 P. M.-Convention Mass Meeting in Public Music

Sunday, May 24—Business sessions of convention morning, afternoon and evening. Adoption of platform to be order of business.

Monday, May 25- Business sessions morning and afternoon. Nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President to be order of business at 2 P. M.

6 P. M. Banquet in Allerton Hotel in honor of candidates. First campaign speeches by newly nominated candidates.

Tuesday, May 26 Business sessions in morning and afternoon. Election of national chairman and national exccutive committee.

6 P. M. Adjournment of convention.

Wednesday, May 27 Meeting of new national executive committee.

Convention Information for Delegates

Convention Headquarters BALL ROOM AUDITORIUM HOTEL East 6th and St. Clair

Convention Sessions MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM East 6th and Lakeside

Mass Meeting PUBLIC HALL Saturday, May 23 at 8 P. M.

Banquet ALLERTON HOTEL East 13th and Chester

Monday, May 25 at 7 P. M.

Convention Committees ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE

John Newton Thurber, Chairman Esther Levine, Secretary Karl M. Duldoer, Treasurer

FINANCE COMMITTEE Robert Parker, Chairman Souvenir Journal, I. Axelrod Mass Meeting, Robert D. Dulles Banquet, A. D. Horwitz

HOUSING COMMITTEE Max Epstein, Chairman OFFICE COMMITTEE Esther Levine, Theresa Kerr, Co-chairmen

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE John Newton Thurber, Hy Fish Co-chairmen

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS Socialist Party of the U. S. A. 549 Randolph Street Chicago, Illinois

> CLARENCE SENIOR Executive Secretary

'Whitewash' Seen In **Tampa Kidnap Trial** As Judge Acquits 2

Special to the Call

BARTOW, Fla. - Judge Dewell dipped deep into the whitewash pail this week and brought forth acquittals for two of the seven men indicted for the kidnaping of Eugene F. Poulnot, Socialist jobless leader, last November.

Former Tampa Police Chief R. G. Tittsworth, accused of being an accessory in the crime, which led to the death of Joseph Shoemaker, and Robert Chappell, onetime Tampa water department employe, were freed of the charges against them when Judge Dewell granted a directed verdict liberating the pair. At the same time he quashed three of the four indictments against the remaining five former cops still on trial.

The directed verdicts of acquittal for Tittsworth and Chappell came after the Judge, himself had excluded much vital testimony against Tittsworth.

An acquittal of the remaining defendants by the Florida 6-man jury, for weeks instilled with anti-radical propaganda by Whitaker, is expected by many observers, despite the array of facts presented to show their participation in the illegal raid on the Modern Democrats meeting and the kidnaping and flogging of Poulnot, Samuel Rogers and Shoe-

Both the prosecution and defense have finished presenting evidence, the latter resting after placing only four witnesses on the stand to challenge Poulnot's testimony.

The State presented no rebuttal, and it was expected that after summations by both sides, the case would reach the jury this week.

Klan Is Saved

NEW YORK - Dismissal of charges against two of the seven Tampa defendants was assailed as "a prelude to a whitewash" by the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, headed by Norman Thomas and representing fourteen organizations.

The Committee also asserted that Judge Dewell, in dropping the conspiracy charges against the remaining five defendants, "has effectively blocked any chance of the trial proving that the Ku Klux Klan ordered the flogging as a part of its notorious anti-labor attacks throughout Florida."

"Whatever the results of this and the following trials," the statement concludes, "this Committee will continue its work."

One Day Late

The Call will reach subscribers one day late next week to allow extra time for us to give you full, complete and accurate coverage of the Socialist Convention in Cleveland, Ohio.

Any Party branch which wants its bundle order shipped special delivery should notify our circulation department immedi-

Owners Frame Two Strikers

The following telegram was received as we went to press: SIX SOCIALISTS ARRESTED WITH THIRTY FOUR AGRI-CULTURAL STRIKERS LOS ANGELES COUNTY STOP TWO FRAMED ON GRAND LARCENY CHARGE STOP CRITICAL SITUATION STOP ORGANIZED LABOR SUPPORTING STRIKE AND PUBLIC OPINION FAVORABLE STOP SOCIALISTS IN LEADING ROLES STOP JUDGE DISCRIMINATING AGAINST STRIKERS STOP SOCIALIST PARTY HAS RAISED A THOU-SAND DOLLARS BAIL STOP MILITANCY OF STRIKERS EF-FECTIVE IN FORCING SEVERAL OWNERS TO SIGN CON-TRACTS.

Hubbard, Socialist Party, Los Angeles County.

Steel Workers Vote, 53-31, For Industrial Union Drive

the AFL as delegates to the Canplan to organize steel workers on industrial union lines.

Passed by a 53 to 31 vote, the the CIO offer to subscribe \$500,izing campaign chest and specishould be directly controlled by the Amalgamated.

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.

EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

CANONSBURG, Pa., (FP)— Most serious blow to the craft The Committee for Industrial union group, however, was the Organization claimed a major section of the resolution which victory over craft union forces in called on craft unions to waive their claims of jurisdiction in the onsburg convention of the Amal- steel industry. Machinists, elecgamated Association of Iron, trical workers, engineers, carpen-Steel & Tin Workers accepted ters and "possibly others" had with few reservations, the CIO previously been mentioned by William Green as having chartered interests in the industry.

At the same time the delegates resolution made no mention of proffered a friendly hand to the craft unionists whose leadership 000 to a general \$1,500,000 organ- spearhead is found in the AFL executive council. Craft unions, fied that the campaign leadership which waive their rights in the steel plants and which contribute to the organizing campaign will be given seats on the joint committee to conduct the unionization drive.

The decision wrote another chapter into the struggle between craft and industrial unionists, both of whom have regarded the steel industry and its open shop barons as the outstanding obstacle in the path of America's growing union movement. The CIO had frequently reiterated its offer to donate \$500,000 to a million and a half dollar war chest, provided that the drive be one to build industrial unions.



Did this worker, who marched in New York's recent May Day parade; cressed in Klan robe and hood, have a premonition of the whitewash which which would take place in the Tampa trial?

Note the "Whitewash Tomorrow" sign in the background, copied from one recently displayed by a Tampa merchant,

Jobless Down 4% While Earnings Whoop Up 43%

WALL STREET, N. Y .- Business' and financial leaders are smiling happily at the re-election endorsements given President Roosevelt by many prominent labor leaders, for they know what prosperity Roosevelt has brought them.

For the first three months of this year, 362 industrial concerns reported earnings 43 per cent above 1935. The really astounding thing in this increase, as reported in Business Week, is that industrial production rose only 7 per cent over a year ago.

Output in the heavy production goods industries was back to the October, 1930 level.

While earnings rose 43 per cent, unemployment decreased 4 per cent, according to figures released by the conservative Alexander Hamilton Institute. The difference between these two percentages is a clear indication as to just who has been aided by the President's recovery measures.

A year ago there were 13,231,-000 jobless persons in the country. That figure has been cut by 517,000—which still leaves 12,-714,000 prospective workers seeking non-existent jobs in Roosevelt's capitalistic America.

WINDBAG

"The German dirigible Hindenburg should have been baptized Hitler because it is a windbag that has risen high but is capable of being destroyed on short notice by an explosion."-Ernest

5,000 Sharecroppers Strike In Arkansas; 5 Pickets Arrested

Special to the Call

MEMPHIS, Tenn.-Five pickets were arrested at the Mississippi River bridge as 5,000 sharecroppers under the leadership of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, struck, demanding \$1.50 for a 10-hour day, or more than twice present wages.

Judges Veto Guffey Bill; Heil Hughes!

WASHINGTON .- The drive for a constitutional amendment gained new force as the Guffey Coal act was sent down the chute by a 6 to 3 vote of the Supreme Court and labor supporters of Franklin D. Roosevelt waited hopelessly for word that the president would fight the court.

Members of the executive council of the AFL immediately announced that they would proceed with the formulation of a constitutional amendment to safeguard labor legislation as instructed by the last convention.

The Guffey coal act provided for the fixing of wages, hours, and conditions of work for miners through the establishment of codes agreed to by coal operators and miners. Codes were to be enforced by the levy of a 15 per cent sales tax on operators not complying with the code, through the National Bituminous Coal board. Price-fixing was also in-

States' Rights

Holding that coal-digging was not interstate in character, the court ruled that "states' rights" were violated by the Guffey act. The six judges held that "the effect of the labor provisions of the Act, including those in respect of minimum wages, wage agreements, collective bargaining and the labor board and its powers, primarily fall upon production and, not upon commerce, and confirms the further resulting conclusion that production is a purely local activity." As such, the labor provisions are con-

Legal experts are of the opinnullifies the little NRA of the coal industry but the Wagner Labor Relations Act as well.

Labor leaders expressed great disappointment at the decision, predicting that the coal industry of the United Mine Workers, said:

"It is a sad commentary on our form of government when every decision of the Supreme Court seems designed to fatten capital and starve and destroy labor."

L. Meyer, in the New York Post. American Federation of Labor Bound Brook, N. J.

The union is seeking court sanction to permit picketing of the bridge which separates Tennessee from Arkansas, where the strike was called.

trucks here in a desperate attempt to get laborers. Police Chief Lee is actively aiding the bosses.

Plantation owners rushed

The Workers Alliance, unemployed group, is supporting the strike.

Strike Suddenly

While the luxurious Cotton Carnival is in full swing here, and each day witnesses long parades with costly floats, the cotton choppers and day laborers, whose toil made possible the show of magificence, have at last taken a stand against working from sunup to sunset, for 60c to 75c a day.

The strike was called swiftly and suddenly, so as to be under way before the customary landlord terror could be mobilized. At one of the most earnest meetings in the history of the S. T. F. U., with representatives of 78 locals present, the decision was made by unanimous vote. Strike committees have been established throughout the affected area, and scores of men and women scoured the territory May 16 and 17, the week-end before the strike went into effect, spreading the call.

With many members already on a starvation basis or the victims of eviction, Exec. Sec. H. L. Mitchel, Box 5215, Memphis, Tenn., announces Southern Tenant Farmers Union strikers must depend heavily on contributions of sympathizers for defense and

declared, "if we cannot enact legislation of this kind in an orderly way, we will be irresistibly drawn to use our economic power; that can be done only through thorough and complete organization; the more thorough and comion that the decision not only plete it is, the greater will be our economic power."

At the same time, a decision of the District of Columbia circuit court of appeals added to the judicial blows suffered by labor. The court granted a temporary would be swept by strikes as a injunction against the Resettleresult. John L. Lewis, president ment Administration in the building of a project in New Jersey. on the ground that the allocation of relief funds by the President is "an improper delegation by Congress of legislative power and that it invades the rights of states." The immediate effect is William Green, president of the to halt the housing project at

NOW UNEMPLOYED

1.

