

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1934

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ASKS AID FOR AUSTRIAN CHILDREN

Austria Heads Fast Toward Fascism

EARLY last November Chancellor Dollfuss announced that the regime he was planning would be neither the corporative nor the totalitarian state, that parties would continue to exist and that his state would be of the guild type. On the eve of the February rising Dollfuss, who had been more or less co-operating with the Heimwehr Fascists, went over to them completely.

This week Prince Starhemberg, leader of the Heimwehr, declared that Austria is to be a Fascist state and that Dollfuss "is heart and soul with the Heimwehr." However, the reactionary cowards show fear of the opinion outside of Austria which has been expressed against them and they go so far as to pay homage to the Socialist workers who fought them.

Anti-Semitism also raises its ugly head. The pro-Nazi *Wiener Neueste Nachrichten* quoted from the Catholic weekly, *Neuland*, an article stating that Jewish journalists on Austrian papers cannot be tolerated. "The Jewish press, literature and theatre will have to be proscribed here as soon as possible," says the *Nachrichten*.

For many years business men have resented the cooperative movement built up by the Austrian workers and these private traders have demanded that the government should dissolve them. There are over 100 cooperatives in Austria with more than a thousand branches employing 2,500 workers and having a membership of 300,000. In 1932, their turnover was 160,000,000 schillings and there were 19,700,000 schillings of small deposits in their banks. The Socialist Labor Bank is to be liquidated by the government. Its capital was 8,000,000 schillings and it had in deposits and current accounts 54,900,000.

Both the Heimwehr and the Nazis claimed that many Socialists were going over to them, but information from more reliable sources is required before any reliance can be placed upon their

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Light on Bonus Extras Sweated from Masses Revealed in Report

While Millions of Workers and Farmers Endure Poverty
Silk Hats Divided Plunder

INDUSTRY is owned to sweat riches out of those who do useful work. The values so obtained exceed anything ever sweated out of the labor of slaves. Labor power is a commodity. It is sold by workers to the owners of industry. They accumulate huge fortunes by buying this labor power. The workers, when they work, get enough out of their exertions to feed, house and clothe themselves. The rest belongs to the masters.

That is the source of vast workless incomes. But in addition to this source there is the "bonus." Workers in the past five years piled up such enormous values that in addition to the normal robbery still more plunder was left in the hands of the corporation kings. What should be done with the extra loot?

The Federal Trade Commission this week told us. From time to time a little light has been let in on the passing out of bonuses. Now the curtain is drawn aside and we observe the silk hats gathered at the big money vats. Each gets his bonus.

Here are 900 corporations with a record of bonus payments from 1928 into the year 1932. Bethlehem Steel, for example, assed an extra \$2,470,785 to its royal executive. Other corporation kings received nice presents.

For nearly three years of these bonus payments increasing numbers of workers were being hurled into idleness. Working farmers were sinking to lower depths of misery. Breadlines were lengthening. Hunger became a reality for millions. Workers were losing homes and renters were being evicted.

Now we have a picture of social contrasts. In the world of loot above are the fat rich pocketing extra bonuses. In the world of labor below are the millions suffering from unemployment and hunger. It is a hideous contrast between pelf and penury, want and waste, the robbers and the robbed. When all who suffer from this social system understand their power this gouging will be no more.

THE IDEAL FOR WHICH MASSES MUST STRIVE

How shall we bring this thing to an end? By education and organization of all who want to end it. And the program? Socialism. And what is Socialism? The same aim and ideal for which men, women and children gave their lives in Austria.

Industries must no longer be sources of dividends and bonuses for powerful owners. We, the people, must own and operate our industries for the welfare of all. No more private owners. Industries must be collectively owned. This will end workless incomes and the capitalism that produces them.

Conference of Code Authorities Will Be Congress of Big Business

By Observer

(Our Washington Correspondent)

THE national conference of code authorities, opening in Washington March 5, has been called a congress of industry. The "congress," however, will not be representative of industry, as the most important factor, labor, will be largely left out.

Only two basic industries now have labor representatives on their code authorities, despite months of agitation by the American Federation of Labor. On the bituminous code authority, John L. Lewis speaks for the United Mine Workers of America. On the con-

struction code authority, M. J. McDonough, recently named, represents the organized building trades workers. McDonough is president of the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

Half a dozen smaller industries, including hosiery, millinery, blouse and skirts, have labor code authority members.

Authorities of some 500 industries which are either under codes or about to adopt codes are expected to attend. The average delegation will consist of six persons and there will be 1,500 or more present, mostly representatives of the business point of view.

Naturally, the labor representatives will be unable to do more than make a gesture at presenting the workers' side of code making and code management and policy. Labor has had a somewhat larger voice in the public meetings held here this week preliminary to the code conference.

Theoretically, the whole people will be represented at the conference. Actually, business and industry will dominate the assemblage and go as far as they dare to protect and promote their own interests.

This business domination was

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Max Winter Here From Vienna On Mission

BEARING a message of greeting from his heroic comrades in Vienna and an anguished call for help for the children of his beloved city, Max Winter, former vice-Mayor of Vienna and one of the leaders of the great Austrian Social Democracy, arrived in New York Wednesday to undertake the task of organizing relief among the Socialist and workers of America.

A CALL FOR HELP

By Max Winter

THE editor of The New Leader has asked me for a few words for his paper.

I have come to America for the starving children of the Vienna fighters for freedom. In Zurich, on my way here, I received a wonderful reception from the Socialist and women's organizations. Danish workers have voted to give one hour's labor for the Vienna workers. The French comrades printed a great appeal in "Le Populaire," asking money for our comrades in Vienna.

London collected, up to February 16th, \$3,500 as a starter. You yourself have already cabled \$600—a wonderful beginning. I have come to the United States to appeal to your solidarity and your hearts. I do not doubt that my appeal will be successful. American workers will help!

Winter was the first Socialist to reach this country from Austria since the tragic events of February 12th and the days following, and he was greeted with affectionate warmth by a group of New York Socialists who met the Olympic at the pier when it docked.

Comrade Winter will make his first public appearance Sunday night at the memorial meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York, at which tribute will be paid to the comrades who died in defense of liberty and their homes, and plans made to carry on their work. (Continued Page Twelve)

Honor the Heroes and Heroines of Austria!

MEMORIAL
MEETING

Max Winter, just from Vienna
will bring a special message to you

CARNEGIE
HALL 57th Street and
7th Ave., N.Y.C.

Come in Masses! Auspices, Conference of Socialist Party, Trade Unions and Workmen's Circles

Admission 25 and 15 Cents

For the benefit of our
Austrian Comrades

Sunday, March 4th, 8.30 p.m.

Tickets on sale at The New Leader;
Socialist Party; Rand School Book
Store, 7 E. 15th St.; Jewish Daily
Forward, 175 E. Broadway, and all
Socialist and Labor Headquarters.

NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

JAMES ONEAL, Editor
Wm. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its declared purpose.



Volume XVII No. 9

SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1934

Drivers and Whips

IN a criticism of the economic policy of President Roosevelt, John W. Davis, the millionaire candidate of the Democratic Party for President in 1924, ventures into a criticism of Socialism. He puts a question to "every Socialist" and we are glad to present it. Here it is:

"Every Socialist, every advocate of social discipline, of a planned economy, of a nationalist regimentation—call it what you will—must answer in the end this question: Who is to sit in the driver's seat and hold the reins and whip? And the answer cannot be made in such vague collective terms as the State, the government or society, for these only move by human hands. Who are the men, gentlemen, that you would set to rule over us?"

Excellent, Mr. Davis, but as questions are in order let us first put a few to you. Who sits in the driver's seat now and holds the whip? Who are the men who now rule over us? Who are the gentlemen in whose hands our industries are paralyzed and who sit in the driver's seat and prevent millions from getting access to those industries in order that they and their families may cease to starve?

Before asking US who may be the drivers some time in the future, we want to know who are the drivers NOW. You are an attorney for many of the most powerful drivers in this country today. Your legal learning has taught them how to hold the whip. In fact, you have risen into the company of the whip-holders.

Now then, what of the usurers whose hard bargains in the past twenty years have deflated vast farming areas and have left millions of farmers helpless? What of the workmen who, when working in the industries, are given a brass numbered check and even lose their identity as human beings when they enter the factory gates? What of those who are coerced into joining the company unions by those who hold the reins and the whip?

You do not have to worry about the regimentation of people in the future. Your class has already made conscripts of millions who are dependent upon your power and will to even earn a living. Your corporation regime already has all the aspects that you ascribe to us. A handful of millionaire and billionaire oligarchs now hold the reins and the whip.

Now what of us? Our ideal is to abolish the driving and the whipping. We would have these mighty industrial powers now possessed by the drivers whom you serve as an attorney pass out of their hands into a democratic society. Now you want to know who will drive and who will whip in that society. There will be no drivers. Through trial and error we will eventually reach our aim of democracy in all human relations. Workers will have a powerful voice in industry and will have power to check any person who attempts to use a whip. It's not an easy job, we know, but we will work it out. You needn't worry, John. It's our job, not yours, and we do not expect you to help us solve it. You are too busy serving the whip-holders for that.

Here's Your New Party!

USING a full page in the "United States News," David Lawrence calls for the organization of the Constitution Democratic Party to check what he calls the "Socialist Democratic Party" now ruling in Washington. The new party is to take in the Republican "progressives" and have for its leaders men of the type of Alfred E. Smith, Albert Ritchie and Carter Glass. This new party "should be financed not by the captains of industry but by five-dollar contributions of small business men and property owners." It would insist that "individual initiative should not be squelched," oppose "federal bureaucracy as the precursor of a disintegrating republic," and see that the dollar is returned to a basis "on which the government will pledge a metallic reserve in redemption of its paper money." That's all!

Well, there it is. If you want to oppose the "Socialist Democratic Party" help launch the new show headed by Smith, Ritchie and Glass. Frankly, this appears to us pitifully inane. If realized it would change nothing and it is worthless to the millions of farmers and useful workers in general. To refer to the ruling group at Washington as the "Socialist Democratic Party" also indicates a view that is pathetically unable to properly label political groupings.

The Depression Nightmare

HERE is a significant headline: "Production Rises, But Jobs Decline." It is based upon a general survey of industrial conditions by the Federal Reserve Board and the figures regarding unemployment reported by President Green of the American Federation of Labor.

The A. F. of L. figures show that for January the number unable to find work in industry totals 11,690,000 persons, but as 4,600,000 had emergency employment the jobless numbered 7,100,000. Since January, workers are being dropped from CWA employment and private industry is not employing them.

Production increases but jobs decrease! The long nightmare of depression, misery, unemployment and despair continues with machines idle and idle millions wanting to use these machines.

Our Ruling Nobles

OUR reigning nobles of gas and other utilities are linked together in a spider web of investments that makes the old Roman masters look like pikers. Through interlocking directorates they dominate the utilities of the nation as Walter M. Splawn revealed in a report to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee this week.

One royal prince of capital is connected with no less than 240 companies, another with 212, three others with between 175 and 200. About 3,000 companies were studied. Fifteen persons are connected with a hundred or more companies.

Here is enormous concentration of capital and power. When it is linked up with the big banks and other powerful corporations American capitalism is seen as the giant of the world. *The old princes of pork and steel and railways at the dawn of the present century frightened many people, but in comparison with their modern heirs they were pygmies.*

The Hitler Hell

WHERE Fascism comes into power it provides the explosives that will eventually destroy it. Of what do the explosives consist? The depression that accompanies capitalistic production like a shadow cast by an object in the sun.

This week Berlin cables carried the story of a Hohenzollern prince asking alms for the unemployed in the city. Did not Hitler promise his dupes that he would find employment for the jobless? He did and yet recently the *Berliner Tageblatt* reported 1,157,300 members of families and 163,000 single persons applying for winter relief in Berlin alone and that city has a population of 4,000,000. A third of the population faces stark want and many actual starvation. Even the Nazi organ, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, recently admitted that two-thirds of Germany's workers do not earn enough wages to pay a moderate income tax.

The explosives are accumulating beneath the Hitler hell. Is this one reason why Hitler staged the comedy of requiring the masses to pledge loyalty to him in a radio broadcast? We think so.

Top o' The Leader Tower With Readers 'n' Boosters

By the Editor

OUR ANTI-WAR ISSUE

ON April 6th Socialists will arrange anti-war demonstrations throughout the country and we hope that party organizations will keep the date in mind and begin to prepare their programs for that day. The New Leader will publish a special anti-militarist number for distribution at these meetings and we are already gathering material for it. Take this matter up with your branches and order a bundle for sale and distribution.

The Answer to Dollfuss

The answer to Chancellor Dollfuss by the editor last Monday at noon has been followed by cards and letters from states east of the Mississippi and from Canada for copies of the speech. We expect the Far West requests by the time this is on the press. Many hundreds of requests are on hand and the speech appears in this issue which will go to all who ask for it.

A Proletarian Party

That column of ours a few weeks ago regarding the need of a proletarian outlook for the Socialist Party brought scores of approving letters. We wish we had space for all of them. Comrade Jones of Detroit writes: "Gee, I am going to keep that clipping." Comrade Springer of Pennsylvania writes a similar letter, and others are of the same tenor.

Kewanee, Ill., Yipsels send this message: "We think you have a wonderful paper." We think much of that message, as the future belongs to youth. S. Esterwitz of the Bronx thinks that the "feature columns alone more than repay the price of subscription." Eli E. Bourdon of New Hampshire declares The New Leader "gets better every week," and from the adjoining state of Vermont Bertrand Lavigne expresses the same opinion.

Our "Red Vienna Special" brought in an avalanche of praise, in fact, so many that we cannot acknowledge each letter but make this our

collective appreciation of all these messages.

Sol Berman of Montreal would make it compulsory for every party member and Yipsel to read The New Leader. Thanks for the approval, but there should be nothing compulsory in the Socialist Party. Sophie Dobin of New Jersey would have The New Leader placed in every household. So would we, comrades.

Our Anniversary Number

M. G. Green of San Francisco sends us a package of 36 pamphlets and papers, some of them being rare and quite a number belonging to the last decade before the World War and now out of print. Summer W. Rose, once a Socialist councilman in Biloxi, Miss., now of Washington, D. C., sends a number of copies of "The Grander Age," a monthly which he published in Biloxi in 1904.

Questions and Answers

NJ. R., Illinois.—Yes, there has been another extensive famine in Russia. Several millions died, but the exact figures are unknown. On January 28, Stalin stated to the All-Union Communist Congress that the forced collectivization of the peasants had resulted in the following livestock losses: The number of horses dropped from 34,000,000 in 1929 to 16,000,000 last year; cattle from 68,100,000 to 38,000,000; sheep and goats from 147,200,000 to 50,600,000, and pigs from 20,900,000 to 12,200,000.

In Southern Ohio

By August Claessens

THE Socialist Party is still struggling for a foothold in the south-western corner of Ohio. In and around Cincinnati and up the Miami Valley Socialists are as yet too few. I spent three days in Cincinnati and accomplished very little. My largest audience was at the Peoples Church with Herbert Bigelow as the moving spirit and guide.

This splendid old fighter has a large following among the liberals and is at present directing a vigorous campaign for a municipal light and power system with "juice" to be obtained from the Tennessee Valley project. A number of our people are engaged in this movement. I also had a meeting with some comrades of Local Cincinnati, a luncheon and a gathering following with some students at the University and a small meeting in Elmwood Pl., a suburb.

August Claessens Cincinnati has not had a good local since 1917. A violent reaction set in against us here during the war, a number of active comrades were sentenced to imprisonment and our forces were scattered. Bigelow was taken for a ride and tarred and feathered. Many attempts have been made since 1920 to resurrect our movement here and with no great success. Cincinnati is a huge, sprawling and hilly city, with a predominately German population blended with a large influx of poor whites and blacks from the South. Its huge

slums remind one of Charleston and Savannah. Cincinnati is also notorious for a most ornate Railway Depot and as the largest open shop city in Ohio.

Although it is the home of the most conservative of Republicans—the Taft family—Cincinnati has also a choice collection of liberals and they point to their achievements, a municipal Railroad, a "perfect" city charter, a reform administration and several other things as great victories. The impoverished and unorganized workers are supposedly hypnotized by these "revolutionary" achievements and it is believed that they can not be interested in Socialism. I am convinced that this is not the case and I believe we could soon build

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THE NEW LEADER, a Socialist publication, supports the Socialist Party and the struggles of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

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Dollfuss and Heimwehr Deliberately Baited and Provoked the Workers

On Sunday, February 18, Chancellor Dollfuss broadcast an address in defense of his actions which was heard in the United States over the Columbia network. On Monday, February 26, James O'Neal, member of the executive of the Socialist and Labor International, answered Dollfuss on the same chain, which includes 70 stations, from coast to coast. Following is O'Neal's speech:

BROADCASTING from Vienna on February 18, Chancellor Dollfuss gave his version of what he called the "revolutionary attempt against the peace and security of the state" by the Socialist workers. He declared that he did not seek the struggle and that it was the "attack of a small group of fanatics." His entire address implied that the working masses were the aggressors and that they were deceived by a few leaders.

The Chancellor speaks for the clerical aristocracy and the Heimwehr Fascists and must try to justify his and their conduct in the bloody week when proletarian Vienna perished. I speak for the workingmen, women and children who died in defense of their homes; for those who fought against the extermination of their labor institutions and organizations; for those who fought for a democratic republic through which they hoped to travel a peaceful road to complete industrial democracy and social equity in all the relations of society.

"The City of Dreadful Night."

Let it not be forgotten that the aristocratic cliques that for the moment are supreme in Austria are largely the same ruling elements that brought the Dual Monarchy into the World War. When that frightful struggle closed Austria-Hungary was a wreck. Philip Gibbs, visiting Vienna in November, 1919, referred to it as "The City of Dreadful Night." In four months the American Relief Committee provided 20,000,000 meals for starving children in Austria; in Vienna 6,000 families were homeless; 100,000 workers were unemployed; the bread ration for each person was two pounds a week, and 83 per cent of the children suffered from rickets. Austria was deprived of much of her raw materials, transport was crippled for lack of coal, industries were prostrate, profiteers speculated in foodstuffs and paper money, and Karl Renner, Socialist and Austrian Chancellor, pleaded with the Allied Supreme Council for aid while starving people were invading hotels, restaurants and shops for food.

Dollars To Save Workers' Lives!

READERS OF THE NEW LEADER:

Hundreds of our brothers in Austria have been killed; their widows and orphans must be cared for. Hundreds more are wounded, thousands in prison, thousands in exile; they must not be permitted to starve.

Workingmen all over the world are coming to their aid. We Americans must do our part. We are poor, but the rest of the world is poorer still.

On Wednesday, February 28th, Local New York of the Socialist Party cabled \$600. This is only a beginning. Next week's remittance should be much larger. Close to \$5,000 was raised at the Plettl dinner, part of it to go to Austrian comrades.

Comrades, give all you can, be it \$1 or \$100. And give quickly. Our brothers and sisters are in need.

Besides your individual gifts get your organizations to give. Send contributions to Local New York, Socialist Party, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

ACTION COMMITTEE, LOCAL NEW YORK.

Step by Step Story of Great Achievements of the Socialists And Provocation of Fascists

The Austrian workers through their political, trade union and co-operative organizations proceeded to bring some semblance of order out of the bloody mess into which the old ruling classes had plunged it. A Socialist republic was impossible because of lack of raw materials, hostile neighbors, and the danger of Allied armies occupying the country. The old semi-feudal regime, however, was swept away and a democratic republic replaced it. The workers built up the most powerful labor movement in proportion to the population of any nation in the world. They retained their arms to be prepared against the conspiracy of the reaction when it came out of hiding. Vienna was transformed into a flower garden in its social legislation for the poor and in its municipal apartments that became a Mecca for the social engineers of the world. All this was accomplished despite a terrible depression that never ended and that became even more acute with the world economic collapse in 1929.

Anti-Semitism Appears

In the meantime the old monarchists came out of their hiding places. Fascism, that hateful creed of barbaric terror that seeks the destruction of all forms of popular rule, began to organize. Anti-Semitism appeared as early as 1925 when a Zionist World Congress met in Vienna. Riots against the Jewish people caused a damage estimated at over \$4,000,000 and it required a small army of police to protect the Congress. In 1928 more anti-Jewish riots occurred on the grounds of Vienna University, and in May, 1932, Chancellor Dollfuss told his Christian Social supporters that "anti-Semitism is a most popular slogan."

The whole reaction in Austria has taken two forms, one the persecution of the Jewish people and the complete destruction of the labor and Socialist movement which by peaceful educational work and political action was acquiring the support of an increasing number of the working masses, professional people and the lower middle classes. How popular and powerful the movement had become is evident by the presidential election in 1928. The two houses of Parliament constitute an electoral college and it required three ballots to elect a Conservative over the Socialist candidate. The following was the vote: First ballot, Miklas, the Clerical, 94; Karl Renner, Socialist, 91; Schober, Pan-German, 25. A second ballot made no change and on the third ballot the Socialists cast blanks and Miklas was

Replies to Dollfuss



JAMES ONEAL

elected. In the nation the Socialists polled 40 per cent of the vote and in Vienna 66 per cent. The rural sections of the country supported the reactionaries, and the Socialists turned to the task of winning the soul of the peasantry. The whole trend of Austrian life indicated an eventual popular majority for labor and Socialism. Even the soldiers of the republic in their councils, where they elected their officers, cast heavy majorities for labor and Socialism. The trade unions, Chambers of Labor, and Works Councils were even more overwhelmingly for labor and Socialism as every decision and vote indicated in recent years.

Fascists Attack Workers

The monarchists, the remnants of the old nobility, the anti-Semites, the Fascists of both the Nazi and Heimwehr type, and many of the magnates of capital in Austria, observed this peaceful conquest of the Social Democracy with increasing dread. Unable to win the soul of the proletariat, they decided to crush it by intrigue, conspiracy, and force. As the tide of popular sentiment favoring labor and Socialism rose, the Socialists observed the rise of Fascist bands. In 1929 the Socialists proposed that all private armies, including their own, should be disbanded. This proposal was rejected by the government, and the workers retained their arms. The Heimwehr Fascists again and again attacked the workers, who defended themselves in arms. In April, 1933, the Dollfuss Cabinet ordered the dissolution of the workers' armed organization, but the Heimwehr continued to bear arms. The Socialists concealed their arms and weapons in preparation for any final emergency.

