

Socialists Push Fight On High Court As Judges Kill Minimum Wage Law

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**Norman
Thomas**

DISCUSSES

**The Socialist
Convention**

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Socialist Call

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Platform of the Socialist Party of the United States

As Adopted at the Socialist Party Convention, Tuesday, May 26, 1936

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; a society under which security, plenty, peace and freedom shall be the heritage of all.

Eight years ago the people of this country voted to continue the capitalist Old Deal. The purpose of this deal was to preserve the rights of the few who own most of the nation's wealth. Under the Old Deal, the economic machine was plunged into the worst depression in our history.

Four years ago the voters of the United States threw their support to the New Deal. They elected to office Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Democratic party. The New Deal, like the Old Deal, has utterly failed. Under it, big business was given almost unheard of powers. Untold wealth was destroyed. Prices rose. Profits advanced. Wages lagged. Twelve million men and women are still jobless, and hunger and destitution exist throughout the land.

Failure of New Deal

Under the New Deal, attacks have been made on our civil liberties, more vicious than at any period since the days immediately following the world war. Gag and loyalty bills have been rushed through our legislatures. Labor organizers have been seized, kidnaped, maltreated, killed. The militia has been used to crush attempts of labor to organize. Lynching, race discrimination and the development of fascist trends have continued unabated. Against these infringements of human rights, the Democratic administration has kept an ominous silence.

Under the capitalist Old Deal, and the capitalist our army and navy three times as much as before the world war. The purposes of these expenditures are the suppression of labor unrest at home and the protection and expansion of American imperialism abroad.

Under the capitalist Old Deal, and the Capitalist New Deal, America has drifted increasingly toward insecurity, suppression and war.

Insecurity is but the logical result of the workings of capitalism. For under capitalism, new and old, the many work for the owners of the machines and land. The owners will not employ the workers unless they expect to extract a profit. Labor is forced to divide up its earnings with the owning group. With their scanty wages, the workers are able to buy only a part of the goods which they create. Goods pile up. Factories close. Workers are discharged. The country finds itself face to face with another depression.

Capitalist Depressions

In the past, after a period of hard times, we could depend upon the settlement of the West, the development of new foreign markets and the rapid expansion of our population to revive industry. These forces can no longer be depended upon as formerly to keep the system going, while our gross and unjust inequality of wealth, our monopoly prices and our growing debt structure are sowing the seeds of more tragic depressions in the days ahead.

Our capitalist system is also sowing the seeds of dictatorship. As unemployment increases under capitalism, the masses, to save themselves from starvation, are compelled to make ever greater demands on the government for relief and for public jobs. These demands are resisted by the propertied classes, fearful of higher taxes. Restlessness grows. Demands for greater appropriations increase. The struggle between the House to Have and the House of Not becomes ever more intense. Big business seeks to deny the masses their constitutional rights. Fascist trends develop, trends that only a powerful and

militant labor movement on the economic and political fields can successfully stay.

Militarism, likewise, under a declining capitalism, becomes an ever greater menace. As unrest increases, the masters of industry seek to use the military forces as the bulwark of reaction at home. They support higher military budgets. They look toward imperialist adventures abroad as a means of diverting attention from the unrest at home, and of gaining new markets, new investment areas, new sources of raw material. A race begins that, if unchecked, can have but one ending—an international war. The Japanese seizure of Manchuria, and Italy's invasion of Ethiopia are but examples of the forces at work under capitalism. These adventures may well be the forerunners of another world conflict.

The Only Hope—Socialism!

In Socialism and in Socialism alone will we find the solution of our problem. Under Socialism, the socially necessary industries, would be socially owned and democratically administered by workers, consumers and technicians. The farmer working his own farm would be secure in its possession. The workers would no longer be forced to pay tribute to private owners. They would be able to buy back the goods they created. Industry, finding a market for these goods, would run without periodic breakdowns. Unemployment, and the wastes of unplanned industry would cease. Our national income would double or treble. Every useful worker would be assured of high living standards, short hours, freedom and liberty and a chance to enjoy a good life. Industrial autocracy and war would pass. An economy of scarcity would give way to an economy of abundance.

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.

In their fight for power and Socialism, the workers and farmers must gain new strength and unity by their daily struggle against poverty and exploitation. 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.

These immediate demands include:

1. Constitution. The adaptation of the Constitution to the needs of the times, among other things, through 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; through an amendment making future amendments less difficult, and the child labor amendment.

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; a federal system of unemployment and old age pensions for persons 60 years of age or over, with contributions from the federal government, such contributions to be raised from taxes on incomes and inheritances, as provided in the Frazier-Lundeen bill.

We propose adequate medical care of the sick and injured as a social function, right and duty, and not as a privilege or public charity. This is to be financed by taxation similar to the public educational system or governmental functions, and to be democratically administered.

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. Federal appropriations for the establishment and maintenance of public schools and of free city colleges to make possible a full education for every young person.

We propose the abolition of the C. C. C., the National Youth Administration, and any similar attempts to deal with the economic problems of youth which threaten the wage and living standards of organized labor.

5. Taxation. We propose a drastic increase in income and inheritance taxes on the higher income levels and on 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 bona-fide cooperatives and other agencies to be created for this purpose.

We propose that farm prices be stabilized at cost of production to the working farmer, such stabilization to be made by representatives of organized working farmers and consumers.

In the meantime, we propose:

a. That immediate relief be provided for debt-laden working farmers by advancing credit to working farmers on such carrying charges as do not threaten the farmer with the loss of his farm.

b. That social insurance be provided against crop failures, the cost of such insurance to be covered by income, inheritance and corporation taxes.

8. Civil Liberties. We urge the abolition of all laws that interfere with the right of free speech, free press, free assembly and the peaceful activities of labor in its struggle for organization and power; the enforcement of constitutional guarantees of economic, political, legal and social equality for the Negro and all other oppressed minorities and the enactment and enforcement of drastic anti-lynching laws. We oppose Jim Crow laws.

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 to support the parties of capitalism, or any of their candidates, and to unite with it in its historic struggle toward a cooperative world; to eliminate military training from our schools; the abandonment of imperialist adventures of a military or economic nature abroad; the maintenance of friendly relations with Soviet Russia; and the strengthening of neutrality laws, to the end that we may ward off immediate wars while fighting for the attainment of a social order which will eliminate the chief causes of war.

Not a penny, not a man, to the military aims of the government; unconditional opposition to any war engaged in by the American government.

This platform is subject to editorial revision by the Party's National Executive Committee.

Hot Convention Debate On Farmer-Labor Party

The most sharply debated of the resolutions in the Socialist convention last week was that on a Farmer-Labor party. The majority resolution, printed on this page, was passed 119 to 64. The minority resolution, referred to in the debate, opposed Socialist participation in the organization of a Farmer-Labor party. Following is some of the convention discussion.

Delegate Pemble (Minnesota). Today and in the near future great sections of workers are awakening to political consciousness. To organize the working class into a reformist party is a crime against the workers and the farmers of America. Nowhere has it been shown that the American workers must go through the school of a reformist party. Such a step would be a backward one. It would retard for many years the development of the Socialist party.

It is the immediate duty of the Socialist party of America to build its own political party adhering to the principles of Marxism, the only party that can truly represent American workers and farmers, and cope with modern industrial conditions. For Socialists to assist in building a farmer-labor party only weakens the Socialist party and misleads and confuses the workers who are seeking the way out of their farmer-labor or labor party arise misery and oppression.

However, should a national in America, Socialists must find the path to work with such a party in order to show its supporters the only constant answer to the satisfaction of their needs, to their emancipation—the building of the revolutionary Socialist party, the overthrow of capitalist dictatorship, the smashing of the the establishment of a workers' appropriation of the expropriators, capitalist state machinery, the ex-democracy and of a Socialist security.

Today it is only the Socialist party, working closely with sister parties in all countries that can weld together and educate the working class, gain the allegiance of the farmers, lead the struggle against finance capitalism, overthrow capitalism, establish the rule of the proletariat and lead America and the rest of the world to the establishment of a world Socialist economy.

Delegate Hamm (New Jersey). The minority resolution is an infantile, sectarian and wholly unrealistic document.

We should get into our heads first of all in approaching this most important matter the fundamental idea that the role of the Socialist party today is not to make a revolution—it is to make Socialists, to make revolutionary Socialists, and to lead workers in their day to day struggles against the capitalist system for the immediate betterment of their conditions, their miserable conditions of life; in the course of which struggles they will come to realize that Socialism is their only salvation.

It will be with the American working class as in Europe. Here is the most backward working class in the entire capitalist world—the only working class that still largely uses the two capitalist political parties as their medium for political expression. We must recognize that for us Socialists the first job we have to do before we can bring the majority or almost a majority of the American workers to a Socialist position is to help them to become politically class-conscious.

The role of the Socialist party should be to encourage such a development, to participate, to endorse, and to increase our strength in the Labor party. We know beforehand what the Labor Party can do and what it cannot do. We know that the Socialist party will grow if we work correctly, as the Labor Party grows. We will be making Socialists, building for Socialism, in an active participation in the problems of the workers. We will be acquiring the leadership which we as a professed vanguard of that working class rightfully

claim that we should have. If we think correctly now, in advance, and guide our actions in the future accordingly we will have everything to gain by supporting a Farmer Labor Party movement.

Delegate Taylor (Ohio). If we isolate ourselves by refusing to enter their discussions, we will be on the outside looking in, and there will be a farmer-labor party but it will not be as we want it to be.

We must fight for the Socialist point of view. We must put forward our position. We must destroy the illusions of organized labor. We must destroy our own illusions. We must carry the farmer-labor movement if possible along our lines. I agree that we should not initiate but we should guide and steer it, and I hope that the convention will not send me back to Toledo where we have 10,000 members of the Automobile Workers Union, so confused, so at sea, so politically immature, who come to the Socialists and say, "At South Bend we passed a resolution for a farmer-labor party. Will you Socialists tell us what to do?"

And by the minority report permission would be denied me to give them some help along the right way, and they are going, the 10,000 of them, into a farmer-labor party, and I want to help them and I want this convention to let me help them. I want this convention to give me a policy.

Delegate Pemble (Minnesota). I want to clearly distinguish my stand from the Right Wing, which does not want a Farmer Labor party because they already have one.

There was a time when labor parties and business unionism would play a role in which they got something for the workers. That was during the periods of capitalistic expansion, during that time when it was good business to give an ever-decreasing share of the ever-increasing production to the workers.

Your reformist party will tie the workers down to a reformist program. We have seen it in Minnesota and I am not saying

this just as an illustration because the comrades in Wisconsin tell me the same thing has happened there.

Delegate Trimble (California). We have never held that a genuine—and emphasis on the genuine—farmer-labor party was a crime, was a backward step. That is not the position of the Socialist Party. If the convention decides it is, understand you are breaking with the entire tradition, not only with the Socialist tradition in this country but throughout the world.

The vast majority of Socialist trade unionists through the last few years have been carrying out a steady campaign for independent political working class action. If you pass the minority report it means that they must reverse their position and that in all those labor parties they must take this position.

Under the minority report, you oppose the farmer-labor party. But suppose it is organized—then what do you do? Why, then you join it. You join it for what purpose? In order to show them they are all wrong. It means you go into a farmer-labor party announcing in advance that they are all wrong, and you are coming in to break it up. How long do you think you would last? How much leadership do you think you could have? How isolated would you be from a mass organization whose workers alone can build Socialism?

We say this: The primary purpose of the Farmer-Labor party is to divorce workers from old party politics and set the workers on the road of independent political action. The Socialist Party maintains its own organization and independence—with a program of principles within the Farmer-Labor party. The task of building Socialism can be carried out by the revolutionary background of the working class in the Socialist Party.

We ask guidance of the national Socialist party. We cannot fight without guidance. This resolution simply says we will not isolate ourselves and be as the Socialist Labor Party—dead but still talking.

Socialist Attitude On Farmer-Labor Party

The following resolution on a Farmer-Labor Party was adopted by the national convention of the Socialist party by a vote of 119 to 64.

It has recently become apparent that political unrest among large masses of workers, farmers and lower middle class citizens not yet imbued with a definite Socialist philosophy will lead to the formation of some sort of Labor or Farmer-Labor party or parties in the United States in the near future. However, much as we, as Socialists, should prefer to win those masses to a definite revolutionary viewpoint and recruit them directly into the Socialist party, the fact remains that a labor or farmer-labor party seems to be an inevitable stage in the development of American labor's political consciousness.

The Socialist party reaffirms its willingness to cooperate with the National and State labor and farm organizations when they are ready to set up genuine farmer-labor parties. We will build the Socialist party in order to be of greatest help in the formation of a Farmer-Labor party when the responsible farm and labor organizations are ready to take action.

We believe that a Farmer-Labor party should be organized on the following basis:

1. It should be a federated organization with affiliation of trade unions, working farmers' organizations, unemployed organizations and the existing bonafide labor political parties rather than primarily an individual membership organization.

2. It should welcome the support and co-operation of bonafide middle-class organizations, fraternal, social, cooperative and cultural organizations, but unless it is definitely a workers' and working farmers' class party, completely cut loose from capitalist parties and policies, it can only defeat its own purpose and lead to further division and confusion in the ranks of the working class, and the building up of reformist and middle class illusions.

3. It must have control of its candidates, both in their campaigns and in their actions while in office, and control of its members, and must insist that they follow decisions of the official party's ruling bodies.

The Socialist party shall participate in local labor parties only where they are representative of the bulk of the organized labor movement and have prospects of continued existence. As a general rule, local labor or farmer-labor parties without national affiliations are very unstable and can easily become instruments of old party politicians. Participation of members

and of local and state organizations of the Socialist party in local labor parties is subject to previous approval by the state and National Executive Committees (Nat. Const. Art. 10, Sec. 13).