WHERE CAN THE UNEMPLOYED BE PUT TO WORK?

NOW AT WORK

PRODUCTION & A A A A A A A A A

SERVICE

DISTRIBUTION

Each figure represents 1,000,000 men. Agriculture and management excluded.

Capacity production would give jobs to all the unemployed at the right of this picture-graph. But capacity production for the use of the masses is impossible when industrialists and businessmen are interested only in profits.

FOR CAPACITY PRODUCTION WE MUST HAVE SOCIALISM—that is the word which will come in clear tones from the Socialist national convention this week.

THE SOCIALIST CALL

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No. 62

The Guffey Decision

Six old men in black robes got themselves a gun this week. With it they shot Joe Pilarsky and his kids and young Ote Manning and Old Man Bianchi-all of them hard-working coal-diggers in pits in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois.

Didn't shoot them literally, of course, with their Supreme Court decision declaring the Guffey Act unconstitutional. But Justices Hughes and Sutherland and Roberts and the other judicial antiquaries might as well have done just that. The decision very definitely puts an end to any glimmer of hope that rank and file miners might have had for relief from the present inhuman chaos that is coal.

It isn't constitutional, boys, for you to get a checkweighman of your own, for you to bargain with the bosses through representatives of your own choosing. Go on down under, and don't expect the Government to do anything for you.

And with that shot fired, what next? . Isn't it time, you diggers, to stop looking for anything to be handed down to you from a capitalist heaven? You've got to do it yourselves. Put over the Farmers and Workers Rights Amendment and take the gun out of the hands of the old men.

Do you remember not so long ago when at your convention you cheered John Brophy's report of the United Mine Workers' nationalization committee calling for the running of coal by the parties most concerned with a cheap and abundant supply of the dirty stuff? You thought that the proposal to have coal owned and operated by the State, the technicians and the workers was mighty sensible. Well, you were right.

The fate of NRA and the Guffey Act ought to be enough to persuade the most stubborn digger that the only way to get anything for himself and his kids is to hustle out and holler his head off for the one and only solution to this whole messy problem-

socialization of the mines.

The New Leader Follows a New Lead

Informed Socialists have been following the queer evolution of the old guard through their statements in the capitalist press and in the columns of their own organs, the Jewish Daily Forward and

the New Leader. The former has been laboring under the lingering cloud of the Lang affair-the republication in the Hearst press, with the Forward's permission, of a series of anti-Soviet articles. Infected by its former contact with the literary leper of San Simeon, the Forward now takes America's disease-carrier to its own unclean bosom. In the issue of Sunday, May 17, the journalists of East Broadway publish a half-page advertisement for Hearst's New York American in the form of a re-print of a red-baiting editorial. It must have been some master of irony in the Forward's office who placed these two ads on the same page: "Read the 'Wecker' (old guard Yidish organ) every week," and "Read the New York American every day.

At the same time as the labor movement of the United States is condemning the fascist Hearst press and has organized a boycott against it, the old guard Forward dares to accept its advertisements, disregarding the infection that Hearst's cash must carry with it.

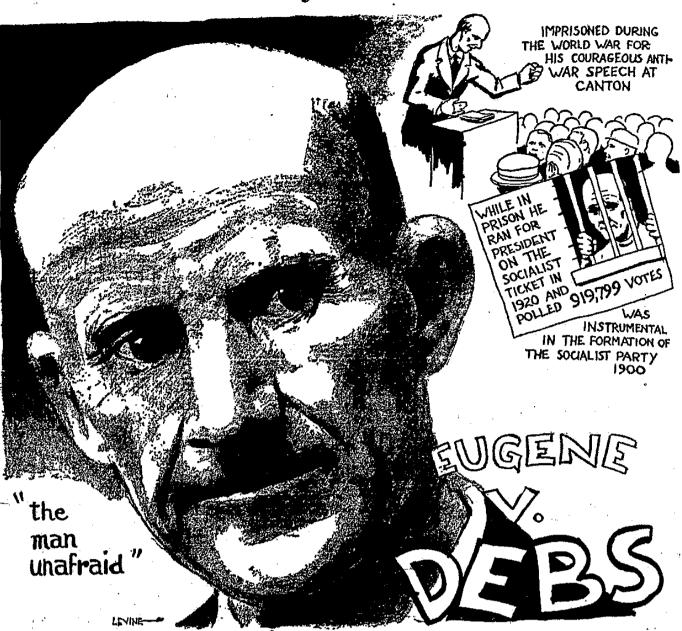
The evolution of the Forward's English-speaking younger

brother, the New Leader, presents similarly unhappy scenes. A few months ago, it carried a lengthy article by Harry Rogoff, denouncing Norman Thomas for the radio speech in which he blasted the Roosevelt administration. Said the New Leader article defending the capitalist president: "The New Deal has diminished the numbers of the hungry and the homeless, of the desperate and the impoverished, of the ruined and the embittered." The old guard already had its eye on the Roosevelt band-wagon.

Having committed itself to approval of Roosevelt's inadequate relief program, the New Leader then turned its back on the unemployed. In its May Day issue, it condemned the inspiring siege of the state capitol conducted by the unemployed in Trenton when New Jersey cut off relief appropriations. The New Leader denounced the demonstration of the unemployed as "playbovism," and claimed that it was "talking sense" in attacking the admirable fight of New Jersey's jobless for the restoration of relief. Of course, the columns of the old guard journal had no room for a condemnation of the New Jersey legislature. That would have been talking nonsense in this country in which-"the New Deal has diminished the numbers of the hungry and the homeless.

The story of the New Leader's decay is not unished. Mer keeping silent for weeks about the trade unionists who are supane of Louis Waldman's "personal admiration" for the Demost rightful owners, the men and women who do the creative work, tratic candidate, the editor of the New Leader at lest days his year. We seek a new world. Week all be confert with nothing less.

His Party Carries On!



The spirit of Gene Debs guides Socialists as they gather in their national convention to prepare the renewed fight against capitalism.

Unity of Fire and Water

To the Editor:

voice along with the rest?

Karl Liebknecht, the great once said:

Much has been said in regard more than we? Who could strive to the "Front Populaire" and its for it more than we—unity which ailings. May I raise my feeble strengthens the proletariat to fulfill its historic mission?

"But not all unity is strength. social revolutionist of Germany, Unity between fire and water quenches the fire and evaporates "Unity! Who could ask for it the water; unity between the wolf

vigorously in his ink-pot, and exclaims on this matter of endorsing Roosevelt that we must "recognize that there are two sides to the question." As if a Socialist can possibly agree that there is holy alliance of the French secreason for workers to support the candidacy of a representative of American capitalism!

"What should be the Socialist attitude?" asks the New Leader. "Should a Socialist party in such a juncture join the unions in supporting an old-party candidate? Should it flatly oppose Labor on what Labor professes to regard as a life-and-death matter? Should it try to take a middle line, not openly declaring for Roosevelt, but not nominating against him?

"No one of the three solutions will satisfy all of us. Worse yet, in Humanite (Communist organ) it is likely that neither of them will altogether satisfy any on of us who cares more for living reality than for traditional formulas."

Thus the New Leader hides behind big words the simple fa of its surrender. The logical result of its craven obeisance t union leaders brings it to suicide.

Socialists, however, have never hesitated in their fight against capitalism even when influential leaders in the labor movement have chosen to take their place in the political camps of capitalism.

Nowhere in the long editorial headed, "What Socialists (sic) Think About Unions' Endorsement of Roosevelt," is there a word in criticism of the fatal policy that some labor leaders are pursuing. Nowhere is there a syllable disapproving Roosevelt's policies.

To be sure, the New Leader concludes that there ought to be a Socialist candidate but for itself it believes that its only likely alternative is "to buckle down to the hard task of building a party for 1938 and 1940.'

It does not mean building the Socialist Party, however. Old guard leaders have announced in the capitalist press that they intend to form a new party. At a membership meeting in New York, the handful of old guard remnants voted immediately to proceed with the calling of a convention for their dual organization. Editorially the old guard admits that defeat awaits them in the Cleveland convention.

This bold advocacy of secession from the Socialist Party of the United States is the final breach of Socialist ethics. But for once, Socialists will feel it easy to condone their mis-step: it is far better that the old guard find itself outside of the party and more easily follow its heart's desire to partake of the Roosevelt flesh-

As for the Socialist Party, it will remain true to its responsi-Lility. It will continue its fight against all representatives of the capitalist class, the Roosevelts, the Lloovers, the Landons and the Hearsts. Dedicated to the fight against the profit-switch, Socialists will make no trace with its disciples. Ours is a struggle for social porting Roosqvelt, after learning from the New York Heraid Trib revolution, for the transfer of the industries of the nation to their

and the lamb delivers the lamb to the voracity of the wolf; unity between the proletariat and the ruling classes sacrifices the proletariat; unity with traitors means defeat.

"Only forces which are striving in the same direction are strengthened by being united; to bind opposing forces together would be to paralyze them."

And thus it is with the untions of the international working class and the nationalistic petty bourgeois led by Herriot. Which of these groups have foisted their idealogy upon the other?. The following extracts are selfexplanatory:

"Laval Has No Right to Call Himself a Frenchman."—Headline MOV. I' TING

reud - - - radition of the thrench but at . The comand a little the French .. Alla We suffer from all that degrades France."—Thorez in Humanite, Oct. 13, 1935.

"Since the French Bolsheviks have become at least as nationalistic, if not more so, than ourselves . . . the formula of the People's Front need not deter any liberal, however moderate he may be."-Radical Socialist Deputy Archimbaud in Ocuvre, Aug. 31, 1935.

Recent communist parades led by the Tricolor and chanting of the French war-song, The Marseillaise, are defended by Thorez in Rundschau, Oct. 16, 1935, page 2308, thus:

"We do not allow the Tricolor of the great French nation, nor the Marseillaise 4... to be usurped by the fascists."

A. ARCHER GREENE. New York City.

Fulfill The Hope

To the Editor:

Here's hoping your Call grows to 16 pages soon. But how can you make it better? It/s one of the best made-up papers of any of the radical papers. ART BAILEY.

Detroit, Mich.

OUR LABOR MOVEMENT

-By John Ball—

Around this time of the year trade unions hold their national and international conventions. These conventions are like a spotlight illuminating certain features of the union. So it was with the auto union; so with steel; and so it is with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union.

The Amalgamated is among the progressive unions of the AFL. It plays a leading role in the Committee for Industrial Organization; it has a radical background; its president, Sidney Hillman, is a power behind the throne in more moves of the recent CIO and Labor's Non-Partisan League than many will ever know. He was labor's liberal spokesman on the governmental boards during the NRA.