In the meantime, War Minister Vaugoin had for years been undermining the soldiers' councils by weeding out Socialists, depriving the soldiers of the suffrage which the republic had given them, and denying them the right of electing their own officers. By the year 1929 the soldiers' council had been reorganized into what was called "soldiers trustees" and former Socialist majority officials became 70 per cent majority in favor of the War Minister's agents. Vaugoin was also made Minister of the Railways, and by similar methods he was destroying the railway unions and placing them under the control of Chancellor Dollfuss' "Patriotic Front."

Dollfuss became Chancellor in May, 1932, and his policy was to undermine the republic and destroy the labor and Socialist movement. In July, 1927, a civil war was narrowly averted when three Austrian Fascists accused of the murder of two Socialists—a war cripple and his young son—were acquitted. General opinion throughout Austria was that the Fascists were guilty. The workers called a general strike which paralyzed industry in which scores of people were killed and only the self-discipline of the workers prevented the protest from becoming a civil war. This was the turning point towards an active Fascism financed by wealthy bourgeois, old monarchists and aristocrats.

Attempt at Dictatorship

The Federal Government then took control of the Vienna police from the city administration and later made the Heimwehr Fascists an auxiliary to the Vienna police force. The acquittal of the Fascists accused of murder in 1927 had its sequel in 1931, when Walter Pfreimer, a Heimwehr leader, proclaimed himself dictator of Austria and seized public buildings in Styria. The government remained inactive, whereupon the Socialists warned that the Schutzbund would put down the revolt if the government did not. The government acted, Pfreimer escaped to Yugoslavia, returned some weeks later for trial and was acquitted despite the warning of the prosecutor that an acquittal would lead to more Fascist attempts.

The courts had been reorganized that no Fascist could be convicted in Austria, and the judiciary became more reactionary later when they were also empowered to set aside verdicts. Hitler came into power last March and the Austrian Nazis, composed of Hitler's followers, demanded the resignation of Dollfuss' Cabinet. Parliament was not in session and Dollfuss refused to call it into

session while President Miklas vested Dollfuss and his Ministers with dictatorial powers. The Socialists started a petition to summon Parliament, which was suppressed by a court. A second one was suppressed, but the Socialists succeeded in getting a million and a quarter signatures to a third petition without results.

Chancellor Dollfuss began to hold quiet conferences with the dictators at Rome and Budapest, to both of whom a dictatorship in Austria would be satisfactory if it were not of the Hitler type. Shortly after Dollfuss visited Mussolini in August, 1933, the Chancellor declared that the solution of Austria's problems could only be found in a Fascist regime organized upon the Italian model, which meant that the old minority of aristocratic classes would rule instead of the masses through the republic. The Chancellor followed this up by creating a non-parliamentary government, he remaining Chancellor and taking over four Cabinet posts. This meant the end of Parliament. Major Emil Fey, Heimwehr leader, became Vice-Chancellor, the same Fey whose Fascists were later directed against proletarian Vienna. Since last September Dollfuss became virtually dictator, and with Fey as Vice-Chancellor the Heimwehr became a private army under the direction of Dollfuss and the Fascist leader.

Undermining Red Vienna

In the meantime, the Dollfuss Government had also illegally withdrawn much of Vienna's revenue with the view of undermining the Socialist administration. The various forms of social insurance against unemployment, sickness and old age; the care of expectant mothers, and the upkeep of the city's apartment homes were crippled. Everywhere the Dollfuss reactionary minority was undermining and sabotaging the Labor Democracy while emergency decree after decree of the dictator more and more restricted all civil rights, including the censorship and suppression of newspapers, prohibition

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Reunion in Vienna



By Will Dyson in the London Daily Herald.
Even if Dollfuss wins, his doom is in the hands of the Nazis is believed certain.

The Hindenburg Line of Privilege

Solomon Shows How the Utilities Mulet the Public

By Charles Solomon
(Address over Station WEVD)

THE fight that is now being waged at Albany for cheaper electricity rates is of vital concern not only to the millions of consumers in our own state, but to the great masses of people throughout the nation who are served by the privately owned public utilities.

Concretely, what does cheaper electricity mean to you? Suppose you owned an electric refrigerator, a vacuum cleaner, an electric washing machine, an electric toaster, an electric fan, and similar devices for making life easier and pleasanter. It has been estimated by experts that about 250 kilowatt hours would have to be consumed monthly to operate these. This would cost you, if you lived in New York City, more than \$13 a month. It is obvious that if you are an average wage earner you cannot afford this expenditure. However, if you lived in one of the Ontario municipalities, where rates are low because of public ownership and operation, you could purchase that quantity of electricity for approximately \$3 per month—a saving of more than \$100 per year.

The light and power companies are part of a twelve billion dollar

industry which stretches across the country, leaving hardly a community untouched. At the public hearing before the Senate and Assembly Public Service Committees, one of the most powerful opposition groups ever to appear at the state capital against public utility legislation was present. It was led by Floyd L. Carlisle, chairman of the board of the Niagara Hudson Power Company, a holding company, which, together with Consolidated Gas, another company of which Mr. Carlisle is also chairman of the board, dominates the gas and electric light and power business in this state. Back of them is the House of Morgan.

Special Attack

Mr. Carlisle singled out for special attack the bill by which it is proposed to empower cities to establish municipal power plants in the interest of the consumers. The reason for Mr. Carlisle's special aversion to this bill lies in the fact that wherever they have been established, municipal power plants have succeeded in bringing down electricity rates. It is a striking fact that the consumer in New York City, for instance, pays approximately three times as much for current as does the consumer in Tacoma, Wash., or Toronto, Canada, two of the many places on this continent where electricity is furnished by public agencies.

The city of Toronto, Canada, is in the province of Ontario, home of the famous Ontario Hydro Electric Commission, which Mr. Carlisle himself acknowledges as "the outstanding successful public operated electric enterprise of the world."

The housewives of New York City are denied the full benefits of modern electricity as an aid in lightening their daily tasks because of its excessive cost. The proof is overwhelming that the only way to bring this cost down is through public ownership and operation. There are approximately 1,600,000 domestic consumers of electricity in New York City alone. These people are still paying "prosperity" rates. Electric bills for hundreds of thousands of domestic consumers have actually increased during the depression while incomes have been drastically reduced. The average electricity rate for domestic consumers throughout the state is considerably above the average for the rest of the country. Regulation of public utilities has been in effect in New York State for a quarter of a century. Has it protected the consumer? The answer is to be found in the report made in 1930 by the minority of the Commission on Revision of the Public Service Commission law in this state. "The evidence is conclusive," runs the report, "that the objects of public service regulation have not been attained."

Municipal Success

In recommending that "all obstacles to public ownership and operation in the form of state legislation be removed and that legislation facilitating public operation by municipalities be enacted" the report pointed out: "Municipal competition, whenever it has been attempted, reveals a measure of success in attaining what regulation has failed to provide for the consumer. It has produced lower rates both from municipal plants and from nearby private plants. The Cleveland municipal plant affords a dramatic picture of the ability of a small public plant to bring drastic reductions in the rates charged by private companies. Successful municipal plants are operating in Los Angeles, Pasadena, Tacoma, Seattle, Springfield, Ill., Jamestown, N. Y., and Holyoke, to mention only the larger cities. Ontario furnishes the outstanding example of public operation on a large scale."

New York City consumers have been especially the victims of excessive rates. These consumers should have the lowest rates in the country, due to the concentration of population and numerous consolidations and mergers which are supposed to result in economies for the benefit of the public. The economies have taken place but their benefits have been passed on to the stockholders of Consolidated Gas in the form of increased dividends and surpluses.

The recent history of regulation in this city completely demonstrates its failure to protect the consumer. While the income of almost everybody else in the community was declining, the utilities refused to reduce rates to help the consumer balance his budget. This

Only by Public Operation Can Public Reap Benefits

has been so, notwithstanding the fact that dividends on New York utility stocks increased during the depression years, as did their net surpluses. This scandalous situation compelled the Public Service Commission to act and finally in the spring of 1933 proceedings were instituted to bring about "emergency" reductions in electricity rates to New York City consumers. After protracted hearings, the Commission ordered a six per cent reduction in rates, totalling a contemplated saving to the consumers of about \$9,000,000 annually. Chairman Maltbie, of the Commission, pointed out that such a reduction was slight in view of the fact that the accumulated surpluses involved were more than \$167,000,000 at the end of 1932. The chairman, who was personally in favor of a ten per cent cut, based his recommendation on the large surpluses of the companies, the excess over six per cent income on the stated value of their common stocks, the large dividends paid on such stocks, and similar considerations. He said that "the New York electric companies have

not borne their fair share of the depression" and that they "should not only be willing but anxious to assume a generous share of the burden from which they have so long escaped." He pointed out that no company affected by the reduction order had earned during the depression, up to that time, less than 5% and that one company had earned nearly 16% in one of the years; that the companies affected as a group had earned in 1932 almost \$24,000,000 in excess of a six percent return on the stated value of their common stocks. Despite the utter reasonableness of the reduction order, the companies promptly went into the courts for injunctive relief. In this they were running true to form. Before there was an opportunity to argue the motion, the companies applied for a rehearing before the Commission on the ground that the NRA, by increasing their costs, had altered the case for rate reduction. The companies contended that their costs had been increased by about \$10,000,000. In the course of the

(Continued on Page Ten)

Bridgeport Socialists Demand Probe of Relief Fund Scandal

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT. — The Socialist members of the Board of Aldermen are demanding a complete investigation of charges made in a recent auditor's report of the handling of relief funds in Bridgeport by the Special Relief Commission. The management of funds of \$900,000 for the relief of the unemployed and needy was vested in a Special Relief Commission, the members of which were appointed by the state legislature. No Socialist is on the commission.

The auditor's report, alleging irregularities, carelessness and laxity in the handling of the special relief funds, has caused considerable excitement. A public hearing, held a few days ago before a crowd of 2,000, gave both the auditor and the commission an opportunity to make explanations. As a result of the public hearing, another audit is being ordered, and the Socialist members of the Board of Aldermen are demanding a complete investigation with the power to subpoena and examine witnesses under oath.

The attempt of the Socialist administration to reorganize municipal departments is being seriously hampered by the fact that much routine business that should have been taken care of long ago had been put away in pigeon-holes by the previous Democratic administration and is only now being given the attention it requires. Some of the routine matters, including claims against the city and legal cases, extend back for many

years. It is only when this cluttered-up material has been cleared away that any real accomplishments can be started in the city. Another difficulty encountered by the Socialist administration is the fact that the city had already been bonded to the limit at the time that the Socialists gained office, and the financial authority over city finances had been vested in the Board of Apportionment and Taxation, the members of which hold office until 1937. It is the general belief that dictatorial power over city finances was vested in the Board of Apportionment by the last state legislature because it was evident quite some time ago that the Socialists would probably be victorious in the fall elections, and the move to vest financial authority in the Board of Apportionment was intended to tie the hands of the Socialist Party if it came into power.

To make certain that the Socialists would appoint no members to the Board of Apportionment, two members of which are ordinarily appointed by the Mayor every year, the state legislature extended the terms of all the board members until 1937. However, the Socialists intend to fight for more power, and to use all the power at their command at the present time, even though it may be limited.

Socialist Lawyers' Ass'n Quits "United Front" with I. L. D.

THE Socialist Lawyers' Association, with which a number of leading members of the Socialist Party are associated, has withdrawn from the conference formed to aid the defense of Bernard Ades, disbarred Maryland lawyer, because of the association of the International Labor Defense, a Communist organization, with that conference. The attitude of the Communists toward the Austrian outbreak, and especially the Madison Square Garden episode, makes any further cooperation with Communists impossible.

In a letter to Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the Civil Liberties Union, Irving Nussbaum, Secretary of the Socialist Lawyers' Association, says:

"Our organization has decided to withdraw from the conference to aid in the defense of Bernard Ades, the Maryland attorney for the I.L.D., who was disbarred from practice in the Federal Courts of Maryland by order of Judge Coleman.

"Since you were the sponsor of the united front effort to aid the said attorney, I feel that a note of explanation is due you.

"The events that have transpired since the last meeting of the conference have clearly indicated to us that the aims and purposes of the Communist Party and its affiliates are aimed at the destruction and elimination of any group or organization which does not subscribe to their principles and which does not pledge allegiance to their leadership.

"Commencing with the slanderous

lies thrown at the leadership of the Socialist Party in Austria through the columns of the Daily Worker and Freiheit (which, incidentally, is supposed to mean Freedom) and culminating in the wrecking by gangster methods the recent meeting in New York at Madison Square Garden, there is the apparent goal of ruining what can't be ruled. And it is not the fear of being ruined by the irresponsibles that constitute the leadership of the Communist Party that prompts us to take this step. Far from it. It is rather the desire to maintain some self-respect and devotion to principle that compels us to refuse to sit side by side in any so-called "United Front" conference where the smile of hypocrisy is on the face and the dagger of treachery is in the hand. This step must be taken by us in spite of the fact that the sponsors of the conference were sincere and high-minded individuals who were acting in good faith to correct an abuse. In this case the I.L.D. is directly involved. The attorney who was disbarred and on whose behalf we were ready to raise cudgels was and still is a member of their organization. The I.L.D. as an organization participated in the first meeting of the conference and has since taken an important part in the conference. The I.L.D. is the legal mask for the Communist Party in America. The blame for any disruptive and vicious tactics rests squarely on their shoulders. Therefore, we, as lawyers and disciplined Socialists, have no other alternative but to withdraw.

"In closing, may I say that no reflection at all is cast on the work of the American Civil Liberties Union. On the contrary, we stand ready to cooperate with your organization in any of the wonderful work it has been doing, providing that such cooperation does not involve a so-called United Front with the enemies of our party and the enemies of any real union of the working class in the United States, to wit, the Communist Party and all of defense leagues workers' clubs or similar innocent sounding names."

An Important Announcement!

The New Leader and the American Socialist Quarterly (official theoretical publication of the Socialist Party) have arranged a club offer to every new subscriber:

Yearly National Edition New Leader...\$1.00 a year } Both publications can be subscribed for... **1.50** a year
American Socialist Quarterly.....\$1.00 a year }

ADDRESS: NEW LEADER, 7 EAST 15th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

WEVD New Leader Special

Samuel H. Friedman, of the New Leader Editorial Board, will be the speaker at the New Leader period of Station WEVD (1360 Kc.) Friday, March 9th, from 4:30 to 4:45 P.M. William M. Feigenbaum, associate editor of The New Leader, is the speaker on The New Leader period, Friday, March 2nd, at the same time.

Come to Carnegie Hall on Sunday Night

Women's Day to Honor Heroes of Austria

A STIRRING program in keeping with the importance of the day has been arranged for the International Women's Day Celebration at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, Sunday at 2 o'clock. The event, annually observed by the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, will this year serve as a memorial to the gallant Socialist women who were murdered on the barricades and in their homes by Dollfuss' fascist troops.

Esther Friedman, chairman of the committee, will preside, and will introduce Gertrude Weil Klein, Elsie Gluck, Lina Linhardt of the German group, Bertha H. Mailly, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Estelle Abramson, and Tamar Schultz of the Pioneer Women of America.

James O'Neal, American member of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, is the only man scheduled to address the gathering. O'Neal will discuss the international complications inherent in the Austrian situation, and the role of Socialism in forthcoming events.

An excellent and diverse program has been arranged. The German chorus, a group of splendid, well-trained voices, will render several choral selections.

The Rebel Arts Dancers, directed by Frances Leber, will present a dance cycle called "Hackenkreutz," a trio consisting of "Handsome Adolph," "Burning of the Books" and "Swastika."

The Rebel Arts Players, directed by Nadja Abeles, will produce two playlets: "The Worm Turns" and "The Builders," by Elvin Abeles.

Marie Rutes, a brilliant dramatic soprano, will sing. Lucille Sheinman will accompany her on the piano. Genevieve Kaufman will interpret several Russian songs, accompanied by Zelma Kaufman.

The decision to convert the celebration into a memorial came as a spontaneous recognition of the important and courageous part the Austrian women played in the recent Socialist revolution. The women remained behind the hastily erected barricades helping the ragged Socialists withstand the ravages of the murderous cannon trained against them, to the bitter end.

John Dewey at Rand School

In making the announcement that Professor John Dewey will deliver a series of lectures on philosophy at the Rand School, emphasis is laid on the fact that he has not for some years past delivered any regular lectures anywhere in New York City. On this account his regular annual course at the Rand School rouses special interest both among his old students and among the younger generation, young people who have never had the opportunity to see and hear the leader of American education.

This course will begin next Monday evening and will consist of three lectures on the general subject of "Social Philosophy." The titles of the lectures are as follows: March 5, "Social Processes"; March 12, "Social Structures"; March 19, "Social Functions." These lectures will take place at 8:30, and admission will be 50 cents.

Behold LaGuardia "Economy"!

DAY after day the true nature of LaGuardia "economy" is becoming plainer.

No attack upon the bankers, no revision of the debt structure that keeps the city in chains, no source of reduction of expenses and increase of revenues except at the expense of the workers.

Here is the latest, the LaGuardia county plan.

For years Socialists have attacked the ridiculous system of duplicating city, borough and county government costing the people tens of millions a year, largely to useless political hacks

in the shape of unnecessary (but well-paid) jobs.

LaGuardia also wants to abolish the county jobs, which is quite all right; he knows that the continued existence of the unnecessary county offices means not only a heavy expense to the city but also a Tammany machine that continues to function (at public expense) despite its smashing defeat at the polls.

Now comes his county "plan."

There are to be abolished SIXTY-EIGHT jobs paying \$3,000 a year or less; many of them are laborers', laundresses' and stenographers' positions.

There are to be retained (at slightly reduced salaries) nine jobs at \$5,000 or more—most of them at \$10,000; including the wholly useless and superfluous jobs of sheriffs of the various counties. Virtually all of them are district leaders and other political hacks, to whom their jobs are nothing but easy money.

Let those who thought that a "reformer" could "reform" the city study the figures and take notice.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY WAS RIGHT IN ITS POSITION DURING THE CAMPAIGN. There are a lot of people who are sorry they didn't see it then.

Memorial to Our Fallen Comrades of Austria

A MEMORIAL meeting that will also be a dedication will be held Sunday night at Carnegie Hall, when the Socialist Party and a large number of the labor unions of New York will pledge themselves to carry on for Socialism and freedom in the spirit of our fallen Vienna comrades.

At that meeting New York will give a welcome of passionate warmth to Comrade Max Winter, beloved leader of the Socialist youth of Vienna and former vice-mayor of that city, who will make his first appearance in this country.

The purpose of the meeting will be to raise funds for the suffering women and children of Austria, made destitute by the madness of the Dollfuss assassins and hangers-on, and to pledge solidarity with the brave men and women who defended their homes and their great Socialist achievements with their lives.

Norman Thomas, just returning from a long speaking tour of the United States, will likewise speak on behalf of the American Socialist movement.

Martin Plettl, himself a refugee from Hitler barbarism, will greet Max Winter on behalf of the tortured workers of Germany.

Many organizations participating in the meeting will be represented by speakers, most of whom will speak briefly, pledging the aid and cooperation of their organization to the work for which the meeting is called.

Among the speakers will be Jacob Panken, Louis Waldman, David Dubinsky, Joseph Schlossberg, Charles Solomon, James O'Neal, Meta Berger, B. C. Vladeck, Abt. Cahan, J. Baskin, M. C. Finestone, Isidore Nagler, Julius Hochman, A. Miller and Max Zaritzky. Algernon Lee will preside as chairman.

LUNCHEON-DEBATE

"SHALL New York State Ratify the Child Labor Amendment?" Affirmative, Owen D. Lovejoy, of the Child Labor Committee. Negative, Joseph T. Cashman, of the National Security League. Special guest speaker, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Saturday, Feb. 3. Luncheon at 1 o'clock. Listeners admitted.

Rebel Art Threatens a Socialist Brass Band

With the Workers' Chorus meeting every Saturday at five o'clock and growing weekly, Rebel Arts is now organizing a Labor Band or Orchestra (or both, depending on the number of kind of instrumentalists who respond to the call). The musicians will play for labor and Socialist events and demonstrations.

The first session will take place Sunday at 11 o'clock, when every Socialist party member or sympathizer who plays an instrument is asked to come to Rebel Arts headquarters, 22 East 22nd Street. A vote will be taken to decide on the regular meeting time.

The chorus, having studied the fundamentals, is now preparing to

start four-voice singing of labor and revolutionary songs. There is still room for men and women and young people to join. It isn't necessary to "have a good voice"; just don't be tone deaf!

A meeting of all interested in forming a poster group has been called for Monday night at 8:30.

This Saturday night Rebel Arts will hold the third of its bi-weekly "rent socials," with a band, refreshments, and a good time assured. Branches and circles are asked not to arrange events in conflict with the Rebel Arts' annual ball on April 13th.

The schedule of activities follows: Monday night, writers' group workshop; Tuesday, 8:30 and 7:30, dance groups; Wednesday, 6:00, creative dance group; 7:00 dance group; Thursday, 8:00, lif. class; 8:30, dramatic group; Fridays, 7:00, dance group; Saturdays, 5:00, chorus; Sunday, 11:00, musicians.

Metro Stars Sing at Rand School Concert

The 1934 Concert Committee directing the annual Metropolitan Opera event scheduled Sunday evening, March 18th, for the benefit of the Rand School of Social Science, has completed program arrangements. In addition to such artists as Lily Pons, Nino Martini and Giuseppe DeLuca, those who attend the concert will also hear the following Metropolitan stars, Queenie Mario, Gladys Swarthout, Rose Bampton, Max Lorenz, Frederick Jagel, Ezio Pinza and the entire Metropolitan Orchestra.

As the date of the concert draws near, those interested in the school are interested in knowing what progress has been made to date in the sale of tickets. Bertha Mailly, chairman of the committee, reports that the tickets have been distributed and present signs indicate a response on a par with that of last year.

Tickets may be purchased at the Rand School office at 7 East 15th Street, and at The New Leader.

Matthews Speaks on War at Upper West Side Branch

J. B. Matthews will lecture on "The Menace of War and Fascism" at the forum of the Upper West Side Branch, 100 West 72nd St., Monday, March 5.

Comrade Matthews has just returned from a lecture tour throughout the Middle West, where he observed the rising tide of anti-labor activity. "The heated discussion of the industrial program of the New Deal has overshadowed the dangerous militaristic policies of the Administration which are being steadily advanced by a strong group of big navy and big army men in Congress," said Matthews, "and militarism and fascism go hand in hand."

