

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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N. Y. C. Edition

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PRICE FIVE CENTS

Fascist Squads Fight for Exploiters; Disfranchise Labor, Urged in N. Y.

Martyrs of Labor Struggle Die In the "Model" Town of Kohler

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Walter J. Kohler's refusal "to permit workers' organization" and unionization by "outside agitators" was condemned as "toryism and feudalism" in a sweeping broadside against conservative capitalists by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John A. Ryan, Washington, nationally known Catholic university educator at the University of Wisconsin summer school at Madison, where he is teaching.

While federal mediators, union officials, and Walter J. Kohler, president of the Kohler company, were negotiating for a settlement of the strike at the Kohler plant, 7,000 Sheboygan trade unionists and members of the Workers' Committee on Unemployment staged a parade in honor of the two labor martyrs killed by "special police" and thugs on the Kohler picket lines.

Led by a color guard of members of Federal Labor Union No. 18,545 and of the Workers' Committee on Unemployment carrying outstretched a huge American flag, more than 7,000 men and women marched four abreast solemnly and silently in honor of Lee Wakefield and Henry Engleman, the two martyrs of the class struggle murdered in the village of Kohler by company-hired special police and deputies.

The march was a silent one, without music. Neither was the parade led or escorted by police.

These two men fell in the murderous fire of the flunkies of former Governor Kohler, a conservative Republican who has consistently refused to recognize the A. F. of L. union with which his workers are affiliated.

Al Benson, Socialist candidate for Sheriff of Milwaukee County, played a prominent part in the organization of the Kohler workers. Benson spoke several times to the employees during the last year.

Both Benson and George Nelson, Socialist gubernatorial candidate, spoke to the strikers last week and were well received. They were on the picket lines several hours. Later these two men spoke to an enthusiastic crowd of over 5,000 at Sheboygan.

The men have been out on strike since July 16, and until the night when they were fired upon by the armed thugs of the company, had kept a perfect picket line, permitting nobody, except Kohler himself, to enter or leave the plant.

Large numbers of the strikers from the village of Kohler, Sheboygan and Sheboygan Falls had organized the lines perfectly, having the pickets hold long ropes, and marching back and forth with these.

Several times tear gas bombs had been thrown, but little violence was committed until the company began bringing in large numbers of so-called special police, who were given their police power by the president of the village of Kohler, a mere flunky of the company, and by the sheriff of Sheboygan County.

On the night of the battle, the pickets had massed around the plant and the Kohler guards and

deputies marched insolently up and down High Street in the village, with guns in their hands. Trucks with mounted machine guns rode back and forth.

Sympathizers from neighboring cities swelled the crowd. The trouble started when the women and children threw stones, as the thugs deliberately provoked the people. Then the armed guards started to hurl tear gas bombs as the crowd let go with a barrage of bricks and clubs.

Then out of the plant came squad upon squad of armed men, with machine guns, riot guns, rifles, revolvers and tear gas bombs. Kneeling down in military style they fired into the mass of men, women and children. People fell right and left, blood covering their faces and clothes.

Many of these paid killers had on black shirts, a fascist symbol. As they advanced, firing, the crowd melted away. But still the black-shirted squads fired as mostly backs were seen. Both Wakefield and Engleman died of wounds in the back, evidence that the cowardly murderers were shooting at anything that could be hit.

Ambulances from the nearby towns carried away the dead and wounded to Sheboygan, where most of them lived. In the meantime, the guards took possession of the town and drove out all the strikers and sympathizers, and established a martial law of their own.

Captain E. R. Schuelke, an officer in the Wisconsin national guard and an employee of the Kohler company, was in charge of the company guards. By the next morning the first members of the national guard had arrived and had taken the place of the private company guards, who were stripped of their weapons and badges. They put up their tents around the plant and began patrolling the streets.

Strike leaders preferred the national guard to the private thugs of the company, and soon the picket lines were effective again. The strikers organized all the pickets into shifts, and although they permitted girl employees to pass through the lines, as well as

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Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman

Special Correspondent

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT received the first shock of his homecoming when reports were made to him that instead of abating, the drought emergency had increased 300 per cent since he left. As he rode through miles of burn-up farm land in Montana, he received the latest reports of the steadily mounting drought damage from Lawrence Westbrook, assistant federal relief administrator, who has just completed a tour of stricken sections.

The drought damage has increased 380 per cent since Congress adjourned. It covers 60 per cent of the country. Some 26,000,000 persons have been struck by this calamity. The peak of the suffering and hardship has not been reached. Federal aid, now authorized, will barely hold out until Congress meets in January, and more help will have to be authorized then, Mr. Westbrook told the President. This blow strikes deep and its effects will not be overcome in a season.

Some Stark Realities

Thus President Roosevelt turned from what he calls practical dreams of the future to stark realities of the present. For three days he has been inspecting the sites of giant power, navigation and irrigation enterprises which he hopes will turn a desert into Elysian fields where millions of machine-age husbandmen will, with the aid of man-made rain and cheap power, live in comfortable prosperity.

Now he steps out of this land of dreams into one where men who also had dreams came thousands of miles by wagon and on foot, and by heroic labor built farm houses which nature has now, in effect, burned to cinders. Between 380,000 and 400,000 families in the twenty drought states are on relief as a result of the drought. At least 10 per cent of these, 30,000 to 40,000 families, will have to move if they want a fighting chance in the future, Mr. Westbrook estimates.

As severe as this shock was to Mr. Roosevelt, it is not the only one. Many more await him when he returns to Washington.

A. F. of L.'s Threats

Once in a while we hear some

(Continued on Page Five)

WEVD New Leader Speaker

Comrade Sidney Hertzberg will be the speaker of The New Leader period of Station WEVD (1390 Kc) Friday, August 17th, from 5:30 to 5:45 p.m.

Samuel H. Friedman, Labor Editor of The New Leader, speaks Friday, August 17th, at the same hour.

A. F. of L. Hints at Socialization, Masters Advise an Oligarchy

IT will soon be five years since the American industrial system became paralyzed. Other nations slumped with it. The only peoples not affected by this world disaster are those who live in regions remote from "civilization." The savage does not worry over food and shelter. We do.

The NRA held out hopes to those knowing little about a system where workers produce without owning and owners enjoy without producing. These hopes are now vanishing. *Organized workers and farmers are becoming tired of talk.*

Organized workers are now talking and acting. The largest number of strikes in our history occurred in 1919 with 3,630. In the year ending July 1, 1934, striking reached the all-highest peak, a total of 4,277. A majority of the disputes were due to dissatisfaction with Section 7-A of the N.I.R.A.

With ten million workers still unemployed, the NRA codes being administered by the employing classes, the cost of living rising and the exploiters of labor fighting even moderate demands of the workers, the American Federation of Labor's monthly survey of the situation carries a statement that is significant. We quote:

"When private business is not able to resume its functions, then society is forced to take over the means of production. It is essential to get the unemployed back to work producing wealth."

This is a historic declaration. *If society takes over the means of production it would mean the complete abolition of the industrial system, the discharge of its owners, with society inheriting the powers for producing, exchanging, transporting and distributing wealth. This would forever put an end to industrial crises with their accompanying misery and starvation. Human society—all of us—would socially own and master our jobs and there would be no profit-takers to filch from us a cent of what we produce. Do the labor chiefs mean this?*

Now comes the New York State Economic Council, representing the big shots of capital and finance. It presents a fifteen-point program. That report reads like an answer to the A. F. of L. It is one class speaking to another class.

The Economic Council is opposed to society owning the means of production. It wants the present idle owners of idle industries to continue in their ownership. *The issue between the owners of idle labor power and the owners of idle capital is squarely put.*

These masters of capital and finance urge laws to disfranchise all who are on the public relief rolls! The very gentlemen who have hurled millions into idleness now propose to penalize their victims by taking their votes away from them!

They appear to be frightened because of the fists they see in the depths of the social hell into which workers are plunged. "Take their voting power from them," the big shots cry. It is insolence heaped upon measureless misery.

But this is not all. They want laws prohibiting sympathetic and general strikes. They want legislation limiting the picketing of strikers and a law limiting taxation of real estate to 2 per cent of its value.

They oppose compulsory unemployment, health or sickness insurance. They oppose any extension of the Old Age Security Law and ratification of the Federal Child Labor Amendment! They insist on the jobless masses vegetating in the hell that has overwhelmed them, *living like animals and, like animals, considered unfit to vote!*

Here are two programs in utter conflict with each other, one that society operate the means of production for the welfare of all, and the other which proposes reducing the workers to serfdom and ripping out of the statute books what few labor measures have been placed there by generations of protest, sacrifice and struggle.

One means industrial democracy and the other means capitalist autocracy; one freedom, the other slavery; one life, the other death; one the abolition of capitalism, the other its preservation with all its miseries and starvation.

Which do you prefer?

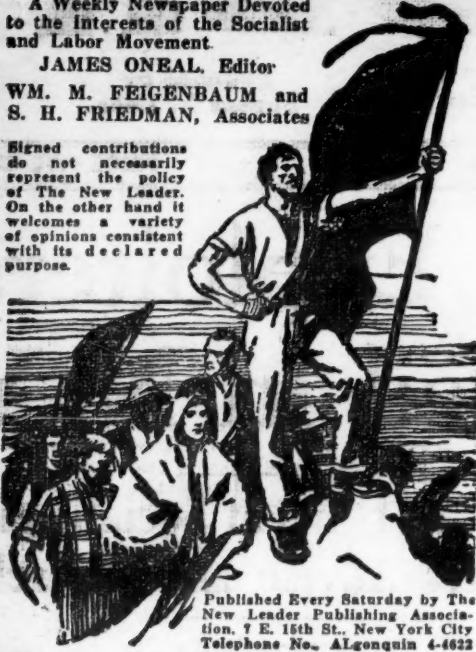
NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM and S. H. FRIEDMAN, Associates

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.



