

THOMAS HEADS TICKET

Socialist Call

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SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

CLEVELAND.—The nineteenth national convention of the Socialist Party of the United States adjourned here late Tuesday after completing four days of strenuous deliberations. The convention nominated Norman Thomas for president and George A. Nelson, Wisconsin farm leader, for vice-president of the United States, adopted a platform, and took decisive action on all the important problems facing the party.

The new National Executive Committee chosen to lead the party until the next convention, two years hence, includes eight former members; Norman Thomas, Daniel W. Hoan, Darlington Hoopes, Devere Allen, Franz Daniels, Maynard Krueger, Albert Sprague Coolidge and Powers Haggood. The three new committee members are Max Raskin of Milwaukee, George Rhodes of Reading and Max Delson of New York.

The chief work accomplished by the 250 convention delegates may be summarized as follows:

1936 Platform

1. Adopted a platform, (summarized on Page 12), the main plank of which calls for an amendment to the Federal Constitution to permit the Government to acquire and operate basic industries and to end the "usurped power of the Supreme Court to declare social legislation unconstitutional."

2. Voted to begin a drive for \$100,000 fund to wage the most extensive campaign since Eugene V. Debs toured the nation on the famous "Red Special."

3. On motion of the Illinois delegation, made the Socialist Call the official 1936 campaign organ.

Clarified Declaration

4. Cleared up the intra-party situation when the old guard refused to abide by decisions of the national executive committee. (Story on Page 6).

5. Accepted a clarified draft of the party's Declaration of Principles, and appended thereto a statement on armed insurrection. (Printed on Page 6.)

6. Placed a clause in the party constitution providing that "the state organization shall have full authority over admission and expulsion of members, being responsible, however, to the national executive committee and the national convention."

For Labor Party

7. By a vote of 109 to 64, expressed the willingness of the Socialist party to support a genuine farmer-labor party. (Read Mayor Hoan's excellent speech on Page 8).

8. Adopted for discussion, by a vote of 89 to 54, a resolution which rejects a political united front with communists, but provides machinery for permitting joint actions with labor groups and communists on specific issues. The whole united front question is to be submitted to a referendum by the party membership on December 1.

9. Unanimously turned down a plea from the Communist party for a united presidential ticket this year. The delegates shouted a vociferous "No" when Maynard Krueger asked "Is there any delegate in this hall who believes that the best interests of Socialism would be served by a joint ticket with the communists?"

Labor Policy

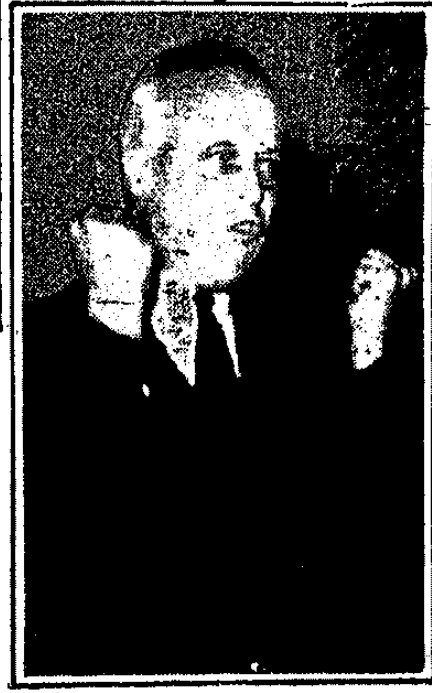
10. Adopted a resolution on labor policy which provides that it is the duty of Socialist unionists to educate their fellow workers to the need for "independent political action." (The labor policy resolution will be printed in the Call next week.)

11. Adopted without opposition a war resolution putting the party on record as opposed to all

Delegates Singing "Internationale" At Opening Convention Session



ABOVE—Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee addresses convention on opening day. The text of his speech on a farmer-labor party is reprinted on page 8.



RIGHT — Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President of the United States.



LEFT—Leo Krzycki of Milwaukee makes keynote address. In his speech, Krzycki criticized those labor leaders who are backing Roosevelt in the coming presidential election. Read excerpts from his speech on page 8.



Within the stately courthouse (left) at Bartow, Fla., a long and grimy story of the kidnaping and flogging of E. J. Foulnot, Samuel Rogers and the late Joseph Shoemaker, members of the Modern Democrats, has been unfolded. On the left of the courthouse is a phosphate plant typical of the business of the section, and on the right a lime pit into which bodies of kidnaped labor organizers are said to have been hurled. Story on Page 3.

(Continued on Page Three)

Lynch Terror Loosed!

Anarchy Runs Amok To Crush 'Croppers

NEW YORK—Conditions worse than chattel slavery of pre-Civil War days were reported by Sherwood Eddy, prominent Socialist, on his return here from the strike-bound cotton fields of eastern Arkansas.

"The Southern Tenant Farmers Union is considered a 'conspiracy,' illegal in lawless Arkansas," Eddy declared. "It is considered a 'crime' for strikers not to be working, to be sitting right at home."

The strike, called May 18, has involved 4,000 sharecroppers in eastern Arkansas and has spread to parts of Mississippi. The strikers seek wages of \$1.50 for a 10-hour day.

Concentration camps, stockades, arrests, beatings and shootings by night-riders have been employed by plantation owners to break the strike.

Leaders of the union, which maintains Memphis, Tenn. headquarters, would face lynching or shooting on sight if they appeared in the strike area, Eddy said. Two organizers have been driven from St. Francis county, while a posse was formed and a \$50 reward offered for a union member who drove thugs from his home when they sought to force him to scab in the fields.

At Earle, Ark., 13 Negroes have been shunted into an iron-barred stockade erected by a local deputy sheriff and marshal reputed to have killed eight Negroes and one white man during his career.

Aaron Gilmartin of New York, League for Industrial Democracy official, was arrested on a charge of "disturbing labor" when he sought to effect the release of the stockade prisoners, though his "crime" had been merely a request that Mayor Mitchell of Earle provide him with information about the case. Gilmartin was later released on \$150 bond.

A call for federal prosecution under the peonage act has been sent to Atty.-Gen. Homer Cummings in Washington by Eddy, in a telegram in which he declared that "our histories should be revised in misleading us that slavery was ever abolished in Arkansas. I do not know if the federal government will do anything. If not I shall try to rouse public opinion from coast to coast over the national disgrace of lawless Arkansas."

G-Men Sidestep Peonage Charges

WASHINGTON — Assignment of Fred A. Isrig, U. S. district attorney in Arkansas, by the U. S. Department of Justice to handle the charges of peonage being made against plantation owners by striking cotton choppers, was vigorously protested by representatives of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union here.

Isrig, they pointed out, is a member of the Pulaski County, Arkansas, Planters' Club and is himself a large plantation owner. It is felt that his efforts on behalf of striking cotton choppers, asking a wage increase of 7½c an hour to 15 cents an hour, would not be unbiased.

Green Wires O. K. Of Croppers' Strike

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — William Green, president of the AFL, has wired support of the sharecroppers' strike, according to H. L. Mitchell, secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

"Will request affiliated organizations with AFL to render members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union on strike cooperation and assistance," Green said.

The Union is sorely in need of funds, which should be sent to Mitchell, Box 5215, Memphis Tennessee.

Nazi Pins Owen D. Young



On the shining white shirt front of Owen D. Young, (right) General Electric top executive, Carl Byoir pins a medal, citing Young's "contributions to the cause of international cooperation." Byoir was named two years ago as a paid German Nazi publicity agent in the U. S. Young, a Morgan protege boomed by Wall Street for N. Y. Governor after Lehman quits, has business connections through his firm with leading European industrial, chemical and munitions firms.

Calif. Releases Mini in Attempt To Obscure Plot

SAN FRANCISCO. — Norman Mini has been released from San Quentin Prison, first of the eight workers convicted in the famous Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial of 1934 to complete his term. He received a three year sentence and must as a result spend the next sixteen months under charge of parole officers.

Of the other male prisoners, Albert Hougardy received three and a half years, and like Mini will serve the last 16 months on parole; while Pat Chambers, Martin Wilson and Jack Crane got five-year sentences, parole to be determined later.

The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, defending Mini, conducted a national campaign for minimum sentences, rallying the support of ten international unions, five state federations and two-score city central labor bodies and a group of Senators and Congressmen.

While in jail, Mini joined the Socialist Party.

On leaving San Quentin, he called for renewed effort to upset the convictions, which soon come up on appeal:

"By releasing me the State of California hopes to obscure the fact that it is holding in prison the leaders of the California agricultural workers, Chambers and Decker. The fight for the freedom of these two and of the other prisoners is indissolubly bound up with the fight to organize the agricultural workers. Elementary solidarity demands that all workers and workers' organizations unite in renewed efforts to free these workers from prison."

The National Sacramento Appeal Committee announced that it is sending to the State Parole Board additional resolutions from unions, demanding that minimum sentences be set for the girl prisoners, whose indeterminate sentences are soon to be fixed by the Board. The United Rubber Workers international, Chicago Federation of Labor, Boston Central Labor Union, and the central bodies of Pontiac, Lansing, South Bend and San Bernardino are among the latest unions demanding freedom of the prisoners.

Socialists Urge France to Quit Olympic Games

PARIS. — The question of France's participation in the Olympic Games in Berlin this summer is still undecided, having been left over for the incoming People's Front government, which is ill disposed to support the games.

There has been a campaign for some weeks in the Socialist and left-wing papers against French participation. The Socialist organ has attacked the games as having been diverted from Olympic ideals of sport to propaganda for the Nazi regime.

N. Y. Note

NEW YORK. — Reports on the national convention of the Socialist Party will be given the party membership at a meeting Wednesday night, June 3, at 8 p. m. in Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place.

Among those who will address the meeting are Norman Thomas and Max Delson, both members of the party's national executive committee, Dr. Louis Sadoff and Jack Altman.

Salesmen's Union Gives Bum's Rush To Nemser Clique

NEW YORK.—An attempt to foist a deposed clique of reactionary union henchmen, under the control of Hyman Nemser and Henry I. Silverman, head of the Retail Clothing Merchants Assn., upon the Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union, Local 1006, failed this week when the union membership, at the largest meeting in its history, voted to disregard the committee imposed upon them by Samuel H. Riven, 7th Vice-President of the international union.

The membership petitioned the international, an A. F. of L. affiliate, to revoke Riven's order and decided to proceed with the elections of new officers in June as provided for in the by-laws.

At this meeting Al Gadd, chairman of the executive board of the local; Morris Bershad, Socialist and secretary-treasurer of the local, and other speakers charged that the men Riven was forcing upon them are direct tools of the Nemser-Silverman combine.

Last year when Nemser was ousted from the union, Riven condemned Nemser and recommended that he be thrown out of the Socialist Party. Nemser was white-washed by the Old Guard.

AFL Mossbacks Order 9 Unions To Quit C. I. O.

WASHINGTON.—Formal notification of the decision of the AFL executive council calling upon the nine unions forming the Committee for Industrial Organization to dissolve, has been handed officers of these nine unions.

While the letter itself was not available, it was learned that it recited the decision of the council and asked for an answer within two weeks. The Council's decision included the threat of suspension, preliminary to a request for the revocation of the charters of the unions. Revocation of the charter can only be accomplished by action of the A. F. of L. convention, according to the organization's constitution.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers and chairman of the C. I. O., refused to comment on the letter. "You can safely assume that the letter was sent," he said, "and you can assume that if the letter was sent the executive board of the United Mine Workers which meets shortly will discuss the matter."

We Want More

In celebration of the Socialist convention this week, Call boosters throughout the country sent in a total of 202 subscriptions. Among those received:

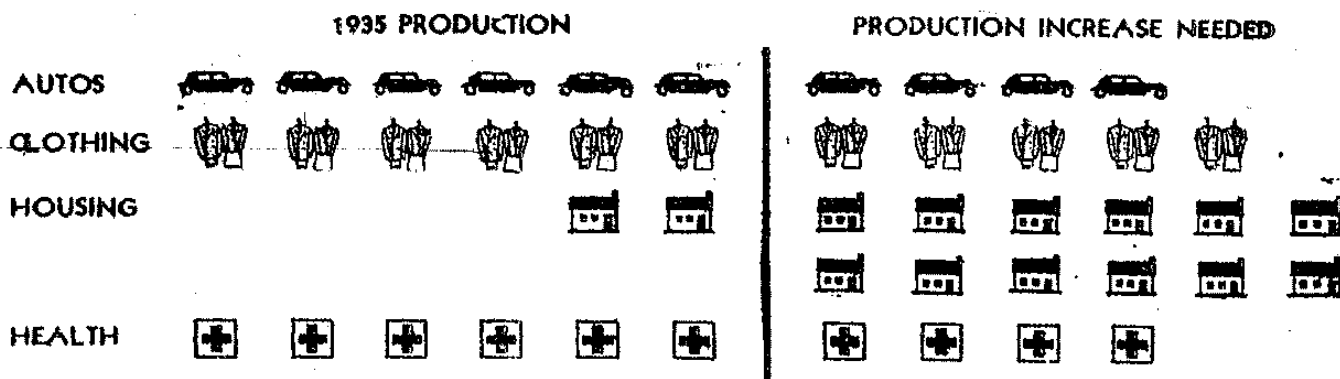
- | Name | No. |
|---|-----|
| Frank McCallister, Tampa, Florida | 1 |
| Mayme Hartman, Evansville, Ind. | 1 |
| R. Sylvia Patrick, Salt Lake City, Utah | 1 |
| J. S. Jelazza, Norfolk, Va. | 1 |
| E. Belgray, Bronx, N. Y. | 1 |
| Ben Wolf, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 1 |
| Henry Weiss, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 1 |
| Alice Marsh, Long Island, N. Y. | 1 |
| Ben Naumoff, Bronx, N. Y. | 1 |
| Jack Cohen, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 1 |
| Max Delson, New York City | 1 |
| E. R. Genois, Philadelphia, Pa. | 1 |
| Maurice Goldsmith, Detroit, Mich. | 1 |
| Sam Kaplan, West Orange, N. J. | 1 |
| David Hubbard, Calif. | 1 |
| Brighton Beach Br., Brooklyn, N. Y. | 1 |
| Kazimer Miller, Philadelphia, Pa. | 1 |
| Sol Ferrin, Bronx, N. Y. | 1 |
| 12th A. D., New York City | 1 |
| H. Sbolko, Bronx, N. Y. | 1 |
| Wash. Heights Br., New York City | 1 |
| Art McDowell, Sec'y, Chicago | 48 |
| Arthur King, Louisville, Ky. | 5 |
| Ed Koppel, New York City | 1 |
| Jack Kaye, Sunnyside, N. Y. | 1 |
| J. T. Maley, Colorado | 1 |
| Larry Rogin, Brookwood, N. Y. | 1 |
| Lawrence Van Camp, Michigan | 1 |
| Bob Parker, Cleveland, Ohio | 1 |
| J. M. Chester, Denver, Colorado | 1 |
| E. L. Lane | 1 |
| Meyer Baphaeh, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 1 |
| A. S., Texas | 1 |
| Louis Terr, New York City | 1 |
| Henry Pinski, New York City | 1 |
| Mrs. M. Lipp, Sacramento, Calif. | 2 |
| Leon Despres | 2 |

Donations this week totaled \$24.15, as follows: Lucy H. Kurlmeier, N. Y. C., \$10.; Local Easthampton, Mass., \$5.15; Dr. M. Caspe, N. Y. C., \$4.; John Braun, N. Y. C., \$4.; Harris Hackin, N. Y. C., \$1.