Long and Thomas Down To Brass Tacks in Debate

THE Brooklyn Forum will conclude its season this year with one of the most exciting debates in its history. On Friday night, March 2, in Mecca Temple, Senator Huey Pierce Long, the "Kingfish" among men and one of the most colorful figures ever sent to the U.S. Senate, will oppose Norman Thomas on the proposition, "Capitalism is doomed and cannot now be saved by a redistribution of wealth."

Senator Long has been vociferously advocating limitation of incomes and redistribution of wealth as the salvation of the capitalist system. Some have mentioned him as a potential leader of a fascist movement in the United States. The debate is expected to resolve itself into a fight on fascism.

If tickets are still available Friday night, they can be bought at the Rand School or at the Mecca Temple box office.

Levy Is Elected Bronx Chairman

Matthew M. Levy, labor and tenants' attorney, was elected Chairman of the Socialist Party of Bronx County last week by the County Committee. George I. Steinhardt was elected treasurer, and David Tulchin secretary of the County Executive Committee at the same time.

Other members of the committee elected were: Henry Fruchter, Samuel Goldstein, Sidney Hertzberg, Irving Knobloch, Mike Levenstein, Solomon B. Marcus, H. Sobotko, Tyrell Wilson and Herman Woskow.

At the first meeting of the new committee it was decided to form an Organization and Propaganda Committee consisting of the organizers and financial secretaries of all Bronx branches and headed by Comrade Levy, who is empowered to call on any member to give expert assistance in carrying on the work of the committee.

The first meeting of the Organization and Propaganda Committee will be held on Sunday March 4, at 2 P. M., in the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave. At this meeting plans will be made to functionalize and coordinate Socialist Party work in the Bronx.

The first matter to be taken up will be the County Ball to be held on Saturday, March 17, in Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves. Plans will also be made for the regular publication of a bulletin carrying all news of party activities in the Bronx. Comrades with suggestions for this committee should get in touch with their organizers or with Comrade Levy.

THEATRE PARTY, WASHINGTON HEIGHTS BRANCH

TUESDAY, APRIL 3rd GO WITH US! to see "THEY SHALL NOT DIE!"
1.10 - 1.65 - 2.20 - 2.75 - 3.30
Regular Box Office Prices
For Good Seats write to Morris L. Miller, 328 East 122nd St., New York City. P.S.—Read Jos. Shipley's review in this edition.

SUNDAY,
APRIL 15th!

- Reserve the Date!
- Make No Conflicting Engagements!
- Friendly Organizations Take Notice!

WATCH FOR FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DETAILS OF
THE NEW LEADER
TENTH ANNIVERSARY DINNER
WEBSTER HALL
NEW YORK CITY

Union Directory

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS
TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLEATERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-3657. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; Joe Goff, Secretary-Treasurer.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone TOMpkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalano, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1, Tel., Orchard 4-9860.—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, New York City.

CLOAK, SUIT & DRESS PRESSERS' UNION, Local 35, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 60 W. 35th St., N. Y. C.—J. Breslaw, Manager; L. Biegel, Chairman.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; STagg 2-0798. Reg. meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice Pres., Stephen Tobasko; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 18, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 60 W. 35th St.; Phone WIs. 7-9311. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Sec'y, Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone CHelsea 3-2148. David Dubinsky, President.

AMALGAMATED PHOTOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Offices, Amalfithone Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone WAtkins 9-7764. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Schell, Sec'y; Emory J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway, phone SPring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St., phone WIsconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberger, Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 584, I. U. of T. Office: 259 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall 210 E. Fifth Street. Thomas O'Leary, Pres.; Chas. Green, Business Agent; Max Liebler, Sec'y-Treas.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6, Office and headquarters, 24 West 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St. East of 2nd Ave. Phone TOMpkins Sq. 6-7470. Leon H. Rouse, President; James P. Redmond, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; Samuel J. O'Brien, James P. Redmond and James J. Buckley, Organizers.

WAITERS' & WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T., 290-7th Ave. M. Gottfried, Pres.; B. Gottesman, Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U., 3 West 16th St., New York City. Phone CHelsea 3-5756-5757. A. Snyder, Manager; S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

Emma Goldman's Last New York Lecture

Emma Goldman will make her last public appearance in New York at Webster Hall, Monday, March 5, at 8:30, on "The Drama of Europe." While Miss Goldman is known for her many years of activity in the radical movement, it is not so generally known that she is an authority on the drama. This, together with the fact that she is a close student of current European history, should combine to make her last lecture in New York a colorful one.

Party Notes

NEW YORK CITY

New City Central Committee, Wednesday evening, March 7, People's House, 7 East 15th St.

Organizers' Meeting Monday, March 5, 6 p. m., 7 East 15th St. Louis Hendin will speak.

International Bazaar at People's House, 7 East 15th St., Manhattan, March 23rd, 24th and 25th.

MANHATTAN

Village (201 Sullivan St.).—Young people's elementary class in Italian every Saturday from 4 to 5:30, starting this Saturday, March 3. Movies: "China Express," refreshments, dancing, Saturday, March 3, 8:30 p. m.

11th A. D.—Canvassing begun; several new members in first week of canvassing. Branch meeting Tuesday, March 6, at home of Comrade Janeway, 241 W. 108th St., followed by discussion on "The Struggle in the Cleaning and Dyeing Industry" led by John Lyons.

19th-21st A. D. (2005 7th Ave.).—Branch executive committee Tuesday, March 6.

Morningside Heights.—Open discussion Tuesday, March 6, 8:15, meeting room A, International House, 500 Riverside Drive. Comrade Keys on "Common Objections to Socialism."

BRONX

2nd A. D. (1 East 167th St.).—Discussion of the resolution on the international situation, Tuesday, March 6.

4th A. D. (1635 East 172nd St.).—Organization meeting Tuesday at headquarters.

Amalgamated Cooperative Branch.—A successful mass meeting to help the Austrian Socialists was held Feb. 19 in the Amalgamated Auditorium. Siegfried Lipschitz spoke and \$34.56 contributed. Class in Socialism for women is conducted by Esther Friedman in the Amalgamated Cooperative Houses.

Downtown (157 Montague St.).—Successful dance and bridge last Saturday evening. Branch meeting Thursday, March 8, from 8 to 9:30 p. m. Question of holding short business meeting each Thursday will be discussed. Branch executive committee meeting same evening, 8 p. m.

Brighton Beach (1113 Brighton Beach Ave.).—Debate between August Tyler and Robert Minor scheduled for Friday, March 2, has been called off. General membership meeting Monday, March 5, 8:30, at headquarters. Branch planning a Russian dance in near future.

6th A. D. (167 Tompkins Ave.).—In spite of heavy rain, a large audience attended mass meeting on the Austrian situation. Samuel A. DeWitt was the principal speaker. Supperette Saturday night, March 3, Murray Baron will speak on "A Socialist Conception of the New Deal." A Monday evening, March 12, at headquarters.

11th A. D.—Regular meeting on Monday, March 5, at 500 St. James Place, in the ballroom.

5th-17th A. D. (329 Stuyvesant Ave.). Branch meeting Monday, March 5.

QUEENS

Flushing (Room 221, Terminal Bldg., Roosevelt Ave.).—Lecture by Comrade Kantorovitch, scheduled for Sunday, March 4, postponed to Sunday, March 11. Subject: "The Theory of Social Revolution."

Sunday, March 4—11 a. m., Forward Hour; 8 p. m., Adele Katz on "New Forms of Old Music"; 8:30, The Theatre Union Forum; 10, Symposium; 10:45, William Bowers, Negro baritone.

Monday, March 5—8 a. m., New York's Leading Events; 8:05, Psychology Clinic of the Air—Dr. Jacob List; 8:30 p. m., Musicale—Charlotte Tomhazy (violinist), Blanche Eichmann (soprano), Carlo Lanzilotti (bass); 5:30, Hal Devine, baritone; 5:45, Child Study Association—Mrs. Cecile Pilpel, director of Child Study Groups, author and lecturer, discusses "Bridging the Gap Between the Older and Younger Generations."

Tuesday, March 6—5:15 p. m., C.C.N.Y. Dramatic Group; 8:15, Herman Bernstein, editor, Jewish Daily Bulletin; 8:30, Celia Salaman, concert pianist; 8:45, WEVD University of the Air—Michael Strange; 10:15, WEVD University of the Air Philosophy Course—Prof. Sidney Hook of New York University; 10:30, "Around the Samovar"—Zinoidea Nicolina (soprano), Vladimir Radeff, Simon Philipoff, and Zam's Gypsy Orchestra.

Wednesday, March 7—5:15 p. m., Michael Young, "The Drama"; 5:45, Elizabeth Andre, contralto; 8:30, "Red Time Favorites"—Eugene Byron Morgan, and others; 10, "The Heart of New York"—talk, poetry, and music; 10:30, Half-Hour with Shakespeare—"The Taming of the Shrew"—Edward Dolze and Associate Players.

Thursday, March 8—5:45 p. m., Marjorie Harris, songs, with Conrad and Tremont, piano duo; 8:15, Grand Opera Excerpts—"La Traviata"—Anna Farber, Larry Kents (and others); 8:45, "The Peace Editor Looks at the News"—talk under auspices of World Peaceways; 10, Mildred Anderson, contralto.

Friday, March 9—4:30 p. m., Samuel H. Friedman, The New Leader review; 5:15, Michael Young, "The Drama"; 5:30, Maria Winetzky, contralto; 10, Gregory Matuszewich, concertina artist; 10:15, WEVD University of the Air; 10:30, Florence Stage, pianist.

Saturday, March 10—5 p. m., "Author Reviews His Book"—reviews of books of social significance; 5:15, "Labor Marches On"—sketch; 6:45, Eva Miller, contralto; 8, Concert Hour—Helen Bishop (soprano), Frances Jenkins (mezzo soprano), Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30, Music Hall Program—Virginia Vallance (songs), Conrad and Tremont (piano duo), "The Three Cheers"; 10:30, Musicale—auspices of National Musical Benefit Society.

Do two things. Build the Socialist Party and get subs for The New Leader to help build it.

Socialist Forum Calendar

(All meetings begin at 8:30 p. m., unless otherwise indicated.)

SATURDAY, MARCH 3
David Kaplan: "The NRA"—Progressive Slutsker Young Men's Benvolent Association, 215 East Broadway.

SUNDAY, MARCH 4
Elsie McDougal, the only colored Assistant Principal in New York City: Topic to be announced—3:30 p. m.—People's Educational Forum, 2005 7th Ave.

Irving Brown: "Why the Austrian Socialists Fought"—4 p. m.—Village Branch, 201 Sullivan St.

International Women's Day Celebration, Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th St.

MONDAY, MARCH 5
Sam. A. DeWitt: "This Crazy World"—Amalgamated Cooperative Branch, Assembly Room, Amalgamated Cooperative Houses, 80 Van Cortlandt Park South, Bronx.

TUESDAY, MARCH 6
Jacob Axelrad: "The Theory and Practice of Socialism"—The Pilots Club, 5 West 63rd St.

Jacob Bernstein: "A Bird's-Eye View of South Africa"—3rd A. D. Forum, 809 Westchester Ave., Bronx.

Speaker and topic to be announced—Borough Park Branch, Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 14th Ave. and 42nd St., Brooklyn.

Harry Rappaport: "Socialism and the Cooperative Movement"—Midwood Forum, Room 54, 1401 Kings Highway, Brooklyn.

Leonard Bright: "The Final Conflict, or the Road to Power"—7th A. D. Branch Forum, 789 Elmsire Place, Bronx.

August Tyler: "The Essence of Marxism"—4th lecture in series of six—16th A. D. Branch Forum, 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.

William Karlin: "The NRA"—Flushing Branch Forum, Room 221, Terminal Bldg., Roosevelt Ave., Flushing.

Topic to be announced—Jamaica Branch, Queens Labor Center, 157-18 Jamaica Ave., Jamaica.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7
James E. Harris: "The New Deal"—West Bronx Socialist Forum, Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves., Bronx.

THURSDAY, MARCH 8
Murray Gross will speak on the Labor Committee—Downtown Branch, 157 Montague St., Brooklyn.

FRIDAY, MARCH 9
Sidney Hertzberg: "Socialism in Scandinavia"—8th A. D. Branch, 226 East 10th St.

Symposium: "Who Shall Lead American Youth?"—S. W. Craig, Harold Lob and Ben Fischer—Brighton Beach Forum, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn.

Alter E. Fischof: "Social Struggles in Biblical Times"—East Flatbush Branch, 539 East 95th St., Brooklyn.

Edward Gottlieb: "The City Economy Bill"—4th-14th A. D. Branch, 241 South 4th St., Brooklyn.

Speaker and topic to be announced—22nd A. D. Branch, 864 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn.

Speaker and topic to be announced—19th-20th A. D. Branch, 88 Harmon St., Brooklyn.

MEETINGS ON AUSTRIAN SITUATION
Sunday, March 4
Carnegie Hall, 57th St. and 7th Ave., Manhattan, 8:30 p. m.—Speakers: Norman Thomas, Martin Plettl, Joseph Baskin, Abraham Cahan, David Dubinsky, Morris Finestone, James Oneal, Max Winter, and others.

1130 St. Nicholas Ave., Manhattan, 2:30 p. m.—Speakers: Fritz Eisner, Saul Parker and Ethel Schachner; auspices of Washington Heights Branch and Y.P.S.L. Circle.

Friday, March 9
Ward Manor, Westchester and Boynton Aves., Bronx, 8:30 p. m.—"Red Vienna" meeting—Prominent speakers; auspices of Lower 6th A. D. Branch and Circle 13, Srs., Y.P.S.L.

CIRCLE CLUB ADOPTS NAME OF SHIPLACOFF

The first club to adopt the name of Abraham I. Shiplacoff is the Montauk Club of the Young Circle League. The new Shiplacoff club is in the heart of the East New York section of Brooklyn in which Shiplacoff carried on so much of his political and educational activities.

The name was adopted at the last meeting with enthusiasm by the membership, composed of boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 18. During the remainder of the time the life and achievements of Shiplacoff were discussed. Special emphasis was placed by each speaker on his spirit of idealism and self-sacrifice.

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Y.P.S.L. "Stand by Austrian Workers" Campaign

Friday evening, March 2:

10 Senior, Bronx, at the Amalgamated Cooperative House; speaker, Abe Kaufman, 6 Senior, Bronx, at 2922 Barnes Ave.; speakers, Abe Wisotsky, Adolph Miller and Manny Goldberg. 4 Senior and 9 Junior, Bronx, at 789 Elmsire Place; speakers, Ethel Schachner, Max Hurwitz and Jack Barbasch. 1 Senior and 3 Junior, Bronx, at 809 Westchester Ave.; speakers, Ethel Schachner and others. 4 Senior, Kings, at 1401 Kings Highway; speakers, Bob Parker, Harry Finkelstein. 10 Senior, Kings, at 241 South 4th St.; speakers, Harry Fleishman, Ben Fischer, Stanley Flax. 5 Senior, Kings, at Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 14th Ave. and 42nd St.; speakers, Charles Solomon, Gus Tyler, Joe Glass. 3 Senior, Kings, at 6618 Bay Parkway; speakers, Fritz Eisner, Harold Seigel. 2 Senior, Queens, at Queens Labor Center, 137-18 Jamaica Ave.; speakers, Dave DeWitt, Harry T. Smith, Harry Herzog, 3 Junior, Queens, at 1855 Mott Ave., Far Rockaway; speakers, Fred Siems, Henry Gomberg. 5 Senior, Queens, at 399 Steinway Ave., Astoria; speakers, Harold Luxemburg, J. Karro. 1 Senior, Manhattan, at 26 Danancy, Sec. speakers, Ben Fischer, Emil Revyul, Max Eisenber, Melos Most. 12 Senior, Kings, at 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.; speakers, Joe Glass, Bruno Fischer, Al Meyer.

Sunday afternoon, March 4: 2 Senior, Manhattan, at 1130 St. Nicholas Ave. (166th and 167th Sts.); speakers, Saul Parker, Fritz Eisner, Ethel Schachner.

Friday, March 9: 1 Senior, Kings, at 864 Sutter Ave. 7 Senior, Kings (15 Senior and 9 Senior), at 844 Utica Ave.; speakers, Ethel Schachner, Henry Margulies, and others.

Y.P.S.L. NOTES
Yipsel eighth anniversary celebration will take place when Circle 2 Senior, Kings, reaches its eighth year of existence. The circle members and the "alumni" will run a dance on Saturday evening, March 24, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

A new circle organized by Bunty Klein is meeting at 1972 Walton Ave., the Bronx. It is applying for a charter. More girls are wanted in the circle.

LECTURE NOTES

"After Four Years—Can We Find a Program for Unemployment?" will be the subject of the symposium under the direction of the L.I.D. at a luncheon in the Town Hall Club, Saturday noon, March 12. The following speakers will take part: David Lasser, Wm. H. Matthews, James Meyers, Norman Thomas, Rabbi Elmer R. Tattner, will speak on "Moses, Jesus and Karl Marx" at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1591 Boston Road, Sunday, March 4, at 8. The Freethinkers of America will

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stage a debate at Steinway Hall, Sunday at 3:30. Dr. David M. Brooks will take the affirmative side and Rev. Dr. Benny Benson the negative of the subject, "That Atheism is more Beneficial to Society Than Christianity."

Coming lectures of People's Institute Cooper Union lectures: March 4, Prof. Houston Peterson, "Ominous Symbols: The Imperialism of Captain Mahan." March 6, Prof. Edward Kasner, "Development of the Space Concept." March 9, Everett Dean Martin, "Revolutionary Movements in the 19th Century."

A class in Karl Marx's "Capital" under the direction of Albert Weisbord will meet Wednesday at 8:30 at 133 2nd Ave. "Dialectical Materialism—Metaphysics or Science" will be debated by Morris Tapalar and Samuel Sklaroff, Sunday at 8, in Pythian Temple, 135 West 70th St. Dr. Samuel Schmalhausen will lecture on "The New Social Psychology and the Social Order," at Steinway Hall, Tuesday at 8. Dr. Alfred Adler will lecture on Thursday evening on "Individual Psychology and Personality."

LECTURES AND FORUMS

The PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
At COOPER UNION
8th STREET and ASTOR PLACE
At 8 o'clock Admission Free

Sunday, March 4th—
PROFESSOR HOUSTON PETERSON
"Ominous Symbols: The Imperialism of Captain Mahan."

Tuesday, March 6th—
PROFESSOR EDWARD KASNER
"Development of the Space Concept."

Friday, March 9th—
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"Revolutionary Movements in 19th Century Europe."
All lectures start at 8 P.M.

Freethinkers of America

Sunday, 113 W. 57th St., Steinway Bldg., 3:30 P. M.—DEBATE:
"Is Atheism More Beneficial to Society Than Christianity?"
Affirmative—DR. DAVID M. BROOKS
Negative—REV. DR. BENNY BENSON
Major Whelan: Bible Criticism, 2:30 p. m.
Admission Free

EMMA GOLDMAN
speaks in
WEBSTER HALL,
119 E. 11th St.
Monday Evening, March 5
at 8:20
"The Dream of Europe"
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INGERSOLL FORUM
PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70th Street
SUNDAYS, 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents
March 4th—DEBATE:
"Dialectical Materialism—Metaphysics or Science?"
Morris Tapalar vs. Samuel Sklaroff
Questions and discussion.

YOUNG AMERICA INSTITUTE
Steinway Hall, 113 W. 57th St.
Dr. Samuel SCHMALHAUSEN
Lectures every Tuesday evening at 8:30
"The New Social Psychology and The New Social Order"
DR. ALFRED ADLER
Viennese psychologist, lectures every Thursday evening at 8:30 on "Individual Psychology and Personality"
Social and dancing follow each lecture. Lectures, plays, dancing Sat. & Sun. eve.

L. I. D. LUNCHEON
Town Hall Club, 123 W. 43rd St.
SATURDAY, MAR. 10th—at 12 Noon
Subject:
After Four Years—Can We Find A Program on Unemployment?
Speakers:
DAVID LASSER, Chairman Workers' Unemployed Union; WM. H. MATTHEWS, Director A.I.C.P., formerly director Emergency Work Bureau; JAMES MEYERS, Industrial Sec'y Federal Council of Churches, and NORMAN THOMAS.
Admission, 85c Students, 75c

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12 sessions starting March 7th, 8:30 P.M.
133 SECOND AVE., ROOM 24

Green Demands 30-Hour Week

Clothing Pickets Jailed For Upholding the NRA

(By a Special Correspondent)
RED BANK, N. J.—Two Amalgamated Clothing Workers' organizers, Giovanni Sala and Bruno Bellia, and three pickets began this week to serve sentences of 90 days for the organizers and 30 days for the pickets in the County Jail of Freehold, N. J., in what has been described as one of the most outrageous cases in labor history. Ninety-two additional pickets are awaiting sentence on March 8th.

All were arrested for the crime of "taking Section 7A of the recovery act seriously," according to organizer Sala.

This Business is Becoming a Nuisance

THE Socialist party and its press have little knowledge of cross-currents among the Armenian workers either here or abroad. The position and the activities of the Tashnag are by no means the main concern of our movement, and that organization of Armenian workers would not be mentioned here were it not for an interesting occurrence.

Sunday last the Tashnag, an anti-Bolshevik Armenian Revolutionary Federation, called a meeting to commemorate something, to protest something and to take action on something else.

Half an hour earlier than the scheduled time for the meeting a group of Communist party members, estimated at 200, began parading around the building in which the meeting was to be held shouting and bearing banners denouncing the Tashnag. Police broke up the organized demonstration, whereupon members of the demonstrating crowd posted themselves at subway exits, physically attacking those who emerged to attend the meeting. Fists, sticks, razors and knives were used on Tashnag members, and the fighting continued for fifteen minutes until a riot call brought the police. Five men were taken to the hospital and dozens were slightly injured.

This incident would hardly be worth noting here except for the fact that it follows a pattern that is coming to be pretty well known.

Reactionaries, enemies of the workers and corrupt old parties can hold meetings to their hearts' content so far as the brave Communists are concerned. But let the progressive and radical unions, or any Socialist or other revolutionary body call a meeting—and they're there, always calling their followers an hour previous to the time announced by the others, always carefully organized, always armed in precisely the same way, always carrying banners denouncing and slandering.

How long will it be before the line is clearly drawn between holding and advocating opinions, and gangsterism?

An Austrian Pamphlet

The editor is writing a pamphlet on the Austrian rising which will be published at the earliest possible date. It will not exceed ten cents a copy, and all who are interested in giving it a wide circulation should send us a card. More later.