The Socialist party condemns and is vigorously opposed to so-called "United Labor Tickets" and other similar electoral combinations which do not represent a genuine alliance of working class organizations as indicated above in point 2.

To secure a genuine farmer-labor party it is necessary that Socialists work actively to put forward the Socialist position on the question. Mere formal acceptance of the correct analysis of the matter is not enough. Nor is it enough simply to appear at conferences called by other groups, of whatever sort, and present our position. We must carry the work for a farmer-labor party into the labor and farmer's organizations until such time as a substantial portion, preferably a clear majority of labor is prepared to participate in the founding of a labor or farmer-labor party. Abortive attempts at premature organization of parties representing only a small proportion of labor plus middle class and other organizations and those already friendly to the Socialist party can only lead to discrediting the entire movement for a genuine farmer-labor party. No other result is possible nationally in 1936. 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 towards spreading the ideals of Socialism and the organization of workers and farmers in the Socialist party.

The prime purpose of the farmer-labor party is to divorce workers from old party politics and set the workers on the road of independent political action for their own class demands. The Socialist party maintains its own organization, independence, program and principles within the farmer-labor party. The task of building Socialism can only be carried out by the revolutionary vanguard of the working class—the Socialist Party

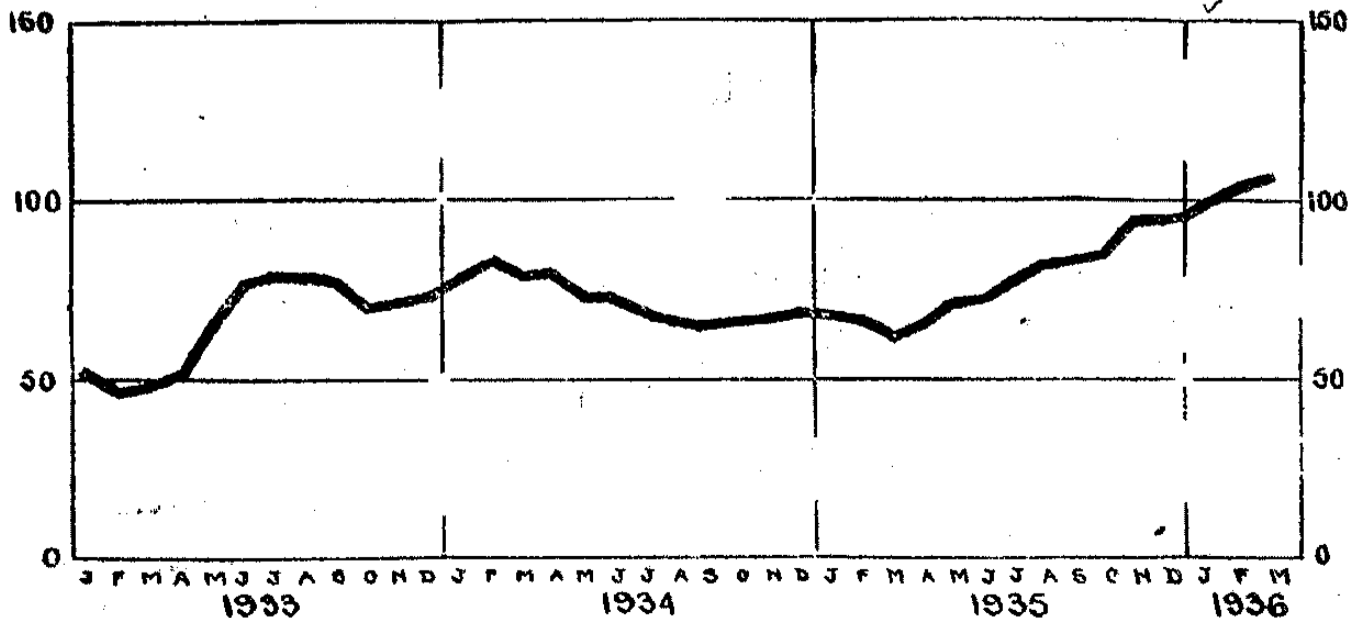
Socialists Hold N. Y. Convention

NEW YORK.—In line with the decision of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, the New York state organization will hold its convention here June 26-28. It will be preceded on Friday, June 26, by a session of the temporary state committee, elected at Buffalo.

The agenda of the convention includes the adoption of a new constitution, nomination of candidates for public office, adoption of a state platform and plans for state organization.

Locals are preparing for the convention by holding discussions on party problems. Delegates who were elected for the Buffalo convention may serve again, though locals are free to elect new ones.

STOCK MARKET HAS RISEN FOR ONE YEAR



Line represents average prices of 90 stocks.

UP... UP... go profits (43% higher during first three months of 1936 than of 1935 while jobless starve, and wages lag way behind.

ABOLISH the stock market... BUILD A SOCIALIST AMERICA with PLENTY FOR ALL—is the answer of the Socialist Party.

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"Won't Disband CIO" Miners Say, As They Defy AFL Executive

WASHINGTON—Charging that the Steel Workers' Union had failed to take steps to comply with its convention decision to organize the industry along industrial lines, Mine Leader John L. Lewis sternly advised the union Monday to cease its "fluttering procrastination."

"You must know," Lewis wired Louis Leonard, union secretary, in answer to a request for a conference with the C.I.O., "that he (William Green) has nothing to offer you except meaningless words and further delay."

Lewis told Leonard that he had been "fully advised" of a secret conference between steel union officials and Green last week in Coshocton, Ohio.

WASHINGTON—A flat "No" is the answer of the United Mine Workers of America to the request of the AFL executive council that unions disaffiliate themselves from the Committee for Industrial Organization.

In its reply, the miner's executive board questions the right and authority, or the propriety, of the executive council of the AFL to make such demands upon any committee such as the CIO or upon any international organization, to cease constructive work calculated to serve the best interests of American labor in bringing about effective organization of such labor in the mass production industries of this country.

"The United Mine Workers of America emphatically refuses to accede to either the call or the request of the AFL to discontinue its constructive and logical course of action," the letter concluded.

The sharp answer of the miners' union was in response to a letter to it from a committee of the AFL executive council calling upon the CIO "to dissolve immediately" and asking the nine unions constituting the CIO to withdraw their affiliation.

In some quarters it was thought that the letter of the AFL executive council constituted an ultimatum to the CIO unions but as the letter was made public it was revealed that it only asked for a reply within two weeks and ended, "Further action of the executive council depends upon the character of the reply which you make to this official communication." No mention of suspension was made.

Clothing Workers Defy AFL, Back CIO

CLEVELAND—"We shall not be moved!"

So, in effect, roared 500 delegates to the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America at Cleveland as they unanimously voted their refusal to obey an order from the AFL executive council to dissolve the Committee for Industrial Organization. At the same time, the convention endorsed Roosevelt's re-election campaign.

In a strongly-worded resolution, the delegates supported their union's stand for industrial unionism at the last AFL convention as "the only position that could be taken by progressive labor leaders in the United States." At the same time they instructed their incoming executive board to "continue giving active and generous support to the purpose for which the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed."

Newsmen Seek AFL Charter

NEW YORK.—Newsmen belong in the AFL, delegates to the third annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild decided, 84 to 5, as they instructed their officers to seek immediate affiliation as an international union.

The delegates enthusiastically applauded a speech by Charles

'Kill Strikers!' Farm Bosses Order Thugs

FORREST CITY, Ark.—Ten Negro strikers face felony charges in two counties following their arrest in a strike of Eastern Arkansas cotton field hands, called by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

National Guardsmen patrol the country roads in the strike zone.

"Shoot to kill!"

That was the order issued by growers in the agricultural fields of southern California and by planters in the cotton fields of Arkansas to armed deputies and scabs this week.

Over 3,000 cotton choppers, members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, enter their third strike week despite the establishment of a concentration camp, despite bosses who have kidnaped men across state lines, despite lynch threats, evictions, brutal terrorism, starvation and forced labor.

In Los Angeles County, the infamous Red Squad and armed vigilantes have arrested over 100 strikers, including six Socialist Party members. \$50,000 bail is needed immediately. Already three strikers have been shot and three stabbed.

Socialists have succeeded in signing up 50 growers in contracts granting union recognition and pay increases.

Japanese growers and their police henchmen have broken into the little hovels of the Mexican strikers, smashing furniture and destroying clothing. They have wrecked strike headquarters, breaking typewriters and scattering food.

In one affray two strikers were shot and then arrested on a framed charge of "assault with a deadly weapon."

According to Glen Trimble, state secretary of the Socialist party, "the powerful banking interests which control the agricultural fields of California are using all weapons at their command to smash the union."

The Socialist party, active in these two farm strikes, appeals to readers of the Socialist Call for aid.

Contributions to help the cotton strikers should be mailed to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, P. O. Box 5215, Memphis, Tennessee.

Contributions for the agricultural strikers should be sent to

Wage Law Nullified; Socialists Push War On Legal Dictators

WASHINGTON, D. C.—With the Supreme Court's decision annihilating the New York Minimum Wage Law for women, the Socialist party got off to a head start in meeting what promises to be a major issue in the campaign—constitutional amendment and curtailment of the Supreme Court's tyranny.

While both old parties and President Roosevelt keep silent on the subject, the Socialist party's platform adopted last week in Cleveland, calls for "the adaptation of the Constitution to the needs of the times, among other things, through 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."

For the past two years, the Socialist party has vigorously pushed the amendment, originally drafted by the late national chairman of the party, Morris Hillquit. It is now pending in committee in both houses of Congress.

With the re-assertion by the Supreme Court of its power to veto labor legislation and its nullification by a 5 to 4 vote of minimum wage laws which offered partial protection to women in some 17 states, the Socialist party has pressed for Senatorial hearings on its pro-

The date of the Senatorial hearing on the Farmers and Workers Rights Amendment has not yet been definitely fixed. It is expected that it will be called on very short-notice. Organizations interested in being heard on the amendment should prepare immediately to send spokesmen.

posed amendment. A special subcommittee of the Senate judiciary committee has promised such hearings shortly.

Labor Comments

Labor organizations and progressive groups are mobilizing to demand that the amendment be reported out by the committee.

Announcement of the new Supreme Court outrage brought storms of protest from labor

the Agricultural Workers Defense and Relief Committee, care of Socialist party, 124 West Sixth Street, Los Angeles, California.

Union Leader



Joseph Schlossberg, general secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, sketched at the Convention of his Union where he opposed endorsement of President Roosevelt. Commenting on the recent Supreme Court decision, he said: "The effect will be to stimulate labor's urge for independent political action. The consciousness is growing ever stronger among the workers that the courts are prejudiced against them."

leaders. George Meany, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, said: "I am sure labor is not going to lie down in the face of this decision."

William Green, president of the AFL, described the decision as "another blow to labor and its friends throughout the country."

Harry W. Laidler, state chairman of the New York Socialist Party condemned "the spectacle of five elderly statesmen and former corporation attorneys nullifying by one stroke of the pen the expressed will of millions of Americans. It is time for the American people to begin a campaign to take away this usurped power of the courts; to pass the workers' rights amendment."

Even the dissenting judges showed indignation at the majority opinion, written by Justice Butler who declared: "The ethical right of every worker to a living wage is conceded. The fallacy is in assuming that every employer is bound to furnish it." They criticized the majority for attempting to impose their "own personal economic predilections" on the country.

President Roosevelt meanwhile maintains his sphinx-like silence, as the Socialist Party's standard bearers, Norman Thomas and George Nelson, continue to press the issue of constitutional amendment.

Next week the Call will print a summary of the debate at the Socialist national convention on the resolution relative to the work of Socialists in the trade unions.

The Unholy Trinity



Their faces fixed in expressions of placid righteousness, these "Hell's Angels"—Hearst, Morgan and duPont—were the hit of the show as they rode on a float in New York's United Youth Day parade May 30. Heaven's not on earth for these three, shouted young people, hitting new war moves.

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Silence in the White House

After kicking the coal-miners in the face with the Guffey decision, the Supreme Court of the United States has turned its attention on the women and children of the nation. The sacred mathematics of five to four have decided this time that the states may not set up minimum wage laws, to protect women and children from extreme exploitation.

Will Roosevelt speak up now?

Another blow has been struck against the standards of living of the American masses. Women's wages, pushed to new low levels must drag with them the wages of the working men. Chivalry and economic justice are equally violated.

The majority of the court has again torn from the mouths of the hungry some of the bitter crusts of poverty. And the act has been done in the name of liberty—in the name of freedom of contract! Said the learned majority:

"In making contracts of employment, generally speaking, the parties have equal rights to obtain from each other the best terms they can by private bargaining."

Equal right! The women of the working class, whose children are hungry and ragged, stand on the same footing as the giant corporation when they meet for "private bargaining" in the matter of wages.

Even the corporation lawyers who wrote their dissent into the records couldn't stomach this hypocrisy.

"There is grim irony," they said, "in speaking of the freedom of contract of those who, because of their economic necessities, give their service for less than is needful to keep body and soul together." The sharp injustice of the majority's decision compelled even these judges to condemn the "personal economic predilections" of the court.

But the significant thing is not the decision itself. The history of the Supreme Court is now becoming a monotonous tale of continued injustice. The important thing is that labor must take notice of its own responsibility to defend itself.

As the tragedy of the Supreme Court dictatorship continues to unfold from month to month, President Roosevelt, whom some labor leaders have hailed as a friend of the masses, remains in the wings, keeping himself well out of sight. Let the tragedy go on! He will not lift a finger to alter its course.

While labor organizations have been clamoring for the adoption of the Farmers and Workers Rights Amendment which would clip the talons of the Supreme Court and would safeguard social welfare legislation, Roosevelt has side-stepped the issue.