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IN THE DROUGHT AREA

ONE of the greatest calamities in American history is the drought that has stricken a vast section of the interior, completely uprooting 250,000 farm families, destroying crops and compelling the slaughter of animals to prevent their dying of starvation. This comes after the government had planned the destruction of part of some crops and the restriction of others.

Nature has done what the government planned to do but did it on a more vast scale. The misery of the masses is the price paid for "planning" under the capitalist system of production. A Socialist society

alone can arrange for the volume of goods required in every occupation and provide for storage of a sufficient surplus to meet such an emergency situation that now has overwhelmed millions of human beings.

First the paralysis of industry, then the financial collapse, then "planning" to restore capitalism, and now Nature heaps misery upon misery. The working masses of this country constitute a giant not yet knowing how to break its chains. *When it breaks them the sun of Socialism will dawn upon a stricken world.*

A QUACK DOCTOR

AN article by Neil Carothers, Professor of Economics in Lehigh University, has evoked general approval in the capitalist world. He reviews the major industrial depressions in this country since 1837, pointing out that each was followed by recovery and concluding that capitalism, by its own inherent laws, will again provide the healing balms that will restore it to health. He reviews the processes by which capitalism emerged out of previous disasters.

It is soothing syrup which the intellectual policeman of capitalism always keeps in stock, but he does not consider the fact that the present collapse means not an ordinary depression but the breakdown of the system itself. Human beings also have a history of illness after illness from which they recover. Sometimes the human organism provides its own curatives, but there comes a time when the accumulation of the effects of former diseases, coupled with old age, means the end of life itself. It is something like this that has happened to world capitalism.

The first depression of 1837 affected only a few nations. Those that followed included more and more nations, and the present one is world wide. The disease has penetrated to all the world organs of the capitalist system and to compare it with the infant diseases of the system is to play the role of quack doctor when the Socialist expert is necessary for the job.

CIVILIAN CONSCRIPTS?

THE military mind is thick and stodgy. It thinks of pompous orders issued to human beings who become cattle in the hands of uniformed dandies. When the conscript comes into their hands he becomes a slave whose brains might as well be scooped out as they become useless.

We are accustomed to this sort of thing in standing

armies, but many of these martinets would like to also bring civilians under their command. Major General John F. O'Ryan, police commissioner of New York's "progressive" administration, is of this type. He would register and fingerprint aliens, bring the trade unions under a license system similar to the "police unions" under the rule of the late Russian Czar Nicholas, and peace-time registration of the masses to prepare them for the role of cannon fodder in war.

Keep your hands off, General! We know your kind and know for what you stand.

YES, HEIL HITLER

HITLER becomes the supreme Poobah of Germany but when German capitalism continues to sink so low that even housewives are ordered to save pieces of string and tin cans, we know that the situation is becoming desperate. Because of this, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht has been appointed financial and economic dictator, a confession by Adolph that in these spheres he is helpless. Schacht is rationing all non-ferrous metals, including lead, copper, nickel, zinc, tin and their alloys. Ration cards are issued to manufacturers and hours of labor have been reduced in the textile industry to avoid exhaustion of the raw material supply.

In other words, German capitalism, as a result of the world boycott and world crisis, is back to the rationing that preceded its collapse in the World War. *Hitler's bombast will butter no bread and his dictatorship cannot cure diseased capitalism.* Heil Hitler, who is doomed to be a prisoner of the social revolution!

POST-WAR REVOLUTIONS

TWENTY years ago the World War broke out and in this period 45 nations have gone through revolutions of one type or another. These revolutions have affected the lives of at least 1,300,000,000 people. Most of these revolutions have occurred in Europe and Latin-America. One type of upheaval came at the end of the World War and the other came as a result of the world depression.

Surveying the whole period, it is evident that the capitalist system is convulsed by its internal disease and these ills will contribute to its final extinction. Like a horrible nightmare, it will become only a hideous memory for those who live in the Socialist democracy of the future.

HOPE FOR PEACE IS WITH SOCIALISTS, JACOB PANKEN SAYS

The Austrian workers and Socialists are waiting for the moment to strike off their shackles, Jacob Panken declared over Station WEVD, last week on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the declaration of war.

"They permit the Nazis and Fascists to kill each other off. At the opportune moment they will step in to take over the Austrian government and secure democracy for their people. The trades unionists and Socialists of Germany are working underground like ants to maintain their organization. They, too, let the Nazis kill each other off.

"A military dictatorship may replace the Hitler regime. But it will not last long. When the Socialists and trade unionists of Germany will take over the German government, then, through democracy will be secured the hope for world peace, dependent upon the race between the Socialists and workers and reaction in Austria, Germany and elsewhere.

"The world is now divided into two camps. The dictatorial governments and the democratic governments. Within the dictatorial governments the people are restless.

"The Socialist and Labor International is marshalling the organized Socialists of the world for peace and against war.

"In association with the International Federation of Trades Unions, if the peace of the world is threatened it will order a general strike of the workers. It will strike at the source of the supply of munitions of war. The hope for peace is with the Socialist and Labor International and the Trades Union Movement."

Indiana Is Fifth State to Adopt The New Leader as Official Organ

DURING the black post-war period of apathy and contentment on the part of workers it was difficult for the Socialist Party of this country to maintain a weekly paper. One by one a hundred or more weeklies were destroyed by government persecution during the World War. After the public authorities had accomplished their work hardly a dozen party weeklies survived.

Then came the illusive period of Hoover and Coolidge prosperity and the masses were content, indifferent to Socialist propaganda. One by one of the remaining weeklies died of neglect, except the Reading Labor Advocate and possibly one or two others that are now forgotten.

The New York Daily Call passed into oblivion for the same reason and The New Leader as a party weekly succeeded it in January, 1924. That was the year of a political upheaval of Socialists, trade unions and farmer organizations supporting an independent ticket for the presidency. Then came more apathy and in the succeeding years New York Socialists at great sacrifice provided the party with the only weekly in English with a national circulation. There were times when it appeared that the burden was too great to carry but we struggled on, keeping the Socialist torch burning.

After the collapse in 1929 there were signs of life, of awakening of the workers and the rebuilding of the Socialist Party. The circulation of The New Leader began slowly to increase and to expand into many states. Not rapidly, to be sure, but slowly and surely. Party organizations in other states began to help and today The New Leader is the

chosen organ of five state organizations of the Socialist Party. These include New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, California and now Indiana.

The New Leader is in receipt of a letter from Emma Henry, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Indiana, stating that The New Leader has been made the official organ of the party in that state. Comrade Henry writes:

"This is officially to inform you of the action of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Indiana, in session Sunday, July 29, at Marion, Indiana, relative to their opinion of Socialist papers.

"The following motion was adopted: 'That we make The New Leader the approved organ of the Socialist Party of Indiana and that the State Secretary stand instructed to notify The New Leader of our action.' This was carried unanimously.

"In the discussion all agreed that as a Socialist paper for party members The New Leader is the best in the field and advised every

member to subscribe."

Indiana is the old home of 'Gene Debs and Comrade Henry has for years been active in keeping up the slender party organization in her state. With the change in economic conditions she and other veteran Socialists have built up a fine organization.

What organization will be next to follow the example of these five states? We shall be glad to hear from others and enroll more states in The New Leader family.

George Meany Pleads For Slum Clearance

The necessity for slum clearance and for the construction of low-cost homes for workers was emphasized last week in a speech by George Meany, vice-president of the New York State Federation of Labor, over Station WEVD.

"The experience of a trip through the slum districts of New York would be enough to convert the most callous to this point of view," Meany declared. "Ramshackle tenements, unsanitary in every sense of the word, would greet you on every side—small, dingy rooms, dark hallways and rooms into which the sunlight never penetrates."

In pleading for the immediate initiation of such a program he pointed out that approximately 71 per cent of the 200,000 building trades workers are unemployed and about thirteen per cent are working part-time.

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

RAND SCHOOL STATION WEVD AND NEW LEADER IN EDUCATIONAL COURSE

The first Tuesday evening after Labor Day, at 10 p. m., Radio Station WEVD will inaugurate Social Problems Round Table under the auspices of the Rand School for Social Service and The New Leader. This will be the first elaborate Socialist radio series for and by party members.

Three leading party spokesmen will be heard each Tuesday night and the following speakers have been invited: Charles Solomon, James Oneal, Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Jacob Panken, B. C. Vladeck, Harry W. Laidler, Algernon Lee, Frank Crosswaith, August Claessens and Gertrude Weil Klein. It is tentatively planned that during each session one speaker will discuss public affairs, another will talk on Socialist theory, and the third speaker will present a review of the week's news from the Socialist point of view.

There has been a good deal of discussion about the possibility of inviting party members to come to the Rand School auditorium, from which center the broadcasts might emanate. An expression of opinion from party members as to whether or not they would be interested in attending such sessions and also give their views on how this series should be organized before the final plan is released is desired. Address suggestions to George Field, care of Radio Station WEVD, Hotel Claridge, New York City.