Just as important as subscriptions and donations are bundle orders. Party activity is reflected in the number of bundle orders and the speed with which payments are made. Among those who paid for bundle orders this week are:

- | Name | Amount |
|------------------------------------|--------|
| Alan Silhus, Los Angeles, Calif. | \$7.74 |
| Local Minneapolis, Minnesota | 6.25 |
| Mark Brown, Reading, Pa. | 9.00 |
| Frank Orear, Bakersfield, Calif. | 4.00 |
| Mayme Hartman, Evansville, Ind. | 2.32 |
| Florence Haiken, Los Angeles, YPSL | 2.75 |
| Squire Blackshaw, Montreal, Canada | 1.50 |
| Local Louisville, Ky. | 1.50 |
| Progressive Fighters, N. Y. C. | 1.50 |
| John Ampfer, Indiana | 1.50 |
| Jack Miske, Tamagna, Pa. | 1.50 |
| 5th A. D. Bronx, N. Y. | 1.50 |
| Lawrence Van Camp, Indiana | 1.00 |
| Charles Albrecht | 1.00 |
| Local West New York, N. J. | 1.00 |
| Frank Baker, Elkhart, Indiana | .50 |
| Jacob Jay, Westchester, N. Y. | .50 |
| Local Omaha City, Omaha | .25 |
| W. C. Settle, Kansas City | .25 |
| C. C. N. Y. Eve, YPSL | .25 |

WHAT PRODUCTION INCREASES DO WE NEED?



Each symbol represents: Autos - 500,000, Garments - each pair 100,000,000, Houses - 50,000, Crosses - \$500,000,000 service.

"It is unthinkable that the American people have not among them the intelligence, experience, and technical training to use their industrial equipment, put the unemployed to work and create the goods and services they need," according to a recent bulletin issued by the American Federation of Labor.

The American people DO HAVE the necessary intelligence, experience, and technical training to PROVIDE AN ADEQUATE LIFE FOR ALL if the financiers and industrialists will allow them to do so—is the answer of the Socialist Party, assembled in national convention this week.

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.

63 EXPIRED! RENEW NOW!

On to the White House



Joyous scene as Norman Thomas, (center), was nominated for President, by State Chairman Harry W. Laidler of New York and seconded by Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee. Tumultuous acclaim greeted Thomas's appearance on the platform to announce his acceptance.

The nomination of Thomas was the signal for a great demonstration, as delegates tore state banners loose from tables, and uniformed members of the Young People's Socialist League, in colorful regalia and carrying huge red banners, led an impromptu parade about the hall. It was more than 10 minutes before order was restored.

Convention Closes; Elects New NEC

(Continued from Page One)

imperialist wars, and refusing to support either the League of Nations or sanctions as weapons against war.

12. Sent greetings to Tom Mooney, James Maurer, Pennsylvania Socialist, and Leon Blum and Largo Caballero, leaders of the French and Spanish Socialist parties.

13. Adopted resolutions in support of the Workers Alliance of America, jobless group; in condemnation of Hearst; and calling for a conference of workers and farmers to be known as the Workers Rights Congress.

Mayor Hoan formally closed the convention, declaring that as a result of the decisions reached the Socialist Party was a healthier and better party and that a common basis of unity existed. "Let us pile up the largest vote for Norman Thomas that any Socialist ever polled," he declared, as the delegates cheered and sang the Internationale.

Blow Hot, or Cold, A Plank's Unsold

CLEVELAND. — Louis Waldman, former Socialist, in a speech before the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, paid tribute to President Roosevelt "for making America social minded."

Waldman, with other old guard leaders, have formed the Social Democratic Federation of the United States in opposition to the Socialist Party.

When asked by newsmen if his group would support Roosevelt, Waldman replied that he could not say definitely until he had seen the Democratic platform.

James Maurer, Reading Socialist selected by Waldman to be chairman of the federation, declined and expressed his faith in the Socialist Party.

Old guard delegates to the convention refused to bolt the party to join Waldman's federation.

Future Lies in Socialization, Says W. J. Lauck

Special to the Call
WASHINGTON. — That organized labor must look to a "high degree of socialization" and the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party to solve its problems, was the subject of an address by W. Jett Lauck, economic advisor to the United Mine Workers of America and other trade unions, at the National Peace Conference held here recently.

"Outstanding labor leadership in America," said Mr. Lauck, "became fully conscious of the critical situation which now confronts the country. It has, therefore, taken the attitude that if we are to have economic recovery public policy must in the future be based upon a high degree of socialization."

"This contemplated acquisition of power also assumes the early formation of a Labor Party, including within its scope not only the unskilled industrial and agricultural workers but also the so-called white collar groups."

Mr. Lauck stated that unless our system is socialized, "the future of our country will hold forth no real hope for labor or humanity. We cannot avoid the conclusion that the old system of capitalism has failed in America, as well as in other leading industrial and commercial nations, and is now passing from the world scene."

Lauck's speech has not been generally reported in either the capitalist or labor press, although it is considered important because of the support the United Mine Workers and the Committee for Industrial Organization are throwing behind Roosevelt's reelection plans.

Puts 3 Bullets In Own Heart

MADRID. — High officers of the Spanish army have been planning a coup d'etat to annul the Left victory, but the army refused to go along and several of the ring leaders were shot in the resulting disturbances.

Among those that lost their lives was a Captain Gisbert, who was shot by four corporals.

The Right press thereupon reported that the captain had "committed suicide by shooting himself three times through the heart and twice through the head." Military prowess can hardly go farther.

Lash Trial Verdict Convicts Five Cops For Tampa Kidnap

By SIDNEY HERTZBERG

BARTOW, Fla.—The Ku Klux Klan and the citrus growers, shipping magnates, phosphate interests and thieving politicians who for years have used the Klan to terrorize labor were convicted here Saturday along with the five former Tampa policemen found

guilty of kidnaping Eugene F. Poulnot, Chairman of the Florida Workers' Alliance, last Nov. 30.

While these convictions constitute the most stunning blow against vigilantism ever struck in Florida, it is only the first round in the fight for the establishment of civil liberties here.

The convicted kidnapers may still be cleared by legal maneuvers in the Florida Supreme Court. The higher-ups who instigated this and many other outrages have not yet been reached.

Verdict Astonishing

The verdict of guilty astonished all observers here. It came in the face of a charge to the jury by Judge Robert T. Dewell that amounted to directing a verdict of not guilty, and after five and one-half hours of unrestrained appeal to passion and prejudice by defense attorneys.

The six-man jury retired at 9:29 Saturday morning and returned with its verdict at 1:05 p. m. Three unanimous ballots were taken.

"We agreed on the first ballot, but we just took three to make sure," declared George A. Walker, 60, a WPA worker and foreman of the jury.

The penalty is from a minimum of a year-and-a-day to a maximum of ten years in the penitentiary. Judge Dewell delayed pronouncing sentence for four days, during which the defense may move for a new trial.

Defense Plans Writ

However, Pat Whitaker, chief defense counsel, indicated that he might turn over one of the kidnapers to the sheriff and then ask the Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that the verdict was not warranted by the evidence and the law. This would automatically clear the other kidnapers. All of them are still free on \$7,500 bail each.

If this maneuver fails, Whitaker will undoubtedly appeal to the Supreme Court in the regular way. Although the convictions in this case are regarded as an irreparable blow to Whitaker's prestige, he is still supposed to have great influence with the Supreme Court.

Convention Cheers Tampa Convictions

CLEVELAND. — Delegates to the Socialist convention broke into wild cheering when news of the Tampa convictions reached them. Delegate Jensen of Florida was called upon to rise and receive the greetings of his comrades. Jensen was one of those falsely arrested with Shoemaker the night of the fatal flogging.

Delegate Frank McAlister of Tampa expressed to the convention the gratitude of Florida Socialists for the action of the Socialist Party in organizing progressive forces throughout the country to force convictions in the case.

Civil Rights Group Hails Tampa Verdict

NEW YORK.—The Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, which deserves much of the credit for the convictions, hailed the verdict as a "step forward to restore civil liberties in Tampa."

The committee further declared: "Our work will not be done unless similar verdicts are returned for the murder of Joseph Shoemaker and the kidnaping and flogging of Dr. Samuel Rogers."

Poulnot and Rogers, both Socialists, and Shoemaker, were arrested, freed at police headquarters and then carried into the countryside to be beaten with whips and chains and tarred and feathered.

The five convicted men and four other defendants face three more trials for kidnaping and second-degree murder.

Coming!

During the next few weeks, the Call will summarize the resolutions adopted by the Socialist convention, and the discussion which preceded their adoption.

The Call will shortly begin publication of a history of the Socialist Party of the United States, by Andrew Blemler, convention delegate from Milwaukee.

And even more, IF 16 pages!

VICE-PRES. CANDIDATE A FORMER SOURDOUGH

George A. Nelson, Socialist vice-presidential candidate was born of Danish parents on a Polk County, Wisconsin, farm about 60 years ago. In the Yukon rush of '98 Nelson was one of the original sourdoughs. He returned to Polk County and, with the gold which he brought back from

the north, he purchased his present farm in Milltown, Wisconsin. Today he still operates this farm. Morning and evening he milks his own cows with the aid of his sons and operates his farm without the aid of hired labor.

In the year 1899 Nelson first became a member of the Socialist Party. He fought against the war, and during this time lined up with Bob LaFollette, Sr. He has served in the Assembly of the State of Wisconsin and was Speaker of the Assembly for one term. He has served on the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin. In 1931, as the Socialist candidate for governor of Wisconsin he received over 50,000 votes.

During his life Nelson has been active in both farm and labor work. Before he went to the Yukon, he worked at various trades in industrial centers. For many years, he has served as the president of the Wisconsin Society of Equity, a militant farm organization.

Nelson has served as one of the national directors of the National Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union. At present he is the county president of the Farmers' Holiday Association in Polk County, Wisconsin, and is taking an active part in preventing mortgage foreclosures and keeping farmers on their farms.

He is married and the father of four boys and three girls.

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE ALWAYS IN FOREFRONT

Norman Thomas, selected by the Socialist Party as its presidential candidate for the third successive time, was born in Marion, Ohio in 1884. He joined the Socialist Party during the war, and was an active fighter for peace in those days of war hysteria.

Thomas has been in the fore-

front of every important fight for civil liberties in recent years. When terror cropped up in Terre Haute, in Tampa, in Arkansas, Thomas was there representing the Socialist Party, battling day and night for the rights of farmers and workers.

Thomas has been head of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief since its organization in 1925, and has been arrested a number of times for fighting for free speech and the right of workers to organize into unions.

A member of the Party's national executive committee, Thomas is the author of a number of pamphlets and books, the latest of which is "War, No Profit, No Glory, No Need."

Jim Farley's P. O. To Aid Socialism

NEW ALBANY, Ind.—How much of the Socialist message can be written on a postcard? This is the challenge to party members' ingenuity thrown out by Local New Albany, which offers prizes of \$3, \$2 and \$1 for the best entries in a postcard propaganda contest throughout the United States.

Each contestant may send in as many cards as he wishes. All entries become the property, with the privilege of reproducing, of Local New Albany. Typewrite your contribution on the blank side of a government postcard addressed to Wm. J. Seibel, 2126 Elkin Ave., New Albany, Ind.

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

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A New Battle Begun

It is impossible at this early date to evaluate the national convention of the Socialist Party in Cleveland as a whole. We can only examine isolated acts at this time to pass judgment upon specific decisions. For a full analysis, we shall have to wait until the smoke of the battle is over and the scene has cleared.

However, at least two things have already been made plain. There has been a re-assertion on the part of the Socialists of the United States that they expect of the membership a disciplined adherence to the judgments of the party. Had the convention ruled otherwise, it would have meant that all who journeyed to Cleveland from the far places of the country had suffered great trials merely to enjoy the excitement of academic debate. Instead, the delegates indicated that their intention was to set down the principles by which party members are to be guided and to which they must conform in their struggle for Socialism.

This decision took specific form in the settlement of the controversy between the insurgent old guard and the national executive committee of the party. By sustaining the authority of the national executive committee, the delegates made it plain that they consider themselves members of a political party and not a social fraternity.

More important, however, was the express determination of the delegates to continue their relentless fight against the capitalist system of exploitation. That determination found its expression in the nomination of Norman Thomas, and the will to carry on an aggressive campaign against the standard-bearers of the capitalist class—the Democratic and Republican parties.

