

Norman Thomas

DISCUSSES
The League of Nations

ON PAGE 12

Socialist Call

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

Vol. II—No. 61

SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

SHIP BOSS ADMITS USING SPIES, COPS

STORY ON PAGE 2

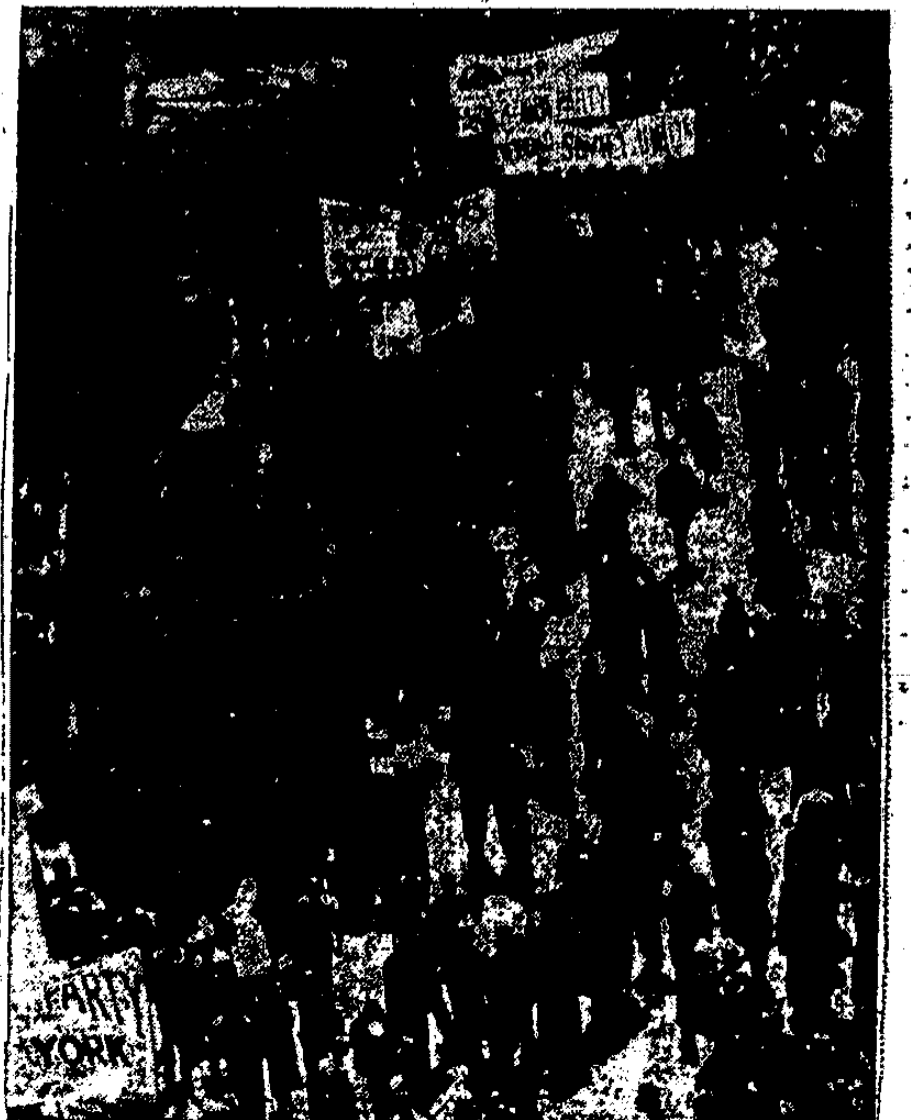
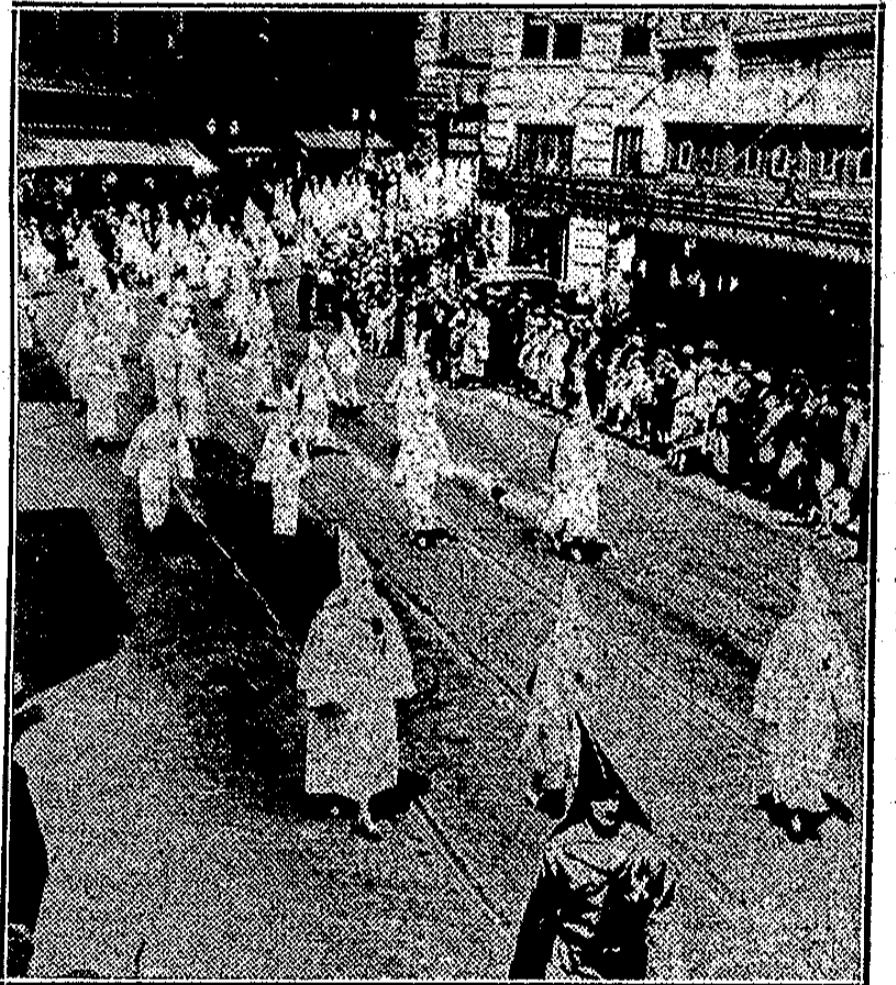


While publishers of the nation's biggest newspapers were mouthing wordy phrases about the freedom of the press, Joseph Shaefer (above) of Milwaukee was helping striking Newspaper Guild members on the Hearst Wisconsin News win the freedom of decent wages and working conditions. Here's how he looked after cops broke up the picket line.

Two Types of Parades

America is seeing parades for reaction and parades for freedom these days. On the right are hooded Klansmen marching in a recent parade in Atlanta, Georgia. The open Klan demonstration was a surprise to most people, who supposed the organization had long ceased to exist. Those who have been following events in the fatal Tampa kidnap case (See Story Page 2) knew better, however.

Below are two parades in which thousands of workers demonstrated for freedom. On the right are contingents of the Socialist Party and Young People's Socialist League forming in line to head one section of New York's recent May Day parade. On the left are marchers from Milwaukee's May Day parade gathered in front of the court house to hear Socialist and labor speakers.



My Spies Report Each Wednesday, Says Ship Boss

Special to The Call

TAMPA, Fla.—The existence of a labor spy system in the Clyde-Mallory Steamship company which supplies officials of the line with the latest information on union activities was openly admitted by R. L. Gillett, local agent for the company, at a National Labor Relations Board hearing here this week.

Gillett boasted that he gets regular reports once a week, usually on Wednesday, which he described as "the reporting day."

These reports, he said, are transmitted "in due time" to the state agent in Jacksonville and to the home office in New York City.

The hearing is on a complaint against the line alleging discriminatory discharge and refusal to bargain collectively.

The charge was entered by Local 1014 of the International Longshoremen's Association, organized here last December. The day after officers were elected, John LeVell, president, was fired. Within a short time, the vice-president, secretary, treasurer and three charter members of the new local were also discharged.

Gillett virtually admitted that his network of stool-pigeons is supported by other steamship companies.

Organizer Slashed

When Frank Henderson, I.L.A. organizer, arrived in Tampa last November, Gillett had him "checked up" through his spy system and, together with Col. H. C. Culbreath, local manager for the Lykes Brothers Steamship Company, and Capt. Linneaus G. Hudgins, local agent for the Bull Lines, went to the chief of detectives of Tampa and asked him to "investigate" Henderson.

Gillett said he understood that the chief of detectives "had the man brought in for questioning" at the same time Joseph A. Shoemaker, Eugene F. Poulnot, Dr. Sam J. Rogers and the fellow-members of the Modern Democrats were arrested.

Teacher Fired For Peace Talk

NEW YORK—Ghandi tactics came to City College of New York last week as 1500 students sat cross-legged outside President "Umbrella Freddie" Robinson's office in protest against the firing of Morris U. Schappes, for eight years a member of the school's English Department.

On April 23 Schappes was notified by Professor Horne that his appointment would not be renewed because his "efficiency as a teacher of English had not been sufficiently notable."

In the past, Schappes' salary has been increased and his services were characterized as "good" by Professor Krowl, late head of his department.

Schappes, however, committed a number of unpardonable sins, including—

Writing articles for the Modern Monthly, Independent Journal of radical opinion.

Speaking before the anti-war demonstration during the student peace strike last month.

A mock funeral was held on the campus by the undergraduates, to mourn the death of academic freedom. Among the speakers was Harry W. Laidler, state and city chairman of the Socialist Party.

station in which the Modern Democrats were questioned. A few days after Henderson was released, he was slashed in the arm while at the wheel of his car waiting for a traffic light to change.

Gillett admitted that he had given the Tampa Steamship Association, of which he is an officer, information obtained through his "secret service system."

So efficient and well-informed are Gillett's spies that he knew in advance that LeVell was to be elected president of the union.

Gillett said that LeVell was "one of our good men," although two of his foremen had previously testified that the union president was fired because his services were unsatisfactory.

French Cabinet Will Be Formed By Leon Blum

PARIS — It became definite this week that Leon Blum, leader of the French Socialist Party, would form a People's Front cabinet. The Communist Party, however, has indicated that it will not participate in the cabinet, though it will support the new government in line with the People's Front agreement.

Pressure from the Bank of France has already made itself felt. The franc has fallen, though



Leon Blum

reassuring statements from People's Front leaders, including Blum, have brought about a revival. They indicate that the new regime will proceed conservatively.

Prominent among figures controlling the bank of France are Francois de Wendel, head of the Comite des Forges and leading French munitions-maker, Baron Edouard de Rothschild and D. David Weill, well known money-men.

Addressing the executive council of the Socialist Party, Blum, in announcing that he would assume leadership in the new government, demanded "full power."

"I do not wish to employ here any menacing tone," he said. "Threats are bad when they are useless. But we are not an isolated few. Behind us are the masses of the people, to whom we would not need to appeal twice if there should be any insurgency against their wishes."

Blum expressed hope that the Communist Party would decide to participate in his cabinet.



Wisconsin News Guild strikers marching in the May Day parade.

'Outsiders' Kill Union Men, Says Citrus Grower

BARTOW, Fla.—Wealthy citrus fruit growers and Florida business groups, acting together with the Ku Klux Klan and the police, are willing to put any militant labor organizer on the spot!

That is the main theme of the testimony produced by the prosecution as it finally closed its case after three weeks presentation of evidence against seven former Tampa cops on trial in Bartow's courthouse for the kidnaping of E. J. Poulnot, chairman of the Florida Workers Alliance, last November.

Evidence of the reign of terror in the state is indicated by a quotation from an unnamed fruit grower reported by Junius Wood in a copyrighted article by North American Newspaper Alliance, published in The New York Times.

"Citrus growing is a \$100,000,000 industry in Florida and as it cannot afford to pay higher wages labor organizers must be discouraged," the grower is quoted as saying.

"It would be undignified for members of the organization to do it, and outsiders are used," he continued explaining that he himself had helped send a dozen such "disturbers" to death in the abandoned and water-filled phosphate mines and swamps of the state.

Trial witnesses have identified all the defendants and shown that there was police collusion in the beating and flogging of Poulnot, Dr. Sam Rogers, and Joseph Shoemaker, who died of his wounds.

Jail 117 Pickets At Ohrbach Store

NEW YORK.—Ohrbach's Department Store and the Police Department are running up a new record of picket arrests which may soon equal the number hauled in during the Mays Department Store walkout in Brooklyn.

One hundred and seventeen workers have been arrested while picketing Ohrbach's, since the first of the lockouts of 43 clerks, cashiers and packers began seven weeks ago. Thirty-one pickets were arrested last Saturday.

Already the Department Store Employees Union, Local 1250, AFL, which is handling the lockout, has won 37 court dismissals of those arrested, and has established the right to picket the doorways of the store.

Mr. Ohrbach said openly when he fired the first of the workers that they were losing their jobs because of union activity. A boycott of the store has been urged.

Call Hits Philippines as Subs And Bundle Orders Pour In

How wide-spread is the Call circulation?

Many of our friends often ask this question of our business department. Until last week our boast was that we had paid subscriptions in France, England, and Czecho-Slovakia in addition to Canada and all of the 48 states. Now we can add to that list the Philippine Islands.

None of our friends ever asks why the Call sells. They know! They know that all you have to do is bring the Call to the attention of workers and it sells itself. Any radical weekly as lively and as full of pictures as the Call can sell itself these days.