It is common knowledge that both of the old political parties are determined to keep silent throughout the coming campaign about the problem of constitutional amendment. The failure of the President to take any steps to break the dictatorship is itself a plank in his platform which labor cannot ignore. Support for Roosevelt in the ranks of labor in the face of this silence would be as gruesome as suicide.

The President's failure, however, to take up the cudgels in behalf of one of labor's most pressing demands, should not be a disappointment to the workers. They have no right to expect that the representative of American capitalism should be their leader in the very war which they must wage against that system. In this struggle, they must learn to depend on their own organized strength.

The first task before them is to wage an aggressive campaign for the adoption of the Farmers and Workers Rights Amendment. Within a few days, a sub-committee of the Senate's judiciary committee will hold hearings in Washington—probably on very short notice—on the proposed amendment. Every labor organization, every progressive group must be represented.

Secondly, labor must determine in this campaign that it will build its own defenses rather than seek shelter behind the thin breast-works of a feeble liberalism. Labor must abandon its docility and begin the forward march to a new world. It must rally to the standard of its own political organization, the Socialist Party.

Moved to Tears, But . . .

Why is it that the very well-fed are moved to tears by plays such as "Dead End" and "Love on the Dole," and yet these same people can pass by thousands of homes—similar to those portrayed on the stage, just as mean and wretched, without a flicker of emotion?

There is truth in that old proverb:

"The rich will do everything for the poor—everything but get off their backs."

On the Convention Floor



Letters on Anti-War Policy

To the Editor:

In his recent pamphlet on war, Norman Thomas lays down a five-point program to keep America out of war. Point 5 is obviously the most important to him, and in it he italicizes the following words: "Moreover we must steadily keep in mind the necessity of working for international agreements on the allocation of raw materials."

Allocation of raw materials, in the present world situation, can mean only one thing: the handing over of colonies and colonial mandates by the "satisfied imperialist powers" to the "hungry fascist nations." Jessie Wallace Hughan, George Lansbury and Sir Stafford Cripps—pacifists and socialists all—have openly advocated this policy. Not even the communists have descended to this!

This is a program of racial pacifism which will barter the

lives and destinies of millions of our colored fellow-workers for a false security in Europe and America.

Such a program if passed would be a betrayal by Socialists, for their task is to liberate the colonial workers and not to turn them over to a new set of masters. It would undoubtedly antagonize millions of colored workers in the United States.

WILFRED M. KERR,
 New York City
 (Note! See Norman Thomas' column on page 12.)

To the Editor:

Herbert Zam, in his article of May 2, gives a most timely warning to Socialists against supporting capitalist plans of rearmament, even for such acceptable objectives as the defense of the Soviet Union or the struggle against Fascism.

He seems to have misunderstood, however, my recent letter to the World-Telegram, in which I urged the capitalist governments of the League to offer Hitler's Germany a realistic quid pro quo, rather than the paper counters with which the diplomats have been dealing. The suggested exchange is a complete revision of the Versailles Treaty, including of course the redistribution of the colonies now in possession of the victors as mandates, in return for the effective re-establishment throughout the German domain of political freedom and the protection of minorities.

My proposal differs from that of George Lansbury in an important point, namely, that the revision of the Treaty be given in exchange for the liberty of the German workers. It is only by an issue such as this, which places Hitlerism on one side and German rehabilitation on the other, that a wedge can be driven between Nazism and the people of Germany.

As to the freedom of the colonies, Comrade Zam doubtless agrees that for practical purposes one capitalist master is as good as another, except as regards the elementary matters of political liberty provided for above. To adopt his own phrase, the independence of colonies cannot be defended "in the abstract." The workers in the mandated African colonies are not yet even nearly ripe for revolution in any Marxian sense, and must therefore serve as pawns in the international game for some time to come. Since this is the case, why not urge the capitalist governments to drop diplomatic fictions and play the game for stakes worth while. — the revision of the iniquitous Treaty and the destruction of Nazism."

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN
 New York City.

Make Freedom Constitutional

To help make freedom constitutional, introduce resolutions in your union and other organizations urging Congress to pass the Workers' and Farmers' Rights Amendment.

The Amendment follows:
"SECTION 1. The Congress shall have the power to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen (18) years of age; to limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage earners in any or all occupations; to protect by law the right of all employees to organize and bargain collectively with their employers; to provide for the relief of the aged, invalid, sick and unemployed wage earners and employees in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensations or indemnities from the public treasury;
To establish, acquire, oper-

ate or regulate agencies for the marketing and processing of agricultural products;

To establish, acquire and operate natural resources, properties and enterprises in manufacturing, mining, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities and in any other business, which shall be governed democratically for the benefit of the public by commissions consisting of representatives of workers, consumers and technicians; and to legislate generally for the social and economic welfare of workers, farmers and consumers.

SECTION 2. The power of the several states to enact social welfare legislation is unimpaired by this article, but no such legislation shall abridge or conflict with any act of Congress under this article."

OUR LABOR MOVEMENT

By John Ball

The national convention of the Socialist Party adopted the following resolution on Trade Union Policy:

The relationship of the Socialist Party to organized labor is vital to the Party and to the Labor movement. This convention therefore declares, and calls upon all Socialists to unify their forces in the Trade Union movement for the following purposes:

- (1) All Socialist Party members should belong to the Trade Unions in their industry.
- (2) Considering the technical improvement and development of mass production in all large industries which tend to undermine all trade skills and reduce the workers to a common level of efficiency, that the Socialists within the trade union movement, actively propagate for the more effective form of organization along broad industrial lines, instead of the present craft form.
- (3) Socialist members of Trade Unions should seek to educate their fellow members on the necessity for Independent Political action of the worker along Socialist lines.
- (4) Socialists should observe the highest form of ethics in the trade union movement, work for democratic procedure, and oppose all forms of discrimination.
- (5) Socialists should assist in organizing the unorganized, and encourage the formation of Unions in such industries. Party members who do organization work apart from the A. F. of L. should recommend that the Unions so formed should apply for membership in the A. F. of L.
- (6) a. Socialists in cooperation with the Trade Unions should carry on a vigorous campaign against Fascist reaction. Resist all attacks upon workers' rights. Fight for freedom of press, speech and assemblage. For the right to organize, strike and picket.
 - b. For adequate Social Legislation.
 - c. For workers education, culture and sports.
 - d. Work for closer cooperation between the unemployed and agricultural organizations and the A. F. of L.
- (7) The National Executive Committee is instructed by this convention to set up a permanent National Labor Committee. Each local organization may elect a Local Labor Committee whose duty it will be to coordinate the action of Socialists within the Trade Unions in order to carry out the policy of the party. Socialist members of the trade unions should meet with this committee from time to time to discuss their particular problems.

Endorse Workers' Alliance

The following are excerpts from the resolution on Unemployed Work:

The persistence of mass unemployment constitutes a challenge and an opportunity to the Socialist Party. Unemployment reveals most glaringly the failure of capitalism and its New Deal agencies to provide elementary security for millions of workers. Not only are jobs not provided the millions of unemployed, but also the Roosevelt administration is yielding to reactionaries in cutting relief to one-sixth the population of the nation and in forcing their standard of living lower and lower. This situation offers an opportunity for the Socialist Party to lead the struggles of the unemployed for security and for a decent standard of living.

With recurring relief crises sweeping the nation, with an increase in the restlessness of the unemployed, it is obvious that the unemployed will and must be organized. It remains a question of whether they will be organized under sound, constructive leadership, or left to be organized by demagogues on Fascist leaders.

Today an organization exists, the Workers' Alliance of America, which demands the support of the Socialist Party and of all its units and members. The Workers' Alliance is nation-wide in scope, and after a year of existence is of mass proportions and includes in its ranks most of the formerly diverse organizations of the country. It is the duty of all Socialist Party branches and members throughout the country to assist in the development and progress of existing Workers' Alliance groups and to assist in the formation and development of Workers' Alliance units.

It should be made clear that the Socialist Party has no intention of dominating or controlling the Workers' Alliance, or making it in any sense an adjunct of the Socialist Party. It is our intention instead to exercise our duty as Socialists to assist in the struggles of all workers to help them to organize, to educate and train them in the class struggle. It is with these purposes that we approach the organization of the unemployed.

In order to coordinate the work of the Socialists in the unemployed field, in order to give the fullest assistance of the party, its subdivisions and sympathetic organizations, to the organization of the unemployed, the incoming national executive committee is instructed to set up a national committee on unemployment and the subdivisions similarly set up permanent committees on unemployment which should remain in constant communication with the national committee.

"Guilty!" They Cried



This six-man jury found former Tampa, Florida, policeman guilty of kidnaping Eugene F. Poulnot, Socialist jobless leader. Their verdict, this working class jury agreed, was based on the evidence only. "Communism and all that stuff had nothing to do with it," said Earl Turner. "We saw right through that. Those defense lawyers didn't stick to the case." The jurors are, front row (left to right): George A. Walker, WPA worker; Earl Turner, dragline operator; J. P. Duggan, retired locomotive engineer. Rear: Sam T. Williams, mechanic; Victor C. Hall, welder; W. M. Lohr, mechanic. Florida's most astute criminal lawyers have begun a vigorous campaign to keep the convicted kidnapers, now free on bail, from the penitentiary.

Danzig Nazis Irked by Call; U. S. Boosters, Do Not Stall!

DANZIG.—The Senate of the Free City of Danzig has ruled that the admission of the Socialist Call into its borders is inconsistent with "public safety and order." The Call is now banned.

The action was based on several articles in the Call, including an editorial appearing in the issue of November 30, 1935, "Cowardice in Oslo," condemning the failure of the Nobel Peace Prize donors to award the prize to Carl von Ossietzky; the satirical poem by Alton Levy on William Randolph Hearst, published in the issue of December 14, 1935; and an editorial, "Fair Play in Sports," appearing in the issue of January 11, 1936.

According to the resolution adopted by the Danzig Senate, in these articles, "the Fuehrer and Chancellor of the German Realm has been insulted, untrue statements have been made about pretended persecutions of the German people."

The effect of such literature, the resolution continues, would be to "anger not only a great section of Danzig's population which supports national socialism and thereby endanger public safety and order, but would also serve to prejudice relations between Danzig and Germany."

I. L. G. Goes West

SAN FRANCISCO. — Workers in the ladies' garment industries turned out en masse to welcome the general executive board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in the first meeting of union heads ever to be held here. Led by President David Dubinsky, a member of the executive council of the AFL, the executive board members came west for their regular quarterly session as a tribute to the rapid strides being made by the organization on the coast. The board met at Los Angeles first, before coming here.

NEW YORK.—Censorship is the food on which a revolutionary Socialist organ can grow strong. The news that the Call is barred by Danzig Nazis can only serve as encouragement to continue our attacks on the enemies of the working class.

Barred because we are offensive to Hitler and Hearst—we can ask no better recommendation.

We don't mind it. We can afford to laugh at the puerility of the Nazi censors.

What we are concerned with is censorship in the United States—and we don't mean that of the authorities. We mean that deadly negative censorship of which even some of our friends are guilty—failure to see that the Call gets as wide a circulation as is humanly possible.

Your failure to support the Call in its fund and circulation drive, makes you a negative censor of the Call. Don't keep people from reading it. Give them a 16-page Call. Spread its message far and wide.

Remember that the Call is the official campaign organ of the Socialist Party. That gives us a tremendous responsibility. We have the burden of putting over to the American people the principles which our candidates represent.

Let's start the campaign right. Wipe out the deficit with your contributions and with those of your fellow workers. If you are one of those who carry a list in your pocket day after day, and forget to fill it in, you are helping by your neglect to fulfill the aims of the Danzig Senate: you are keeping people from reading the Call.

We're not kidding. The Call needs your help. Frankly, it needs your money and it needs the subscriptions that your enthusiasm can gather.

Don't be a Danzig Senator! Build the Socialist Call!

AT BREAK OF DAWN

By McAlister Coleman

The scene is laid in the master's bed-room of a heavily mortgaged suburban home. The time is six a. m. Alarms sound without and presently there enters to the sleeping master a Little Dear, aged five, and armed with an air rifle, a water pistol and a G-Man machine gun.

Little Dear: "Stick 'em up, I'm a G-Man."

Master: "Err-grrr."

Little Dear: "Stick 'em up, Stick 'em up."

Master (rolling over and endeavoring to cover head with sheet): "Go right back to bed and stay there until you're told to get up."

Little Dear: "Oho. I'm a G-Man."

Master: "Put those guns away and go back to bed as you're told."

Little Dear (squirting water into ear of Master): "Jackie is a G-Man. Why can't I be a G-Man?"

Master (arising wrathfully): "Give me those things at once. How many times have I told you that I don't want you playing with guns around this house? Now you go back to bed and play you're something else. Play you're a deaf mute or an Old Guard or something very quiet and for Heaven's sake let me sleep."

Little Dear: "What is Heaven? Can we go there?"

Master: "Now don't begin that whatis game. Heaven is a place where a man can sleep after six o'clock in the morning, without any Little Dears playing G-Men. I tell you what you play, Go back to your room and play that it is the Rand School and that you are getting up your own party there and sit on the bed and talk to yourself and in an hour or so I will play I am Joe Shaplen and come around and get a state-men about how swell you are doing."

Little Dear: "What is the Rand School? What is Joe Shaplen?" (Exit, propelled by Master.)

The Railroad Problem

With the Queen Mary making front page hulla-balloo, with the dirigible Hindenburg zooming overhead, with stream-lined railroad engines, automobiles, kiddie-cars—he would be unconscious indeed who was not "transportation conscious" these days. Sometimes it would seem as though the entire nation were more concerned with the business of getting from spot to spot than with what happens after arrival. The sight of a Hindenburg swimming fish-like through the starry skies loaded to the gunnels, or whatever they have on those things, with rich delicatessen dealers, the vision of a Queen Mary whose spacious decks are smeared with England's wealthy scum, make the onlooker realize what a small world this is, after all—and what small persons live on it.