A new battle in the age-old war with capitalism is begun. The Socialist soldiers are drawn up in disciplined ranks ready to meet the foe.

From 12 to 16—or 20?

Meeting in national convention this week, the Socialist Party selected the Socialist Call as its official campaign organ. This action makes more urgent than ever the necessity of boosting the Call to a 16-page paper.

Elsewhere in this issue, we print a list of those Party members and friends who are helping the 16-page Call drive with contributions, subscriptions and bundle orders. The drive must be intensified. It must be intensified so that the Call will be in a better position to fight the two capitalist parties in the coming election.

A number of events which hit the headlines this week prove the need for a larger, a 16-page Call:

The ultimatum sent to the Committee for Industrial Organization by the AFL is mentioned—but all too briefly.

Four important strike situations are omitted completely, due only to lack of space.

One of these strikes, that of 5,000 workers at the Portsmouth, Ohio plant of the Wheeling Steel Corp., promises to be the opening gun in the drive to organize steel. The second strike is the walkout of 4,000 workers at six plants of the mighty Remington-Rand outfit. The third is the trial in Akron, Ohio of 33 workers arrested under the Riot Act for their sit-down strike against the Goodyear Rubber Company. The fourth is the threatened walkout of shipyard workers, under the leadership of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipyard Workers, in Staten Island, N. Y.

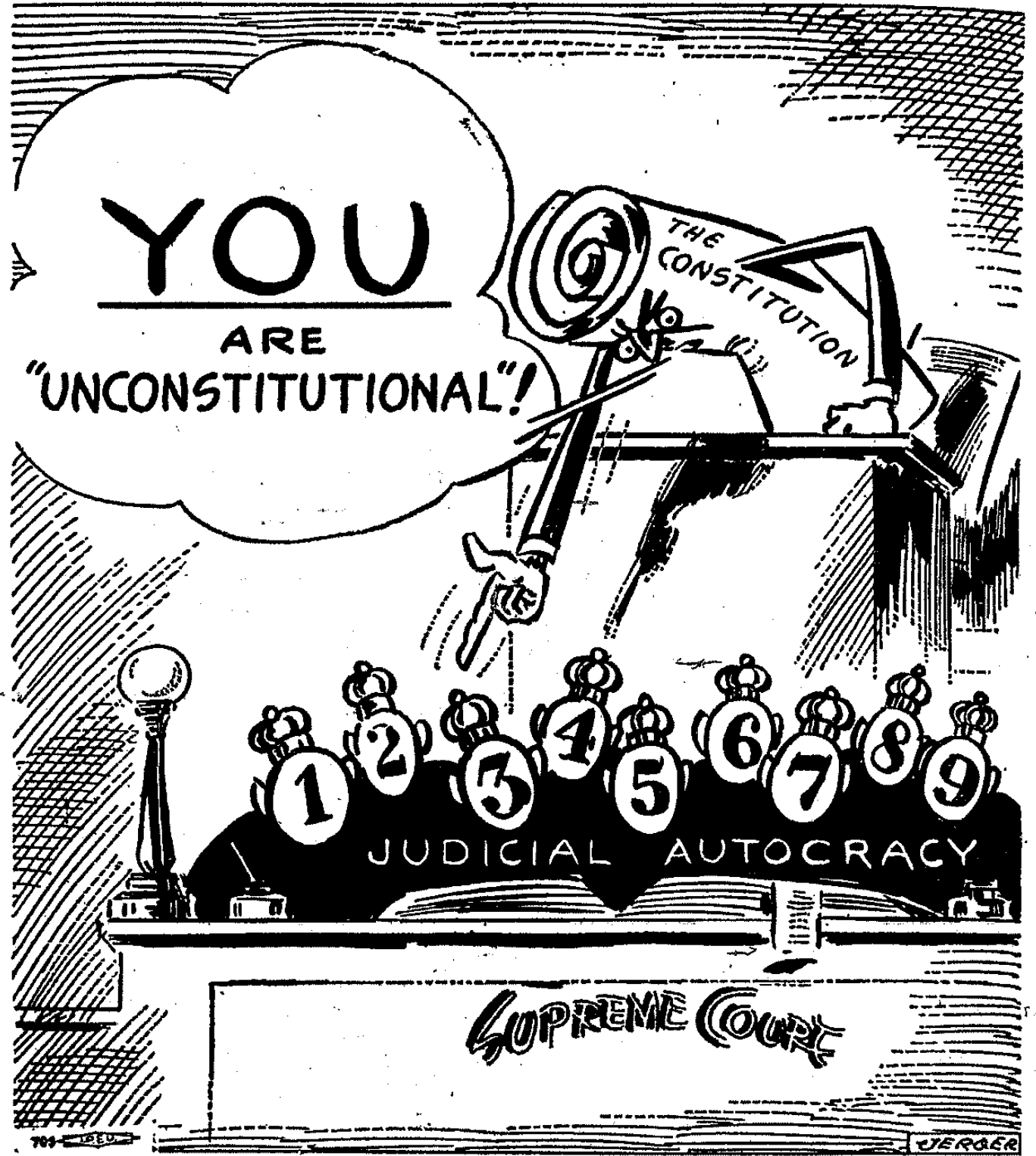
Three other important stories are omitted this week: A report on the opening sessions of the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; a story on the Black Legion, Michigan successor to the Ku Klux Klan; and a review of the Literary Digest poll of the labor press, which shows that labor is not united behind the re-election of Roosevelt.

You wanted to know about these events of the week.

We wanted to inform you of them. But twelve pages are not enough.

Friends and comrades, free us from our 12 page prison walls. Boost the Call! Give us the freedom of a 16 page Call. Or 20-pages if you dare!

Amend the Constitution



The Socialist Party opened the 1936 presidential campaign this week by adopting a platform, the main plank of which calls for an amendment to the Federal Constitution to permit the Government to own basic resources and industries.

"End the powers usurped by the Supreme Court," says the Socialist Party, "by passing the Farmers' and Workers' Rights' Amendment, already introduced into both houses of Congress."

From Birdseed to Boosting Call

By McAlister Coleman

(Wherein the Radburn Raconteur appears one page earlier than usual—Ed.)

Hail from the home front to our candidates, Norman and George. And here's doffing my columnar cap to the rank and file delegates at Cleveland who did a swell job. Now it's up to us boys and girls, to see to it that every bit of Socialist integrity, courage and enthusiasm is aligned back of these two men who are going to take the message of a new and finer world to America.

We have a splendid platform. We have candidates who can drive home to the dumbest the revolutionary message of Socialism, and we have a grand crop of enemies.

Norman has lined against him renegades from the Socialist party who have to be fed birdseed and cuttlefish before they will stand up and sing "The Internationale" and who are now hanging around that great center of proletarian activity, Tammany Hall. He has against him the riding bosses of the South who figure that the New Deal is a mandate to run around in hoods lynching sharecroppers.

He has naturally against him the Fat Boys of the Liberty League, the mob of mugs who now think Al Smith is a hot baby, although when Al ran last time they went around saying that his wife would probably use a knife when she ate peas in the White House. He is also opposed by landlords, hijackers, scab herders, the Bergoff Boys and Mr. Mark Sullivan of the Herald Tribune.

There could be no finer tribute to a man than to have a bunch like this against him.

May both Norman and George make the kind of campaign that

we think they will make, come out foursquare against the forces which are making life intolerable for the majority of Americans, and take socialism the country over on its path towards a true industrial democracy.

Lack of Space

We had some pretty deep thoughts about life in general, the relations of man to his universe and why cats are more interesting than human beings, but all these have to be omitted from this column due to lack of space owing to the fact that this is a necessarily limited paper—unless you comrades out there make it the mouthpiece that you want.

Blanks were mailed out from the headquarters of the Socialist Call last week, which contained spaces for you to cover with the names of your friends and comrades in shop, branch meeting, gathering places of workers—wherever you happen to be with in this week. It is imperative that these blanks be filled out and sent back to us with cash in whatever shape those with whom you are in contact can dig it up. The Socialist Call, your paper, must

be built into the weapon that you want forged for this coming presidential campaign.

We have two ideal candidates, a platform which will appeal to every aware-minded American. We have, in short, everything except the one thing needed to send our revolutionary Socialist message to the masses of this country. And that one thing is money.

Your paper, the Socialist Call, has been made the official campaign organ for 1936. Delegates at Cleveland recognized the importance of the widest and most intensive distribution of the Call. Wherever they came together, the necessity of enlarging and promoting the Call was a subject of interested discussion.

We cannot, however, continue the publication of this essential dynamo to a movement that will be significant for the workers of America without your self-sacrificing support.

THERE IS ONE THING THAT YOU MUST DO AND DO IT IMMEDIATELY, THAT IS SEND BACK THOSE FILLED-OUT CONTRIBUTION BLANKS, THOSE SUBSCRIPTIONS—AND SEND THEM BACK TODAY!

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NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE

"I Break Strikes": Waddell Battles Strikers In Michigan Backwoods

By EDWARD LEVINSON

SAMUEL GOMPERS, summoning the great righteous and forthright language of which he was a past master, paid Bergoff what the strikebreaker felt to be a great compliment. It came soon after the Philadelphia strike of 1910. The labor leader, appearing before a committee of the United States Senate, denounced detective agencies with all the fury he could command. By way of illustration he offered a letter written by Bergoff.

To this measure of public recognition, Bergoff added the title of "Red Demon" bestowed on him by a reporter for the Chicago Tribune. He had appeared at the office of the Chicago traction company amid the "air of mystery" that should properly surround a detective. But "his red hair and his diamond ring, which is so large that it might be mistaken for the Kohinoor, marked him as no other than Red Bergoff." Having been discovered, Bergoff said he "might as well come through."

Not lacking in imagination, he informed the reporter that in the old days when Jim Farley ran the first car through a mob of strikers, Bergoff was always behind him collecting the fares.

Red Demon
"They call me the 'Red Demon' back east," he suggested.

The confidence and lively imagination which Bergoff showed in his sales letter and his talk with the Chicago reporter were rewarded by responses from other companies. From the end of the Philadelphia strike to 1922 Bergoff knew but a month or two of idleness in each year. During 1910 he was retained by the Adams and Wells-Fargo express companies, by the Delaware & Lackawanna, Lehigh Valley and Baltimore & Ohio Railroads, by the Trenton Street Railway, the Central Railroad of Vermont, the Lykens Valley, Pennsylvania, Construction Company, the Delaware and Hudson and three large electrical companies in New York.

Police Particular
The express drivers' strike, centering in New York and Jersey City, was a major campaign. For this strike, Bergoff hired a three-story stable at 72 Trinity Place, Manhattan, and filled it with some 2,000 finks and nobles. He bivouacked others at railroad yards in Jersey City, though here his finks were mortally offended. Police assigned to guard them from strikers refused to eat their food, or, when acceptable food was brought in, to sit down with them. The policemen said the finks behaved like a collection of swine and threatened to quit unless they were given separate sleeping quarters.

Wherever the Bergoff army went, there was violence, with his nobles always in the forefront of the fray. They enjoyed a charmed immunity, however, which was natural considering the wealth and power of their retainers. Where the workers struck back, attempting to meet fire with fire, they usually came out second best. There seemed to be two kinds of law: one for the Bergoff strikebreakers and another for the strikers.

Five thousand Hungarian and Slav laborers quit work in June of 1912, at five large Perth Amboy factories, among them the plant of the American Smelting and Refining Company. The appearance of five hundred Bergoff nobles and finks on June 12 brought fighting during which the nobles, firing from the roof of the American plant, shot three men.

Four Killed
The next day four strikers were killed as they and their fellows gathered in front of the plant. Stones and repartitions of the

Next Week

Gunmen, deputized by the State of Colorado, killed strikers of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, Rockefeller owned, and John D., Jr., said: "I know that my father has followed the events of the last few months in connection with the fuel company with unusual interest and satisfaction." Read the full story of the frightful Ludlow Massacre in the tenth of these selections from Edward Levinson's book, "I Break Strikes," in the Call next week.

strikers were met with bullets from the nobles who had been sworn in as deputy sheriffs. The strikers, in retreat, were hunted for a quarter of a mile until they took refuge in swamps. The New York Times reported:

"As a result of the encounter, many of the deputies appeared to lose their heads and several scattering volleys were fired from time to time with the evident intention of discouraging any of the strikers who might muster up sufficient courage to return."

Later that day the guards, still apparently out of their heads, shot a number of non-strikers, "all members of respected families of the city," the Times said. "As a result of the last shooting the city has been thrown into a state of indignation."

Killing "Unnecessary"
Coroner James J. Flynn declared that the killings had been entirely unnecessary. There had been no danger to life or property. He called upon the prosecutor to punish the guards who had done the shooting. The prosecutor declared that it would be impossible to fix responsibility for the deaths.

The battle at the coal docks of the Erie and New York & Susquehanna railroads at Edgewater is best remembered by the Bergoff organization for Leo Bergoff's reported narrow escape from death. Five Italian families remember it for the long jail terms meted out to their breadwinners.

One hundred and fifty Bergoff nobles and finks were packed in a ferryboat which had landed at the docks. With Leo Bergoff shepherding the flock, they started to disembark when shots rang out from the heights of the Palisades opposite the piers. Captain A. J. Crow of the Erie police and Clarence Mallory, a Bergoff noble, were killed, while Leo Bergoff scurried to safety under some railroad cars.

The two hundred strikers immediately fled the vicinity. For days thereafter none were apprehended. Finally the police resorted to the seizure of their homes and simple belongings. Whoever returned to claim his property was seized as a suspect.

A Privileged "Calling"
Ten Italian laborers were placed on trial. The only witnesses against them were Bergoff nobles and finks, particularly J. C. Walsh. One of the counsel for the strikers was denounced as an I. W. W. and thrown out of court by the presiding judge.

