

**Norman Thomas**  
DISCUSSES  
*The Roosevelt Myth*  
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# Socialist Call

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

Vol. H—No. 60

SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1936

PRICE FIVE CENTS

# PEOPLE'S FRONT WINS MAJORITY IN FRANCE

STORY ON PAGE 3

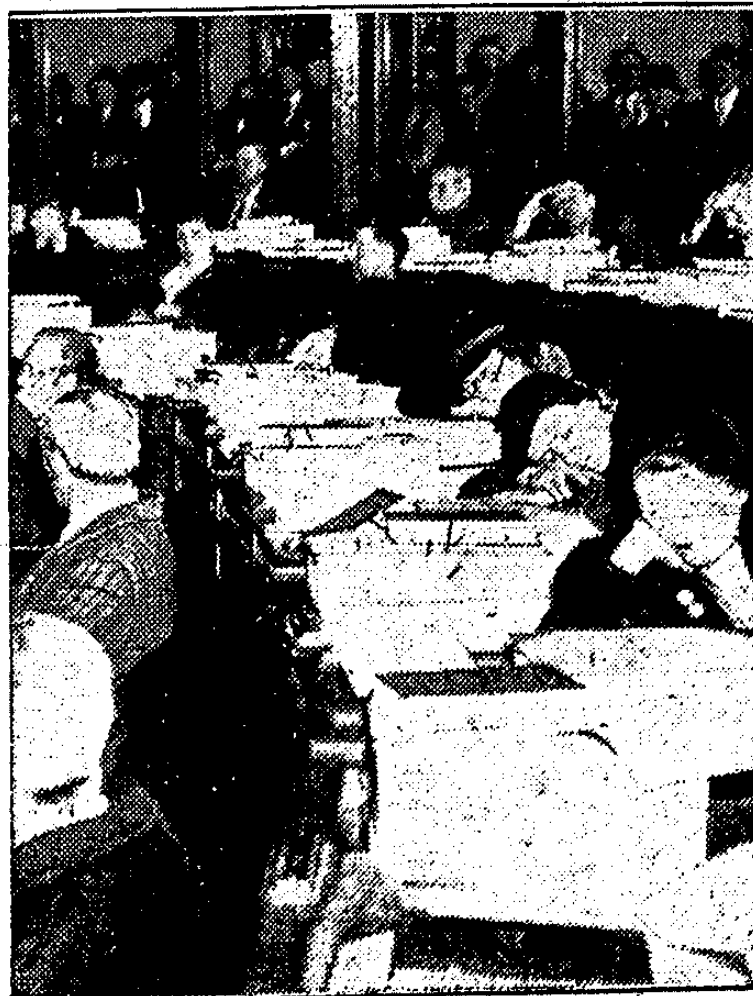


Jury of six hearing the case in Bartow, Florida, of seven former Tampa cops charged with kidnaping and flogging E. F. Paulnot last November. Left to right, front: George A. Walker, WPA worker; Earl Turner, dragline operator; J. P. Duggan, retired locomotive engineer. Rear: Sam T. Williams, mechanic; Victor C. Hall, welder, and W. M. Lohr, mechanic. See Page 7.



Above, about fifty unemployed men and women eating in the gallery of the St. Louis Aldermanic chamber, prepared to stay until they got action from the Board of Aldermen.

Below, three photos showing New Jersey unemployed in their recent occupation of the State capitol. On the left is a jobless man and a youngster seated on the rostrum in the House chamber; center scene shows jobless occupying the legislators' seats in their mock assembly. Many of them are napping, as are the kiddies on the right, who are using the stairway to the state senate chamber as their dormitory. Story on Page 3.



# World Labor Marks May Day

## U. S. Labor Marches In United May Days

### N. Y. Parade

NEW YORK -- More than a half-million people lined the streets of America's metropolis to watch members of 125 labor unions join with fraternal organizations, student and jobless groups, and the Socialist and Communist Parties in the largest, gayest and mightiest parade in fifty years of American May Days.

The marchers wound through the streets singing, cheering and carrying thousands of placards and banners in an all-day parade which began to pass the reviewing stand in Union Square at 11:30 and never finished until almost eight hours later.

Estimates of the number in the line of march, printed by the daily press, ranged from 40,000 to 350,000. It can accurately be said that at its height, the eight-hour parade poured into the Square at the rate of 24,000 workers an hour, approximating at least 175,000.

Most significant of the parade units were the eight men representing the Socialist Party, Communist Party and Communist Party Opposition. It was the first time in years that these groups had marched together.

### Trade Unions March

The trade union divisions were led by the dressmakers of Local 22, International Ladies' Garment Workers, who marched into the Square 15,000 strong. Girls of Local 22 athletic divisions, resplendent in white sweaters and skirts, followed by the baseball and basketball teams of the local in uniform, drew a storm of applause.

The most colorful group in the parade, as last year, was the Women's Guard of the Socialist Party, which marched with huge red flags flying, followed by the blue-shirted members of the Young People's Socialist League, wearing red ties and Young Socialist arm-bands.

On the reviewing stand were Amicus Most, prominent New York Socialist and secretary of the United May Day committee, Charles Zimmerman, and other committee members, in addition to Murray Baron, Jack Altman, Max Delson, Harry W. Laidler and other Socialist leaders.

### Caballero Sends Greetings

Greetings to the vast parade were read from Tom Mooney, Norman Thomas, and Largo Caballero, Spanish Socialist leader.

Many of the banners in the parade called for the end of fascism, Hitlerism and Hearstism. Others, carried by trade union units calling for the boycott of Breyer's ice cream as unfair to the Sign Painters' union, of Ohrbach's and Gimbel's department stores, and of Horn and Hardart's restaurants.

Other banners demanded the end of "gyp employment agencies," ending of the "fourteen-hour day in restaurants," increased relief allotments, and a real housing program to end the city's slums.

### N. Y. Dinner

NEW YORK -- Almost 1,000 Socialist Party members attended the May Day Dinner, and though tired by the day's demonstrations, rose and cheered brief speeches by party leaders. Julius Hochman, in a short address reported elsewhere in this issue of the Call, brought the gathering to its feet by calling for an aggressive presidential campaign.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the New York party, read a

### Polo Grounds

NEW YORK -- The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and a number of other unions held a gala program in the Polo Grounds May Day afternoon, which was attended by approximately 45,000 workers.

Sports events, a labor pageant, music, singing and speeches enlivened the sunny day. Among the speakers were Herbert Morrison, Labor member of Parliament, David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU, Harry W. Laidler, representing the Socialist Party, and Jay Lovestone, of the Communist Party Opposition. Reports of the meeting which described it as run solely by "labor unions and Old Guard Socialists" were not accurate since the Socialist Party participated officially.

Members of the Socialist Party, Young Peoples Socialist League, and the ILGWU took their places in the stands after marching downtown in the United May Day parade. Here, as in the parade, the Socialist Women's Guard was the most colorful group.

### Thomas Greeting

Norman Thomas, an invited speaker, was detained by other meetings in the Middle West. His greeting was read by Laidler, and received tremendous applause.

"I had hoped," wrote Thomas, "to be with you, where my heart is. To you, and through you to the vast May Day audience at the Polo Grounds, I send my greetings. With you I pledge myself, as you pledge yourselves, not to rest until war, exploitation and tyranny have been banished from the earth."

### Laidler's Talk

After congratulating the unionists on the many victories they had won, Laidler said:

"The nation is looking to you for continued leadership. And particularly, it is looking to you as never before to place yourself in the very vanguard of the movement for independent political action, for a Labor Party. We in America too, often in the past have sold our political birthright for a mess of pottage.

"But labor is beginning to realize that Gene Debs, Morris Hillquit, Meyer London and other great spirits in the labor movement were right when they urged a labor party of their own; to depend for their salvation on their own united strength. Increasingly labor is beginning to realize the soundness of these words of that great British miner, Keir Hardie, that labor may depend upon having real friends only when, through a party of its own, it becomes so strong that it does not need friends."

message of greeting from Norman Thomas, who joined Hochman in predicting that the Socialists would wage a record campaign.

Jack Altman, city executive secretary, reviewed the primary fight and the simultaneous growth of the Party. He attributed the victory to the hard work of the rank and file.

"Last December," said Altman, "before the national executive committee acted, a little more than 1,100 party members were registered with us. After the NEC decision, the figures mounted to 1632. Since then, 600 new members have been admitted to the party, and 400 applications are still pending. We are confident that with proper work, we can have 10,000 new members by the end of the campaign."



Call Photo by David Harrison  
Harry W. Laidler, speaking in the Polo Grounds, New York, on May Day.

### Chicago

CHICAGO -- Between ten and fifteen thousand militant workers marched through a pouring rain to celebrate Chicago's United May Day Parade and Demonstration. The Parade was a colorful spectacle, with masses of red flags interspersed with banners carrying slogans for the 30-hour week, for social security, against war and fascism, and for independent labor political action.

A graphic picture of social insecurity and the great difference between the position of the capitalist and the worker were portrayed by several floats.

The most colorful spot in the Parade was furnished by the Young People's Socialist League contingent, which marched in uniform 150 strong, with a massed block of red flags. The second Socialist sound truck, just acquired by money raised in Illinois, led the Socialist section with Socialist music and song.

At the open air mass meeting following the parade, a number of labor, Socialist and Communist leaders gave short talks calling upon the workers to unite and press for achievement of Socialism as the ultimate solution of their problem.

In the evening mass meeting, sponsored jointly by the Socialist Party of Cook County and the Communist Party of Illinois, 5,000 workers heard Norman Thomas and Clarence Hathaway, communist predict the forward sweep of the labor movement in this country. A pageant prepared by the Chicago Repertory Group depicting the struggles of the working class from the time of the Haymarket riots until the present was excellently carried through and enthusiastically received by the audience.

### Kenosha

KENOSHA, Wis. -- "I'm one Socialist who turned up when a Progressive failed to arrive," Norman Thomas told a crowd of 1,200 workers at the Trades and Labor council May Day rally here.

Tom Duncan, personal secretary to Phil La Follette and renegade Socialist who was to be the opening speaker, failed to arrive.

All through his biting indictments of President Roosevelt, "who repeatedly vacations in Florida and who not once yet has lifted his voice against the KKK outrages in Tampa," Thomas received repeated ovations.

"The biggest criticism I have to make of labor is that it is too easily satisfied. It stops when the politicians toss it a little. Demand more and more. Some day we'll wet action."

"Before us lies an abundant life which is ours if we are men enough to think and act and take it."

## Europe Celebrates

The workers of the world demonstrated on May Day against war and capitalism. In some lands, huge rallies numbering into the hundreds of thousands of workers, gathered to voice their determination to build a workers' world. In others, where fascist tyranny controls, groups of workers gathered together in secret to gain new zeal in the struggle for freedom.

Moscow led the world with its tremendous display of workers' strength in the historic Red Square. It is estimated that 1,500,000 Moscow workers participated in the joyous parade. The Red Army marched through the square, their rhythmic tread mingling with the strains of the Internationale. A fleet of 400 new army planes swooped through the skies over Lenin's tomb. Most impressive of all were the well-groomed ranks of the marching workers.

British workers under the leadership of the trade unions and the Labor Party took over Hyde Park for their May Day celebrations. Thousands flocked to the park and red flags flew. While colorful banners were carried by Oxford and Cambridge

students, 300 policemen stood by watchfully.

### In Spain

Revolutionary Spanish workers, numbering more than 100,000, marched through the streets of Madrid. All industry and commerce were tied up by the May Day general strike which brought out all trade unionists. The atmosphere was one of victory, the masses celebrating the recent electoral triumphs over reaction. Demonstrations took place all over the country and occasional clashes with fascists occurred.

In anticipation of the French people's front victory at the polls which followed the next day, thousands of workers struck. Paris was partly tied up by a one-day walkout of transport workers. In some parts of the provinces, reactionaries caused disturbances by attempting to attack May Day demonstrators.

In Nazi Germany, Hitler attempted to desecrate the workers' holiday by a demagogic plea for peace. Armies of secret police were mobilized to prevent anti-government manifestations. In Austria, similar precautions were taken.

### Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE -- Labor's legions marched proudly here May Day.

Behind banners of symbolic red, denoting human brotherhood, union after union, members of the Socialist Party, other organizations devoted to the cause of the workers, with the wives and children of working men, showed the strength of labor in Milwaukee.

Memories of bloodshed, however, when it was a high crime for labor to march or even unite, were not forgotten in this later day of tolerance.

Placards bearing the old familiar slogans, Workers of the World Unite, and Socialism in Our Time, were mingled with new mottos such as Down With Dictators, Fascism Is the Menace of Youth.

Bands, made up of members of the Musicians' Union, played the stirring international anthems of labor.

The marchers started promptly under Marshal Walter Polakowski, organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and former state senator.

### Hoan Speaks

The parade was under the auspices of the Federated Trades Council, the Socialist Party, the Wisconsin Workers' Alliance, the Workmen's Circle, Poale Zion organizations, the Young People's Socialist League and the Falcons, Socialist children's group.

The speakers included Mayor Daniel W. Hoan for the Socialist Party, J. F. Friedrich for the Trades Council, and Milton Peters for the Workers' Alliance.

### Detroit

DETROIT -- A joint May Day celebration packed the Deutsches Haus here with 2,500 workers, who gave tremendous ovations to Albert Goldman, speaking for the Socialist Party, Al Renner of the Proletarian Party and William Weinstein of the Communist Party.

It was estimated that if a hall near the center of the city could have been obtained, 10,000 workers would have turned out to celebrate the workers' international holiday.