Clothing Workers' Convention

The recent elections for convention delegates, coming in many cases together with the election of local union officers, reveal a situation which places many locals of the ACWA, with the tacit support of leading figures of the Amalgamated, in a position opposite to that of the avowed liberal and progressive attitude of the union.

Consider Local 4, the aristocrat of the men's clothing industry, the cutters' section of the ACWA. The present manager, Murray Weinstein, came into office to displace the now infamously corrupt and tyrannical Orlofsky clique. Promises of honesty and democracy were repeatedly made by the new manager. But how has he behaved?

According to the constitution of the local and of the national organization, an election is to take place once a year. Weinstein has held office two years without an election. As the cry for democracy in the union began to arise, Weinstein decided to halt the rising tide by quickly calling a well "controlled" election and having the membership push through a referendum making elections biennial instead of annual, in contravention to the national constitution. Through the conscienceless use of job control and outright intimidation, Weinstein was confident that his plan would go through.

Union Elections

The elections were "run" by the administration, which appointed its own Elections Committee. Although the opposition was disorganized, it carried a vote of 600 out of an officially reported total of 2100. But the biennial election trick carried.

At the installation meeting, the chief official was President Hillman. A member of the opposition, at this meeting, handed in a written protest against the method used in abolishing the annual elections. The answer of the administration has been to bring the member up on charges of creating a disturbance!

Reports come from Local 10 of the ACWA of an election run along very much the same lines.

What has happened in Local No. 4, the Cutters' Union, is not only the concern of the cutters. It is the concern of the tailors as well, and this applies to whether or not they are employed in the New York market. Should Murray Weinstein become firmly intrenched today with the aid of national officers, tomorrow he may turn his dictatorially established power against the national officers. If there is any local which must never be permitted to become the private property of a man or clique of men, it is the Cutters' Union, which has been used before and can be used again as a blackjack over the heads of every tailor in the industry.

Police Brutality

The Socialist Party of New York City and the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee have sent? the following protest to Mayor LaGuardia and Police Commissioner Valentine, concerning the brutal police attacks on the striking seamen:

The Socialist Party of New York and the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee vigorously protest against the police brutality against striking seamen along the waterfront twice during the past week. The second police attack, on Saturday, was made on a picket line which was entirely peaceful and not interfering in the least with pedestrian or automobile traffic.

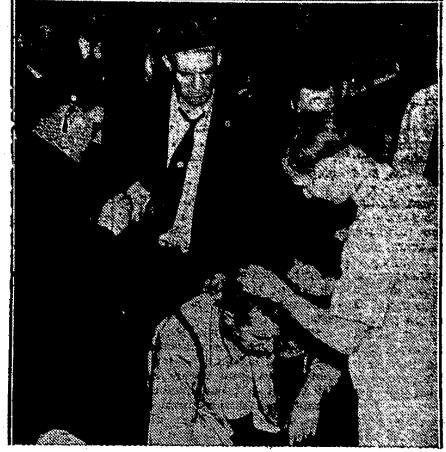
The Socialist Party and the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee had observers present on Saturday in order to note exactly what went on. Included among these observers was Murray Baron, Manager of the Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Makers Union. These observers report as follows:

At approximately 10:30 a. m. there were about 500 pickets in line before Pier 61, from which the S. S. Virginia was to sail. The line grew during the next hour as more pickets joined. At about 11:30, without any warning, policemen on motorcycles and horses dashed into the pickets and chased them toward Tenth Avenue. It was no avail to take refuge in doorways, for the police assaulted men and women, wherever they were.

The picket fine included more than 100 women When the police attacked.

The Socialist Party and the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee believe that strikers have the unqualified right of peaceful picketing, and demand an open hearing in which charges against the police department may be presented

La Guardia's Cops Attack



Twice last week La Guardia's police, mounted on motor cycles and horses, rode into picket lines maintained by striking seamen along New York's waterfront. The seamen are seeking a hearing on charges of brutality by the bluecoats.

Above, Coland Harmon, 27, receives treatment for a lacerated scalp from a surgeon from St. Vincent's Hospital,

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF.

Profiteers Use Courts, Price Wars to Beat Co-ops

As the cooperative movement grows in size and importance, it will no longer be able to continue in its heretofore comparatively undisturbed peacefulness. Until now the movement met with little or no repression. Mostly, the merchants and the public have been inclined to smile at the antics of the con-

Wherever a cooperative sprang into being, the first reactions were of tolerant amusement. When they grew into a position of permanency and stability, the affected merchants believed that the ordinary competitive means would be enough to drive the consumers out of business. According to them, the cooperatives would be unable to withstand a price war or the shutting off of their sources of supply. These were the customary weapons used by big business to drive out the "unfit" in the struggle for survival, and generally they were quite successful. Most of these merchants honestly believed that the economic democracy of consumers cooperation was hardly as efficient as the rugged individualism of the profit system which kept men on their toes striving to give better service. I say, they honestly believed it.

sumers' revolt.

Profit Mugs Wrong

More recently, however, the profit merchants of America, have begun to scratch their heads in bewilderment. They have discovered that the co-ops do not succumb to their competitive assaults. On the contrary, the coops have seemed to flourish and grow with each economic assault upon them. When the dairy interests in Minneapolis ganged up on the Franklin Cooperative Societ- they kicked it upstairs into the leadership of Minneapolis milk distribution.

The same is true of the oil business in which the American coops have been so pre-eminently successful. When the sources of supply were cut off, the co-ops organized wholesales to supply themselves. These wholesales have considerably strengthened the movement. Price wars have generally resulted in driving the cooperatives temporarily from the scene, as the cooperators patronized profit business which was selling at a loss. As soon as the war was thought won, and prices went soaring again, profit business found the co-ops reopened, stronger than ever. Their members bought from the profit merchants only when sales were at a loss. They patronized their own co-ops recoup their losses, we

Chagrined and thwarted, the profit merchants are turning to non-economic means of pressure. The bugle call was sounded by Roger Babson when he warned merchants who laughed off the cooperative movement, that they were sitting on kegs of dynamite. Since then, each week brings more and more evidence of the new kind of pressure. In Schenectady, cooperators were threatened with the loss of their jobs if they persisted in hurting the business of one of the large dairy companies which was a big user of electricity. In New Jersey, an official of the Telephone Company, was forced to resign because of his cooperative in-

The Black Diamond, official organ of the coal industry, has openly challenged the church for daring to support the cooperative movement, and the church's right and authority "to say that one particular type of business is the only Christian method."

But most significant is the arrest of Herbert H. Cole, of the Trenton Cooperative Club for buying coal! The pretext was that there was no official weight certificate on the lots of coal. He was acquitted, but he was the recipient of a scathing denunciation by the officiating judge. Judge Duch frankly asserted that the charge was probably instigated by the local coal merchants.

Fascist Methods

Thus does profit business move to fascist methods when its existence is threatened. Although the cases of repression are not yet very long or very imposing, a beginning has been made. They carry a warning to cooperators that something more than consumer action is necessary. Cooperation needs political action for protection. It needs Labor support. It must woo both.

To Socialists who have regarded cooperation as too pink, these incidents serve as a reminder that cooperation is part and parcel of the Socialist and Labor movement. They are but newer forms of the repression to which the working class is being subjected. If only because of this, consumers cooperation deserves the support and as soon as the merchants tried to loyalty. Socialists have always given to working class struggles. are sort of "queer"!

EYES ON **CLEVELAND**

-By McAlister Coleman —

For the past month or so, you and you and you and I have been thinking CLEVELAND. Not so much the mid-west city as the critical turning point in our party's history which that city symbolizes.

Upon the courage, the imagination and the revolutionary integrity of the delegates to the Cleveland convention depends the future of Socialism in America. Let them come out of that convention still bickering over unessentials, still torn with internal strife and the cause will suffer a set-back that it may take years to efface. Let them come out, forgetting the past, facing the future united against the common enemy, capitalism, and labor everywhere will take heart.

Cleveland is no place for the playing of "inside politics," for those complicated maneuvers that so delight some of our amateur politicos who can somehow mix up Tammany tactics with Socialist doctrine. Cleveland is no place for the paying off of grudges, the scoring of petty parliamentary It is a place for magnanimity and triumphs. forthrightness and human tolerance, and that long view of men and events which marks the true Socialist in every country.

For a Fighting Platform

I know that it is like advocating the use of a water pistol on a hippopotamus to urge the doctrinnaire to lay off the Cleveland convention. He will be there with his cock-eyed schemes for saving the world by juggling the currency or changing the name of the Party or taking over the factories next Tuesday at 6 a. m. And he will be useful to those who will be at Cleveland for the purpose of discrediting the Party in the eyes of the country, no doubt of that. All sorts of alien issues are bound to be dragged into the convention. But men and women who keep their eyes firmly fixed on the reason for being at Cleveland will be in the majority.

It will be a rank and file convention. It will be the first genuine expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working men and the working women that this country has heard for many a long day. Through the paper propaganda of both old parties there must come the clenched fist of the worker. You delegates, if you are made of the stuff that we back home think you are, will weigh every decision carefully, will realize the crucial nature of the business that you are undertaking, will give us a fighting platform and a fighting candidate so that when the convention hall is at last deserted, we may look on what you have done and go into this campaign with heads held higher than ever.

Jersey's Fantastic Politics —

I never cease wondering at the fantastic doings in my adopted State of New Jersey. Weird enough in all conscience, to be elected Justice of the Peace when I had hardly stepped off the ferry-boat across the Hudson. Weirder still to find myself living in a colony of white collar, Wall Street commuters who seem to think that I am in secret contact with the Kremlin and who look on me with that mixture of distaste and curiosity with which one contemplates a cobra at the zoo. The political me, that is. Outside of my eccentric politics, I am more or less accepted as a human being who doesn't beat his wife or bite little children. But it's just too bad about poor old Mac's politics. Sort of nutty along that line, isn't he?

Now if there is anything that can send an ordinarily sane and sensible citizen to the Secaucus Home for the Feeble-Minded quicker than Jersey politics as played by both old parties, I have yet to find out about it. The game they play in the Tammany wigwam across the river is tiddledewinks compared to the stuff they pull every day in Jersey. All hands have just been sitting in on primaries. Governor Happy Harold Hoffman, the fair-haired boy of the utilities, who has signs up on out-houses, "Hoffman for President." has been making faces at his opponent in the Republican primaries, Franklin Fort, and Franklin Fort has been telling us all that Happy Hoffman pulled a boner in the Hauptmann case and shouldn't go to the Republican national convention as delegate

Quadruplets On \$20

In the meantime all State business is at a standstill. Most noticeably the business of fishing up enough money to keep some three hundred thousand men, women and children from starving to death. A minor item like that can wait until the politics are over. What do you want to bring up a disagreeable subject like that fer? Did you read about the \$20 a week laborer in Passaic, who is father of quadruplets? The four of them got right into politics the day they were born. The Mayor of Passaic claims jurisdiction over them, whereas the Mayor of Fort Lee says that he must have a say as to their ultimate disposition in view of the fact that the whole business started in his town.