Meanwhile all the Bergoff witnesses testified with unwavering certainty that the men who had fired from the Palisades used shotguns and rifles. They were confounded by the testimony of Colonel William A. Tamm, in-

spector of rifle practice for the New Jersey National Guard who examined the bullets and said they had, beyond a doubt, come from Smith & Wesson .38 caliber revolvers.

Considering the contradictory testimony, the jury brought in a compromise verdict. It acquitted five of the strikers and sent the other five to jail for terms ranging from eight to thirty years.

At Edgewater two guards had been killed and the justice meted out to the strikers held responsible was speedy and severe; four Perth Amboy strikers had been slain in a manner held by the city authorities to be wanton, but no one was punished for it. The Red Demon and his nobles had proper cause to feel impressed with the privileged nature of their calling.

"I would as soon have 'Lefty Louie' and 'Gyp the Blood' in my employ as peace officers as James Waddell."

Thus James McNaughton, general manager of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, sought in August of 1914 to dismiss reports that he had retained Waddell men to act as deputies in the great North Michigan copper strike. The Waddell whom McNaughton so contemptuously classed with New York gunmen just convicted of the slaying of Herman Rosenthal, the gambler, was soon to become the partner of Pearl L. Bergoff.

Waddell Methods
The special technique which Waddell brought to the Bergoff agency in 1915 was best illustrated by his work during the Calumet & Hecla strike in the Michigan backwoods during 1913 and 1914. Fifteen thousand copper miners, organized into the Western Federation of Miners, walked out on July 23, 1913, in protest against their work-day of ten and a half hours, their wages of less than twenty dollars a week, and the company's insistence that each man keep pace with a mining machine.

Waddell was on the scene two weeks before the strike, and he sold the supervisors of Houghton County the idea of using his nobles to "train" the deputies. Sheriff James A. Cruse accepted the plan "because of the impossibility of finding men for the purpose locally."

Nobles Imported
Two of the companies hired fifty-seven Waddell-Mahon men direct, while others imported nobles from the Ascher Detective Agency in New York and the Pinkertons. "The bringing in of these outside men incensed the strikers more than anything else that happened during the strike," said a report of the strike made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The finks were armed. With the transference of police authority to the Waddell-Mahon nobles and their deputies, strike meetings and parades were attacked. Prisoners were beaten in jail and in the streets. Waddell, himself, took over the sheriff's office, the government report related.

Beat Strikebreakers
The Waddell-Mahon men aroused the hatred of the populace by their treatment of strikebreakers who had been enticed to the mines from New York and Chicago by false promises. Most of them were German aliens and could not read the contracts they had signed before they were shipped. They had been assured no strike was in progress. On their arrival they made every effort to desert. Waddell men arrested and beat them. Owners were terrified by them.

During all this period, says the government report, there was never any menace to company property from the strikers. They confined themselves to meetings, picketing and parades. Joined by women and children, they marched behind American flags. One parade carried a sign:

Toiling 6,000 feet below, we want more light, more money, Western Federation of Miners' Headquarters: Denver. Calumet & Hecla Headquarters: Boston. Waddell thugs' headquarters: Sing Sing.

Soldiers Drunk
The militiamen, or some of them, joined with the Waddell-Mahon nobles in stirring up trouble. Strikers were dispersed by bayonets and mounted soldiers who rode through the crowds. The soldiers were not kept under any great discipline.

"The result," says the government report, "was that crowds of privates were daily seen on the streets, they visited saloons, and many of them became intoxicated, and some carried revolvers while they were in an intoxicated condition."

The Waddell-Mahon men completely outdid the soldiers, however, and on August 15 brought lasting fame to their agency,

John Kollan, a striker, had attempted to use a short-cut path on company property, a path which he had traversed daily before the strike. A deputy reported this transgression to Captain Jack (Josh) Cooper of the Waddell-Mahon detachment. The report of the Federal government relates the subsequent events:

"Two deputies and four Waddell men then went to (Kollan's) boarding house. . . . One told him he was under arrest, but he broke away and ran into the house.

Two Killed
"Thereupon the Waddell men and deputies surrounded the house on two sides and began firing at the inmates through three windows and the back door. They claim that a shot was fired from the house. When the firing began there were fifteen people in the house, including two women and four children. Four men were shot and a baby in its mother's arms was powder-burned.

"Firing continued until the six men had exhausted the bullets in their revolvers. One of the men in the house, Daizig Tizau, was killed instantly, and one of the wounded men, Steve Putric, died the next day. Another one of the men was shot while he was sitting at a table eating his supper."

Hungry Jobless Take Tons Of Food From Fido's Mouth



One doggie getting his daily shower before trotting off to dinner at the new, palatial \$100,000 canine home built by the Chicago Anti-Cruelty Society. Oh, for a dog's life—but not dog food, is the way some jobless put it.

WASHINGTON. One hundred million cans of dog food are eaten annually by human beings in the United States!

This amazing fact was disclosed as Senator Dickinson of Iowa delivered a speech slamming the New Deal philosophy of scarcity. Dickinson, a tail-end candidate for the Republican nomination for the presidency, did not suggest that the government find jobs for workers too poor to afford any food but that prepared for canine pets, but rather that all dog food be inspected and approved by the Department of Agriculture.

L. J. Becker, former secretary of the National Dog Food Manufacturers' Association, has estimated that 20 per cent of the entire output of 500,000,000 cans of dog food is consumed by hu-

man beings too poor to buy meat.

"The interesting thing about the dog food business is its unprecedented prosperity," Dickinson declaimed. "Its production has increased by leaps and bounds for no apparent reason. There has been neither a sudden rise in the birth rate in dogdom nor changes in dog appetites. The increase in dog food consumption can be accounted for because it was, and is today, being used for human beings."

"Now the alarming fact is," Dickinson told the astonished Senators, "not that men and women have actually been compelled to eat food prepared for dogs, but that only 15 of the 200 plants manufacturing such food are under the regular inspection of the Department of Agriculture."

National Convention Ends Party Conflict

CLEVELAND.—The national convention of the Socialist Party of the United States representing the Socialist membership throughout the country finally put an end to the internal party dissension, occasioned during the past two years by the refusal of old guard New York elements to abide by the decisions of the national organization.

By the decisive weighted membership vote of 9,449 to 4,809, the delegates voted to support the action of the National Executive Committee in suspending the charter of the Old Guard state committee of New York and seating the delegates of the reconstituted party. This action was supported by the important sections of the party.

The Wisconsin delegation, one of the strongest in the convention, voted solidly to support the report of the NEC, acting under the party constitution as credentials committee, that the New York delegates registered with the party, be seated. This action came after a Wisconsin proposal to give 32 delegates to the New York organization and 12 to the Old Guard, on the basis of the primary elections, had been defeated.

"While I was not present at the meeting of the National Executive Committee, I believe that the action of the NEC (at Philadelphia, suspending the N. Y. charter) was the only thing it could do," said Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, leader of the Wisconsin delegation.

A proposal brought by the Reading delegation for a fifty-fifty division of the N. Y. delegation was defeated by the vote of 11,097 to 3,537. The 32-12 proposition failed by 10,201 to 4,893. A proposal by O Neal, Old Guard leader, to seat his followers, failed by 9,322 to 4,397.

O. G.'s On Stage

James O Neal, minority member of the NEC, who had been declared by the NEC ineligible to function as a member because he was no longer a party member, having failed to register as such in New York, was permitted to continue in office in order that a minority report might be presented. He read a lengthy statement condemning the national organization.

In the midst of his two-hour statement, 44 old guardists demanded a place in the convention hall. On motion of Norman Thomas, they were seated on the platform.

When O Neal had finished, Devere Allen spoke for the NEC, and then Louis Waldman, old guard leader, addressed the convention for an hour. He defended himself against charges of violating party discipline, claiming that he had the right to use the capitalist press to present his

point of view in attacking the decisions of the national organization, arguing on the basis of freedom of the press.

He Hates Fiorello

He denied that his administration had been friendly to the LaGuardia administration in accepting political appointments. In answer to charges that he and his colleagues had been flirting with the idea of supporting Roosevelt for president, he contended that Norman Thomas had once written that the New Deal is "a revolution of a sort." He contended that the charter of the New York organization had been revoked without a hearing.

Thomas pointed out that the state committee of the old guard had been given many opportunities to be heard. "The state committee dodging by advice of able lawyers, official representation, was always unofficially represented, and the group said privately and often abusively the things that it would not say publicly in defense of its own acts."

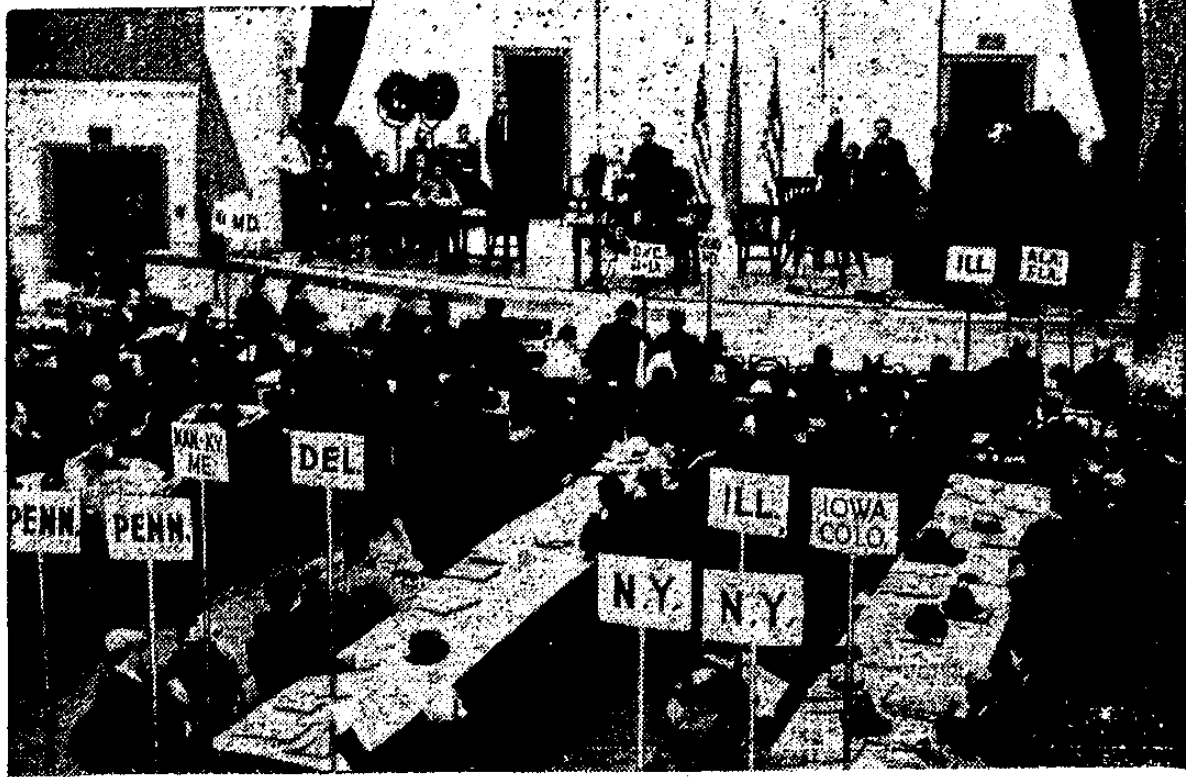
He attacked Waldman for having used the courts against the party, attempting by court orders and injunctions to keep the party off the primary ballot.

Demanding that Waldman give a definite answer to the question of whether he would support Roosevelt or not, Thomas said, "I think it was highly significant that in that long, carefully-prepared, able speech by Louis Waldman, he never said categorically, 'Under no circumstances am I going to support Roosevelt, tacitly or openly.'"

Answering Waldman's attack on the Declaration of Principles, Thomas said: "From the Atlantic to the Pacific I have yet to find any serious attack on the declaration of principles or any serious capitalist inference that we are a party of violent insurrection that is not based directly or indirectly, not upon the declaration of principles, but upon the things that Louis Waldman said about it. He did add that he would be glad to defend any of us, which I think was fair of him, because after all, he was doing a great deal to get us in a position where we would need defense. And who could better defend us, perhaps, than the one who had made this particular situation?"

Both Lee and Waldman insisted that they would accept no compromise, that they must be seated with all their 44 delegates.

Altman, speaking for the New York delegation, declared that



Scene in the convention hall at Cleveland when Socialists nominated their presidential ticket and prepared for their biggest campaign since the days of the immortal Debs.

because the old guard could not control the party, "because the members of the Socialist Party will not tolerate men of that kind as leaders of the organization, they are determined to split the party."

Although the old guard faction spent more money and time to destroy the Socialist Party than they have ever spent building it, and though we have no money, we have something of much more value. We have the will to work, and the will to build."

Several hours of discussion gave the delegates an opportunity to express their points of view.

Powers Hapgood, NEC member from Indiana, reviewed the history of NEC meetings, describing the many opportunities given the old guard to settle the issue amicably. He indicated that at the Boston meeting in 1934, complaints in writing were already before the NEC, that several months later at Buffalo, the same situation was discussed and that the old guard had refused to appear in answer to a summons by the NEC, that a peace pact which had been decided upon in New York at the following meeting was broken, that the NEC still had before it charges of violating the Buffalo decision—that the old guard was aware of it all, and that at Philadelphia the old guard still refused to appear.

The action then taken, he declared, still gave the old guard equal representation; no one was expelled; all members had an opportunity to take part in the elections, but the old guard had refused, knowing that it would meet defeat on the basis of a democratic vote.

Jasper McLevy, of Bridgeport, defending the old guard, denied that the NEC had a right to intervene in New York, insisting that "states have the right to decide their own policies within their own states."

Jesse Holmes, of Pennsylvania, in an address greeted with a huge ovation, asked: "Do you believe that the NEC members whom we elected have changed overnight, are planning a general insurrection, have decided to become Communists? If you do, I hardly know how to characterize you." Though he disagreed with the Detroit Declaration, Holmes said: "Can we not realize that any organization like ours that would come into success must have discipline? We must dedicate ourselves to our cause. I have very few years to live, but in the time that I have, I do so dedicate myself."