The collection taken at the meeting and the contributions for May Day ribbons were very gen-

### St. Louis

ST. LOUIS -- More than 700 enthusiastic Socialists, Communists, trade unionists and members of various political, fraternal and unemployed organizations celebrated May Day with a parade culminating in a large mass meeting. While more than 40 per cent of the demonstrators were Negroes, few policemen were present to hear the speakers urge workers to unite in defense against poverty, unemployment and other privations.

Speakers at the mass meeting included Ted Graham, organizer of the Workers' Alliance of America; Charles Blume, representative of the Moulders Union; and George E. Deumeler, St. Louis attorney and prominent Socialist Party leader in Missouri.

### Tampa

By FRANK McCALLISTER

TAMPA, Fla. -- Cheering workers packed the Labor Temple in Spanish Ybor City here in the most impressive May Day celebration in a decade, where they listened to an inspired address in Spanish by Dr. Gustavo al de Reguie, exiled Cuban revolutionary.

Other speakers included Eugene Poulnot, kidnap victim and Socialist chairman of the Florida Workers' Alliance, and Mrs. Josephine da la Grana, Socialist secretary of Local Tampa, and organizer for the Cigar Makers' Union.

Mr. Jose Martinez, chairman of the Joint Advisory Board of the Cigar Makers' Unions of America, presided.

### Madison

MADISON, Wis. -- University of Wisconsin students joined hands symbolically with labor in celebrating May Day before a crowd of about 350.

Observance of labor's day of solidarity was conducted on the Memorial Union terrace in competition with the annual spring drilling of the university R. O. T. C. across the street.

ous, leaving a surplus above expenses to be divided between the organizations sponsoring the af-



# French Left Wins Socialists Largest Party in Parliament

PARIS.—The expected victory of the People's Front in the French elections has become a fact.

Last Sunday, the voters repudiated the Right by returning a majority of People's Front candidates to the Chamber of Deputies, the Socialist Party.

becoming the largest single party in the chamber. In accordance with French political tradition, it has the responsibility of forming the new government.

As the Socialists moved into first place, the Communist Party stepped up its representation from ten to seventy-one. Socialist representation was increased from ninety-seven and 146. Radical Socialists have 115 seats. Three million votes were cast for the Socialists and 1,500,000 for the Communists.

The People's Front has a majority of about 140 over the Right.

### Socialists In Government

As soon as the results became known, Leon Blum, leader of the Socialists who was recently assailed by French fascists, announced that the Socialists would, for the first time, take part in the government. In an article in *Le Populaire*, official party organ, Blum says: "We wish to declare, without losing an hour, that we are ready to fill the role belonging to us — that is, to form and direct a government of the People's Front."

The Communists, who are the minority in the People's Front, indicated through Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the French Communist Party, that they would support it on the basis of the People's Front program. There is strong sentiment in Communist ranks, however, for actual participation.

The tremendous victory of the Socialists with the People's Front, will undoubtedly result in the appointment of the first Socialist premier in the French Republic. Leon Blum, leader of the party, is expected to accept the office, though he himself has expressed reluctance, giving his poor health, impaired by the recent fascist as-

sault on him, as the reason. He has been urging the selection of Vincent Auriol.

### Blow To Fascism

French workers have been celebrating their victory in enthusiastic gatherings. The triumph of the People's Front, like that in Spain, has served as a blow to fascist forces which were increasing in numbers and aggressiveness. Fascist pretige is at its lowest, and the Croix De Feu, Colonel de la Rocque's reactionary movement, has suffered a severe set-back.

However, there are still cards left in the hands of the Rightists. Under the rules of the French political game, the People's Front government cannot take office for another month, and the reactionaries may be able to use the interim period to accomplish great confusion. Already the financial wizards of the Bank of France, who have broken previous governments by telephoned commands, are pulling the economic strings with which they hope to choke the new-born administration.

### Safe Majority

The People's Front, on the other hand, will take office with a safe majority if all elements in the Front hold together. It could even stand the defection of some thirty Radical Socialists, who are not considered reliable.

France's first Socialist premier will take his portfolio at a time when his country is sorely troubled with problems at home and abroad.

Aware of the dangers ahead, Blum stated: "The French people have signified their will with verement emphasis. They will allow for no argument, no trickery, and will tolerate no resistance."

# Steel Workers Consider C.I.O. \$500,000 Offer

CANONSBURG, Pa. (FP)—

After a series of conferences between representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization and a specially-elected committee of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers, convention delegates were back in session at Canonsburg prepared to consider the CIO offer of \$500,000 for an organization drive in the steel industry.

Although a motion to ask a CIO representative to address the steel workers' gathering was defeated by the deciding votes of international officers, John A. Brophy of the industrial union group got his cause before the delegates by appearing on a delegation sent from the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

Meeting at Uniontown, the state federation had voted almost unanimously in favor of the Lewis-Brophy industrial union program. The state body had also voted to petition the A. F. of L. executive committee to issue a charter to the United Electrical & Radio Workers Union.

The CIO offer, on which week-end conferences were held by the instructions of the convention, was conditioned on steel workers having the right to unite in one industrial union and on choice of a campaign leadership in which all unions contributing to the fund would have confidence.

# Alliance Calls Hunger March On Ind. Capital

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—That a hunger march be called on Indianapolis was the subject of a report to the Workers' Alliance by Merrill Jackson, newly elected State Secretary of the organization. The Indiana Alliance convention, attended by 70 delegates, representing more than 50,000 unemployed and WPA workers, received this proposal with great enthusiasm. The date for the march was not made known.

# Auto Workers Back Industrial Unions; FDR "Pressure" Hit

Special to the Call

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—With a new set of officers and full control over its own affairs for the first time, the convention of the United Automobile Workers of America last week approved a budget of \$250,000 for the opening shot in the gigantic job of organizing the entire auto industry.

Of this amount, \$75,000 will be raised from the locals in the new auto workers' international, and the remainder, it is expected, will be provided by the Committee for Industrial Organization, which had four representatives, Leo Krzycki, Adolph Germer, Powers Haggood, and Rose Pesotta, at the convention.

Detroit, heart of the industry but almost untouched by organization, will be the first major objective in the campaign.

Besides mapping plans for the first serious effort to organize the auto industry, expected to get under way sometime this year, the convention:

Heard representatives of the Mechanics' Educational Society and two other independent unions; extended to them an invitation for amalgamation and provided for a seat on the executive board to be filled by the present independents.

Voted unanimously for a national farmer-labor party, but not this year.

Gave rousing ovations to Norman Thomas, and to two other members of the Socialist National Executive Committee, Krzycki and Haggood, who officially represented the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Mine Workers.

Snowed under the conservative Dillon forces, appointed to office last year by William Green, and elected a slate of progressive officers, including several Socialists.

Established an educational department, to be administered jointly by the union and Brookwood Labor College.

### Industrial Victory

The convention, a decisive victory for the industrial union forces, will doubtless have a profound bearing on the future course of the American labor movement. Delegates to the next A. F. of L. convention were instructed to seek complete jurisdiction over the auto industry. In the meanwhile, they will enroll auto workers, anyway, regardless of the paper claims of the crafts.

New officers are Homer Martin, of Kansas City, president; Wyndham Mortimer, Cleveland; first vice-president; Ed. Hall, Milwaukee, second-vice president; Walter Wells, Detroit, third vice-president; George Addes, Toledo, secretary-treasurer.

Martin is a Socialist, and Mortimer has a fine reputation as a left-winger.

Among Socialists active in shaping the convention's policies were Walter Reuther and Alan Strachan, of Detroit; Ed. Simpson, of Cleveland; Joe Ditzel and Dallas Patton, of Toledo, and Eugene Stauder and George Nordstrom, of Kenosha. Strachan is president of the Detroit district auto council. Their clear-cut views and their leadership won many friends for Socialist policies.

### F. D. R. Pressure

Under heavy pressure and strongly against their will, the convention delegates reversed a repudiation of President Roosevelt and gave him a lame endorsement for re-election. It was understood, however, that the forced endorsement would not bind the delegates, who had voted against him, two to one.

The pressure was applied by Adolph Germer, of the United Mine Workers, who summoned a number of delegates to the lobby after the Roosevelt repudiation and gave them to understand that C. I. O. aid would be withheld if such action were permitted to stand.

### Silent Demonstration

While it is doubtful if this threat would have been carried out, the delegates, on the threshold of an organizing campaign, feared to risk the displeasure of the powerful labor leaders who have committed themselves to Roosevelt.

But even more impressive than the original repudiation of Roosevelt was the hostile silence of the convention majority as the motions to reconsider and to endorse were approved without debate. As the "nays" were put there was a lone "tweet-tweet," symbolizing the whistle of an earlier convention reference to a steam-roller.

Thus did Roosevelt gain the dubious distinction of a forced endorsement from delegates who had denounced his raw deal of General Johnson, Leo Wolman, and the notorious "merit" clause in the auto code.

During the debate, Roy Speth, a non-Socialist from Milwaukee, was heartily applauded when he declared "Never will I vote for Roosevelt. I expect to vote for the man who addressed us yesterday." The reference was to Norman Thomas.

# Hochman Blasts Roosevelt

Following are excerpts from a speech by Julius Hochman, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and general manager of the Dressmakers Joint Board, at the May Day Dinner of Local New York, Socialist Party.

Comrades: Though I have been a member of the Socialist Party ever since my arrival in the United States, I am more accustomed to beginning my speeches with, "Brothers and Sisters." I am very happy tonight, however, to revert to the greeting, "Comrades."

Some of my friends keep calling me, "Yipsel." I must confess that I am gratified at being given such an appellation. I would far rather be looked upon as one who is young than as one who is senile and suffering from the ailments of senility.

Indeed youth is not a matter of years but of spirit. A movement like ours, which has highly resolved that its purpose shall be to change the world, must be possessed of that spirit, must be characterized by the irresistible stubbornness of youth. Without that spirit, we are as nothing; with it, we shall be invincible.

These thoughts are not mere musings on a philosophical theme. They are matters of great practical social importance, particularly at a time like this. A presidential campaign is approaching. We who are Socialists have great responsibilities resting upon us. We shall require all of our youthful vigour to bear the burdens that will soon be laid upon us by the campaign.

Let me say here as emphatically as I can that I disagree thoroughly with those who claim that the coming campaign will wipe out the Socialist movement in the United States. On the contrary, it will strengthen the Socialist movement, build it on firmer foundations, make it more mighty than it has ever been.

With our philosophy, with our understanding of the workers' problems, there can be no doubt

of our ultimate triumph.

In 1933, we predicted that the New Deal could not succeed. We pointed out the inherent contradictions within it that compelled its breakdown. We knew that the New Deal not only could not succeed — we realized that it could not even exist under the present constitutional system, based as it is on the institution of private property.

Socialists see clearly that no individual can save us from our economic miseries. Even if Franklin D. Roosevelt means well, he does not have the courage to face the legal entanglement that prevents a real new deal. He does not have the courage to face the problem of constitutional amendment, as we Socialists propose to meet that problem.

Frankly, I do not understand how anybody who calls himself a Socialist can place hope in a man who has no program of fundamental social change. For years, we have been insisting that the "good man" cannot be a substitute for a good program. We do not believe that a government of "good men" is all that is needed to bring us out of the misery of capitalist society. We insist that there is hope for the workers only in the adoption and fulfillment of a broad, basic, constructive program grounded in a recognition of the rights of the working class.

It is our duty in the coming presidential campaign to pave the way for the workers to assume power. We are firm in the conviction that the workers can achieve power only through their own political party and through their own working class program and not through individual

# Jersey Jobless End Siege As Solons Stall on Relief

TRENTON, N. J.—New Jersey's state assemblymen, unwilling hosts to members of a Workers' Alliance hunger lobby which occupied their hall in the state capitol at Trenton for nine days, have packed up and gone home, leaving a quarter of a million jobless facing starvation.

In a last-minute "let them eat cake" gesture, the legislators set up a 5-man board, composed of Republicans and headed by Governor Harold G. Hoffman, to administer relief funds, but failed to provide the \$3,000,000 a month necessary to feed the hungry. In neither the assembly nor the senate were tax propositions to provide the money even considered.

The ragged band of jobless, which had kept a 24-hour vigil in the capitol while the assemblymen played relief tiddly-winks in both Trenton and their home districts, disbanded, determined to press their

demands for relief in other ways and to start building foundations for a statewide farmer-labor party.

### Socialist Speaks

Among those who addressed the unemployed during their "capture" of the Assembly chamber was Murray Baron, prominent Socialist and Manager of the Suitcase Makers' Union.

In a resolution passed just before they scattered, the Workers Alliance "army of un-occupation" declared the assembly "thoroughly exposed as an impotent, inefficient tool of the public utilities, banks and big industries."

# "I BREAK STRIKES"

By EDWARD LEVINSON

## 7. Death at McKees Rocks

THE speed with which Bergoff had collected his men to break the strike on the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company in 1909 commended him to other employers. Among these was James Rider, manager of the Pressed Steel Car Company, whose plant at McKees Rocks, in the heart of the Pittsburgh heavy steel district, was, in July of 1909, closed by a strike.

Bergoff had proper cause to feel that with the McKees Rocks assignment, his Service Bureau had arrived at the head of its class. The Pressed Steel Car Company was second only to the American Car and Foundry Corporation in the manufacture of passenger and freight cars for the railroads of the nation. In a normal year its turnover was over \$36,000,000; in the depression times of 1908 and 1909, it sold \$20,000,000 worth of cars.