And in my own town they think that Socialists

Sharecroppers De Luxe

By JOHN HERLING

Wallace, Secretary of Agricul- not planting. ture, is known as a good man and a mystic. When the spirit is upon him, he secludes himself, all telephones are shut off, secretaries are barred. Many of the great decisions of the department are made while the secretary holds himself incommunicado from the world.

In between silences, Wallace springs to action, and during the three years of the AAA, in his mysterious way he distributed a billion dollars under contracts curtailing various crops. The principle of distribution is the well-known mystic principle that to those who have shall be given.

First, let us go rapidly through some of the crops and see how some of the boys came out:

One Florida sugar cane producer was paid \$1,067,665 for not producing sugar. He was not a sharecropper.

One Hawaiian sugar company received \$1,022,037 for not raising sugar. It is not a sharecropper.

One Puerto Rican corporation was paid \$961,064. The bank owning it is no sharecropper.

Thomas D. Campbell of Moners," was paid over \$50,000 tribute for not planting wheat on land which he rented from the \$1.50 an acre. The government life because of his union activity. inson.

WASHINGTON-Henry A. | paid him up to \$7.50 an acre for |

Now, that's sharecropping de luxe. Remember that in this case the Indians were the landlords and Campbell the sharecropper.

A California corporation which feeds hogs on garbage was paid \$157,020 for not feeding so many hogs. Painstaking research has failed to reveal what happened to the garbage which went to waste.

AAA Man Gets Cash

Now for cotton.

Oscar Johnston, manager of the Federal cotton pool, and an important officer of the AAA, is also president of the Delta and Pine Land Company of Scott, Mississippi. It is a corporation financed by British capital. The company of which Johnston is an officer received \$177,947 for not growing cotton.

On this plantation are 1.500 tenants and sharecroppers who were supposed to receive half the money. If they did, each family received a little more than \$58 cash for the year's work!

Arkansas Terror Over in Arkansas is the Wilson plantation. The tales of suffering and intimidation are many in Joe Robinson's state; but when sharecroppers talk of Wilson's plantation, it is with the awe of horror, as evidence. tana, "King of the Wheat Grow- From this plantation, as you may remember from Howard Kester's pamphlet, John Allen, organizer of the Southern Tenant Farmers'

The Wilson plantation was paid \$199,700 for not planting cotton. Since the greatest part of the thousands of Wilson acres have been turned over to day labor, the money stayed just where it was sent by the government-in the company bank.

No Evidence!

From the Brookings Institute have come a series of reports on the AAA program. A Mr. Henry I. Richards has pooh-poohed in a nice, academic way the belief that sharecroppers have been evicted, or that plantations have been turned into a day-labor basis. He says:

"Taken as a whole, the available evidence does not substantiate the alarmist statements which have been widely circulated that a great number of tenants and sharecroppers have been displaced or their status reduced."

The professor has been invited by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union to come away from the marble halls of Brookings and see life around Marked Tree, Arkansas, or Earle, or any number of places. He will be shown living evidence, men, women and children, white and Negro on the roads. Perhaps they don't count

Indeed, the professor might go down to Arkansas with the President next June when Roosevelt goes to that state to whoop Crow Indians for 50 cents to Union, barely escaped with his it up for Senator Joe Terror Rob-

They Didn't Get Millions



Paul Green and his family, of Jena, Louisiana, didn't get millions from the government as large plantation owners did. All Green got was this horse to help him plow.

Note the gaunt, thin face of Mrs. Green, typical of thousands of poor, hardworking farm families throughout the South.

Cotton-Pickers Safe—

Rust Brothers Give Invention to Labor

Federated Press. Eastern Bureau Manaer

For the first time in history, the major proceeds of a great labor-saving invention will be used to aid those whom it displaces and to carry on education for a social order in which machinery will be a blessing instead of a cause of misery and unemployment!

Such is the John and Mack Rust, Texas-bred brothers who have invented a machine which promises to put an end to the most monotonous, back-breaking and underpaid toil still left in the world —picking by hand every year some 25 million bales of cotton, about half of which grows in the United States.

As men of economic insight as well as mechanical genius, the Rust brothers realize that, under one of those paradoxes peculiar to the profit system, their widelyacclaimed machine, potentially an untold blessing to the human race, promises to uproot and drive from their homes two-thirds to three-fourth of the sharecroppers in America's cotton belt!

To Aid Society

decision of his brother and himself to divert most of the proceeds of the invention to three purposes:

1, to protect the living standards of cotton farmers remaining on the land;

2, to rehabilitate some of the people displaced by demonstration cooperatives; and

3, to encourage workers' education and help prepare the American people for a system of production-for-use.

By granting short-term leases, rather than outright sales, the inventors will be in a position to influence conditions under which the machine is used:

Ten of the machines will go into practical use in the Arkansas-Mississippi delta this fall. Operating on the principle of a moistened spindle, the cottonpicker, is the fulfillment of the Rusts' boyhood dream on a Texas cotton farm, when they swore to conquer the arduous labor of hand picking.

End Poverty!

"In our present economic order," state the Rust brothers, all. We Americans have proved makes for the welfare of all the neers. Now let us turn our hands people but tends to increase our to social engineering and build a insecurity. When these machines new society that will give every begin moving into the cotton man, woman and child a real fields, they will of necessity chance to enjoy life, liberty and steadily crowd the sharecroppers the pursuit of happiness"

Evictions 0. K.

"A land owner has a right to not keep any person on his land, Reasons which are satisfactory to him are sufficient . . . Most of these landlords will not keep a tenant who is a member of the union, and knowing the situation as I do, they are correct."-Gov. J. M. Futrell of Arkansas, replying to complaints of sharecropper evictions.

and other hand pickers off the cotton land. Consequently.

"It stands to regree that the cotton picker has the meane possibilities as a compact of the second and it is out the coat of the has possible of the Tovenue should be us a a the one hand for rehabilitating the disemployed and on the other for carrying on edu-John Rust has announced the cational activities with a view to ending unemployment and por erty once and for all.

Socialism Inevitable

"We will encourage the establishment of cooperative enterprises and such other organizations as tend to raise the economic and moral status of the people as a whole. We are also considering the idea of leasing our machines only to those who will establish a system of fair wages and working conditions for their employes.

"It seems inevitable that some form of cooperative commonwealth will eventually supplant our decaying capitalistic society, and it is our wish that this transition may take place with as little confusion and violence as possible.

"To this end, the Rust brothers will cooperate with all progressive forces toward a new and Better society where new inventions will no longer take the workman's job but will shorten his hours of toil.

"We now have the means for producing more than enough for "technological advance no longer ourselves good mechanical engi-

You're "In" If You Have Dough ... At Southampton

SOUTHAMPTON, Long Island. —This resort of the idle rich is. on the verge of a summer boom, the like of which has not been seen since the stock market crash of 1929.

First evidence that prosperity has returned is the report of winter residents and real estate agents that all houses and estates have been rented for the summer.

Second evidence is shown by the Southampton Club, which has more than doubled its membership since 1934. Credit for this noble feat goes to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, who changed the by-laws of the club to admit women, after he assumed the club presidency.

Many of the dear club members are anxious to again welcome Butler to their midst, since he had a medal pinned on him along with J. P. Morgan recently.

With yachting, fishing, and horseback riding among the higher-priced attractions, Southampton is preparing for the gayest season of the depression. There is only one rule which still holds. here: You must have money.

Nine State Federations Back Workers' Rights Amendment

WASHINGTON.—Following the introduction by Senator Elmer Benson, Famer-Laborite from Minnesota, of a resolution calling for a Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment to the constitution of the United States, the Socialist Party, sponsor of the amendment, announced through its National Affairs Committee that support of the amendment has been pledged by nine state federations of labor, as well as by many city and county federations, and hundreds of trade union locals and fraternal organizations.

The states whose federations of labor have voted their support of the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment are: Arizona, Connecticut, Idaho, Indiana, Minnesota Montana, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Wisconsin.

The American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Hosiery Workers have pledged their aid, as have the Economic Conference of the Federal Council of Churches and the American Commonwealth Political Federation.

The proposed constitutional amendment calls for specific congressional power:

To regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age;

To protect by law the right of all employees to organize and bargain collectively with their employers;

To provide for the relief of the aged, invalid, sick and unemployed;

To establish, acquire, operate, or regulate agencies for the marketing and processing of

agricultural products:

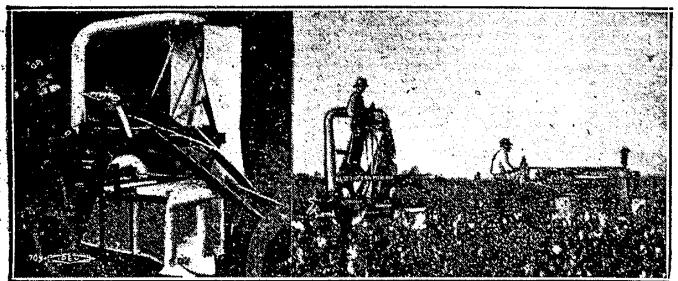
To establish, acquire, and operate natural resources, properties and enterprises in manufacturing, mining, commerce transportation, banking, public utilities and in any other business which shall be governed democratically for the benefit of the public by commissions consisting of representatives of

To legislate generally for the social and economic welfare of workers, farmers and consumers.

workers, consumers, technicians;

Congressman Vito Marcantonio has introduced a companion measure in the House. Senator Benson's resolution is S. J. 249; Conoressman Marcantonio's is H. J.

NEWS: This Machine Will Help Labor



Most important invention for the cotton farmers and sharecroppers of the deep South since the cotton gin is the new Rust cotton picker, shown above. Proceeds from the license rights will be used to build cooperatives and spur workers' education, the Rust brothers have announced.

By EDWARD LEVINSON-

Break Strikes": New Spy Technique In Philadelphia 1910

Bergoff men were in Philadelphia constantly from the termination of the 1909 walkout to the end of April of 1910. The first strike had ended in a truce when the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company found it had chosen the wrong time to fight. Several

mistakes had been made. Bergoff proposed to avoid these and provide the company with a more favorable opportunity for smashing the local of | the Amalgamated Street and Electric Railway Employees.

The strategy is indicated somewhat, in several letters which occupy prominent places in Bergoff's "bible," a scrapbook of old contracts, solicited letters of commendation, undated clippings and the envelope of a letter which reached him although it was addressed merely to "P. L. Bergoff, Red Demon, New York City."