Arthur G. McDowell, of Illinois, condemned the old guard for sabotaging the national organization. He attacked the position of Jasper McLevy, referring to him as the sales-tax mayor.

Delegate Harlow of Massachusetts denounced the campaign of vilification conducted by Waldman and his group. "I'd rather be shot with Norman Thomas," he said, "than be vice-president with a capitalist politician." Referring to a rumored walk-out by old guard delegates, he condemned those who speak for democracy and then refuse to abide by the democratic majority.

Reading Supports N. Y.

Pennsylvania delegates then joined the discussion, Miles Williams and Raymond Hofses of Local Berks supporting the old guard, and Ralph Bigony, Reading organizer, supporting the New York delegation.

Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee launched an attack on the old guard. He condemned the old guard's refusal to compromise and denounced them for disregarding democratic decisions. "This fight has not started in the last two years. In some states we had sense enough to make concessions to younger elements. But the old guard in New York said, 'We've been here before and we'll be here in the future and to hell with you.'"

Hoan continued, "The NEC has not violated the constitution. We tried every means of finding a settlement." He then proposed his compromise of 32 to 12, based

on the primary vote, recalling that the old guard had elected to carry the fight into the primaries.

Denounces Red Baiting

The closing argument was made by Roy Burt of Illinois, who had been a member of the special committee investigating the New York situation. He characterized the old guard as utterly without humor, referring to O Neal's interpretation of derisive applause during his statement as proof of communism. He denounced the old guard as red-baiters, "qualified to keep company with Mistress Dilling and Hearst." He recalled that the old guard, which claims it never had a hearing, had refused to appear before the NEC committee investigating New York and had even ordered party members not to give information.

Mayor Hoan's proposal for a 32 to 12 division required that the old guard state that they would accept the discipline of the New York organization recognized by the NEC before they could be seated. Requests from the floor that the old guard indicate its acceptance of the compromise brought no reply.

Enthusiastic singing closed the session, interrupted by a disturbance occasioned by the refusal of Algernon Lee and Louis Waldman to rise during the singing of the "International," in answer to greetings from Alexander Coville on behalf of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

Resolution on Armed Insurrection

(Adopted by the National Convention as an Addition to the Declaration of Principles.)

The ability of the Socialist party to continue rule and build Socialism once it has won political power, will depend upon the active support of the masses of the nation. The Socialist party, therefore, firmly believes in the strengthening and maintenance of existing democratic institutions through which the Socialist will of the masses may be cultivated and expressed. The advocacy of a policy of armed insurrection by a minority against a stable state machinery is romantic impossibility, entirely inconsistent with membership in the Socialist party. Advocacy of such a policy is rejected by the Socialist party.

The Socialist party, however, will never surrender cheaply the human liberties and democratic rights for which generations of American workers have paid so dearly, nor will it permit the will of the masses to be frustrated by fascist dictatorship. In defense of the workers' rights and in enforcement of the democratically expressed will of the masses, the Socialist party calls upon the workers to stand ready to meet reactionary violence with every means at their disposal.

Mooney Salute Marks Socialist Convention

The following telegram from Tom Mooney was received by the Socialist Party Convention:

Please accept my firm fraternal Socialist greetings from tomb of living dead for a successful convention. May your deliberations prove of great benefit in furtherance of the aims and object of the Socialist Party. Surely the bitter mistakes of our German and Italian comrades will be avoided and the splendid example set by our comrades in France and Spain will be a beacon light to guide your course.

Don't forget those working class soldiers who have fallen on the industrial battlefield or been taken prisoners in the class war. We have spent a score of years in California dungeons because of our loyalty and devotion to the working class. I urge the Socialist Party participate together with the trade union movement in demonstrating July 27 commemorating twentieth year of our imprisonment. We are desperately in need of immediate funds to complete present hearings on habeas corpus. Won't you help us. My warmest proletarian regards to all the delegates attending this momentous Socialist convention.

Comradely yours,

(Signed) TOM MOONEY.



Norman Thomas:

SPEECH AT CONVENTION DINNER IN ACCEPTANCE OF NOMINATION

It is a great and sobering honor to be nominated by the Socialist Party for the third time as its standard bearer in the national campaign of 1936. It adds a sentimental value to that honor that it comes to me in my native state.

I am deeply pleased that my colleague on the ticket is that upstanding "dirt farmer," that wise and gallant leader and spokesman of the working farmers, George Nelson of Wisconsin. His name on the ticket is a guaranty that Socialism is not the hope merely of workers in the cities but also of those who toil in that most elemental of all human occupations, the raising of the food by which we live. To farmers as to city workers, to those who toil in mine, mill, factory, office or profession, Socialism comes not to destroy but to fulfill, not to take away homes and the honest pride of just possession, but rather to make them more secure.

I speak of the honest pride of just possession. That is the pride of the carpenter who owns his tools, the farmer who tills his own land, the musician who pours out his soul in the music of his violin. It is not and cannot be the pride of the absentee landlord or the owner of stocks and bonds, through which he asserts a claim on others' toil. It is this type of ownership characteristic of the profit system which we must change to a collective and co-operative ownership of the great resources and tools by which men live if ever we are able to conquer poverty and to plan for abundance.

Our Problems Those of Mankind

It is a great thing which we dare to do. We oppose to the massed resources of Republican captains of industry, to the political power and the public purse in the possession of the Democrats, the might of a great faith, of a logical analysis of the diseases of our time, and a sure philosophy for building the co-operative commonwealth in which is our hope.

We are told by many voices, among them the voice of labor leaders who once dared proclaim a nobler message, that the best the workers can do is to rally to Roosevelt against reaction. To this we make two answers: First, that Mr. Roosevelt has not delivered us from poverty, exploitation and war. In short, that the New Deal has not worked. And second, that even if the temporary achievements of the New Deal were infinitely greater than they are it could not long deliver us against the relentless threat of a disintegrating civilization, to war or a new cycle of wars, to a new birth of tyranny in a Fascist form. It is not the Old Deal that has failed or the New Deal that has failed, but the capitalist nationalism of which both are the expression.

Look to the facts. More than 12,000,000 unemployed. A 36 per cent increase last year in the profits of great corporations, a 2 1/2 per cent increase in employment, and no increase at all in the average real wage of the average worker. A sixth of our population is on relief. A steadily mounting burden of debt. An outlay for military expenditures this year greater than the entire

cost of the Federal government in any year up to the World War. There is not a single economist or social analyst of repute who dares to affirm that there are now in operation political and economic forces to make new war unlikely or the danger of fresh economic catastrophe remote.

Roosevelt or reaction? What does that phrase mean to the exploited peons of the cotton fields or to the slaves of Florida's flogging belt, whose first rays of hope have come not from the rising of any Democratic sun? Just what does that phrase mean in the land of loyalty oaths, of lynchings still unpunished under any Federal law, of a steady shift of taxation by sales taxes of one form or another to the backs of the poor? Roosevelt or reaction? Just what does that mean in a land where little children are hungry and the best he could think of to do was to subsidize scarcity at public expense and call it prosperity?

Sum Total Not Prosperity

To this, some of Mr. Roosevelt's labor advocates will reply, "But Mr. Roosevelt is vastly better than any Republican; he would be better still if it were not for the veto power of the Supreme Court and for the restraints of the Democratic party. Our support of him is personal, it is not a support of his party, but is consistent with a gradual effort to give him a somewhat more radical Congress than his own party offers."

Well, let us see. No one can have less confidence than I in the Republican party nor in any candidate it may nominate. It will, however, be a practical impossibility in the miraculous event of his election to abandon Federal relief or to repeal all the Roosevelt social legislation. A Republican President can scarcely depend more on war preparation or do less to take the profits out of war and preparation for war. He probably will be less friendly to organized labor, and for that very reason may force the workers more surely to depend upon their own strength.

Supreme Court Crux of New Deal

As for the Supreme Court, the most significant sign of Mr. Roosevelt's essential weakness, or perhaps I should say of the price demanded of him by the political and economic system which he supports, is his utter failure up to now to give us a clear lead concerning whatever plans he may have to make democracy constitutional and to emancipate us from a judicial oligarchy. He has criticized the Constitution and the court, but not constructively. The chances are good that his first appointment to the Supreme Court bench may be no other than Joe T. Robinson, representative of the cotton planters and the power magnates in the South. And this is the price labor will get for its support!

Or is it possible that Mr. Roosevelt merely waits for Socialists to popularize the farmers' and workers' rights amendment before he takes it over? If that is the price, my wise, statesman-like, practical, labor friends, why not help us collect it by supporting the Socialist campaign, which will play up this Federal amendment to the Constitution?

But, perhaps, the greatest of all illusions is the notion that it is possible to support Roosevelt and not support the Democratic party, or to support the Democratic party in name but change its nature. That that could be done was the great "discovery" of our old friend Upton Sinclair. The other day he sang his swan song. At the last primaries he lost by a 7 to 1 vote. The party which he had boasted that he had captured he lost to no other than the old-line politician Senator McAdoo, who had the support of Farley and Roosevelt.

Roosevelt Tied To Donkey

It is impossible to support Roosevelt and not his party. He who votes for Roosevelt must vote for Garner, and then if he is a Progressive, pray with more devotion than an orthodox Moslem, morning, noon and night, "God save the President." The President has not tried to divorce himself from the aggregation of politicians which Farley keeps in some sort of order for him at the expense of the well nigh complete prostitution of the principle of civil service. For almost four years we have spent billions on public works, millions of it on boondoggling, while our people still live in shacks and slums, and the inadequate Wagner housing bill is not even on the President's "must list."

The President, presumably, has believed in the Federal anti-lynching bill, but has not dared to force it. Presumably he believes in a genuine pure food and drug act; he has not dared to force it. Presumably he does not believe in night riding in Alabama and Arkansas, vigilantes in California, military law in Indiana, the expulsion of little children who, because of their parents' religious scruples, do not salute the flag in Massachusetts, or in flogging and murder in Florida. But the President, author of the New Deal, the great hope of labor against reaction, has done nothing and said nothing. He is a Democrat.

Very soon the old party conventions will meet. The Republicans here in Cleveland will curse Roosevelt and the New Deal with all the stupidity of French Bourbons, who by some concessions might have prolonged their ignoble dynasty before the fall of the Bastille. But they will have nothing positive to offer. They cannot agree on anything. If they could agree on a program of orthodox capitalist economics which vaguely they will profess, they would not dare to enforce it and it would not work. The best they hope is an impossible return to the times of Calvin Coolidge, which were an inevitable prelude to disaster, and their hope is a vain thing.

Socialist Objective Recognizes Reality

Against all this, what have we Socialists to offer? A diagnosis of the causes of war, poverty and exploitation, in the very nature of the system organized in loyalty to the twin gods of private profit and absolute nationalism. We proclaim the possibility of planned economy for the conquest of property. Under such an economy no able-bodied adult will live without working and none shall seek work in vain. For the young, the old and the invalid there will be security. Men will

hail with delight each new invention, knowing that it will help in the supplying of abundance and leisure, not in making jobs less secure and war more deadly. There will be a nobler culture than the culture of an acquisitive society, a culture made possible in a fellowship of freemen where glory goes to the creator and not to the exploiter.

I am not talking in terms of beautiful but vague ideals. I am talking of what can be in a society where our resources are socially owned and the best brains we have are put to planning not for the profit of a few but for the abundance for all. To accomplish this great end it is our declared purpose to gain power in the name of workers with hand and brain over the machinery of the state and to use that power for the establishment of a new social order. Socialism is not the sum total of useful reforms, however useful some of them may be. It is a new system of public ownership and democratic management of our economic resources and processes.

To say this is entirely consistent with the earnest advocacy of social insurance, housing for the masses, the shorter work-week to help in the struggle against unemployment, a code of workers' rights and a program for the prevention of war. Our plan for its orderly achievement requires constitutional amendments especially in respect to the abomination of courts which deny the government power to act in behalf of the workers.

These plans we shall develop carefully during the campaign which will follow. We shall talk specifically on problems and issues which I have scarcely mentioned tonight. We are out to win votes in an American political campaign, but we are out for something bigger than that, something which no mere number of votes can ever give. And that is to win men and women to a new hope, to a new vision of a new way of life, and to effective organization to make man's ancient dream of a world of peace and plenty, freedom and fellowship at last come true.

Press Table Comment At the Convention

One of the signs of the growth in prestige and influence of the Socialist Party during the past four years was the attention paid it by those artists in clay who dabble in the public mind—the radio and the newspapers. The first session of the convention was nothing more or less than a magnificent and colorful show, specially prepared and staged for the benefit of those hundreds of thousands who listened in. And, believe me, it was a really effective demonstration.

The press table was graced by some of the biggest names in the newspaper world. More than 100 reporters were accredited to it by efficient and active Hy Fish—among these many sent to Cleveland from Washington, D. C.

An oft-repeated prediction passed around the press table was that the second Roosevelt administration would be far more reactionary and anti-labor than even the second Wilson administration. One of the observers declared that "J. Edgar Hoover would make Mitchell Palmer look like a small-town piker!"

The convention was NOT greeted by the mayor of Cleveland—he is Harold H. Burton, spokesman for the local Chamber of Commerce.

A point in dispute in the Convention which was not settled was whether more pulchritude was offered by the New York or Cleveland Young Socialists.

George Lansbury, the British Socialist and absolute pacifist, endeared himself to the hearts of even the most outspoken revolutionaries present by his obvious and sincere love of humanity. Of him, as of Karl Marx, it could be said that "nothing human is alien."

Speaking of united fronts, a strange one existed in conversation at the press table between Jay Lovestone, representing (no fooling!) the Workers Age, and Joseph Shaplen (whom you know as John Powers of the New Leader) representing the New York Times. There were no casualties.