### Big Shots

More satisfying to Bergoff was the standing of the corporation in the scheme of industry. Its directors came from leading railroads, from the First National Bank of New York, where J. P. Morgan and Thomas W. Lamont held sway, and from the New York Trust Company, where Elbert H. Gary, George W. Perkins and Arthur Curtis James graced the directorial board.

Telegrams from Philadelphia to New York and Chicago set the McKees Rocks recruiting campaign in motion. Brother Leo and Big Sam Cohen moved into action. The first details of guards recruited thinned the ranks of the Monk Eastman gang. From the West Side, Charley Humphries stepped forward, ready to forsake ell's Kitchen temporarily for a vacation amid the Pennsylvania mountains. Finks were not plentiful. The depression was lifting and the possibilities of work for skilled mechanics increased. Bergoff placed inviting advertisements making no mention of a strike. He asked for riveters, "men used to heavy work." He promised "good wages, free board and transportation." When the riveters did not come forward, Bergoff lowered his standard and started recruiting indiscriminately.

### Resourceful

Sam Cohen proved the most resourceful recruiter of finks. He knew the East Side well and Bergoff sent him there to look for men eager to work, desperate enough to grab at anything and docile enough, he thought, to be satisfied with anything. Sam rounded up recently arrived immigrants, jobless and frightened in a new world. Bergoff gave them contracts to sign and Cohen explained in Yiddish that they were papers of no importance, merely routine matters.

The immigrants were not alone in their surprise when they discovered they were to work at strikebreaking in McKees Rocks. James Maguire was hired to work on a "new railroad." Twelve miners, understanding no English, were taken on at Avondale and Grand Tunnel, Pennsylvania, to "work in a brickyard near Harrisburg." In Chicago men were hired for "a big painting job."

Recruiting the strikebreakers was a simple matter compared with getting them into the plant. Shortly before noon on July 14th, the word "scab" was shouted in McKees Rocks. Twenty languages and dialects translated it. The strikebreakers were coming! It was a call to arms that

## Aide



Edward Kline, alias Edward Klein, close aide to Bergoff, who received an indefinite term in the penitentiary for kidnaping in 1930. After the charge was changed to third degree assault, execution of sentence was suspended. He works for Bergoff.

every striker and thousands of their women and children answered. Before the day was over one hundred were wounded in battles on land and water. And McKees Rocks became, for fifty-five days, an armed camp and a gory battlefield.

The first rioting took place at one of the two main gates. A train of boxcars carrying human freight, Bergoff strikebreakers, made its way through the gate while all about it war raged. Bullets, bricks and clubs, pieces of metal and slug, crow-bars and bottles rained on company police. They returned the fire. For an hour there was a lull, broken intermittently by gunfire, then the fighting broke out again.

The major battle was fought on the Ohio River. The Steel Queen, a flimsy, double-decked ferry owned by the Pressed Steel Car Company, had loaded up with some three hundred of Bergoff's men taken from trains at Bellevue. Leo Bergoff gave the word to shove off.

The ferry had not reached mid-stream when its cargo became a herd of frightened animals, stampeding for the cabin and the rear of the boat. On the shore was a black mass of thousands of strikers. They shouted words that could not be distinguished, but their tone was unmistakable. They were no welcoming party. Soon shots were exchanged. They increased in volume and the aim from both sides grew better as the ferry continued to paddle its way toward shore. Then the Steel Queen turned in retreat to its pier at Bellevue.

### More Riots

That night thousands of armed strikers slept, guns and clubs in hands, at plant gates and on the bank of the river.

Dawn brought another day of rioting.

Seventy mounted constabulary, three hundred deputy sheriffs and five hundred company police had moved into town. The deputies and police, many of them Bergoff nobles, were "floaters and bums to a considerable extent picked up for the occasion," an observer for the Survey reported. Any foreigner was fair game for the police; and any armed man who could not be satisfactorily identified was a target for the strikers.

No effort was made for several days to bring more of Bergoff's strikebreakers into the plant. The superior armed forces of the constabulary began to tell, however, and gradually strikebreakers

## A Significant May Day

By Amicus Most, Executive Secretary, United Labor May Committee

Those who were fortunate enough to participate in, or to view, the May Day parade in New York, were impressed by its tremendous size, color, and orderliness and by the number and size of the trade union sections that participated. By far the largest portions of the parade were the trade unions. The children, teachers and students, together with the other white collar workers, were a vivid portrayal of the growing organization of new strata of the working class. Of particular significance was the fact that for the first time since the war, New York witnessed every working-class political organization, lead by the Socialist and Communist Parties, marching together.

The Socialist Party took a leading part both in the preliminary arrangements and in the carrying through of this united front of political and trade union forces. A study of its history is essential so that the Party may be guided by its lessons for the future.

This is particularly important in view of the fact that the Old Guard have attempted to use this event to prove that the Socialist Party is now allied with the Communist Party and also because

ran the gauntlet of fire. Men were run through in sealed boxcars, surrounded by a cavalcade of police. By August 22nd, the "Bloody Sunday" of the strike, some 1,200 men had been brought into the stockade.

\* \* \*

Bergoff now began to have trouble inside the plant as well as without. His unappreciative finks were no sooner brought in than they wanted to get out again.

Within the stockade confusion, rebellion and terror reigned. Bergoff had placed his brother Leo, Big Sam Cohen and Joe Sheppard in charge. They governed an unruly army. They enforced order with ready fists and clubs. Cohen, six-feet-two in his stocking feet, two hundred and fifty pounds of muscle, "practically killed fifty of the bastards," Bergoff recalls. Strikebreakers who whined or whispered a wish to go home were beaten.

### Pigs—Yes

The food, bread, potatoes, black coffee and smelly butter, were thrown at them "as though they were pigs," one strikebreaker complained. When they demanded meat, canned stuff was brought in. In a few days, an epidemic of ptomaine poisoning broke out. The shed then became a horrible stench of vomiting creatures, moaning in their agony. Several were finally rushed to the hospital. Among them was Maguire, who had been hired in Chicago to "work on a new railroad."

To Be Continued Next Week

## IGNORANT

May 1, 1886 . . . The AFL founded May Day in the battle for the eight-hour day.

May 1, 1936 . . . Matthew Woll, vice president of the AFL, in a radio broadcast, said that May Day is being celebrated by those who would enslave the workers to the State.

Poor Matthew—doesn't know the history of his own organization.

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has used it as a basis for attacks on the Socialist Party and Norman Thomas.

### The Polo Grounds Rally

Space prevents a complete account of the United May Day, but some of it must be related. Some months ago when the Socialist Party began thinking of May First it approached the large needle-trades unions and asked them to take the leadership in forming the May First parade. At that time the ILGWU decided to hold a celebration of its own, without any other unions or organizations, in the form of a meeting at the Yankee Stadium, later shifted to the Polo Grounds. This action foretold the break of the needle trades unions with their radical traditions. The Party and a large section of the trade unions correctly felt that to give up the traditions of a great labor parade on May First was to give up one of the most important demonstrations of labor.

A number of trade unions sponsored the first May Day conference, to which were invited all sections of the trade union and workers' political movement. This of course included both the Socialist and Communist Parties. They felt that on May First there was no conceivable reason why labor should not present a united front to the world.

The first conference was attended by over 1,100 delegates, representing over 500 organizations, including nearly 100 trade unions. The conference took the leadership in expressing the desire that every possible effort be made to create harmonious action with the ILGWU in order to form, if possible, one united demonstration of May Day.

### Socialist Party Included

In the meantime, discussion had arisen in the ILGWU committee arranging the Polo Grounds meeting as to who should be invited to participate in their meeting. At no time was there any question of excluding the Socialist Party. It was even informally agreed that the Communist Party could participate and there was a possibility that the parade itself might terminate at the Polo Grounds. It was only on the insistence of Old Guard Socialist trade union leaders in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, the United Hebrew Trades and the Millinery Workers, who had come pleading to the ILGWU that they be allowed to take part in the sponsorship of the Polo Grounds affair, that the Communist Party was definitely ruled out. They also attempted vainly to prevent Norman Thomas from being invited as a speaker.

### No Conflict

The United Labor May Day Committee (the committee sponsoring the parade) still hoped for a harmonious relationship with the Polo Grounds committee. The parade was in no way in conflict with the meeting and that organizations could parade in the morning and go to the Polo Grounds in the afternoon.

In spite of the attempts by the Old Guard through the Jewish Daily Forward and the New Leader, to create the impression that participation in the parade was opposition to the Polo Grounds meeting, a great section of the membership as well as the officials of the unions rejected that absurd position. Under the leadership of progressive ele-

ments important locals such as 9 and 117 of the ILGWU and the Grocery Clerks of the United Hebrew Trades and many others voted to participate in both demonstrations.

There were 122 unions officially involved, including such powerful organizations as Local 22 of the Dressmakers, the Boot and Shoe Workers Joint Council, the Furriers, Painters, Jewelry Workers Local 1, Local 306 of the Motion Picture Operators, the Sleeping Car Porters and many others. In those unions where the membership had voted to participate this was made possible because of the united efforts of Socialists, Communists and Progressives in each union. This must be borne in mind as indicative of the great possibilities of such united action in achieving progressive measures in the trade union movement.

### Unity at Polo Grounds

It must be remembered that in spite of attacks upon the Socialist Party by Old Guard labor leaders for the united front with the Communists there appeared on the same platform with Dubinsky at the Polo Grounds, not only Old Guard Socialists and Harry Laidler representing the Socialist Party, but also Jay Lovestone of the Communist Party Opposition!

Although there were several violations by the Communist Party of the United Front, on the whole they carried out the basic agreements. They even made an important concession in consenting to give up a meeting at Union Square, although they had no speaker at the Polo Grounds. The Socialist Party correctly insisted upon not having this meeting so that there could be no impression whatsoever of any conflict with the Polo Grounds rally. The slogans for the demonstration were adopted by mutual agreement and were carried out by all parties concerned.

### Successful United Front

This May Day has demonstrated that united fronts on specific issues can be successfully carried through. It has proven that where there is, on a particular issue, a sufficient basis of agreement there is no reason at all why there can not be unity of action between all sections of the labor movement. It has been shown that such unity will not scare away the unions but rather will attract every progressive element. It must be remembered that if it had not been for the Old Guard there would have been even greater unity. It was only under their pressure that the Communist Party was kept out of the Polo Grounds meeting.

The size of the parade, the number of unions participating, the enthusiasm of the workers is ample proof that this unity is possible. As a matter of fact, many unions and organizations—for example, the Pocketbook Workers, The Suitcase Workers, the very important Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, who in the past had had division in their own ranks and had therefore kept entirely out of such celebrations, participated this year as a single unit and without any division in their own ranks.

In the face of the growing menace of war and fascism and growing attacks upon civil liberties and upon the labor movement, unity is especially important and should be developed on an even greater scale as a result of the lessons of May Day







# THE SOCIALIST CALL

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

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

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

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jack Altman, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Robert Delson, David Felix, Abraham Perlestein, Sam Romer, Glen Trimble, Gus Tyler, Herbert Zam.  
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Vol. II Saturday, May 9, 1936 No. 60

## No Time to Retreat!

At the May Day Dinner of the New York Socialist Party, Julius Hochman, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and, as general manager of the Dressmakers Joint Board, head of 105,000 organized workers, discussed the forthcoming political campaign. His utterances must command the attention of the whole American labor movement.

Unhesitatingly he set himself on record against labor support for Roosevelt. In clear-cut, forceful words, he warned the workers against seeking salvation in messianic individuals, reminding them that their trust must be only in themselves, in their own ability to organize a Socialist society.

The leader of the dressmakers has given the answer to those timid unionists who are afraid to place their faith in the power of their own class and who would rather flee into the arms of a Roosevelt, fondly hoping that this son of capital will father labor's cause. With his eye set on the ultimate objectives of the workers, Hochman pointed the Socialist way, indicating "that the workers can achieve power only through their own political party and through their own working class program."

His remarks were characterized by the same enthusiasm for a vigorous presidential campaign which has swept the party membership. On the basis of the work that Socialists have done among the unemployed and among trade unionists during the past few years, there is no doubt of the truth of Hochman's prediction that the Socialist movement will emerge from the 1936 campaign with increased strength, qualified to take a leading part in the formation of a farmer-labor party.

Doubly significant is Hochman's speech, following as it does the flight of some unionists into the Roosevelt camp. David Dubinsky of the Garment Workers and Emil Rieve of the Hosiery Workers recently resigned from the Socialist Party, announcing their intention to support the Democratic candidate. Even Leo Krzycki, serving as a member of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is reported to have sat back, abstaining from voting while his associates supported a motion urging the coming convention of the organization to endorse Roosevelt. Only Joseph Schlossberg, true to the long, progressive tradition of the Amalgamated, clung to his socialist principles, and voted against the proposal. It is to be hoped that the convention will follow his example.