Just take the case of Alan Silvius. He writes, from San Francisco, that of 300 copies of the April 18 issue, 220 were sold at a single meeting. This sort of activity can be duplicated in every city and town and village in the country.

At the top of a partial list of Call Boosters who sent in subs last week stands Doris Priesler, of St. Louis, who sent in \$19 for 19 one-year subs, and these Boosters sent in one apiece: Paul McCormick, Colorado; Forrest Rogers, Indianapolis; Irving Fox, Baltimore; Charles Hill, Manchester, N. H.; John Vanninety, New Britain, Conn.; H. S. Michelson, Dorchester, Mass.; Ruth Palmer, Westchester, N. Y.

Bundle Orders

Bundle orders of the Call are real Party Builders. This week Keith Kirkpatrick raises his bundle order from 10 to 25. From Akron, where Socialists were active in the recent rubber strike, John Zvercher sends \$5 for his

Strike Heads Face Dynamite Charge

ROCKWOOD, Tenn., (FP)—A four-week reign of terror, punctuated by 45 arrests of striking union members at the Rockwood Hosiery Mill, came to a climax when police arrested Jim Hinds and Jim Polson, strike leaders, on charges of having dynamited the town's water main.

Meanwhile, in nearby Chattanooga, the convention of the Tennessee Federation of Labor heard George Gooze, southern representative of the American Federation of Labor, characterize the dynamiting as the work of a "labor-baiting detective agency."

The convention demanded that the governor post a reward for the arrest and conviction of the men who had previously kidnaped and flogged Matthew Lynch, young hosiery workers' organizer. Lynch is now back in Rockwood.

weekly bundle. From Kansas City comes a check from W. C. Settle, one of the best of our workers.

Others on the list of "bundle takers" include W. Harbridge, Haddon Heights, N. J.; Milton Goldstein, Chicago; L. H. Young, Fort Wayne, Ind.; T. W. Davis, Nyack, N. Y.; Ellsworth Golding, Hawk Run, Pa.; and Paul Cotton, Easton, Pa.

Donations

In the Drive to make the Call a 16-page weekly, to insure its existence during the coming presidential campaign, cash donations are as important as subscriptions. We are happy to mention the names of some individuals and Party branches who have responded nobly to our appeal. We hope . . . and confidently expect . . . that others will follow suit.

Donations have been received from:

Local Westchester, N. Y.	\$21.00
Luther E. Lorah, Lebanon, Pa.	3.00
Frank Fraezek, Bridgeport, Conn.	10.00
"Mike" Shulman, Perkasi, Pa.	2.00
J. M. Glover, Louisville, Ky.	1.00
M. Schwind, Oakland, Cal.	10.00
Maurice Goldsmith, Detroit, Mich.	1.00
Dr. G. W. Goler, Rochester, N. Y.	4.00
Paul Smith, Upland, Pa.	2.00
Albert Sprague Coolidge, Mass.	20.00
Alfred Baker Lewis, Mass.	20.00
NEW YORK	
East Flatbush Branch	\$12.00
Washington Heights Branch	5.00
Members, Local 19 A.C.W.A.	5.00
Edgar Allen Lynn	50.00
Socialist Teachers	22.00
Louis Boudin	5.00
Sol Solkind	2.00
M. Liebowitz	1.00
Clarence Howell	5.00
Village Branch	10.00
Betty Sinclair	10.00
Wilbur B. Davis	1.00
Branch 1025, Y.C.L.A.	2.00
Mollie Tartar	3.00

SELL THE CALL

NEW YORK.—Socialist Party members and young Socialists are earning substantial sums by selling the Socialist Call on the city streets. The business office of the Call can assign union meetings and lecture halls to Call distributors, as well as routes which bring fruitful sales.

Those interested in circulating the Call and in adding to their income should communicate with the business office.

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.

61 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

Hearst's Labor News

40,000 Auto Workers Quit Labor Federation; Green's Appointee Out as President

Auto Workers' Allegiance to A. F. of L. Pledged; Union Made Independent Affiliate

Delegates to the convention of the United Automobile Workers of America, meeting at South Bend, Indiana, gaped in amazement when shown copies of the Hearst-owned Chicago Herald-Examiner. The headline at the top was corrected the next day to have just the opposite meaning. But meanwhile, the autoworkers had voted to boycott "Dirty Willie" Hearst.

Roosevelt Bandwagon Is Jumped by Louis Waldman

NEW YORK.—After announcing his intention of forming a new party to fight the Socialist Party of the United States, Louis Waldman, Old Guard leader, recently defeated in the primaries, stated in an interview with the New York Herald-Tribune:

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

The announcement of the formation of an Old Guard party was described by Jack Altman, executive secretary of the New York Socialist Party, as "the last bugle blast to summon the handful of scattered and demoralized followers of the Old Guard."

He added that the new move was "hardly startling in view of the fact that from the standpoint of principles and philosophy, they have been outside the Party since the last Convention. They have rejected the Party's program adopted by a national convention and confirmed by a national referendum. They have refused to take their stand with us in an aggressive fight against capitalism, and particularly against the menace of war. They have preferred to make of themselves, and would have made of the Party if the membership permitted, an agency for political bartering, stripped of all Socialist character.

"We are not disturbed by their intentions to form a new Party which, on the basis of their past performances; is certain to be short-lived. For ourselves, we intend to carry on a militant Socialist campaign against Rooseveltism and all other forms of capitalism. Their absence from our ranks will contribute only to our clarity and steadfastness of purpose."

Altman described the announcement as a "final confession of defeat."

Laidler Answers

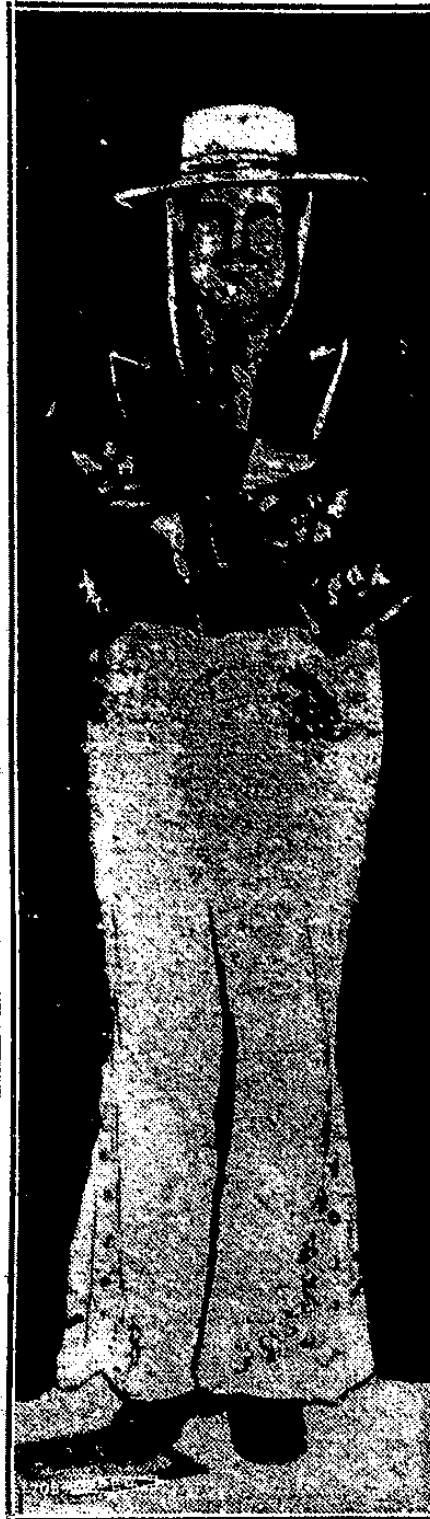
Dr. Harry W. Laidler, city chairman of the New York Socialist Party, in a statement issued in reply to Waldman's strictures against the Party, pointed out that the Old Guard was not sincere in its attacks on the United Front.

"They have objected to Socialists marching with large sections of the International Ladies Garment Workers and other unions and the Communists on May Day," he said, "but they have not objected to Louis Waldman speaking this and previous May Days on the same platform with Jay Lovestone and other Communists, nor have they objected

Circus Notes

After listening to Col. McCormick, publisher of the Liberty League-loving Chicago Tribune, talk about freedom of the press, the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. re-elected a guy named Barnum as president.

Bull Thrower



William Randolph Hearst, known to thousands of workers as "Dirty Willie," dressed himself up in the costume of a Spanish bull thrower when he celebrated his 75th birthday at his San Simeon estate. A fitting costume for a man who has prostituted the press for more than 35 years.

National Committee Gives N. Y. Charter To Loyal Socialists

CHICAGO—By a mail vote the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has voted to restore the suspended charter of the New York Socialist Party to the state committee elected at the state convention on April 18. The motion was carried by a vote of 8 to 1.

Those voting for the motion were Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee; Devere Allen, of Connecticut; Albert Sprague Coolidge, of Massachusetts; Franz Daniels, of Pennsylvania; Powers Hapgood, of Indiana; Maynard Krueger, of Illinois; Leo Krzycki, of Wisconsin, and Norman Thomas, of New York. James Graham, of Montana, and Darlington Hoopes, of Pennsylvania, abstained from voting. Only James Oneal, New York Old Guardist, voted against the motion.

The text of the motion reads "that the charter of the Socialist Party of New York be restored and placed under the administration of the state committee elected by the April 18th state convention in Buffalo."

Suspension of the New York charter came last January as a result of failure of the New York state committee, then headed by Louis Waldman, to abide by the constitution and declaration of principles of the party. Appeal had been taken to the national executive committee against dictatorial practices in the New York organization, the refusal to hold city conventions and attempts on the part of Old Guard officials to purge the party of all elements that disagreed with them.

Preserved Democracy

The national executive committee had intervened to protect democracy in the party by suspending the charter, providing for re-registration of the party members and the holding of new elections and a state convention. A temporary state committee was appointed, functioning under a special supervisory committee, until the elections and the convention was held. All sections of the

party were to be permitted to participate in the elections. Specific provision was made that "there be no 'purgés', no heresy hunting, but an enforcement of loyalty in act to the constitution, platform and declaration of principles."

The resolution suspending the charter had been moved by Darlington Hoopes of Pennsylvania after consultation with Albert Sprague Coolidge and had carried by a vote of 8 to 2.

Old Guard elements, however, refused to recognize the decision.

The motion of the NEC passed this week which restores the New York charter was accompanied by a motion permitting all former members of the party who had failed to register under the NEC decision to continue their membership without making out a new application subject to approval by the local. The ruling had been requested by the state convention held April 18.

Backed by Membership

Action by the NEC in restoring the charter followed concrete proof that the party membership fully supports its new state committee. A majority of the members had registered with the state committee, indicating agreement with the NEC decision. In addition, the recent primary elections in which the Old Guard campaigned to upset the authority of the national organization showed that the party members as well as the enrolled Socialist voters in New York were enthusiastically behind the revitalized organization.

With the Cleveland convention a few weeks off, the New York organization has elected its 44 delegates. They will take their seats as the representatives of an officially chartered state organization.

to cooperating in a parade where both the Lovestonite Communists and the Trotskyite Communists were constituent members."

Waldman's statement of possible support on his part for Roosevelt followed the publication of severe attacks on party deserters to the Roosevelt camp, printed in the Reading Labor Advocate, which says: "To go over to Roosevelt means that a Socialist has forsaken his ideals." Referring to persons who recently jumped on the Roosevelt bandwagon, the Advocate warns "the rank and file of the working class against being sold down the river by a chieftain who, for fleeting prestige, would deliver his followers into the hands of their enemies."

The Advocate's statements appeared before Waldman's announcement became known.

Sharecroppers De Luxe

Next Week in the Call—"Sharecroppers De Luxe," a feature article by John Herling, gives you the inside dope on what men received AAA benefits from the government for plowing under their crops. Over \$2,000,000 to two sugar producers alone! Don't miss this feature.

Unionists to Welcome Socialist Convention

WASHINGTON.—The National Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party has announced details of arrangements in connection with the Party's national convention:

Place: Public Auditorium, Cleveland.

Time: Thursday, May 21st through Tuesday, May 26th.

Delegations from at least 44 states will be in attendance.

A conference of Socialists and interested trade unionists will be held at Metal Trades hall, Cleveland, on Friday, May 22. A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, will head the reception for the labor representatives on the evening of May 22.

The conference will devote itself, among other things, to a discussion of tactics for labor defense and for the preservation of civil liberties and of the right of collective bargaining.

Labor representatives from Indiana are drawing up a special report having to do with Paul V. McNutt, Democratic governor of that state, and leader among governors in the use of the National Guard and martial law for the suppression of strikes and labor organizations.

On Saturday, May 23, following the formal opening of the convention, the sessions will be devoted to a discussion of Party policies

and of the platform for the presidential campaign. This order of business is expected to occupy the convention through Sunday.

Nominations of candidates for president and vice-president will be held on Monday afternoon, May 25.

The following day the members of the National Executive Committee will be elected by the convention delegates. The Committee is the highest governing body of the Socialist Party.

Proceedings of the convention will be broadcast by both national networks.

Borden Drive Continues

NEW YORK.—Despite intimidation, espionage and thuggery on the part of the Borden Milk Company, organization of its wagon drivers into an AFL union continues.

Organized labor in the metropolitan area is boycotting Borden products to aid the union in its drive. At a recent union meeting, over 1,500 Borden workers were in attendance despite the presence of company spies.