The case arose out of a strike against the J. Eisner Co. last August and was the result of an injunction granted the firm against the union, one of the first injunctions, incidentally, to be issued after NRA went into effect.

The Eisner firm had long been notoriously anti-union. They had always received large army contracts for uniforms and they manufactured raincoats and regular men's clothing as well. Wages at the time of the strike were as low as \$3 to \$5 a week and daily hours ran as high as 13, Sundays often included.

The Amalgamated sent organizers into the field, and shortly thereafter about 400 workers, or half of the force, were on strike. The strike was bitterly fought by the firm, the members of which were extremely powerful in New Jersey. At about the same time the strike was declared, Colonel J. Lester Eisner, one of the executive officers of the firm, was appointed NRA Administrator for New Jersey.

The strikers were peacefully picketing, carrying banners praising the NRA, when they were arrested. They were, of course, in "contempt" of court since an injunction had been granted against them, but injunctions had never heretofore prevented strikers from picketing.

The cast went to the Labor Board. The strike was dropped and the Eisner firm agreed not to press charges. Seeing an absolute violation of Section 7A of the NIRA in the jail sentences—believed to be the first imprisonments for simple picketing since the passage of the act—officers of the Amalgamated were doubly indignant. Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated, characterized it as a "damned outrage."

Louis Waldman, union counsel and Socialist leader, who was called into the case only after the injunction had been granted, declared the sentence to be the worst "miscarriage of justice" he had ever experienced. He conferred with other union counsel and left for Washington to see what could be done to prevent the serving of the full sentences by all the men.

There are several ironic angles to the story. Senator Wagner was appealed to and he sent a plea to the head of the Jersey NRA Compliance Board, asking him to exert every influence to secure the release of the clothing workers, the head of the Jersey Compliance Board being none other, of course, than Mr. Eisner, lately of the firm of J. Eisner!

Number two: the J. Eisner firm has just been awarded government contracts for army raincoats, despite the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union protests that to award such contracts to a non-union firm was a violation of the spirit and the purpose of the NRA.

The following telegram was sent to the organizers by the managers of the New York Joint Board, Joseph Catalanotti and Louis Hollander:

"With profound indignation at your imprisonment, we send you these words of greeting. Be assured that we on the outside stand solidly with you and that our cause, the cause of the emancipation of the working class, will go on stronger and stronger despite steel cells and prison bars."

Federal Probe Finds Vile Conditions

Imperial Valley, Cal., Found In "Disgraceful" State

IN a report that leaves no doubt as to the responsibility of the big growers in Imperial Valley of California for the violence in the recent labor troubles, the Federal Commission appointed by the National Labor Board, declares "The extension of collective bargaining to the field workers, in our opinion, would give the best solution to a difficult situation."

The Commission recommends that the Federal and State governments exercise every power to maintain "in fact, rights of free speech, free press and free assembly," and that the Department of Justice probe to the bottom the alleged violation of the federal injunction, against interference with the American Civil Liberties Union meeting in Brawley on January 23, when A. L. Warin was kidnapped. Appointment of impartial administrators to act regarding workers' grievances is urged.

Regarding living conditions of the workers the Commission's 32 page report said in part: "We found filth, squalor and entire absence of sanitation. . . . Words cannot describe some of the conditions we saw. . . . Even in the sections of cities that house Mexicans and people of other nationalities we found shacks that are disgraceful, and a lack of sanitation in all its aspects, even though these folks are permanent residents and, in some instances, tax-payers."

Indiscriminate arrests, the displaying of pistols too freely by peace officers, charges of vagrancy against workers' attorneys, intimidation of those sympathizing with the workers, and the use of tear gas on a meeting where women and children were present are condemned in the report. "We uncovered sufficient evidence to convince us that in more than one instance the law was trampled under foot by representative citizens of Imperial County and by public officials under oath to support the law." Editorial comments in Imperial Valley newspapers commending the kidnapping of Wirin are included to show the extent of the break-down of law and order.

The charge that the trouble was caused by "outside agitators" is examined. The so-called "docile" Mexicans, the report says, are doing their own agitating and are continuing to organize under cover. "Living costs are mounting and the small average amount received in wages is not sufficient to provide the primal needs."

Members of the commission were Prof. J. L. Leonard of the University of Southern California; Simon J. Lubin, Chief of the Bureau of Commerce at San Francisco, and Will J. French, also of San Francisco, formerly of the State Industrial Accident Commission.

BRONX BALL

Only two weeks remain before the Annual Concert and Ball of Bronx County to be held in Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves., Saturday night, March 17. Comrades are urged to speed up the sale of tickets and the obtaining of ads for the journal.

Forty-Hour Week Leaves Eleven Million Men Idle

WASHINGTON.—The immediate enactment of a Federal law making the 30-hour week mandatory in all codes under the NRA was urged by President Green of the American Federation of Labor before the Labor Committee of the House of Representatives in favor of the Connery 30-hour week bill.

Green stressed the continued and persistent existence of an army of over ten and one-half million permanent jobless working men and women and the failure of the long work week in most of the codes adequately to remedy the situation as abundant reasons for Congress to exercise to the limit its power under the Constitution to provide for the general welfare by imposing on the masters of industry the responsibility of reducing hours of labor so as to take the jobless millions from the breadlines of hunger and the garbage cans of charity and restore to them their inherent right to earn a living.

Asked by Chairman Connery whether he preferred to have Congress enact a law expressing its belief that the 30-hour week should be applied and leaving the application to the President or the Recovery Administrator, or a clear law making the 30-hour week mandatory by act of Congress after a reasonable preparatory period, Mr. Green replied that the discretionary shorter work week authorized by the Recovery Act had not worked satisfactorily as a remedy for unemployment, only 15 out of 234 codes approved up to January 29 having provided for less than the 40-hour week.

"I am of the opinion," he said, "that Congress should exercise its authority in this matter."

In opening his argument, President Green emphasized the great increase in unemployment resulting from the wholesale introduction of labor-displacing machinery and methods by those who own and control industry. He pointed out that according to reliable statistics there was a net increase of over 650,000 in the number of unemployed between 1920 and 1927, and that the number had reached over two million in 1929, and continued:

"This high level of unemployment, in our most prosperous years, is not surprising. The efficiency of our workers had been so increased by labor-saving devices that in the decade from 1919 to 1929 work-time needed for the average man to produce the same amount of work in our factories was reduced from 52 to 34 a week. There was no corresponding shortening of the work-hours during this period, so that in spite of this reduction in work-time, amounting to 18 hours a week, the actual work-week declined only by two hours."

"Since 1929 this increase in efficiency has continued at an even more rapid pace. Production per worker per hour in our factories increased 12 per cent from 1929 to 1932. Consequently, our residue of unemployment now is even greater than it was in 1929."

"As industry comes out of depression, we have a danger to guard against. Employers will be eager to lengthen work hours as their operations expand. It will be easier to work the force they have for a longer work-day and work-week than to take on new workers and create jobs for the unemployed. "In previous depressions it has been our experience that work-hours were lengthened as soon as

business activity started to increase. For instance, in 1921, 51.5 per cent of the workers in manufacturing were in establishments where the prevailing hours of work were 48 per week or under. But by 1923 this number had been reduced to 46 per cent, because employers had lengthened hours, and 5 per cent more were working up to 54 or even 60 hours a week.

"We do not want this to happen as we come out of the present depression. We do not want to lose the gains we have made. Adjustments in work hours are still far from compensating the technological unemployment created by new machinery. In order to complete this adjustment we must establish a 30-hour week now."

Wave of Strikes Is Sweeping Racine, Wis.

By Arthur Rowan

RACINE, Wis.—A wave of strikes is sweeping through several industrial cities of Wisconsin.

More than 2,800 men are on strike in four Racine factories. In one of the plants, the Nash Motor, more than 1,200 workers are out and not a wheel is turning. These workers are organized in an A. F. of L. Federal Union.

The J. I. Case Co., manufacturers of tractor and farm machinery, about 1,200 on strike and both plants are closed.

Eisendrath Tanning Co. has about 250 men and women on strike, but is trying to operate with about 35 employees. This has brought about a number of disturbances, in one of which the chief of police was knocked down. Cots have been placed in the plant to house the strikebreakers.

The Oster Mfg. Co. is completely shut down with a strike of their 115 employees.

The three last-mentioned strikes are conducted by the Racine County Workers' Committee, an organization started a year ago to improve relief of unemployed. However, three months ago they branched out into the industrial field by promise of low dues and a claim of a more modern form of organization they have succeeded in organizing a number of shops. The lack of finances and experience as well as connections with the labor movement will prove a serious handicap.

The Trades and Labor Council has been active, and have organized in addition to the Nash plant the Modine Radiator Co., with 600 members, the Young Radiator Co., with 175 members, the Standard Steel Spring Co., 200 members, as well as the Western Printing Co., with 500 employees. Three plants, the Andis Clipper Co., the Allover Mfg. Co., and the Universal Clipper Co., totaling about 800 employees, have been organized in the Machinists', and the Metal Polishers' Union. The above mentioned workers, and those added to the many who have joined other organizations, bring the newly organized workers to more than 3,000.

Even under adverse conditions a determined fight is being waged by the strikers. Pickets out in near-zero weather for the past week. Coal furnished by coal companies.

Editor's Corner

Review of and Comment on Events Here and Abroad, Critical and Otherwise

By James O Neal

A Study in Pathology

NO study of Communism by experts in pathology, so far as we know, has been made. It is a gap in post-war history that should be undertaken by some competent person. The conduct of the Communists at the Madison Square Garden was not something unusual. They had done the same thing again and again at smaller meetings in the past ten years. However, it was the fact that proletarians were perishing in Austria, that tens of thousands in the Garden were filled with grief and that the mourners were not permitted to pay their tribute to the heroic dead, that suddenly dramatized the sadist psychology of the Communists for what it is.

For several years after the organization of the movement in this country there was a genuine idealism and sincerity in it. Former active Socialists organized it, although not one of national distinction accepted it. However, it declined in the ensuing years, producing over a dozen warring groups before a number of them were merged in 1922 to form an "open party." In that year the Comintern also adopted the policy of the "united front." Three years later when Stalin was dictator the parties were ordered to "bolshvize" themselves into factory, street and other "nuclei," and the party generals nearly got apoplexy trying to explain the details of "bolshvization" to the members. Even some of the generals were unable to find the "nucleus" to which they properly belonged. The new plan was simply an adaptation of the form of organization followed by the Bolsheviks under Czarism.

Pig-Sty Ethics

HOWEVER, this was a turning point in Communist history. The year of the "united front" policy was also the year of Lenin's pamphlet instructing the conscripts of the Comintern to lie, intrigue and slander all who stood in their way. Stalin and his associates began to vulgarize the old ideals and the proletarians attracted to the movement were fed pig-sty ethics. The most revolting ethics of the ruling classes became Communist virtues. However, the Communist movement itself paid and is paying the logical penalty for this course.

It is legitimate to approve this conduct in relation to others, it was certain to be followed within the party itself and this is what happened. The conflicts within the movement, often fought with savage fury, came to be lying, intrigue, slander and even forming of secret "nuclei" by factions within the party. Again and again the leaders cried out against this. Poison was good for others, but when it was passed by one "comrade" to another there was protest.

Honest proletarians who entered the party found themselves in nests of intrigue, dirty maneuvers, foul insinuations and furious combats. A few turned vulgar and remained, but the great majority left and most of them are lost to any genuine working class movement. The low intrigues had another effect. The factional wars led to wholesale expulsions, and to replace the vacuum produced by desertions and expulsions the Communist Party recruited the lowest type of the workers, the adventurers and unprincipled elements and even gangsters. Here was a type not concerned with the "bourgeois prejudices" regarding honor, lying, intrigue and slander. A "united front" was finally obtained but not of the kind originally intended.

Post-War Megalomania

THESE achievements were a product of despair that came of the basic ideas of Communism itself but in the world movement it had other shocking results. Unable to win the soul of the proletariat and failing to befall it, Communism turned to another "united front." It was reduced to writing but it was recorded in deeds when it acted in concert with Fascism, the most barbaric enemy the working class has ever known. Its shameful cooperation with Fascists in the Prussian and Saxon diets, occasionally in the German Reichstag itself, and its participation in the Berlin strike with Hitler's Brown Shirts showed how shameless it had become.

Its pitiless crushing of dissenting opinion in the Russian party itself, its exile of Trotsky, Rakovsky and others, together with imprisonment of thousands of discontented Communists have revealed it for what it is. Even more revolting is to observe old leaders who had been penalized for disagreeing with Stalin transformed into sycophants groveling before him and "confessing their errors." If that were not enough, there is the fact that not a single demonstration was held in Russia in protest against the crushing of the Communist Party in Germany. Finally, few German Communist refugees found asylum in Russia. Stalin did not want them.

No word is more frequently used by them than "counter-revolution" and yet no other movement has so consistently served in this role as the Comintern. Its conduct in relation to the Austrian proletariat in the Bloody Week here and in Moscow is consistent. The pathologist who studies it will make a marked contribution to the understanding of a striking phase of post-war megalomania.

Coughlin's Plan May Sound Radical . . .

By Walter R. Storey

THE Rev. Charles E. Coughlin's Sunday discourses over a national network of radio stations are so popular that one million copies of his latest booklet, "The New Deal in Money," are being distributed free.

Many workers, including a few Socialist sympathizers, have been misled by the Rev. Coughlin's use of slogans commonly uttered by Socialists and by some of his seemingly radical statements. He believes in "abolishing hunger in the midst of plenty" and in "terminating once and for all the concentration and control of wealth in the hands of a few." He makes some criticism of the NRA that have been voiced by Socialists, and he realizes the grave danger of our increasing burden of debt.

However, the Detroit radio priest asserts that his viewpoint is that of a Catholic applying Christian doctrines to modern social and economic problems, that he is a disciple of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI, and not of Karl Marx. He believes in a socialized and "purified capitalism" in which the slogan will be "production for use at a profit"—a profit to the laborer and to the manufacturer.

Such a philosophy causes him to overestimate the importance of certain reforms of capitalist society. The Rev. Charles E. Coughlin thinks that if silver is remonetized, the dollar revalued, and controlled inflation restoring wages and prices to the 1926 level accomplished, then prosperity will be established. He praises the reactionary National Association of Manufacturers for fighting Wall Street by advocating symmetricalism—the issuance of silver certificates as currency backed by a gold reserve of 25 per cent and a silver reserve of 75 per cent.

He most conclusively proves that he is an eloquent radio preacher and not a radical when he lauds the industrialist for being primarily a producer and not a profit-seeker.

French Capitalism Put Up Money for Hitler Cause

By William M. Feigenbaum

FRENCH capitalists put up some of the money that put Adolf Hitler into the saddle in Germany, hoping thereby to stir up German hate against France; German soldiers were killed during the war with shells made in Germany; a British detachment captured a German gun and placed it on the village green back home only to find that it had been made in England and sold to the Germans to kill Englishmen; two brothers long sat in the parliaments of supposedly hostile nations stirring up hate against each others. . . .

And so on, ad infinitum.

And are we quite crazy? Are we overcome by the collapse of civilization to the point of diddling idiocy?

No, not quite. Here are a few—just a few—sober and verified facts that are to be added to the sum total of the depravity and imbecility of the human race.

It's the old story, known before the war, and just as true today, and it will continue to be true as long as the insane and murderous capitalist system lasts, this story of armament firms deliberately stirring up trouble between nations for the sake of business and profits.

Possibly the most amazing part

So far NRA Has Safe

YOU have heard of the blind men who went out to discover what an elephant looked like. One felt its sides and reported that an elephant was like a wall. Others felt the elephant's trunk, its legs and its tail and reported that it was a snake, a tree and a rope. The same with the NRA. If you gather a hundred men and women and ask them to tell what they know of the workings of the NRA, you will probably get 100 different replies.

We are in the twelfth month of President Roosevelt's administration, the eighth of NRA. What has NRA accomplished?

I picked up a newspaper to learn the latest news of this experiment. I read a number of headlines. One dealt with how you, the average consumer, were faring under NRA. It was in the form of an interview with Dr. Leon Henderson of the Russell Sage Foundation and a personal assistant of General Johnson in consumer matters. Some seven weeks ago Dr. Henderson had appeared in Washington with a group of consumers to protest against the fact that prices of various commodities were advancing several times as rapidly as the increase in labor and salary costs. General Johnson asked him to study this question from the inside. Henderson consented, and now declares that his seven weeks of experience has but confirmed him in the view that the consumer is suffering under the codes.

The Cartels

Abroad in Germany for many years industry has been encouraged to organize in somewhat the same way as it is now brought together in trade associations. That organization in cartels abroad led to price agreements, limited production, an artificially high price level. The same thing, says Henderson, is happening here, and the codes and the policy of high prices can result only in an ever narrowing circle of possible consumers. Many codes, he declares, are out-

Dr. Harry W. Laidler showed aided business and out in the

and-out attempts to bolster up a dead debt burden and force the consumer to pay on the present low volume of production a return on every dollar represented in the overinflated values and watered stock.

Hundreds of delegations which have recently invaded Washington have given similar testimony of the way corporations, organized under the codes, took advantage of the virtual suspension of the Sherman Anti-Trust law to increase prices to a level which would give a good profit to the least efficient firms and an unreasonably high profit to the most efficient.

Food for Thought

That item on consumers was but one article in one day's paper which gave food for thought. I turned to another page. Here was an account of the great anxiety expressed all over the country about the fate of 4,000,000 men and women working on CWA projects scheduled for dismissal during the next few weeks. "Few persons are confident," declares the newspaper report, "that private business will be able to take over more than a fraction of the thousands of those who are to be released from the CWA these next nine weeks." In my recent trip to the Middle West I heard the same question everywhere. What will become of the CWA workers? Will they be put back on relief lists? Will society be able to supply even the minimum relief to keep them going? The NRA officials have not answered that question.

Then I turned to the magazine section. A leading special article dealt with the utter absence of Administration policy regarding the high and low tariffs, and our international economic relations generally. A fourth told of dissensions within the National Labor Board, which has thus far been utterly ineffective in aiding in the settlement of many major controversies, while still another news story described the manner in which representatives of big business who had dug in on planning and other boards had used their positions to sabotage many constructive efforts.

These were but straws pointing to defects in the NRA machinery. What has the NRA accomplished after eight months of trial? What about the future?

It has brought industry together under many codes. These codes have, among other things, raised minimum standards. They have provided for the abolition of child labor in a number of industries though in many industrial fields there are frequent violations of this section. And it must be realized that hundreds of thousands of children are still employed in the beet sugar, tobacco, cotton and other industries connected with industrialized agriculture, in the newspaper industry, in domestic service and in other lines of effort; and that, when these codes are swept away, there will be no permanent federal legislation protecting children against exploitation.

Minimum Wages

The codes provide for minimum wages. These minimums are low. In thousands of cases chiseling has taken place. In the South, firm after firm pay wages far below the minimum, particularly in the case of Negro workers. And there is no provision in the codes auto-



Harry W. Laidler

matically increased the increase in living hours, under been reduced on about 40, an average about 4 1/2 hours a this has meant in development of a movement, with le have often b speeded up to g same amount o hours; and, as others have l probably require with good pay to army of the unem With the impet tion 7a, large num labor unions, al unions have grov as fast as have unions. While ex quired to negotia collectively, they not to contract with t still deals with ers ally, as if one u bargain on an equ billion dollar co sands of cases of for union activi have ported, and the trade unionism a great corporation 7a. The spy syst guard system, t still used extens workers from get

Big Business

In the meanw Henderson main tions are being per cent, and power over price consumer than Unemployment what decreased. to 2,000,000 have private industry and five million mental ventures PWA and the C army of unemp and most of the CWA are soon li selves again utt The public v still terribly slo way, and only a \$3,300,000,000 public works is While total creased, due to jobs, the purch power of employed last and still played this year gone o per w employed incre from Ju December only one-ha much as the in the of living. The New De started on create a balance between pro tive and consum power.

Guarded Big Profits

shows how Blue Eagle has
and has left workers
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Even if the NRA and the other
activities connected with the New
Deal assist in bringing about a
real recovery, they provide no solution
for the insecurity and chaos
in our American life. Under the
NRA the great monopolies, trusts
and combines remain intact, with
their power over society strengthened.
Only here and there, as in
Muscle Shoals, is any public
ownership program consciously
urged. So long as our natural
resources, our public utilities, our
great industrial and financial
institutions are run by a small
group of individuals for private
profit, so long will we have ex-
tremes of wealth and poverty; so

prices rising faster than wages and
salaries the lack of balance is be-
coming greater, not less than
formerly.

Because of these higher prices
profits have gone up. Although
the average production during the
third quarter of the year 1933 in-
creased only about 10 per cent
over the second quarter, the profits
of 205 industrial corporations
in 19 industrial groups advanced
almost 50 per cent.

Business has increased between
10 and 20 per cent over last year,
although it is still far from normal.
One real estate man in Brooklyn
told me recently that never in the
64 years of the existence of his
firm did they experience such difficulty
in collecting rents from retail
stores as since the first of this
year. Much of the increased activity
that is seen in some parts of
the country may be accounted for
by the temporary employment of
workers through the CWA and
other projects, the bonuses to
farmers and the government loans
to railroads, banks and other business.
When oxygen of that sort is
no longer pumped by the government
into the industrial system,
what is going to happen?

Under the NRA, with industry
100 per cent organized, with consumers
practically unorganized, despite the
Consumers' Advisory Board, and labor organized but
between 10 and 15 per cent, industrial
control is being concentrated in
ever fewer hands. Militarists have
used the crisis to pour hundreds
of millions of dollars into naval
and army programs. The CCC
has been placed under a semi-
military control, while the assistant
Secretary of War is urging that
the CWA, the PWA and other
groups be increasingly supervised
by the War Department. There
have been recently numerous in-
stances of suppression of civil
rights, and of trends toward a
modified form of Fascism. The
NRA has been referred to as self-
government in industry, yet workers
and consumers have no share
in the initiation or in the carrying
out of the codes. It is government
by the owners of industry, not self-
government by all forces in our
national life.

No Prosperity—Yet

The NRA has not yet brought
prosperity. If any great advance
is to be made toward recovery
that is more than temporary,
hours must be greatly reduced;
wages advanced, prices kept
down, a more equitable taxation
system devised; a far more ex-
tensive public works program
launched, as in the building of
workers' houses, a foreign market
encouraged, a genuine federal
system of social insurance in-
stalled, and the debt structure
greatly reduced.