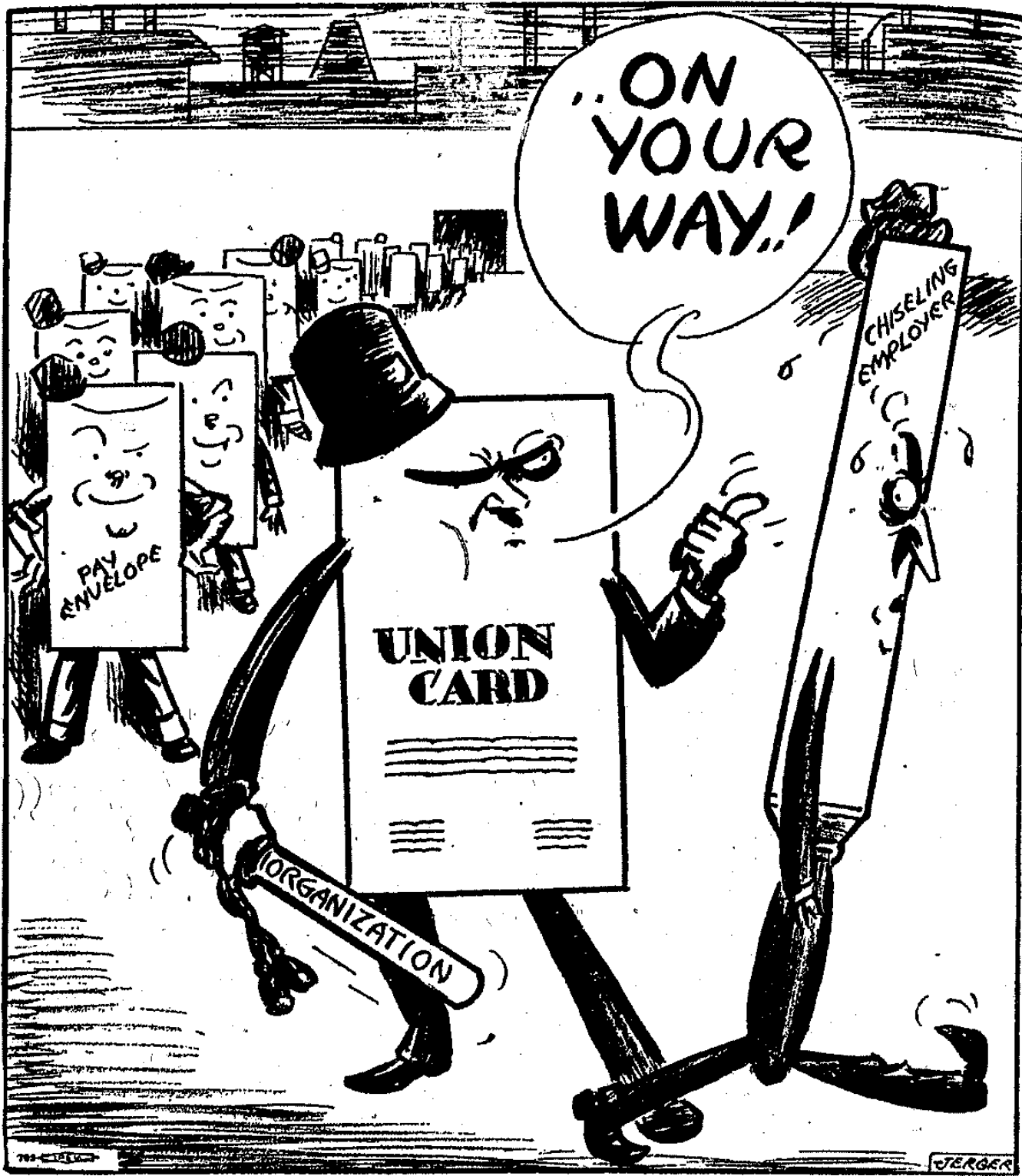
Krzycki's action, or rather failure to act, is an almost incomprehensible piece of political ineptness. Socialists unhesitatingly condemn such conduct on the part of one who holds high office in the party. Old Guard leaders have carefully refrained from criticism of Dubinsky who has long been associated with them and have kept a discreet but heavy silence about Abraham Miller and Louis Hollander, members of the Old Guard who voted in the Amalgamated's General Executive Board for the Roosevelt endorsement. But even though they will now utilize the Krzycki incident to press their factional fight, those who put the interests of the party above the welfare of their group must unflinchingly voice their condemnation, regardless of any temporary gratification it may give to opponents of the party.

On the other hand, Socialists rejoice to find so clear a statement of the party's position as Julius Hochman has made. Guided by the light of his keen analysis of labor's political situation, workers will not follow the example of those who support Roosevelt or countenance their organization's endorsement of capitalist politicians. They will repudiate the passivity of a Krzycki just as they will reject the new turn of Dubinsky and Rieve.

1936 is not a year when labor dares to retreat. If ever the times required that the workers show aggressiveness and independence, it is this year of darkness and despair, when no land is safe from the plague of fascist tyranny, when war looms large in the eyes of startled men, when unemployment stalks the homes of millions. Now as never before, it is essential that labor fill its lungs for the up-hill climb. The sooner we begin the task in earnest, the sooner will we reach victory.

Julius Hochman's vigorous words, stating the position of the Socialist Party, have pointed the way. Labor must prepare to march.

## The Voice of Steel and Auto



## On Dubinsky's Resignation

To the Editor:

May I express my appreciation of your editorial "On Dubinsky's Resignation" in the Socialist Call which reached me this morning?

For incisiveness, for moderation, understanding and wise counsel, as well as for loyalty to Socialist Party ideals, it cannot be too highly commended. It gives assurance of a comprehensive, ardent and inspiring leadership for the future, together with a deepening sense of security for the present.

MRS. DARWIN J. MESEROLE

New York City.

To the Editor:

I have just received the May 1 edition of the Call. It is a splendid issue. Every page is good. The Dubinsky editorial is splendid. Good stuff. Well written. Very readable. No bitterness or rancor. Good luck to you.

SIMON BASS

Newark, N. J.

### The Call— A Daily

To the Editor:

Enclosed is my renewal of my subscription to the Socialist Call. I think it is the best radical paper in the United States. Let's make it a daily.

AUSTIN E. ADAMS

Reading, Pa.

### Suggested Campaign Plank

To the Editor:

Please give this letter space for the purpose of suggesting the following as a plank in the platform for 1936 on the unemployment question:

The Socialist Party stands for such an organization of industry that all may work and live; that employment may be had on demand by every one able and willing to work; that every boy and girl shall be taught some useful

necessary trade or occupation along with their intellectual training, and when so equipped for life the opportunity to work and live shall not be denied them; that every one shall be given the opportunity to do some useful, necessary work so that all may develop all their faculties—mental, physical, social, moral, spiritual, to the highest and best degree; and in order that all may have this opportunity the Socialist Party declares for the production of the necessities of life for use and not for profit.

S. L. HOOVER  
Smithsburg, Md.

### A Fine Paper— But for Whom?

To the Editor:

I have been connected with the Socialist movement for the past 30 years, principally in the West, as a "Jimmy Higgins." Of late years, I am beginning to see that we are failing miserably to teach the masses the fundamental meaning of Socialism. I agree absolutely with Ex-Republican that the percentage of people who know what Socialism is, and what it hopes to accomplish, is infinitesimal. If it was larger, the election returns would show it.

Just go out into the "sticks" or anywhere, and ask the people you meet what their opinion of

Socialism is. All they can tell you is the lies they cull from the capitalist press. Our leaflets and pamphlets, in addition to telling how capitalism works and why and how we are in this mess, should also say how Socialism will work. Too much is left to the reader's imagination.

It is a very bright scholar who can read our leading Socialist papers for a year and learn what it is all about.

I agree with Simon Bass—we should not become worshippers of an emblem and let what it stands for go to hell.

M. H. SPANGLER  
Buchanan, Va.

### Old Parties Useless to Masses

To the Editor:

I was 58 years old the second of this May. I am handy at most anything and have worked in shops in your own city. That was back in the fall and winter of 1915.

I am obliged to work now on the WPA at \$.378 per hour. We were getting \$.40. Bosses and time-keepers and pay-masters get nice hand-outs in salaries.

Neither of the old parties are worth a tinker's dam to the masses.

W. C. WAINWRIGHT  
Geneva, N. Y.

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# OUR LABOR MOVEMENT

By John Ball

All reports, from all parts of the country, concerning the May Day demonstrations reveal unmistakably that common action between Socialists and Communists on a specific occasion is today possible and fruitful. Two or three years ago, such an action would have ended in a riot. Today, the only complaint of the Jewish Daily Forward is that it was the "most calm and quiet" demonstration "New York has ever seen."

## United May Day

Some comrades, and many critics of the present Socialist Party, get the impression that this common action was possible because Socialists were willing to compromise. Just the opposite is true! This common action was successful because for several years now Socialists have refused to compromise with the Communist concept of "united fronts from below." If the Socialist Party had entered this common action on the old Communist basis of utilizing the occasion to turn the membership against its own organization, the streets of New York would have been turned into a huge battle arena. It is because Socialist persistence compelled the Communists, at long last, to accept the Socialist concept of joint action, that this May Day was a success.

Just as in the past, Socialists in trade unions and elsewhere, fought off liquidation of the Socialist Party by disruptive "united fronts from below," so, in the future, Socialists will have to solidify and discipline their ranks to avoid the danger of losing party identity through a welding of the two party organizations into a united front pact that will solder us together from head to foot.

On the major questions of the day, the fight against war and fascism and labor political action, the Socialist and Communist Parties are fundamentally separated. We exist to press our point of view. And this we can not do if we are bound in all our major activities by "united front pacts."

This common action on May Day was successful because Socialists did not relax their vigil for their organization, against the Communist Party, and for their principles. Future common actions will be increasingly successful only in proportion as we build our own Socialist forces and spread our own Socialist philosophy.

As proof of the fact that we need strong Socialist forces to keep the Communists from going haywire on the "united front" is the behavior of the (CP) elements in the Teachers' Union. The May Day demonstrations prove that it is better to learn late than never. But, may we remind the CP teachers, better early than late!

## The Polo Grounds

According to the Jewish Daily Forward the demonstration in the Polo Grounds was "the most beautiful and impressive 'NO!' to the agitation for a united front."

It is almost unbelievable that in a leading editorial on May Day, the Forward does not say a word about how this May First symbolized the growing strength of the workers against American capitalism. All that the Forward sees in the great Polo Grounds meeting is "an answer to the Communist and left maneuvers for a united front." The Polo Grounds meeting was not a demonstration against capitalism but against the "united front." One wonders what power there is in old age to make men's souls and brains shrivel to such tiny proportions!

The Forward does not mention the fact that the Socialist Party (called Militants in the Forward) packed its section at the Polo Grounds. Was this also an "answer" to the "left maneuver?" Nor does the Forward mention the unions and political groups which were in the parade, some of which sponsored the parade, and helped considerably to fill the Polo Grounds. Now does the Forward mention the fact that the loudspeaker at Union Square instructed sections of the parade to proceed immediately to the Polo Grounds.

If the Polo Grounds' meeting was a slap in the face for the parade, then the paraders must have been slapping their own face.

## The United Front

The united front resolution of the Call conference was printed in these pages a few weeks ago. It is well to restate our orientation in the light of May Day. We seek no eternal alliances with anybody, whether to the right or the "left" of us, whether trade union leaders or CP bureaucrats. We seek to mobilize for specific actions the broadest mass of workers possible. Our basic orientation in such matters is not toward the Communist Party but toward the great mass of workers in the organized labor movement. This guided us on May First. This should guide us further.

## Ready to Go



# Tampa Police Admit Aid In Covering Up Flogging Defendants

By SIDNEY HERTZBERG

**BARTOW, Fla.** — The general understanding among Tampa police and city employes that nobody is supposed to know anything about police participation in kidnappings and floggings was laid bare here last week by two high police officials testifying as state witnesses in the trial of seven ex-cops for the false arrest and kidnaping of Eugene F. Poulnot, Chairman of the Florida Workers Alliance.

The revelations were made by police Lieut. J. L. Eddings and W. D. Bush, who was chief of detectives last November 30 when Poulnot, Dr. Sam J. Rogers and Joseph A. Shoemaker were kidnaped by police in front of the police station and subjected to floggings from which Shoemaker died.

After both witnesses had implicated the defendants in the events of that fatal night, Pat Whitaker, chief defense counsel, cross-examined them with the testimony they had previously given the police committee of the Tampa board of representatives in which they had failed to divulge all they knew.

### Admits He Lied

When confronted with his contradictory statements, Eddings openly admitted that he had lied to the police committee because he felt he was not expected to tell the truth and because he was afraid of losing his job.

"As a matter of fact," he declared, "every affair of this kind ends up against a wall. The police are never supposed to know anything about these floggings. I once went to a hospital to interview a man who had been flogged and he himself said he knew nothing about it."

Bush, who saw defendants Brown and Carlisle slam the door of an auto as he walked to the front of the police station to investigate "loud hollering," testified that he had told everything he knew to R. G. Tittsworth, former chief of police now on trial as accessory after the fact.

### Bush Testifies

Explaining his reticence before the police committee, Bush said: "I never had any intention of telling that committee anything pertaining to this case.

It was none of their business; it was the state's and county's business. They were simply trying to get the evidence before hand to cover the whole thing up."

That Bush himself was not so much interested in justice as he was in protecting the city administration became apparent when he told of a conversation with City Attorney Alonzo B. McMullen:

"I told him if Chief Tittsworth had listened to me, he never would have lost his job. If he had got those warrants, it would have taken the heat off the administration and never caused all this trouble."

The testimony of Bush and Eddings removes all doubt that the floggings of last November, like all the others before them, would have been forgotten after a perfunctory investigation had it not been for the "heat" on the administration generated by the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa.

### United Front Cracks

When State Attorney J. Rex Farrow indicated serious intention of prosecuting, the united front of floggers began to crack. Bush and Eddings, having failed to tell the police committee what they knew, were themselves liable to indictment as accessories. Their testimony as state witnesses was no doubt an exchange for immunity from indictment.

Bush, however, has retained Chancey's support. The Mayor appointed him chief of police after Tittsworth took an indefinite leave of absence, but the board of representatives refused to confirm him. This seemed to amount to a break between Chancey and Whitaker.