Steel Workers Ponder Over 2 Bids to Organize Industry

CANONSBURG, Pa. (FP) — Delegates to the annual convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers went into the third week of meetings pondering the steel organization offers of the American Federation of Labor's executive council and the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The executive council's offer, sent by wire to the convention, declared, however, that the organization campaign would have to respect the jurisdictional claims of other unions, and that no funds would be accepted with conditions "contrary to the organization policy of the A. F. of L."

This was seen as a direct slap at the Lewis group's assertion that it would be willing to donate \$500,000 to a \$1,500,000 expense chest for the drive, providing the C. I. O. could help in the campaign, and that it be carried out on industrial union lines.

Large numbers of rank-and-file delegates to the convention favor the Lewis offer, while President Michael Tighe and other officers of the union are reported to look with more interest on the executive council's plan.

Meanwhile the steel trust, apparently seeking to ward off interest in the union organization drive, announced vacations with pay for workers as well as salaried employees. The announcement, which came from the U. S. Steel Corporation and its subsidiaries in the Pennsylvania area, is the first such "good will" offer in the company's history.

A statement by President E. P. Fairless, of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, sought to give the impression that the vacation plan had been decided upon after requests had been received from company union leaders, but Amalgamated Association leaders scoffed at the company's official explanation of its gesture.

Voted 'Yes'



Socialist Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee, who voted with seven other members of the Party National Executive Committee to award the Charter to the New York State organization. This picture was snapped as the Mayor spoke to a May Day demonstration from the courthouse steps in Milwaukee.

THE SOCIALIST CALL

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

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

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the State of ARKANSAS, CALIFORNIA, IOWA, ILLINOIS, KANSAS, MICHIGAN, MISSOURI, NEW JERSEY, OHIO and WEST VIRGINIA. Endorsed by the Socialist Party of the States of COLORADO, INDIANA, MASSACHUSETTS, NEW YORK, TEXAS and VIRGINIA and by the YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jack Altman, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Robert Delson, David Felix, Abraham Perlestein, Sam Romer, Glen Trimble, Gus Tyler, Herbert Zam.

Editor: Aaron Levenstein Managing Editor: Herman Wolf Business Manager: Hal Siegel

Vol. II Saturday, May 16, 1936 No. 61

Waldman, Browder and Roosevelt

"And the Blind shall lead the Blind."

In a caustic editorial, the Reading Labor Advocate, official organ of the Federated Trades Council and of the Socialist Party of Berks County, states that for a Socialist "to go over to Roosevelt means that a Socialist has forsaken his ideals."

Since this clear class-conscious statement of our Reading comrades was written, two more men have lost faith in the class which they claim to represent and have turned their steps in the direction of Roosevelt: — they are Louis Waldman and Earl Browder, respectively leaders of New York's "Old Guard" and of the Communist Party.

In the New York Herald-Tribune of May 7, Louis Waldman bluntly states that if the candidate of the Socialist Party is not to his liking, he will support Roosevelt. "Personally I admire Roosevelt," he declares, "and I have said publicly that if I could not support a Socialist candidate, I would support him."

With such thoughts in his mind, Louis Waldman, Old Guard party whip, sallies forth to the national convention of the Socialist Party for the final conflict in his war against the Party. He will demand a seat among Socialists, will seek to participate in the deliberations of a party he has betrayed, will try to formulate its declaration of principles, and select its officers. The admirer of Franklin D. Roosevelt — author of America's largest peace-time war budget and defender of the economic interests of American capitalism — will seek to lift his voice in the making of nominations for Socialist candidates. The practitioner of dictatorship within the Socialist Party will wave the banner of "democracy." It is hardly conceivable that Socialists will care to listen to this admirer of Roosevelt, who represents neither the Socialist membership of New York state nor the ideals they hold dear.

Waldman's opportunism, expressing itself first in an intent to form a new party and then in the support of Roosevelt, brings him into strange company. The world is surely round; the extreme right and the so-called extreme left have finally met. Louis Waldman is perched high on the same band-wagon as the Communist Earl Browder.

Before the American Youth Congress in New York the Communist leader declared this week: "The main slogan of the Communist Party in the election campaign will be: 'Keep the Hoovers, Landons and Hearsts out of power.'"

In support of his slogan, Browder asserts that "a Republican victory is the worst thing that can happen for this nation. . . It would throw the United States in the international field with those forces that are making for war."

When the Communist Party, in a presidential campaign in the year 1936, raises the slogan, "Keep the Hoovers, Landons, and Hearsts out of power," it is calling, by double negatives, for the election of Roosevelt. Otherwise the slogan has no meaning.

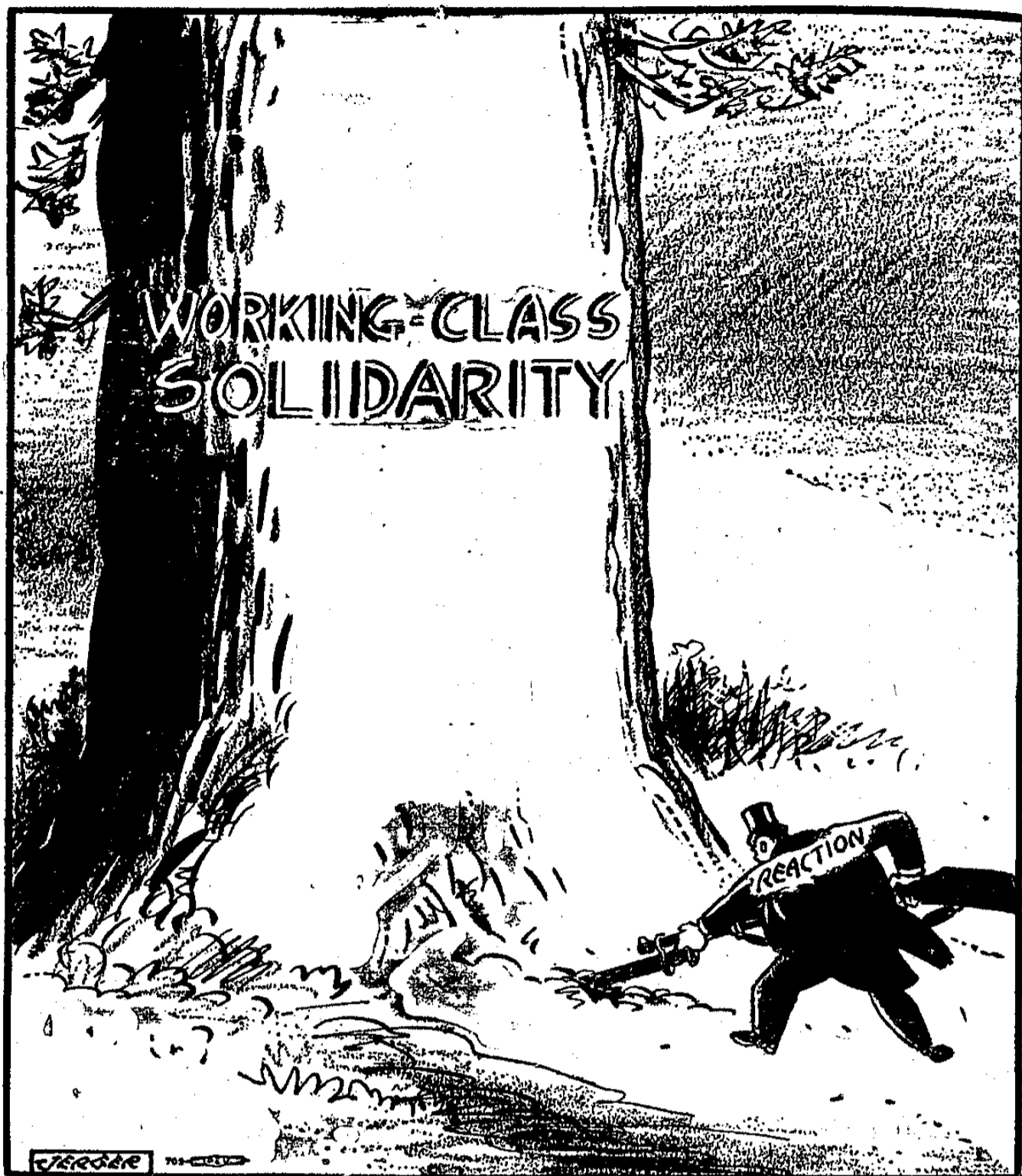
Browder, of course, has certain criticisms of Roosevelt; so has Waldman. But the sum total of their actions is to wipe out the class lines of capitalist society by making the chief issue, in 1936, not the struggle of the working class on the political field against the capitalist class but the sham battle between the two sections of the capitalist class represented by the Democratic and Republican Parties.

In an attempt to find justification for supporting Roosevelt, Browder tells us that a Republican victory "would throw the United States in the international field with those forces that are making for war." Please note! Under Roosevelt, apparently the United States is not among "those forces that are making for war." Roosevelt's military budget, it seems, is not "making for war."

What a strange picture: Roosevelt, with his smile, leading Waldman by the right hand and Browder by the left hand across the capitalist desert toward a mirage of peace and freedom! Let them go their way.

We wave them a sad farewell and call upon the working class not to follow into the barren desert of capitalism but to join with us in marching to the fruitful land of a Socialist society.

A FUTILE JOB



Hochman Gave Personal Views

To the Editor:

I would like to register certain objections to your editorial of May 9th, which might be construed as stating that I spoke as general manager of the Dress Joint Board at the May Day dinner of the Socialist Party, implying that I was presenting the official position of the Joint Board. This is not so. I made it perfectly clear that I was presenting my personal views and not those of the Dressmakers' Union or its affiliated locals. The Joint Board is not as yet committed to the support of any political party or program in the coming election.

You state in your editorial that the Dressmakers' Joint Board has 105,000 members. This, too, is inaccurate. The Joint Board has approximately 80,000 members. The remaining 25,000 are employed outside of New York City and belong to locals which, while they are united with the Joint Board through what we call a Joint Council, are directly under the jurisdiction of the ILGWU.

May I take this occasion to say that I believe that your editorial was rather tactless. You must realize that we in the trade union movement have grave responsibilities. Our energies must be devoted primarily toward maintaining our organizations so that we may effectively advance the economic interests of our membership. In order to accomplish this we must avoid every possible source of friction.

While every member of our union, regardless of his position, is at liberty to affiliate with any political party or support any political program that he considers devoted to the best interests of organized labor, I do not believe that The Call should have used my speech at the party dinner as the occasion for writing what might be interpreted as an unfriendly editorial against some of the outstanding men in the

labor movement and particularly against the president of the ILGWU.

I believe you will agree with me that misunderstandings of this sort benefit no one; certainly not the Socialist party. I write this letter in the belief that it will help clarify matters. JULIUS HOCHMAN New York City.

Editorial Note—It was not the intention of the Call to create the impression that Comrade Hochman spoke in an official capacity. We referred to the office he holds only for the purpose of indicating that his utterances must command attention.

The Party Of De Leon

To the Editor:

The convention of the Socialist Labor Party held on the weekend of April 26 showed that it still retains some of the old fighting spirit and that it has new blood. The problems discussed at the convention prove that they know and understand the problems facing the American Labor Movement.

At labor gatherings, we often hear the question of unity raised. Why not unite the parties of Debs and DeLeon?

DAVID BERKINGOFF, Staten Island, N. Y.

A Kansan Fears to Blush

To the Editor:

Is Comrade Alton Levy quite sure that Alf Landon "thinks all reds should be deported? It may be true, but I should like to know the source of his information. As a native Kansan, I have already been forced to blush furiously on several occasions at the antics of another ex-governor, Assistant Secretary of War Woodring, who seems, after a reasonably commendable career in Kansas, to have gone completely hay-wire immediately on coming to Washington and marrying into the family of a Massachusetts senator. I should not wish, therefore, to acquire a premature sunburn on Landon's account, if it can be avoided.

KENNETH PORTELL, Cambridge, Mass.

Misses The Call

To the Editor:

I miss my Call! Enclosed is one dollar if my subscription ran out. Please continue it where it left off, if possible. I want Thomas' reactions these potent times. More power to you!

GRACE ANTHONY MICHAEL, Englewood, Florida.

Are You a Subscriber?

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I wish to subscribe to the SOCIALIST CALL for one year at the special rate of \$1.00.

NAME ADDRESS CITY STATE

OUR LABOR MOVEMENT

By John Ball

What politics went on behind the scenes of the Auto Workers' convention no one on the outside can definitely know. But it certainly looks strange!

The United Auto Workers' Convention has nothing for which to thank Roosevelt. Whatever organization they possess today exists in spite of Roosevelt and not because of him.

The Auto Workers were exposed to the roughest edges of the NRA'S anti-labor spikes. Their earliest attempts to organize under the present administration were squashed by an auto code written as if it were calculated to make unionization impossible. It contained a "merit clause," a handy instrument for employers who wished to discharge active union men.

The Record

In connection with the code there was established an Auto Labor Board one of whose chief functions was to ascertain the proper collective bargaining agency. The Auto Labor Board proceeded to conduct a truly infamous election. The candidates did not run as representatives of organizations, thereby making it possible for the workers to identify bona fide AFL men from company unionists. The ballot contained names only. Voting took place in the factories, very often under the nose of the boss who held the "merit clause" in his hand. The election was conducted in such an outrageous fashion that the AFL called upon its members and followers to register a protest by boycotting the election.

But the ingenious Leo Wolman, Roosevelt's appointee as head of the Auto Labor Board, had not yet exhausted his reservoir of betrayals. In order to make real collective bargaining impossible, he invented a "proportional representation" scheme, wherein all unions, groups or individuals could be represented in collective bargaining.