The Socialists were used as "guinea pigs" by the National Broadcasting System in trying out a short-wave portable mike pick-up that the NBC is preparing for the Republican and Democratic Conventions. It wasn't a howling success except for those moments when

static made it literally howl. Mrs. Norman Thomas again made herself the special object of mystery by attending each convention session—even far into the night and continually plying her



Mrs. Thomas

knitting needle. This reporter discovered precisely what she was knitting—a sweater suit for Paul Norman Senior, 7 months old son of the Party's national secretary.

Four tremendous oil paintings in black-and-white, nine feet square, draped the side walls. They portrayed those famous leaders of Socialism, Karl Marx, Gene Debs, Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit.

The Chair was assisted in keeping order in the sometimes turbulent hall by a huge gavel presented to the convention by a branch in Local Berks County (Reading), Pennsylvania. "Workers of the World Unite" was the inscribed slogan on the gavel, which could barely be lifted.

Greetings were read from the Cigarmakers Joint Council of Tampa, Florida—a union founded and begun by the late Sam Gompers, bitter anti-Socialist in AFL,

Jail Forty Pickets In Movie - Town's New Farm Strike

LOS ANGELES. — Pleasure riders and sight see-ers lined the highway in the Palos Verdes Hills last week as forty men and women, including seven members of the Young People's Socialist League, were arrested while picketing in the strike of 5,000 agricultural workers. They were charged with violation of Section 604 of the Penal Code—destruction of crops and trespassing.

The strike of agricultural workers in the celery and bean fields of Los Angeles County is entering its seventh week. A central strike committee, composed of representatives from the Mexican, Filipino, Japanese and American union has been conducting the strike. An Agricultural Relief and Defense Committee has been set up by the Socialist Party of Los Angeles to furnish pickets, raise strikers' relief and furnish legal defense.

This is the first attempt to organize the agricultural workers of California since the convictions in the criminal syndicalism trial in Sacramento last year. The strikers seek 30 cents an hour and union recognition.

Brutality and terrorism have marked the work of the police "Red Squad" during the course of the strike. Ward Rodgers, state organizer for the Socialist Party, has started a damage suit against "Red Abbot" of the Los Angeles police force for slugging him.

Time Not Ripe for Farmer-Labor Party

BUILD SOCIALIST PARTY IN 1936 TO ACHIEVE GOAL

By DANIEL W. HOAN

Following is the address on a farmer-labor party delivered before the opening session of the Socialist Party convention by Daniel W. Hoan, for twenty years Mayor of Milwaukee.

Ever since 1921 the Socialist Party has advocated the eventual formation of a farmer labor party which would draw together the unions and the farm organizations, the Socialists and the many others who had a general radical philosophy into one big political organization which would push their common economic demands.

We have believed that such a party was in keeping with the general trend of American history. The first party divisions in this country arose out of economic differences, when the Federalists represented the city interests who wanted a strongly centralized government run for their benefit and the Democrats wanted a decentralized government which would be of more benefit to the farming sections and the pioneer west.

Many years later the Republican Party was formed to represent the interests of the northern manufacturers and the merchants as opposed to the slave-owning southern Democrats. The Republicans of the north rallied around the demand for a protective tariff to protect their infant industry. The Southern slave holders through the Democratic party demanded free trade so that they could import what they needed from abroad.

As class lines are drawn more and more closely today between the owners of industry, both north and south, who are represented by both the Democratic and Republican parties, and the workers and farmers who are denied any adequate political representation, we have expected that a demand for a new party would grow up, and have looked forward to the day when it would come.

Such a party, Socialists believe, should be founded on the demand of union workers and organized farmers, large numbers of whom are ready to give it their enthusiastic support. The essential plank in its platform should be a demand for the abolition of private ownership of the principal industries, and the introduction of a system of collective ownership under which there would be production for use and not for profit.

The demand for such a party, and the understanding of the reasons for insecurity and poverty in the richest country in the world, are growing rapidly among the workers and farmers. Socialist ideas are advanced today by many who do not even know they are socialism, but merely think of them as common sense.

The situation has been somewhat confused in the past few years by the efforts of certain liberal groups to capture the Democratic party. I refer particularly to the Sinclair fiasco in California, and the similar organization in the state of Washington.

While some people who participated in these attempts have since learned how futile they were, there are some who still have hopes of making the Democratic party into a really radical organization which would tackle the fundamental economic problems that confront us.

Others have been misled by the third party talk of some disgruntled old party politicians who are anxious to capitalize on the very real grievances of the workers and farmers and get themselves into office by pledging them assistance. Local parties have been formed here and there with no substantial labor backing, with no provision for control over the organization and no consistent policy apart from the consistent opportunism of the candidates, and these parties have brought discredit to any move for genuine working class action on the political front.

The demand of the Communist Party for a farmer labor party has also served to discourage those who seek a genuine unity among large groups of workers, since experience has proven that organizations in which the communists participate are either completely dominated by them or else are diverted from their original purpose, corrupted and destroyed.

There are some labor leaders who believe that labor's interests can best be served in 1936 by supporting Roosevelt, although they desire a new party in the near future. We Socialists are convinced that they are absolutely mistaken in this policy. Roosevelt proposes to patch up capitalism without attempting to reach the roots of our economic ills. He has no wish to abolish it, and until it is abolished we cannot hope for any fundamental improvement in conditions.

What the workers and farmers need is a system of production for use. As long as they go on getting only a part of what their labor is worth, while somebody who holds a few shares of stock or the mortgage on their farm gets the rest, they won't be satisfied. Neither President Roosevelt or any other old-party politician is going to remedy that situation.

But because of the reasons I have discussed, the demand for a farmer labor party is not sufficient to warrant starting one in 1936. There are not enough of the sound substantial elements in the labor movement ready to sever all connections with the old parties and come out for a new organization based on a new economic premise. Hence the Socialist party is opposed to any move to start a party this year on a nationwide scale.

There are however some sections of the country which are more advanced than others. This is bound to be the case in a country as large as the United States, where economic conditions vary from one point to another.

In such states and sections, the spontaneous enthusiasm of these groups may force the formation of a farmer labor party now. We realize that our main goal can only be achieved by action on a nation-wide scale, but that action may be started in a few places which will feel out the way, experiment with various methods, and give the benefit of their experience to less advanced sections when they in turn are ready to organize.

We would emphatically urge that in the formation of state or

local parties certain dangers be guarded against. We must at all costs avoid forming parties that would be mere bureaucracies of job holders. That means that a rigid merit system must be maintained in selecting candidates and all appointees for public office; that the principles of production for use and not for profit must be incorporated in the platform and declaration of principles and that candidates and other party members must subscribe to this ideal; and most important of all, that the Socialist party be kept intact to exert an influence on the mass organization.

It is our firm conviction that the policies of the national government in the next four years will convince all intelligent workers and farmers that there is nothing further to be hoped for from the old parties and that a new party of their own is an absolute necessity. Local parties and the Socialist party will give continual training in tactics and will educate their own communities, giving added impetus to the national movement and forming a nucleus of experienced workers.

Meanwhile, there is only one thing for Socialist and radical workers and farmers to do, and that is to build the Socialist party. In the United States as in all other countries, the fundamental ideals of socialism, must be the basis of any new party if it is to meet the needs of the toiling millions of America. The Socialist party makes the spread of those ideals its primary aim, and its organization structure and many years of experience will hold its people firm in their understanding of fundamental economics, undisturbed by the will-o-the-wisp ideas that may frequently mislead those who are not well grounded.

There can be no better way to advance the interests of a farmer labor party than to roll up a huge Socialist vote this year, and to exert every possible effort toward spreading the ideals of socialism and the organization of workers and farmers in the Socialist party.

The reasoning which says that a big vote for Roosevelt lays the foundation for a farmer labor party seems to me completely unrealistic. A vote for Roosevelt is an endorsement of his policies in the last four years and a permit for him to go ahead with his various experiments trying to pull the capitalists out of the red.

Wherever mass labor parties have grown up in other countries, their ultimate success in achieving results of real benefit to labor has depended in the extent to which Socialist principles have penetrated them. When Socialists are dominant, they are of tremendous value; when Socialists have been in the background and their ideas have been neglected, the parties have been ineffectual and have gone down to ultimate defeat.

Both those who are bent on advancing the ideals of socialism, and those who want a mass farmer labor party in the near future, must join together now to prove the futility of the old parties and to spread socialist ideals and the socialist organization, to roll up in the oncoming national election the biggest Socialist vote ever polled.

Keynote

In his keynote address to the opening convention session, Leo Krzycki, who is a member of the general executive board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, rapped those labor leaders who are supporting Roosevelt for re-election.

"There are some labor leaders who will support Roosevelt this year. I am not among them," declared Krzycki. "I never have and never will support any candidate for President running on a Republican or Democratic ticket. 'I am convinced that Roosevelt has no intention of giving any important help to workers in their fight against profiteering industry, and I shall give my whole hearted support in word and act to the candidate for President named by the Socialist Party at this convention.'

Big Butter & Egg Boycott in Philly

PHILADELPHIA.—In the face of vicious strikebreaking tactics by the American Stores Co., more than 600 employes are holding firm for reinstatement of 56 fired workers, union recognition and arbitration of hours and wages. Immediately following the strike, the company employed scabs supplied by the Burns Detective Agency.

Active support to the strikers and their families, who are on the point of actual starvation, is being given by the Young People's Socialist League and various branches of the Socialist Party. Bands of workers are organizing themselves to collect food from merchants.

The strike was called several months ago when the company, with the aid of its extensive spy system, began to fire its workers for union activity.

Hochman Greets Party

Julius Hochman, Vice-President of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and a delegate from New York to the national convention of the Socialist Party, was prevented from attending because of a meeting of the Executive Board of his union in Los Angeles.

In his statement of regret over his unavoidable absence, Hochman called the convention "one of the most important conventions in the history of the Socialist Party."

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World Socialism

HOW NOT TO FIGHT WAR

By HERBERT ZAM

As the war danger increases the need for a clear policy to offer the working class to fight war becomes greater. We are witnessing, however, increased chaos and confusion on this question, rather than greater clarity. And nowhere is the confusion greater than in the Communist movement. Or rather no policy is more calculated to confuse the workers than the Communist policy. This is of great concern to all advanced workers, for the danger exists that the new Communist line on war will serve as a means of mobilizing the workers for war, not against it.

In the Communist Jewish Freiheit for May 19, a reader asks the following question and receives the following answer from the editor:

"2. Did Michael Gold write in the 'New Masses' that in case of a war between Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union, it would be the duty of American Communists to support the American Government against Japan?"

And the answer given is:

"If such a situation did occur where Japan should challenge the United States and the Soviet Union with the war danger and both countries would be duty-bound to help each other in case of an attack on the part of Japan, the duty of the American Communists would naturally be to support the United States in war against Japan, because that would mean support of the Soviet Union against an aggressive imperialism."

"3. In case of a war between Germany and France would it be an imperialist war only on the part of Hitler or on both sides?"

The answer:

"If Hitler should attack France, it would be, on his part, an imperialist attack, and if France would in that situation defend itself it would be a natural case of self-defense, which has nothing to do with imperialism, because imperialism means the grabbing of foreign land in the interests of capitalism at home. If, however, Germany should engage in a war with France like in the last war, because both countries want to grab something from a third, or from one another, then it would be an imperialist war."

Old Policies In New Shoes

This policy is of course not new. It is perhaps a little more honest and therefore a little more crude a formulation than is usually found, with the possible exception of Mike Gold's essays on war. Nevertheless it is a reminder that it is still the Communist policy.

The only difference between this policy and that of the social patriots in 1914 is that today the Communists try to make it sound "revolutionary," try to portray it as defense of the Soviet Union, and call upon Lenin as witness. If there is anything that Lenin continually emphasized it was that any war between imperialist countries is an imperialist war, regardless of the apparent causes, regardless of who is the "aggressor" and who the "defender" and regardless of the form of government of the countries. This is what distinguished Lenin's policy from all chauvinist and pacifist ones.

Of course the Communist policy is still suffering from internal contradictions on secondary questions. In most countries, for instance, the Communists still vote against war credits, are opposed to rearmament and conscription. This is a hang-over from the old line on war which will be eliminated as the new lines take on flesh and blood. Already certain signs of this development have appeared.

It's O. K. With Pollitt

Harry Pollitt, leader of the British Communists, in the May British Labor Monthly discusses the dangers of gas raids on London and the measures the government has initiated to guard against them, such as gas drills, bomb-proof shelters, etc. Pollitt says:

"Can the workers... take up a new... Of course... a new... to meet...? It should... gas masks..."

can be, and is being made for all war preparations. For, from any military standpoint, the best defense against air raids is not gas masks, etc., but a powerful air fleet. The best defence against raids on the coast is a powerful navy which can paralyze all raids. In other words, when war preparations of any kind are sanctioned by the working class, it surrenders the fight against militarism and against war. Pollitt's idea is only an entering wedge which all completes the new line of the Communists.

A Warning To Columnists

What happened to my column on the results of the French elections should be a warning to all columnists to stay within their assigned space. I hereby take the pledge.

(Ed. Note: The rest of the column, much to our regret, has been dropped because it ran over its allotted length.)

workers must be the very best that can be produced, and must be distributed free of charge, that any bomb-proof shelters that are constructed shall be as effectively built for the workers as for the rich in the West End of London, that gas drills shall be freed from all military control and propaganda, and that the local Labor and Peace movements shall have the responsibility for ensuring the whole of these arrangements."

This, of course, is nothing else but objective support of war preparations. The argument may be made that these proposals are aimed at protecting the workers who will be innocent victims in the war. But such an argument

Moscow May Day



A glimpse of the civilian section of the Russian May Day celebration—More than 1,500,000 workers participated in the parade through Red Square.

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Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

Within the past decade or so, our contemporaries have been discovering the consumer, that most supine of all creatures. No matter from what angle they view the consumer, the prospect is most unpleasant. They have been discovering frauds, adulterations, shoddiness, substitutions, general worthlessness everywhere in consumers' goods.