New Locals and Branches
Arkansas: El Dorado; Indiana: Seymour; Ohio: Cambridge, Stow; Pennsylvania: Alverda, Punxsutawney; West Virginia: Century; Washington: Everett (Nooksack branch), Meade, Rapid, Seattle (Branch No. 3)

THE NEW LEADER, a Socialist publication, supports the Socialist Party and the struggle 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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LABOR SECTION

As the Paper Goes to Press: Late Labor Developments

IN NEW YORK:

Mayor LaGuardia and Welfare Commissioner Hodson defended the discharge of thousands of relief workers. . . . Dress salesmen demand recognition and a code. . . . Occupational classification of wages in the undergarment and negligee industry is the goal of a field survey which will soon be started. . . . The PWA Board of Labor Review is investigating the charge that Local 102 of the International Laborers' and Hod Carriers' Union got its charter by bribery and is really a company union; meanwhile the strike of other workers on the Midtown Hudson Tunnel project is being settled. . . . A stoppage in the 11 service trades (barbers, laundries, cleaners and dyers, tailors, shoe repairers, linen suppliers, chair and auto renters, exterminators and bowling alleys) was called, with parades, demonstrations and mass meetings, to demand intrastate fair practice codes. . . . The collective bargaining agreement between mason contractors and bricklayer employees was signed, effective Monday. . . . The council of Actors' Equity Association passed regulations limiting the extent of daily rehearsals in the legitimate theatre. . . . Compliance labels must be attached to neckties, starting Monday, or else—, warns Louis Fuchs, business manager of the Neckwear Union (men's). . . . The ACW has completed registration of the 200 members of the clothing manufacturers' exchange. . . . Coat and Suit Impartial Chairman Alger will try to arbitrate the strike of truckmen in that market. . . . The Mayor and Mrs. Herrick are trying to stop a threatened strike of delicatessen and restaurant workers. . . . Justice Edward Riegelman refused to issue an injunction asked by a Bronx cafeteria owner: "Picketing without a strike (to organize a shop) is not unlawful." . . . Homework for kids in the artificial flower industry and other fancy trades starts again soon, the National Child Labor Committee reports.

OUTSIDE NEW YORK:

In Minneapolis, Governor Olson continues martial law; the bosses still won't give in, refusing to "surrender to Communists" (some of the truck drivers' strike leaders are Trotskyites); trucks operate under military permits where the employers agree to the conciliators' proposals; bosses are bombarding the President and the courts to stop that man Olson; the union doesn't care for him either.

In Man, Pa., the strike of the cigar workers, in which police gassed and slugged, will go to arbitration by the N.L.R.B. The claim is made that when wages are raised, the two-for-a-nickle cigars made there will have to be raised to three-for-a-dime. . . . The valiant strike of the shirt workers, ably led by Franz Daniel (Socialist Party N.E.C. member) and seconded by Louis Yagoda (former 6th A. D., Kings, booster), has been settled, thanks to the indomitability of tear-gassed but unfrightened girls.

In Champagne, Ill., 2,000 men and women attended a mass meeting of the Illinois Workers' Alliance—a record crowd addressed by Paul Rasmussen, organizer. . . . In Pekin, Ill., the sheriff is asking for militia to interfere in a strike at the American Distillery Co.'s plant, where 30 men were injured. Two hundred pickets surround the plant, and it's a rum go!

In Los Angeles, a Congressional hearing on Silver Shirt (Fascist) activities turned into an investigation of Communist activities; Captain Hynes of the Police "Intelligence" Department drew a horrendous picture of the imminent Communist menace in the city.

Helena, Montana's, two dailies were published for the first time in two months following an agreement that ended the printers' strike. The old wages continue but will be arbitrated Nov. 1. . . . Gardiner, Maine's, Hazzard shoe factory will reopen, the 700 strikers (Shoe Workers' Protective Union) agreeing to arbitration. . . . Ten thousand Lynn, Mass., shoe workers took a "working holiday" to protest the refusal of 30 out of 46 firms to renew the agreement expired Aug. 1. The strike will continue against recalcitrant firms, says General Agent Mackesey.

The Buffalo, N. Y., Joint Board, A.C.W.A., held its first annual picnic, entertaining 2,500, including 500 Rochester Amalgamated members. . . . Shirt workers, all girls, have been organizing, striking and winning upstate, especially around Troy and the Capital District, capably, fearlessly led by Organizer Mary Hillyer (Village Branch and L.I.D., New York City). The Rotary Shirt Co. was a hard nut to crack, but it opened! . . . In Malden, Mass., 100 unionists were arrested for trying to picket the Gregory & Read Wood Heel Co. plant. Police said no; clubs flashed, stones flew. . . . In Syracuse, N. Y., the retail grocers' convention decided to defeat organized labor's demands for shorter hours, higher wages than in the code. . . . In Reading, Pa., the American Federation of Hosiery Workers' officials are getting after code and agreement violators. The High Point, N. C., District Council of the same fighting union called on Glancy (of Harriman Mills fame) to quit dawdling with law violators and stop making a joke of compliance in the South. . . .

Washington announces: The National Labor Relations Board unanimously ruled that the Tamaqua (Pa.) Underwear Co. must immediately reinstate 61 employees discharged because, as members of the A.C.W.A., they refused to join the company's own private union. And if the company won't reinstate them, so what? . . . And General Johnson exempted 17 trades and services in small towns from whatever NRA hour and wage, etc., restrictions "hampered small business." . . .

To make it international, British unemployed went up another 23,000 in a month. And France, challenged by 180 Polish miners who hold 11 French miners imprisoned underground at Lens as a protest against government interference with radical activities, may end by deporting the Poles. . . .

I want to thank SAM ROMER, of Detroit; W. H. KAUFMAN, of Bellingham, Wash.; JOHN D. BOER, of New York, and E. T. F., just now of Los Angeles, for their gratifying letters, containing some praise and lots of good suggestions; and LOUIS YAGODA, MARY HILLYER, PAUL RASMUSSEN and PHILLIPS B. FREER for their news. . . .

Unemployment Insurance Next in Dress Trade

THE introduction of unemployment insurance in the dress industry will be the next demand of the I.L.G.W.U., officials informed the National Dress Manufacturers' Association this week. The union asked for a conference in the near future to plan the inauguration of such an insurance system.

Knit Goods Strike May Spread To Philadelphia and Cleveland

WITH about 15,000 of the 18,000 knit goods workers in New York and its environs out on general strike, officials of the Joint Council of Knit Goods Workers are planning to bring out the rest and to extend the walkout to Philadelphia and Cleveland unless manufacturers there also sign a collective agreement. Over 250 mills in Williamsburg, Ridgewood and Brownsville, Long Island, in other boroughs, and in Newark, Union City and West New York, N. J., are affected.

The strike followed breakdown of negotiations with the metropolitan association for a renewal of the agreement calling for union recognition and better conditions. The unions demand the 35-hour week, a reduction of two and a half hours below the current schedule; guaranteed minimum wage scales; recognition of the union, abolition of the speed-up system and some other minor provisions. Minimum wage demands range from \$18 to \$60 a week.

Salvatore Ninio, I.L.G.W.U. vice-president, heads the general strike committee, which includes Harry Greenberg and Charles Zimmerman, vice-presidents, and J. L. Goldberg, manager. The joint council comprises Local 155 of the I.L.G.W.U. and Locals 155 and 2085 of the U.T.W. Knitters, mechanics, hand and machine workers, warpers, winders, cutters, Singer operators, pressers, menders, loopers, finishers and examiners are among the thousands who poured into the streets in response to the call of the two unions. The first demonstration, which was a prelude to daily mass picketing, was before the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, which has been trying to launch company unions.

Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, vice-chairman of the Regional Labor

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Textile Workers' Union, Convening Monday, Faces Nation-Wide Problems

By Samuel H. Friedman

FACING momentous problems in the cotton, woolen and silk and rayon industries the United Textile Workers will open their sixth biennial convention Monday, the sessions at Hotel Woodstock lasting till the 18th. Originally the convention was to have been held in September, but the serious questions facing the organized textile workers of the nation necessitated an earlier call. Delegates, who are expected to total almost 500 and to set a record for attendance, were elected at short notice in the textile centers where the membership of the UTW has increased by leaps and bounds.

The convention will have before it consideration of the general cotton operatives' strike in Alabama, where about 12,000 workers are out and a number of organizers have been injured; the situation in the woolen and worsted industry, where a scheduled general strike had been averted by the intervention of the National Labor Board and an arbitration proposal accepted; the Harriman blue eagle controversy; the general textile revolt in the South, not only against the fact that the textile code wage provisions have not been lived up to but against the starvation and slave wages written into the very code itself; and the threatened permanent shutdown of the Hopewell, Va., rayon plant of the Tubize Chatillon Corp., which may leave the 1800 strikers without means of subsistence.

Other Problems

Reports will be made by the recently formed national divisions of the UTW. The pledges by Southern state federation of loyal support of any general textile strike called by the parent organizations will be heard. The problems naturally arising from the recent

A. F. of L. Executive Council Calls for Evaluation of NRA

ATLANTIC CITY.—The executive council of the American Federation of Labor, supreme council of the nation's organized workers, has been meeting here since Monday. So far, decisions reached, problems faced, comments made, are as follows:

The official call issued for the 54th annual convention in San Francisco this October First indicated that the delegates will appraise the NRA in light of labor's experience that "notwithstanding the plain provision of Section 7A, workers have been prevented from exercising the right to organize and to engage in collective bargaining through representatives of their own choosing." "The labor movement must make these provisions real, vital and operative," the call warns.