The entire American labor movement was appalled by such crass anti-union maneuvers, carried through with the devilish ingenuity of one who was utilizing his knowledge of the labor movement to destroy it. Labor turned from the renegade Wolman to the Little Father in Washington.

Roosevelt Speaks Up

Labor appealed for its representative on the Auto Labor Board. Roosevelt refused. Labor then asked for liberation from the enslaving auto labor board. Roosevelt refused.

Labor pleaded and cajoled and threatened. It asked Roosevelt to turn away from his evil advisers. And then Roosevelt spoke!

FDR did not flinch. He spoke forthrightly. He took responsibility for the code, for Wolman, for the elections, for the proportional representation scheme, for the full betrayal of the auto workers.

This betrayal the auto workers have never forgotten. They are no friends of FDR!

At the United Auto Workers' Convention this resentment against Roosevelt was sharply expressed. By a vote of 2 to 1 Roosevelt's candidacy was not endorsed.

And then something happened.

It is reported that the representative of the Committee for Industrial Organization then applied the screws to extort an endorsement for Roosevelt.

Playing Politics

We hope that this representative was not acting officially for the CIO. Nothing could be more dangerous for the cause of industrial unionism than for the CIO to make its aid and cooperation dependent upon an endorsement of Roosevelt. The CIO is not a political party and should not be an arm to one. It has a great trade union function to perform; it is doing it well; and it should stick to it. But it has no right to use its power and prestige to bludgeon any group of workers into support of any capitalist politician.

It may be that some people on the CIO, rather than the CIO as such, were anxious to prove their influence to FDR by showing that they could get even the auto workers to indorse Roosevelt. And that sure is something!

It may be that the representative of the CIO was anxious to offset the thumping rejection of Roosevelt and resorted to loose language and empty threats.

If the behavior of the CIO rep. was not part of a policy, then progressives in the labor movement are ready and glad to overlook the unfortunate incident. But if it is part of a policy, it is poor principle and worse politics. Poor principle because it will ultimately divide the industrial union forces. Poor politics because no one, not even Roosevelt, thanks to the auto workers really endorses FDR.



Search in Jerusalem

An Arab, entering the New Gate at Jerusalem during the recent riots, being searched by a British police officer. Troops are now being hurried to Palestine.

BRITAIN'S DOUBLE CROSS DREW PALESTINE BLOOD

By PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

JERUSALEM (FP)—Britain's wartime government, bidding for allies, promised Palestine both to the Jews and the Arabs. Unable to deliver, British imperialism since that time has played a cat-and-mouse game with the two peoples.



Pierre van Paassen

This has again led to a serious outbreak of riots, bloodshed and looting, in which innocent men, women and children are perishing. Tens of thousands live in fear and trembling of wholesale massacres in the outlying villages and settlements. The economic fabric of the country has once more been completely thrown out of gear.

The Jews have performed the miracle of rescuing the ancient Holy Land out of the ghastly inertia into which nine centuries of Turkish neglect and misrule had plunged it. By almost superhuman efforts, they have made a garden spot out of a land that was desert and quagmires 15 years ago.

Slowly the standard of living has been rising for all the inhabitants as modern conditions of labor and economy were introduced. Hundreds of schools have been built. Technicums, clinics, laboratories, even a university have been installed.

Arabic Peasants Attack

Backward Arabic peasants did the attacking, edged on and whipped up by the fanatical Moslem leaders, or muftis, who all belong to the handful of aristocratic Arabic families who own four-fifths of the land in Palestine.

The British are in Palestine as a guardian on behalf of the League of Nations. They are charged with the task of "facilitating" the building of a homeland for the Jewish people. That promise was made by the Foreign Office in London in 1917 in an attempt to win world Jewish opinion to the side of the allies.

At the same time, however, the Colonial Office in London, through its representatives in the Near East, promised the Arabs a federated Arabic empire with thrones for the Arabic princes in Damascus, Bagdad, Jerusalem and Mecca. The condition was that the Arabs fight the Turks.

Two-Faced England

These two diametrically opposed promises have thrown Palestine and the Near East into turmoil and tumult time and again.

At present the British want to revive the Arabic empire idea because they want to build up a counter-balance to Mussolini in the Near East. When Mussolini has completed his conquest of Ethiopia, he will dominate the Red Sea. He will have ousted Britain from first position in that part of the world.

England is sorry today she ever promised to make Palestine a home for the Jews, yet England dares not openly repudiate her promises to the Jewish people. Hence she persists—and encourages—the Arabs to riot against the Jews, so that when the riots are over London can say to the Jews: "You see we were quite willing to let you have your homeland, but the Arabs are against you. We must make a new arrangement. We will change the status of Palestine."

That is the significance of the periodic bloody outbreaks in Palestine.

20 YEARS AGO in the New York Call

May 11, 1916—Munitions ships tied up in New York Harbor as striking tug-boat men stand pat.

May 12, 1916—Basil Manly sums up sensational case for the government showing income tax evasions of \$320,000,000. Largest evaders include Harkness estate, and Rockefeller family. The Call states such evasions will continue unless returns are made public, and predicts struggle for publicity on returns will be bitterly opposed by the rich.

May 12, 1916—Ernest Bohm, Secretary of the Central Labor Union, states canvass of organizations of Labor in the city shows not one union will be in the Preparedness Day Parade.

May 13, 1916—145,000 unorganized white collar workers in employer-led brigades march on Preparedness Day while bands of Socialists give out anti-military leaflets. 50,000 leaflets exhausted in two hours. Sell 5,000 copies of the Call and every kind of Socialist and anti-war pamphlet available. Socialist Suffrage Campaign Committee and Women's Peace Party dress in white and carry palm leaf fans on Fifth Avenue to tell the marchers to keep cool.

OUR NOBLE MR. MORGAN

By McAlister Coleman

J. P. Morgan and Nicholas Murray Butler had medals pinned on them last week. Literally, I mean. The National Institute of Social Sciences, at its annual dinner at the Waldorf in New York, gave these two high-binders medals for being "distinguished." The midget-holder got his for "distinguished service rendered to humanity," and as being one who exemplifies and promotes "high standards of business ethics" and is "upholding the honor and credit of our country." Butler got a medal for being "distinguished in many and various walks of life."

Gosh, wotta world! Al Capone goes to the hoosegow for not paying his income tax. J. P. Morgan goes to the Waldorf and gets a medal for not paying his. College students who organize demonstrations for peace are hurled out of Butler's educational cafeteria, whereas Butler, who is tops in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is decorated for his "efforts for world peace."

Recipe for Success

It was Owen D. Young, of General Electric, who gave Morgan his medal, saying that those who had been wickedly picking on the kind old gent should now feel rebuked. Mr. Morgan reared up and said that his recipe for success was: "Do your work; be honest; keep your word; help when you can; be fair."

Hearing these noble sentiments, members of the National Institute of Social Sciences broke out into loud huzzas. No one said a word about the foundation for Mr. Morgan's pile — those defective rifles that his old man sold to the Government at huge profit during the Civil War, nor how the present Morgan had in truth held up the credit of this country on the Allies during the last war, so that said Allies are still in hock to us, but not, of course, to the House of Morgan. No one said anything about the fact that Mr. Morgan, after cornering important food supplies of the country by organizing a huge grocery trust, had gone ahead and bought up most of the important electric light and gas companies in the East with a consequent raising of rates to small consumers.

Nor was there any mention of the long domination of American business and the general social and economic life of the country by the private use of credit, its sinister sabotage of production for the benefit of a small group of greedy men, its degenerating effect upon almost every conceivable American activity. That was not the sort of credit that Morgan was being credited with when he got his medal.

On the whole it must have been a lovely sight at the Waldorf the other night when those two old scalawags sitting cheek by jowl were fawned on by the assembled "social scientists." Let's draw a curtain on the scene and go on to something else.

Let's Be Specific

A letter written in The Call complains that our Socialist press is not specific enough in telling readers just what Socialism is all about. He says that a man might read a Socialist paper for a year without having a clear picture of what the cooperative commonwealth would be like. True enough. And the same is true also of most Socialist speakers who spend a lot of time, exactly as I have done in the preceding paragraphs, bawling out the capitalists but forget to finish with anything very definite. That's one reason why I have always been bellowing for detailed plans for the Socialist engineering of coal, power, transportation.

I don't seem to get very far with it. I am forever being told that those matters are contingent upon our first taking over the government. We did get out a book called, "Socialist Planning," but it was not a very convincing affair and has been long since forgotten. Outside of some of the League for Industrial Democracy pamphlets and the work of a few thoroughgoing researchers such as Harry Laidler, our literature on subjects involving socialist handling of latter-day economic problems is deplorably meagre. There must be some happy medium between the rather dreary surveys conducted by the Webbs in the Fabian hey-days and the vague generalities of today.

Expand the Call

I hope this matter receives the serious consideration of the Cleveland convention. It must begin of course by so expanding The Call that it is possible to print articles looking into the fundamentals of American economic life that will be given space enough to move around in. As it is, hampered of course by the very facts of American economic life, we do little more than pick out news of most significance to Socialists and let it go at that. A Socialist Call twice the size of this would be a magnificent start toward the project. Delegate attention.

The People's Front in France

By GUS TYLER

The basic fact in the recent French elections is not the swing of the masses to the left, although that is important, but the growth of both the right and the left at the expense of the center. The more rapidly French politics revolves, the more rapidly does the center disintegrate and throw its forces to the extremes. This polarization of French politics is not a result of any election maneuver, but reflects the sharp social cleavage that must divide a nation in crisis.

The Radical-Socialist Party (a liberal capitalist party) was the great cushion of French politics. It swathed the discontent of the French peasantry and petty bourgeoisie in reams of oratory and used the resulting bulk to deaden the blows of the French proletariat against capitalism. The thinning of Radical Socialist ranks in this last election means that the class struggle in France is down to its bare-fist stage.

Saving the "Radicals"

The Radical Socialist Party faced extinction in this campaign. With the nation sharply divided it required the most skilled sort of political jugglery to continue the two-faced game of the Radical Socialist Party.

The People's Front saved the Radical Socialist Party in at least two ways.

First, the People's Front gave the Radical Socialists a real "left" face which it properly did not deserve. It made the Radical Socialist Party the public consort of the Socialists and Communists and thereby caused leftward moving elements to be deceived into supporting the Radical Socialists as another left party.

Secondly, the entire orientation of the People's Front is toward the establishment of a government which will stand firm on the basis of the People's Front program. Such an orientation does not mechanically prevent a Socialist or Communist Party from putting forward demands far in advance of the conservatism of the People's Front minimum program; but it does nevertheless compel any serious and responsible political party to "hold its punches" in criticism of the inadequate program of the People's Front.

Role of the "Radicals"

The Socialist and Communist Parties fear to undermine the value of the program lest such propaganda arouse the masses to break with any government which will not go beyond the program. And since a united government of the People's Front is considered the prime good, a vigorous Socialist campaign, exposing the dangerous inadequacies of a conservative reform program had to be sacrificed.

The bloc of 115 Radical Socialists who hold the balance of power in the parliament as a result of this election may not be expected to show any gratitude toward the working class parties which saved them, and elected them. The Radical Socialist Party is a capitalist party which fought doggedly and successfully against the inclusion of any working class demands in the program of the People's Front and will make impossible any legislation of a working class character in the present parliament.

It is doubtful whether the Radical Socialists, who have a reputation for making naught of their ambiguous campaign promises, will even be ready to carry through the woefully inadequate capitalist reform program of the People's Front.

Explaining the Elections

In the recent election, the People's Front represented, for

the great fluctuating element of France set loose by the deep crisis in French social life, the strongest force in the election.

If Socialists learn nothing else from the French election, they must at least learn the great attractive power of a united force in times of political crisis. The very unity of the People's Front gave it a unique appeal.

By virtue of the fact that the People's Front also embraced the two parties which during the last years have taken least responsibility for the conduct of the government, the People's Front also carried with it an implied promise of change.

The New Government

We do not yet know who shall compose the new cabinet. Yet the fate of France is fixed for whosoever may reign, the Radical-Socialists will rule!

Should a cabinet be set up composed of Socialists or of a Socialist-Communist combine, the official heads of the state will be the prisoners of the Radical-Socialist Party. The next French cabinet will be more completely tied hand and foot by the Radical-Socialists than the McDonald government of 1928 was bound by the Liberal Party of England.

Hillel Rogoff, writing in the Jewish Daily Forward, is quite right when he states: "It may very well be that just because the Socialists and the Communists issued victoriously from the elections they will be less able to fight for working class legislation than formerly, to fight for economic and financial reforms in the interest of the class they represent. They will, as leaders in the government, be even more cautious in holding the friendship of the bourgeois liberals than in the time of the campaign."

The Coalition Policy

Any working class party or group of parties which takes over the reigns of government today under such conditions will be completely discredited. Should the Socialists take power, and it appears they will, they can only surpass the Radical-Socialists in oratorical excess. In practice they will have to squirm in the same political swamp as their predecessors, much to the disgust of an expectant nation.

The Communists will probably tolerate the government without taking part in it. While they will thus be permitting the Socialists to pull their chestnuts out of the fire, they will be equally impotent in giving the dissatisfied masses the clear cut revolutionary program the times demand.

Disintegration, disillusionment, disgust will set in among those who supported the proletarian parties of the People's Front. The change will not come! The parties which were to bring the change will become the chief apologists for the status quo, for inaction, for working class retreat.