Statisticians and research workers have been as busy as the proverbial one-armed paperhanger compiling graphs and charts so that even the most illiterate can grasp this most alarming spectacle. Authors and lecturers have rallied to the defense of the consumer with spectacular exposes. Even the Federal Trade Commission's case reports read like sensational pulp fiction.

In almost every instance the deep concern these people show for the poor victim makes for the consumer a person separate and distinct from the worker. They talk as though the consumer and the worker were not one and the same.

They make a big splash about how the consumer does not get his money's worth, how he is one of a hundred million guinea pigs, and how everything he buys is counterfeit. That consumer is worker seems to have escaped them. They fail to see that the exploitation of the consumer is reverse side of the exploitation of the worker.

Coming and Going

Without wishing to belabor the point, I dare say that for every form of exploitation of workers, a counterpart can be found in the exploitation of consumers. This boss class of ours, so to speak, gets us coming and going. What it misses up on in the worker it gets from the consumer.

Take for example, any worker's income. His boss pays him as little as possible. Whatever can be stolen from the worker's wage helps profits. Having escaped the robber boss with a few dollars, the worker then faces the same robber disguised with a new mask, the robber merchant, who takes the balance of his money, giving the worker as little in return as possible. The worker is caught in the double squeeze, with King Profit pushing wages down on one side and prices up on the other.

In this profit system of ours, even the life, limb or health of the worker is of no importance. As a worker, he has to suffer long hours, unsafe working conditions, industrial disease, the speedup and stretchout, regardless of the toll it takes. So also as a consumer he has to suffer adulteration, shoddiness, even poisoning, though it kill or maim him or destroy his health. Thus does King Profit grow fat.

High Pressure

Nor is exploitation restricted to the fields of purchasing power and physical wellbeing. It is in the interests of the capitalist class to drug the mind of the worker lest he realize his plight and rise up in wrath. He is so well primed with patriotism, nationalism and the great American Myths that he cannot think clearly or intelligently about this business of making a living.

The same process spills over onto the consumer. He is assailed with high pressure, irresponsible advertising. He is so hipped with escapist amusements and diversions, so hypnotized by the fairy tales of big business scrambling for his dollar, that he cannot clearly and intelligently apply himself to the business of making his dollar go further.

Let us make no mistake about it. We won't help the working class by beating off the robbers who come to the front door, while we leave the back door open and unguarded. Nor can we protect the consumer unless we realize that he and the worker are one.

Brookwood College Announces Opening Of Summer Session

KATONAH, N. Y.—The second annual summer session at Brookwood, America's best known resident labor school, will be held from June 15 to July 2, Tucker P. Smith, director of the school, has announced.

The session will provide an intensive training in trade unionism, economics, English, public speaking, journalism and dramatics for trade unionists and others active in the labor movement. A fee of \$35 has been set for the course, to cover instruction, room and board. It is expected that, as last year, unions will set up scholarships for active workers.

"Our success last year with our first recent attempt to hold a summer school, indicates that there is a demand on the part of active trade unionists for a short summer course," Smith declared.

In addition to the courses offered, the students will be given an opportunity to hear leaders of many unions and other workers' organizations in a series of evening lectures which will be held throughout the session. The class-work will be in charge of the regular Brookwood faculty.

Increasing support of Brookwood, America's outstanding resident labor school, by international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is reflected in action taken by recent conventions of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers and the United Automobile Workers of America.

The Hosiery union established a scholarship at Brookwood in honor of Larry Hogan, hosiery worker organizer and Brookwood graduate who was killed in an automobile accident last summer; while the Auto Union voted to endorse Brookwood and accept six scholarships which had been offered to the union.

Cooperatives Show Progress

No Frontier News Service

GENEVA.—Consumers co-operatives are making steady progress regardless of (or because of?) economic and social conditions. In Bulgaria and England the co-operatives are the most important single business in the country. In the Scandinavian countries the co-operative idea has always been powerful. Now these consumer organizations are making headway elsewhere also.

Reports for 1935 indicate that co-operatives, while still insignificant in the United States, made such progress in the last year that they caused alarm in certain business groups.

In Egypt there are 676 co-operative organizations with a total membership close to 65,000. In China there are 14,649 rural co-operatives with 557,531 members. In 1933 there were 5,335 societies with 184,578 members—a remarkable growth.

BOOKS

Jack's Horror-logue Has Vivid Imagery

"Europe under the Terror," by John L. Spivak. New York: Simon and Schuster, \$2.50.

Through two hundred and some odd pages of concisely written and almost always, lucid prose, my old friend and cocktail partner, Jack Spivak, leads the romantic reader through a labyrinth of horror and Drachullan shrieks. It winds through Italy, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Poland, and is at all times an entralling adventure. Jack plays the part of the inquiring reporter, and like nature in Bryant's "Thanatopsis," "speaks a various language," so that the "dark and ignorant" peasants and toilers of all these lands make themselves remarkably understood.

But somehow or other, I arose from the book tremendously impressed with Spivak as a raconteur, and quite dull with the reality of Fascism's curse over Europe. Even if all were not really factual, as so many have expressed after reading in the Masses, original articles that comprise the book, the imagination that gives so much color to the scene in the Nazi beer garden, or to the description of the mad Jew on the farm deserves high commendation. Here is creative writing of a high estate.

I fear me, however, that Jack went across to report a horrible situation, and came back an imaginative novelist. Fact and fiction seem to be so closely interwoven in this book, and the quite obviously clipped endings of his episodes become more decorative than convincing. The business of Fascism's rape of Europe needs a narrator. In Jack Spivak it has only the harbinger of horrors still untold, and terror still to be hoisted before the inevitable judgment of outraged humanity.

If "Europe under the Terror" proves anything, it promises that America's ace reporter is on his way to become a creator in American literature.

S. A. DEWITT.

'Red Purge' Impends

TOLEDO, O., (FP)—A systematic "red purge" at Toledo University is threatened by jittery businessmen-trustees in retaliation against the successful anti-war strike conducted on the campus April 22.

At their monthly meeting shortly afterwards, the trustees condemned the peace demonstration as "communistic" and passed a long resolution calling for the suppression of all "radical and un-American" activity at the university.

SYMPOSIUM OUR STAND ON WAR.

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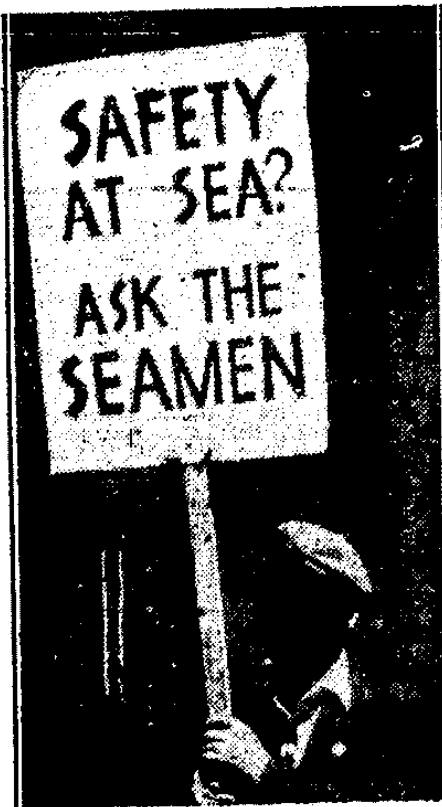
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He Knows



"The public be warned" is the slogan of striking seamen as they picket docks of the International Mercantile Marine in New York.

East New Yorkers Honor a Higgins

NEW YORK. — Turning the tables on all precedent, the East New York Branch of the Socialist Party is inaugurating an annual testimonial dinner to its unsung and unpublicized workers. The Jimmy Higgins to be honored this year happens to be feminine, Mrs. Kate Barbash, efficient secretary of the branch, who has occupied only the limelight emanating from her husband, member of the Educational Committee of Local New York.

At the dinner, given Friday evening, June 6 at the branch headquarters, 864 Sutter Avenue, Brooklyn, alleged leaders and other prominent members both of the branch and local are to act as waiters. The only speeches will be made by the "rank and file," who will pay homage to one of their number.

S. A. DEWITT.

Pioneer Youth's Camp Sponsored By Trade Unions

NEW YORK.—A unique Camp and Play School service is offered to children of union members this summer by Pioneer Youth in cooperation with a number of trade unions. Enrolled children will spend three weeks at the Pioneer Camp in the Catskills and in an all-day Play School in the city. A minimum fee will be charged.

Children in the play schools will be divided into age groups with their own teachers. The younger children will occupy themselves with toy-making, painting, singing, stories, plays and a weekly trip. Older groups will have games, crafts and sports in addition to an organized weekly trip. These trips will center around some industry, such as food, transportation, munitions and history of workers in New York. Their results will be reflected in creative writing, dramatics and art. Both groups will have swimming.

At the Pioneer Camp the children live in separate sections according to age and will have much freedom in planning their own programs. The camp also registers children not enrolled in the Play School. Special rates are offered to children of trade unionists.

For information mail or visit the Union Camp Play School Committee, 219 W. 29 Street, N. Y. C., or call PEen. 6-3055.

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Uncle Sam Steps Before the Footlights

EXPERIMENTAL THEATRE HAS HI-FALUTIN' AIMS

By PIERRE LOVING

The social viewpoint appeared in American drama at the time of its very inception, immediately following the Revolutionary War. In those days, while stern old puritans were condemning the theatre, and the playhouse was called the "Devil's Chapel" on the one hand, on the other, writers were defending the drama as a weapon to serve the cause of the young republic.

A play against the Tories was written by Mrs. Mercy Warren as early as 1775. William Dunlap, called the father of the American Theatre, championed the drama on the ground that it could be made an engine for the support of republican principles and "the improvement of the social order."

American writers deliberately struck the republican note in their plays. Royal Tyler's comedy, "The Contrast," the second American play to be given on a regular stage, represented a yeoman's reactions to the manners and customs of an effete and luxurious urban society. In this satire, Colobert Manly embodied American independence; a Yankee servant stood for contentment with "twenty acres of rock, the bible, the cow, Tabitha and a little peaceable bundling"; while the offspring of profiteering families from the city represented the follies and frailties of the smart set contemptuous of bucolic virtue and simplicity, as well as of true democracy.

Choose Vital Plays
Thus it is in an old and well-established tradition that the Experimental Theatre, under the direction of Virgil Geddes, dedicated to the production of vital, contemporary plays, with thought-provoking social themes, chose as its first play one that deals with problems that rise daily in our city public schools.

In facing the task of putting on experimental plays in an experimental manner, it seemed essential to the directors of the Experimental Theatre to shelve some items in the heritage of theatre tradition and precedent. The term "experimental" cannot, obviously, have the same meaning as, let us say, twenty years ago when the "Provincetown and the Washington Square Players" first loomed on the New York horizon. Whatever residue of value these have deposited on our doorstep, since it was good, the Experimental Theatre has absorbed in its own way; and it has sought to move on to a re-interpretation of the word "experimental" in keeping with the demands of the year 1936.

Theatre for Masses
What does experimental mean—what can it best mean in this year of a new social and ethical awareness? The keynote of 1936 is, I think, a new reorientation for the democratic process; a re-education of the popular masses through the medium of the

Going To The Theatre?

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The New Films

How the New Film Alliance sizes them up:

The Ex-Mrs. Bradford: A clever copy of *The Thin Man* with William Powell and Jean Arthur. A fast-moving and amusing detective thriller.

Dracula's Daughter: Dracula was killed, but they had to have another horror story; so they dug up a daughter. Gloria Holden is an attractive vampire, but the producers don't do quite so well this time.

Bullets or Ballots: Edward G. Robinson, supported by Humphrey Bogart, delivers good screen entertainment and a slightly more than superficial picture of organized racketeering. Under new Hays ruling, police are the heroes.

Showboat: Jerome Kern's musical comedy is delightful entertainment, despite a rather dull plot. Paul Robeson contributes a magnificent performance.

Speed: James Stewart, Wendy Barrie and Ted Healy are the unhappy actors in this pedestrian movie, in which newsreel shots of speeding cars are slyly slipped.

ing with his own clarion call, he himself wrote a number of outstanding plays of this type.

The second play in the Experimental Theatre repertory is precisely such a piece as Romain Rolland demanded for his People's Theatre. It is called "Battle Hymn" and deals with the career of John Brown of Ossawatimie who was hanged for rebellion at Harper's Ferry. John Brown, great crusader in the cause of the liberation of black slaves, defier of the Fugitive Slave Law, Quaker and pre-eminently a man of Christian conscience, is the protagonist of "Battle Hymn."

John Brown Indifferent
The authors of "Battle Hymn," Michael Gold and Michael Blankfort, are fully aware that John Brown was coerced by mammoth forces far greater than himself, even if he never realized it; the struggle of the industrial North and the agrarian South for supremacy. John Brown was indifferent to the evils of the factory towns in New England; the poverty, the squalor of the slums, the employment of child labor, which Charles Dickens had commented on in his American Notes.

The authors of "Battle Hymn," which opened May 22nd at the Experimental Theatre, 22 West 63rd Street, have reported this background as faithfully as possible, but they have also portrayed John Brown as a heroic figure who is both a product and an inspirer of democracy, freedom and justice for the people.

theatre, the screen and the public. An Experimental Theatre today means, above all, a theatre of the people. It is in these terms—namely a theatre inspired by its own audience, and dedicated to using the combined arts of the playhouse in dealing with problems that confront the people—that the Experimental Theatre conceives its purpose and true function.

Today, then, the function of an experimental theatre implies a strict coordination of all the arts and crafts within the theatre, a clear knowledge of the social direction in which that theatre is to go, so that the policy of such a theatre may be briefly set down as follows:

(1) The Experimental Theatre will produce plays by American playwrights.

(2) Plays selected will be off the beaten track of Broadway shows, unstandardized and capable of original and experimental treatment.