Even if the NRA and the other
activities connected with the New
Deal assist in bringing about a
real recovery, they provide no solution
for the insecurity and chaos
in our American life. Under the
NRA the great monopolies, trusts
and combines remain intact, with
their power over society strengthened.
Only here and there, as in
Muscle Shoals, is any public
ownership program consciously
urged. So long as our natural
resources, our public utilities, our
great industrial and financial
institutions are run by a small
group of individuals for private
profit, so long will we have ex-
tremes of wealth and poverty; so

long will the great mass of people
be able to consume only a part of
the things that can be turned out
by our machine industry; so long
will we use but a part of our in-
dustrial equipment and will unem-
ployment and poverty continue.

The NRA is bringing about a
larger degree of planning within a
number of industries, but planning
for profit, and not primarily for
service. It is doing little about
planning among industries. The
stabilization of production within
one industry may lead to greater
instability in other industries. The
limitation of the production of
steel, for instance, vitally affects
the prosperity of the automobile,
the construction, the mining and
other industries. We must have
planning on a national and ulti-
mately on a world scale, social
planning for human happiness, if
we are going to grapple effectively
with recurring crises.

An Adventure

The NRA is an adventure in
regulated capitalism. We have
drifted away from unregulated
capitalism, from rugged individ-
ualism, never to return. But reg-
ulated capitalism is not the answer
to the problem of insecurity. Mil-
lions of men and women in America
are realizing for the first time
that we have a technical equip-
ment which, if properly used,
entirely wipe out insecurity and
poverty and could bring employ-
ment, high living standards and a
democratic way of life to all. As
the New Deal fails to fulfill these
possibilities in American life, the
people may be expected more and
more to turn to the socialization
of industry. Will we make that
transition from regulated capital-
ism to a socialized, a cooperative
order, where the people own
and manage their own industrial
life, without passing through a
period of chaos or of fascist control?
The answer to that question
depends upon the efforts that all
of us make in the coming days to
organize on the political, industrial
and educational fronts.

May we all do our part in the
days that are ahead!

Tribute Is Paid To J. Mahlon Barnes

By John M. Work

John M. Work, editor of the
Milwaukee Leader, was for many
years closely associated with the
late J. Mahlon Barnes in the Na-
tional Office of the party, and he
succeeded him as National Secre-
tary. His reminiscences of an
earlier day in Socialist history
will be particularly interesting to
newer members of the movement.

A NOTHER old-time Socialist,
a pioneer who did yeoman
service for the cause, passed
away from the scene of action
when J. Mahlon Barnes died.

He was prominent in both the
union and the Socialist move-
ments. A member of the Knights
of Labor, he soon became a
cigar-maker and joined the Cigar-
makers' Union. As a delegate
from it, he took part in twenty-
seven annual conventions of the
American Federation of Labor.
And along with Victor Berger
and Max Hayes he gave Samuel
Gompers many an anxious hour
in those conventions, in an
effort to prod him into a more
progressive policy for the Fed-
eration.

Mahlon Barnes was national
secretary of the Socialist Party
from 1905 until 1911, and managed
the Socialist Party national cam-
paign in 1912 and the LaFollette
campaign in 1924. He was active
in anti-war work and in securing
amnesty for political prisoners.

In Socialist Party annals, the
name of Mahlon Barnes will al-
ways be associated with the Red
Special of 1908. It was "his baby."
He originated the idea and brought
it before the national executive
committee. Both he and the com-
mitteemen agreed that it was a
hare-brained scheme, one of those
impossible things, but it took hold
of all of them and they decided to
carry out the plan.

It is an easy matter for a capi-
talist party, with millionaire sup-
(Continued on Page Eight)

The Workers Abroad

An International Review of the Socialist and Labor Movement of the World

By Mark Khinoy

Trotsky's Fourth International

A NUMBER of inquiries have reached this desk concern-
ing the program, organization and activities of the
so-called Fourth International. As I am unable to answer
every comrade individually, I'll repeat here what I wrote
to one correspondent:

1) The idea of a "Fourth International," as opposed to
the "Third" (Communist) and "second" (Labor and Social-
ist) Internationals originated with Leon Trotsky who be-
came convinced after the German debacle, that his efforts
to reform the Third International were in vain.

This Trotsky idea was endorsed by the "Left Opposition"
groups (Trotsky-Communists) in Western Europe and the
U. S. A. at their Paris conference in August of last year.

2) Simultaneously with this numerically very insignifi-
cant Trotsky conference an attempt was made to call a
joint conference with other "left wing" and "revolutionary"
Socialist opposition groups and parties. All of them, in-
cluding the Independent Labor Party of England, the Nor-
wegian Labor Party, the "Bund" in Poland and the Bal-
abanov-Maximalists of Italy, declined the honor.

3) The August declaration favoring the creation of a
Fourth International was signed by only four groups: the
Communist "Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland," the
Semi-Communist "Independent Socialist Party of Holland,"
the "Workers Socialist Party of Germany" and the League
of Communist "Internationalists" (Trotskyites).

4) The declaration included an obligation to organize a
permanent commission and to prepare some programmatic
documents for this Fourth International. But, according to
an official statement published by the Trotsky Delegation in
Paris, none of the two tasks were accomplished up to last
January (Russian Bulletin of the Opposition 38-39, Paris,
Feb. 1934).

Thus it can be stated that (a) there is no Fourth Inter-
national, (b) there is not even a committee to carry on the
work for its organization, (c) the number of its advocates
is very small, and (d) even they cannot yet agree on the
program of such a new venture.

Maxton and Dictatorship

SINCE the Independent Labor Party withdrew from the
Labor Party and from the Labor and Socialist Inter-
national, renewing its flirtation with the Communist Inter-
national, a number of comrades have taken it for granted
that the leaders of the I.L.P. are also flirting with the Com-
munist conception of the "Dictatorship of the proletariat."

This seems to be a mistake. James Maxton, M.P., spiri-
tual leader of the I.L.P., denies it quite emphatically. In a
penny pamphlet, just published by the I.L.P., he attempts to
"get this dictatorship idea clear for once."

He writes: "The biggest revolution necessary is, I be-
lieve, the mental revolution which enables a man or woman
to desire a social order in which no one will be better or
worse off than himself or herself, a social order in which
man and woman do not get added prestige by the number of
pounds they can show in their bank books, the number of
superfluous rooms they have in their houses, or the number
of spare suits of clothe they have."

Maxton is against the "super-man" idea or the idea of
a personal dictatorship. He is also opposed to the idea
of "minority dictatorship" against the will of the majority.

"I ask you," he continues, "to place aside from your minds
the thought of the super-man and the conception that any
political dictator is capable of solving the problems of any
nation or of the world. The personal dictatorship concep-
tion is an outgrowth of Capitalism, and the fact that the
Capitalist system is attempting to stabilize itself on the
basis of the big, powerful figure, is not evidence of the
strength of Capitalism, but an evidence of its deterioration,
decay and final collapse."

"I am very cautious about entering into the realms of
prophecy; but, although we are living in a period of world
reaction, when democratic Governments are falling and dic-
tatorships growing up overnight, I venture to believe that
ten years from now there will be no dictators left anywhere
in the world."

But, like the new program of the German Social Demo-
cracy, and like the latest programmatic expressions of the
Polish and French Socialists, James Maxton is for a "So-
cialist dictatorship of the overwhelming majority during the
short transitory period" of the coming Social Revolution.

He states, for instance, that "It is the period of transi-
tion from Capitalism to Socialism—the intervening period
when the working-class has assumed power and must main-
tain it—which is described by Marx as the period of the
'dictatorship of the proletariat.' Notice—not the power of
an individual over the community, but the definitely estab-
lished power of the overwhelming majority constructing a
new social order over the minority who are the remnants
and relics of the dying social order. In fact, that type of
dictatorship will be a freer and greater democracy than has
ever been known in any land under Capitalism."

"The 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is not a conception
of an individual dictatorship, but is the assertion of the old-
(Continued on Page Ten)

Buxton Tells How the German Exiles Live On in Hopes

By Charles Roden Buxton

Charles Roden Buxton, former
Socialist member of the British
Parliament, whose work on behalf
of oppressed peoples is known in
all parts of the world, originally
written for the London Herald,
urges members of the Socialist
movement to help their German
comrades who are suffering as a
result of the Nazi terror.

I HAVE heard the question
asked: "German refugees—
what have they got to do with
me?"

Well, I need only say that
those of whom I am going to
speak are our comrades, and that
they are suffering for standing
up for our Social Democratic
principles.

Other refugees, whether more to
the Right or to the Left, are dealt
with by other bodies.

If you had seen what I have seen
lately in Paris and in the Saar
Territory, you would have deplored
the small amount which our move-
ment has done.

It is not that there is any diffi-
culty as to how to help; this is
made easy for us by the Labor and
Socialist International, which long
ago started the Matteotti Fund in
memory of the brave Italian So-
cialist who was murdered by
Fascists.

This organization helps us to put

into practice that international
solidarity of which we talk so
much.

All honor to those groups in our
movement that have already con-
tributed. It is partly for them that
I write, to tell them how well
worth while their contribution was.

Let me give you a picture. It is
not sensational. I have seen vast
groups of refugees—Serbs, Bul-
garians, Greek peasants—driven
out of Turkey. It is not like that.
We need a little understanding, a
little imagination to grasp what it
means.

In Paris 980 persons—all with-
out exception Social Democrats,
trade unionists or members of the
Reichsbanner—had been helped up
to the time of my visit. One hun-
dred and fifty were being wholly
maintained at that moment.

Some were in private houses or
humble lodgings, some in salvation
Army hostels—one of which we
visited.

There were possibly another 500
who needed help, but could not
have it owing to lack of funds.
Most were working men or local
trade union or party officials.
Thousands have been dismissed in
municipal and industrial under-
takings, on account of their Social
Democratic connections.

They were men of character,
men of culture, many of them.
(Continued on Page Eight)

HOW THE FRENCHMEN BOOSTED ADOLF INTO POWER

(Continued from Page Six)

the full story and to trace all the devious wanderings of Schneiders, Krupp du Ponts, Zaharoffs, Cruesots, Vickers, and others. Their interference with and corruption of government, their setting people against people, their merchandising of hatred dynamite and death; it is enough to report that the story is told in all its gory and horrible detail and that there is one motive to it, and one alone. That is. . .

PROFIT!

For profits these international peddlers of glory, "patriotism" as the destruction-corrupt-newspapers and inflame people against each other. For profit Frenchmen are willing to contribute campaign funds for a shabby adventurer like Adolf Hitler, knowing that his accession to power will create a "situation" that will make French statesmen amenable to propaganda for greater armament, and thus to buy the goods of the de Wendels whose German brothers are selling the same things with which to blast the French to hell. For profit a Zaharoff sold submarines to two contending nations, one diving boat to Greece, two to Turkey, three to Greece, four to Turkey, and so on.

For profit these wretched creatures have gambled in human lives and have staked the safety of nations, setting their passion for profits above all else, even the survival of the very structure of civilization.

It is, of course, an old story. *Pecunia non olet*, the Romans said. Money does not stink, and profit on a peanut stand or on a horse-race track; on bread and houses, on clothing and movie theatres, on cigars and toothpaste, on safety pins and diamonds is money, any way you look at it.

But there is something peculiarly vile in that sort of money, infinitely more vile than profits taken by themselves.

So long as the profit system survives, so long will the human race be corrupted. So long as there are profits, just that long will Capones and Schneiders, Mellons and Morgans, Dukes and Wendels make money on whatever they can. So long will corruption make of civilized society a diseased body.

Out upon it! Destroy the profit system! Work for the elimination of the profit system, for Socialism, and the cleansing of the human race.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE J. MAHLON BARNES

(Continued from Page Seven)

porters, to provide a special train for its candidate for President, but it is a totally different matter for a working class party which gets its funds from the poor in purse.

The Red Special was chartered. Eugene V. Debs, candidate for President, and assistant speakers were aboard. One car was devoted entirely to Socialist literature, in charge of A. H. Floaten, with several comrades to assist in selling the literature at all stops and meetings. Harry Parker managed the train.

The route was arranged so as to have Debs and others speak from the rear platform at a number of places each day and at a tremendous hall meeting in some city each evening. Collections were taken at these meetings to keep the train on the track. The national office also sent calls for funds to all of the locals and branches in

By Mark Khinoy

THE recent street riots in Paris were not an accident; neither were they a spontaneous outbreak of popular feeling against the outrageous role certain politicians played in the Stavisky graft and swindle racket. The last factor, however, did play an important role in the sinister plans of the old reactionary and new fascist forces, which engineered the riots. They saw in the general resentment a chance to overthrow the democratic Republic and forestall the expected drive for a Socialist State—and made their preparations accordingly.

Before we analyze the symptoms on which the active elements of the decaying capitalist society built their assumption of an immediate Socialist danger, let it be stated that

FRENCH LABOR WAS NOT CAUGHT NAPPING!

The very moment it became known that the organization of the extreme right was preparing a demonstration against the Republic the party and the unions took counter-measures.

The fascist decision was taken Monday evening, February 5th. It called for mass demonstrations to take place the following day. But on Tuesday morning the Socialist press came out with an order that read like a regular army mobilization order. In large bold type, printed on the front page of *Populaire*, it announced a general mobilization of every party member—employed and unemployed—of every Y.P.S.L. member, every member of the Young Guards and Democratic (Socialist) Guards. Everybody had to report to his local headquarters—the unemployed immediately, and those working, at 6 P. M.—on leaving shop, factory or office. This order established uninterrupted telephone communications between local and central headquarters; announced district and regional concentration points—both for ordinary party members and for Young Guards, Bicycle and Motorcycle Brigades.

Similar dispositions were also taken by the *Confederation Generale du Travail* (C.G.T.) or French Federation of Labor. The latter wrote in his proclamation posted on the walls of Paris:—

We have had enough of it!

the country, and the money, in small amounts, poured into the national office, for the comrades everywhere were taken with the idea. Each railroad had to be paid in advance before the train was allowed to go on its track. Many times it seemed as if the train would have to be stopped and that the candidate would have to proceed to his next evening meeting without any Red Special accompaniment—but each time the difficulty was overcome. The Red Special started from Chicago in September, went to the Pacific Coast and back, then went to the Atlantic Coast, and wound up at Terre Haute, Indiana, the home of Debs, the night before election. It was a brilliant success. The impossible was accomplished.

The services of J. Mahlon Barnes in the Socialist and union movements were many-sided and very effective. They can only be stated sketchily here. He will be held in grateful remembrance. These movements could use a million more workers like him. If it had them, the goal he sought would be speedily realized. We are distinctly nearer to the goal because he lived.

Révolution and the Attempted Counter-Revolution in France

Every day sees demonstrations for a dictatorship and a King.

The Federation of Labor does not mix in politics. But in this case, we appeal to the workers and to the people of Paris in general to defend the endangered civil liberties.

Those who are behind the present demonstrations get their inspiration from the fascist and Hitler regime.

BUT WE ARE NOT IN GERMANY.

We demand punishment for the thieves and crooks. But we will not permit the scandals to be utilized against the republican regime.

The workers and the people of Paris have in the past defended democracy and civil rights. They will know how to defend them again.

Let everybody be ready to answer the call of the C.G.T.

Two days later the call came for a national general strike—demonstration to be held Monday, February 12th.

And then came the enthusiastic response of the working masses! France never before saw such a successful general strike.

ALL POWER TO LABOR

Thus was won the first open skirmish between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. It was a splendid moral and political victory. But, unfortunately, the principal problem of the present crisis was still left undecided.

It is the problem of Power.

The majority of the Socialist movement in France seem to be convinced that only Socialism can lead the world from the great economic crisis. They see no other way out. And they seek allies among other anti-capitalist classes and groups by a bold policy of an immediate struggle for Socialism. Last December, after a more moderate group of Neo-Socialists were expelled, or left the party voluntarily, the Central Executive Committee announced its new stand. It declared in a special manifesto the determination to fight for governmental power at the next general election around the issue of "All Power to Labor."

It was a bold stroke, but inconclusive. For the manifesto was silent on the all important question—how is power to be achieved and what are the specific steps the party proposes to take in order to retain power during the period of immediate Socialist reconstruction?

Two weeks ago the party answered these questions also. The answer was given by the foremost leaders of the party at a meeting of 5,000 Socialists assembled for its purpose.

The speakers were Leon Blum, Paul Faure, Vincent Auriol, Jules Moch, and Zyromski. Each took up one particular aspect of the problem, and so the answer was quite comprehensive. The trend and character of this response can be judged from the following excerpts from the statement of one of the most influential leaders of French Socialism, Secretary-General Paul Faure. When the chairman, deputy Graziani, introduced Faure he assured him that "the whole party will be behind you and Blum, when you give the order 'Forward—for the Revolution!'"

Faure spoke on the question, "How are we to conceive the march to Power?" And his answer will be, without doubt, a revelation to many of our comrades.

"Socialism," he said, "must march to power by itself, supported by the working class.

"Nobody denies the importance of reforms or of parliamentary action. But under present conditions we do not believe that dying capitalism can or will accept reforms. Capitalism does not care for any more reforms. Parliamentary action must, therefore, reflect the will of the party. A discipline more and more severe must prevail. We have no more time to lose. Here is one of the conditions of the Road to Power: we must not repeat the mistakes of our comrades abroad. They are all experimenting at present. After three attempts to participate in a coalition government, the Workers' (Socialist) Party of Belgium decided never again to accept state office unless it is for the specific purpose of immediate realization of its program. In Great Britain, the Labor Party after a similar experience is coming to the same position. The Spanish comrades announce now through Largo Caballero the same determination—

"We received in the last election two million votes; the Stalin Communists—700,000; the Pupists (Opposition Communist)—300,000. If we should succeed in achieving real working class unity, millions and millions would join the three million Socialist votes in an irresistible stream.

"The bourgeoisie may attempt to break this torrent. But it will be in vain. For its own army will join the people. . . . All revolutions were made when propaganda penetrated the broad masses. It is necessary that our voice shall be heard more and more. . . ."

Since the declaration was made on the eve of the reactionary riots in the French capital, Paul Faure could not ignore them. He dared the reactionary plotters to attempt an attack on democratic institutions, and added the significant phrase: "If Paris should be taken by surprise, the country will come to its help. The soldiers of all the military garrisons will be invited to refuse orders. Resistance centers will be created. Paris will be starved and the dictatorship will have to capitulate."

A more remarkable statement is made by him in concluding:

"It is necessary that our voice shall travel across Europe and catch the ears of Stalin. If the Soviet leaders can, as they do now, celebrate the peace efforts of the bourgeoisie, how can they reject the fraternal hand we are offering them for a united working class and a definitely victorious proletariat?"

And the Communists?

And how about the Communists whose principal fortress was Paris these many years? What did they do during the bloody and tragic days of Feb. 6 to Feb. 12; did they not mobilize their followers?—Yes. They did. However, their call was not for a united front with the revolutionary workers against the consolidated cohorts of reaction, but for a united march with counter-revolutionary plotters.

Strange as it may sound, the official (Stalinist) Communists actually marched alongside the other three "revolutionary" columns—the monarchist *Camelot du Roi*, the Fascist *Cross de Feu*, and the reactionary leagues of veterans. Marched and fought alongside them on the barricades during the bloody attempt to overthrow the republic.

Two days later, when the Socialist-controlled General Confederation of Labor gave the order for a general strike demonstration, the Communist Party refused to support this move. Its leaders could swallow a "united front" with the fascist enemies of the

GERMAN EXILES LIVE ON IN HOPE IN PARIS

(Continued from Page Seven)

men and women of sensitive feelings, of the neat, efficient, thrifty German type—capable of organizing things for themselves if they had the chance, much better than is done by the present hand-to-mouth methods.

Strange habits, unsuitable food, the inevitable mess and confusion—what do they not suffer from? All these! As one comrade said: "They are not only sick in body, but sick at heart."

In the Saar district, which I also visited, 800 persons had been assisted by November 15, the highest number per day 59 the average 40.

Mining, iron and steel, building and printing are the chief trades represented. Twenty to 25 fresh refugees were arriving weekly.

The Socialists in Paris have constructive ideas. Much could be done with a little more money. They have started a "collective" or cooperative group, of 22 persons, making a special brand of wooden toys hitherto made only in Germany.

The common life of the group is on a Spartan basis. The comrades take no more than their bare maintenance—any profit goes into the common stock.

Another workshop is being installed in a building lent by a French comrade. Many individuals could be self-supporting if a loan for tools and initial expenses could be provided.

But all such things seem luxuries now to those who are struggling to guarantee the bare necessities of the moment.

And, after all, the problem is essentially a manageable one. The least we can do is to help keep these comrades alive.

workers, but abjured such unity with the workers themselves.

Behind these nefarious tactics lay the sinister philosophy of the Wise Men of Moscow, claiming that Fascism is an inevitable transitory stage from the capitalist to a Soviet state. And since it is inevitable, we may as well, under some "revolutionary" cloak, help the Fascists in France, as we helped them in Austria, in Germany and—earlier—in Italy.

Fortunately the Communist-led (dual) unions of the C.G.T.U. refused to follow their leaders, joined the strike, forced the high priests of Communism to change their "line" and helped in the success of the gigantic struggle.

All this is very interesting, revolutionary and, under the conditions now prevailing in France, of extreme importance. But, to be candid, it still leaves without an adequate answer the all important question, how do we win for Socialism the millions of peasants, tenant farmers, small shop keepers, artisans, small traders, employees, and professionals, whose anti-capitalist sentiment fascism is trying to harness for its barbarian ends. It is self-evident that these middleclass elements could not be won by the slogan that "Socialism must march to power alone" or that the working class is the only class vitally interested in Socialism. Since the other speakers treated the practical problems of the day after the conquest of power, the question remains unanswered. My only hope lies in the fact that a week after this conference, the French comrades were to hold a special congress, at which this problem of the middleclass will be further discussed.

Do two things. Build the Socialist Party and get subs for The New Leader to help build it.

Gertrude Stein's "4 Saints" Baffles the Bourgeois

PERFORCE POLITICAL

"4 SAINTS IN 3 ACTS." An opera to be sung. By Gertrude Stein and Virgil Thompson. At the 44th Street.

We are told that somewhere in the world there are twelve good men and true who can understand the intricacies of Einstein's general theory of relativity; I wager not so many will rise to maintain their understanding of Gertrude Stein's general theory of language. After all—if we may translate their names—Albert throws only one stone; the lady seems to leave, no stone unturned. Even the creative process has turned.