In times of crisis, when a nation is being sharply divided into fighting camps, Socialist coalition in a government, under the whip of a capitalist party, places any working class party in the camp of capitalism, willingly or unwillingly opposing the most elementary demands of the working class.

Dangers of Opportunism

Opportunism carries a double danger. Every compromise leads to another compromise and the more advanced the process is, the more difficult is it to disentangle one's self from it. Secondly, an opportunist policy is like a bubble which keeps expanding and expanding with self-

"I BREAK ST

By EDWARD LEVINSON

7. Death at McKees Rocks

Last week's installment of "I Break Strikes" recorded the early events in the 1910 strike against the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania.

Bergoff's henchmen brought more than 1,200 strikebreakers into the plant, and his guards and police had battled with bullets and bricks against the strikers.

Our story continues inside the plant walls, with the strikebreakers, afraid of both guards and strikers, trying to escape and return home.

Albert Vamos was one of the first to be beaten by Sam Cohen. He had expressed a desire to go home. Godfried, one of the immigrants, was in the plant six days before he gathered enough courage to ask to go home. He was hit over the head with the butt of a gun and told he would have his "brains blown out" if he didn't work. Alexander Friedman was locked in the boxcar for two days and given no food. At one point all the strikebreakers in the shed wanted to quit, but were held in by a circle of guns. The few flunks who managed to collect their pay before wholesale desertions had set in charged later that they had been cheated of their promised \$2 and \$3 a day.

Desertions

The first large-scale desertion of Bergoff's men came on August

14th when three hundred and fifty of them rushed one of the main gates and swept the guards aside. From then on, desertions, though difficult, occurred almost daily.

David Vogel's wife, Gussie, back in a squalid New York tenement, received a letter from her husband saying that he was a prisoner. She had received but three communications, while none of her

inflation up to the point where it explodes into bitter emptiness. The policy of coalition barbers away real future strength for present momentary boasts. When the disillusionment sets in, not only will the ranks of the proletariat be weakened but the ranks of the fascists will be strengthened by the swing of the volatile political driftwood to an aggressive "right."

Extra-Parliamentarism

While the purely legal Socialist sees events only in terms of parliamentary arithmetic, the revolutionary Socialist also takes into account the extra-parliamentary movement of the masses. When the crisis reaches the breaking point, this extra-parliamentary action is decisive.

In a period of rapid political polarization such as the present, the duty of a revolutionary party is to organize extra-parliamentary action on as wide and aggressive a scale as possible in anticipation of the "final conflict."

When working class parties take responsibility for the conduct of capitalism and of capitalist party policies, however, such working class parties can not lead the masses into extra-parliamentary action against capitalist policy. The Socialists or Communists in government, or even supporting a government, will have to check every extra-parliamentary mass movement that threatens the government. The Socialists and Communists will only be able to counsel "patience."

There is no half-way solution. The working class parties must break completely with the policy of coalition with bourgeois parties. It may make a deal for a specific occasion, for a common demonstration, for common support of a measure or a bill. But it dare not make a peace pact between classes, an agreement to declare a moratorium on the class struggle, in order to defeat a greater enemy. Such a policy of compromise with the lesser evil will get the working class both the lesser and the greater evil.

Robber



Frank Ciewicz, often convicted of robbery, who was arrested in Jersey City last year for carrying dangerous weapons. He worked for Bergoff.

14th when three hundred and fifty of them rushed one of the main gates and swept the guards aside. From then on, desertions, though difficult, occurred almost daily.

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Socialist Furriers Enter Progressive Unity League

The following statement has been issued by Socialist members of the New York Furriers Union:

The Socialist group in the Furriers Union has decided to unite with the Furriers Progressive Unity League.

In taking this step we are actuated by the desire to strengthen

the Furriers Union, make possible a successful struggle for improvement of conditions, and guarantee democracy for the union membership. We look upon the FPUL as an important instrument toward gaining these objectives, and as one of the most important means of promoting the true interests of the fur workers. We therefore call upon all furriers to join the FPUL, become active in its councils, and weld it into a powerful, constructive force in the union and in the trade.

The FPUL is not established for the purpose of conducting an anti-administration crusade. We are interested in preserving peace and harmony in our union, but unity without suppressing democracy, harmony without suppressing criticism. Unity is possible only if all tendencies are represented in the leading bodies of the union, if all elements are given an opportunity to work.

Unity in the union is essential to make possible the utilization of the new agreement in the interests of the furriers. The union has an opportunity to consolidate itself and strengthen the unity between the two former organizations. But the fight for better conditions still must go on. The agreement by itself does not solve the problems the furriers face. It is, of course, well known to every unionist that an agreement is of value only if the union is strong enough to enforce it. The bosses are always on the lookout to violate it and eliminate whatever protection it offers the workers.

Must Have Democracy

In this sense it is necessary for the membership of the union to ask whether all able forces in

letters had reached her husband. Vogel's first note told merely of his arrival at the plant; a second said that he was sorry he had gone; he had not slept a single night. In the third letter Vogel said he was sick and wanted to come home, but couldn't get away.

Mrs. Vogel took her letter to Louis Miller, the editor of a Jewish newspaper, who rushed it to the Federal authorities in Pittsburgh. District Attorney John N. Jordan began an investigation. Baron Julius Bornanisza, Austro-Hungarian consul in Pittsburgh, had previously complained that the Pressed Steel Car Company in normal times was "robbing, killing and maiming" his countrymen. He now asked that Cohen and Hoffstot be investigated on charges of peonage.

Before the investigations got under way, Bergoff's strikebreakers knew their worst night of terror while, outside, eleven men were killed in one of the most sanguinary battles of American labor history.

Bergoff missed the battle by a few hours. It took place on Sunday night, August 22nd. The desertions, the rebellions inside the stockade and the growing demand for an investigation of events behind the fence, brought Bergoff to McKees Rocks that day for a council of strategy with Rider, Big Sam and his brother Leo. Business over, Rider took Bergoff to a Pittsburgh theatre.

the union have been mobilized to fight against these two evils, contracting and the out-of-town question, which threaten the industry and the furriers. Has the union administration known how to draw into the direct work of the union all elements interested in building a powerful organization? Has it wanted to do it?

Can we be satisfied with the sort of democracy which exists within our union today?

A union cannot be an organization of one mind. It is not a political party, but an economic organization for the improvement of the conditions of the workers. It must not only be open to all workers regardless of race or creed or political views; it must make a deliberate effort to involve even the most backward workers in the life of the union. This can be done only through thoroughgoing democracy, collective leadership.

Six Point Program

The program of the FPUL calls for:

1. Democracy in the Union.
2. Local meetings functioning monthly.
3. Rank and file organization committee under the control of the Joint Council.
4. Building and block committees to fight against overtime, Saturday and Sunday work.
5. Intensive campaign against contracting and out-of-town work.
6. Intensive campaign to raise wages in order to meet the rising prices of the main necessities.

We are sure that this program will lead to greater unification and consolidation of the ranks of the Furriers Union.

RIKES" The Technique of Pearl L. Bergoff

He left early to take a train for Chicago, there to seek more men for McKees Rocks and to try to land the job of fighting a threatened strike on the Chicago street railways.

While Bergoff was making an early exit from the theater, the strikers, following their practice of weeks, were halting streetcars at Donovan Bridge and questioning strangers. They sought strikebreakers. A trolley pulled up at about ten o'clock with Harry Exler and two other deputy police as passengers. Next to Big Sam Cohen, the strikers hated Exler most. Since the inception of the strike Exler had walked belligerently through crowds of strikers, his hat cocked, his hand on his gun, his lips swearing oaths at strikers and foreigners.

The strikers recognized Exler at once and ordered him off the car. He refused to go and reached for his gun as the first rock was thrown from the crowd. Exler returned the attack, firing several shots, but he soon fell, struck by strikers' bullets. In a mad rage of revenge, he was stoned and clubbed to death. The constabulary was on the scene in a few seconds, and the night of terror was on.

Strikers were clubbed and shot; they returned the fire. Horses trampled men and women; their riders were dragged down and beaten into insensibility. Streetcars were demolished. The constabulary and company police rode through the strikers' quarters, pursuing men into homes and beating them without letup. Stores were smashed and brick and scrap iron rained from roofs. The square at Donovan's Bridge fully earned its title, "The Bloody Angle." Here the dead fell. The strikers numbered seven dead, the forces of the law four.

The sound of the battle turned the inside of the stockade into an inferno of fear. Bergoff's strikebreakers shrieked for boats to take them to Bellevue across the river and away from McKees Rocks forever. They cursed Bergoff and Big Sam and pleaded for God's swift punishment on them. The day force of deputies was roused from sleep and made to stand guard over the wailing army. A few of the more pliant finks were given guns and placed at scattered places through the car shops.

Spy Chief



Meet George F. Ruck, commander-in-chief of the U. S. Steel Corporation's stoolpigeon army. His official position is assistant to the president of the H. C. Frick Coke Co. He's a pal of J. Edgar Hoover, G-man boss, and his job is to try to bribe union officials at \$50 a month.

The stockade wall held and the strikers who entered it came only as prisoners, many of them manacled to horses. White told of two deputies carrying a striker between them, his feet dragging on the ground. A third deputy approached and with one blow relieved his fellow deputies of their burden. Soon another deputy dragged a wounded captive. "Who's got a good stick," he inquired. The club was shoved into his hand and the striker went down in a heap. Sixty-three men and one woman were thrown into the boxcar prison while battle raged outside and terror within.

When Bergoff read of the happenings in McKees Rocks his breakfast was ruined. He had slept well on the train, entered the diner an hour outside of Chicago and ordered eggs, sausages, coffee and toast. They were eaten cold, for a waiter had placed a Chicago newspaper before him. Bergoff's mind was skipping to the sporting page, his favorite reading then as now, but a McKees Rocks headline glued his eye to the first page.

Back in McKees Rocks, three more bodies were being found,

Sheriff Addison C. Gombert was giving orders to "shoot to kill from now on"; state constabulary were raiding strikers' homes and beating people on the streets. The strikers' meetings at Indian Mount were prohibited, a ban promptly defied by Eugene V. Debs.

Inside the stockade it was obvious that the strikebreakers could be held no longer. The Federal investigation was about to start. Cohen told the strikebreakers they could "get the hell out." Six hundred took him at his word. The strikers greeted them with joy. They fraternized in "Hunkerville" and on the river bank where the last of dwindled food stocks were shared. Songs and cheers then sped the bewildered finks home.

More than two-score lingered in McKees Rocks to testify before H. A. Hoagland, Department of Justice agent, who had arrived to conduct the inquiry into the peonage charges. Forty strikebreakers accused Big Sam Cohen and Sheppard, and Monk Eastman, gang leader, of brutality, graft and of imprisoning them in the stockade. There was testimony that Big Sam had offered \$100 to silence the finks who had been circulating petitions of complaint. Before the men had completed their stories. District Attorney Jordan urged the Federal Department of Labor to close Bergoff's detective bureau. He asked the immigration officials to investigate charges that aliens had been spirited off Ellis Island.

The investigation and the desertions of the strikebreakers turned the tide in favor of the strikers. The end of the strike came on September 8th, the fifty-fifth day of the walkout. It was, substantially, a victory for the strikers. President Hoffstot receded from his refusal to meet their committee. Some reforms were instituted and a few months later wages were raised, though the company maintained its refusal to recognize the union.

Next week's selection from "I Break Strikes" exposes the spy technique used by Bergoff to break the Philadelphia rapid transit strike in 1910.

Tears for the Workers



Hard-faced Superintendent John Smith of the Detroit police department doesn't look as though he's weeping for the city's workers and jobless. But they may have tears in their eyes if the cops use this new submachine gun, capable of shooting self-exploding teargas shells several hundred feet.

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

The Early Cooperatives

We have seen in an earlier column, how the Rochdale weavers who founded the consumers cooperative movement unintentionally, and without premeditation hit upon the principles and method by which almost every successful cooperative is governed today. It

was unintentional and unpremeditated not because they did not think about the plan what they did, but rather because what they did seemed to be headed in the opposite direction from which they intended to go. It has often seemed to me that if they were a little more careful in their planning they might have abandoned their attempts as ill-fated.

They were not the first to attempt to set up a cooperative venture. Cooperative communities had appeared among the ancients, throughout the middle ages and down to the 19th century they popped up here and there at varying intervals. It was with the beginnings of the 19th century, however, that they began to appear more often and in greater numbers.

During the 1820's in England there was a wave of cooperatives that showed promise of permanency. Throughout all there has run the same thread of revolt, the same inspiration of idealism, the same longing for greater peace, justice and equality. Yet with no exceptions, none survived. They were regarded by historians and economists as social and economic freaks some day to be gathered in a museum for the gratification of the socially morbid and the curious.

Why They Failed

They failed for many reasons, but two reasons seem most significant. The earliest experiments centered about the religious and fanatic zeal of a leader. No sooner did he depart this life, than with him went the ties that bound together his disciples. They failed because they centered about the personal magnetism of a leader.

Later experiments were less sectist and religious and more economic and material. Behind them lay the beginnings of a revolt against the hardships of the Industrial Revolution. Many had become enslaved by the machine. It was the revolt against the further encroachment of the machine that impelled Robert Owen, foremost cooperator of the day, to cry out to the crushed workers the slogan, "Let the workers own the machines!"

Owen the Machines!

Owen and Dr. William King spread this message among the workers of England and they responded with the abortive attempts of the early 19th century. Was it because they followed too literally the gospel of Owen and King? It would seem so, because most of them formed what we call today "producers coopera-

tives" in contra-distinction to the consumers cooperatives which have grown out of Rochdale.