Last week the break widened when Chancey discharged six of the defendants and J. A. McCaskill, the police stool-pigeon. All had been suspended last December. The growing sentiment for recall of all city officials accounts for this action.

# HE LAID AN EGG

By McAlister Coleman

The new Republican "Brain Trust" (and how stunningly original these Republicans are!) has been laying economic eggs all over the national farm. Prize output from this amazing collection of academic hired hens is an eighty-four page pamphlet by Thomas Nixon Carver, professor emeritus of economics at Harvard. It is called, "What Must We Do to Save Our Economic System?" and it is God's gift to Franklin D. Roosevelt who is the luckiest man under the American sun in the enemies he has collected.

The Carver pamphlet is sponsored by a bunch of California bankers and utility men. Creeping Tom would limit marriage to those "substantial people of America—the real forgotten men" who can "afford to buy and maintain an automobile." He would sterilize those "palpably unfit" and would organize the "well-to-do and propertied classes" to put over his program. Says Tom: "So long as people who lack intelligence continue to spawn others who lack intelligence, we shall have more of such people than we can possibly employ at good wages."

## A Democratic Plot

Honest, the pamphlet says that I have the word of the Republican New York Herald-Tribune for it. Of course, I always suspect the fine hand of Charley Michelson, ace Democratic publicity man, in the production of some of these Republican gems. But this one looks authentic enough to anyone who knows the sort of economics that Thomas Nixon Carver taught. A few more pamphlets like this and Charley won't have to uncover his typewriter from now until the end of the campaign. Just send along Democratic campaign funds to the Republican National Committee ear-marked for the distribution of the G. O. P.'s Brain Trust propaganda.

We did that once, some years back, with a broadside shot at us by the now happily defunct National Electric Light Association, mouthpiece for the "kilowatt klan." It was called, "The Radical Attack on American Industry" and it was a honey. Someone in the N. E. L. A. had obligingly collected all the arguments for the nationalization of the utilities which had been put up for years by the Socialist Party, the League for Industrial Democracy and the Public Ownership League and bound them nicely together with red covers. As soon as we saw the thing we sent for five hundred copies and got rid of them all in about two weeks. It was one of the best hand-books for Socialist speakers that was ever issued by the utility mob.

## The Ungrateful Rich

In Harper's for May, Marquis W. Childs in an article called, "They Hate Roosevelt," underscores the good luck the President enjoys in the nature of his Republican opposition. He tells how "thousands of men and women among the American upper class" hate Roosevelt with "a passion, a fury that is wholly unreasoning." He says; "In history this hatred may well go down as a major irony of our time. For the extraordinary fact is that . . . the majority of those who rail against the President have to a large extent had their incomes restored, and their bank balances replenished since the low point of March 1933." You bet they have. Last year as Mr. Childs points out, corporate profits increased forty per cent while real wages increased less than two per cent.

It is indeed ironic this upper class hatred for Roosevelt in view of all that Franklin has done for the Fat Boys since that black March day when he took office. Talk about "biting the hand that feeds you." These boys would snap the hand clean off at the wrist and then work up the arm. It is something for us whose opposition to the President is based on more than personal venom to take very much into account in the campaign that is ahead.

## Don't Get Personal!

We must make it crystal clear that we have no concern with the doings of Mrs. Roosevelt or the antics of the Roosevelt young. The story is going the rounds of our "upper classes" that the Roosevelts are drunk all the time. That's okay with me. They do seem to sneak in quite a lot of work between jags. I stick to Debs's philosophy that the "private habits of an individual are nobody's business and I know darn well that the senior Roosevelts, at any rate, never got drunk in their lives.

Quite evidently for those who will handle the Socialist publicity and speakers in this campaign the rule must be: Lay off all personalities, especially about the President and his family. We have plenty of ammunition without borrowing any from the Liberty League and Park Avenue, New York. Let the rich riff-raff wallow in their own mire of hate and let us stick to the Socialist business of making a world fit for decent people to live in.



# World Socialism

ETHIOPIA—AND AFTER

By HERBERT ZAM

WITH Addis Ababa falling into Mussolini's hands, with Haile Selassie fled and the Ethiopian armies disorganized and incapable of further resistance, it must be stated that Ethiopia has already been conquered by Italy. Italy has done in East Africa what Japan did in Manchuria. There remains only the task of "mopping up," which the fascists will undoubtedly carry out with the help of some of the methods they employed against the labor movement at home. In consolidating fascist rule in Ethiopia, Mussolini will have not only the example of Japan, but the examples of "democratic" Belgium and its Congo, "democratic" Holland and its Indonesia, "democratic" France and its Indo-China, "democratic" England and its India, "democratic" United States and its Philippines.

Italy's seizure of Ethiopia greatly intensifies the war danger and will undoubtedly result in the immediate speeding up of the armaments race, which is already proceeding at a rapid pace. Italy will now be in a position to consolidate and exploit Eritrea, Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia on a "unified" basis, with Eritrea supplying access to the sea, or else through a deal with France for the use of Jibuti. Occupation of Ethiopia provides Italy with a dominant position in East Africa, which, supplementing its strong position in the Mediterranean, will serve to intensify the Anglo-Italian struggle.

## Failure Of Sanctions

What now becomes of the League of Nations? What of sanctions? Will those who placed their faith in these capitalist instruments continue to cling to them as an act of defeatist desperation? The utopians who hoped that sanctions would "strangle" Italy must surely admit that even from a purely practical viewpoint they have failed utterly. The League of Nations played the usual role, dallying when determined action might have had some effect, offering compromises at Ethiopia's expense and knuckling under when the pressure was put on.

The League could play no other role, for as an organization of imperialist countries, it merely reflects all the contradictions among those countries. Sanctions by the League could be nothing else but an instrument in the imperialist struggle, and the results have amply justified their rejection by revolutionary Socialists.

A well-known writer on international affairs has pretty well summarized the reasons for labor support for capitalist sanctions by the argument that "labor . . . has found an ally in its struggle against fascist imperialism." And to be consistent, having found such a powerful ally as Britain, should not labor stake its entire future upon it? This is precisely what happened. Support of sanctions by labor has led to shameful passivity by the labor movement against Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Only here and there, as isolated cases, were there any signs of independent labor action. Even the traditional demonstrations at the consulates were conspicuously lacking. In comparison with the activity over American intervention in Nicaragua some years ago, activity on behalf of Ethiopian independence was non-existent.

It is important to bear the lessons of Ethiopia in mind because once again we are reminded that the colonial countries can either be the Achilles heel of world imperialism or they can be the reserve of capitalist reaction. Marx

once said that "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin if it is branded in the black." A labor movement in an imperialist country which fights for a new social order, but does not consider the liberation of the oppressed peoples as part of that fight, thereby places itself on the side of the imperialist oppressors. One of the factors which has helped world capitalism in the present crisis has been its ability to overcome colonial revolt and intensify its exploitation of the colonial people. A resurgence of the colonial movement would not only be a great stimulus to the world labor movement, but would also weaken capitalism considerably. And conversely, a more aggressive struggle in the capitalist countries against colonial oppression would greatly stimulate the anti-imperialist struggle in the colonies.

## Divide and Rule

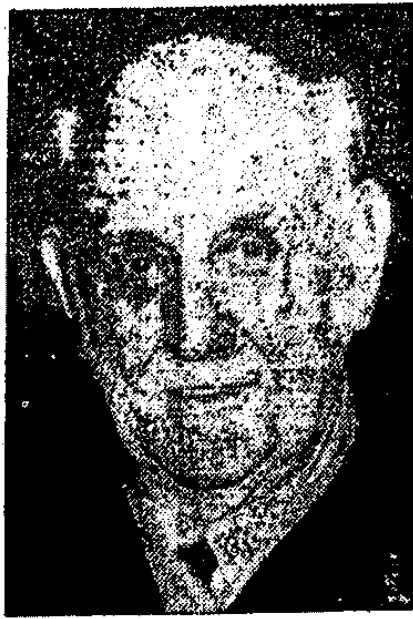
The labor movement must of course be on guard against imperialist tricks in the colonies—for instance playing one racial or religious group against the other. For many years this was the stock method of rule in India. We see an application of this method today in Palestine. There is no doubt that the anti-Jewish riots and the tenseness between Jews and Arabs are being promoted by British interests.

Such a stirring up of racial hatreds is, it seems, the only possibility Britain had for securing acceptance of the new Legislative Council which gives Britain power. Arabs and Jews were unanimous in their opposition to it. This joint opposition contained the seeds of future Arab-Jewish co-operation against British imperialism and threatened Britain's hold on Palestine. Now England can step in as the "peace-maker" and "guardian of order" and strengthen its own position against both Jew and Arab. There can be no salvation for the colonial people in such a situation. Labor must definitely align itself with the colonial population against imperialism, and it must exert its influence for unity of the toiling colonial people against imperialism.

The struggle for the re-division of the world among the leading imperialist powers, beginning with the re-division of the colonies is already at an advanced stage. Manchuria to Japan, Ethiopia to Italy—these may be the preludes to new raids upon the colonies. Germany, with or without the collusion of some other country, may next make its bid. Out of this scramble may come the next world war—perhaps sooner than we anticipate.

The colonies will surely play an important role in the war struggle. The imperialists look upon them as reservoirs for men and for materials. If the international labor movement neglects the colonies, that is what they will be. But we cannot neglect them. Our ally in the struggle against imperialism cannot be imperialism of a different type. Not the League of Nations, not capitalist sanctions, not imperialist alliances, but the colonial people themselves, against all imperialists, are our allies. Not to wait until some new country becomes a victim, but to carry on the struggle immediately against all imperialists, and particularly the imperialist at home, is the need of the hour. Not to fight only against the "fascist" imperialism of Italy, Japan and Germany, but also against the "democratic" imperialism of England, France and the United States—these must be our tactics.

## Laborite



George Lansbury, British Labor Party leader, who resigned his office in the party because of differences on war policy. He is now in the United States lecturing on the subject of peace, and is scheduled to speak at the national convention of the Socialist Party in Cleveland.

## Coleman Dares Assemblyman to Debate Relief

RADBURN, N. J.—McAlister Coleman, nationally known Socialist leader and Socialist Call columnist, has challenged J. Parnell Thomas of Allendale to a public debate on the New Jersey relief situation.

"No question is of greater importance to our Commonwealth," Coleman's letter said, "and its public discussion should help clarify the issues involved."

"I suggest that the debate be held within the next two weeks at the Court House in Hackensack or at any other place convenient to you."

"My position and that of the Socialist Party is that the only tax program adequate to meet the present crisis is a State income tax, a tax on undivided corporation surpluses, and a luxury tax. We are unalterably opposed to a sales tax and to all efforts to reduce relief appropriations by dropping present recipients from relief rolls unless these recipients are absorbed by industry."

Assemblyman Thomas, in a message to Governor Hoffman, charged that the jobless who occupied the Assembly chamber at Trenton were professional agitators. Ray Cooke, Socialist leader of the Workers Alliance, denied this charge and was silenced by the Assembly last week when he called Thomas a liar in a speech before that body.

## 15,000 Attend N. Y. Anti-Nazi Benefit

NEW YORK.—American labor leaders launched a nation-wide campaign at Madison Square Garden in behalf of victims of persecution and oppression in Europe, and denounced Nazi intolerance as a menace to freedom all over the world.

Fifteen thousand persons attended the benefit mass meeting at the Garden and listened to speeches by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor and other labor leaders. Mr. Green outlined the objects of the Labor Chest for the Relief and Liberation of Workers of Europe and said "every genuine labor organization of any importance in every country in the world is participating in this work."

In a message read from the platform, Dr. Albert Einstein sent a greeting to the gathering and expressed the hope that "the generous help you are extending will repair or at least lessen much of what Fascist regimes have sinned on many valuable human beings."

# Socialists Oppose Supporters of FDR

PHILADELPHIA.—Following the example of the United Mine Workers of America, the American Federation of Hosiery Workers voted at its Philadelphia convention to support Roosevelt for re-election. Soon after the vote was taken, President Emil Rieve, who had spoken on the pro-Roosevelt resolution, formally resigned from the Socialist Party.

The National Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party and the Reading Labor Advocate immediately issued statements deprecating Rieve's action.

Debate on the resolution, contending that "wage earners have no other practical alternative than to vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt in the presidential election," was long and heated, with Socialist delegates from such hosiery centers as Reading and Philadelphia maintaining that labor can only make and hold solid gains through its own political organization. The resolution was carried by 113 to 47.

## Socialist Statement

The action of the hosiery workers in supporting Roosevelt was characterized by Murray Baron and David Felix of the National Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party as a move that "has unwittingly strengthened the very forces of reaction with which the union organizers will contend. These forces are typified and represented by the Democratic Party which Roosevelt heads. It is utterly unrealistic to draw a distinction between Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. Roosevelt depends directly upon the most reactionary element of the South for re-election."

They expressed gratification at "the splendid fight waged in the convention by Socialists and progressives, led by Luther

D. Adams, president of Branch No. 10 of Reading, and John Banachowicz of Branch No. 16 of Milwaukee, against the endorsement of Roosevelt. Their position will be vindicated in the near future."

## Advocate Comments

The Reading Labor Advocate, Socialist weekly, commenting on the resignations of Rieve and David Dubinsky, I. L. G. W. U. president from the Socialist Party, says:

"When labor leaders of the type of David Dubinsky and Emil Rieve leave the Socialist Party to cast their lots with Franklin D. Roosevelt and to lead their followers into the 'New Deal' camp, there is a reason. So, too, there is a reason when a man deserts his wife to enter into an alliance with a dissolute woman. But reasons can be present while justification is missing. So with Dubinsky and Rieve, and with other leaders of labor groups who, understanding the economics of Socialism, have supported or are about to support the nation's foremost defender of the private profit system."