The heart of organized transportation still remains, in spite of spectacular competition, the railroad. No need to point out to you boys and girls how railroads touch every phase of your living, though you may not board a choo choo train once a year. Food, clothing, fuel, all along the line sounds the whistle of the locomotive. And how do we as Socialists intend to tackle the railroad problem? We can't say: Oh, railroads are obsolete. Trucks and private cars and planes will do away with them. Why bother?

"The adequate solution of the railroad problem will help bring back jobs to many hundreds of thousands of the unemployed. The consumer, whether living on regular or relief wages, will find that his dollar will be able to buy many more products if the railroads' recovery is brought about with the public interest as the guiding principle. . . . During the last decade or so the situation has been complicated by motor and airplane competition. But fundamentally the present situation is a result of the inherent evils of a management devoted primarily to profit."

The above is taken from a splendid pamphlet in The New Frontiers series called, "The Railroads Versus Public Interest," written by Irving and Samuel Lipkowitz and published by the League for Industrial Democracy at 112 East Nineteenth St., New York City. It costs only 25 cents and it should be in the pocket of every Socialist who wants to talk about the realities of the present transportation problem rather than duck the question by dreams of a Wellsian aerial Utopia.

Join The Socialist Party

For information fill out the blank and send it to the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Name

Address

City State.....

"I Break Strikes": The Baldwin-Felts Kill For Rockefeller's Fuel Company

By EDWARD LEVINSON

WITH the elimination of the Waddell-Mahon agency, Bergoff's title to the name of Strikebreaker King was unchallenged. Other agencies worked as vigorously as did his, but none on so wide a scale in so far as strikebreaking was concerned. Pinkerton, William J. Burns and the Railway Audit and Inspection Company excelled in espionage; but when it was a question of snags, first-thoughts would always turn to Bergoff Brothers & Waddell.

The competition was keen, however. Particularly was this true in New York City where the emergence of substantial unions among the men's and ladies' garment workers had brought a series of bitter strikes, and, in their train, a mobilization of armies of strikebreakers from half a dozen agencies.

The Washington agency was retained by the Niagara Power Carborundum Company, Mexican Petroleum Company, Interborough Rapid Transit Company, Carnegie Steel Company and United Railways of San Francisco. Like others of the new crop of private detective agencies that rose in New York between 1910 and 1915, the Washington bureau enjoyed close contact with police and politicians.

The Val O'Toole agency, formed about this time, was another one of these, as were the Schmittberger Agency, operated by the brother of a high police official; and the Fidelity Secret Service Bureau, which made free use of the hirelings of Johnny Spanish and Chick Trigger, another East Side gangster chieftain.

Sulkes' "Union"

Sulkes, head of the Sulkes Detective Agency conceived a new union—the International Ladies Garment Workers of the World—to take the place of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which the repeated efforts of the agencies, gangsters and manufacturers had failed to smash.

Sulkes won over a few hundred discontented cloakmakers, and prevailed upon some employers to enter into "negotiations" with him. The work of the Sulkes Detective Agency reached its height in 1914, when Sulkes succeeded in bringing about the indictment of Morris Sigman, Sol Metz and other union leaders on a charge of murdering a strikebreaker during the 1910 strike.

Sulkes' only witness was Dopey Benny Fein, an ambitious East Side thug who tried to play both sides of the fence in the garment strikes of the day. Sigman and the other labor leaders were acquitted in 1915, and Sulkes disappeared from the picture.

Scores of similar agencies had come into being throughout the country. In Philadelphia, the Perkins Detective Agency offered to supply spies at seven dollars a day. The official blessings of big business on the private detective system was revealed in correspondence between the Turner Detective Agency and James W. Van Cleave, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, which Samuel Gompers presented to a Senate committee convened to study the labor injunction problem.

The Jerry F. O'Brien Detective Agency of New York was a Bergoff competitor near home. On January 15, 1915, O'Brien guards, including Jack Eller, and John Gordon, Bergoff nobles, were depulized by the county of Middlesex, New Jersey. They had been hired out to the Williams & Clark fertilizer plant at Roosevelt, where a number of foreign workers were striking against wages of less than forty dollars a month and poisonous fumes that wrecked their lives after a year of employment.

One day, according to the New York Times, "forty deputies rushed from the fertilizer plant firing revolvers, rifles and shot guns as they ran."

Two Dead

Two strikers were killed. Sixteen others were shot in the back. The deputies set up a cry that the first shots had come from the strikers, but there were none to bear out their story.

"These deputies lie if they say the strikers fired at them," said Policeman J. I. W. Dowling of Carteret, an eyewitness. "How could the strikers shoot when they had no weapons? The deputies butchered them. It is impossible to describe how they slaughtered those unarmed, defenseless men. The strikers were shot and beaten and then shot again. The deputies kept firing until their leader signalled them to stop and then they returned to the Williams & Clark property without attempting to aid the injured men groaning all over the marsh."

The blue ribbon for wanton killing went, however, to the Baldwin-Felts organization, though the Bergoff army tried its best to equal them with its performances in Perth Amboy and, in 1915, in Bayonne.

In Kanawha County, West Virginia, on Point and Cabin creeks, Baldwin-Felts operatives showed themselves worthy claimants to the reputation which the Pinkerton men had earned. In the spring of 1912 some 2,500 Baldwin-Felts men were in the area.

"Gatling guns were loaded upon flat cars and freight cars, and these trains were run at night through the mining villages where the strikers were with their families," said United States Senator James E. Martine of New Jersey, member of a Federal investigating committee. "Those trains would run up to a village, usually a single street along a railroad track, the mine guards would fire a couple of rifle shots from the cars to invite the strikers to return the fire, and then the machine guns would be brought into action, and the train would move the length of the village at a snail's pace, spitting bullets at the rate of 250 a minute, and mowing down and maiming and killing men and women and defenseless children."

With this recommendation, the Baldwin-Felts agency was retained by the Rockefellers' Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, and moved their machine guns across the country to Ludlow and Forbes.

His Satanic Majesty

When the Colorado miners struck in the fall of 1913, the cutthroats came. Chairman Frank P. Walsh of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, later summarized the events: Five thousand miners quit the pits and set up tent colonies in the canyons rather than live in the towns. Sheriff Jeff Farr, who Bowers suggested might be called His Satanic Majesty, "deputized 326 gunmen." The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company paid them and "turned them loose in the community."

Lippiatt, a union miner, was killed on the streets of Trinidad by two Baldwin-Felts men, Belk and Belcher. In retaliation, Belcher was shot and killed. His

assailant was rushed to trial and convicted, while Belk, who killed Lippiatt, remained a free man.

Rockefeller Approves

Bowers, meanwhile, was writing to Rockefeller Jr. that he had "whipped the little cowboy governor into line." Governor Ammons was being criticized by labor for his subservience to the company, said Bowers, so "everybody is giving him more or less taffy to keep him from backsliding."

"However distressing these events later seemed to the government commission, the Rockefellers looked upon them with approval. Rockefeller Jr. gave Bowers his full support, while John D. Sr., though engrossed with his philanthropic and Baptist endeavors, was fully informed and unusually satisfied.

"I know that my father has followed the events of the last the fuel company with unusual interest and satisfaction," Rockefeller Jr., wrote to Bowers on December 26, in the high tide of the Christmas season.

Christmas came and went, and the miners weathered the winter season in their tent colonies as best they could under the pervading presence and "usual looting" of the Baldwin-Felts outfit. Most of these men had been mustered into the militia of the state.

On Sunday, April 19th, the inhabitants of the Ludlow tent colony were playing or watching a baseball game. Four militiamen with rifles came up.

"We don't need you to guard the game," a striker said.

"Go ahead and have a good time," one of the newly appointed soldiers replied. "To-

morrow we will get your roast."

The next day was Easter Monday and the Greek strikers were celebrating with songs and music. Suddenly firing began. Louis Tiklas, the Greek leader of the strikers, was knocked down with a rifle butt and shot four times. He died instantly. James Fyler was also shot to death.

For most of the men, women and children of the tent colony, the Baldwin-Felts men reserved less direct extinction. The tents were soaked in oil and set on fire. Men, women and children were shot as they retreated.

Seven women and children jumped into a dugout room for safety from the flames and had the door slammed over their heads. They were smothered to death.

William Snyder's eleven-year-old boy had his brains shot out as he sat in a rocking chair caressing his crying sister.

Meanwhile, the tents were going up in flames. Some of the militiamen were attempting what the company later claimed were "rescuing efforts." A Colorado military commission, headed by Major Edward C. Boughton, reported some details of this rescue work:

"During the rescuing and afterwards, the tent colony was invaded by the soldiers and mine guards for quite a different purpose. . . .

"We find that the tents were not all of them destroyed by accidental fire. Men and soldiers deliberately swarmed into the colony, and deliberately assisted the conflagration by spreading the fire from tent to tent. Beyond a doubt it was seen to intentionally that the fire should destroy the whole of the colony."

Twelve children, two women and five men perished in the Ludlow Massacre. A storm of protest against the Rockefellers and the Baldwin-Felts agency went up throughout the nation. Ivy Lee, thenceforth popularly known for years as Poison Ivy, tried to turn the tide of sympathy by sending out mendacious reports on the causes and events of the strike.

Rockefeller Defends Killings

The United States Commission on Industrial Relations pilloried the Rockefellers, Ivy Lee and the Baldwin-Felts Agency. But Rockefeller Jr. stubbornly stood by his aides. For days he met Walsh's questions with unwavering consistency.

"If you had known that that company composed of mine guards was going into the field," Walsh asked the younger Rockefeller, "what action would you have taken as a director of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company?"

"I would have taken no action," was the reply. "I would have deplored the necessity."

Once Walsh put the entire issue of private armies up to Rockefeller.

"Do you believe," Walsh asked, "that it should be made unlawful for private detective agencies to keep up armed men, enrolled for the purpose of transporting them from state to state to be used where labor disputes are in progress?"

The reply was immediate, if not illuminating.

"That is a question I have no knowledge about," Rockefeller declared.

Read the eleventh of this series of selections from Edward Levinson's startling book, "I Break Strikes," in the Call next week.

POLICE SPY SHOWS HIS HEELS

(Reprinted from the "Guild Striker," weekly paper published by the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild in the interests of the Wisconsin News editorial department strikers.)

The French phrase "agent provocateur" has always been associated in the minds of the striking editorial employees of The Wisconsin News with tricky European espionage and intrigue, but today it stands for something closely connected with the serious business of their struggle for better working conditions.

Our story goes back to the night of Friday, Feb. 17, when a police attack smashed the peaceful picket line around The Wisconsin News building, arresting five sympathizers.

Suspicions were aroused by the actions of a heavy-set, scar-faced individual who, despite the fact the sun had long vanished in the west, was wearing a pair of smoked glasses—his badge of protection, subsequent events proved.

Tried to Start Riot

The man behind the smoked glasses called for action when the trouble started. He shouted:

"Smash them (the police) with your signs."

Further Adventure

Guildsmen considered Mr. Black Glasses an overzealous sympathizer until further revelations came to them. Half hour before the artists' studio at 926 North Plankinton Ave. was raided the next day during the progress of a friendly penny ante poker game, our "friend" left the studio.

He was observed passing a police call box where one of the detectives who made the raid was standing. He then returned to the studio but found an excuse to leave a few minutes before the



MIKE BRUDER

raid which netted five artists, several of whom had been on the picket line the night before.

More than a week has elapsed. Although the sun is shining brightly, our suspect does not wear his dark glasses. He accepts an invitation to attend a meeting of union men, Guildsmen and sympathizers.

Tells of Spy Peril

When the group is seated, a photographer takes a picture.

A young man seated at the table gets up. He speaks:

"You all know that there is a nation-wide move on foot to break down the union movement. Employers are spending more than 8 million dollars a year to send spies among their employes to obtain information and cause bickering at union meetings.

"With the aid of the police, agents provocateurs are sent into picket lines to start trouble and bring strikes into disrepute with the public or form a basis for injunctive action.

"We have among us one of those men, a menace to society worker. He came to the city a short time ago and was given a three-day-a-week job as a watchman."

Exposes Him

All eyes are turned in one direction. The man at the center of the visual vortex squirms uncomfortably.

The speaker continues:

"This man was left plenty of time to interest himself in strike situations. Our advice to him is to start walking now and walk fast until Milwaukee is far behind. His name is"

The man who had worn the black glasses wanted to hear no more. He jumped up, ran to the door, yanked it open and slammed it behind him with the desperation of a wolf with the pack at his heels. Speeding footsteps echoed up the staircase.

Record Revealed

He was done—for good—branded traitor by his own precipitous flight. A powerful man (a former prize fighter) he had not turned on his accusers, nor had he offered a word to vindicate himself.

In Milwaukee he was known as Mike Bruder. Workers' Alliance men had seen him in their state-house picket at Madison. Before that he helped police and vigilantes smash the general strike in San Francisco where the Hearst newspapers co-operated in doing the job.

An Evaluation of The Socialist Convention

By JACK ALTMAN

Despite all the predictions of our enemies, the Socialist Party has emerged from the Cleveland Convention more unified, more determined to build a powerful party, and with its self-respect re-tained. It is too early to give a completely objective evaluation of the convention as a whole, especially for one who was an active participant, but these impressions will give a picture from the "inside" of the four general trends discernible:

1. **The Old Guard**, represented, besides the New York group, by parts of the Massachusetts delegation, consisting mainly of the Verband and Finnish members; Pittsburgh and Philadelphia; Maryland and Bridgeport; the peculiar Washington delegation whom nobody could understand, least of all the Old Guard; and Montana, which abstained for the most part on all fundamental questions, such as seating the New York Old Guard.