Owen urged the workers to own their machines. What was more natural than that workers should band together, pool their labor and sell their produce for the benefit of all rather than a capitalist who employed them.

It was as producers that Owen urged them to cooperate. In Rochdale the weavers knew of Owen and his teachings. Their famous manifesto which set forth their aims showed clearly that they intended to cooperate as producers. Yet, in fact, they organized as consumers. Thus they seemed to be heading in the opposite direction from that in which they intended to go.

Paradox

As it developed later, the consumers cooperative movement was able to reach a point where the workers do own the machines. They may not own the machines they themselves operate, but the productive enterprises established by the cooperative movement in its evolution from retail stores to the ownership of natural resources, are nevertheless the collective ownership of the machines by the workers. It remains a paradox of working-class history, that whereas the worker has never been able successfully to control the instruments of production by organizing as producer, he has been able to do so as a consumer in the cooperative movement and by political action as in the U.S.S.R.

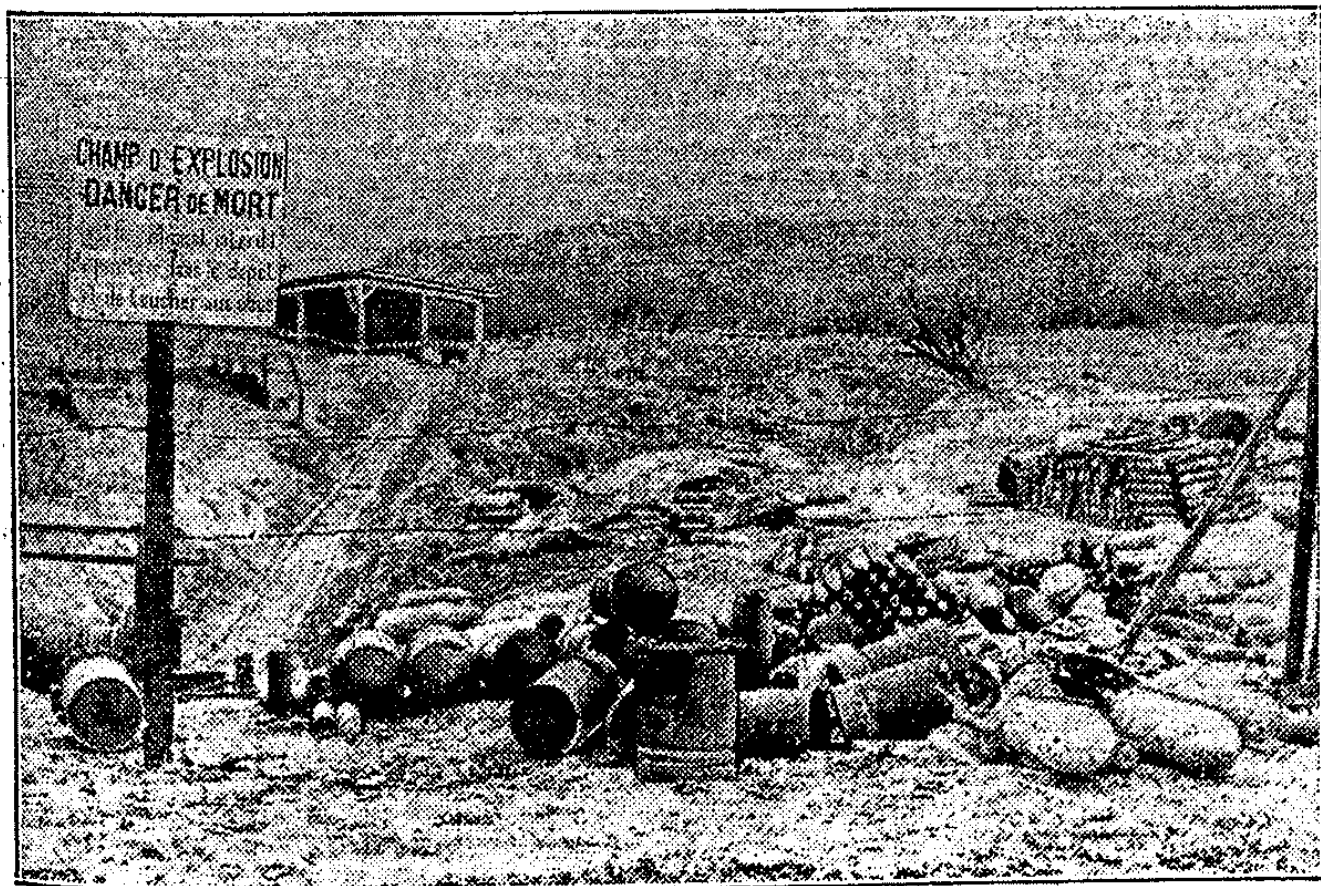
Co-op League Grows In Central States

CHICAGO—(FP)—Membership of consumer cooperative societies in the Central States Cooperative League jumped from 20 to 38, representing 10,000 families, in the last year, delegates to the 10th annual congress of the league were told here. Delegates from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, lower Michigan and St. Louis attended.

President Edward Carlson, a Waukegan cooperative official, urged co-op support of trade unions, of housing improvement, of the child labor amendment and of sound public education.

"If the people are ever to get adequate medical care in this country, it will have to be done through some form of cooperation," declared Dr. C. R. Roem, of the Julius Rosenwald fund.

Grim Harvest of War



Seeds of death planted during the last World War are brought to light in the form of these shells, plowed up in French fields near Coucy. The sign warns people to stay away from these explosives. Workers should keep away from these implements of death—in peace time and in war-time alike.

World Socialism

AFTER THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

By HERBERT ZAM

THE great victory for the left parties in the French elections expresses the will to unity of the French toiling masses and their desire to struggle against fascism: for above all this was an anti-fascist election, in which for

the first time in many years the proletarian parties were united for a common immediate objective, and in which they in turn were united with a large section of the middle class.

Contrary to popular belief, the main feature of the election is not the fact that the People's Front obtained a majority, both of the popular vote and of the seats in parliament, for it already had such a majority in the previous parliament. The majority increased considerably, however. Against 349 seats out of 609 in the old parliament, the People's Front will now have 381 seats out of 618. The outstanding feature of the election is the enormous vote cast for the proletarian parties, and the consequent shifts in strength, which expressed themselves in changes inside the People's Front itself.

The Election

The Socialist and Communist Parties increased their seats by 110. Of this increase, 78 seats were gained at the expense of other parties in the People's Front, 9 from increased representation, and only 23 seats were gained from parties not in the left bloc. The center bloc parties lost but 26 seats, of which 19 went to the right and only 7 to the left. Thus it is evident that the real shift in votes and in seats was within the People's Front itself, a shift from the capitalist parties to the proletarian parties.

All these facts justify the conclusion that the toiling masses of France are losing faith in the ability of the middle class "democratic" bourgeois parties to combat fascism and are turning to the proletarian parties for leadership. The Radical Socialist Party seems to have been well aware of this movement and has clung tenaciously to the People's Front as the most important means of maintaining its hold upon its followers. The flight of the Radical workers, and also the middle class, to the Socialist and Communist parties was undoubtedly greatly slowed up by the demagogic "left" policy of the Radical Socialists.

Workers' Parties

The proletarian parties registered a phenomenal success in the election, with some 40 per cent of the total vote and about 38 per cent of the seats in parliament. Far from being ruined by the united front with the Communists, the Socialist Party emerged the largest party, with two and a half million votes and 146 seats.

The independent Communist groups, on the other hand, were able to retain their ten seats. It must further be remembered that the Socialist Party had, some months before the election, adopted a programmatic declaration in favor of proletarian dictatorship, and much was made of this by the right parties, who endeavored to work up a "red scare." The proletariat, it seems, far from being scared by this, found it an additional reason for voting for the Socialist Party.

The Communists reaped a heavy harvest from their abandonment of ultra-left sectarianism, doubling their vote to one and a half million, and increasing their representation from 9 to 72 seats.

The fact that the proletarian parties between them polled 40 per cent of the vote, mainly in the important industrial areas, definitely indicates that already a majority of the proletariat and a considerable section of the lower

middle class support them. That these voters gave their votes to the revolutionary parties, rather than to the more moderate "democratic" or "anti-fascist" parties, must be taken as an indication of the willingness of the proletariat to support actions of these parties which will go beyond a mere defensive anti-fascist concentration.

Under these circumstances, a coalition government will only serve to dishearten the masses and demoralize the revolutionary forces. A coalition government, whether it is called by a more euphonious name, such as People's Front Government, whether or not it is supported by the Communists, can only undertake measures to salvage the capitalist system. So long as proletarian parties try to rule in partnership with capitalist parties, or run the government in a capitalist country, they must do it on the basis of accepting the capitalist organization of society, and will be able at best to carry out secondary reforms and occupy themselves with such purely bourgeois tasks as monetary reform. This was the course of development in Germany, and it led straight to the victory of the Nazis.

For Revolution

The proletarian parties in France have received a definite mandate from a majority of the French proletariat for a turn toward a proletarian struggle for power, for a Socialist France. The parliamentary victory does not represent the attainment of power, but it can make possible a further mobilization of the proletariat and the lower middle class for the fight for Socialism in the extra-parliamentary arena, where the victory will be decided.

With such an orientation the proletarian parties would proceed to strengthen the alliance between them, looking forward to eventual unity. The People's Front would be converted into a Workers and Peasants Front, not merely in name, but in composition and program, and would definitely orientate toward Socialism. The proletarian parties would refuse to participate in any government together with the bourgeois parties, but would conduct a campaign for a Socialist-Communist government.

Such a government would immediately begin carrying out a program of primary proletarian reforms—social legislation, disbanding of the fascist organizations, formation of a workers militia and disarming of the bourgeoisie, establishment of control over the armed forces, liberation of the colonies, establishment of control over production, nationalization of basic industries. The government would have to base itself primarily upon the workers' mass movement, and the proletarian organizations, not upon parliament, and in turn it would have to take measures to stimulate and consolidate the labor movement.

The winning of the proletarian parties toward such an orientation is the immediate task of Revolutionary Socialism in France.

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Madrid Street Scene



People's Front Premier Azana has been elected President of the Spanish Republic in the midst of trying times. Above is a glimpse of the fascist rioting in Madrid, with the police hustling a disturber off to jail. Spain is alert to fascist offensives.

Young Socialists In Anti-War Plea At Youth Meeting

NEW YORK.—With more than 600 delegates, representing all kinds of youth organizations, the third annual conference of the New York State Youth Congress this week voted down proposals of the Young People's Socialist League for a vigorous statement of opposition to the government's war program.

Opposition of liberal and communist elements defeated the young Socialists in their initial skirmish to win the Congress to a pledge that youth will not support the government in any war it may conduct. Spokesmen of the YPSL called for adoption of the Oxford Pledge. They pointed out that vague anti-war sentiment had not proved sufficient to stop the last war, that only an aggressive fight on imperialism could prevent new wars.

A political symposium held in connection with the Congress included representatives of the four political parties. The Democrat spoke in favor of peace and the Republican in opposition to fascism and the Liberty League. Earl Browder of the Communist Party announced that his party would campaign on the slogan of keeping the Hoovers, Hearsts and Landons out of office.

Gus Tyler, speaking for the Socialist Party, asserted that the

Baron New President

NEW YORK.—Sam Baron, Socialist, became president of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union upon the death of Ernest Bohm, head of the union with which he was associated since 1922.

Bohm, a Socialist since his youth, was for many years secretary of the old Central Federated Union of New York. A Memorial Meeting to honor his memory will be held at Labor Stage Studios, 106 W. 39th Street, Friday, May 15, at 8 p. m.

PLEASE NOTE

NEW YORK.—A mass meeting under the auspices of the Women's Committee of the New York Socialist Party will hear Dr. Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the New York party, Margaret Lamont of the editorial board of "Women Today," Anita Block of the Theatre Guild, Murray Gross of the party's labor committee, and Rose Pearlman, secretary of the Workers Alliance.

The meeting takes place Thursday, May 14, at the Hotel Delano, 108 West 43rd Street, at 8 p. m., and the subject is "Socialist Women in Action." Selma C. Maximon, acting chairman of the Women's Conference, will preside.

Socialists would not campaign for "the lesser evil."

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Party Activity

California

LOS ANGELES—The California state executive committee has protested the action of the New Leader in asserting on its masthead that it is the official organ of the state. The New Leader has refused to correct its masthead.

Colorado

DENVER—The last meeting of the state executive committee instructed its delegates to the national convention to vote for Norman Thomas as presidential candidate, and that they vote to seat delegates of the New York Socialist Party as recognized by the national executive committee. A special convention to nominate candidates for state political office was held on May 10.

Illinois

CHICAGO—The State Executive Committee has made plans for putting on the most active campaign that the Socialist Party of Illinois has seen since 1920. Reports of an extremely encouraging nature from downstate members indicate that the Party is rapidly gaining membership and the organization is becoming stronger and more active as the campaign nears.

Arthur McDowell, executive secretary for Cook County and for the state organization, recently stricken with appendicitis, is now recovering. His place is being filled during his absence by State Organizer Ed Adams.

Iowa

DES MOINES—The Iowa state convention, meeting here, elected Roland White, of Grinnell, state secretary, and H. H. Sprinkle, of Ottumwa, state chairman. It made

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Laidler Demands City Ownership In N. Y. Charter

NEW YORK.—Appearing before the New York City charter commission, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the Socialist Party's Public Affairs Committee, urged the inclusion in charter revision proposals of the power "to acquire, own and operate property and services for the purpose of furnishing to itself and its inhabitants water, gas, electricity, steam, housing or any other service or commodity deemed to be affected with a public interest," including food and other necessities.