It adds that "those who flee to the 'New Deal' do more than desert their comrades and their Party. More important is the inescapable fact that they have turned their backs upon their principles; and that is the unpardonable sin."

## Olean Election

OLEAN, N. Y.—The Socialist Party and the Central Trades and Labor Council are united in backing a ticket of three candidates, running for election this week to the local Board of Education. Opposed to these candidates is a slate openly supported by the chamber of commerce.

The greetings below arrived too late for inclusion in the May Day issue.

Revolutionary Greetings  
BRANCH 384  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
Hamilton, Ontario

May Day Greetings  
BRANCH 12  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
Philadelphia, Pa.

DRESSMAKERS  
Salute the Socialist Call

Bergman, M. W.  
Brown, Mary  
Burnell, Isabel  
Carapazza, Angelina  
Cosano, Angelina  
Gregorio, Frank  
Gulotto, Joe  
Gulotto, Peter  
Gulotto, Tessie  
Hoffman, Ida  
Kelly, Lena  
Liko, Jack  
Melden, Harry  
Mendolowitz, Esther  
Meimelstein, Joe  
Palumbo, Josephine  
Palumbo, Santa  
Silver, Benjamin  
Ziegler, Sam

Greetings to the Socialist Call  
From Friends and Members of  
the Bookkeepers, Stenographers  
and Accountants Union

David Shukin  
Roland Burdick  
La Fasanilla  
Murray Koenig

## Handbag Makers Hold Convention

NEW YORK.—Delegates from 11 pocketbook locals in the United States and Canada, meeting here last week, voted to establish the International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union.

The convention adopted resolutions endorsing the American Federation of Labor's fight for the 30-hour week, the Frazier-Lundén Social Insurance Bill, and urging the formation of a Labor Party. A tax of one day's pay was levied on all members for organizational purposes, subject to a referendum vote of all members. The union promptly undertook an organization drive.

Joseph Schlossberg of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, William Collins, AFL representative, and James C. Quinn, secretary of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council addressed the delegates.

A resolution greeting the Socialist Call and other papers for activities in behalf of the labor movement was adopted.

New officers of the International are: Isidor Laderman, president; Harry Gevertzman, general secretary-treasurer; Samuel Reinlib, first vice-president; and Samuel Laderman, second vice-president. The executive board includes: David Meyer, Meyer Motlin, Lester Diamond, Samuel Gorenstein, Morris Bandklayder, and Julius Adler, all of New York; Charles Mutter and Joseph Patrick, of Jersey City; Harry Jones of Perth Amboy; Martin Taub and Fred Gagliardi.

President Laderman and executive board members David Meyer and Meyer Motlin are prominent members of the New York Socialist Party.



# Party Activity

## Connecticut

**HARTFORD.**—Devere Allen, member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, will lecture on Spain under the auspices of Local Hartford, illustrating his lecture with slides showing pictures of the Spanish revolutions of 1931 and 1934. The lecture will take place in party headquarters at 80 State Street, on Monday evening, May 11, at 8:15 p. m.

## Illinois

**CHICAGO.**—The Downtown Trade Union Branch will have a discussion of "Industrial Unionism in the AFL" on Friday evening, May 8, at Madison Square Building, 123 W. Madison Street. Speakers will be L. P. Straube, editor of the Chicago Federation of Labor News; A. Cohen, organizer of Chicago Typographical Union No. 16; and A. G. McDowell, Socialist Party secretary.

At least ten workers' cultural societies will participate in the first Labor Spring Festival on Sunday, May 10, at the People's Auditorium, 2457 West Chicago Avenue, under the auspices of the Socialist Party and Young People's Socialist League of Cook County. There will be a dance in the evening.

## Kansas

**WHITEWATER.**—The state office has announced the result of the vote for party officers and candidates for public office. Ida Beloff has been elected state chairman and George M. Whiteside, state secretary. Whiteside is the party candidate for governor, having defeated E. Halderman-Julius, and T. C. Hager is candidate for United States Senator. National convention delegates are George M. Whiteside, John G. MacKinnon and Ida A. Beloff.

## Massachusetts

**BOSTON.**—The City Central Committee voted to participate with the Non-Partisan Labor Defense in a mass meeting for the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, with Walter Moskop and E. B. McKinney, of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, as speakers. The meeting, which will deal with the plight of the sharecroppers, takes place on Friday, May 8, at 8 p. m. in the Community Church Hall at 6 Byron Street.

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Smith—Games and Recreational Methods, etc.  
Also subs to several magazines, i. e. RECREATION, etc.

### FOUND

COAT left on Socialist press float on May Day. Annly American Socialist Monthly.

## New York

**NEW YORK.**—The state office has announced the following program of organization work: National Organizer John Monarch with the Red Special sound truck will be in Poughkeepsie May 2, Rockland County May 3, Olean May 5 and 6 for the school board election, Dunkirk May 7, Buffalo and Niagara May 8 through 10.

State secretary Frank Trager will be in Utica on May 5, Rome and Oneida on May 6, Syracuse on May 7-8, Auburn May 9, Geneva May 10, Rochester May 11-12, Elmira and Waverly May 13, Ithaca, May 14, Binghamton May 15.

**SARATOGA.**—Coleman Cheney has been elected chairman and Herbert Poller secretary-treasurer of the Capitol District Council which includes Schenectady, Saratoga, Glen Falls and Troy. A drive will be launched to put an organizer in the area.

**ROCKLAND COUNTY.**—Local Socialists will celebrate their annual dinner on May 11.

**MOUNT VERNON.**—A county convention held here elected Jacob Jay and Leonard Bright delegates to the national convention, Morris Lubin and Ruth Chapman as alternates. County officers are Jacob Jay, chairman, Leonard Bright, executive secretary, John Ford, treasurer, Ruth Palmer recording secretary.

The official county committee of Westchester, based on the delegates elected in the primaries, elected Jacob Jay as county chairman in the place of John Hagerty, Old Guardist. Ruth Chapman was elected treasurer and Ruth Palmer secretary.

## Pennsylvania

**SOUTH LANGHORNE.**—A symposium on the programs of the various political parties will take place here on Wednesday, May 13, at 8 p. m. in Red Men's Hall. Miles Williams will represent the Socialist Party.

## West Virginia

**FAIRMONT.**—With some 50 delegates in attendance, the West Virginia state convention of the Socialist Party nominated H. L. Franklin for Governor and Robert T. Kerlin for United States Senator. Norman Thomas was urged as the Socialist presidential candidate. S. J. Gordon, of 14 Capitol Street, Charleston, was elected state secretary. National organizer John Monarch and Bill Toole of Maryland spoke at mass meetings. The convention reiterated the support of West Virginia Socialists for the Call.

## Stoolpigeon to Rat

"Hitler entered political life as a spy, a non-commissioned officer in the post-war German army, detailed as intelligence officer to attend labor meetings."—John Gunther, European correspondent of Chicago Daily News, in his book, Inside Europe.

## Follies

**NEW YORK.**—The annual show and dance staged by Rebel Arts will be held Friday, May 15 at Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th Street.

That this affair will be a long remembered one in the history of Rebel Arts can be gleaned from the fact that the long list of entertainment and guests will be headed by the well known Rebel Art Follies. Tickets, selling at 75 cents, can be bought in advance at the Rebel Arts headquarters, 44 E. 21st Street, or from members of the organization.

A "red-hot band" has been engaged for the affair and the arrangements committee promises "a good time will be had by all."



COMING EVENTS

## If... If...

IF we had a 16-page Call, we could have printed stories this week telling:

How the U. S. Chamber of Commerce would "solve" unemployment;

How the Supreme Court's warning to Congress not to tread on its usurped power to declare laws unconstitutional;

How children in Massachusetts have been ordered to a reformatory for not saluting the flag in school;

How N. Y. legislators emasculated a bill to forbid criminals to act as strikebreakers;

And a dozen other "hot" stories.

## Falcons Enjoy Movie Strike of Felix The Cat

**NEW YORK.**—More than 150 Falcons demonstrated their motto of "Friendship" at the Falcon party last Sunday at Rebel Arts.

In an exciting hour of games two children won Falcon emblems and one won a jar of candy. Then they proceeded in a grand march to the studio and sang songs while waiting for the movies. They watched "Felix the Cat" organize a cat strike to fight discrimination against cats, and then, in "The Road to Life," learned how the wild, homeless boys of Russia began a new life in a children's collective in the Soviet Union.

A charter was presented to the Shiplacoff Flight, No. 30, which meets at 864 Sutter Avenue, Brooklyn.

The guides distributed cake, candy, and punch. All joined in singing the "International," ending with the shout, "Friendship!"

## Women's Committee Meets

Irma Carstens, Secretary of the Women's Committee has announced that there will be a meeting of the Women's Conference on Thursday evening May 14, 8 o'clock at the Hotel Delano, 108 W. 43rd Street.

"Socialist Women in Action" is the topic for discussion and the Chairman for the evening will be Selma C. Maximon. The speakers include Harry W. Laidler, Anita Block of the Theatre Guild, Margaret Lamont, member of the editorial board of "Woman Today," Murray Gross, labor secretary of the party, and Rose Pearlman of the Workers' Alliance.

## Kids Can Bet

**ALBANY, N. Y.**—For the second time in ten days the Democrat-controlled Senate Judiciary Committee refused to act on a recommendation for approval of a resolution to ratify the Federal child labor amendment.

However, the members of the committee finally agreed without a dissenting vote, to report favorably the Dunnigan measure proposing a constitutional amendment to legalize parimutual betting at racetracks.

## GALA SPRING DANCE

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## Friday, May 8

Harry W. Laidler on "Conditions of Hospital Workers in New York" over Radio Station WEVD, auspices Hospital Employees Union, Local 171, at 10:30 p. m.

Debate between Aaron Levenstein and Sam Nesson on the Socialist vs. the Communist Program on War and Fascism. Amicus Most, chairman, at Grand Plaza Hall, 160th Street and Prospect Avenue, Bronx, at 8:30 p. m.

## Saturday, May 9

Dinner in honor of Comrade Barney Riley. Speakers include Louis Sadoff, Harry W. Laidler, Jack Altman, Jacob Axelrod. At Blue Lantern Tea Room, 317 Utica Avenue, Brooklyn, at 7 p. m.

## Sunday, May 10

Jacob Bernstein on "Socialism and Communism—A Comparative Study" at the Village Forum, 107 McDougal Street, auspices Village Branch, at 8:30 p. m.

## Tuesday, May 12

Herbert Zam on "Problems Before the Socialist National Convention" at 600 West 125th Street, Room 20, auspices Morningside Heights Branch, at 8:30 p. m.

## Thursday, May 14

Harry W. Laidler, Anita Block, Margaret Lamont, Rose Pearlman and Selma C. Maximon on "Socialist Women in Action" at the Hotel Delano, 108 W. 43rd Street, auspices Women's Committee, Socialist Party, at 8 p. m.

## Saturday, May 16

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

## Sunday, May 17

Norman Thomas at party membership meeting on "Problems Facing the Party at the Coming National Convention," at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place.

## Honor Riley, for 20 Years County Chairman

**NEW YORK.**—Members of the Socialist Party have arranged a dinner in honor of Barney Riley, veteran Kings County Socialist who has been a member of the party ever since its organization. The occasion is the seventy-fifth birthday of Comrade Riley, for twenty years chairman of the Kings County party organization. Speakers at the dinner will include Louis Sadoff, master of ceremonies, Harry W. Laidler, Jack Altman and Jacob Axelrod. It takes place on Saturday, May 9, at the Blue Lantern Tea Room, 317 Utica Avenue, near President street, Brooklyn.

## Membership Meeting

On Sunday, May 17, at 8:30 p. m. a general membership meeting of the New York Socialist Party will be held at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place.

Norman Thomas and other prominent party members will speak on "Problems Facing the Party at the Coming National Convention." Devere Allen has been invited to address the meeting.

Resolutions to be presented to the National Convention will be discussed. Admission will be by party card only.

## 20 Picket—Arrested

**BRIDGEPORT, Conn.**—Twenty young girls, all garment workers, were arrested outside the Consolidated Undergarment, Inc., offices while picketing. They were charged with committing a breach of the peace in singing union songs while on the picket line.

Bail was fixed at \$25 each, and the girls were released when a bond was posted by John J. Egan, secretary of the Connecticut Federation of Labor.

Police charged that there was no strike at the plant and that the union was merely trying to organize the shop. The arrests were made by four policemen under orders of Captain John O'Connell of the First precinct.

Local newspapers are inquiring whether Mayor Jasper McLevy will take any action.

## AND HOW!

Pres. Roosevelt says we've got to build up the national income. Not to mention the national income tax

## Man Renews Sub For Five Years

Despite the divergence of energy in the recent primary fight in New York, the Socialist Party of New York has covered almost one-fourth of its cash quota in the Socialist Call drive. With a meeting of the New York members of the Call Association on Thursday, New York will make plans to intensify the drive for subs and cash in connection with a party organization drive.

In the meanwhile in other parts of the country good work is being done. In reaction-ridden Florida, Frank McCallister has sent a circular letter to party members and branches boosting the drive. Arthur Kling in Kentucky has done the same. Results are expected soon.