Of this group only Bridgeport is important, and Jasper McLevy made it clear in his speech on the Labor Policy resolution that his group would remain with the Party. At the same time we must remember that the Bridgeport group is still more conservative, in its honest way, than even the New York Old Guard. McLevy's anti-Red Flag speech and his behavior on the sales tax indicate this clearly.

The Old Guard group put forward no positive program. Their attitude throughout the convention was negative. Against the National Executive Committee, against the United Front, against armed insurrection, against, against! It was plain that they had no program; they could not give leadership even to the most backward elements in the Party.

2. **Milwaukee and Reading**, the centrist group, not centrist in the classical sense, but rather in an organizational sense. This group consisted of the majority of the Wisconsin delegation, led by Dan Hoan, the major part of the Reading delegation and a small scattering of delegates. Under the leadership of Hoan it succeeded in keeping in the convention some who might have "taken a walk."

3. **The ultra-leftist group**, small and confused, unorganized and unable to attract any following because of the paucity of accomplishment. They floundered about and became vocal only sporadically. Their chief concern was theoretical clarity, but because of their own theoretical confusion, failed completely to make any impression on the convention. They numbered not more than a dozen.

4. **Militants**: Finally came the left wing, better known as the Militants. Aided by the Socialist Call and the American Socialist Monthly, they came to the convention unified theoretically and therefore organized as a force. Beside the New York delegation, this group includes the following States: Illinois, with a delegation of which the entire Party can be proud; Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey, California, majority of Florida, Texas, Indiana, Kansas, part of Massachusetts, part of Pennsylvania, and the smaller delegations too numerous to mention in the limits of this article.

These delegations came to the convention with a positive program. With only minor disagreements, they showed a harmony that augurs well for the future of the Party. These delegates fought for a more centralized, and therefore more disciplined Party, and always put the interests of the Party as a whole above their sectional interests.

The main issues that confronted the convention were:

1. **Split**—The "rite or split" policy of the Old Guard, necessi-

tating a choice between two New York delegations. Involved in this fight were two groups representing two philosophies. One, a compromising, tired and besmirched "socialism," talking "states rights," led by Abe Cahan and Louis Waldman, and the other the vigorous, militant socialism of the left wing, demanding a disciplined party.

The issue was resolved in favor of the latter. Without the votes of either of the two contesting delegations, the result for seating the delegates recognized by the National Executive Committee, was 9,322 to 4,397. The action of the NEC was thus sustained by the party membership; in fact, in many of the speeches, eloquent and stirring, the NEC was even chided for not having taken action sooner.

The delegates were then treated to one of the spectacles with which New Yorkers had become familiar, the sit-down strike of Louis Waldman and Algernon Lee during the singing of the International. With weasel words Lee in the "New Leader" tries to justify it on the ground that it was being sung as a hymn of hate because of the convention's action on New York. This is in line with Lee's general disregard for the truth. It was sung in response to greetings from Alexander Carrillo, of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

The announced formation of Waldman's "spite" party left the convention undisturbed. Its doom was spelled by its lack of any support from delegates at the convention, and James Maurer's refusal to accept its chairmanship. Only two delegates are known to have left, Van Essen of Pittsburgh, and a Verband delegate from Rhode Island. Of course we must expect additional repercussions. The Verband may prove disloyal to the Party. Its national secretary is not even a Party member, having failed to register in New York.

The balance of the convention business was dealt with in a comradely atmosphere, despite differences of opinion. There was some opposition to the nomination of Norman Thomas, but the spontaneous enthusiasm of the

delegates and visitors for the nomination showed the real spirit of the party, as newspaper observers and the vast radio audience listening for two solid hours to this important broadcast can attest.

2. **Farmer-Labor Party and United Front**: Most of the Committee reports were enthusiastically and unanimously accepted. The exceptions were the Farmer-Labor Party, and the United Front resolutions.

The majority resolution on the Farmer-Labor Party (printed elsewhere in this issue), which was finally adopted by a wide margin, expresses the militant point of view. The opposition, which got the support of some of the right as well as the ultra left, presented a resolution through the Minnesota delegates, reflecting a sectarian reaction to the Farmer-Labor Party in that State.

The United Front has been a serious bone of contention in the Party for two years. The Old Guard took the offensive on this issue, and put forward the ostrich position of no united front with Communist or splinter groups under all and any circumstances, despite their own united fronts with these groups. (May Day, Lovestonites—Trade Unions, Local 1—Terzani case, etc.)

The left wing position was a rejection of parliamentary united fronts with merely Socialists and Communists, no joint pact, but a positive policy of united front on such specific issues as Herndon, May Day, Civil Liberties, etc.

Because there was no time for adequate debate, the matter was wisely referred to a referendum of the Party membership, to take place in December, thus leaving the issue to the membership and allowing for the possibility of much-needed education on this subject. Meanwhile, the Party is bound by the old NEC ruling, which is in line with the resolution presented by the militants.

3. **War and the Declaration of Principles**: The ideological failure of the right wing at the convention, was expressed by its complete failure to oppose, substitute, or amend the War Resolution or the Declaration of Principles. The War resolution was the most advanced ever put before a Socialist convention in the United States, yet in the best traditions of our movement. The

right wing simply remained silent, not as part of their strategy, because on other resolutions they fought, but due simply to lack of a position. The same thing is true with the Declaration of Principles. After having used it as an issue for two years, they failed even to discuss the Declaration or the amendments which strengthened and clarified it.

4. **Labor Policy**: The resolution on labor policy was only a little in advance of that of 1934. This fundamental question was not given the attention it deserved because it was overshadowed by organizational questions and because of lack of education concerning the practical results of New York's labor policy. The 1938 convention will in all probability deal with the question in greater detail and will benefit by the result of two years more of practice in New York.

5. **Constitution**: The most unfortunate situation developed on the Constitution Committee, which failed to bring in much-needed changes in the light of new conditions. The only excuse that can be made for the Committee is lack of sleep. For instance, the Language Federation problem remains absolutely untouched, though it may solve itself. The centralization and discipline of the

Party therefore remain matters for the future.

The Organization and Campaign Committee proposed a real program of Party activity that was enthusiastically adopted and which will help build the Party and arouse loyalty among the working masses when carried out.

6. **The New NEC**: Finally, the Convention elected a well-balanced NEC that augurs well for the future. The most welcome change is Max Delson instead of Oneal from New York. No longer will we have obstruction in our National Committee. Its first meeting applied itself to constructive work, dealing effectively with Socialist activity in the Workers' Alliance and unified work within that organization. It faced the possibility of further disruptive attempts by the Old Guard, electing a Committee to appeal for unity with the Old Guard rank and file and an acceptance of the decisions of the Party democratically arrived at in convention. Our NEC will act decisively to build the Party. More power to it!

The Party members can make the Cleveland Convention historic as the convention that marked the resurgence of our movement if they respond wholeheartedly. There is no time to be lost. Comrades, to work!

Consumers' Cooperation

By BENJAMIN WOLF

Relations With the Trade Unions

The Socialist Party officially swung into action on the question of the consumers' cooperative movement by passing a resolution outlining its attitude towards the movement and asking the formation of a trade union organization to sponsor cooperatives in trade union centers. The resolution was drafted at the pre-convention organization conference on cooperatives and was modeled along the lines of the statement issued by the New York Cooperative Committee. That statement appeared in this column several months ago.

In the discussion centering about the resolution several problems were raised which will require analysis and discussion before a definite policy is established. The most important of these problems has to do with organized trade union support of the cooperative movement. There is first the question what relationship should cooperatives organized by trade unions bear toward the union. Some of our comrades feel that there should be a direct organic affiliation. They urge that if a union sponsors a cooperative among its membership the union should control and guide its destiny. The cooperative should be made a part of the program of the union thereby augmenting the attractiveness of the union to workers.

Relation to Unions

Others believe that although unions should sponsor and encourage the formation and support of cooperatives, the cooperatives should be allowed to grow independently, bound to the union only by the common interests of two branches of the Labor Movement. My own feeling is that the latter point of view is the correct position. Unions have in the past sponsored and built cooperatives and with few exceptions they were unsuccessful.

Sectarianism in the cooperative movement is neither healthy nor desirable. It is not desirable because instead of formulating policies to the interest of the general working class consumer, it tends towards policies of special interest to the sect.

Cooperatives fare much better when they are independent and

when their contributions to the trade union movement are governed by how much they can afford rather than how much the unions need. It has been this practice of subordinating cooperatives to the unions that rendered every trade union cooperative attempt abortive. It is also one of the main reasons for the past apathy of the American Labor Movement towards the cooperative movement.

Affiliation

A second question is raised in discussing the relation of a trade union -- sponsored cooperative movement to the existing cooperative movement. Some of our comrades feel that we will serve the cooperative movement better in the end if we do not affiliate with the Cooperative League, many of whose leaders hold out cooperation as a panacea and as an alternative to Socialism. They feel they could not work in a movement some spokesmen of which have denied that cooperation will not hurt private profit business. They say we can build a mighty movement and then absorb the present movement. In that way can we give Socialist tone and leadership to the cooperative movement, unhampered by the naive views of the present leadership.

Such an attitude I believe would be a boomerang. We who have done little if anything in the existing movement, would split cooperation in America wide open and probably destroy it. It would engender antagonisms dangerous to a new movement. It would be dual unionism applied to the cooperative movement. Our task is to work within the movement. We must work within the Cooperative League as we do in the American Federation of Labor, by giving it the energy, intelligence and leadership that come from the acceptance of Marxism.

Fight Fire, Then Strike



About 170 of the 260 members of the CCC camp in Manahawkin, N. J., who were on almost continuous duty fighting a forest fire for three days last week, went on strike when ordered to resume their regular forestry work before being allowed sufficient rest.

Five young men were killed fighting the fire. Photo above shows youths resting during their strenuous battle.

World Socialism

A PEOPLE'S FRONT IN ENGLAND?

By HERBERT ZAM

The People's Front wave seems to have reached England, which is perhaps the last country one would expect such a movement to take root, since the workers are concentrated in the Labor Party, with a fair proportion of the middle class already in it. Stimulated by the electoral victories of the

People's Front in France and Spain, the remnants of the old Liberal Party have begun a vigorous campaign for the formation of a "people's front" to fight reaction. Lloyd George and his Reconstruction Council have become vigorous advocates of this idea, as have also some of the "left" members of Ramsay MacDonald's "party." It is easy to see their reason for doing so. A "people's front" needs middle class liberals, liberals with "names." They offer themselves. For them a people's front would be a windfall. Discredited and deserted, they have been continually flirting with every breeze that came along. This seems to be a promising one at present.

of debts sponsored by Lang, the Labor-Premier of Australia), and provincial autonomy. As a result of this split, the Labor movement suffered many losses.

Unity was restored at a special Interstate Conference at Melbourne in February of this year. On the one hand the New South Wales Labor Party, which had been independent since the split, agreed unreservedly to accept the platform, rules and constitution of the Australian Labor Party and to become the State Branch of that Party; it agreed to reinstate all members who had been expelled as a result of the difficulties with the national organization. On the other hand the National Labor Party rescinded its resolution of March, 1931, expelling the Lang organization.

The Conference further moved to do away with the conditions which had made a split possible in the first place. The triennial conference was moved forward from October to July, and proposals for constitutional changes were worked out. It is suggested that the powers and functions of the Federal Conference should be limited to the formulation of Federal policy and platform; that the existing Federal Executive be replaced by a Federal secretariat limited to routine duties; that the Interstate conference meet annually; and that representation from the states at this conference be on a more democratic basis. Thus in effect, the movement has been decentralized and real power will now reside in the Interstate Conference.

Argentine Elections

In spite of the instability in the political situation in Argentina, and the rapid rise and decline of parties, the Socialist movement remains a stable and permanent force. This was shown by the partial elections in March in the city of Buenos Aires. The Socialist Party polled 103,000 votes, elected five deputies to parliament and six members of the municipal council.

While this was a loss compared with 1934, it was a large gain over 1930, when the Radicals also had a ticket in the field. In 1934 the Radicals did not run (they had just been turned out of power) and the Socialist Party was the only opposition party thus obtaining many of the Radical votes. Next to the Socialists and Radicals (who obtained 187,000 votes) the strongest party was that of the Independent Socialists, with 12,000 votes. All of these parties are anti-government, which is supported by the capitalists, big landowners—and American imperialist representatives. Thus, it appears that the entire population of Buenos Aires is opposed to the government.

Socialist Strength

American Socialists accustomed to small parties are usually surprised at the size of the European Socialist parties. Since the fascist victories in Germany and Austria, many believe that there are no really large Socialist parties. Recent reports, however, show such views to be mistaken.

The latest figures for Sweden, for instance, show a Socialist membership there of 338,000. In Denmark the Social-Democratic Party has 195,000 members, and the youth organization has 25,000 members. Czechoslovakia shows 170,000 members and Holland close to 90,000. Tiny Iceland has a Party with 12,300 members, probably the largest in the world in comparison with the population. These examples show that Socialism is a mass movement still, in spite of the loss of the two largest sections.

Labor Unity In Australia

After five years of division, a united Labor Party has again been established in Australia, where Labor is the largest party. The 1931 split was two ways—one toward the right, and one toward the left. The right wing, led by Lyons, rapidly became the rallying point for anti-labor and reactionary elements, and soon united with the Nationalists, an anti-labor group, in the United Australian Party, thus removing itself from the labor movement.

The split to the left was much more serious, involving first the New South Wales Labor Party, and later spreading to the rest of the Dominion. The issues involved were financial policy (involving the policy of repudiation

Nelson



George Nelson, fighting farmers' leader, who is the Socialist candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

To Hold Hearing On Constitution

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A public hearing on the Farmers' and Workers' Rights Amendment, to take place the latter part of the first week in June, has been promised by the Senate Committee on Judiciary, announces David Lasser, president of the Workers' Alliance of America.