Dr. Laidler supported certain proposals made by Socialist S. John Block, member of the commission, and presented new ones in the name of the Party.

Representing the Socialist Party, Laidler called for the establishment of genuine home-rule allowing the people greater municipal powers. Other Socialist demands include the recall of elected public officials, proportional representation on a city-wide basis, limitation of utility franchise rights, and extension of condemnation powers.

"The employees of the City of New York," said Dr. Laidler, "should be guaranteed the right in the charter to organize into, and be affiliated with, labor unions of their own choosing." He supported Block's proposal in that the commission, that on all city contracts the workers be permitted the right of collective bargaining. Dr. Laidler requested permission to appear before the commission to discuss other proposals, including representation for teachers and organized labor on the Boards of Education and Higher Education, and representation for city employees on city boards.

Block Replies

At the same time, S. John Block, replying to an editorial attack on him in the New Leader, in a letter to its editor, listed the proposals he had made in the charter commission. He declared the editorial was "founded upon ignorance and malice."

Attributing the editorial to the fact that "he refused to be embroiled in factional fights and deemed it right and proper to recognize the resolution of the national executive committee and to register with the officially recognized Socialist Party in New York," Block attacks the Old Guard.

"The Old Guard leadership has, I think, been timidly playing with conservatism, and has failed to build up the kind of organization which would have had the enthusiastic support of all Party members and would have made the intervention of the National Executive Committee and the recent disgraceful Socialist Party primary election fights impossible."

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COMING EVENTS

Thursday, May 14

Harry W. Laidler, Anita Block, Margaret Lamont, Rose Pearlman and Selma C. Maximon on "Socialist Women in Action" at the Hotel Delano, 108 W. 43rd Street, auspices Women's Committee, Socialist Party, at 8 p. m. Murray Baron and Miriam Silvis on "How Shall the Unemployed Organize?" at Labor Temple, 242 E. 14th Street, auspices New York Labor Forum, at 8:30 p. m.

Friday, May 15

Rebel Arts Dance at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street, with Rebel Arts Groups entertaining and Red Caballeros Band. Admission 75 cents in advance, \$1.00 at the door.

Young People's Socialist League mobilization meeting for May 30 Demonstration at 21 East 17th Street at 8 p. m. Discussion will also take place on New York State Youth Congress.

Card Party of 18th A. D. Branch 1 at 1140 Eastern Parkway, near Utica Avenue, Brooklyn, refreshments and entertainment. Admission 35 cents.

Queens County Dance at Triangle Ballroom, Myrtle and Jamaica Avenues, Richmond Hill, auspices Queens County Socialist Party. General admission 75 cents; Workers' Alliance members 25 cents.

Saturday, May 16

Chow Mein Dinner and Dance of the East Flatbush Branch, entertainment by Rebel Arts Chorus, at 844 Utica Avenue, Brooklyn. Admission 49 cents.

Monday, May 18

Norman Thomas at party membership meeting on "Problems Facing the Party at the Coming National Convention," at Stuyvesant Casino, 9th Street and 2nd Avenue.

Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld on "The Development of Fascism in Germany" at 113 West 88th Street, auspices Upper West Side Branch, at 8:30 p. m.

Sunday, May 24

Young Socialist Hike to Tibbets Brook Park, under auspices of the YPSL. Meet at Woodlawn Station at 10 a. m.

Monday, May 25

L. Rubinstein will lead a current events discussion at Morningside Heights Branch, 600 West 125th Street, Room 20, 8:15 p. m.

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New Date of N. Y. Membership Meet

NEW YORK.—The date of the New York Socialist membership meeting, called for the purpose of discussing problems facing the national convention, has been changed to Monday, May 18, at Stuyvesant Casino, 9th Street and Second Avenue. Norman Thomas will be the principal speaker.

Other speakers will be Frank Trager on "United Front," Harry Laidler on "Labor Party" and Gus Tyler on "War Policy."

The City Central Committee has recommended to the membership meeting "that it instruct the delegates to the national convention from Local New York to vote for the seating of the entire delegation elected by Local New York as re-constituted by the sub-committee of the National Executive Committee."

Admission will be by membership card only. Various phases of the convention will be dealt with and there will be considerable discussion from the floor.



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"John Reed," by Granville Hicks (MacMillan Co., \$3.50), is the biography of one of the most glamorous figures in the American revolutionary movement. Harvard graduate, cheerleader, poet, war correspondent, soap-boxer on occasion, a founder of the American Communist Party, Reed has become a romantic tradition in American revolutionary circles.

He died at the age of thirty-three, when most men begin to live; but the last few years of his life were crammed with a life-time of achievement.

Before he was thirty, he had become the most famous war correspondent in the country. Capitalist papers as well as Socialist papers were wide open to him, and he wrote for both. He made his reputation with Villa in Mexico, where eyes which missed nothing and a superb writing ability, together with a reckless daring which took him into the midst of the actual fighting, produced dispatches which created a sensation in this country.

Later he covered the world war on both the eastern and western fronts, and to this day his news stories are classics. He was in Russia during the October revolution, and the book that came out of what he saw, "Ten Days That Shook the World," has a better chance of survival than any other writing that came out of that period.

Upton Sinclair called Reed the playboy of the social revolution. That wasn't quite fair to Reed or accurate. He was romantic and dashing and given to pranks, but he was sincere and felt intensely, and in time of stress he stood up better than most. Better than Sinclair, surely.

If anything, he was the cheerleader of the revolution. At Harvard he swayed thousands to cheer for the football team captained by Hamilton Fish. In later years he swayed many more thousands to cheer for revolution, especially the Russian revolution, through the power of his pen.

Reed came to revolution through emotion, as did so many other intellectuals in the years immediately before the war. He saw strikers being brutally beaten by police in Paterson, protested, and was himself jailed. That got him sore—for a while. Then he saw other things, which again got him sore. It was a cumulative process.

Intellectual

Like most intellectuals, he was not reliable revolutionary material. He considered himself a Socialist, but did not join the party until a few years before his death and shortly before the split. He thought the Socialist Party not sufficiently revolutionary; yet when he visited Henry Ford, he was greatly impressed by him and for a while "was ready to put his faith in a Utopia created by kindly capitalists."

And in 1916, he and a group of other intellectual radicals urged the support of Woodrow Wilson for president. Their reasons for temporarily deserting the Socialists, drawn up by Reed, make a highly important document in 1936. They supported Wilson because he refused to invade Mexico (Reed, authority on Mexico, forgot the partial invasion!); because he kept the United States out of war; and because

"... in this dark day for liberalism in the United States, he has declared himself a liberal and proved it by the nomination of Louis D. Brandeis and John H. Clark to the supreme court, by forcing the enactment of the Clayton bill,

the child labor bill, and the workmen's compensation act, and by the labor planks in the St. Louis Platform."

This was about a man named Wilson, not Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the year was 1916, not 1936.

And then several months later Reed was agonizing because the workers were not alive to their real economic interests!

But this much must be said for Reed—and it is a great deal and gives the measure of the man: once the war started, he threw himself wholeheartedly and fearlessly into opposing it. The papers and magazines which had been clamoring for his articles closed their columns to him. At one period he was under three indictments for sedition at the same time. He refused to compromise.

The New York Call, which was the only newspaper which would print what he wrote, sent him to Russia to cover the February revolution. When he returned, he became a rallying point for the left wing in the Socialist Party.

In the chapters devoted to the party fight, Hicks is as objective as may reasonably be expected. Nobody ought to expect complete impartiality from Hicks, who is a Communist, in telling of the Socialist-Communist struggle for control of the party. What bias he does show is not sufficient to detract greatly from the value or interest of the book.

This is easily one of the outstanding books of the year—one of the most important to come out of the radical movement in a long time.

Use Nazi Methods In Olean Election

OLEAN, N. Y.—In a closely contested race for the election of three candidates to the local Board of Education, the Chamber of Commerce and the Vacuum Oil Company, a dominant industry here, combined to defeat Mrs. Florence C. Hanson, active Socialist and secretary of the American Federation of Teachers; Leo M. Brushingham of the International Association of Machinists, and Guy L. Loomis of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

Closely paralleling the methods employed by Hitler in his last election, the employees of the oil refiners were given last minute instructions how to vote. Bank clerks were mobilized with cars to bring the voters to the polling booths. The election was supposedly on a non-partisan basis.

The Socialist Party, united along with the Central Trades and Labor Council, made clear to the workers here that the issue before them was that of capital versus labor. In the last few days of the campaign, the entire city was covered by a new sound truck sent by the national headquarters of the Socialist Party.

It Did Happen Here



Lots of folks think that it can't happen here. Yet when operators of the workers' International Bookshop at San Pedro, California, walked into their store one morning they found that vigilantes had raided the place and left the books spread over the floor. Right on top of the heap was a copy of Sinclair Lewis' famous anti-fascist novel.

Sissy Orators Spout In Anti-Red Rally

By A. GEORGE

Workers, Beware! Socialization is doomed in America! A Socialist America? Impossible! Well—so says Major Gen. John T. Prout, president of the National Americanization League.

It seems that the hanging of Parsons, Spies, and the others of the Haymarket Affair in 1886 was done in alliance with the capitalists to prevent the work-

If we had had a 16-page Call last week, we would have been able to print this story then. We would also have been able to print reports on May Day demonstrations in Toledo, Philadelphia, Sioux City and other spots — reports which we received from our correspondents, but were omitted due to lack of space.

ers from ever gaining power in these United States. You see, it works this way: The Haymarket Affair which gave birth to May Day and May Day parades, says the Major Gen., "will be the fall of communism in this country." The Major pretends to be quite an authority on the subject.

This gentleman was not the only one who gave vent to prophecies. More than a dozen speakers assembled in New York's Union Square one afternoon recently, with an im-

vised platform and a handful of followers. The roster of orators was headed by none other than Lambert Fairchild, the bespattered picketer of broadcasting stations.

While twenty policemen were scattered throughout the "crowd" which showed no "disorder," the Alderman called for the deportation of all organizers of "subversive movements." Said Mr. Fairchild: They "should be run out of the country and back where they came from."

While Mrs. Laura B. Prisk, "mother of Flag Day," was awaiting her turn to spout her interpretation of Americanism, the aforementioned Major General remarked, "there are too many red-blooded Americans—who have fought and are willing to fight for their country—for the Red Menace to be a real one here. They will be aroused by these demonstrations and rout out the disturbing element."

From what we observed at the United May Day parade, there were red-blooded Americans, and they certainly were aroused—but they were in the line of march.

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Party Perspectives: Present and Future. Frank N. Trager
Youth's Economic Problem. Ernest Erber
The Hillquit Amendment Is Not Enough, Edward Grove
Symposium on PROBLEMS Confronting
The Socialist Party
(Short Statements by Outstanding Members of the Socialist Party)

AN ISSUE NO PARTY MEMBER SHOULD MISS
Editorial Staff: Devere Allen, David P. Berenberg, Andrew J. Biemiller,
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Anna Berenowitz, Managing Editor.

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500 SEE REBEL ARTS SHOW 'PRIVATE HICKS'

CHICAGO.—The local Rebel Arts chapter produced "Private Hicks," by Albert Maltz, at the Spring Labor Festival of the Socialist Party of Cook County at the People's Auditorium last week to an audience of 500 people.

The group, under the direction of Edgerton Paul, made its debut at this performance, and, judging from its reception, seems to have a bright future. Paul announced that the play would be given again at least twice during the next month.

The Rebel Arts Film Group of Chicago, under the leadership of Carl Kahn, Haigar Olsen and Grant Evans, is experimenting with the production of movie shorts of both educational and amusing nature from a labor point of view. Those throughout the country interested in this sort of work are asked to communicate with the group at Rebel Arts headquarters, 6120 Dorchester Avenue, Chicago.

The group is also appealing for

funds, as the expense involved in this work is very large. If the experiments are successful, shorts will be produced for use during the presidential campaign in co-operation with the Socialist Party.

The Rebel Arts Magazine, which met with enthusiastic response from friends in the Chicago labor movement when first issued in April, will have its second issue ready on May 18. Bundle orders will be available to groups throughout the country at seven cents a copy in bundles of ten or more. Single copies can be obtained by sending ten cents in cash or stamps to Frank Stern, managing editor, Rebel Arts Magazine, 721 Moxley Building, Chicago, Illinois.

This second issue will have an article by Ethel Waters of movie and Broadway fame on swing music and its value and background. The issue will also contain poetry, short stories by well known labor writers and an article on modern Russian composers.

In Prize Play



Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne, stars of the New York play, "Idiot's Delight," awarded the Pulitzer prize as the best play of the year. The scene of the play is in Italy and is set against the background of impending European war. Hence the interest was said to be international.

Behind the Movie Screen

SOCIAL NEWS...Howl—wind! Roar—water! And as for you, Willie Hearst, may your days be numbered ones! For there in your very backyard, those whom you seek to control are turning against you. Hollywood's main social events during the past few weeks have been socially-conscious parties. The Scottsboro Benefit topped them all. A host of film notables sponsored it, among them Franchot Tone.

LABOR ANGLE...All organized film workers are boycotting the RKO studio restaurant, where the waitresses, working under atrocious conditions, had their wages sliced to a new low. The studio proper is being decorated with a picket line.