There is a letter from Kruger on the station-

ery of the Philadelphia company, dated July 22, 1909. It reads: My Dear Mr. Bergoff:

I have your communication of July 21st. proposition made by you is hereby accepted and I have aiready placed two of your men

to work this morning. I am only going to place these men at the rate of two a day, although, of course, I am perfeetly willing to pay their full time while they are waiting appointment. I do not wish to do anything that is going to create comment at the different barns.

The men whom Kruger placed two a day so as not "to create comment at the different barns" were chosen from what Bergoff calls his Undercover Department. Foremost among these was John Carlin, known among the Bergoff nobles as Stinkfoot McVey. ("He had bad feet," Bergoff explains.)

Stinkfoot An Orator

With Carlin went David Reardon, who had worked for the Pinkerton agency and for Mooney & Boland. Stinkfoot and Reardon were men whose manner had nothing in common with those of the ordinary run of nobles. Outwardly they bore none of the distinguishing characteristics of John Fink. Stinkfoot was a tall man and a weighty one, like Big Sam and Eddie Dineen, but he had a fatherly way that impelled immediate confidence. He was solici-'was, but not in a patronising marrier, of the slightest grice and an of all he med.

was another quality fundations had whichembers of the Amalgaroated did not liscover until after he had been lu the union for about six months. Stinkfoot was what the men called a "natural born orator." He could give the company hell in more ways than one, and having railroaded for many years in many cities, his authority to speak was never questioned.

Others at Work

While Stinkfoot rose in the esteem of the members of the Amalgamated, Dave Reardon became head of a local union of workers on the elevated lines. McVey's and Reardon's efforts were supplemented by those of other Bergoff operatives. At union meetings they observed the men who talked loudest or applauded longest. They seemed to read their newspapers during waiting hours at the barns, but actually listened and never read.

Bergoff established a Philadelphia office and placed Frank Patterson in charge. To Patterson's hotel room at Tenth and Market Streets, the undercover men sent their reports—names and numbers of motormen and conductors, and the dire things they said about the

Bergoff's was an efficient agency and it observed all the time-honored customs of the profession. Patterson would not turn over his reports to

SNAKES

A Live Snake Exposition is how on in New York—with rare specimens loaned by Bergoff and



Finks Killed Sixteen

A strikebreaker being led to safety by policemen during the trolley strike of 1910 in Philadelphia. Strikers and sympathizers retaliated as best they could when trolleys driven by Bergoff finks killed sixteen persons.

Kruger, but forwarded them to the New York office, there to be properly amplified and embellished and sent on to the head of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company. In this way a list of more than five hundred malcontents was built up in six

The ninth in this series

of selections from Edward

Levinson's "I Break

Strikes: The Technique of

Pearl L. Bergoff," which

will appear in the Call next

week, deals with Bergoff's

activities against strikers of

the American Smelting and

Refining Company, four of

whom were killed in one

also relates the fearful bat-

tles which took place in the

Calumet & Hecla strike in

the Michigan backwoods

during 1913 and 1914.

Next week's installment

By mid-February of 1910, Kruger and Bergoff felt that the time was ripe to force the issue. Kruger selected one hundred and twenty-five names from the list of 612 which Bergoff's men had compiled and announced that 173 men were discharged.

C. O. Pratt, international representative of the Amalgamated, immediately ordered a strike; service was suspended on the morning of February 19th.

With the calling of the trolley strike, Stinkfoot's speeches became more aggressive than ever. Toward the middle of March, however, he developed a philosophical trend of mind. The change was not at once perceptible. First, he raised questions about the absence of strike benefits. He wondered whether the international union really was in a position to render the financial backing that had been promised.

Soon, however, benefits began to be paid in small amounts of four and five dollars a week. Now Stinkfoot commiserated with the married men on the difficulty of feeding their hungry wives and children on such sums. He was cautious still, and with these doubts he nevertheless urged that the fight be carried on.

Toward the end of March others of the Bergoff men started talk of obtaining the "best possible settlement," and before long this suggestion took form at the midnight meetings of the strikers. Stinkfoot was "won over" to the idea and began to talk openly of returning to work while the strikers' jobs might still be salvaged. He had a fighting opponent in Pratt, who was both an orator and a strategist with few equals in the labor movement.

Pratt Fights

other spy agencies, we suppose, must be recognized and the dis-only \$2.50. The Editors.

charged men reinstated before any men returned to work. There was a series of debates between Stinkfoot and Pratt, while disaffection grew apace within the ranks of the strikers. But the majority of the men rallied behind Pratt, and those who were won to Stinkfoot hesitated to speak their minds too insistently.

Meanwhile, other Bergoff men were earning their hire. They traveled through the city, stopping wherever families of strikers resided in any number. Groceries and butcher shops were their most auspicious scenes of activity. Here the wives of the strikers would gather to purchase their reduced rations with the small strike benefits or with aid of credit from the shopkeepers. Purchasing a small quantity of food or posing as salesmen of new brands of food, the Bergoff men would first discuss their business at hand. On inquiring, they learned that trade was not so good.

Sorry, but ...

The Call has received a number of letters asking whether we are reprinting "I Break Strikes" in its entirety. We are sorry to say that we are unable to do so in a 12-page tabloid size weekly.

If we had had a 16-page Call it would have been possible to reprint every word of Edward Levinson's excellent history of the ugly strikebreaking profession. As it is, we try to give you the "high spots" each week. We believe that we have made

a definite contribution to the American labor movement in publicizing this book to the fullest. Our readers who find the selections appearing in the Call of sufficient interest, but not of sufficient length, would do well to obtain a copy of "I Break Pratt insisted that the union Strikes," through the Call for

"Yes, I suppose the strike is raising Old Harry with your business," they would observe. "Poor fellows, they certainly are in the right, those strikers, but I'm afraid they are up against it this time. They tell me the company is stronger than ever. Men on the other side of town are going back to work. That's what I heard there."

Storekeepers, upon hearing this, would become apprehensive over the heavy bills their customers owed. Some of the strikers would never get their jobs back, the well-informed observers would assure them. Wives and children who overheard this talk would develop their first suspicions or confirm previous fears that perhaps the strike was lost, after all. Back to their homes the message would go, and no amount of arguing would completely convince the housewives that their striking husbands stood a chance to win.

"The men certainly put up a fight, but once a strike lasts this long, they're practically never won," the stranger in the store had said. "I'm with the men, but after all you can't buck your head against a stone wall."

The thoughts imbedded in the strikers' minds at home received impetus at union meetings, where Stinkfoot was now holding forth in all his oratorical glory. He openly denounced Pratt and the other strike leaders. Pratt should have grabbed at some kind of settlement long ago, he said. Now it was too late.

His ranks disintegrating, Pratt was forced to make compromises with those who demanded peace. He agreed to waive "recognition but insisted on reinstatement of the discharged men. On April 16th it was obvious to Pratt that continuation of the fight was impossible.

On the night of April 16th the strikers voted in an atmosphere of doubt, disorder and confusion, bureau.

Emasculate Bill Aimed at Thugs, **Strikebreakers**

ALBANY, N. Y. -The most vital parts of the Dooling bill, introduced into the Legislature a month ago and providing for the regulation of private detective agencies, have been quietly removed by amendment in the Assembly chamber.

The bill, which aims the most severe blow yet directed against the professional strikebreaking industry, would, in its original form, make illegal the work of spies and strikebreakers in inciting strikes, and interfering with or hindering lawful picketing and collective bargaining.

In its amended form the bill contains little to prevent a recurrence of the situation which existed in New York City during the recent elevator strike, when persons with long criminal records were hired as "guards" in swanky apartment houses to terrorize strikers.

When the ballots were counted it was found that peace had been rejected by a majority of nine votes. Under the circumstances, the Amalgamated concluded that continuation of the fight was impossible. The strike was called. off. Amid an atmosphere of despair and desperation, the strikers received the news. Stinkfoot was discreetly absent.

Questions were asked --- Whatdid the settlement mean? What would the "verbal promise" of the company amount to? If they were restored to their jobs, would they hold the old seniority rights? No one believed the answer of anyone else. To each striker the next fellow, even including his best friend, was a possible stool pigeon. The work of Bergoff and Stinkfoot Mc-Vey and their aides had been crowned with complete success.

Some five hundred strikers, including the discharged men and those prominently active in the strike, were not re-employed by the company. Silently they packed their bags and hunted new jobs. ***

But Bergoff was not one to throw away the by-products of his work. For four or five years atter the Philadelphia strike, he continued to count his gains. Joe Schultz, Hawkins, Dudbridge, and Stinkfoot toured the carbarns of the East and the Middle West constantly on the lookout for the blacklisted men who had departed from Philadelphia. Finding a former striker who had won new employment, they forwarded their report to the Red Demon in New York.

Soon the heads of the companies received confidential reports describing the dangerous agitator in their employ. The physical appearance of the man was minutely described so that change of name was no protection. His every activity, real and imaginary, in the Philadelphia strike was set forth.

The former strikers who thought themselves secure in their new jobs suddenly found themselves discharged "for the good of the service." Men who had moved their families two. three and four times, hunting work for their sustenance and seeking to evade the blacklist, were discovered by the Bergoff hawks and each time forced to move again.

This service Bergoff performed gratis for the traction companies. He offered it merely as a means of building up goodwill, and as a sample of the efficiency of his

World Socialism

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM IN SPAIN

BY HERBERT ZAM

IN preparation for the national convention of the Spanish Socialist Party which will begin Tune 20 in Medaid (not in Asturiae ist Party, which will begin June 29 in Madrid (not in Asturias, as was first planned) a discussion has begun in the ranks of the

Party. The main feature of this discussion thus far has been the adoption by the Madrid organization of a new Draft Program for the Party, which will be submitted to the convention. This Draft Program shows how determined is the turn of the Spanish Socialists toward a revolutionary position as a result of their experiences with monarchy and fascism on one hand and with republicanism on the other.

The Draft Program begins by stating that Socialism cannot be achieved by the gradual transformation of capitalist society. This was an illusion developed during the period of capitalist expansion, when the workers were able to wrest considerable improvements in their conditions from the capitalists. But today this is chimerical. Capitalism is now on a descending curve. It has passed from the expanding to the contracting stage. This is due partly to the industrialization of the colonies and semi-colonial countries, thus reducing their need for imported goods, and partly because of technological progress which has replaced men by machines, creating unemployment in gigantic proportions, creating over-production and reducing purchasing power throughout the world.