"Through the courtesy of Sen. Elmer A. Benson (Farmer-Labor, Minn.) the Senate committee has promised us this hearing. At that hearing we must have representatives of all the labor unions, farm and fraternal organizations that have endorsed this amendment. It is important for all those who favor this amendment, which will give Congress the power to pass social legislation on a national scale without the nine reactionary members of the Supreme Court having the right to declare it unconstitutional, to take part in the public hearings," said Lasser. "Requests have been sent to these individuals and organizations to send representatives to this city next week."

General Strike Looms

NEW YORK—The shop chairmen of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union last week discussed and voted upon the demands which the Union would place before the employers in the coming General Strike in the month of July, 1936.

The meeting was marked by an enthusiastic spirit on the part of the shop chairmen and a determination that the agreement with the employers will be renewed with improved conditions for the knitgoods workers.

Kings County Elects

The Kings County committee at a meeting held last Thursday decided to proceed with organization of a County Committee according to the present by-laws, and to function immediately.

The following officers were elected: Theodore Shapiro, Organizer; Edward Greif, Permanent Chairman; Ray Sokoloff, Secretary.

The American Youth Act

Features of the Act which is endorsed by the Socialist Party platform:

A system of vocational training and employment of youth on public (not private) enterprises for the purpose of providing wages equal to the prevailing wage rates; no case less than \$15 per week plus \$3 for each dependent.

Payment of expenses of needy students in high schools and vocational schools; compensation, exclusive of all fees, shall in no case be less than \$15 per month.

A system of regular employment on college projects for the purpose of providing regular wages for needy undergraduate and graduate students in colleges. Wages shall be equal to the prevailing wage for work performed, and in no case under \$25 per month.

Act to be administered and controlled by youth commissions. On all administrative boards set up, not less than one-third of

the membership shall consist of the elected representatives of youth organizations, one-third to consist of the representatives of organized labor and the remainder to be representatives of local social service, educational, and consumers' organizations.

All projects under terms of Act shall be actually beneficial to the community and no works projects shall be directly or indirectly of a military character or designed to subsidize any private profit-making enterprise.

Act's benefits shall be extended to all youth without discrimination because of nativity, sex, race, color, religious or political opinion or affiliation. No youth will be discriminated against because of strike or trade union activity or for refusing to work at less than local trade-union wages.

Meat Cutters Convene

MEMPHIS, TENN.—The fourteenth convention of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America will convene here June 8 with representatives present from 600 locals.

The convention will take up the problem of organizing unorganized workers, the question of craft versus industrial unionism, and the strike of packing house workers in progress for more than a year in Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

O. G. Licked Again

INDIANAPOLIS, IND. — Efforts on the part of old guard elements to bar the Socialist Party of the United States from the ballot by setting up a "Socialist Party, Incorporated," proved futile. In an emphatic ruling, the State Board of Elections held that only the state organization recognized by the national party was entitled to recognition.

At the same time, William Spencer, member of the board, declared that it would rule against the filing of a "Social Democratic" Party on the ballot, as the name is deceptive, being neither Socialist nor Democratic.

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2,000,000

NEW YORK.—Representatives of 2,000,000 organized consumers will meet in Columbus, Ohio, early in October to survey current co-operative developments and plan even more aggressive expansion.

First in 20 Years

SAN FRANCISCO.—For the first time in local history union painters won a closed shop agreement, averting a strike set for June 1.

The agreement provides also for a wage of \$1 per hour, for an eight-hour day. It is also the first time in 20 years the contractors have signed an agreement with the union.

It is reported on good authority that the entire building trades soon will be on a closed shop basis. The strong building trades union movement which once existed here was smashed by employers in an "American plan" drive after the War.

Newsman Thank Socialists for Strike Support

MILWAUKEE.—A general strike in behalf of the editorial strikers of the Hearst Wisconsin News and the Lindemann-Hoverston stove strikers appeared possible this week when a conference of more than 90 delegates from 30 local unions agreed to submit the question to their respective organizations.

The Milwaukee Newspaper Guild, in its daily strike bulletin for May 29, says:

"It may have been overlooked, but the national Socialist convention at Cleveland adopted a resolution endorsing the Guild strike in Milwaukee. The resolution was introduced by Gene Green, delegate from Milwaukee and the Guild's attorney in several court actions growing out of the strike."

Sarcastically, the Guild bulletin continues, "Wouldn't it be nice to have Guildsmen with Democratic and Republican friends have those friends get similar resolutions adopted by the Democratic and Republican conventions? No harm in trying, because all parties have the interests of the working (newspaper) men at heart."

Bergoff League Inspired Arrest Of 48 Unionists

AKRON, Ohio.—Akron's so-called Law & Order League, founded by Pearl (I Break Strikes) Bergoff, and compelled by the strength of organized labor to backwater during the March Goodyear strike, executed a surprise attack against rapidly-growing unionism in the tire factories, when 48 union workers were seized on charges of violating Ohio's riot act because they engaged in a sit-down strike.

The prisoners are Goodyear employes who protested against favoritism displayed toward a nonunion tire layer in violation of seniority rights.

Meanwhile, three Ohio National Guard officers have been assigned as "observers" to assist the Goodyear management.

Stanford to Give Course in Union Busting Tactics

PALO ALTO.—Hoover's alma mater is about to aid the strike-busting industry. A new division has been established in Stanford University, devoted to the study of "industrial relations."

Heading the division, which is part of the Graduate School of Business, will be Paul Eliel, for many years director of industrial relations for the Industrial Association of San Francisco, notorious anti-labor and strike-breaking agency of big business.

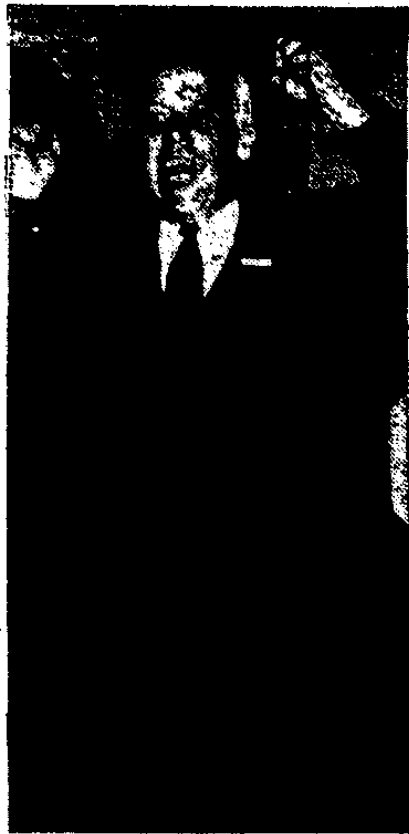
While it is announced that the new division will specialize only in courses in social security and industrial relations, and while Mr. Eliel is known to be more moderate and liberal than his associates in the Industrial Association, labor is apprehensive about the new venture.

It is feared by some that the university is getting ready to turn out specialists in union-breaking, labor spy directing and greater efficiency in exploiting workers.

Looking Askance Dept.

SAN FRANCISCO.—The local Labor Council is looking askance at the establishment at Stanford University of a Division of Industrial Relations. A resolution calling upon Stanford officials for an explanation of their intentions

Thomas



Norman Thomas addressing the Socialist convention in Cleveland, where he was nominated for the Presidency of the United States.

Clerks Fight for Union Democracy

NEW YORK.—Progressive elements in Local 338 of the Retail Dairy, Grocery and Fruit Clerks suffered a set-back last week in their fight for union democracy when the administration, by packing membership meetings and allowing double voting, succeeded in electing six out of nine members on the Election and Objection Committee.

In the Bronx, out of a membership of 1,000, only about 190 were present and voted, the session lasting no more than ten minutes. The meeting had been rushed through by Manager Samuel Wolchak. Members of the Wolchak group then hurried from the Bronx meeting to the Manhattan gathering where they were permitted by the administration to vote again. A similar attempt to flood the Brooklyn meeting failed.

The membership meetings were attended by George "Bozo" Horowitz, recently released from jail, and "Hymie the Mule."

A storm of protests at the Manhattan meeting resulted in a concession by the administration that it would grant a re-election in that borough after the chairman had refused to permit the members to make any motions from the floor.

Thomas Talks in War Symposium

NEW YORK.—The first public appearance of Norman Thomas in New York since his nomination as presidential candidate of the Socialist Party will take place Friday evening June 5 at the St. Nicholas Palace at an Anti-War Symposium sponsored by the Bronx Free Fellowship.

"Our Stand On War" will also be discussed by John Haynes Holmes, chairman of the War Resisters League, Clark M. Eichelberger, national director of the League of Nations Association, and Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party.

Chairman of the meeting will be Dr. A. Clayton Powell Jr., Minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church. Tickets are available at the Socialist Call Book Store, 21 East 17th Street and all day Friday at the Box Office of the St. Nicholas Palace, 66th St. between Broadway and Central Park West.

was introduced into the Labor Council by George Kidwell, business representative of the Bakery Wagon Drivers' Union, and adopted unanimously.

16-Page Drive

The Call gained 130 new subscribers this week. Among those received:

Subscriptions

Table listing subscribers and their locations, including Leonard Woodcock, Detroit; Kazimer Miller, Philadelphia; Jack Miske, Tamaqua, Pa.; Monroe Sweetland, Portland, Oregon; Local St. Paul, Minnesota; Ivar Anderson, Chicago, Ill.; I. G. Miller, West Virginia; Local Rockland, New York; Syd Devin, Chicago, Ill.; Elsie Buntis, Binghamton, N. Y.; Minnie Rubinsteln, N. Y. C.; 21st A. D. Ex., N. Y. C.; 3rd A. D. Ex., N. Y. C.; Jack Altman, N. Y. C.; David Hubbard, Los Angeles; Joseph Meffer, Williamsport, Pa.; Elizabeth Gilman, Baltimore, Md.; A. A. Zaracynski, Detroit; Joe Glass, New York; E. Belgray, Bronx, N. Y.; Larry Rogin, Katonah, N. Y.; William L. McClammy, Brooklyn, N. Y.; R. R. Genois, Philadelphia, Pa.; Ben Sands, Glendale, Calif.; Max Eisenstadt, Brooklyn, N. Y.; H. Johnson, Stratford, Conn.; Henry Flinski, N. Y. C.; Alice Pemble, Minn.; Jamaica Br., N. Y.; S. Magaziniak, N. Y.

Sales

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Donations

Table listing donors and amounts, including Hyman Fromowitz, Brooklyn, N. Y. (\$13.00); Elizabeth Gilman, Baltimore, Md. (.50); Paul Heikkela (.50); S. Bass, Newark, N. J. (1.00); Ruth Schechter, New York City (5.00); Mary S. McDowell, New York (4.15); Mrs. Thomas Walker, New York (4.00); Village Branch, New York (12.40); Sol Blum, New York (1.00); M. P. Blair, Marshville, N. C. (1.00); Caroline Urlic, New London, Conn. (5.00)

LABOR KNOCKS NUTTY Mc NUTT

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—Organized labor has vigorously protested the action of the Fairmont State Teachers' College in inviting Governor Paul V. McNutt, Indiana's "Hoosier Hitler" to be commencement speaker.

"Governor McNutt," points out a resolution of the Monongahela Valley Trades and Labor Council, "has mercilessly fought labor's legal right to organize, and has set up a most vicious fascist dictatorship by turning the state into a military camp at the whims of big business.

"We consider this selection of a speaker a travesty of justice." McNutt is a good friend of President Roosevelt and a frequent White House visitor.

Wanted: Suggestions

NEW YORK.—With the city convention of the New York Socialist Party scheduled for this month, the Committee on By-Laws and Structure requests party members to send in suggestions to aid the committee in its work. Communicate with Lou Hay, chairman of the committee, at 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

Y. P. S. L. Meet in Mass.

FITCHBURG, MASS.—The Young People's Socialist League of Massachusetts is holding its third annual convention at Salma Hall here June 14, at 10:00 a. m. Regular and fraternal delegates will meet to hear reports of the past year's achievements and to discuss tactics of organization and policies for the coming year.

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Premier?



Emile Vandervelde, leader of the Belgian Socialist Party, and former president of the Labor and Socialist International, who is expected to be Belgium's next premier as a result of the election victories.

L. I. D. Conference

CHICAGO.—The Fifth Annual Summer Conference will be held by the Chicago Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy this weekend at the Bowen Country Club, near Waukegan, where there are abundant facilities not only for discussions and addresses, but also for tennis, hiking, pingpong, swimming, baseball and other recreation.

The general conference subject will be "The Threat of War and How to Meet It." Speakers and discussion leaders who have agreed to serve include Paul H. Douglas, Frank W. McCulloch, Clarence Senior, Maynard Krueger, Robert Morss Lovett, Paul Porter, Lillian Herstein, Arthur McDowell, Leon Despres, Ethel Davis, Theodore Hume, Lola Maverick Lloyd, S. S. Sargent, Joseph Jacobs, and Meyer Halushka.

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By HENRY C. FLEISHER

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That man is William Randolph Hearst. The life and influence of that one man, so fantastic that only the hard cold facts of reality make them believable, have been thoroughly probed by two outstanding biographical works, for whose publication the American people may well be thankful. "Imperial Hearst," by Ferdinand Lundberg, (Equinox Publishers, New York, \$2.75) is one, and "Hearst: An Unauthorized Biography," by Ernest Sutherland Bates and Oliver Carlson (Viking, New York, \$3—through Common Sense Magazine, \$1), the other.

Hearst started business life—after having been expelled from Harvard—with The San Francisco Examiner, a gift from his wealthy father; was handed \$14,000,000 by his mother to invade the New York journalistic field; has bludgeoned favors out of business organizations over a period of 40 years; has sold "unbiased" theater reviews for which he was paid by the show producers; and introduced gangsterism to Chicago to speed circulation increases for his Chicago American.