A. R. Glancy, NRA Divisional Compliance man, who restored the Blue Eagle to the Harriman Hosiery Mills, was severely scored, and the government was asked to reopen the matter, which is regarded as a test case.

A charter was granted to a new international union—the Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America—whose 10,000 recently acquired members were refused admittance into the tightly organized and jealously craft-conscious Window Glass Cutters' League (membership 1,000).

The proposal to assign the vegetable ivory button makers' local unions in Hoboken, Newark, Pittsfield, Mass., and Rochester, N. Y., to the A.C.W.A. was rejected, and they were continued as federal labor unions, affiliated directly with the A. F. of L.

The council refused to be seriously disturbed by the withdrawal of the Hudson Motor Co. local of the automobile workers' union. "They go and they come back; Detroit will be reorganized in a short time," was the consensus. News of further secessions in Michigan, of affiliation with the new Associated Automobile Workers of America, and revolt against National Representative William Collins hasn't reached the council yet.

Mayor Bacharach of Atlantic City was warned that his town might not get the Federation's 1936 convention if he persisted in his refusal to allow firemen to join the International Association of Fire Fighters.

John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers' president, who was chosen by Secretary of Labor Perkins as unofficial American labor delegate to the Geneva convention of the International Labor Organization, reported on his findings. The council will report to the October convention, which will decide. The State Department's affiliation depends on labor's decision.

The council is considering a jurisdictional dispute: shall the cement mill workers join the hod carriers, quarry men or mine, mill and smelter workers?

NO DISCRIMINATION!

SCENE: City Hall, entrance to Mayor LaGuardia's office. Characters: Edward Welsh, Negro vice-chairman of the Workers Unemployed Union. Policeman Number 8558. Several thousand unemployed, assembled to ask the mayor how come people are starving when he says nobody starves.

Time: July 27.

Action: Welsh, elected as one of committee of five to see the mayor, tries to get in after the others. Cop stops him. "If you were in the South, we'd string you up," the peace officer warns him, according to witnesses.

Two weeks later: Police Department still promising an investigation.

N. Y. Master Painters Weakening; Socialists Urge Unified Attack

NEGOTIATIONS are going on between the District Council No. 9 and the Master Painters Association for settlement of the strike of thousands of painters who refused to accede to the bosses' attempt to cut wages a dollar a day and increase the daily work schedule an hour. The master painters have agreed to reconsider their "ultimatum," according to Ben Golden, regional labor board executive secretary, who is presiding.

Local 499, insurgent local whose charter has been temporarily revoked by the International Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers because of its defiance of the district council, will carry the fight to the courts, according to Louis Weinstock, its Communist leader. Weinstock is said to be active in support of the Alteration Painters Union, a Communist dual organization.

Over 175 individual employers have already signed up with the district council, Philip Zausner, secretary-treasurer, reported, but the brotherhood's objective is a collective agreement with the Master Painters' Association. Zausner, who is in charge of the strike of 10 to 12,000 painters, is the center of attacks by the insurgent elements, who he charges "are a po-

litical outfit controlled by Communists and acting to all intents and purposes as a strike-breaking organization."

Declaring that the painters "now engaged in a walkout in Manhattan and the Bronx were compelled to strike after years of bitter struggle and sacrifice," the Painters Socialist League has issued a public statement charging that the Communist group in District Council 9 has attempted to demoralize the strike after a "record of split and disruption in every situation in which they were involved." The statement, issued after a special league meeting, says the situation is the outcome of a long conflict between the members of the union and Communist members who are said to have acted as a disruptive group in the union.

"The Painters' Socialist League, despite its difference with the administration, loyally and wholeheartedly supports the strike and its direction," the statement declares. "We call upon all members of our union to do likewise, because in this battle with the bosses we must present a united front."

UTW Convention Monday

(Continued from Page Three)

In Huntsville, where 5,000 are on strike, NRA adjusters are busy, it will be reported, but the situation is still tense because of the abduction of Dean by employers' deputies and the assignment of a bodyguard to him on his return. John B. Goins, who is president of the Textile Workers Council of Alabama, has also been threatened with kidnapping. Charges are being preferred against James J. Connor, former state commander of the American Legion, in connection with Dean's abduction. In South Carolina and in Virginia, textile strikes are also engaging the union's attention.

In Fall River, Mass., an attempt is being made to reaffiliate the Loom Fixers Union, which left 20 years ago, to the UTW. The convention will also hear of the slight increase in wages granted to the Associated Silk Workers in the Paterson area, in the decision of Professor Deschel, impartial chairman of the Silk Industrial Relations Board, whose appointment finally broke a deadlock that threatened renewed strike conditions.

Codes to Be Discussed

The whole problem of the codes and section 7a must come up for serious discussion at Hotel Woodstock, especially in view of the

claims advanced by employers that recognition of the UTW as the only medium for collective bargaining—even where the union has over 70 per cent membership in a mill—is in violation of the code. The sacred right of non-union minorities in such mills to "bargain collectively" is being upheld by some compliance board chairmen as well!

Representatives who appeared before the National Labor Relations Board in Washington for the Tubize hearings will also report. Testimony before the board shows that the company had engaged in a determined effort to root out unionism despite its pledge to adhere to the NRA. Its threat to shut down permanently is merely a bluff, it was charged, since Tubize is now trying to organize a company union of former employees in its five million dollar Hopewell plant. Advertisements are appearing in Hopewell papers urging those who want to go back to work under the old conditions to sign up with the "Tri-City Progressive Association," with the prospect of "no dues, no fees and no phoney promises."

The Labor Committee of the Socialist Party has offered the cooperation of the membership of the party to the union in its organization campaigns and strikes.

Knit Goods Strike Spreads

(Continued from Page Three)

Board, is trying to bring about a settlement. Daily mass meetings are being held and addressed by prominent speakers, including President Dubinsky and Norman Thomas. Twelve registration and strike halls are being used, and leaflets in English, Yiddish and Italian have been flooding the market.

The strike Wednesday morning was preceded by a hurried mobilization of young Socialists at 5 a. m. to assist the striking unions. Strike calls were distributed by the Yipsels up until 10 o'clock the time set for the walkout; then they helped in the strike halls and in all other phases of the work.

SHIPPING CLERKS' UNION ALSO CALLS STRIKE

Along with the calls of the I.L.G.W.U. and the U.T.W. for the strike was the call of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Shipping Clerks' Union, organized within recent

months with the aid of the Yipsels and now experiencing its first strike, to shipping clerks, errand boys, order clerks and other non-manufacturing help to also join the strike for better wages and shorter hours.

The Yipsels are helping, along with other radical youth groups, to raise money for the shipping clerks through a tag day.

Progressive Unionists Win

At the recent election in the Doll and Toy Workers Union (A.F. of L. Local 18,230) the candidates supported by the progressive group were elected by a large majority, two-thirds of the membership participating in the balloting. The group campaigned on the issues of a clean union, democratically managed and controlled by its members and fighting militantly for the workers' interests.

The new administration com-

Of Molders' Union To Open Monday

CHICAGO.—300 delegates will attend the 28th convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, to stare here Monday, August 13. Delegates from Canada, Hawaii and Canal Zone, as well as from all parts of the United States, will be present.

The I. M. N. of N. A. was the first American trade union to extend its jurisdiction to Canadian workers. This was done in 1863. Canadian locals were represented at the convention in 1861, and affiliated two years later.

Molders working in Honolulu, Hawaii, were first granted a charter by the I. M. U. of N. A. executive board in 1901.

In 1906 molders in Balboa (then called Gorgona), Canal Zone, were granted a charter, and Local Union No. 131 has been in existence ever since.

This is the fourth time in the history of the union that it will have held its convention in Chicago, the previous years having been 1865, 1879 and 1895.

Socialists Lead "Open-Water" Organizing Drive for Shoe Union

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—Powers Hapgood, New England organizer for the United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union, Mary Donovan Hapgood, his wife, Weldon C. Craig, organizer, and Mrs. Rose Gauteau, member of the executive board, were arrested for disturbing the peace by announcing to the town of Spencer from a loud-speaker truck that a meeting would be held that night to organize Klewin Shoe Co. employees. The firm answered the union arguments by placing in competition a radio-equipped truck belching loud music. No company officials were arrested.

Denied a permit or a hall for a town meeting, Hapgood got a row-boat and a canoe, rowed out on Whittamore Lake (which is state property) and addressed the crowd of a thousand on shore by means of a loudspeaker hook-up. The novelty of the campaign—said to be the first time a unionization drive has been conducted in this way—drew newsreel cameramen and feature writers to the scene and attracted hundreds of additional workers.

The Socialist Party has been holding open-air meetings in support of the union, addressed by Mrs. Hapgood, her sister, Eliza-

beth, and others. Hapgood is a member of the NEC of the Socialist Party and of the national labor committee. Mrs. Hapgood was Socialist candidate for governor of Massachusetts in 1928, and her sister is candidate for lieutenant-governor this year. The canoe was lent by Karl B. Gustafson, local Socialist worker.

Among other speakers at the nightly "open-water" meetings have been President Mackesey, of the union; Israel Zimmerman, of Boston, assistant secretary, and Frank O. Silva, of Haverhill, executive board member.