The Madrid Draft Program

There can be only two ways out of the crisis-fascism or Socialism. In essence fascism is the suppression of bourgeois democracy so as to make exploitation of the working class more convenient. It is the dictatorship of capitalism to cover its losses and avoid the final collapse at the exclusive cost of the enslavement of the workers. It inevitably leads to war in order to avoid or postpone the social revolution by encouraging the hope of a victory

The other way out of the crisis is Socialism. Bourgeois democracy has fulfilled its historical mission in some countries, and where it hasn't, it cannot cope with the capitalist forces which wish to replace it with the totalitarian fascist state. (This obviously refers to Spain, where the bourgeois revolution is in many respects, uncompleted.) The only class which can prevent fascism is the proletariat, not by merely defending bourgeois democracy, but by the conquest of political power through all available means, to achieve the Socialist revolution and complete democracy-a classless democracy.

During the period of transition. the Draft Program continues, the form of government will be the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dictatorship does not necessarily mean arbitrariness and lawless violence. Bourgeois democracy is a legal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over other classes. Working class democracy will be a legal dictatorship of the proletariat over the others. It would thus be the most perfect and most extensive democracy in history. Gradually working class democracy would convert itself into complete, or classless democracy. The Socialist Party will be the organ of the dictatorship.

The backwardness of capitalism in Spain makes it more imperative than in other countries for the proletariat to conquer political power and establish its democratic dictatorship, else there would be a long period of great suffering for the people. In order to guarantee the success of the struggle for Socialism, it is necessary to unify the activities of the proletariat by uniting all the political as well as

the economic organizations of the working class and by the complete break of the Socialist Party with all reformist and centrist ten-

The Draft Program closes with a summary of the political, economic, financial and municipal measures necessary for the realization of the Party's objectives.

The Right Wing And Its Position

This program has evoked a lively discussion. Its leading exponent is Largo Caballero and its leading opponent is Julian Besteiro. Besteiro argues that the adoption of this program would convert the Socialist Party into a Communist Party. Many Socialists are making analogies between the Russian and Spanish Revolutions, but he denies the legitimacy of such an analogy. A revolution in Spain would not emerge unless hunger and misery increase, and such a perspective is indefensible. What was needed to solve the problems at present before the proletariat was to realize a dayby-day revolution, bringing about the socialization of the means of production and exchange.

Largo Caballero argues that when there was a monarchy in the country, the Socialists placed themselves on the side of the republicans, in the hope that the downfall of monarchy would solve the problems of the proletariat. Now that the immense majority of the working masses realize that the republic is unable to solve their problems, they move to the left. For the transformation of the capitalist society into a Socialist one, there is no other solution than that of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The new regime cannot be installed peacefully, but with the energetic and violent force of the working class; not because Marx said so, or because it was so in Russia, but because it is a historical necessity.

Araquistain, speaking on behalf of the committee which drafted the Program, denied the charge that the Socialist Party was being converted to a communist one. It is being converted into a Marxist Party, and coincides with the Russian Bolsheviks because they coincided with Marx. He-referred to the defeat of German Socialism.

Reading Attack **Smashes Illegal** Pa. Referendum

READING, Pa. - The Pennsylvania referendum, by which delegates were to be instructed to support the old guard demand for seating in the national convention of the Socialist Party, has been withdrawn for lack of support.

Local Berks County, which includes the city of Reading, had voted unanimously at a membership meeting not to participate in the vote on the referendum on the ground that it was unconstitutional. Shortly afterwards, the state office sent out notices to the effect that referendum "on instructions to the delegates has been cancelled."

The referendum would have bound the Pennsylvania delegates to vote as a unit, to seat the old guard and to oppose the Declaration of Principles adopted at the Detroit convention.

Local Berks has also instructed its delegates "not to walk out of the convention under any circumstances and to fulfill their obligations to Local Berks as delegates and representatives of this Local." The action followed rumors that the old guard has been attempting to induce delegations "to take a walk." A motion was also passed rejecting united fronts with Communists, Democrats, Republicans or "Social Democrats" should such a new party be organized, as the old guard has announced its intentions.

which was commanded by formidable theoreticians who had Markism on their lips and reformism in their hearts. -

A Correction

In a previous column I made reference to a remark by Monmousseau about the need for answering "cannon with cannon and shell with shell" in his speech at the French Trade Union Unity Congress. The first meager report of this speech gave the impression that the reference was to France. The Daily Worker has kindly (but not courteously) called my attention to an error which, upon investigation, I confirm. The reference was not to France, but to a hypothetical country which had established Socialism. If the Daily Worker were as careful of misrepresentation as the Socialist Call, and as willing to correct errors, it reputation would be considerably enhanced.

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No Security in FDR

CHICAGO. — "Not Republican reaction, but the false sense of security offered to workers by the Roosevelt liberal mirage," will be the main target of the Socialist national convention, according to the prediction of Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the party.

"The clear intent of all preconvention discussion reported to the party's headquarters," says Senior, "is to make our convention the opening of a ringing campaign blasting the President's straddling of every vital issue.

New Deal Not Socialist

"We cannot join in the opinion, shared by rabid reactionaries and naive liberals, that Roosevelt's program contains any Socialist essence. There is no Socialism in burdening us with the largest peace-time military appropriations in history, in planning artificial scarcity in a nation needing more not less of subsistence, in acquiescence to the support of a dozen Democratic governors and other officials who have been denying civil rights in Indiana, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas and California."



Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party.

Sunday, May 24

Boat Ride to Indian Point, auspice. Young Circle League. Boat leaves 41mi Street pier of Hudson River Day Line at 9:30 a. m. Tickets \$1 in advance. \$1.25 at the boat. Tickets available at Young Circle League, 175 East Broadway.

V. F. Calverton on "The Revolution is American Literature" and L. R. Land on "Destructive Nature of Sectarianism" at 1591 Boston Road, Bronx, auspices Brong Free Fellowship, at 8 p. m.

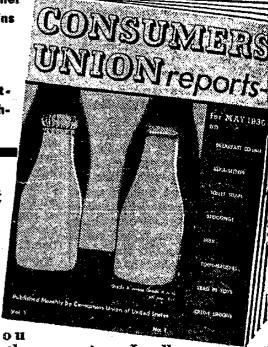
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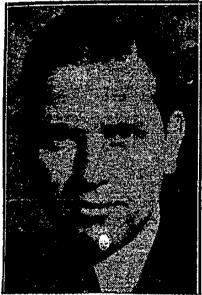
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Остания в под под

Convention Delegates



Andrew J. Biemiller, Milwaukee's educational director and a member of its delegation.



Robert Dullea, one-time Socialist candidate for Mayor of Cleveland, and national convention delegate from Ohio.



Mayor Stump of Reading, a Pennsylvania delegate.



Maynard Krueger, member of the National Executive Committee, an Illinois delegate.

Party Activity

Colorado

DENVER-The special nominating convention has selected Paul S. McCormick as candidate for Governor, Charles Whitehead for U. S. Senator and I. W. Holland for Lieutenant-Governor. Other candidates are: C. R. Axelson for Secretary of State, Claude Jackson for State Auditor, P. L. Chew for State Treasurer, Albert Bancroft for Attorney General, May L. Goffs for Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Lilly Painter and Ida Crouch-Hazlett for Regents of the state university.

Illinois

CHICAGO-A general membership meeting of Cook County Socialists met Friday, May 15, to discuss the issues coming before the national convention. Plans for campaign work were also discussed.

Preparations for the Cook County annual Socialist picnic have been made. The picnic will be held on Sunday, June 14.

: Arthur G. McDowell, state secretary of the party is well on the road to recovery from his recent operation was performed at the operation was performed by the Civic Medical Association, a cooperative medical association in which many Socialists are active.

Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS—As part of the Call drive of local Socialists, R. L. Burke, Myles B. Dunne and Carlos Hudson have been selected as correspondents.

Montana

GLASGOW - Local Socialists have adopted a resolution favoring the establishment of a farmer-

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AN EXPERIENCED address of and water west with children a office of the to Call, Box 301.

labor party with the following reservations: "No sacrifice would be made of our party's independence. We would remain a unit. We would feel free to criticize the farmer-labor platform and candidates. We would be free to point out that nothing short of socialization would solve the problem. At the same time the workers

New York

would understand that we were

willing to support the farmer-

labor movement for the sake of

unity against reaction."

NEW YORK-The State Executive Committee formally received the charter from the national executive committee. It approved of putting two new organizers in-the field in addition to Bruno Rantane, who has been assigned to cover the Western District Council, made up of Locals Niagara, Buffalo, Dunkirk, Jamestown and Olean. A summer institute for organizers will be arranged.

State Secretary Frank N. Trager, reported on his visit to 14 locals up-state. He stated that the state organization gave definite evidence of new vitality.

Philadelphians!

Philadelphia—A party for the benefit of the Socialist Call will be held at the head-quarters of the Socialist Call Association, 138 South Eighth St., Friday evening, May 29th. There will be dancing and en-tertainment, Admission: twenty-five cents.

SEAMEN'S STRIKE MASS MEETING

STUYVESANT II. S. 345 E. 15th St. May 22, 8 P. M. Joseph Curran, Frank Spector, Abraham Unger Striking Seamen to speak Ausp. I. L. D. Adm. /Free

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Wisconsin Socialists **Urge Left Program**

With the right of the Socialist mers of the West but the people National Executive Committee to revôke state charters an important issue at the coming Party convention, the important Wisconsin organization has decided to support the National Executive Committee's authority.

A statement adopted by the Wisconsin State Board of the Party asserts in answer to Old Guard appeals that the National Executive Committee "must have the power to step in and reorganize a state where the comrades in charge are utterly incompetent or inactive in the promotion of Socialist organization, or where warring factions of the Party have made any constructive work impossible."

It also asserts that "the fight over the Declaration of Principles was pure camouflage-a red herring to disguise the underlying conflict."

The Wisconsin Socialists state: "As to the essential principles of the Declaration, Wisconsin Socialists are perfectly satisfied. We are aware, and every other Socialist should be, that since the agonies of the depression have crept upon us not only the far-

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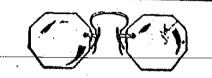
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generally have turned leftward. . . . The Socialist Party should not be afraid to stand firm, stating its position fearlessly and militantly just as it did in times past. We are not worshippers of phrases, however, and we stand ready to have the Declaration rephrased at the coming convention to meet the needs of the hour and to express the true purposes of the delegation."