Born Wealthy

It was his knack of knowing how to be born to wealthy parents, rather than the "sweat of his brow," which enabled Hearst to inherit 42,000 highly profitable shares in the Homestake gold mines and 51,000 shares in the Cerro de Pasco mine, "rated one of the most completely equipped copper producers in the world."

Farmer-Labor Bibliography

(Special to the Call)

MENA, Ark.—A comprehensive bibliography on the farmer-labor party is now being completed by the library staff of Commonwealth College for distribution June 1.

The bibliography will include books, pamphlets and articles from twenty-five magazines, and from the New York Times and the Socialist Call. It will list all recent material and some of the farmer-labor party copy that was published earlier.

Commonwealth will mimeograph the bibliography, which will sell for ten or fifteen cents, with reductions for orders of more than five copies. Work on the project is under the supervision of Henry Black, college librarian, who is being assisted by his student staff and various student volunteers. Readers of the Socialist Call interested in the bibliography are requested to write to Miss Charlotte Moskowitz, executive secretary of Commonwealth, Mena, Ark.

On the other hand, knavery rather than luck is hinted as the secret of his success in manipulating the complicated structure of holding companies in the publishing field so that an endless flow of money has been squeezed out of them into the hands of the publisher.

Presumably, Lundberg points out, few buyers of his 7% preferred stock were aware that good will normally listed on the asset ledger at \$1 was listed instead at \$139,153,905; or that of the money received from the public's purchases of the stock, \$42,000,000 was used by the corporation to pay off a mysterious note to Hearst, or that shortly after the stock issue was sold, work was started on the construction of luxurious San Simeon.

They may not yet know that the constant milking process by which Hearst gathered in the dollars has left many of the companies high and dry and in debt to banks. "In 1906," Lundberg writes, "Hearst caustically denounced rival New York newspaper proprietors for owing money to banks and insurance companies because such obligations make them puppets of Wall Street. These words were a prophecy of what Hearst of 1920-1936 would be."

LID Summarizes Thomas War Book

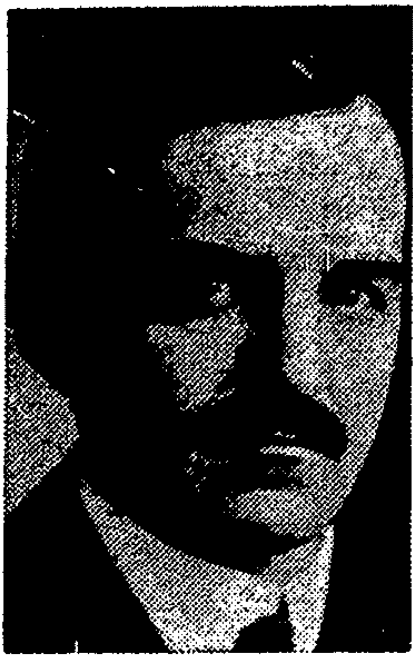
Norman Thomas has summarized his book, "War: No Profit, No Glory, No Need," in a 32-page pamphlet called, "War—As a Socialist Sees It." It is published by the League for Industrial Democracy (112 E. 19th St., N. Y. C.) and sells for five cents.

In forthright terms it states the Socialist Party position against war, which position differs in several basic aspects from that of most European Socialist parties, as well as of the Communist party.

The position Norman Thomas takes may be summarized under five headings:

1. A modern war will involve the most catastrophic destruction the world has ever seen, and most likely will end in general chaos and misery.
2. The real enemy is capitalist-nationalism, whether under its "democratic" form or its fascist form. Fascism is its worst stage, but only a stage.
3. No capitalist nation, whatever its professions to the masses, will go to war for democracy. It will go to war to serve its national imperialist interests and for no other reason.
4. The hope that, despite the dominance of nationalism and capitalism, labor can somehow manipulate new wars for its own ends, is utopian.
5. Capitalist countries cannot and will not, in the final analysis, defend or aid the Soviet Union. Appeals by communists for military action of bourgeois states against fascism only weaken the appeal to the

Mayor Stump Praises Hoan's Book



Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee.

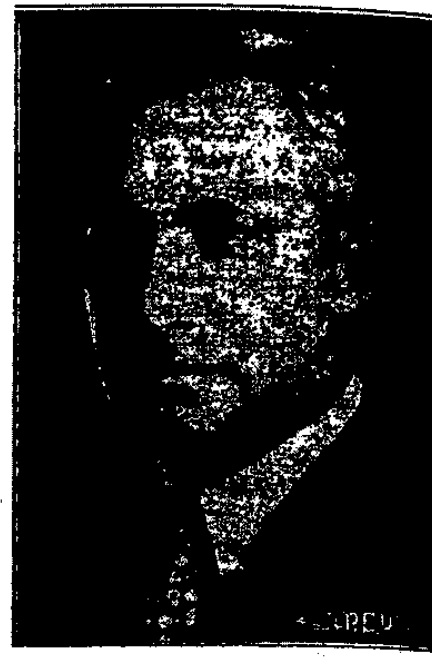
CHICAGO — "The best book on municipal government I ever read," is the description by Mayor J. Henry Stump of Reading, Pa., of Daniel W. Hoan's new work, *City Government* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, \$2.50).

"Throughout the entire book there is ample evidence of Hoan's recognition of the existence of the class conflict and his determination to use municipal resources to the advantage of the greatest number.

"The volume is certain to give many people a more practical viewpoint on the importance of placing city management in the hands of the workers' representatives, rather than at the mercy of big business interests, who — as Hoan points out—are more interested in special privileges and private profits than in good government."

Hoan has just been elected to his seventh term, and Stump to his second term, as mayors of Milwaukee and Reading, respectively.

City Government may be ordered from the national headquarters of the Socialist party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago.



J. Henry Stump, Socialist mayor of Reading, Pa.

2 Pamphlets On Workers' Rights

Two pamphlets that every worker should own have just been published. One of them, entitled "Free Ferrero and Sallitto," tells the story of the persecution of these two anti-fascists who rented part of their small restaurant in San Francisco to the editor of a libertarian magazine.

For this "crime" they are now facing deportation to Fascist Italy where Mussolini is ready to pounce upon them. The pamphlet is issued by the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference, Box 181, Station D, New York City.

The other one, "The Scottsboro Cases," gives the history of the case from March 25, 1931, when nine Negro boys, aged 13 to 20, were arrested for an alleged assault on two white girls of shady reputation. Sentenced to death at their first trial, their case has been appealed to the Supreme Court and referred back to the lower courts.

The fight for their freedom is now being carried on by the Scottsboro Defense Committee, Room 506, 112 E. 19th St., New York City, which also published this pamphlet.

The pamphlet sells for five cents and contains the decision of Judge James E. Horton of Alabama, which, in a temperate tone, breaks down the false testimony used against the nine boys.

workers to strive for deliverance of the world.

The pamphlet includes excerpts from the 1917 St. Louis Declaration of the Socialist Party, those sections of the Declaration of Principles of the party dealing with war, and excerpts from speeches by Eugene V. Debs.

MASS MEETING

"The Present Situation in Palestine"

The Jews, The Arabs, The Communists

SPEAKERS:

RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL

GOLDIE MEYERSON, Delegate Palestine Federation of Labor

HAYIM GREENBERG, Editor Jewish Frontier

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Sec.-Treas. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Thurs. Eve. 11 JUNE

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SOCIALIST CALL

*Selections from this book are now appearing in the Call... For only \$2.50 you can buy the complete book.

The Falcon Call Is Off the Press

CHICAGO, Ill.—"The Falcon Call," an attractive 22 page magazine for children of workers, has just been published by the Red Falcons of America, officially recognized children's organization of the Socialist Party, U. S. A., with headquarters in this city.

It contains illustrated stories by children and for children with a definite working class and anti-war appeal.

"Our articles on Falconcraft, the letters and poems by our young members, all are indications of the training and initiative of Falcons," stated Elizabeth Sharnoff, acting secretary of the Red Falcons, and editor of the magazine.

Copies of this magazine, and bundle orders can be secured by writing to the Red Falcons of America, 721 Moxley Building, Chicago, Illinois.

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52 ISSUES

March, 1935, to March, 1936

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SOCIALIST CALL READERS ARE INVITED TO THE SUMMER CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

FOREST HOUSE, AT INTERLAKEN, LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y. FRIDAY, JUNE 19, TO SUNDAY, JUNE 21, 1936

Subject: "WAR AGAINST WAR"

Speakers and Discussion Leaders include: Norman Thomas, Devere Allen, Upton Chase, John T. Flynn, Lewis Corey, Jessie W. Hughan, Harry W. Funder, Ludwig Lore, Scott Nearing, Joseph Schlossberg, Rose M. Stein, Robert Woolbert, Murray Baron, David P. Berenberg, Mary Fox, Evelyn Hughan, Joseph P. Lash, Siegfried Lipchutz, Benjamin C. Marsh and others.

RATES: \$7.00 From Friday to Sunday; Single Day, \$3.75

Conference Fee, \$2.00 for Members; \$3.00 for Non-Members

Makes Your Application at Once to League for Industrial Democracy 112 E. 19th St., New York City

Cramped Rebel Arts Now Thing of Past; Moves to New Hall

NEW YORK.—Rebel Arts, labor and Socialist cultural organization, is now located in its new and more spacious headquarters at 35 East 19th St., New York City. The dance groups, chorus, puppeteers, art projects, drama group and camera club are meeting under slightly altered summer schedules.

All groups are preparing for the big Rebel Arts June Festival which will wind up the Spring program of activities and which will be presented on or about June 21 in a local theatre.

With the success of the "Red Caballeros" Dance Orchestra definitely assured, plans are under way to start a symphony orchestra and brass band next September. All comrades and friends who play musical instruments and have had at least two years of training are urged to communicate at once with Albert Lehrer at Rebel Arts.

Send your name, address, telephone number and the name of your instrument.

Classes for beginners will be organized as well, if a sufficient number apply. Donations or loans of instruments for the use of beginners who do not own instruments will be appreciated.

Debs School Opens 1st Summer Session

NEW YORK — The first summer session of the Debs School will offer five courses for high school and college students, beginning the first week in July, according to an announcement issued by the school.

The Debs School is not non-partisan because it is definitely a part of the Socialist and Labor movement. However, within the broad ideal of Socialism it stands for complete freedom of discussion. The instructors are recruited from among the most competent in the radical movement. The only fee is fifty cents for registration.

Summer courses will include: Capitalism and its Culture; The Social Offensive against Capitalism; The Evolution of Economic Thought from Mercantilism to Veblen; History of Radical Thought; and a Class Struggle Laboratory in which an organized opportunity will be offered to study and participate in the efforts of workingmen to better their conditions.

Registrants should communicate with Jack Barbash at the Debs School, 21 East 17th Street.

Shtime Dinner

NEW YORK — A banquet in honor of the "Socialistische Shtime," Jewish Socialist organ, will be held on Sunday, June 7, at Gluckstern's Restaurant, 133 Delancey Street, at 6:30 p. m. Reservations may be made by communicating with the Shtime, or the office of the Central Bureau of Jewish Socialist Branches, at 21 E. 17th Street.

Going To The Theatre?

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

Our BUREAU also arranges parties for current attractions. This service is FREE to Call readers.

Get in Touch With The Theatre Bureau c/o SOCIALIST CALL 21 East 17th St. New York City or phone GRamercy 5-8779

"Hitler" in France



Actors in Paris making up in the play "Hitler" that aroused much controversy in France. Georges Norel took the role of the German Chancellor and Juan Dulac, whose face is seen in the mirror, had the part of Marshal von Hindenberg. The play brought German protest.

"... like flies"

A reader of the Call came into the editorial office last week to tell us he had received a letter from a friend in the Italian army in Ethiopia.

Our reader, whose name we omit for obvious reasons, told us the letter was very innocuous as his friend was afraid of Il Duce's military censors.

The letter concluded, "I know, my dear—, that you collect stamps, and as the one on this envelope will some day be very valuable, I admonish you to take it off very carefully."

Our reader took the stamp off with extreme care, and found written underneath it, in tiny print:

"We are dying like flies here!"

Nazis Fear Sweden

STOCKHOLM, Sweden.—Sweden's powerful anti-Olympic movement has frightened Nazi leaders of the games.

In an effort to counteract Swedish sentiment against participation, Carl Diem, leading German Olympic Games organizer, has arrived in this country for a campaign to whip up enthusiasm for the sports fest. He followed Von Tschammer-Osten, prominent German athlete, whose failure to stem the anti-Olympic tide led to his return to Germany.

At present Sweden holds the largest bloc of tickets for the games, but with 200,000 Swedish trade unionists, led by the Stockholm Trades Council, demanding boycott, Nazis fear that large numbers of them may be returned.

"The most tormenting war play of the year has come from a new man... Mr. Shaw's grimly imaginative rebellion against warfare is a shattering bit of theatre magic that burrows under the skin of argument into the raw flesh of sensation."
—BROOKS ATKINSON, N. Y. Times

"BURY THE DEAD"

The Drama That Startled the World
By IRWIN SHAW

BARRYMORE Thea. 47 St. W. of B'way (Prices: Even, 50c to \$2.00
Eves. 8:50; Mats. 2:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 50c to \$1.50)

SAT., JULY 11th

8:30 P.M.

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RELAX FROM EXAMS!

CELEBRATE WITH THE A. S. U. AND COME TO THE American Student Union Night

JUNE 6th 8:40 P.M.

CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE, 14th St. and 6th Ave.