WPA FILMS...The presidential campaign is on. And the Roosevelt regime, planning a series of films glorifying its work program, has finally accomplished that end. Thirty one-reel films are ready for free distribution to theatres. Now begins the deluge. The Republican party has made a cartoon ridiculing the Roosevelt order, and they also plan to release it free of charge. Yet we have to pay to see them. Question: Who is the sucker?

Winner



Robert Emmet Sherwood, New York playwright, whose play, "Idiot's Delight," now running in New York, was awarded the Pulitzer prize as the best of the year.

Rebel Arts Ball

NEW YORK.—Tickets for the annual show and dance being staged by Rebel Arts, Friday, May 15, at Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th Street, are nearly gone, it was announced by the arrangements committee.

An overflow crowd is expected and only those with tickets will be admitted to take part in this gala celebration. The Rebel Arts Follies will head the long list of entertainment. Tickets, selling at 75 cents, can be bought in advance at the Rebel Arts headquarters, 44 E. 21st Street, or from members of the organization.

Music will be supplied by a well known band. There will be dancing "until dawn." Get your tickets now.

Movie Moguls Hit At Administration Over 3-Reel Film

By JOHN VAN KRAM

HOLLYWOOD.—The Resettlement Administration's artistic three-reel movie, "The Plow That Broke the Plains," may be the straw to break the back of the film trust as a result of the feud it has generated between the motion picture distributors and the administration.

All of the large agencies have imposed a blockade on the film, because of the alleged pro-administration nature. Observers intimate that the distributors, affiliates of the film production firms, are trying to maintain the propaganda monopoly exclusively in their own hands.

Some of the production executives to whom your correspondent has spoken on the matter, after it appeared in the Scripps-Howard newspapers, profess to see the throttling hand of Baron Willie Hearst of San Simeon, whose dictatorial financial interests in the film industry lead to whispers and anonymity in conversations with newspapermen here.

President Roosevelt's dander is so risen by the boycott, that he has offered personally to sponsor the film. He even suggested that it be screened for the delectation of members of Congress, where it has been sent as an official docu-

The New Films

How the New Film Alliance sizes them up:

The Golden Arrow: Bette Davis' talents are wasted on a sappy picture in which George Brent, newspaper reporter, decides he loves her for herself alone.

The Passing of the Third Floor Back: Conrad Veidt miscast as the Christ-like character whose attitude pervades a London boarding house. Rene Ray and Beatrix Lehmann, English actress, contribute brilliant performances.

Times Square Playboy: A boring film with Warren William as the yokel boy who strikes Wall Street gold.

13 Hours By Air: Tries to be another Ceiling Zero, but isn't. The plot is half melodrama, half comedy, with Fred MacMurray, the two-fisted hero pilot and Joan Bennett, the society heroine.

ment, the first movie to achieve that eminence.

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—Benchley, The New Yorker

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Music Strike Won

NEW YORK.—The New York Musicians Union, Local 802, AFL, has won its five week strike against 35 music publishers. Union arrangers, copyists and proofreaders of music, returned to work after employers signed a two-year contract granting the union's demands for a closed shop, minimum wages and hours and a basic price list for arrangers doing piece work.

"WE ARE FROM Kronstadt"

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—BROOKS ATKINSON, N. Y. Times

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—Lewis Nichols, Times
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Week of May 18th
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A TRULY DELIGHTFUL PERFORMANCE."—Eve. Journal

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Norman Thomas:

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS A LEAGUE OF NATIONALISMS

MUSSOLINI'S triumph over the League of Nations is even more spectacular than previous victories by Japan and by Hitler. In spite of the encouraging Left victory in France, there are no belated sanctions which the League can agree on or successfully impose to frustrate Mussolini's conquest.

For this situation it is idle to blame particular men, particular parties or particular nations. Some of them have their especial degree of guilt, but the major responsibility lies in the nature of the League. It is an alliance of capitalist nations which by the very nature of capitalism and nationalism are mutually jealous and each scheming for its own advantage. The one thing which might have saved the League it did not do, and could not by its very nature do as long as the peoples in it were subject to the loyalties and institutions of nationalism and capitalism. That one thing would have been the revision of the Peace Treaties and the working out of economic relations under which all nations would have had something approaching equality of access to raw materials. Thus, and thus only, could the economic and spiritual barriers which have shut some strong nations into the House of - Have - Not be broken down.

Socialist View Of the League

As it is, the League is a league to preserve the status quo. The status quo by its nature is preferable to a fascist revision of it. But the status quo cannot win by a defensive action and part of the status quo is the mutual jealousy and suspicion between the stronger powers. Today England's imperialism is outwardly decent, but England got her Empire exactly as Mussolini is building his shabby new Roman Empire—minus only the Latin bombast. And in this whole business England's chief concern has been the protection of her Empire rather than any League idealism. Temporarily Mussolini has outmaneuvered her. But defeat is not likely to make her virtuous.

This does not mean that we wish ill to the League or frown on any attempts in Europe to save it and give it a fresh start. It means two things:

(1) The attempt of American friends of the League to cry it up and minimize its failures and even to insist that they might not have occurred had the United States been in it, is not only utopian but dangerous. Capitalist America in the League would have done neither herself nor the League any good. If we had blundered in on any other terms than those suggested in the Socialist platform of 1932 which were not fulfilled, we should probably have played second fiddle to England's fake liberalism. Certainly we should have removed none of the causes of the League's failures.

(2) Everything that has happened strengthens the Socialist argument—even though some Socialists have ignored it—that capitalism and nationalism are incapable of organizing the world for peace.

The Fight Against Il Duce

In so far as Italy herself is concerned, Mussolini's Ethiopian

triumph is likely only to postpone the day of reckoning. Ethiopia will not bring bread, or freedom, or peace, to the Italian workers. It will probably bring heavier taxes and a prolongation of conscription. And of these things there is an inevitable end. Meantime there is no greater obligation on us than to support the Italian anti-Fascist movement in America and as far as possible in Italy. This means that a paper like *La Stampa Libera* must be supported.

And speaking of Italian anti-Fascism, where does our friend, Mayor LaGuardia stand? Is he going to any more mass meetings to celebrate Mussolini's victory? As President of the Conference of Mayors, he has taken an admirable position against American participation in a congress of municipal officials in Berlin. Would he take the same position if the conference were shifted to Rome?

Civil Liberties In America

Mr. Junius B. Wood, correspondent for NANA, at the Tampa trials, has written an article (*New York Times*, May 11) which no Socialist could have bettered. He says candidly, in the light of his experience at the trial, which still drags on, what I have been trying to say for weeks. I quote one paragraph:

"Flogging, tar and feathering, and even death, are not unusual here as a means of disposing of persons who are disturbing to certain interests, or to what is vaguely called 'social order.' They are not carried out under any law in Florida statutes, but by persons who believe such methods are for their own or the public good, and their political influence is so great that court trials or even arrests rarely follow."

Mr. Wood names among the interests the citrus growers and the cigar manufacturers, who want low wages and docile workers. The slowness with which money has been coming in to the Tampa Civil Rights Committee in Tampa itself and in its New York headquarters at 112 East 19th Street, shows how slowly the public, and especially the workers, are realizing the seriousness of the situation. Except for the pressure of this committee, the State, which has acted blunderingly and reluctantly, would not have acted at all. No American can condemn Mussolini or Hitler and condone or overlook Florida. No American can make a successful fight against fascism abroad or at some future time in America and ignore Florida.

Nor is the disease peculiar to Florida. In a few days there will probably be a strike of day laborers in the cotton fields of some Arkansas counties. They will be trying to raise their coolie wages of 60 to 75 cents a day up to a dollar and a quarter or a dollar and a half. If we judge the future by the past, these brave men will be met by false arrests, beatings, and murder. Yet they won something at cotton-picking time and can win again if labor and all lovers of justice will rally to them. Their union has been endorsed by the AFL.

May we respectfully suggest to the labor leaders who are crowding for front seats on the Roosevelt hand-wagon that they might show some of the rest of us what they can do by their tactics by

getting public and adequate action from the President on the matter of Florida floggings and Arkansas terrorism. Meanwhile we hope our friends will enjoy the company of some of their Democratic fellow passengers on the band-wagon. They might look and see if they have had time to get the tar off their hands.

The Old Guard And Roosevelt

Even from the standpoint of a vague pro-labor progressivism I think that the labor leaders who, fearing reaction, throw themselves in Roosevelt's arms, are making a mistake which may prove tragic. I can, however, from the standpoint of a minute-by-minute opportunism, understand what they are driving at. But the more I think about it the less do I understand Socialists who flirt with the idea of no campaign against Roosevelt. They can only take that position by giving up any real meaning to Socialism. They are supporting a man whose uncertain liberalism is prolonging the life of capitalism without in the least averting the catastrophe of war or economic collapse toward which we are headed.

Yet if the recent statements in the *New York Herald-Tribune*, the *New York Times*, and the *Bridgeport Post* are to be believed, the Old Guard is playing with the idea of splitting off from the Socialist Party in order to form a party openly or tacitly friendly to Roosevelt, and that means friendly to the Democratic Party. Waldman, I notice, has discovered an admiration for Roosevelt that he did not express when he ran against him for governor of New York.

It is difficult to believe that right-wing Socialists, as opposed to Old Guardsmen, will stand for this Old Guard policy. Yet this policy is the natural result of the Old Guard position. For years its leaders have talked democracy and practiced in the Party and in the unions the opposite. In New York City they have condoned labor racketeering, at least by silence and inaction; they have sabotaged the national party organization; they have done little to help and something to hinder, in the countrywide fight for workers' rights. Their failure to help in the Herndon and Scottsboro cases is to be explained by the fact that in practice they hate communism more keenly than they hate capitalist cruelty. What they have done and left undone in the Tampa and Arkansas cases is probably to be explained by the fact that nothing much matters as far away as the South in comparison with their hanging on to power in New York.

Their Socialism is a pious memory of the past, something to make them curse communism, something to give them a chance to discuss Marx much as the old fashioned Browning Societies used to quarrel affectionately over what he meant to say. Well, the logical end of that sort of Socialism is to support Roosevelt. Maybe there will be a few jobs in it, but the people that intend to do it are better out of the Party than in it. I doubt if honest right wingers are going to follow them in any numbers. Surely they still are Socialists.

News Guild Beats Associated Press

NEW YORK—(FP)—The Associated Press, major channel through which there flows to the American public supposedly impartial news about all-important issues of the time, stands condemned for having "interfered with, restrained and coerced its employees in the exercise of the rights guaranteed them in Section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act."

Such is the finding of Dean Charles E. Clark of Yale law school, trial examiner for the National Labor Relations Board, in the case of Vice-President Morris Watson of the American Newspaper Guild, who was discharged by the AP because, in Clark's words, he "engaged in concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining and other mutual aid and protection."

The examiner recommended that AP be required to reinstate Watson, pay him salary losses since his discharge and negotiate with the Guild as representative of its editorial employees. The news association has 10 days in

which to notify the board that it will comply with the recommendations. If it fails to do this, the labor board may appeal to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for enforcement.

In the hearing, AP, which boasts of covering New Deal and anti-New Deal activities alike without prejudice, contended that the Wagner act is unconstitutional.

Clyde Beals, editor of *The Guild Reporter*, expressed gratification at the report, but added that "newspaper men have learned not to throw their hats in the air over moral victories obtained at the hands of governmental bodies. They learned to wait until they see such moral victories actually carried into effect."

Roosevelt Keeps Mum



Better homes for America is the object of the new \$876,000,000 housing bill introduced to Congress by Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York (left). He's talking it over with Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes during committee hearings in Washington.

President Roosevelt (not shown above) maintains a discreet silence, under Jim Farley's advice, knowing this is election year and it won't do to step on too many toes.

Doublecross 'Chagrins' FDR's Labor Boosters

By JOHN HERLING

Washington Bureau, Socialist Call

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Labor leaders in Washington, especially those who have already announced their support of President Roosevelt in the coming campaign, are puzzled and chagrined by the violent flirtation now going on in the open between the President and Big Business.

First, as if by mutual understanding, the meeting of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce passed off without the fireworks of last year, when the C. of C.'s clear hostility to Roosevelt brought from him the heated rejoinder that the Chamber of Commerce misrepresented business, or represented it badly.

This year, under the skillful guidance of Harper Sibley, the chamber's president, the spirit between business and the White House was cooperative. The President was chided mildly, but ways of getting together were devised, and the government and business, with Secretary of Commerce Roper smiling benignly on the new cordiality, announced a joint unemployment census, the results of which will not be obtainable until after the election.

The Chamber quarreled with what they called the bad tactics of the President, but they approved wholeheartedly the rise in profits under the New Deal.

Now, with the Chamber meeting out of the way, Roosevelt is turning his attention to the heavy artillerymen of Big Business.

Industry's Big Shots

Men who were thought married to the American Liberty League, leaders of the industries which will see intensive organization

drives as in steel and oil, have been visiting the White House.

Here is a list of callers, not complete, but indicative enough of the company the President is courting at this time, a month before the Democratic convention:

Walter Teagle, president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation.

William L. Clayton, of Houston, Texas, leader in the cotton industry, and former member of the executive committee of the American Liberty League.

Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company.

Walter P. Chrysler, head of the Chrysler automobile interests.

Bernard M. Baruch.

What seems to be especially disturbing to certain labor leaders, at least to those who have been pinning their faith on the President—and indeed were hoping to swing to him the bulk of the labor vote—is the close identification of those visiting him with the very industries whose unions are planning intensive organization campaigns; namely, steel, oil, cotton textiles, automobile, electrical appliances, and the like.