Union Directory

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS and FLEATERS' 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. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone Tompkins Square 6-5400. J. Catalinotti, 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 Ave., New York City.

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

CORSET and BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION. Local 32, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION. Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union. Office and headquarters, 9-9 W. 14th St., N. Y. C. Tel. 2-0738. Reg. meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAIST-MAKERS' UNION. Offices: 232 West 40th St., N. Y. C. Tel. Longacre 5-5100. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION. Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U., Office, 60 West 35th St., N. Y. C. Phone, Wls. 7-8011. 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 Superstein, 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 LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA. New York Local No. 1. Offices, Amalgamated Bldg., 265 West 14th St., Hollander, Wks. 9-7761. 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 Sekol, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION. Local 21, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, WilsOnson 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodos.

UNITED NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION. Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone, Algonquin 4-7062. 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. C. 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; Samuel J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; Samuel J. O'Brien, James P. Redmond and James J. Buckley, Organizers.

WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION. Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U.I.T., 200-7th Ave. Phone, Goffried, Pres.; B. Gottesman, Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION. Local 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 73 Broadway, New York City. Telephone, CHelsea 3-7250-237. A. Snyder, Manager; S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

Convention Monday To Consider One Big Food Handlers' Union

MINNEAPOLIS.—Delegates from over 400 locals in the United States and Canada are expected to attend the 27th convention of the International Alliance of Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers next week, starting Monday. One of the most important problems before the hotel workers' alliance is the formation of one powerful industrial union for the whole industry. At present the industry is divided into local autonomous unions for the various types of workers engaged in hotel and restaurant work.

The change to a single united union would end jurisdictional squabbles and the departmental form of organization would allow for detailed settlement of all questions, it is pointed out.

Butcher Strike Settled in N. Y.; Jersey Walks Out

The strike of Butchers Union Locals 211 and 174 against the Stahl-Meyer and Hygrade meat-packing plants was settled last week after conferences which were attended by Patrick Gorman, international president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Terms call for union conditions and wages in the plants of the kosher subsidiaries. In the non-kosher shops, formerly non-union, wage negotiations must begin within two weeks after the men's return to work. In all cases strikers will be reemployed without discrimination for union activity.

G. W. Shepherd, vice-president of the union, reported that 137 men walked out in the Jersey City stockyards, demanding the 40-hour week, 10 per cent pay raise and union recognition. The police there, in accordance with a new policy toward unions, turned back 36 scabs who arrived from New York in cars. "I did it to prevent violence," Police Chief Daniel Casey said. The Essex County central labor body recently protested against anti-union activities of police and courts, following complaint by the A. F. of L. barbers' and upholsterers' unions and a campaign by the Furniture Workers Industrial Union (Communist).

Behind the Scenes

(Continued from Page One)

g talk of the American Federation of Labor that might signify real progress, but—experience keeps us from going into ecstasies. It happened so often that threats of Federation leaders are not taken seriously, even by employers of labor.

Several times during the depression the A. F. of L. announced that the employers, or the bankers, or the government, or someone else did not soon do something to relieve the sufferings of the workers, labor will start its march, "that a revolution may take place soon." In this month's issue of the Federation magazine, Mr. Green states that if private industry does not soon make real improvements, the nation will "have to take over the means of production."

This sounds like a threat of Socialism. If that body is really leaning toward Socialism, why does it not frankly say so? Why, in that case, does it not join with Socialists in attempting to achieve Socialism instead of merely trying to frighten a few concessions out of the employers? The Federation has never backed up its threats, and the politicians know it. The mighty arm of labor—and a threat at the end of it, too—will have to be shown by American labor to make its demands effective.

Banking and Currency

In a report on investment banking practices, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee unparaphrasingly denounces the abuses that have resulted from the "incompetence, negligence, irresponsibility or cupidity of individuals in the profession." The report describes the activities of bankers in the foreign field as "one of the most scandalous chapters in the history of American investment banking."

What this report says about bankers, another report, that of the National Labor Relations Board, says about unscrupulous, "chiseling" industrialists, and finishes up by saying that it will not permit itself "to be used as an instrument for destroying by delay the rights which it was created to protect." The rights referred to are those of labor to organize and bargain collectively.

Chairman of the Securities Exchange Commission, Joseph P. Kennedy, made his maiden speech about this board's regulatory powers over the stock exchange in the most friendly tone. Honey was almost dripping from his pious lips. But right after that speech the stock market staged its most violent break of the year. Reminiscent of the effects of Hoover's speeches on the market.

James Moffett, new housing administrator, expected to revive the building industry, which is sadly lagging behind. This was to be the great job creator. But in order to really revive the building industry, private capital had to be coaxed or cajoled into building investments. But private capital refuses to be coaxed or cajoled. It remains frozen as before the money changers were driven out of the temple.

Private capital seems to be on strike. A general strike. Will the government attack a revolt against the government, against the welfare of the people, and declare martial law against capital?

We'll wait and see.

The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By James Oneal

The Materialistic Conception of History

V

WE have considered frontier life in an environment of timber, valleys and hills and observed how it shaped the life and culture of the people. Frontier society, however, broke down when it reached a completely different environment, the plains of the West. The greatest American contribution to this philosophy of history is Walter Prescott Webb's book, "The Great Plains." He did not write it to support our thesis and yet it is the most scholarly work of its kind written in this country.

The frontier home-makers emerged into the new environment of the plains "where there are no forests, no logs for cabins, no rails for fences, few springs and running streams" and facing ferocious Indians. Webb continues: "As one contrasts the civilization of the Great Plains with that of the eastern timberland, one sees what may be called an institutional fault (comparable to a geological fault) running from middle Texas to Illinois or Dakota, roughly following the ninety-eighth meridian. At this fault the ways of life and living changed. Practically every institution that was carried across it was either broken and remade or else greatly altered. The ways of travel, the weapons, the method of tilling the soil, the plows and other agricultural implements, and even the laws themselves were modified. . . . East of the Mississippi civilization stood on three legs—land, water and timber; west of the Mississippi not one but two of these legs were withdrawn—water and timber—and civilization was left on one leg—land."

If frontier society broke down at the plains barrier, so did the social system of slavery. "The southern system, founded on slavery and cotton, was barred by an infrangible law—bounded on the west by aridity just as effectually as it was on the north by cold." Even Daniel Webster knew that slavery could not survive in the plains environment. He contended that slavery was excluded from it by "the law of nature, of physical geography, the law of the formation of the earth." Webb writes that "It mattered not that in Congress and in the (Supreme) Court the South had won the right to occupation, because it could not exercise that right. . . . A political victory was empty unless it could be

supported by an economic success." So the slave system went down before the barrier of the Great Plains. It had to expand into new territory to live and the new territory was not adapted to the slave system. It perished.

Webb traces the influence of the Plains upon the life, habits and culture of the Indians, the only savages in North America who used a beast of burden. Why? Because life on the Plains was precarious without the horse. "Steam and electricity have not wrought a greater revolution in the ways of civilized life than the horse did in the savage life of the Plains." It gave the Indians a great advantage in warfare and the hunt, and the vast expanse of the prairie made the Plains Indian a nomad with no settled village life. Enormous distances made necessary a sign language which became an intertribal language for tribes speaking differing languages. For close communication gestures were used very similar to those used by deaf-mutes today.

If the horse effected a revolution in the life of the Plains Indian and made him one of the most formidable fighters in all history, the Colt revolver—"a weapon more rapid than the Indian's arrows, of longer reach than his spear, and, above all, one adapted to use on horseback"—wrought another revolution in which the Indian was defeated by the cowmen. The Colt six-shooter cleared the way for the rise of the cattle barons, whose kingdom was later destroyed by small settlers who fenced in the range with barbed wire.

The cattle kingdom was of brief duration, yet its masters, occupying practically the whole Great Plains, produced the "most natural economic and social order that the white man had yet developed in his experiment with the Great Plains." The kings made their own laws and through their agents enforced it with the Colt. Webb writes: "The Easterner, with his background of forest and farm, could not always understand the man of the cattle kingdom. One went on foot, the other went on horseback; one carried his law in books, the other carried it strapped round his waist."

So the material environment of the Great Plains gave rise to forms of society, of thought and ways of living unknown to the settled regions of the East and to the farmers, laborers, hunters and trappers of the frontier.

(Continued next week)

In the "Model" Town of Kohler

(Continued from Page One)

other authorized persons, no strike-breakers are getting in.

The village of Kohler, famous as "a model industrial village," is quiet now, save for the tread of the marching strikers and the national guard. Union pickets marched up and down High Street in front of the Kohler plant, while across the street marched the military sentries.

The Kohler village fable is no more. The eyes of the employees and of the workers of the United States were on Kohler and his model village during the strike, and they have observed how the striking employees were fired upon by armed thugs.

Striking employees have maintained that the grievances complained of are not new but have existed for years. They deny the company's charges that outside agitators influenced their actions and decision to strike.

Weaponless Workers

This statement shows Walter J. Kohler in his true light, a conservative Republican and thoroughly autocratic to the core. Until after the shootings, Kohler had refused to negotiate with the strikers, and the federal mediators could do

nothing but twiddle their thumbs.

His stand was that "the company was determined to stand by its faithful employees." This reference was to the 150 scabs who had stayed in the plant from the beginning of the strike, living and sleeping there. Father J. W. Maguire, a federal mediator, had been in town several times but could get no satisfaction from the company officials. By the time he returned, the bloody struggle had occurred.