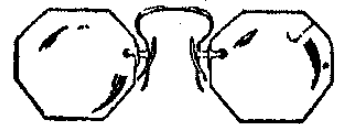
The Call thanks several individual comrades for some really splendid work. L. D. in Massachusetts sends in 10 subs and asked for more blanks. Marvin Halvoisen sends in 12 from Ames, Iowa; Cray and Glen Trimble send in a constant stream from California.

We do want to mention with special thanks the Call's Ypsel No. 1—Sammy Portnoy, who sold 350 copies of the May Day edition—and regularly takes from 150 to 200 copies. And Carl Godfrey of Bangor, Maine, who renewed his subscription for FIVE YEARS.

Just as we come to the end of our allotted space, four subs come from Irvin Fox in Baltimore, Md., and this reminds us that Elizabeth Gilman, in the same city, is preparing a follow up on the long list of names which she supplied us for the purpose of sending sample copies.

## Senior Has Operation

**CHICAGO.**—Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the Socialist party, underwent an emergency operation for appendicitis last week at the Henrotin hospital, Chicago. His condition is good.



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# NEW ASM DISCUSSES WAR, LABOR PARTY

Labor party, war policy, the united front, the functions of the N.E.C. and tactics on the road to power are the topics of the five major articles in the current issue of the American Socialist Monthly (May, 1936). Each of these has its own specific importance and ought to be the subject of extended discussion not only in the columns of the party press but in every local and branch in the party.

Under the titles "A Labor Party," "War Policies, Sanctions and Socialism," and "Notes on the United Front," Berenberg, Zam and Kantorovitch set forth points of view already expressed in resolutions or articles printed in the "Call." Kantorovitch perhaps draws too keen a distinction between joint action and 'united front.' The two cannot be completely separated as with a sharp and well defined line. But there is a difference that must be kept in mind at all times when discussing this all important question.

The history of the Socialist Party in the last two years has proved conclusively the need for greater grant of power to the N.E.C. The doctrine of state's rights, lately so vehemently advanced in the interest of partisan advantage, is as outmoded in the Socialist Party as it is in the United States. Albert Sprague Coolidge discusses the "Function of the N.E.C." from two years of experience on this present too harrassed N.E.C. While much is omitted the essential point is made, namely the need for a grant of real power to the N.E.C., which is charged with the destiny of the party between conventions.

The dilemma of preserving democracy and at the same time providing for a body with the right to take decisive action in accordance with the decisions of the convention can be solved by a conscious and well educated and disciplined rank and file.

In the words of Comrade Coolidge, "We must demonstrate within the party that it is possible

## Shtime Marks Its First Birthday

The May issue of the "Socialist-fishe Shtime," organ of the Central Bureau of Jewish Socialist Branches, marks the first year of the journal's appearance. This issue features a brilliant study of recent Socialist Party history by the distinguished writer, Haim Kantorovitch, under the title, "From Detroit to Cleveland." It discusses questions of program and tactics for the Socialist movement.

Kantorovitch's article is supplemented by an analysis of the Jewish Daily Forward and the New York primary elections, contributed by A. M. Morrison. It is an examination not only of the Socialist success in the primaries but the decadence of the Forward.

Other articles include an editorial on May Day, Gus Tyler's history of Labor's development from May Day of 1886 to May Day 1936, an article on the Trotskyites by N. Miller of Chicago, and greetings from Norman Thomas and Clarence Senior.

Socialists throughout the country have reason to congratulate themselves on this first birthday of the Jewish Socialist monthly. It has been bringing the principles of revolutionary Socialism to the great masses of Jewish workers; through its work, many a new member has been brought to the Party's ranks. Published monthly at 21 East 17th Street, in New York City, at five cents a copy, it provides a foreign language voice for the party. It deserves a long history of success

to have power sufficiently compact and unified to be capable of effective action in times of flux, while still under democratic control."

In "A Socialist Revolution in Constitutional Garments" Albert Goldman undertakes to refute the position of Felix Cohen as expressed in "Capitalism and The Myth of Legality," printed in the last issue of the "Quarterly." The controversy here is whether the working class can utilize slogans of defense of civil liberties and at the same time undertake a revolutionary offensive. The advantage of waging a defensive war has been recognized from time immemorial. Was a war ever fought by an aggressor? Certain forces can be mobilized around a defensive action that otherwise would be neutral or in opposition. On the other hand can we afford to protect illusions about the usefulness of capitalist democracy? During the course of a revolutionary struggle the ground would have to be shifted to a positive assertion of workers' democracy. Whether the kinetic force engendered by such struggle could overcome the natural inertia of ideas is the central question, and can be determined not on principal but on a purely pragmatic basis.

A reply by Joseph P. Lash, national secretary of the American Student Union to the Draper article that appeared last month, a statement by Ben Fischer, national secretary of the Y.P.S.L. on the Yipsel position in the A.S.U., and several book reviews complete this more stimulating number of the American Socialist Monthly. May we recommend it to every branch and local of the Party in connection with pre-convention discussions.—H.S.

## Socialists Print Negro Pamphlet

Frank R. Crosswaith and Alfred Baker Lewis have filled a gap in Socialist literature with their pamphlet, "True Freedom For Negro and White Labor" (Negro Labor News Service, 312 West 125th Street, N. Y. C., price 10 cents). Its 59 pages, beginning with an introduction by Norman Thomas, point the road of emancipation to the Negro workers.

The authors emphasize the class nature of the problems that confront the American Negroes. "The evil from which the Negro suffers," they say, "is basically the same evil, only a little worse in degree, that is meted out to all those who are at the bottom of our industrial life whenever they seek to improve their economic conditions.—The Negro question is a part of the labor question."

Particularly valuable is the emphasis on the unity of purpose which must characterize workers of all creeds and colors. "It makes no difference whatever to the bosses whether the leaders of an organized working class movement are German immigrants, as in the Haymarket Riot Cases, or old line Americans like Bill Haywood, Irish like Tom Mooney, Italians like Giovanitti and his fellow defendants, or a Negro like Angelo Herndon. The master class has used the courts to try to perpetrate judicial lynch-

## Denied



Al Smith Jr., vice-president of the Golden Stakes Contest, denied use of the mails for being a lottery. Hobnobbing with big business, Al and his pop sure love to gamble—lives and other people's money.

## Socialist Street Meetings Stopped By 'Loyal' Legion

NASHUA, N. H.—The American Legion has kept the Socialist Party from holding street meetings in this small New Hampshire town—and public officials admit it!

Efforts on the part of local Socialists to break through a rigid political censorship have thus far proven unsuccessful. City authorities have constantly refused to permit any Socialist meetings in the streets, though the law specifically provides for the issuance of permits for such meetings.

An application for a writ of mandamus, brought by Charles R. Hill, state organizer of the Socialist Party, to compel the issuance of a permit has been denied by the judges of the Superior Court.

Hill's petition points out that the Democratic and Republican parties are permitted to hold meetings but that the Licensing Board for the City of Nashua in denying the request for a permit for Socialist meetings had stated "that the reason for the refusal by them to issue a permit was because of opposition by the American Legion against the holding of political meetings by the Socialist Party."

ings against them all, irrespective of their nationality or color."

Included in the pages are sound analyses of various attempts to solve the Negro problem, like the Garvey movement, the Urban League, the DuBois program, "self determination in the black belt," references to Father Devine, etc. The Socialist program is then presented as the only hope of white and Negro workers.

The authors, both of whom have a distinguished record of service to the Socialist and labor movement, have added another to their many accomplishments by publishing this work.—A.L.

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## Mooney Talks of Tampa Case With Thomas in Jail

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. — Bringing the greeting of Socialists all over the country, Norman Thomas visited Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings in the county jail here.

Mooney was in excellent spirits and apparently in good health. Billings also manifested fine spirits. They vision the beginning of the end of their long martyrdom in San Quentin and Folsom penitentiaries.

Mooney's hearing on habeas corpus proceedings will be over about June 1. He will then return to San Quentin, and Billings will return to Folsom, while their attorneys argue the legal aspects before the State Supreme Court. Should the court deny the habeas corpus, the next step will be an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The two framed labor leaders discussed with Thomas the Tampa kidnapping-flogging-murder trial, involving former policemen. Mooney receives daily reports on the case which in many respects he considers as important as his own framing conviction.

The fight for Mooney and Billings is greatly hampered by lack of funds. Funds are needed to prepare briefs for the court and to prepare for the appeal. Socialists may send funds to Mooney-Billings Defense Fund, care of Socialist Party, 1057 Steiner street, San Francisco, Calif.

The new revised edition of the "YCLA Song Book," containing 45 labor, folk and revolutionary songs. Included in the book for the first time are "March On," "Just Because He's Human" and "The Rich Many and the Poor Man." The price is five cents and they are available at the Young Circle League Office and Worker's Book Stores.

**Thomas E. Feeley**  
San-Francisco Socialists mourn the loss of one of their best loved comrades in the death of Thomas Emmett Feeley, a member of the Socialist Party for more than 30 years. Though suffering from heart attacks in recent months, and in spite of instructions from his physician, he continued his activity in the movement. After attending the recent Norman Thomas meeting, he suffered another heart attack. Socialists who have known Comrade Feeley as an active trade unionist, an effective Socialist speaker, and frequent candidate for public office on the party ticket, grieve over his passing.

## Morrison's Talk Surprises U. S. Labor Leaders

CHICAGO — Herbert Morrison, spokesman for the British Labor Party and regarded in some quarters as the next Labor premier of England, delighted a large audience with a vigorous plea for Socialism at a meeting under the auspices of the Chicago, Illinois and American Federations of Labor. President Wm. Green of the AFL introduced Morrison.

Green and other American labor chieftains on the platform accorded their speaker only moderate applause and sometimes none at all but the audience gave the British labor man enthusiastic response.

Morrison told the meeting that British Labor urges its people to join the trade unions as workers, the cooperatives as consumers and the Labor Party as citizens and voters.

War, he said, is caused by capitalism seeking markets. Socialism will end the cause of war. It will also, he declared, end poverty, insecurity and unemployment.

The address, coming from one of the most prominent leaders of the British Labor Party, was a revelation of the relative backwardness of American labor officialdom, to whom his remarks seemed sharply radical.

## Hungarian Socialist Honored in Chicago

CHICAGO — Local Socialists will join in honoring Alexander Garbai, first President of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, who is now visiting the United States, at a banquet and reception for him at the Hungarian Culture Club, 2011 West North Avenue, Saturday evening, May 9.

Garbai is scheduled to deliver several addresses in this city. He will speak on May 8 at the Hungarian House, 817 East 92nd Street, and at a larger mass meeting in Wicker Park Hall, 2040 West North Avenue on Sunday, May 10, at 2 p. m.

## Call Editor Debates

NEW YORK—The Socialist and Communist positions on "How to Combat War and Fascism" will be debated by Aaron Levenstein, editor of the Call, and Sam Nessim, member of the district committee of the Communist party, on Friday, May 8, at Grand Plaza Hall, 160th Street and Prospect Avenue, Bronx.

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# 'ORPHAN ART PROJECTS' SAY GREEDY ENEMIES

This is the second of two articles by a Federal Theatre Worker dealing with attempts of governmental officials in New York and Washington to abandon Federal Art Projects.

"A Works Relief Program to give security to the unemployed." Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1935. "Four hundred thousand people must be stricken from the WPA rolls by June." Security in 1936. When the first dismissal slips were issued in New York.

Goldie Warner, sole support of her family, carried her "pink slip" into a furnished room, shut all of the windows, locked the door and turned on the gas. A week later Victor Brown, aged twenty-five, was found hanging from a tree in Inwood Park, his "pink slip" in his jacket pocket. The day after Brown was buried, his "reinstatement order" came through the vicious red-tape of Victor Ridder's office. When confronted with these facts, Aubrey Williams, in the Works Progress Administration office at Washington, could only retort, "We didn't expect you people in New York to carry on this way."

The debacle continues. Pink dismissal slips however, are too slow for Washington. If there are going to be more suicides, they must be wholesale suicides! A bill is being considered in Congress that will divorce the Federal Theatre Project and all other art projects from maintenance by Federal funds. If the resolution carries, all art projects will be handed over to the individual State Assemblies for support. This in the same week that Governor Lehman of New York is crying for more money to continue his six dollar a week direct relief program. The states neither want Works Relief projects nor can they support them.

Federal Theatre workers want to know, "Is this the finest subtlety Washington can employ?"

**High Finance Wins**  
But why have the Federal Theatre, why have writers, musicians and artists, been singled out for this slaughter? The answer is quite simple. Because moneys allocated to the relief of art workers have been expended on relief of those workers. Because 80% of the cash allotment for Federal Art Projects is spent in salaries and 20% is spent for supplies, whereas, on labor projects only 20% is spent on salaries and 80% on material and supplies. In other words, 80% OF THE CASH ALLOTMENT FOR WORKS RELIEF ON LABOR PROJECTS IS GOING DIRECTLY INTO THE POCKETS OF PRIVATE INDUSTRY!

Therefore, Federal arts must go and that money must be diverted to labor projects and so into the laps of high finance contractors. In Washington however, that's not the answer being given. Oh, no, the answer is simply, "Boondoggling!" Boondoggling on the Federal Theatre includes two smash hits that have had their "runs" three times extended by public demand (AAA Plowed Under and Murder in the Cathedral), Macbeth selling three weeks in advance in Harlem, marionette plays performing before forty thousand children every month and vaudeville and variety units doing the same business.

**Supers Shun Ridder**  
That the Federal Theatre as well as the other art projects have reached a crucial point in their existence is evidenced by the reaction of the local administration. On the Federal Theatre units, special employee's bulletin boards have been installed and sanctioned, and supervisors shun "Fascist" Ridder's tactics and turn to the worker's organizations for action.