While most poets deal primarily with meaning, so that patterns of sound are but occasionally discernible in concordant or counter-balanced play, Gertrude Stein deals primarily with sound, so that only occasionally patterns of meaning show through. These help to build a coherent structure of the whole; but most persons, accustomed to the other emphasis, seizing every phrase to which they can attach sense, are caught in spells of amusement amid their general bafflement. For them, it would have been better had someone reproduced Gertrude Stein's flow in classical Greek, or in Sanskrit.

There would then have been no irrelevant intrusions of partially glimpsed sense upon the growth of the mood through the music and the excellent settings, costumes, and dancing provided to accompany the music and the very effective solo and choral singing of the Negro cast. "4 Saints in 3 Acts" is a decidedly worth-while venture.

Incidentally, difficult to understand as it may be, assailed as decadent by bourgeois critics, this work is nearer than at first may seem to the goal of a socialized society. It is born of the same impulsion, in another field: the desire to fuse into one harmonious growth effects commonly considered distinct if not opposed, and the quest of the central essence that animates all things. Perhaps without recognizing it herself, Gertrude Stein moves, in the world of abstract art, along the same rebellion against individualism and the supremacy of the whims of power, that is the road of the great political forces of our time.

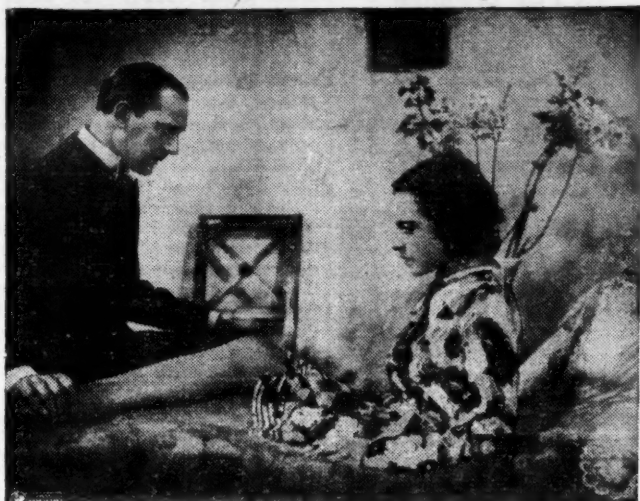
J. T. S.

Belle Didjah to Introduce Two New Groups of Dances

At her forthcoming recital at the Forrest Theatre on Sunday evening, March 11, Belle Didjah will introduce two new groups of dances. They are the Oriental Suite, created after her successful concert tour through the Orient, and a cycle of eccentric numbers which she has conceived since her return from abroad.

Her Oriental dances are built on Arabian and Yemenite themes. The music is authentic folk music, altered just a trifle here and there to suit her purposes, for Miss

In "Ariane" at the 55th Street Playhouse



Elizabeth Bergner and Warwick Ward are here shown in a scene from the popular European film, "Ariane."

Didjah has not reproduced the Oriental dances in their unadorned state. They would be too thin in their texture and slightly choreo-

Phoebe Brand



who has an important role in "Men In White," the Group Theatre hit which continues its successful run at the Broadhurst.

graphical for a European or American audience. In order to give the dances artistic form and significance, she had to abridge some passages of the music, or re-vamp them.

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY

AT CARNEGIE HALL
HANS LANGE, Conductor

This Afternoon at 3:00

Soloists:
NATHAN MILSTEIN, Violinist
GREGOR PIATIGORSKY, 'Cellist

TOSCANINI, Conductor

Thurs. Eve. at 8:45; Fri. Aft. at 2:30
Next Sunday Afternoon at 2:30

BEETHOVEN: MISSA SOLEMNIS

Concert for Children and Young People

SCHELLING, Conductor

Next Saturday Morning at 11:00
(Sixth and last concert of series)

REQUEST PROGRAM

ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

Sally Rand on Stage at Brooklyn Paramount

When Sally Rand steps on the stage, and Edmund Lowe and Victor McLaglen go to work on the screen in "No More Women," there will be fans on both sides of the footlights at the Brooklyn Paramount Theatre. The ostrich fans and movie fans come in for the week beginning today.

Sally will exhibit the fan dance that made the World's Fair famous, and prove that the fan is quicker than the eye. The feature film "No More Women" brings back to the screen "Quirt" and "Flagg." In this one, Lowe and McLaglen are deep-sea divers, always in hot water, fighting for

The "Bundling" Hit

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

"Spicy, impudent and genuinely amusing."
—Krutch, Nation

AVON Theatre 45 St. W. of Broadway
Eves. 8:45, 11 to 12:50. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

MEN IN WHITE

"Vigorous and exciting drama. Should be seen."
—Lockridge, SUN
"Adorned with the most beguiling acting the town affords."
—Atkinson, TIMES

BROADHURST THEA.

44th ST., W. of BROADWAY
Eves. 8:45 - 50c to \$2.50
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40 - 50c to \$2.00

WEEK BEGINNING FRI. MAR. 2 CLARK GABLE CLAUDETTE COLBERT

"IT HAPPENED ONE NIGHT"

—On Stage—
BENNY RUBIN
FIFI D'ORSAY
DONATELLO BROS. & CARMEN
Other REO Acts

ALBEE Albee Square BROOKLYN

Gable and Colbert Co-Star in Key Francis in "Mandalay" at Albee's New Film

Clark Gable is cast as an adventurous newspaperman out of a job in "It Happened One Night," now at the R.K.O. Albee Theatre. Claudette Colbert, who is co-starred with Gable, portrays the role of a pampered society heiress who is kidnapped by her father on her wedding day. She escapes from his yacht moored in Florida waters, and attempts to go to New York by bus. Gable is a fellow passenger.

Jameson Thomas is cast as Miss Colbert's husband, Walter Connolly as her father, and Roscoe Karns as a traveling salesman. Robert Riskin prepared the screen play, which is based on a Cosmopolitan magazine novelette by Samuel Hopkins Adams.

Ruth Gordon



In the Theatre Guild's latest production, "They Shall Not Die," at the Royale Theatre.

lost gold on the bottom of the sea and for the affection of sirens ashore.

"Mandalay," starring Kay Francis, is the feature attraction at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre. Ricardo Cortez, Warner Oland and Lyle Talbot are in support of the star.

For the short subject program the Strand presents, as an added attraction, "Come to Dinner," a satire on the feature picture, "Dinner at Eight." This subject is interspersed with song and dance sequences and is said to present excellent "doubles" for the stars of the picture is burlesques. Also on the program are Phil Spitalny and his orchestra in "The Big City Fantasy," and Harry Gribbon in a two-act comedy, "Mushrooms," with Loretta Sayers, Cora Witherspoon, Lionel Stander and Shemp Howard.

WINTER GARDEN 59th St. Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30 ZIEGFELD FOLLIES

with FANNIE BRICE
WILLIE & EUGENE HOWARD,
EVERETT MARSHALL, JANE FROMAN, PATRICIA BOWMAN,
VILMA & BUDDY ESEN, DON ROSS, OLIVER WAKEFIELD,
CHERRY & JUNE PREISSER
BALCONY SEATS \$1 to \$2.50; Orch. Seats \$3 to \$4 (ex. Sat.); Mats.: Balcony \$1 & \$1.50; All Orchestra Seats \$2.50

DELIGHTED CROWDS

Two weeks are NOT enough
HARRY MOSES therefore announces

The Indefinite Continuance of

4 SAINTS in 3 ACTS

AT THE 44th ST. THEATRE EVENINGS AT 8:50, \$3.50 to \$1.10
MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:40, \$2.20 to \$1.10

MAX GORDON'S OUTSTANDING SUCCESSES

WALTER SINCLAIR LEWIS' HUSTON in "DODSWORTH"

Dramatized by SIDNEY HOWARD

SHUBERT Theatre, 44th Street West of Broadway
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Gladys ADRIANNE RAYMOND COOPER ALLEN MASSEY "The Shining Hour"

A New Play by Keith Winter

with Cyril Raymond — Marjorie Fielding — Derek Williams
BOOTH Theatre, 45th Street, West of Broadway. Evenings 8:40
Matinees Thursday and Saturday 2:30

"ROBERTA"

A New Musical Comedy
by JEROME KERN and OTTO HARBACH

Adapted from Alice Duer Miller's novel "Gowns by Roberta"
NEW AMSTERDAM Theatre, 42nd St. W. of B'way. Eves. \$1-3.
Matinees Wed. & Sat., 50c, \$2.50, plus tax.

WIND and the RAIN

"YOU COULD NOT ASK FOR A MORE ATTRACTIVE EVENING IN THE THEATRE."
—Atkinson, Times

With New York's FRANK LAWTON
Newest Sensation and ROSE HOBART

"One of the most sensitive and intelligent performances of the Winter."
—Brown, Post
RITZ THEATRE, W. 48th St.
Eves. 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat.

THEATRE UNION'S Stirring Hit

PEACE on EARTH

JOS. T. SHIPLEY says: "True beyond any pleading of propaganda. . . . As stirring a drama as one is likely to see for a long time."

CIVIC REPERTORY THEA. 14th & 6th Ave. WA. 9-7450
Prices, 30, 45c, 80c, 75c, \$1, \$1.50, no tax. — Mats. Wed. & Sat.
EVERY EVENING AT 8:45

"The sure of Mr. Hull's characterization of Jeeter Lester is as perfect a feat of acting as I have seen in forty years of playgoing."
—Percy Hammond, Herald Trib.

HENRY HULL

"TOBACCOROAD"

by JACK KIRKLAND. Based on Erskine Caldwell's Novel
48TH ST. THEATRE—E. of B'way Pop. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40
Bryant 9-0178. Eves. 8:40

BELLE DIDJAH

DANCE RECITAL

SUNDAY EVE., MARCH 11th

Forrest Theatre, W. 49th St.

PRICES: \$3, \$2.50, \$2.00 & \$1.50—350 SEATS AT \$1.00

The Guild's Stirring Call: "They Shall Not Die"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE LIVING LOSE

"THEY SHALL NOT DIE." By John Wexley. Theatre Guild, at the Royale.

"And those that came to scoff remained to cheer." The carriage trade in the Theatre Guild audience, in evening dress around, laughed, a bit bored, a bit uncomfortable, at the close of the first act of "They Shall Not Die"—showing the arrest of the Negro lads of the Scottsboro case, and the plans for framing them. To the women whose naked backs were balanced (in cloth) by the long tails of their companions' coats, this was all as remote as a bread riot over an increase of 2 cents a loaf. "Let 'em eat cake!" But at the play's close, these no longer laughing ladies stood in loud applause.

"They Shall Not Die" is a moving, a powerful play. It is propaganda, no doubt; it takes no time to probe the Southerners and let us see that they are the inevitable products of their social and economic environment. A stronger play would show that they, too, are victims, that (as in all conflicts) the living lose, and perhaps more than the martyrs. These, if they die bravely, become beacons in man's march; the executioners survive to spread their poison. Mr. Wexley's plays have none of this impartial cutting to the core; they move on the motors of a white-hot indignation. The Southerners are villains; the Negro boys, bewildered or defiant, but pure, victims, and the "National Labor Defense" and Lawyer Rubin, good Samaritans.

Yet the play could have been more extreme without overstepping the truth, in this latest of the martyrdoms of race and class conflict in this sweet land of liberty. Lucy Wells—Ruth Gordon makes her a pathetic figure, as Helen Westley gives humor, dignity, and pathos to her mother—is the only one whose background is sketched; we see her growing to the decision to confess her earlier perjury; but the main outlines of the case, adding another angle to the picture of "Tobacco Road,"

make us keenly aware what a travesty of justice court procedure can be, and rouse us to an eager shouting: "They Shall Not Die!"

Claude Rains is gripping as the "Jew lawyer from New York"—Jews as well as Negroes are competitors; and Linda Watkins and others of the very large cast (including Al Stokes as Parsons, staunchest of the Negro boys) do excellent work; but in view of the lads who are in such danger of execution, out here in the real South, it is impossible to think of this as theatre. "They Shall Not Die" is more than a play; it is a plea. A plea and a demand: Death to prejudice, so that justice may live again! It is not merely of these boys, but of those ideals paraded in the patriot's pledge: "liberty and justice for all," that this dramatic voice utters its rousing call: They shall not die!

"Ariane" with Elizabeth Bergner at 55th Street Cinema

Elizabeth Bergner, the Viennese star who recently made her debut on the English-speaking screen in "Catherine the Great," will be seen in her first modern role in English in Claude Anet's "Ariane," which is to have its American premiere at the 55th Street Playhouse on Tuesday, March 6th.

Claude Anet's novel, on which the film "Ariane" is based, has been a best-seller in practically every civilized country of the world and has been translated into eighteen languages.

"Ariane" was produced in Pathe-Natan's London and Paris studios under the direction of Paul Czinner, Bergner's husband, who was also responsible for the direction of "Catherine the Great."

Tashamira in Recital

Tashamira, the Croatian dancer, will give her recital at the Morosco Theatre on Sunday evening, March 4, instead of the Booth Theatre, as previously announced.

This change has been made necessary due to the Booth Theatre now being occupied by a production with a fixed setting.

THE THEATRE GUILD

presents

EUGENE O'NEILL'S Comedy

AH, WILDERNESS!

with GEORGE M. COHAN

GUILD THEATRE, 52nd Street, West of B'way

Eves., 8:20. Mats., Thurs. and Sat., 2:20

MAXWELL ANDERSON'S new play

MARY OF SCOTLAND

with Helen Hayes - Philip MERIVALE - Helen MENKEN

ALVIN THEATRE, 52nd Street, West of B'way

Eves., 8:20. Mats., Thurs. and Sat., 2:20

JOHN WEXLEY'S play

THEY SHALL NOT DIE

ROYALE THEATRE, 45th Street & Broadway

Matinees Thurs. & Sat.

Tremendous emotional impact!

FIRST INTERNATIONAL TALKIE

HELL on EARTH

NOW—CAMEO

42d St. E. of B'way

CONTINUOUS

"It seems to me that 'Hell on Earth' represents the art of motion picture at its highest."—Norman Thomas

"I like the picture. 'Hell on Earth' very much. . . . It has a distinguished mental approach."—Theo. Dreiser

"'Hell on Earth' is one of the strongest arguments against war that have been employed in the motion picture."—Mordaunt Hall, N. Y.

At Fox Brooklyn



Donald Cook and Helen Chandler, above, are in support of John Barrymore in "Long Lost Father," the Fox' new film attraction.

Many Stars Shine in "Wonder Bar" at the Strand

First National's film version of the famous stage success, "Wonder Bar," with an all-star cast headed by Al Jolson, Kay Francis, Dolores Del Rio, Ricardo Cortez, Dick Powell and Hal LeRoy, opened at the Strand Theatre Wednesday morning. "Wonder Bar" is Jolson's seventh talking picture, the first, "The Jazz Singer," having established the success of the sound screen. His current appearance follows his work in "Wonder Bar" during its record run on the New York stage and on tour throughout the country. It was adapted from the original play by Karl Farkas and Geza Herczeg. Earl Baldwin wrote the American motion picture version.

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly presents

SHE LOVES ME NOT

The Season's Comedy Smash Hit
By HOWARD LINDSAY
Adapted from Edward Hope's novel.
"Full of merriment. . . It is spontaneous, guileless and tumultuous. It is pure comedy."
—Brooks Atkinson, Times

46th ST. THEA. W. of B'way
L.A. 4-1219
Eves. \$1 to \$3 Mats. Wed. 50c to \$2
8:40 & Sat., 2:40

"CATHERINE THE GREAT"

— with —
DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS
ELIZABETH BERGNER
Twice daily, 2:50—9:50. 4 times Sat. 2:50—5:50—9:50—11:50. 3 times Sun. and Hols., 2:50—5:50—9:50. Mats. (exc. Sat. and Hols.) 50c to \$1
Eves. 50c to \$2
Seats Now at Box Office for All Performances.

ASTOR Broadway at 45th St.

A second Don Juan—and twice as good as the first.

"PALOOKA"

with
JIMMY DURANTE
LUPE VELEZ
STEWART ERWIN
THELMA TODD

RIVOLI

UNITED ARTISTS B'WAY at 6th ST.

"The Ninth Guest" on Roxy Screen—Kramer and Boyle Head Stage Show

The feature film at the Roxy Theatre this week is Columbia's screen version of the Owen Davis mystery melodrama, "The Ninth Guest," starring Genevieve Tobin, Donald Cook and Hardie Albright.

Heading this week's stage production are Dave Kramer and Jack Boyle, well-known variety artists who were recently featured on the Rudy Vallee broadcasts. Others in the show are Falls, Reading and Boyce, acrobatic and specialty dancers; Elka, girl violinist; Renoff and Renova, adagio dancers, and others. In new settings, the Gae Foster Girls present costumed ballet and precision numbers. Rube Wolf and his orchestra present new musical numbers.

John Barrymore on Fox Brooklyn Screen—Peggy Healey Tops Stage Show

John Barrymore in "Long Lost Father" opens at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre today.

The stage show is an Alexander Oumansky production, "Varieties of 1934," a stage interpretation of latest events, offering news in rhythm and melody.

"Pure in Heart" Due at the Longacre Theatre

The Longacre Theatre will house the John Howard Lawson play, "The Pure in Heart," due to open on Wednesday evening, March 14. The producers are Richard Aldrich and Alfred de Liagre, Jr., and the cast will be headed by Dorothy Hall, James Bell, Tom Powers, Harold Vermilyea and Ara Gerald. Edward Massey is staging the production, which will have incidental music by Richard Myers and a song number entitled "Can't Find My Way."

Commencing
TOMORROW AT NOON
ELIZABETH
BERGNER
Star of "CATHERINE THE GREAT" in her first modern role in English
CLAUDE ANET'S
Sophisticated Love Drama!
"ARIANE"
An Intimate and Revealing Story with a Daring, but Delicately Handled Theme.
Produced in PARIS and LONDON by PAUL CZINNER
(director of "Catherine the Great")
55th ST. PLAYHOUSE
Just East of 7th Ave.
Cont. noon to midnight—25c to 1 p.m.

STORMING THE WORLD WITH WONDER AND ENCHANTMENT—

KAY FRANCIS
DICK POWELL
RICARDO CORTEZ
AL JOLSON
HAL LEROY
WONDER BAR
10 Super-stars in Warner Bros. Show of the Ages!
STRAND
B'way & 47th Street
Cont. Pop. Prices
— Midnite Shows —

KAY FRANCIS
in "MANDALAY" with RICARDO CORTEZ
BROOKLYN STRAND
Fulton St. & Rockwell Pl.
MIDNITE SHOW SATURDAY
CONTINUOUS
POP. PRICES

BAFFLING!
OWEN DAVIS' GREATEST, MOST THRILLING MYSTERY HIT
"THE 9th GUEST"
A Columbia Picture with Genevieve TOBIN - Donald COOK
★ STAGE ★
KRAMER & BOYLE
RODNEY & GOULD
FALLS, READING & BOYCE
JONES PREBLE - ELKA - RENOFF
& RENOVA - GAE FOSTER GIRLS
RUBE WOLF & GANG
SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION
ROXY
25c to 2 P. M.
35c to 6 P. M.
55c to Close
7th Ave. & 59th St. Children 15c

MUSIC HALL
SHOW PLACE of the NATION
WILL ROGERS
in
'DAVID HARUM'
Popular Prices
plus GIGANTIC STAGE SHOW
First Mezz. Reserved
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First time at popular prices
GARBO
"QUEEN CHRISTINA"
★★★★—Daily News
On Stage
PHIL SPITALNY
and his 32 Musical Queens
CAPITOL Broadway at 51st St.
Maj. Edward Bowes. Man's Dir

THEATRE PARTIES
Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of THE NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4-4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

The Labor Committee

Agricultural and Cannery Workers.—All interested in the organization of these workers are urged to get in touch with Margaret Lamont, 450 Riverside Drive, who is in charge of this work.

Umbrella Workers.—The United Umbrella Workers' Union, Local No. 18,164, A. F. of L., called a strike this week against the Lubber Mfg. Co. of 249 Stockton St., Brooklyn. The Lubber shop has twice been called before the regional NRA Board for violations of the Umbrella Code and was found guilty on both occasions. Administrator Ben Golden threatened a \$500 fine on the next violation.

Doll Workers.—Plans going forward to aid the coming strike of the doll workers. Preparations for speakers, aid on the picket line, and financial support from Socialist sources are expected and will be forthcoming.

Taxicab Workers.—Comrades are urged to disregard all statements coming from the so-called "United Taxi Workers' Union." The only body legitimately entitled to speak in the name of the taxi workers is the Taxicab Drivers' Union of Greater New York. It is interesting to note that this union has sent in credentials for the Labor Conference on Unemployment March 1st. Election of officers will be complete in about a week. Spread the word about using only taxicabs with union drivers. Ask for the driver's union card!

Cleaners and Dyers.—The Labor Committee is continuing its aid in the splendid struggle of the Cleaners and Dyers to build up a strong and powerful union. The following are some of the speakers who have addressed the daily strike meeting: James Oneal, William H. Feigenbaum, Sam DeWitt, Henry Margulies, Julius Bertman, A. N. Weinberg, Sam Beardsley.

Hotel Workers.—This remarkable test of solidarity in struggle is still going forward. The Labor Committee is supporting the efforts of the Amalgamated Food Workers in the form of speakers and money.

Painters' Union, Local No. 102.—The committee to investigate conditions in Local No. 102, which both sides of the controversy have agreed to accept, consists of Jacob Panken, Nathan Chanin, Morris Feinstein, Abraham Miller, Louis Hendin and Jack Altman. The first meeting will be held Saturday, March 3, at 225 Broadway. A letter was sent to the New York Evening Journal in answer to certain allegations made against the Socialist Party but has not been printed.

Grocery Clerks.—Owing to the efforts of the Labor Committee, a committee from the United Hebrew Trades supervised the election on Tuesday, and all sides were satisfied as to its fairness.

B.M.T. and I.R.T. Workers, Textile Designers, Curtain and Bedspread Workers.—Progress is being made in the organization of workers in these various industries.

GROUP MEETINGS
Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.—Very important policies were decided at the last meeting. A chairman, vice-chairman and secretary, together with a committee of eleven, were elected to carry on the activity of the Socialists in this local. The group also decided to take care of a booth at the Socialist bazaar. The girls will make their own novelties and collect material.

Painters' Group.—A committee of five and a secretary at the first meeting and a great deal of intensive activity will be undertaken. They have decided to meet twice a month.