The "Mediators"

The strikers are demanding higher wages, shorter hours and recognition of their union. The federal arbiters include the Rev. Father Maguire of Kankakee, Ill., who has not as yet been unsuccessful in strike mediation and who played a prominent part in the mediation between striking street car men and the electric company in Milwaukee which resulted favorably for the former.

Other members are Carl Steffen, executive secretary of the Chicago regional board; Prof. William Spencer, chairman of the committee, and D. M. Compton, both the last two men being representatives of the Chicago regional labor board. After a conference which

the mediators said was "hopeful," the members left Kohler village, with the recommendation that the troops be retained.

Members of the board, at the close of all-day conferences, announced that some progress had been made, "out of which a settlement might eventually be reached," and with the further announcement that negotiations will be resumed.

The Kohler Workers' Union issued a statement in answer to that of Anton Bratz, village president and tool of the Kohler company, who accused the strikers of precipitating and being responsible for the riot.

The workers' answer, in part, declared that the strikers had no guns, as was claimed by Bratz, and that the trouble was started by the armed guards. Military men, who investigated the matter, said that tear gas bombs would have been sufficient to disperse the mob, according to the report.

Autocratic Kohler

"In answer to the charges of Mayor Anton Bratz that pickets had guns, we emphatically deny this and claim that none of the picketers had any firearms or weapons of any kind. The fact that none of the deputies or village

Socialists Face Fascist Bands in Oregon

PORTLAND, Ore.—In this and some other cities of Oregon capitalist and banking elements are organizing vigilantes, and in Portland a renegade from the Socialist Party signs his name to abusive articles against Socialists. So brazen have the capitalist elements become that they broadcast over two radio stations, appealing to "red-blooded 100 per cent Americans," between the ages of 18 and 55 to bear arms and wage a campaign against "radical and subversive elements."

The longshoremen's strike threw the fear of God into the ranks of these reactionaries. They want to enlist a private army to aid civil authorities to maintain "law and order" and deport alien "undesirables." For the present the attack is made on a few Communists, but this is preliminary to an attack on the Socialists and the labor movement.

Unfortunately, the reaction is making some headway in recruiting its private army and the civil authorities are making no attempt to prevent this extra-legal movement of mercenaries.

The two leading candidates for Governor—Major-General Charles H. Martin, Democrat, and Admiral Joseph Dunne, Republican—fit into this picture like two blocks in a mosaic. Martin is Congressman from this district, a military man and a sabre-rattler, who was induced by his big business friends to run for Governor. He is so confident of his election that he openly expresses his contempt for democracy, but he has not yet come out for dictatorship, although we would not be surprised if he did.

Joe Dunne (a show admiral at regatta celebrations), the Republican nominee, is just as acceptable to big capitalists and bankers as his military friend, Martin, even though Dunne is more oily and discreet in using his tongue in public than Martin, but like Martin he has championed the cause of the rich in legislative matters.

Oregon has the most drastic anti-syndicalist act in the country and the supreme court of Oregon has decided that mere membership in a party that advocates "mass action" and violence is sufficient to sustain a conviction of any member of such a party. Conviction is followed by ten years imprisonment in the penitentiary.

For these reasons Oregon Socialists will vote against the Detroit Declaration of Principles, as the party cannot live in this state if the resolution is adopted. The forces now arrayed against the workers and farmers would seize the opportunity to wreck us in this state, and Socialists do not intend to play into the hands of what is now developing fascist forces in Oregon.

police received gunshot wounds is enough evidence to show that the picketers had no guns," the strikers say in their statement.

The strikers are still picketing, and the national guard has removed several companies from the lines. The president of the Kohler company union has joined the strikers' ranks, and the solidarity of the workers is nearly 100 per cent.

To All Branches:—The

SPECIAL LABOR DAY ISSUE

RUSH YOUR ORDERS!

will be ready FRIDAY, AUGUST 31ST

Articles by Leaders of the Labor and Socialist Movement. — Full of First-Rate Propaganda.

DON'T MISS IT!

The Workers Abroad

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

By Mark Khinoy

Socialist-Communist Unity in France Again

SOcialists all over the world are now following with extreme interest the experiment of united action with Communists which our French section inaugurated on July 15. In order to facilitate the understanding of this unusual step, the Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International published a detailed report of the negotiations in three installments. The first two contain the correspondence, articles and notes exchanged on this subject by the spokesmen of the two parties during the preliminary stage of the negotiations (May 30-July 15), and the third gives an account of all the speeches made, discussions indulged in and motions adopted (or rejected) at the special party council on July 15. Delegates of the 91 "state federations" of the Socialist Party, in cooperation with the parliamentarians and N.E.C. members, took part. They adopted the resolution of united action as a step toward organic unity with the Communist branch of the labor movement. . . . These extremely important reports are published in three languages, including the English. In addition there lays before me a printed stenographic report (in French) of the private conference the leaders of the two parties had on the eve of the Socialist National Council, whose result determined the favorable action of the delegates.

As reported in a previous issue, the vote stood 3,471 for the unity pact and only 366 against it. 67 did not vote.

The National Council informed the L.S.I. of the action of the French Socialist Party and added that it will ask the Executive of the L.S.I. to bring the French developments to the attention of the Third, or Communist, International. Also to ask this latter body whether it is willing to do in the international sphere what is being done in France in the national field.

President of the L.S.I. Agrees to Action

IT is as yet too early to foretell what action the International Executive will take on this problem. It is, however, gratifying to know that its most prominent member, President Emile Vandervelde, is favoring the action of the French comrades, although he foresees greater obstacles in other countries. In a brilliant article he just published in the *Petit Provençal*, I find the following lines:

"I am fully in accord with Leon Blum, with Paul Faure and with Lebas that it was morally impossible for them to decline" the unity offer.

Comrade Vandervelde does not ignore what the Communists said and did yesterday. Neither is he inclined to forget the crying contrast between the expulsion of Doriot for favoring united action and its immediate offer of the same unity. But this offer "answers the deep-rooted sentiments of the toiling masses, especially in Paris," writes the Belgian statesman.

As to the question of what should be the attitude of the Socialist International toward the problem of unity on an international scale, Vandervelde admits that in most of the other sections the situation is quite different than in France.

"France is at present the only country of Central and Western Europe where the Communist Party is not a negligible force. In Belgium, in Switzerland, in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Great Britain the Socialists have rarely a chance to think of the Communists in order to practice united action with these unimportant, small minorities, partisans of systematic violence, which are rather a source of trouble than an effective factor in the struggle against fascism and war."

The president of the Socialist International sees in the new attitude of the French Communists a reflection of the new international situation in which the Soviet Union finds itself as a result of the events in the Far East (Japan), Germany and Austria.

"The French experiment," continues Vandervelde, "will be followed with deep interest by the International." For it may "mark a turning point in the history of the world's labor movement."

The Socialist Party of France has about 130,000 members and the Communist Party 40,000. This is almost an exact reversal of the situation in 1921, when the Socialists numbered 25,000 and the Communist Party 125,000. Only in Paris are the Communists stronger than the Socialists. (From a Paris correspondent in The New Leader of London, issue of July 20.)

Revolt and Barricades in Holland

IT is with amazement that we all read about the recent revolt of "unemployed Communists" in Holland—where there are hardly any Communists. We know that at least the capitalist and the Communist news agencies were either lying or were themselves victims of misinformation. It is therefore well apropos to give a few excerpts from an account furnished to the London New Leader (July 7 and 20) by Peter Schmidt, chairman of the revolutionary group, known as the Independent Socialist Party of Holland.

"It is important," writes Schmidt, "that it should be

understood that the revolt of the unemployed was spontaneous. When the Communists say that they started it, they lie. If we said that we started it, we should be lying. It was a sudden outburst due to mass bitterness against cuts which were intolerable.

"As a matter of fact, the district in which the revolt began had been the despair of both the Communists and ourselves. The Jordan area of Amsterdam has a population of natural 'rebels,' who are spirited and fearless but not politically conscious. Our party has tried to arouse an agitation against the 'cuts' ever since they were announced two months ago; but there was little mass response. It was only when the unemployed actually received the smaller amounts—in some cases a drop by 20 per cent, in exceptional cases of 50 per cent—that the agitation burst into flame.

"There was a meeting of protest in the Jordan district. It was small but angry. After the meeting there was a procession and an insignificant clash with the police.

"But that was enough. The bitterness was so intense that a small thing turned it into action. The first move by the workers was to turn out all the lights in the streets. They then drove the police out of the district; the number of police was comparatively small. Then the workers began to erect barricades. With amazing speed they tore up the pavements and roads, and with the stones and bricks built the barricades.

"Over 200 people were shot through the windows. Over forty had to be taken to hospitals. In the streets six were killed.

"Many of the Amsterdam police refused to act. The authorities then brought in police and military from other parts of Holland. The police 'rebels' have been put in an institution for nervous diseases!

"The tactics of the Communist Party have angered a large section of the workers. At first it claimed that the unemployed revolt was the result of its leadership and under its direction. Then when the government threatened to take action against the Communist Party, a special edition of their paper was rushed out, disclaiming responsibility for the revolt and placing it on the Independent Socialist Party! This issue so angered the workers in the Jordan district that the sellers were driven away and copies of the paper torn up.