And here definite credit must be given to the City Projects Council. Constantly alert, they are not taking this latest development "lying down." A campaign is under way that is flooding Washington with telegrams and letters of protest addressed to

# 'From Little Acorns' Shines in One-Night Stand at Civic Rep

"FROM LITTLE ACORNS" by William Hauptman and Joseph Samuelson, and "TEN MILLION OTHERS" by David Danzig, two one-act relief plays presented by the New Theatre League at the Civic Repertory Theatre last Sunday night.

Judging from the applause, in which this reviewer joined, "From Little Acorns" stole the evening at the Civic Repertory Sunday night. "Ten Million Others," which is the second prize winning play of the New Theatre League—City Projects Council play contest, was as unrealistic as the story it attempted to portray is true.

The setting of "Ten Million Others" was laid in the administrative offices of a home relief bureau. Outside, the jobless have gathered, threatening action unless relief red tape is cut.

There is the unemployed architect, slowly going insane, who commit suicide, and the sympathetic relief investigator who is fired for being too kind to her "cases."

The play doesn't click. It is tense in spots, but ends up proving nothing. A final long-winded speech by the leader of the unemployed, who has mounted a desk in the relief office while the cops suddenly faded out, completes the nebulous plot.

### Supplies a Need

When a spokesman for the New Theatre League laughingly steps out after the curtain falls on "From Little Acorns," to inform the audience crying "Author, Author," that the setting for the Hauptmann-Samuelson play directed by Joe Van Etza was symbolic, because there was no roof overhead on the Ryan living room in which the action takes place, you feel that the delicious finish has been put to an accurate portrayal of an attempted eviction.

What the labor theatre needs more than anything else is a sense of humor, and it is a distinct pleasure to be able to report that "From Little Acorns" gets its message over—and does it with a smile. This one-act play is of the type which puts

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# Kronstadt Sailors Seen in Epic Film

In presenting "We Are From Kronstadt" at the Cameo, Amkino has brought to the United States a film that is even faster moving than "Chapayev," and possessed of even more good humor. It is the epic story of how the sailors from Kronstadt kept vigil over Petrograd, helping the lowly infantry retain the city for the Soviets.

Guns thunder and men die as the historic struggle determining Russia's destiny is fought again on talking celluloid. Scenes of Red army failures and victories are repeated, with the sailors bringing about the ultimate victory. Beautifully photographed and brilliantly acted, the heroism of the revolutionary military stirs the blood.

A battalion perishes before your eyes, the last remnants executed by being tossed from a cliff, with heavy rocks tied to their necks. Only one escapes, by cutting himself loose under water. He buries the body of his revered commissar, and wanders through a series of adventures until he returns with the Kronstadt marines to drive the invaders off the cliffs into the sea at the very spot where he himself was flung. Petrograd is saved, and looking into the distance over the watery grave of the counter-revolutionary enemy, he asks, "And who else wants Petrograd?"

Here is an epic story for you, acted by men and women who brush away time and space in a flight back to the Petrograd of 1919. Go along with Bushuev, who plays the part of the rough and noble sailor, and Zaichikov, who portrays the inspired commissar in the war for liberation. This is another Russian epic you can't afford to miss.—A.L.

Wagner, Copeland, and other local representatives in Congress.

On each theatre unit, actors and actresses, members of the Council, hurry around to the front of the theatre after each performance and hold a street meeting explaining the situation to the audience and soliciting their aid in this "letter to Washington" campaign. The final recognition of the City Projects Council came at a mass meeting this week when Actors Equity and the American Federation of Actors, both conservative unions, sent telegrams of endorsement for any program of action that the Council proposes in this emergency.

You can help by sending a letter or a post-card immediately to your representative in Washington, demanding the continuance of Federal Art Projects.

# Stars in 'End of Summer'



Osgood Perkins and Ina Claire, co-stars in "End of Summer," Broadway hit at the Guild Theatre in New York.

an end to the eternal argument of propaganda versus art. It is both.

### "Damn Reds"

Thomas Ryan, thrown off his job just before he is due for a pension after working eighteen years on the subway, has no use for his son, Jerry, who is one of those "damn reds always agitating" down at relief headquarters.

Not until the "Democratic ward captain gives Tom Ryan the run-around while his son agitates a relief check into his clutching hands, does Ryan forgive his son for his radical notions.

The Ryans and their neighbors are real people. You chuckle when Tom Ryan answers a complainet from his wife, "If Mr. Kan-

tor is allowed to drink his tea from a glass, I guess I can drink mine from the saucer." And you chuckle again when Jerry's three friends and the neighbors sit on all the furniture which the marshal has come to remove.

It is too bad that the acting is amateurish, but "From Little Acorns" rises above that. If the New Theatre League puts it on again, as we hope it does, go see it.

—H. W.

"Magnificent, compelling."—Her. Trib.

## "WE ARE FROM Kronstadt"

"The boldest direction the screen has provided this year."—N. Y. Times  
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—BROOKS ATKINSON, N. Y. Times

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# AT THE FRONT



By **NORMAN THOMAS**

## LABOR MUST NOT SUCCUMB TO THE ROOSEVELT MYTH

Socialists must face realistically and as loyal Socialists the undoubted fact of the very strong surge of sentiment for the support of the re-election of President Roosevelt within the ranks of organized labor. It has already brought about the resignation from the Socialist Party of certain labor leaders whose motives we must respect. Nevertheless I think their judgment is mistaken and I believe that it would be fatal for the Socialist Party and immensely injurious to the Socialist cause for Socialists to do anything except push a vigorous Socialist campaign on a nationwide scale.

In my experience there are three different lines of argument on this matter which are usually intertwined and sometimes hard to distinguish from one another. They are, however, different.

### Roosevelt the Liberal

The first argument is a positive affirmation of the immense services of the Roosevelt Administration and the necessity for continuing it. Honest and intelligent men cannot deny that the Roosevelt Administration has been more friendly to labor, and especially to organized labor, than its predecessors. I should go farther, at least for the sake of argument. With all the serious defects of the Roosevelt Administration it is probably about as liberal as any capitalist administration in America is likely to be. Those who want reforms may regret that the Roosevelt Administration has not favored their particular reform. But if reform is the way out, better stick to the Roosevelt Administration than fool around with a more or less Utopian type of reformism, a theory, that is, of reforms theoretically possible but practically unattainable under the political and economic set-up of capitalism in America.

But for those who believe in Socialism, who know that we do not need a New Deal but a new game, or rather a new system, the Roosevelt record is anything but satisfactory. What Mr. Roosevelt has done is to bolster up capitalism, to give it new life. It may be that some Bourbon capitalists of the Liberty League and Republican persuasion are too stupid to know. Nevertheless, in the main the Roosevelt program of state capitalism with minor reforms is a program which is doing more for capitalism than Hoover ever could.

And his actual service to labor is rather pitiful. One does not know whether to laugh or cry when labor professes to be positively satisfied with Roosevelt in view of the record. Look at two recent announcements. The Senate passes an Administration bill to spend 531 million dollars for the Navy. Hoover himself never promised so big a bill. The Army also is increased. Militarism is anti-labor, always has been and always will be. It is also anti-peace. The permanent chairman just announced for the Democratic National Convention is none other than Joe T. Robinson, active supporter in Washington for the most abominable tyranny in America, that of the plantation system. He has kept the President from doing one thing to help these most exploited workers. Indeed, AAA has on the whole definitely operated to hurt them worse.

So I might continue. Perhaps it is enough to cite the actual facts. Growing military expenditures. No true program of peace. Profits up from 1934 to 1935 by 47 per cent in 895 corporations examined by the National City Bank. Wages up not one cent. Hours increased. Continued unemployment, and mounting debt. This is what capitalism does, what it is going to do, and what it will not be deterred from doing by the New Deal, or what is left of it.

### "Roosevelt or Fascism"?

But this leads us to a second position; that of men, some of whom I have met in labor ranks, who say: "Practically all that you have told us is true. Nevertheless we have to support the New Deal in order to prevent a Republican victory which in its direct effects and in the encouragement it would give to the employing class will mean a terrible blow to labor. Since labor is our one hope of progress we cannot afford that blow."

Again I must differ. In the first place I do not think that the immediate danger of Republican victory is anything like as great as some of my friends imagine and in the second place I do not think that a victory of Roosevelt will avert the real danger. Let me explain. Whoever is elected President, there cannot be a wholesale repeal of existing laws. Whoever is elected President, as the relation of Roosevelt to the sharecroppers shows, labor's real trust must rest in labor's own strength.

A Republican candidate will be no Hitler not this year. And it must be remembered that some of the very people who now want to support Roose-

velt were highly critical of German Social-Democrats for voting for Hindenburg to keep out Hitler. Now in the face of far less danger they want to emulate that practice. It didn't work in Germany. It will not work in the United States. Roosevelt or no Roosevelt, the forces of a disintegrating capitalism will go on.

We are headed straight to war or to new economic collapse, the latter perhaps following a period of inflation. Roosevelt of himself will avert neither. He is less likely to do much to try to avert them if there is no organized political force to the left of him. And labor will not be educated to the facts in order to act in the hour of crisis. The march of events in our capitalist-nationalist world carries us to catastrophe as inevitably as the similar march of events carried Wilson to war. Voting for Roosevelt to keep us out of that crisis will be exactly as much of a failure as voting for Wilson because he kept us out of war. And I repeat the tragedy of it is that by that process we shall delay, not advance, the building of a strong farmer-labor party with a real philosophy and program directed to plenty, peace and freedom.

### For a Socialist Campaign

But here comes the third point. Some of my friends, including some Socialists, say: "Even if labor is mistaken in supporting Roosevelt we ought to go along or at least not oppose Roosevelt so that we can have influence after Roosevelt's re-election in building a genuine farmer-labor party to which a great many of Roosevelt's present supporters are well disposed." Of course we want to join in building that real farmer-labor party. But since labor is even suffering defections to Roosevelt, I am against, as I have said a thousand times, any premature efforts to start a paper farmer-labor party on the ground that it will hurt rather than help the appearance of a real farmer-labor party. But as Socialists our great service to that new party is educational. A Presidential campaign in America is a great educational opportunity. We are not a parliamentary country in the European sense. We cannot get out of a series of campaigns for Congressional candidates the equivalent of what we can get out of a Presidential campaign. No series of Congressional campaigns can take its place.

Indeed, without a Presidential campaign it is doubtful if we can have anything like a unified party and organization. Logically, perhaps, on paper an argument can be made that this need not be so. Psychologically it is so a thousand times over. A Socialist Party with no Presidential candidate means leaving the field to the Republicans, to Democrats, including the solid South, Tammany Hall, to Cook County Democracy, and all the rest, and to the highly opportunistic Communists. It means that in an hour of crisis there is no effective voice raised to educate and organize for Socialism which is the one hope of the world. To answer that by saying that it is our job to go with labor right or wrong, is very dangerous. If that is our final commandment it seems to me that we have been making a mistake for a long time. Labor in New York, for instance, has long been going as a rule with Tammany. We didn't go with Tammany and by staying out we helped labor.

It is still true that a real Socialist campaign and a real Socialist vote, irrespective of its size, which I think will be much greater than some of our pessimists fear, are necessary as never before in any process which will make the farmers and the workers with hand and brain in America a real force for the cooperative commonwealth. As I see the country there is a genuine demand for a vigorous campaign which will get support of the rank and file everywhere. The one requisite for it is that we shall hold our ranks firmly and organize aggressively and intelligently to carry on the fight.

### Join The Socialist Party

For information fill out the blank and send it to the Socialist Party, 519 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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### The May Day United Fronts

At the same time there is no doubt that the united front May Day celebrations in New York City and elsewhere were highly successful and very encouraging. The essential hypocrisy of the Old Guard opposition to all united fronts was nowhere better shown in New York than at the Polo Grounds on May Day. At the great meeting arranged under labor union auspices not only did Louis Waldman, Old Guard leader, speak and Harry Laidler, the newly elected State Chairman of the Socialist Party of New York, but also Jay Lovestone. Now Lovestone is definitely and aggressively a Communist, even if he is outside the Communist Party, with which his group has been negotiating. It is ridiculous to have a united front with Lovestone on the platform at the Polo Grounds and then cry out against the magnificent labor demonstration in a street parade in which Communists are included.

We have to work together in labor unions; it is often highly advisable to work together in great demonstrations in the advocacy of certain specific and definite measures and in very important labor defense cases. This policy has been justified by its success.

On the other hand parliamentary or political united front policies have not been equally justified. I have just heard that in Danbury, Connecticut a local united front got fewer votes than the Socialists alone. By the way, this remark applies not only to a united front with Communists but to progressives. Such united fronts locally have to be looked into carefully. Everything I have

seen and heard in thousands of miles of travel around America told me that. In Minnesota where until recently the few Socialists have been dual members of a farmer-labor party as individuals neither Socialism nor a genuine farmer-labor party movement has been the gainer. I am sure our Wisconsin friends will remember that, with Minnesota at their door.

### Build the Call

It is neither exaggeration nor compliment to say that we would have no Socialist Party worth the name in many parts of the United States — emphatically in New York State — were it not for the Socialist Call. The Socialist Call has given of its funds to help the Party to victory. Now in the hour of some emergency for the Call let us rally to it and build it not merely to save it from deficit but to push it forward to greater achievement.

### Best Wishes

The sympathy of all Socialists will go out in hopes of the speedy recovery of our loyal, hardworking National Secretary, Clarence Senion, from his emergency operation.

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