Pocketbook Workers.—Phil Pasik elected secretary and the group decided to meet every second and fourth Saturday at 1:30.

A.C.W.A.—Socialist members of all locals will meet Saturday, March 3, at 3 p. m., at 7 E. 15th St.

Furriers.—Socialist members of the furriers will meet on Monday, March 5, at 8:30 p. m., at 7 East 15th St.

Local 9, I.L.G.W.U.—Socialist members will meet Monday, March 5, 8:30 p. m., at 7 East 15th St.

Local 1, I.L.G.W.U.—All Socialist members will meet Tuesday, March 6, 8:30 p. m., at 7 East 15th St.

Carpenters.—All Socialist Carpenters will meet Thursday, March 8, 8:30 p. m., at 7 East 15th St.

Local 10, I.L.G.W.U.—All Socialist members will meet Thursday, March 8, 8:30 p. m., at 7 East 15th St.

Teachers.—All Socialist teachers will meet Friday, March 9, 8:30 p. m., at 7 East 15th St.

B. S. and A. U.—All Socialist members of the B. S. and A. U. will meet Monday, March 5th.

The Labor Committee is planning a conference on unemployment insurance in Albany at the time that the legislative hearings on the unemployment bills take place.

Full-Time Labor Department.—Those comrades with subscription lists for the Labor Committee are urged to make an extra strenuous effort to raise money. Upon the success of their efforts depends a full-time Labor Department.

Labor Contact Men.—Every branch is urged to appoint or elect a Labor Contact Man who will work together with the Labor Committee. This is extremely urgent, and as soon as enough names come in, a meeting of these comrades will be called. A class of Labor Organizers is contemplated. Those comrades interested will please send in their names to Jack Altman, Labor Secretary, 7 East 15th St.

Labor Committee.—The following names have been added to the Labor Committee: Pauline M. Newman, Martha Hohman, Anna Wenger, Murray Baron, Samuel Orr, William Beedie and Gertrude Weil Klein.

MARY FOX QUILTS LEAGUE AGAINST FASCISM

Mary Fox, executive secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, last week announced her resignation from the League Against War and Fascism as a result of the Communist attack on the Madison Square Garden meeting. In her letter of resignation she said in part:

"The demonstration of the Communist led group at Madison Square Garden seems to me to have been deliberately provoked by the Communist Party leaders in the editorials of 'interpretation' of the situation in Vienna at the very time that the united socialists in Vienna, leaders as well as rank and file, were putting up a valiant resistance to the forces of Fascism. And that following these issues of the Daily Worker, the Daily Worker issued a Call to Communist Party members to come to the demonstration under instructions which would inevitably lead to breaking up the workers' demonstration against Austrian Fascist atrocities."

"I still believe that unity among the workers is essential. I believe that demonstrations of good faith on the part of Communist led groups will help to effect this unity. I believe that united fronts on specific issues successfully carried through will depend on real efforts at unity by the Communist leaders and that these united fronts on specific issues will do much finally to bring about the unity of the workers against the common enemy of Capitalism and Fascism."

Austria Heads Fast Toward Fascism

(Continued from Page One)
statements. The fact is that the Austrian Socialists, in anticipation of what happened, had already begun publication of secret papers and secret organization.

Moreover, many parcels of food and clothing sent by Cardinal Innitzer to Socialists have been returned. Socialists are reported as being ousted from Vienna apartment homes while Heimwehr

An interview by press correspondents with Starhemberg on Tuesday indicated that his Fascism will make provision for the return of the Habsburg dynasty. In Hungary, Admiral Horthy serves as "regent" for the Habsburgs and there is little doubt that the feudal parasites of both countries look forward to a reunification of the two countries as a new Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Any restoration of the Habsburgs and a reunion with Hungary are certain to bring the new state into conflict with other countries, so Starhemberg is cautious about this and places the realization of these aims in an uncertain future. However, there is little doubt that the clerical and monarchists and even Fascists would welcome the gilt and tinsel of the old parasitism to decorate the new regime.

Meantime, little Dollfuss is beset with grave economic problems. In the first place, he has offended foreign opinion and he depends upon foreign aid to keep his rickety government going. Big capitalists are demanding the liquidation of the social services of Vienna and the clericals through the Catholic Educational Association demand control over education, strict censorship of morals and school books.

In short, the ruling cliques propose to return to the Austria which Allied cannon destroyed, with a mixture of fascism. "The world is to be made safe for democracy," said Woodrow Wilson. Look at Europe now!

Massachusetts Socialists Go on the Air

BOSTON—The Socialist Party goes on the air! Beginning on March 6th, the Socialist Party of Massachusetts will broadcast over Station WAAB on four consecutive Tuesdays from 7:30 to 7:45 p. m. The following is the complete program:

Tuesday, March 6, Sylvester J. McBride, "A Socialist on the NRA"; Tuesday, March 13, Alfred Baker Lewis, "Why Capitalism Won't Work"; Tuesday, March 20, Joseph Bearak, "After the New Deal—What?"; Tuesday, March 27, George E. Roewer, "Who Owns the U.S.A.?"

All readers living within range of this station are asked to make this series known to their friends.

In Southern Ohio

(Continued from Page Two)
funds to send in a couple of organizers for a month or two and a ton or so of literature.

We have nothing much as yet in Hamilton but in Middletown, a few miles north, we have a good local and I had a fairly good meeting with them. Next I went on to Dayton and had three good meetings there. In this city we used to have one of the finest locals in Ohio. It had an excellent print shop, a splendid weekly, "The Miami Valley Socialist," and we came near capturing office in several city elections. Like everywhere else in the great slump our party membership dwindled down to a handful and only within the last two years did Local Dayton come back to life. Now it is decidedly on the upgrade, a fine new headquarters, as yet a small but very active membership and our fine old-timers Joseph Sharts, Oscar Edelman and several others still nobly on the job. The local is active and enterprising and at the rate they are now moving, our Dayton comrades should soon again occupy first place in Ohio party news.

Spent two days also in Columbus. My meetings were very small. We blamed the blizzard, the ultra-

conservatism of this capital city and its 100% white American complex and some other factors more imaginary than real. The real cause is that we are too few and too inactive. Columbus had a grand local in 1912 and can have it again. There is no obstacle in our path but our own weakness. I am glad to report that I did find some hopeful prospects here for the first time in many years. Our fine old reliable comrade Gerlach is now surrounded with an excellent group of new, young comrades and they are going ahead with the hard work of organizing a strong local.

Claessens' Dates

Sebring, March 5; Wilkinsburg, 6; Rochester, 7; New Kensington, 8; Jeannette, 9; Uniontown, 10; Pittsburgh (Squirrel Hill), 11; McKees Rocks, 11 (evening); Burgettstown, 12; Jeannette, 13; Black Lick, 14; Johnstown, 15; Barnesboro, 16; Sykesville or McKees Mills, 17; Brookville, 18 (afternoon); Hawk Run, Phillipsburg or Ocoola Mills, 18 (evening); Lock Haven, 19; Williamsport, 20; Sayre, 21; Scranton, 22; Wilkesbarre, 23; West Hazleton, 24; Bethlehem, 25 (afternoon); Allentown, 25 (evening); Reading, 26.

TAKE OVER ALL THE UTILITIES, PARTY DEMANDS

ALBANY.—Leonard Bright, speaking in behalf of the State and Westchester County organizations of the Socialist Party before the joint legislative committee hearing on the public utility bills last Wednesday, asserted that the regulation of public utilities had broken down. Such regulation, he declared, had not checked extortionate rates, tremendous profits and outrageously high salaries for officials during depression years. It had not stopped wage cuts or denial of the right of workers to bargain collectively. The demand for the public ownership of public utilities was becoming irresistible.

Replying to a question by Senator Desmond of Newburgh, who wanted to know if municipal ownership would not be confiscatory of the property of investors in utilities, Bright pointed out that some utility corporations had been able to pay from 40 to 60 per cent dividends, and that manifestly the utilities had been confiscating the property of the community at large, and could ill make the claim of confiscation when opposing public ownership.

ACTIVITIES IN OHIO

By Sidney Yellen
State Secretary, Socialist Party of Ohio
CLEVELAND.—The Cleveland labor movement added a new member to the family when the three delegates from the teachers' union were seated at a meeting of more than 400 delegates representing more than a hundred thousand organized workers. Dr. Harap, in response to the greeting of President Moley of the Cleveland Federation of Labor said: "The workers in the educational institutions have realized that they and the workers in industry have common grievances and therefore have

to reach a profound understanding for joint action. The plight of our schools is the consequence of the general grave situation in which our country is found today, and the responsibility must be put at the door of this capitalist order."

The Akron labor movement has increased its membership to more than 50,000 the last six months. The rubber workers of the Goodrich firm have a union of 6,400 members. James Oneal will address a special meeting of that body on March 25, and on the same day, in the afternoon, he will address the union of the Goodyear workers, 4,000 strong. Both meetings will be under the auspices of the central labor body. Socialist activities are the topic of the town. Comrade Paul, state organizer, starts March 1st for a long tour over the state. Many locals will again have a chance to increase their activities when the organizer reaches them.

August Claessens is finishing his 14 days' tour in which he addressed about thirty meetings. The reports from Cincinnati, Middletown, Columbus and Athens County tell a vivid story of his work.

The State Executive Committee met in Cleveland Feb. 17th and a resolution against the Dollfuss government was adopted and together with a committee the local marched to the Austrian consul and presented it. A copy of the resolution was presented to the Cleveland Federation of Labor and it was unanimously adopted.

NEW PLAN IN BUFFALO

By Ernest D. Baumann
Organizer, Local Buffalo
Local Buffalo, N. Y., has adopted a new plan of organization whereby Erie County will be divided into ten districts. We are now arranging meetings in these districts in order to organize branches.

Friday, Feb. 23, we had a very successful meeting at which the Kensington Branch was organized. Ernest Faessler was elected organizer; Lucien Fullington, literature agent and delegate to executive committee; Mrs. Ernest Faessler, secretary-treasurer. Next meeting March 9th at 88 Thatcher Ave. Ernest D. Baumann, organizer of Local Buffalo, will speak on "Obligations of a Socialist to His Party and Class."

A great deal of enthusiasm is being augmented by real work by the comrades in reorganizing the party. Thanks to the good work of Comrade Heiser, The New Leader is in the homes of most of the comrades.

Socialist Bazaar Draws 75,000 Persons

MILWAUKEE.—The largest social event ever held by the Socialist Party here was the four-day bazaar which ended last Sunday. The total attendance was estimated at 75,000, and it was necessary on two occasions to turn crowds away because the huge Eagle's Hall building was filled to capacity.

Proceeds will be used to finance the work of the party locally and to pay part of Milwaukee's share of the national fund drive.

A special collection was taken to be sent to the Austrian party.

BOOST THE NEW LEADER!

Norman Thomas to General Johnson

General Hugh S. Johnson, NRA, Commerce Building, Washington, D. C.

Regret I cannot myself appear to speak of hours and wages; so bad that the average worker has less purchasing power than in June. There is utter breakdown of enforcement machinery in all parts of the country I have visited. You have cracked down on no great employer except where labor was organized to do the cracking. Gesture of support to Ford workers commenced after more than four months of gallant struggle.

Chevrolet Company in St. Louis openly refus-

ing compliance with order they re-employ man discharged for belonging to union. Fifth Ave. Coach Company employees discharged in August in New York still await justice. Textile situation everywhere serious. Harriman, Tennessee, notorious example.

It is impossible to protect rights of labor so long as you rely upon weak enforcement machinery largely administered by and for labor haters. Moreover today codes cooperate to help monopolistic profiteering price fixing.

(signed) Norman Thomas,
Chairman, Public Affairs Committee
Socialist Party

The Hindenburg Line of Special Privilege

(Continued from Page Four)

rehearing it was demonstrated that their claims were fraudulent and that increases in labor costs resulting from the NRA had previously been nullified by cuts in wages and wholesale dismissals.

The Commission affirmed its original order. Then the fun began all over again, with the battleground transferred to the courts and the prospect of the enactment of the familiar spectacle of dragging the question through all the courts in the land. Meanwhile, as we approach the spring of 1934, the consumer is still waiting for emergency rate reductions which he was supposed to get in the spring of 1933. The poor consumer also is running true to form.

Mr. Carlisle and his allies range the changes on the widows and orphans and the small investors whose life-savings were alleged to be threatened. The fact of the matter is that the so-called legitimate investor has nothing to fear from these bills. The bondholder does not receive, as a rule, in excess of five per cent on his investment. Speculative common stockholders find themselves in a different category. Let me cite a few illustrations: In 1932, the Buffalo General Electric Company paid a dividend of over 21 per cent on its common stock. The New York Power and Light paid a dividend of 41 per cent. The Syracuse Lighting Company paid a dividend of 24 per cent. The New York and Queens Electric Light and Power, about 16 per cent. The New York Edison, 12 per cent. And the Long Island Lighting, 60 per cent. These are the people who might have to worry, and these are the people about whom Mr. Carlisle is worrying. They are not widows and orphans. They are professional speculators, financial jugglers, the wolves of Wall Street, who have impoverished more widows and orphans and small investors than any such legislation possibly could.

Mr. Carlisle advanced the argument that the cheapness of electricity rates under the municipal operation as compared with private operation results from the circumstance that municipal plants are exempt from taxes which private plants are required to pay.

Competent investigators have disclosed, however, that the slight difference in taxes—less than one-tenth of one per cent—does not explain, for example, a four cents difference in the average rate per kilowatt hour between Ontario municipalities under public ownership and operation and cities in New York State under private ownership and operation.

Relative freedom from the blighting effects of the depression has been enjoyed not only by the New York utilities. That this condition is nation-wide is established in a recent study by the United States Department of Commerce in analyzing the national income for the 1929-1932 period. This study discloses that while the income paid by other industrial divisions was cut drastically, the income distributed by the electric light and power companies during this period remained almost constant. For instance: the decline in income disbursed by the power companies was less than 7 per cent, while in manufacturing it was 54 per cent, in agriculture 46 per cent, in construction 73 per cent, in trade 35 per cent, and so on.

The light and power industry under private ownership and control has well been called the Hindenburg line of special privilege. Unless the people own the utilities, these utilities will own the people. The private utilities pollute everything with which they come into contact—schools, newspapers—yes, government itself. While as a Socialist I heartily approve of the proposal to enable cities to go into the light and power business for the benefit of the consumers in competition with the privately owned utility companies, this is not enough. Municipal ownership and operation points the way to a new deal for the consumer. But the solution for the problem lies in a complete and thoroughgoing public ownership and operation of all public utilities. This is the Socialist answer to the problem.

ANOTHER ELECTION STRAW IN ENGLAND

LONDON.—Another straw that shows the remarkable drift to Labor and Socialism was the by-election at Lowestoft at which the Labor Party scored a smashing gain. The Conservative majority of 11,992 of 1931 was cut to one-sixth of that figure.

Long one of the "safe" Tory seats, never before menaced by the Labor Party, the Conservatives considered themselves lucky to win over Labor by a mere 1,920. The Liberal, who polled 3,304 votes, lost his election deposit for failing to poll one-eighth of the total vote.

In 1931 the Tories carried the constituency by 11,992. In the last three elections the vote has been:

	1929	1931	1934
Conservative	13,624	22,886	15,912
Labor	9,903	10,894	13,992
Liberal	10,707	—	3,304

In the hysterical election of 1931 the Liberals supported the MacDonald "National" candidate to unite all elements against the Socialist.

The figures tell a remarkable story of Socialist advance as a defiant reply of the workers to the attempted strangling of liberty and of Socialism by the reaction.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS WILL HOLD HEARINGS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A program of public hearings by the Committee on Correspondence and Action of the Continental Congress will be held March 3-4 in the Friends' Meeting House, Florida Ave. and Sunday morning at the Hotel Arlington, where a luncheon will also be held Saturday noon.

Saturday, 10 a. m.—Workers' Groups and the Situation of the Unemployed. Speakers: Harry W. Laidler, Louis Waldman, Leo Kryzcki, David Saposs, John M. Long. 12 noon—Public Luncheon and Broadcast—Financial Policy of the Federal Government. Speakers: John H. Gray, Colston Warne. 3 p. m.—Situation of Racial Groups. Speakers: W. E. B. Du Bois, Abram Harris, Geo. Streator.

The Workers Abroad; Maxton on Dictatorship

(Continued from Page Seven)

a party here if we only had the fashioned principle that the majority have the right to dictate to the minority.

"When the transition period from Capitalism to Socialism has been passed, we shall go forward into a classless society in which the use of government to suppress class by class will come to an end and the function of government will be the co-ordination of things for the benefit of all, rather than the direction, the dragging, and the drilling of men."

Maxton acknowledges that in many respects his analysis is similar to that of the Communist Party. But this is a superficial view. For "we lay a greater stress (than the Communists) on the essential democracy of our movement. We believe the change must come from the common people and come spontaneously. It must neither be given by bribery nor imposed by bullying, but grow out of the inner-consciousness of the people themselves."

"We lay a less great emphasis on the aspect of physical violence as an instrument of change than is laid by the Communist. As realists with a knowledge of history, we recognize the part that physical violence has played in human affairs. We know the part it plays now, and we do not live in any fool's paradise. But we believe that in the making of revolutions (it is proved, indeed, in the actual experience of Russia) force is not the essential thing, force where it occurs is incidental. The essential thing is the awaken-

Howard Kester. 8:15 p. m.—The Farmers and Parity Prices. Speakers: Robert Miller, G. C. Talbot, John Bosh, Eduard C. Lindeman.

Sunday, 10:30 a. m.—Broadcast (if possible) Subject: Scarcity vs. Abundance. Speakers, Norman Thomas, Broadus Mitchell, Emil Reeve. 1:30 p. m.—United States and the World Situation. Speakers: Dorothy Detzer, Tucker P. Smith.

ing of the working-class to a high moral sense, to a realization that they are factors in human progress and that what has happened in the world up to now is trivial."

A United Front in Hungary

THE decision of the Fascist premier of Hungary Goemboes to appoint a commission to take over the municipal government of the capital, met with strenuous opposition in parliament, where 110 deputies organized a united front bloc against the fascist tendencies of the government. This bloc comprises the deputies of the National Liberal Party, of the Christian Social Party, of the party of small farmers and of the Socialist Party.

The Labor Party of Norway has just published a 96-page pamphlet, containing the project of a new party program during the present crisis of Capitalism (*Det norske Arbeiderpartis Kriseprogram*). The plan is a product of a collective effort of many Socialist economists, finance and technical experts, drafted by the party for this purpose.

The coming International congress of Socialist students will take place in Liège, Belgium, in August, 1934. The congress is called by the International Federation of Socialist students, of which J. Haver, France, is the president.

The Moscow correspondents of the American news agencies reported on February 2, that seven-tenths per cent of all the membership were expelled from the ruling party during the months just preceding the last party congress.

Let it be recorded, that among those "cleaned out" during this "pre-election campaign" was also a political emigré, a Communist deputy of the Czechoslovakian parliament, Barsha, who after a due trial for "treasonable" activity in his own country was found guilty and condemned to 6 months of solitary confinement. His letters to relatives from Moscow were intercepted by the G.P.U. They showed that after many months in the Soviet Union he began to question the way Socialism is being built there. And was therefore expelled from C.P.

country for the proletarian heroes of Austria who fought four days against such tremendous odds. That sympathy was not misplaced. We are proud of these men, women and children who have written a glorious epic in the long class struggle for a warless and peaceful world, for a world of equality of economic opportunity, social equity and collective mastery of our industrial life that has broken down all over the world.

Out of stricken Austria now overrun by Fascist hordes will eventually rise a new Austria that will incarnate the hopes and ideals for which these men, women and children gave their lives. They built a temple that was destroyed by vandals; that temple will be rebuilt and the old and the new builders will be remembered by humanity long after the Fascist mercenaries are consigned to oblivion.

Subscribers, Attention!

Watch the label on your copy of The New Leader. If the number 11-33 is on the label your subscription has expired. You cannot afford to miss a copy if you are to keep informed on the authoritative news of the events now shaking the world. Send in Your Renewal Today! Send in Your Renewal Today!

James Oneal Replies to Dollfuss

(Continued from Page Three)

of freedom of assemblage and of speech.

There are two fatal dates for the Austrian workers in August of last year, August 10 and August 19. After more than a year of delays, Dollfuss managed to get an international loan of \$43,000,000 on August 10 which strengthened him at home and abroad. On August 19 he was in Rome conferring with Mussolini, and it was shortly after his return to Vienna that he declared for an Italian type of Fascism. That Dollfuss received some sort of promise from Mussolini to support the Austrian dictator is evident from the fact that Mussolini mobilized troops on the Austrian frontier during the February rising.

A Socialist Manifesto

By the middle of October the Heimwehr Fascists became more bold and confident. They boasted of marching on the Vienna Town Hall, seizing it, and throwing out the Socialist administration. The Austrian Socialist Congress was held October 14-16 in Vienna, and the Heimwehr threatened to arrest the delegates and foreign guests. The Heimwehr was following the tactics of wearing down the workers.

Last September the Austrian Socialists observed what was coming. They sent a manifesto to the workers denouncing the undermining of the railways unions and cited the government measures fostering Fascism. The manifesto declared: "The Austrian working class has seen the terrible fate

that has befallen their comrades in the German Reich. Taught by that lesson, they will not submit to Fascism without a struggle. The working class threatens no man, neither townsman nor peasant."

In October the workers countered the increasing Dollfuss censorship by publishing illegal papers. One of them, *Die Wahrheit*, warned that the occupation of the Town Hall of Vienna or the prohibition of the Social Democratic Party or destruction of the trade unions would be the signal for an open conflict. The Fascist attack came two weeks ago, and workingmen, workingwomen and children answered with a heroism that is rare in the struggle for human emancipation.

Dollfuss Consults Dictators

The last tragic days of the Austrian Republic reveal the swift development of the Dollfuss and Heimwehr policy. Prince Starhemberg, Heimwehr leader, had been demanding the end of Socialist Vienna. Dollfuss had wavered between his own Christian Social Party and the Heimwehr, but against the advice of his own party leaders on February 10 he supported Starhemberg. The Socialist leaders and the Christian Social leaders in the Vienna Diet had reached an agreement to preserve the Republic. Dollfuss was in Budapest the day before, consulting the Hungarian reactionaries, and on the 10th he conferred with Starhemberg and other Fascist leaders. The Fascists had already raided the Socialist headquarters twice in search of arms and found

none. Dollfuss moved rapidly. He decided to dissolve all Provincial governments and diets, and where the prefects were not his supporters he resolved to replace them with his own appointees. Every city and town council that did not support him were to be dissolved. Starhemberg declared with satisfaction that the Dollfuss program would "put an end to democracy once and for all." The death knell of Austrian labor, Socialism and democracy was rung by Dollfuss and his Heimwehr allies. A long series of provocations on the part of the government and the Fascists had reached the breaking point. The workers faced an alliance that included the dictators of Budapest, Rome and Austria, together with armed Heimwehr Fascists who marched upon Vienna. The workers rose in defense of all that they had created by measureless sacrifices through fifteen years of terrible depression and hardship.