The statement concludes with an appeal for harmony in the Party; "We will take any action which will enable us to leave the Cleveland convention a united party ready to build a strong working class political organization and to make a fine showing in the coming campaign against all the powers of reaction, fascism and

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GEORGE LANSBURY-Leader of British Labor Party

JULIUS HOCHMAN-International Ladies Garment Workers Union

FRANK CROSSWAITH-Negro Labor Committee, New York

Mayor DANIEL W. HOAN-of Milwaukee

LEO KRZYCKI-Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union

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BOOKS

CO-OP. MOVEMENT IS SURVEYED BY FOWLER

By BENJAMIN WOLF

Mr. Fowler has written the first comprehensive survey of the cooperative movement in America. In doing so he has told the story with unconcealed admiration and hopefulness. He sees in capitalist America a "peaceful revolution . . . proceeding quietly, without the fanfare of trumpets, without rancor and without confusion." He sees a revolt amongst the farmers that has tied knots in the octopus of the oil monopoly by organizing cooperative filling stations to distribute the oil and gasoline so necessary for America's mechanlzed farming technique. He tells how this same spirit of revolt has wrested the control of both the marketing of farm products and the purchase of consumers goods from the hands of middleman monopoly and thereby stopped the double drain of the profit system upon the farm community. Cooperation, Mr. Fowler says, is more than a money saving device. To the two million cooperators in America it is the democratic and just way of doing business. It is to them a way of life and they have carried that way into many fields other than distribution and marketing. They have established cooperative credit unions, cooperative insurance companies and cooperative medical service. In building this new economy they have established new standards of quality, service and efficiency.

To those who are not yet aware of the potential force of the cooperative movement, I can warmly recommend the book. But to those who seek a critical appraisal of the theory of consumers cooperation, Mr. Fowler's book will give no answer. It is not meant to do so. It is frankly protagonistic. Yet because Mr. Fowler has gone a pace beyond the usual line of cooperative leaders by making an impassioned plea to Labor to join hands with the cooperative movement, we feel he should have gone the whole hog and urged the necessity of political action lest the "peaceful revolution" suffer the "same fate as the older, more extensively developed co-operative movements have under the iron heel of fascism. Cooperation, no



Paul Porter, national labor secretary of the Socialist Party -a member of the Wisconsin delegation.

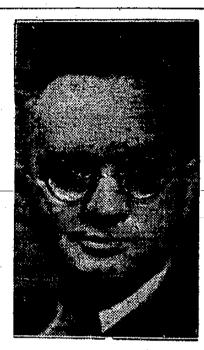
Hear the Broadcasts

Socialist locals and branches throughout the country are advertising the national convention broadcasts and are organizing groups in party headquarters to sit in and hear the deliberations of the delegates. Individual party members are inviting friends to their homes to listen to the speeches.

The broadcasts offer an excellent opportunity for Socialist propaganda. Make use of it.

ONSUMERS COOPERATION IN AMER-ICA, by Bertram B. Fowler. Vanguard never keep pace with the quick, hot blast of fascism. It must be nurtured and protected in its development by political control and trade union organization.

To Socialists who are imaginative enough to see the real force of consumers cooperation as the companion movement of trade unionism and Socialism, Mr. Fowler's book will serve as a goad to immediate action so that the triumvirate of cooperation, trade unionism and Socialism may prevail over fascism and black reaction.



Devere Allen, member of the National Executive Committee.

Please Patronize Our Advertisers

Chicago to Cleveland

CHICAGO.-A special train to the national convention is being arranged. The fare will be \$8 round trip. The train leaves at midnight, Friday, May 22, arriving in Cleveland at 6 a. m. Saturday. Passengers will have the privilege of returning any time within ten days. Reservations should be made with Arthur G. Mc-Dowell, 549 Randolph Street, Dearborn 6841.



Arthur G. McDowell, state secretary of Illinois, a Chicago delegate.

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orkers Library Publishers P. O. Box 148, Sta. D., NYC

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ON TO CLEVELAND!

NEW YORK,-A large number of New York Socialists will entrain for Cleveland on Thursday, May 21, at midnight, to attend the national convention of the party. A special train has been chartered, round trip fare being \$15.00. The return ticket is good for ten days.

Those interested in making the trip should communicate with Jack Altman, at 21 East 17th Stret, N. Y. C., as early as possible.

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-Bruno Fischer, Socialist Call

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American Socialist Monthly

NEW YORK, N. Y.

CLASS OF '29' TELLS DILEMMA OF YOUTH

"CLASS OF '29," a WPA play presented at the Manhattan Theatre, 8:30 p. m.

An orchid to Lashin and Hastings, the authors of "Class of 29," if for no other reason than that here they have tackled a pressing social problem without resorting to the use of strikes, picket lines, pregnant women, or state militiamen to get their

"Class of '29" is well worth

seeing despite first act weak-

nesses. Its shortcomings are

those of technique rather than

any lack of sincerity or intelli-

gence. It is for the most part a

well written, well acted and whol-

ly believable drama, which speaks

out eloquently against social in-

'1935' a Good Idea,

Sparkles in Spots,

But Poorly Written.

THE LIVING NEWSPAPER, sponsored by the Newspaper Guild of New York, pre-sents "1985," with a cast of 100, twice nightly, at 7:30 and 9:00, at the Bit-more Theatre.

With twelve jurors represent-

ing The Great American Public,

"1935" presents, in nineteen

scenes, the highlights—and some

not so high-of last year's news.

Hutton's wedding, the assassina-

tions of Dutch Shultz and Huey

Long, the fight in the AFL over

industrial unionism—these are

but a few of last year's news

events which receive the atten-

tion of the Editorial Staff of the

Living Newspaper in their second

Like "Triple A Plowed Under,"

"1935" shows sparks of genius,

but the darkness between the

sparks was a little too boring.

Olympics, the puppet idea in the

portrayal of Huey Long, and the

staging of a Georgia chain gang, but the rest of "1935" did not

have the vitality which the year

itself held for this reviewer.

COME ALONG!

cuted. . . . H. W.

Well done are the skit on the

WPA show.

The Hauptmann trial, Barbara

justice. . . B.S.

The play deals with the probems confronting four young men graduated from college into a society which is unable and unwilling to make a place for them. The first of these, Ken Holden, a graduate architect, is dependent for his livelihood upon the benificence of his father, a bish-op. The second, Ted Brooks, the weak son of a weak father, accepts "tainted" money from his young lady; while Tippy Sayre, the third, a happy-go-lucky, young Scotch Irishman "beats the depression" by washing dogs, and Martin Peterson, the last, finds the answer to the riddle of

unemployment in his work for

the projetarian revolution. Though slow in starting, and suffering from a weakly written and more weakly acted first act, the show gathers speed quickly and builds convincingly to a tense second act climax, in which Ken and Ted vent their spleen, for all the wrongs done them by the social system, upon each other. From that point forward the show maintains a fast, dramatic, action-filled pace right up to the final curtain, At the close, the weakling Ted finds his way out in suicide. The stronger Ken, his morale broken tries to find forgetfullness in drink, but fails. Only Martin, the revolutionary, escapes with a whole skin from the battle with enforced idle-

Volunteer Chorus Gives Rare Treat

The Workmen's Circle chorus led by Lazar Weiner, conductor, gave the good sized audience at Town Hall Sunday afternoon, a treat rarely experienced when listening to a group of volunteer workers who make up this chorus.

For beauty of shading, tone and volume, the conductor proved what can be done by comprehensive leadership.

The program, intelligently chosen to the traditional VERNON GRIFFITH and his CLUB VALHALLA BAND representational violet and the club, and the somet . See cutodis and and Tapanese

There were two sole es. No Spivack, tenor, singing "The Little Star" in Yiddish, and M. Singer, baritone, singing "Love Song," an Arabian melody.

Professor Theremin, substituted for Clara Rockmore, who was ill, playing a group of pieces on the Theremin.

The Workmen's Circle should be congratulated for supporting this chorus of 100 voices, which adds a cultural note to that great fraternal institution.

-Bess Kaye.

Going To The Theatre?

Why not consult the Call's special THEATRE BUREAU for expert advice on matters pertaining to the theatre. Choice seats obtained.

Our B U R E A U also arranges parties for current attractions. This service is FREE to Call readers.

Get in Touch With The Theatre Bureau

CO SOCIALIST CALL 21 East 17th St. New York City or phone GRamercy 5-8779

Film Star



Here to study the technique of the American screen charming Miss Tsuruko Chiba, one of Japan's leading film stars, as she arrived in Los Angeles en route to Hollywood. Garbed in the traditional costume of the Orient, she explained she would not seek an American career.

Rebel Arts' Mag.

The Chicago Rebel Arts Chapter is putting out a lively monthly literary magazine called "Rebel Arts Magazine." It contains stories, poems, literary criticism and cartoons, and is mimeographed, but the editors have managed to turn out a neat and readable job. The price is only five cents.

dress is Rebel Arts, Chicago Chapter, 6120 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, III. Frank Stern is managing editor.

This bold and struggling effort deserves the widest possible support. Branches are urged to send in for bundle orders. Copies should sell without trouble at five cents

May the magazine soon achieve a printed format!

23%

If Liberty Leaguers don't like things the way they are in America, they're always free to go back where they came from.

In Great Britain, for instance, The idea behind "1935" is a good one, but it is poorly exe-income taxes have just risen

THE SEASON'S FIRST MOONLIGHT

S. S. Clermont Leaves Battery at 8:30

Tickets \$1.00 in Advance. On Sale at
New Theatro League, 55 W. 45th Street, Longacre 5-9116
New Theatre Mag., 156 W. 44th Street, BRyant 9-8378, and All Workers Bookshops

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4th CAPACITY... WEEK "WE ARE FROM

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'THINGS TO COME' IS A MEMORABLE PICTURE

TRINGS TO COME. A picture by H. G. Wells. Preduced by Alexander Kerda.

By McALISTER COLEMAN

This English-made film will, I hope, get around the country and you, I hope, will get around to see it. Because it is an exciting, stimulating and memorable picture. To be sure, it doesn't altogether come off. It falters towards the end. But just the same

it is aimed so much higher than? the run of Hollywooden stuff that them rise from their beds and go you can't justly complain because it doesn't land square on the tar-

When H. G. Wells sits down to do something, he usually does it on a scale that is planetary to put it mildly. The history of one country, the outline of one science, the approach to one phase of modern economics-these can never satisfy the ranging imagination and ineffable curiosity of this amazing little feller. When he went poking into studios, he brought his expansiveness along with him and the result is what our movie magnates would call "colossal."

He sees another war coming in 1940 and he shows us a party on Christmas Eve in the home of a well-to-do Englishman where the youngsters are playing under the tree with their guns and tiny tanks and the older folks are pooh-poohing the idea of war's Over this scene possibilities. a strange air-craft begins dropping bombs. The panic scenes in the crowded London streets, the rush for the subways, the pitiful attempts of the anti-aircraft forces to fight off the invader are screened all too sickeningly well.

Now for long black years the nations are at one another's throats until finally civilization sinks back to barbarism. A strange disease like the Black Plague is over all the lands. It is the wandering sickness and its victims are incurable. You see

through desolated stumbling cities.