THREE ONE-ACT PLAYS BY THE THEATRE COLLECTIVE

PRIVATE HICKS—by Albert Maltz
BIVOUAC ALABAMA—by Paul Peters

YOU CAN'T CHANGE HUMAN NATURE—by Phillip Stevenson

Tickets—35c to \$1.65—on sale at A. S. U., 112 E. 19th St.; Socialist Call, 21 E. 17th St.; Columbia Bookstore, 116th & B'way; Workers Bookshop 50 E. 13th St.

The Great Ziegfeld Is a Splendid Film

The Great Ziegfeld, presented twice daily at the Astor Theatre, New York City.

"The Great Ziegfeld," with William Powell in the role of Florenz Ziegfeld, is a stupendous undertaking, well executed and worth seeing—if you can sit through three hours of movie with but a ten minute intermission.

The picture portrays the life of Ziegfeld from the time he puts on a sideshow on the midway in the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 until his death, caused in part by the stock market crash of 1929.

The entire production is as overwhelming as one of Ziegfeld's famous "Follies." To this critic it settles one point for all times: There is definitely a situation in which the screen surpasses anything the stage can offer. No legitimate theatre could use the sets of "The Great Ziegfeld," nor could it portray so completely the biography of one man.

Don't miss this movie. It makes a splendid evening...—H. W.

Italian Leaflet

CHICAGO—The Italian Socialist Federation announces the publication of a leaflet in Italian entitled, "Why the Workers Should Join the Socialist Party." The leaflet is illustrated and sells for 25 cents a hundred and \$2.00 a thousand. Italian Socialists who wish to secure this leaflet for distribution purposes may send their orders to A. Camboni, secretary of the Italian Socialist Federation, 1011 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Please Patronize Our Advertisers

ASU Gives 3 Plays For Post-Quiz Fun

NEW YORK.—The American Student Union will present The Theatre Collective in three one act plays on Saturday June 6 at 8:40 p. m. at the Civic Repertory Theatre. The event will be a gala gathering of ASU members from this city and nearby colleges. Many friends of the ASU will also be present to join with the members in this relaxation from examinations.

"Private Hicks," by Albert Maltz, an exciting play on the national guards in a strike situation, will be one of the three plays. The others are "Bivouac, Alabama" by Paul Peters, and "You Can't Change Human Nature" by Phillip Stevenson. The latter is a rollicking satire on past and present Tories, having as its background the "reb scare of 1776."

"Bivouac Alabama" is a drama of the South and the struggle of the sharecroppers in present day America.

Proceeds of the benefit will go to the American Student Union. Tickets are priced from 35c to \$1.65.

Olympic Fish

REYKAAVIK, Iceland.—Lucrative trade advantages offered by Germany failed to move the world's oldest democracy in its determination not to participate in the Berlin Olympics. Iceland, whose prosperity depends in no small measure upon the sale of fresh fish, turned down a German offer to import forty thousand marks, worth of fish over the established quota if Iceland would participate in the Olympics.

FURY

MOST LIBERAL PICTURE EVER PERMITTED by CENSORS —N. Y. Post

Not since "Big House" and "Fugitive From a Chain Gang" has there been a picture of such punch and power as "FURY." The word is around—the whole town's talking.

"Packs a Terrific Punch."
—Hollywood Reporter

"Powerful and Excellent Flicker."
—Skolsky, News

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Norman Thomas:

SOCIALISTS FACE BASIC ISSUES AS OTHER PARTIES DODGE THEM

SOCIALISTS have a right to be proud of the Cleveland Convention. All of us can think of this or that which we wish might have been done otherwise. But consider the record. There was no split. The New York Old Guard could not walk out because it never walked in. The Declaration of Principles was revised and a supplementary resolution on the advocacy of armed insurrection was adopted without compromising any essential Socialist principle and in words that made clear beyond the power of stupidity or malice to misinterpret that Socialists desire the ways of peace and order and that the burden for anything else will fall upon those who try to bring the monstrous evils of war or fascism upon us. These two vital resolutions and the very important resolution on war were adopted practically unanimously.

The discussion on the Platform had to do far more with the way in which that document was to be presented than with issues. There was no doubt in the minds of the overwhelming majority of the delegates that a Socialist Platform must declare for Socialism as the hope of the world and that the emphasis must be put on it and not on reforms possible within the limits of capitalism. This is, of course, consistent with the advocacy of immediate demands and great stress upon the necessity of the Farmers and Workers Rights Amendment. The most important difference of opinion is concerned with the kind of farmer-labor party which Socialists should support. The issue is so important that there is no wonder that there were somewhat divergent views.

There was no difference of opinion of any magnitude on the subject of the inadvisability of a united front in the forthcoming political campaign. Differences had to do with the question of joint action on specific issues. On that the status quo, which in most places has been very satisfactory, will stand until the matter can be taken up properly by a referendum after the campaign. Even then, it must be remembered, that neither of the proposed resolutions absolutely forbids all joint action in which Communists may be included, for that would be a requirement impossible of literal fulfillment.

All in all the delegates did a good job and vindicate once more a fundamental faith in internal Party democracy.

All Socialists Are Welcome

Clearly there was nothing in the proceedings in Cleveland to drive out of the Party a right winger who is sincere in his devotion to Socialism. The Convention, I am glad to say, did move to the left but not in a sense which should exclude any forward looking Socialist. The National Executive Committee at its first meeting made clear its desire to welcome into the Party such of the rank and file in New York as have heretofore followed Old Guard leadership but who most emphatically do not intend to follow that leadership into any federation or party that can only serve the purposes of sectarianism, spite, futile sentimentalism or downright help for Roosevelt.

Wide as is our welcome to convinced Socialists we cannot make it too plain that the Party is infinitely stronger, in this year when it faces a tremendous chal-

lenge and an extraordinarily difficult task, without those within it who are doubters, who consciously or unconsciously sabotage it, or who fail to bear the banner of Socialism high within the labor unions and the farmers' organizations as well as in the political conflict which lies ahead.

A Sharp Contrast

The excellence of the Socialist performance at Cleveland will stand out in steadily clearer light after the kind of exhibition of issue-dodging which the Republicans and Democrats will present in their Conventions. Their performances, especially that of the Republicans, will be even more devoid of principle than usual. It must be, in order to hold together quarreling elements with no real common program on which they can unite.

The Chicago Conference

That Farmer-Labor Conference ran true to form as Socialists saw the situation. It reached a wholly inconclusive result. It had none of the things necessary to make a real farmer-labor party. The points of a possible farmer-labor platform approved by the Conference were worse than I anticipated. Browder has either forgotten whatever he knew about Socialism or Communism or else he must have hurt his cheek sticking his tongue into it when he endorsed that program in behalf of the Communists.

Point 1 calls for abolition of monopolies and point 2 for public ownership of natural resources. That means, I suppose, that the steel trust is to be dissolved into a lot of little labor exploit companies but that the government is to take over coal mines. What a solution!

Two points call for protection of farmers who are entitled to protection, but there is no discrimination between working farmers and absentee landlord farmers. Remember that in many fertile states about half the land is tenant-farmed. Why should the government take over all the mortgages of Southern planters without any compensating provisions for sharecroppers?

Point 10 supports "collective security." Browder probably slipped that one in. Collective security in a Socialist world would have meaning. Today it is a disingenuous way of committing us to support of the capitalist League of Nations. Why not say so openly? I do not believe that this hodge podge will command the support of the honest men and women who desire a real Farmer-Labor party. They will find a much better program in the Socialist platform.

The Constitution And Roosevelt

One of the arguments strongly advanced in labor circles for support of Roosevelt, in spite of the fact that his real interest is the rehabilitation of capitalism, is the argument that he will "do something about the Constitution." It is now pretty well agreed that whatever he will do, he will make no declaration before election and that the Democratic Party will not adopt any plank on this subject. "But," answer some of my labor friends, "at the very least the President will appoint liberals to the Supreme Court."

Are they so sure? One of the best informed newspapermen in

America told me the other day that were the President to appoint genuine liberals, let us say of the type of Felix Frankfurter, they would not be confirmed.

Senator Joe Robinson of Arkansas would be confirmed by Senatorial courtesy. He has a claim upon the Presidential appointment because of loyal service. Imagine Robinson as a liberal on the Supreme Court bench! He might out of gratitude try to decide one or two questions liberally. It is doubtful, however, if he would understand what liberalism means. As a Senator he can get Charlie Michelson to write a speech in defense of liberalism—such a speech as that which the Senator read with such difficulty and so many mistakes over the radio. He cannot do that as a judge on the Supreme Court bench. He would prove reactionary because he typifies the cruel Bourbonism of the Southern planter class, the least liberal thing in America. Yet in the opinion of many political forecasters he is President Roosevelt's likely first appointment to the Supreme Court bench.

Moreover it must be remembered that liberals before now have gone wrong on the Supreme Court. The tradition, the power of it—these things present great temptations. It is a judicial oligarchy and not the particular character of the oligarchy against which we must fight. And on the subject of this judicial oligarchy the President holds his peace.

Capitalism And Taxation

The trouble Congress is having writing a tax bill illustrates clearly the plight of capitalism and its unwillingness to face its own situation. The New Deal is about as bad as the old. The House dominated by Democrats passed a bill which probably none of its own members understood and no one else certainly understood. It was hopeless from the start. The Senate now wrestles with the problem and is writing a bill which may or may not pass but which in no way solves our difficult problems. Whether Roosevelt or some Republican is elected the situation will grow worse in the next four years, not better.

American Fascism

The revelations concerning this Black Legion which seems to be diffused in many states, North and South, ought to horrify decent and thoughtful people regardless of their political and economic opinions. Partly the Black Legion is to be explained in terms of pathology, or of subnormal psychology. It is to be explained in terms of sheer sadistic brutality. Partly it is to be explained in terms of a disintegrating capitalism.

Probably to deal with the Black Legion itself there is law enough. It must be enforced to end this particular menace. But the ending of the menace of one particular form of organization by no means ends the menace of the state of mind which the Black Legion illustrates. Here in its most appalling form is part of the raw material for an American fascism more stupid and brutal and cruel than anything that Mussolini or Hitler have yet produced. The fight against this Black Legion is not merely one of relentless extermination of one organization. It must also be a fight for the re-education of men

who so terribly misunderstand the cause and nature of their own misery and frustration. And it must be a fight against men like Hearst whose red baiting and sensation mongering stir up these near morons.

It is probable that the Black Legion has been made the tool of certain economic interests deliberately as the Ku Klux Klan has been made its tool in Florida. If not, it soon will be, unless it is crushed. Meanwhile the Florida floggings and murders are at least as sinister as anything the Black Legion has yet done.

All the more therefore should we rejoice that the Florida jury did find the Tampa floggers guilty despite the fact that apparently the judge leaned over backward to aid the defendants and the further fact that the Governor refused to put really able counsel in charge of the State's case. We cannot be too proud of McAlister, Jenson, Bonals, and other Socialists who took the lead in forming a Defense Committee, as well as, of course, our comrades Poulnot and Rogers, victims of the floggers, whose testimony was unshaken by all the devices of Pat Whitaker. Praise also is due to certain civic forces which did line up on the right side. There were newspapers in Florida lined up for decency. And speaking of publicity and its importance, here's a word of praise for the fine work done by our comrade, Sidney Hertzberg.

Remember, however, that the fight is by no means over. There are still other cases. Pat Whitaker and the powerful friends of the defendants will leave no stone unturned to frustrate the effect of this legal victory. We ought to be able to carry the war into the enemy's camp by a real recall election in Tampa directed against the infamous Administration which has been the tool of the same interests who also use floggers in their service. The work of the Tampa Committee still needs support. Without that kind of work nothing would have come of these cases. That committee is now in debt. It needs your help. Send contributions to the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Tenant Farmers Need Help

And speaking of contributions, don't forget the heroic struggle of the Southern Tenant Farmers'

Union in Arkansas. Their address is Box 5215, Memphis, Tennessee. The Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief, 112 East 19th Street, New York City is issuing a special appeal for immediate help. Some men are in jail; some in a stockade. Others are being starved out. He will give twice who will give quickly.

One-Man Dictatorship

Another Supreme Court decision to show that we are slaves to a judicial oligarchy—really to one corporation-minded judge who would deny to states and the federal government the right to protect women workers. Fight to make democracy constitutional!

An Answer To a Letter

Wilfred H. Kerr in a vigorous letter to the Socialist Call (printed on page 4) is worried lest "the allocation of raw materials" is a polite way of saying a re-division of colonies. I thank him and the Call for a chance to clear up this misunderstanding. So far as I am concerned and I think I speak for all Socialists who favor any kind of allocation of raw materials, what we want to end is the colonial system. I do not think it will be ended in a capitalist world, but we've got to keep up the agitation.

The nearest approach that the world has seen to an allocation of raw materials was during the war when the Allied nations, through their control of shipping and otherwise, really did manage to portion out minerals, wheat, oil, wool, according to need; to be sure, according to a very dreadful war need. Allocation of raw materials must take account of the materials we own in our own continental boundaries. It certainly, if it is to be worthwhile, must take account of the claims of Colonial people who have been flouted and exploited. It does not mean a transfer of colonies. It is rather a substitute for a transfer of colonies. It does mean, to be efficient, the development of some measure of worldwide government, a measure of worldwide government, not by any means inconsistent with the continuance along proper lines of existing nations and the freeing of colonial peoples. It is my hope to get this most of all for the sake of the exploited peoples of the races other than white who now are so largely under the dominance of a few imperialist powers.

Fascism—American Style



Michigan state troopers displaying the robes and masks of the terrorist Black Legion, and the weapons used by its members in perpetrating the assaults and murders for which the Legion was organized. Note the special flogging device. These quaint articles were found in the possession of Ray Ernest, a state prison guard, who holds the office of brigadier general in the Legion.

This organization, which indulges in such gruesome sports, is only one of many fascist organizations which are dedicated to the cause of intolerance, race-hatred and anti-radicalism.