A Glorious Epic!

While we were celebrating the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, who in his first annual message warned the working people to "beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost," the working people of Vienna were being shelled by Fascist artillery in their apartment homes.

It is significant that universal sympathy was expressed in this

A Statement by Comrades Bauer and Deutsch

Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, Feb. 15th.

OTTO BAUER and JULIUS DEUTSCH, the latter wounded in the left eye, arrived at Bratislava today.

In consideration for their comrades who are in the hands of the Austrian Government Comrades Bauer and Deutsch do not wish to give any details at the present moment regarding their experiences and the days of fighting in Vienna. But in reply to the untruthful statements which the Austrian Government has caused to be spread about them Comrades Bauer and Deutsch declare:

That when Minister Schuschnigg stated over the wireless that Comrades Bauer and Deutsch had fled and "left the workers alone at the barricades" they were at their posts in one of the working-class districts in Vienna. When Vice-Chancellor Fey stated over the wireless that they had arrived in Prague they were still in Vienna. Not until the fighting in the whole of the area in which they were stationed had ended and Comrades Bauer and Deutsch were completely isolated and cut off, did they leave Vienna in order to escape from the direct danger of arrest, and make their way by different routes to the Czechoslovakian frontier.

The Inspiration of Austria Spurs Socialist Drive

DECLARING that "out of the heroic battle that has been waged by the Socialist in Austria should come to us in America a warning and a challenge," National Secretary Clarence Senior makes an ardent plea for the success of the United Socialist Drive in his weekly "progress" bulletin.

"A warning" he continues, "that only through solidarity and mass action on the part of the workers of the world can we hope to win a decisive victory for Socialism. And a challenge to redouble our own efforts in building a strong Socialist organization in order that our Austrian comrades shall

not have died in vain.

"The 1934 United Socialist Drive will be a test of our strength and determination. We MUST have a certain minimum of funds to carry on. That minimum is represented in the quota which we are trying to raise in this drive. Your national organization is today facing a financial crisis. We shall try to forestall this crisis until you comrades in locals and branches throughout the country can send in your local quotas. But, comrades, do not wait too long! Let us hear from you soon!"

For the first time the weekly Bulletin includes a barometer depicting the success of the drive. It also contains a number of despatches from various locals throughout the country giving valuable suggestions as to how an individual unit may raise its quota.

The Denver (Col.) local will hold a keno party and a masquerade and ball. The comrades in Chicago ran a theatre party. The Milwaukee Socialists held a mammoth bazaar for four days in a centrally located hall. It was a huge success. In Bellingham, Wash., a special "over the top" social entertainment and dance will be given on March 16.

Olean Socialists Pledge Aid to Austrians

The Socialist party of Olean, N. Y., in a resolution adopted in a large mass meeting went on record as "proudly proclaiming its loyalty and support to the Socialist workers of Austria." The party members pledged themselves to give their fellows in Austria whatever aid possible and appealed to lovers of liberty everywhere to join them.

Frank R. Crosswaith and John G. Cooper, who made a remarkable campaign for Mayor of Olean in the November election, were the principal speakers. Stating that the world is at the sun- of civilization, Crosswaith advocated Socialism as the only solution to our present economic and social problem. Cooper, devoting himself mainly to urban topics, contributed pertinent remarks regarding the issue of municipally owned and operated public utilities. Miss Dorothy Kane presided as chairman.

New Organizations Reported

Arizona, Wintersburg; Arkansas, Hot Springs; Connecticut, Bridgeport (10th Dist. Br.); Hartford (Jewish Br.); Florida, Fort Maynes; Illinois, Mt. Morris; Michigan, Paw Paw; Missouri, Ballard; Sedalia (2nd Ward); Springfield (18th Ward); New Jersey, Camden (Egg Harbor Br.); Rhode Island, Woonsocket; Washington, Bellingham.

California

Socialist speakers contemplating coming to California please notify E. E. Porter, Room 334, 628 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Manager State Speakers' Bureau.

Illinois

Chicago.—Branches 1, 16, 20 and 224 of the Yugoslav Socialist Federation will commemorate the Paris Commune and the recently slain comrades of Red Vienna by Dollfuss fascist murderers

Sunday, March 4th, at 3, at C.S.P.S. Hall, 1149 W. 18th St. Frank Crosswaith will be the principal speaker. A two-act drama "The Last Day" depicting the fall of Paris Commune will be presented, while the Youth Section of Branch 1 will stage "The Labor Brigade." Singing will be by Branch Chorus "Sava."

Michigan

Next S.E.C. meeting at Albion, Sunday, March 11.

Wayne County.—Special red card meeting to nominate two candidates to the National Convention at headquarters, 225 E. Forest, Mon., Mar. 5, at 8. Dinner by the Women's Federation at 6.

Comrades are reminded of the Paris Commune Ball at McCollister Hall, March 16.

Plans are rapidly going ahead for the National Convention.

Branch 1.—Speaker at Wednesday propaganda meeting Larry Davidson on "Taxes and Tax Dodgers." At the Saturday evening open meeting, Mar. 3, Dr. W. E. Chalmers, former professor at the University of Wisconsin, on "Can Labor Organize?"

Branch 2.—Sidney Byfield speaker at regular Friday evening forum at branch headquarters, 1032 Mack Ave.

Women's International Day, March 4, being observed with special program by Wayne County Federation of Socialist Women. The program includes symposium on "Woman's Place in the Political Field Today," speakers Miss Grace H. Brown, League of Women Voters; Mrs. Katherine Lowrie, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Mrs. Meta Risenman of the Socialist Party. There will also be music and folk dancing. Meeting to be held at 225 E. Forest Ave., Detroit, Sun., Mar. 4, at 7:30.

Frank Crosswaith, here recently for a week's lecturing, was enthusiastically received everywhere. Overflow meetings were the order of the day. He spoke at Battle Creek, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Detroit, Ann Arbor and Lansing. Comrade Crosswaith said he is convinced the healthy growth of the party in Michigan is a reflection of the party's progress throughout the country. He further said he was particularly impressed by the alertness and activity of the comrades in the cities removed from the industrial centers in Michigan, where progress has been made under the most difficult circumstances.

West Virginia

The veteran Socialist lecturer, F. G. Strickland, will speak in Huntington Mar. 12; Charleston, 13; South Charleston, 14; Dry Branch, 15.

Elaborate preparations are being made by Local Charleston for the three Strickland meetings in Kanawha County. This will soon be the banner local. The last Strickland meeting added 25 new members to the local.

Plans are under way for a summer school to begin about July 1 and different locations are being considered by the committee. A number of students are already enrolled.

New Jersey

West New York.—William M. Feigenbaum, associate editor of The New Leader, will speak Sunday, March 4, at 2:30, at the Labor Lyceum, 17th St. cor. Tyler Place, on "Corruption in Politics."

Passaic.—Business meeting of Branch 1 Friday evening, March 2, at 585 Main Ave. Workers' Educational Class meets each Monday at 8:30 P. M.

Ypsilanti meet each Wednesday at 8:30 P. M. General membership meeting of Local Passaic Saturday, March 10, at 8 P. M. at 66 Washington St., Paterson. First Annual Dance and Entertainment of S.P. Branches and YPSL of Passaic, Sunday evening, March 11, at Ritz Ballroom. Everyone welcome.

Dover Branch meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday in the rooms of the Progressive Club at 13 S. Sussex St.

We expect to organize a Y.P.S.L. in the near future. Any interested person between 16 and 25 living in Dover or vicinity should communicate with Mrs. Allen Hahn, 90 W. Clinton St., Dover, N.J.

Connecticut

Bridgeport.—Local Bridgeport has nominated for delegates to the National Convention: Devere Allen, Jack C. Bergen, Walter E. Davis, Arnold E. Freese, Jasper McLevy, and Martin F. Plunkett. Hamden.—Fred Schwarzkopf, city clerk of Bridgeport, will speak at Cooperative Hall, corner of Whitney Ave. and School St., Thursday night, March 8, at 8. The meeting will be held to increase the Hamden circulation of the Socialist state paper, The Commonwealth.

The following have been nominated by Local Hamden as delegates to the National Convention: Walter E. Davis, Arnold E. Freese, Jasper McLevy, Martin F. Plunkett, Mrs. Fleming James and Carl M. Rhodin.

Easton.—Newly elected party officers for Local Easton: town chairman, Edward P. Mills; financial sec'y, Bruno Bartosik; treasurer, Mrs. Oscar Johnson; recording sec'y, Dorothy L. Allen; registrar of voters, John J. Anderson; publicity agent, Vincent Bartosik. A Socialist Study Group meets at 8 o'clock each Tuesday night at the homes of members.

Norwalk.—Despite bad weather, increased interest is being shown in the Socialist study and discussion group which meets each Wednesday night at headquarters, 608 West Ave. In addition to the study of the elements of Socialism, the class is studying parliamentary law and current events are discussed from a Socialist viewpoint.

New York

Convention Stamps.—Convention assessment stamps have been sent to all locals for sale to members. Every dues-paying member is expected to purchase at least one. Members, other than those taking exempt stamps on account of unemployment, will not be deemed in good standing if they have not bought a convention assessment stamp before June 1st. This assessment is necessary to defray the railway fare of National and State convention delegates.

Syracuse.—Secretary Irene Blayzor of Local Onondaga County announces that there are four branches in process of organization, a Central Branch, Nedrow Branch, and two University branches. Branches have been asked to send representatives to a central committee on the basis of one delegate for every five members.

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Throughout the sixteen years of its existence, the Soviet Union has met all of its obligations without resort to moratoriums, "stand-still agreements" or reductions of any kind.

It has displaced leading powers of the world in point of industrial production and now stands second only to the United States. The First Five Year Plan involved an expenditure of \$26 billion at par for the national economy.

While other nations have been staggering under the impact of the depression the Soviet Union has reduced its total of foreign obligations by 67%. For the year 1933, exports exceeded imports by \$75 million. The budget

of the U. S. S. R. is balanced with a surplus.

With a gold production in 1933 of more than \$50 million and a gold reserve in the issue department of the State Bank of the U.S.S.R. of \$416 million, the total bonded gold debt of the Soviet Union is less than \$15 million—less than that of the average small American City. Its commercial indebtedness, about \$250 million, is less than even the funded debt of any one of several American cities.

These achievements are due directly to the State Planning System—in control of every factor affecting Soviet national economy.

FOR THE FORESIGHTED INVESTOR

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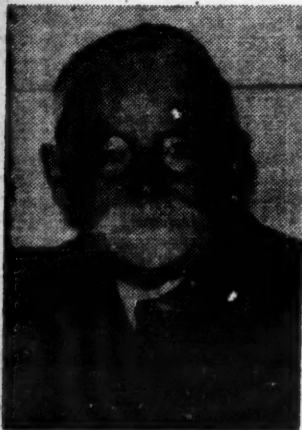
Soviet American Securities Corp.
30 Broad Street New York City

Max Winter in Appeal For Austrian Children

(Continued from Page One)

After that, he will speak incessantly wherever an audience can be found, for the cause of the Vienna children is dear to him—dearer than anything else.

Max Winter is one of the Vienna Socialists who have given the movement in that city its



Max Winter

peculiar beauty. Warm, human, lover of his fellowmen, and especially of children, the young people have always been his particular concern. An active Socialist all his life, he gave all his time for many years to the youth movement, despite his 64 years, his gray beard and the fact that he has "a very nice grandchild," as he said with a look of love in his eye.

Living in the suburb of Press-

baum, Comrade Winter lived through the agony of the fighting in Vienna, and on February 15th left on his errand of mercy. He conferred with Friedrich Adler in Zurich, with the French Socialists in Paris and with the British Socialists in London. There he boarded the Olympic to make his appeal to the generosity and the solidarity of the American workers.

Unable, because of fear for the welfare of his family and comrades back home, to speak as freely as he would like, Comrade Winter, nevertheless, spoke with feeling of the work of the Socialists in Vienna and the destruction wrought by the Dollfuss assassins.

"Brain and heart," he declared, "together have erected the wonderful palaces for families poor in the world's goods, but rich in children. The iron fist, inspired by Heimwehr mentality, destroyed all the work of peace and culture in no more than ten hours."

"Therefore, I say this to my American friends: We must prepare a future in which the fists do not rule, in which only brain and heart rule, in which the human soul rules. We can prepare this future if we educate our children to be thinking, upright, helpful men and women."

Comrade Winter is saving his principal message for the Sunday meeting, at which he will tell his story to the whole country. Until then, he is becoming acquainted with his American comrades and acquainting them with a peculiarly warm and delightful personality.

The Code Conferences

(Continued from Page One)

recognized by Gen. Johnson in his radio speech of February 20, when he referred to the conference as the holding of a "responsible and representative industrial and economic congress—not merely of commentators—but of the controlling units of practically the whole of industry and commerce in the United States acting in partnership with and, under the ultimate control of government itself." That Gen. Johnson had in mind the workers as "controlling units" of industry and commerce is hardly possible.

But the conference, while it will be overwhelmingly representative of the management and ownership of business and industry, will be something entirely new in America. The general purpose is defined to bring the code and other procedure of NRA as "near perfection as possible."

To this end it is announced that consideration will be given to the "possibilities of increasing employment, protection against destructive competition and against excessive prices and monopolistic tendencies, the elimination of inequalities and inconsistencies in codes; the position of small enterprises; and the problem of code administration and the organization of industry for self-government." It is significant that only one of these subjects, the possibility of increasing employment, is of direct interest to labor in the present economic crisis.

THE BONUS AND BANKING BOYS

Startling revelations by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee of the huge sums lent by big corporations to Wall Street speculators in 1929 and the even greater sums paid in salaries and bonuses to corporation executives in 1929 and 1932, have deeply impressed Washington.

The facts, in general terms, have been known for years and

have been frequently cited by organized labor and the Socialist Party as evidence of how capital exploited the workers during the "boom" years. Both trade unionists and Socialists have emphasized that stock speculation encouraged by the banks and corporations as a factor in bringing the 1929 crash and that payment of exorbitant salaries and "bonuses" to the "big boys" was continued while wages were being slashed right and left.

The revelation of how the great corporations aided and abetted in the gambling mania of 1929 moved even the grandmotherly and ultra-conservative Washington Evening Star to pointed comment. "Said the Star, in the course of an editorial on 'Gambling Made Easy':

"The point of the whole matter is that these great concerns were able, through amassing huge surpluses, to aid in the tremendous stimulation of speculation in the stock market, and that they were not only able but willing to do so. 'The country would have been far better off if these huge surpluses had not been permitted to roll up and then to be used to stimulate the gambling fever of the people. The very fact that such surpluses were developed shows there was a failure to distribute profits made in the industries to the labor and capital which made these industries possible.

"And the very fact that these surpluses were used to stimulate stock market gambling demonstrates the vicious circle."

A NEW POLITICAL COMBINATION?

Is the Roosevelt Administration building up a new political party, a party of liberals, so-called? Some astute Washington observers of the political scene answer "Yes."

The new party, these observers believe, may bear the Democratic label but it will have little in common with the old Democratic party.

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

Chicago.

If the Hearings Are Honest

If these code hearings at Washington are honest they will bring out these facts which I have learned at first hand throughout the country:

1. Since October employment outside of CWA has been steadily falling.

2. Average hours are 40—and this limit is contemptuously violated when it pays employers—although to absorb any great proportion of the unemployed they should be 30 or less.

3. Since June average wages for the individual worker have fallen about 2% by the most optimistic estimates.

4. Monopolistic profiteering price-fixing has become general with alleged sanction of the codes and the President's price raising program.

5. Enforcement is an evil-smelling joke. There is no "cracking down" except where labor is strong enough to do the cracking.

In the South textile manufacturers evade or defy collective bargaining and nullify decisions directing them to take back workers dismissed for union activities. From August until now Fifth Avenue Coach employees in New York have vainly sought even an order from the Labor Board. Ford workers on strike in Edgewater, N. J., since October got no help until a recent belated gesture. Chevrolet workers in St. Louis, who got a favorable decision from the Labor Board on February 13, have seen scores of new workers employed in defiance of the order while leaders in the union are left in the cold.

6. There is a tendency for employers, some NRA officials, and some judges to use the codes as a straitjacket to force the workers to join one union as against another and to refrain from striking.

7. Company unions are flourishing under the present interpretation of Section 7a.

These things may be improved by changes in the law and its enforcement. There will be no satisfactory solution on the basis of an impossible partnership between workers and profit-making industry. The lion and the lamb only lie down together when both are sea-sick. The lion of profit has recovered his sea legs. It will take more than a code, a voluntary code at that, to hold him.

Unrest Is Growing

ALL over the country unrest is increasing.

Workers dropped from CWA are not being absorbed in agriculture or industry. A recent issue of a local paper in the afflicted lead mining belt in Missouri announced on the same page that the biggest lead mine was reducing operations to ten days a month and that CWA was laying off workers. The government invites riots. A newspaper study of the solid proletarian region, the dreary manufacturing towns in Illinois across the Mississippi from St. Louis, showed that in the next four months the maximum re-employment in the corporations controlled by Andy Mellon and his ilk would be about one-tenth of the registered unemployed and one-half those now on CWA. In local areas old party politics curse CWA worse than in metropolitan centers.

Loree's Labor Plan

PERHAPS the first labor revolt may begin with transportation workers out of Kansas City on the Kansas City Southern. A strike seems inevitable, beginning March 1st, unless the President forces the railroad to abandon its announced intention to put into effect its new labor plan. This plan is the work of clever officials of a road whose head is none other than that aggressive, bulldozing old railroader, L. F. Loree, last and purest survivor of the labor-hating, public-be-damned type of corporation executive. He has recently been making statements in Canada and in Scranton, Pa., to the

Roosevelt party would be a better name for it, they say.

Undoubtedly, there is ground for believing that what Roosevelt is doing may bring the long predicted re-alignment of political parties. Both old parties, it is pointed out, have conservative and liberal wings. The Roosevelt Administration is apparently seeking to enlist the active support of liberals of both parties in the "New Deal." Out of this a new party could emerge.

Democratic endorsement of Senator Hiram Johnson of California



Norman Thomas

effect that a 50% wage cut would restore prosperity and that railroads would pay 20% dividends on the 1913 wage scale.

The Kansas City Southern plan looks at first like better pay for conductors and engineers. But it abolishes the provision for paying by hours or miles—whichever is better for the workers; it leaves the company entirely free to speed up freight and to work men 16 hours a day without overtime. Still worse, it deprives them of effective protection by the union. It is one of the cleverest attempts to break down labor standards I have ever seen. The railroad management is getting endorsements from its company unions which enroll all its workers outside the transportation brotherhoods. It tells reporters the lie that the Brotherhoods won't consent to modification of so-called arbitrary rules. It misrepresents the findings of an emergency board which was appointed by the President to investigate last summer, and the board itself seemed bias or stupid enough almost to believe that a Loree railroad wanted to change its schedules and scales to help the workers!

The Brotherhoods have a fine case. It is a calamity that organized labor hasn't cracked the company unions and that it doesn't do as good a job as it might in explaining its position. But watch Kansas City and the railroad workers! A real strike may easily spread. Better a strike than capitulation of labor's strongest organizations, the Brotherhoods.

There Ought to Be a Strike

NOW ought to be time for a general strike in the auto industry to force better hours, better wages and effective unionization. There is a strike of Nash workers. Chevrolet workers in St. Louis are organized and discontent. The Labor Board at last is backing Ford workers in the East. The industry is on the upgrade with orders to fill. In spite of very weak A. F. of L. leadership, especially in the all-important Detroit area, even now vigorous action by the A. F. of L. to make the auto industry a test for the workers would get results. It would require united support for a real campaign. Will it be forthcoming?

A Fruitful Trip

NEVER have I seen more or learned more on any trip. My thanks to all comrades. Congratulations to Kansas on setting its Socialist house in better order and to the very promising Missouri organization! Bravest of all are those Arkansas comrades who are standing by our Socialist attack on share cropping and the A.A.A. plan which makes even these serfs more miserable. In spite of social and economic pressure, they are answering our newspaper and official critics and they are working on the problem of organizing these terribly exploited fellow-workers of ours.

Austria—and the Communists

EVERYWHERE the Austrian Socialist struggle has put new heart into our movement. And the extraordinary way in which American Communists have done the work of fascists for them by their Daily Worker stories and their Madison Square Garden attack has clarified the issues of our relations with these irresponsible destroyers of the labor movement. The more zealous and intelligent must be our work to compensate for the help the Communists bring to reaction and fascism in America.

A Picture of Fascism

WHAT Fascism means is shown by a recent United Press dispatch. I quote it: "BERLIN, Feb. 22.—The newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* reported today that an unnamed Catholic prison chaplain had been dismissed and put under protective custody in the state of Hesse.

"The charge was that he 'conveyed to a condemned Communist, before his execution, the idea of dying a martyr, like Christ,' the newspaper said, with the result that the condemned man went to the scaffold composed.

"Nazi headquarters at Frankfurt, commenting on the incident, said that the priest's act was one of blasphemy, the newspaper said, and added: 'There is no room in the Third Reich for such people.'

for re-election showed plainly the trend of Roosevelt political policy. The President's naming of Harold I. Ickes, a "Progressive Republican," to his cabinet and appointments to lesser posts of "Roosevelt Republicans" indicated his policy even before he took office. But before the 1932 election, Candidate Roosevelt's wooing of Republican "Progressives" such as LaFollette of Wisconsin, Cutting of New Mexico, and others, showed the trend. The "Progressives" supported Roosevelt and now the Administration can hardly do any-

thing except support them for re-election and see that they get a goodly slice of political pie.

On the other hand, Democratic conservatives who did not support Roosevelt are out of luck. They are not getting the patronage they think they are entitled to under a Democratic President, but they are afraid to squawk very loudly, however much they may grumble in private. They fear that the President's popularity is such that they would get nowhere with a revolt. So they stay on the Roosevelt reservation.