Then one day, it is 2055, out of the sky comes a strange hooded figure with news of the formation of one of Wells's favorite conceptions, the "open conspiracy" of men of science against the men of war. The victory of the former, the new way of living that they bring to a war-wracked world is the theme of the latter part of the picture. And here, it must be confessed that Mr. Wells's antiseptic world, with vast robot driven machines doing all the work and nobody appara ently having much fun, (though H. G. makes it clear that they do not suffer from sky-scrapers, indigestion or head colds in this smooth clicking new Utopia of his), somehow doesn't appeal, to this reviewer at any rate.

But, boys and girls, its a grand picture for all its anti-climax and you'd best watch for its coming to the theatre nearest you.

Closes Sat.

Engagement definitely ends this Sat. Eve., May 23. Hurry! Hurry! Not to Be Missed!!

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-Benchley, The New Yerker

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—BROOKS ATKINSON, N. Y. Times

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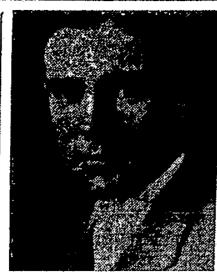
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David Lasser, national chairman of the Workers Alliance, delegate from New York.



Indiana Hapgood, member of the National Executive Committee.

Answer the Call:

Let's Reach Millions In Coming Campaign

AFTER CLEVELAND—

When the last convention speech is made and the tired delegates leave the hall to the scrub woman, the work of your paper just begins.

THE SOCIALIST CALL has ridden out many a fierce storm in this first crowded year of its publication. It has proved its Socialist seaworthiness. But what is behind has been smooth sailing compared to what is ahead of us.

It is no exaggeration to say that never before in the history of the Party has the need for a courageous, intelligently edited Socialist paper been so great as in these Spring days of 1936.

The entire burden of carrying the message of a constructive radicalism to the people of this country rests upon the Socialist Party this year. Candidates can't do it unaided. Where they speak to hundreds the Call must speak to thousands. Where perforce they cannot go, the Call must go for them.

It is no secret that a handful of devoted comrades have made possible the magnificent progress of the Call in these past twelve months. But it is no longer possible to depend upon the selfsacrifice of a few, if we are to make a campaign that is truly national.

Give Us the Word

Let the pessimists howl and the sour-pusses imagine a vain thing. We want no fair-weather friends, no band-wagon climbers. We campaign,

dwindle.

We on the Call can't afford the luxury of any headaches this summer. Not headaches about what is or what isn't in the cash drawer at any rate. We want to save our head work for getting out the best, most readable, result-producing paper that the Party has ever edited. And we want you to say to us:

"Go ahead, Comrades. Get out that Call. Get it to the people we most want to reach. Get it out to the grass roots of America, down to the coalfields, to the steel and auto workers, to the schools and libraries, to the homes of the bewildered middle class who know something is wrong, but don't know just what it is all about.

"Tell them our story. Tell them with pictures, with crisp human interest articles, with editorials that drive home. Tell them with humor and good sense and with color and the trigger words that set off something in the minds and imaginations of the readers. And don't spend your time and good white space, passing the hat. We'll take care of the money end of

Are those your sailing-orders? look to the rank and file of the We have enough confidence in the Socialist Party of the United intestinal stamina of our rank States to make the Socialist Call and file to believe that they are. a mighty force in this coming Where's that contribution blank of yours? How about the new Ordinarily the summer months subs, and renewals on the old are headaches even for fat-bellied ones? A welter of mail that will capitalist publishers. Advertising keep us working overtime today falls off, subs are not coming in, will give us the mandate to make gathered audiences the Socialist Call every bit of the fighting sheet you want it to be.

<u>Norman Thomas:</u>

SOCIALIST CONVENTION PROBLEMS. THE GUFFEY BILL, LABOR AND FDR

the Democratic or any other capitalistic party was well illustrated in the California primaries. The McAdoo slate of delegates for the Democratic Convention endorsed slate seven to one. On the Mc-Adoo slate were two Old Guard Socialists, John Packard and Stitt Wilson. But you can't blame them too much for going beyond Sinclair to McAdoo. All Sinclair offered was a chance to vote for Roosevelt on the second ballot instead of the first, and there'll be no second ballot at Philadelphia. Sinclair's idea was that his slate would be a protest against the McAdoo slate. As such it didn't come off. How many more times has this lesson got to be illustrated before it will be learned?

The French People's Front

Leon Blum has a magnificent chance to serve France and mankind, but he has a terribly difficult job. It is probably true, as he says, that the French electorate did not give him or any other group a mandate to establish a Socialist society but only to save democracy against fascism. So great is the danger in France of fascism and so great is the pressure of Hitler upon France that there may be an excellent reason for the course which has been pursued and is likely to be pursued by French Socialists.

It is somewhat ominous that the Communists, who went into the People's Front taking an even more opportunistic stand than the Socalists, now hold back from the responsibility of office. That may be good Communist politics but it doesn't look to me like playing the game. The real danger, however, arises from the fact that once more a Socialist Party will have to be responsible for carrying on a capitalist civilization. It is not a position into which Socialists ought to get themselves save under the most extraordinary circumstances. Thank God such circumstances do not exist in the United States and we have no excuse for substituting for Socialism a program of reform a little to the left of Roosevelt. That doesn't mean that we can't do a better job than Roosevelt on certain reforms of use to labor.

The Cleveland Convention

that the Cleveland Convention party with a single purpose of food for thought I did by reading unity but not at the price of condoning secession or defiance of son and Bates (Viking Press) Party discipline. I for one will and "Hitler-Der Fughrer's Life go a long ways to get unity with Story" by Konrad Heiden (Alfred those who will drop an attitude A. Knopf). Both books are fine of such defiance.

For myself-and I am writing to express my convictions, not to problem of fascism. try to dictate to the Party I see little to add to positions that I and important differences, behave tried to set forth clearly, tween Hearst and Hitler differ-Time has proved that we were ences partly in the period of the right in thinking it impossible to launch a genuine Farmer-Labor Hearst has been on the stage too party in 1936 on a nationwide long and is too old for genuine scale. If we cannot get a gennine party it is better to wait, not, as someone has charged me there are great similarities. Perwith thinking, for fear of irritating certain labor leaders but simply because we should not have a genume Farmer-Labor party: and to call ourselves a Farmer-Labor party would delay the coming of a true Labor Party.

It might in something even they attempt to use.

WHAT happens when a So- worse, and that is, to persuade us cialist sets out to capture to water down our Socialist demands in the vague hope of making a Farmer-Labor Party by diluting Socialism. That is the worst way the job can be done. We can't now write the platform by Roosevelt beat the Sinclair which a genuine Farmer-Labor Party may begin with, but it will be a much better party and a much better platform if we stand four-square for Socialism. We do not want to emulate Browder's attempt to write a Farmer-Labor platform which isn't good Socialism or good Communism or, in my judgment, good sense.

> On the united front issue I think that Kantorovitch has given us a real lead by distinguishing between a united front and joint action. Harry Laidler in the forthcoming issue of the American Socialist Monthly carried along this idea by laying down some excellent questions to ask ourselves before going into joint action. Of course if we are to have joint action on specific issues it must be in every case with the approval of the State Executive Committees. I am, however, of the opinion that we simply will fail to do our job if we are afraid of all joint action. It will mean that the habit of doing nothing, which is already dangerous, will become fatal to us. We want to be ready for joint action and we want to be able to take the initiative wherever it is advisable.

I have nothing to add to what I have already said about our program against war and our attitude towards the League of Nations. I am hoping that the Labor Committee will give us a genuine and vigorous leadership in regard to the relations of Socialists to labor unions. We have got to have a Socialist policy but except in very unusual circumstances I do not favor Socialist Leagues as caucuses in the unions. There are circumstances where Socialists ought to be active in progressive clubs in unions in order to bring about within the union changes consistent with labor democracy.

for the Socialist Party not to make a vigorous nationwide campaign this year is to sign its own death warrant. We hav no intention of doing that

Fascist Hearst-Two Biographies

Enthusiastically I commend Every Socialist must be hoping two absorbingly interesting biographies to my readers. I also will give us a vigorous and united suggest that you may get the achieving Socialism. We want them together, I refer to "Hearst Lord of San Simeon" by Carlbits of biography and history. Both shed light on the absorbing

> Of course there are differences, great activity of the two men. fascist leadership in America. But in spite of the differences haps there is a basic sincerity of some sort in Hitler that is lacking in Hearst. But both men are completely unscruptions; both probably fare compensating for an inferiority coniplex; both heartily despise the masses whom our educational institutions for \$

Time and death will stop Hearst before he can be more than a forerunner of fascism in America. He has enough sins upon him with the Spanish War to answer for and his long propaganda of fear and hate. But even if Hearst were a younger man I think it likely that the immense fortune which gave him the start he might not otherwise have had is at the same time a hindrance which of itself would prevent him from playing the role of a Hitler. In this period of history the demagogue who is to fool and browbeat the masses needs to have been one of them in a sense that the "Lord of San Simeon," with his vast fortune never was.

The Guffey Act Unconstitutional

The decision of the Supreme Court against the Guffey Act was to be expected. It is, however, it anything, even more sweeping than might be expected. The inference is fairly certain that Congress has no power to act, to assert any sort of control of industry no matter how truly nationwide the industry is. That decision cannot stand. Literally it invites in time of crisis violent revolution. If revolution of a disorderly sort comes it may be the gentlemen who have handed down this decision who will be most to blame for it. In the meantime there is the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment which must be pushed as never

Two questions are in order;

1. What will the President do? Will he take it lying down? Will he utter vague generalities? Or will he dare to come out for a definite constitutional amendment? Is he more afraid of the workers or of his Southern Senators and colleagues in the Democratic Party? We are willing to let him use the Workers' Rights Amendment even if we are the ones who thought of it first.

2. What are the President's labor friends going to do having Finally I am convinced every endorsed him? Are they now gorday with increasing firmness that ing to collect from him by dec manding vigorous action in support of his own program? We wait for the answer.

An Informative Poll on Education

In the midst of some signs of middle class reaction in America it is encouraging that the poll conducted by the American Institute of Opinion shows that 62 per cent of those asked believe that the people, especially the young people in the schools, should have the facts about Socialism, Communism, Fascism. If they really get the facts they are more likely to act intelligently. Whether they'll really get them from our present schools, is another mat-

Academic Freedom In New York

On my return to New York I am asked to make a statement on the Schappes case. The ground has now been so well covered that all I can say is this. It is President Robinson of the City College of New York at his worst. And that's pretty nearly the ultimate low level. If the education al authorities in New York stand by this sort of thing it means a virtual end of academic freedom and an excellent preparation of genuinely fascist regime.

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