(3) The plays so chosen will possess vital and contemporary meaning. They will be forthright and sincere. This sincerity and integrity will be accentuated, heightened and pointed up, by a welding of all the arts and crafts of the theatre, in actual production.

(4) Keeping in mind the above indispensable and fundamental conditions, the criterion of choice will be—Is the play a good play? Is the play of such a character as to lend itself to creative and unrountinized production, harnessing all the arts and crafts of the theatre?

(5) The term "experimental" as used by the Experimental Theatre, means a creative synthesis, based on integrity and sincerity of all the combined arts and crafts of the theatre, in order—to serve the social theme of the play.

Rolland Anticipated Need
Many years ago Romain Rolland wrote his stimulating book, "The People's Theatre," in which he calls for plays written and produced for the larger masses of the population. He felt that the true epic heroes were not the kings and queens of classic tragedy, but the pioneers for the liberation of humanity; and in keep-

Far Eastern trip comes the report he is returning to Hollywood to act in no more films, himself, but to write, direct and produce Paulette Goddard starrers. . . . Readers' Digest has okayed the use of the title—And Sudden Death—for the reckless driving thriller that Paramount has made. So the title won't be changed. . . .

Falcon Call Issue Rates Three Rahs

The May-June issue of the Falcon Call has made its appearance, and has been unanimously declared the best yet by everyone who has seen it.

It is chock full of the most fascinating stories, poems, pictures, just the kind that appeals to any child.

Get a copy, see to it that every child you know—your own, your relatives, your neighbors—is supplied with a copy of this delightful magazine. You'll even enjoy reading it yourself.

Copies may be gotten from any Falcon or the Falcon office for five cents.

Shakespeare In Sepia

MACBETH, a Federal Theatre Production at the Lafayette Theatre, 131st St. and Seventh Ave., New York City.

Just a belated reminder this, that if you haven't seen what Negro players can do to make Shakespeare come gloriously alive, you're missing one of the rare theatrical treats of the season. Macbeth is one more reason why a permanent Federal theatre is coming to be as important a national necessity as our old friend the good five cent cigar. . . . MCA. C.

Read Hearst? Foocy!

NEW YORK.—The Senior Class at New York University knows its Hearst—and therefore steers clear of his newspapers. Hearst owns three out of nine of the metropolitan dailies, but the three combined only received 21 votes out of 1,698 cast by the seniors in balloting on their favorite newspaper.

By percentage, only 1.2 per cent of the seniors prefer a Hearst sheet, but then some people never learn—not even in college.

HOT from Hollywood

Harold Clurman of the New York Group Theatre is in Hollywood scouting for manuscripts for production. . . . Gene Fowler, who sold out in the Screen Writers Guild struggle, has written a poem condemning himself. Just one of those Hollywood contradictions. . . .

Local events of importance are the coming Hollywood premiere of *Bury the Dead*, which John Cromwell and Egon Brecher are directing, and in which Guinn (Big Boy) Williams has a leading part. (Most of the stars originally scheduled to play in the anti-war production, however, have been forced to drop out because of leaving town or other difficulties). . . . Also, the New Music Society's next concert, which is to feature the music of Bela Bartok, played by Pianist Douglas Thompson. . . . Otis Riggs, of the Walter Wanger Studios, has done the setting for the Hollywood production of *Bury the Dead*.

We hear that Ernest Lubitsch is liking the Soviet Union tremendously. Before getting there, he delivered himself of a beautiful anti-Nazi crack. Asked whether American studios would submit their stories to Berlin censors before shooting them, so as to assure "pure Aryanism," Lubitsch blurted out: "We don't give a rap for that kind of thing. Anybody who bars our films for reasons of that order will only be the loser." . . . Bravo, Lubitsch. . . .

The first hero to emerge from the Italo-Ethiopian war is Will Barber, Chicago Tribune correspondent accidentally killed on the front. RKO will picture his life with Gene Raymond in the lead. . . . Garbo, on her return to Hollywood, says that she is definitely through with films after the two she is slated to do for MGM this year. Four different scenarios have already been announced for these "last two" pictures: *Camille*, *Maria Walewska*, *Beloved*, and an untitled Hungarian play. At \$250,000 per film, Garbo, it is rumored, will doubtless reconsider her Sarah Bernhardt farewell.

Chaplin has announced again that he's quitting films. From every port he touches on his

where to dine

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Socialist Party Pledges Goal Is Common Good

Following are excerpts from the platform adopted by the Socialist Party in Cleveland. The full text will appear in the Call next week.

Socialists Urge Repeal of Supreme Court Reaction

Illinois, Delaware, Idaho—From all over the country delegates came to the nineteenth Socialist convention in Cleveland and there planned a campaign which promises to eclipse the famous "Red Special" tour of Eugene Debs. "Socialism in Our Time," was the cry as men and women returned home to continue the fight for a better world.

For a Socialist America!
The Socialist Party of the United States pledges itself anew to the task of building a Socialist society, under which the industries of the country shall be socially owned and democratically managed for the common good.

Such a society cannot be attained without a mighty struggle. That struggle must be made by labor organized both on the economic and political fields, and dedicated to a cooperative world.

To improve the conditions of life and labor and thereby to weld together the strength and solidarity of the masses, the Socialist party pledges itself to fight for the following demands in legislative halls and side by side with labor in field and factory and office!

1. **Constitution.** Adoption of the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment ending the usurped power of the Supreme Court to declare social legislation unconstitutional, and granting the power to acquire and operate industries.

2. **Social Ownership.** We propose the social ownership and democratic control of the mines, the railroads, the power industry and other key industries, and the recognition in all public industries of the right of collective bargaining.

3. **Relief, Insurance, Jobs.** We propose an immediate appropriation by Congress of 6 billion dollars to continue federal relief to the unemployed for the next year; the continuance of WPA projects, at union wages; and a federal system of unemployment and old age pensions for persons 60 years of age or over.

4. **Youth.** We propose the passage of the American Youth Act as the only legislation for youth relief favorable to the labor movement, which will meet the immediate educational and economic needs of young people.

5. **Taxation.** We propose a drastic increase in income and inheritance taxes on the higher income levels and of excess profit taxes, and wide experimentation in land values taxation.

6. **Labor Legislation.** We propose the establishment of the thirty hour week; the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes; the prohibition of company unions; company spying and private guards and gunmen; the prohibition of the use of the police, deputy sheriffs and militia and federal troops in labor disputes.

7. **Agriculture.** We propose the abolition of tenant farming and the substitution of the use and occupancy title for family-sized farms, and the conversion of plantation and corporation farms into cooperative farms.

We propose that the marketing, processing, and distribution of farm products be taken over by bonafide cooperatives and other agencies to be created for this purpose.

The Socialist Party calls upon the workers, farmers and all advocates of social justice to join with it in its struggle to widen the channels through which may be made peaceful, orderly and democratic progress; to resist all trends toward insecurity, fascism and war; to strengthen labor in its battles for better conditions and for increasing power; to refuse support to parties of capitalism, or any of their candidates, and to unite with it in its historic struggle toward a cooperative world.



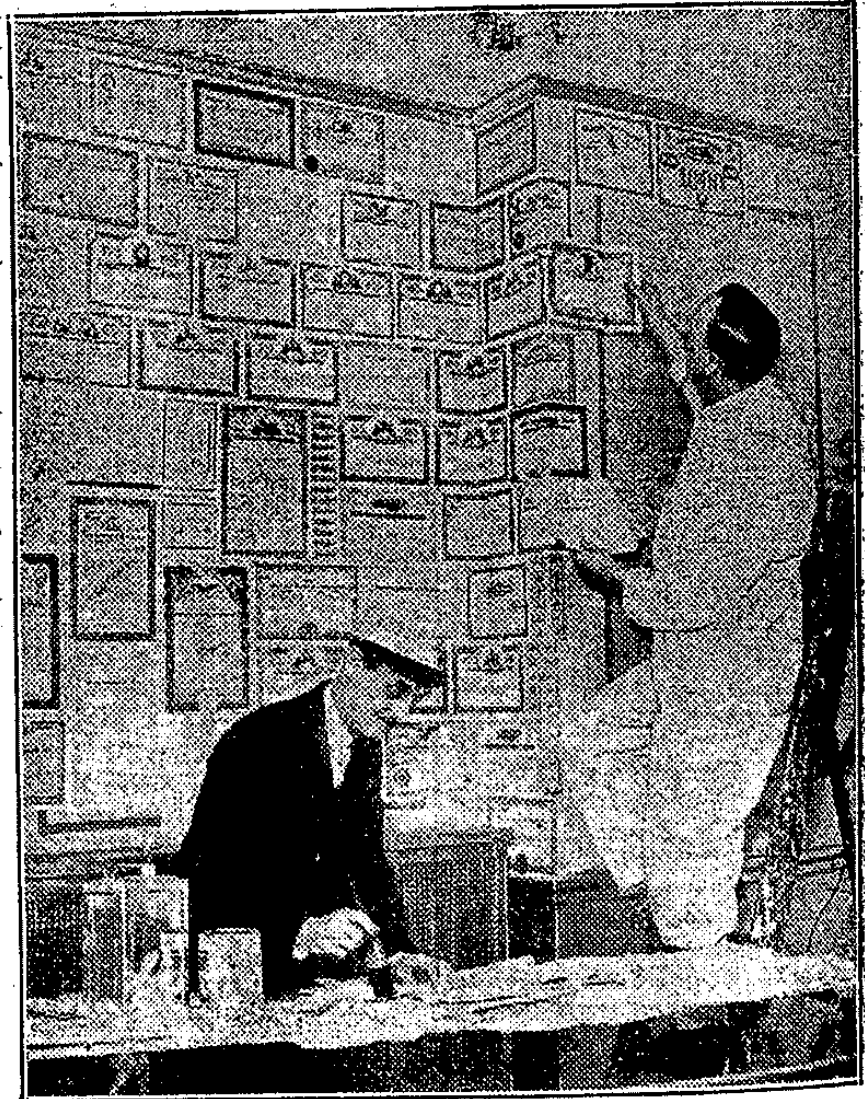
Courtesy Cleveland News



While five former Tampa cops were being convicted of kidnaping (Story on Page 3), Michigan police were trying on the black and white hooded costumes of the Black Legion, secret terror cult claimed to be the "strong arm squad of the Ku Klux Klan."

Michigan Socialists wondered this week whether it was this new KKK which bombed their office in Royal Oak recently.

Authorities unearthed the Legion while following clues in the brutal murder of Charles Poole, 32-year old WPA worker.

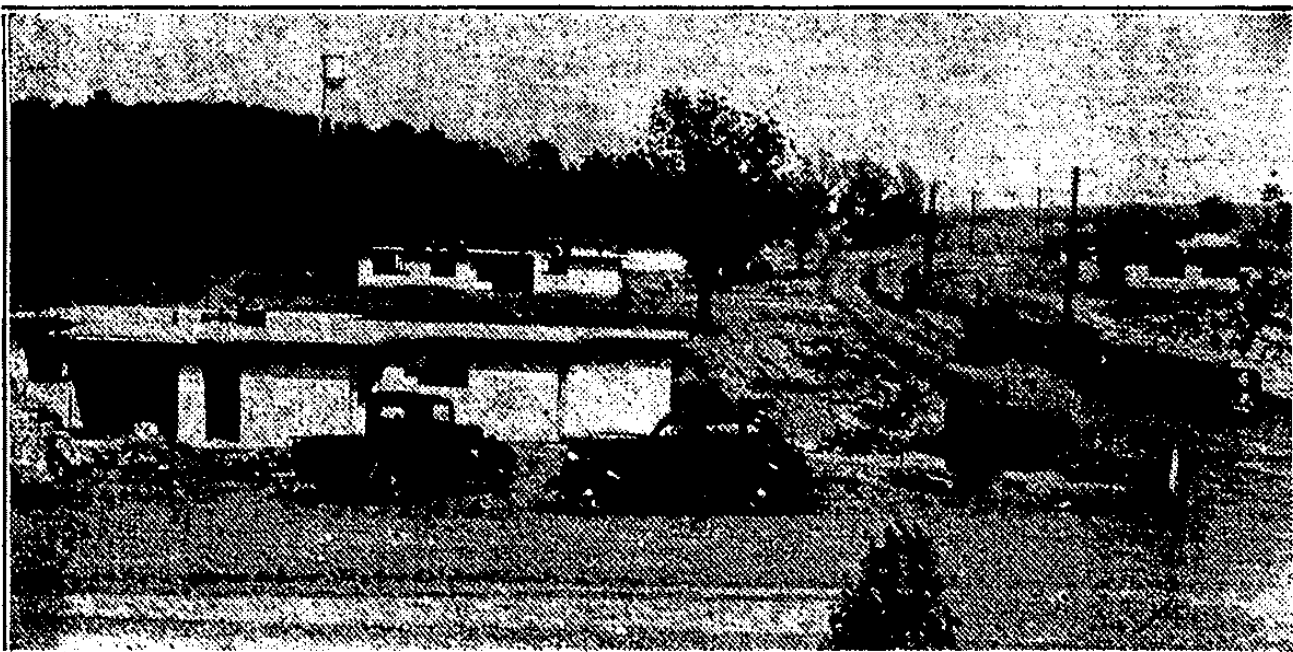


(Above)

Roosevelt has managed to end the depression for some folks, as this picture well illustrates. Three years ago members of the Union League Club—rich financiers and industrialists—papered this room with stock certificates and called it the Million Dollar Room, as above.

Now, because of Roosevelt's kind aid to big business, the certificates again have a market value and they are being peeled off and returned to their owners.

The room will be redecorated and henceforth known as the Gold Room—in honor of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, pal of the Union Leaguers.



General view of the model town five miles from Hightstown, N. J., declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. The first of 200 families were ready to move here when word came of the unconstitutionality of the Resettlement Administration Act.

Despite urging from AFL leaders, Roosevelt has refused to speak up for a constitutional amendment to halt the Supreme Court.