"The revolt was not only in Amsterdam. It spread to twelve towns, including The Hague, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Haarlem, and Hilversum. In Rotterdam the unemployed declared a rent strike and 80 per cent took part. The authorities replied by saying that the unemployed must bring their rent books when applying for their allowances. If the rent has not been paid, they would get no allowance.

Dutch Unions for Expulsion of Communists

TWO Dutch unions—the Federation of Railroad Unions and the Union of Transport Workers—just held their annual congress, and both adopted resolutions that reflect very strikingly the bitter animosity the Communist "unity" (meaning split) tactics have aroused among the workers of Holland.

The congress of the Transport Workers adopted a resolution providing for the expulsion of any union member "whose extreme left (Communist) or extreme right (fascist) ideas or actions are detrimental to the labor movement." The congress of Railroad Unions went even further and declared in a special resolution that no one can be a member of a labor union who at the same time is a member of a Communist or fascist organization.

These lines were already set up when a cable brought the informa-

SOCIALISM AND

By Harry Riseman

THE farm problem cannot be regarded without a consideration of the general industrial crisis. Under capitalism, agriculture is just one sphere of industry. It should therefore be subject to the same economic forces which govern industry as a whole. What are these forces?

Capitalists continuously seek to reduce costs of production because of competition. This is done by enlarging the scale of production and displacing human labor with machines, thereby lowering the proportion of variable capital, or wages, to constant capital, or machinery and raw materials. While the machine keeps growing bigger and bigger, prices and commodities tend to fall and a constantly growing army of wage earners created. At the same time the ownership of the means of wealth production tends to concentrate into fewer and fewer hands. The trend then is in the direction of the creation of a huge propertyless class, of an industry to a large extent mechanized and its ownership vested in the hands of a small group of people. This tendency in modern society, termed by Karl Marx the law of capitalist accumulation, has made possible the creation of a Socialist movement. Socialists know that once the workers realize the significance of this economic law, the end of capitalism will be in sight.

What about agriculture? Does this law operate within that sphere of industry? Many well known economists such as Richard T. Ely and Werner Sombart have contended that the Socialist position is untenable with respect to agriculture. Werner Sombart says: "His (Marx) theory of development, which rests upon an assumption of business upon a large scale and upon the proletarianization of the masses, and which necessarily leads to Socialism in its development, is only for the sphere of manufactures." Is this assumption correct? If this law operates within one sphere of industry, why does it not work in another?

We know that agriculture is in distress. Perhaps a few significant facts may help us in our discussion. There are in this country approximately 24 million people living on about six million farms,

tion that the Central Committee of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party refused to consider even the usual offer of the local section of the Communist International for a "united anti-fascist front" of the two parties.

The situation in Holland is such that united action of the Socialist mass party with the insignificant, sectarian Communist Party would only weaken the anti-fascist front among the farmers, technicians, white collar people, small artisans and home-owners, without whose wholehearted support the fascist danger cannot be eliminated.

This factor played an all-important role in the similar decisions of the Socialists in other democratic countries—Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Great Britain and Czechoslovakia.

In the last-named country the Communist Party offer was addressed to three parties, the Czech Social-Democratic Party, the German Social-Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia, and the Czech Party of National Socialism (not a Nazi party, but a democratic mass party with Socialist tendencies and sympathies, in existence since 1919-20). Since all three parties participate in the coalition government opposed by the Communist Party, it gave them an additional stimulus for their emphatic refusal.

Working Farmers Face Machines, Same as Workers Reduces Them to Disposed Group



constituting almost exactly 22.4% of the entire population; that in 1920 more than three-fourths of these six million farms were smaller than 100 acres.

Studies made in various parts of the country show that the size of the farm has an important influence upon the operator's income; that except on a relatively few highly specialized poultry, nursery, fruit and truck crop farms it is exceedingly difficult for one to eke out an existence on a farm of less than 100 acres. This means that at least three-fourths of the farms in the United States are not large enough for efficient production.

Similar studies of the relation between capital investment and income indicate that farm income

increases with the size of the farm; that farms as the investment and approach age value of the States is of the highest return. Since farm proper size only be operated in drift in towards mechanization is now undecomparable characterized by the dust as the revolution of

Spinach and

By Ger

SO the Police Commissioner passed the spinach right back to the Mayor. According to O'Ryan, it was the Mayor's idea to have the labor union file identifications of their representatives with the police department, which leaves all of us who cracked down on the Police Commissioner with "I told you so" rather hanging from the chandeliers.

However, while the Mayor did not pass the spinach back to the Police Commissioner, neither did he eat it. He gave what the Irishman called an "evulsive answer." Noblesse oblige. It wouldn't have been cricket of the Mayor to have started a row with O'Ryan. Anyway, the Police Commissioner is going to Europe for six weeks (countries, please?) to learn how they manage things there, and the regulations have been rescinded. (The trip is off, too.—Ed.)

I don't think it was the Mayor's baby at all. He is too astute a politician and knows his labor unions too well to believe they would stand such potential existence. Even put a crimp in the Communist summations for, it held the any union's. What would guard, ostensibly purpose of "testing" seal and said: "I The New That's what Caldwell str going on no undiminished dumbfounded but in case t New Leader regard what than pimping.



G. W. Klein

The worst rotten thing tially decent I'm not think but of an in other evening broken. It w who I know ous to a fau sponsible for in a particul handed fash growing inte and when working ther are picked u son and drow

D THE FARM CRISIS

Constant Displacement by
Workers and Capitalism
Dependence Upon a Small
Magnates



arm investment; the more efficient exceeds \$20,000. The average in the United States is about \$12,000, far below the average of the more efficient farms. The average farm investment in the United States is about \$12,000, far below the average of the more efficient farms. The average farm investment in the United States is about \$12,000, far below the average of the more efficient farms.

Other Things

Weil Klein

anything that held me back. I went on strike, my friends found it an easy matter to have all the "faithful" employees sworn in as special deputies, gave them guns and instructions to shoot to kill. The point was—and his reason for telling me the story—that the unions (the Mexican and Japanese workers are organized) and the workers didn't give a hang about the thousands of dollars worth of fruit that was going to rot and ruin. What did I think of that? How could I justify it? According to his point of view, his action justified itself. During the San Francisco strike, the papers of that city carried a story saying that "when the state convention of the American Legion meets next August a plan will be submitted to it for the establishment of a colony for undesirable aliens, Communists, agitators and trouble-makers in practically inaccessible lands east of Point Barrow, Alaska. And most interesting to note, the so-friendly-to-labor Secretary of Labor Miss Frances Perkins, in a wire to the California authorities, expressed her willingness to enforce the deportation laws in the strike situation. Oh, well, round about the 17th of the month I'll be running away for a short vacation. If you miss me, you can write to me at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa. If you don't miss me, you can write to the same place. That's where I expect to be in either event.

cently a practical power cotton picker has been invented. If it can be profitably used, the better lands suitable for machine operation will be farmed more intensively and the poorer rough farms will have to give up cotton growing. Unless a substitute cash crop can be found, these farms will either have to be abandoned or operated upon a home subsistence basis. It virtually will mean that the cotton share-cropper will be a creature of the past. He will have to look elsewhere for employment.

Only during the past few years have great strides been made in the mechanization of agriculture. In 1880 the average farm worker cultivated 21.6 acres; in 1920 it was only 24.8 acres per worker, while in 1925 it jumped up to 32 acres per worker. Although the farm population has been on the decline, those remaining have been able to increase their production.

American farmers have always, with few exceptions, been able to produce more goods than could be sold here. The surplus was exported. This aided the industrial development of the country. During the period preceding the World War, in the face of competition from Canada, Russia and Argentina, agricultural exports from the United States began to decline. With the coming of the war and for a short time afterwards, the American farmer experienced no difficulty in marketing his goods abroad. As prices advanced during the war period, farm values rose and with it a phenomenal increase of farm mortgage debts. The American farmer was expanding his scale of production.

About 1920 the American farmer again had to face severe competition on the world markets. The Canadian and Argentine farmers were able to undersell him. Furthermore many of the European countries, such as Italy, France and Germany, suddenly decided to become self-sufficient and grow all their own food. For the first time in history the American farmer began clamoring for a tariff on foodstuffs. The surplus could not be disposed of abroad. A catastrophic fall in prices resulted. The average or sub-marginal farmer was at a disadvantage. Because of their inability to produce crops at a profit, hundreds of thousands of farmers have been driven from the soil. The farmer's road to tenancy is via the farm mortgage. In 1930 the census figures showed that over 42.5 per cent of American farmers were tenants.

The cause then of agricultural distress is the inability of the "average" farmer to produce goods efficiently—meaning profitably. This country has too many farmers, too many farms, too much land under cultivation. If left undisturbed, the farm situation will work out to its inevitable end, the elimination of several million surplus farmers, who today are economically doomed. Between 1920 and 1930 three million persons had already left the country for the city to become part of the wage earning class, and many more are on the way.

Since the machine is one of the basic causes of the farm crisis, agriculture as one of the spheres of industry is also subject to the law of capitalist accumulation, Werner Sombart is wrong. By reason of the operation of this law the "average" farmer will continue to be crowded out of his holding and reduced to the status of a wage earner. Capitalism will eventually confiscate his farm. Of course, there are those who contend that the city in the face of millions of unemployed will not be able to absorb these undesired millions. Even though they are correct in their contentions, the unsophisticated, healthy farmer

will always be welcome in the strike-afflicted area of the city. He, as a rule, is willing to work for low wages. These surplus farmers constitute today an untapped reservoir of low-paid unskilled labor. Projects such as the T.V.A. will, in a large measure, help to absorb many of them. They are headed for wage slavery.

Should industry be unable to absorb them, then they will and are already finding themselves in the same position as the unemployed wage earner. They must apply for relief. Under capitalism they are doomed, no matter which way they turn. Alone they are helpless. Together with the industrial worker they must abolish capitalism and replace it with a new system of production—Socialism.

Let us now examine the farm resolution of the Socialist Party. According to the resolution, it seems that the middleman is to blame for the present plight of the farmer. Even his elimination will not save the "average" farmer from economic destruction. Workers are exploited at the point of production and profits are not created through the process of circulation of commodities. The resolution says otherwise. It agrees with Werner Sombart that the law of capitalist accumulation is not applicable to agriculture.

It is extremely difficult to see how the advocacy of "use" as the sole title to land will even partially aid the "average" farmer. Will the tenant have preference over the evicted farmer? Why should any person be given a perpetual franchise over a fixed area of this country? If use becomes the sole title to land, will not that tend to create a new class in American society akin to the serfs of the days of feudalism and the "nobles" of Germany? Are we not attempting to play the same role with the farmers as the machine wreckers or Luddites played in the earlier industrial revolution? If these surplus farmers are destined for the factory, why should the Socialist Party stand in the way of progress? Are we to work in harmony with the laws of social and economic evolution? If we are consistent, we should be against the rationalization or mechanization of industry because it tends to create unemployment. Why should the crop tax be collected in kind rather than in cash?

This strange passage appears in the resolution: "Plantations worked by share-croppers and day laborers should be taken over by the public and farmed by individual farmers..." Since when does the party believe in the partition of plantations? There is nothing in the forefront of this resolution which explains the causes of the present farm crisis.

The immediate relief measures proposed in the resolution show a lack of understanding of the nature of the farm crisis. Is not demand number one, which advocates the removal of farm taxes, full of dynamite? How will the government distribute this tax money? Who will control the schools? What will happen to local governmental authority? Are not the Democrats advocating the very same thing?

Demand two, which refers to the assumption of farm debts by the government, is too indefinite. Will the farmer be better off if the national government is his creditor rather than the insurance company? He will have to pay his debts eventually and if he fails to do this the government will be forced to treat him in the same manner as the insurance company. Even the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, created to assist home owners facing eviction, is now foreclosing mortgages.

Immediate demand number four advocates the stabilization of farm prices. How is this to be done? Any price-fixing plan must have as its basis the restriction of production. Unless the farmer agrees to (Continued on Page Nine)

Editor's Corner

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

Allen Answers Allen

DAN Hoan last week asked whether we had learned anything since 1848. With all due respect for Dan's sincerity we reply that he and others have reverted back to 1848 and that they seem not to have learned anything since that period. Marx and Engels admitted that they had learned, but we have comrades who are still talking in vague terms of physical conflict that correlate with the period of 1848.

Before his death Engels pointed out the enormous difference between the force workers could employ in 1890 and what they used in 1848. Since Engels died the difference has become so great that it is the difference between a savage with a bow and arrow and one man with a modern machine gun. Therefore to talk in terms of physical conflict today is not only folly; it is reckless romanticism that would lead us to suicide.

We shall summon Devere Allen, author of the Detroit Declaration which Dan supports, as a witness for our view and to testify against certain follies in that Declaration. Comrade Allen is the author of one of the Little Blue Books published in 1931, the one entitled "Will Socialism End the Evil of War?" We quote from his pamphlet:

"It is plainer every day that, except for remote and non-industrialized societies, violent revolution is a delusion and a snare."

"New inventions of warfare, now mainly a chemical-industrial affair, have left the ordinary man in the street, no matter how zealous a rebel, helpless before the control of lethal machinery concentrated in the hands of authority."

"In ordered, industrialized countries certainly, violence today is licked before it starts."

"Let the beloved romantic of the old school shed tears at the departure of violent strategy; his modern descendants face lachrymoseal gases which guarantee not only tears but sad futility."

The New "Reorientation"

BUT the Detroit Declaration now changes all this! By some mysterious "massed resistance" we will get around the "snare." Although we will be "licked before we start," we will somehow "break up the war." Although we are "helpless" before the deadly machinery of the enemy, we will silence this machinery with a copy of the Detroit Declaration! Yes, we will hurl back heavy artillery, defy poison gas, and spike machine guns, although to attempt it will bring "not only tears but sad futility." Is this the new "orientation"?

Marx wrote in 1852 of the battles of 1848 that "the forces opposed to you have all the advantage or organization, discipline, and habitual authority; unless you bring strong odds against them you are defeated and ruined." Comrade Allen brings the "strong odds" of the Declaration against the enemy's "lethal machinery." This also reminds us of what Marx said of the romantics of 1848 who "made up, by rabid declamations and blood-thirsty rantings, for the utter insignificance of their political existence."

Play-Boy Revolutionists

IN a preface to Marx's "Class Struggles in France," Engels wrote that when he and Marx abandoned the romantic physical struggle idea, "we were banned with bell, book and candle as traitors to the revolution by the same people who, later on, almost without exception made their peace with Bismarck." And yet Comrade Allen is now the "romantic of the old school" whom he criticized in 1931!

Reviewing the increased effectiveness of the weapons of the ruling classes, as Comrade Allen did three years ago, Engels asked the following questions: "Does the reader now understand why the ruling classes, by hook or crook, would get us where the rifle pops and the sabre slashes? Why, today, do they charge us with cowardice because we will not, without further ado, get down into the street, where we are sure of defeat in advance? (Allen says we are 'licked before we start!') Why are we so persistently importuned to play the role of cannon fodder?" Yes, why?

We cannot be intelligently anti-war and anti-fascist by acting as play-boy revolutionists. That role takes us back to 1848. Unless we keep in mind that we face the most deadly forms of human destruction that ruling classes ever possessed and that "rabid declamations" will not suffice to conquer them, we will deliver ourselves into the hands of the reaction. When inexperienced members two years ago ventured into secret military organization in a western state, when a "militant" in debate with me spoke of organizing an "armed guard," and a Yipsel in Ohio lands in jail for talking of rifles and dynamite, it is time that every party member understood some foolish and dangerous trends that we face.

Yes, Dan, we have learned many things since 1848. So did Marx and Engels, but we think that a return to the romanticism of that period is not learning but is, like the Bourbons of old, forgetting nothing that is old and learning nothing that is new.

In the Wake of San Francisco's General Strike

AMERICAN FASCISM BARES ITS TEETH

By Phil Hitts

BERKELEY, Calif. — Austria has no monopoly of Fascist vs. Fascist arguments. Out around San Francisco Bay we're traveling with typical western bronco-busting speed to catch up. In Austria it is Hitler fascism vs. Dollfuss-Mussolini fascism. In San Francisco it is profiteer vs. Stalinism. Another difference. In Austria butcher Dollfuss first cleared the field and drowned in blood all obstacles to liberty and democracy, of Socialist and workers' organization, of human and civilized decency. In San Francisco the fascist battle started before the field was properly cleared.

Various Types of Fascism

In San Francisco the fascist argument began as soon as the longshoremen launched their strike. The first skirmish revealed that the workers would have to face a dozen different varieties of fascism—force, intimidation, prejudice, bigotry, defamation and the public press that always knows "His Master's Voice." Out on Polk Street a Nazi headquarters brazenly flaunts its windows loaded with Hitler propaganda. Muscle-in-fascism has no advertised headquarters, but "what we need is a Mussolini" has been current change in business circles for about ten years. But these different brands, including the Dollfuss butcher brand, were rapidly absorbed in the more efficient though less mature American brand, the profiteer fascist group; commanding when it needs the police, gangs of detective thugs, the national guard, the governor, the American Legion, the mayor and the daily press. The publicity name of this profiteer fascism is the Chamber of Commerce; its fighting name, the Industrial Association. Its temple is at the top of a sky-scraper—and an elegant temple. Here the high priests of finance hand down the "decrees of the Gods" to the chosen heads of the business unions; and these carry them forth to the remotest side streets, where the jumping-jacks of small business are wired to dance whenever the strings are pulled. Now one of the dictator-advocating fascist organizations had bolted the job. They were fanatics wanting to run the whole show—the Stalin fascists, calling themselves Communists. Not many of them, but they were noisy; and exaggerations of their activities in the Central Valley had predisposed the morons to see red. An easy trick to hide their own black pirate banner behind the American flag, and shout "red" and "radical." So the battle was launched. Really a joke to call it a battle. The Communists were so few in numbers and so weak in resources that the "battle" is about

Socialist Students Get First-Hand Strike Report

LA HONDA, Cal.—Socialist students gathered here at the party's first northern California summer school for organizers heard Samuel S. White, organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers and a member of the executive committee of the San Francisco general strike, give a first-hand report of the strike, its causes and effects.

Other visiting lecturers included Austin Lewis, prominent Socialist attorney, who lectured on the labor and Socialist movements of Europe, and Edward Radice of the Socialist League of England.

as thrillingly serious as that of a big circus baboon trying desperately to catch an annoying flea.

But the serious thing was the use of this sham battle to rouse the asininity of the small business and politician class until the morons saw only red running down the news columns, red flowing down the streets, the water in the Bay turning red—and worst of all, their business balances turning red.

This was paradise for the Stalinites. Notoriety publicly without measure or cost; so they eagerly plead guilty to causing all the fuss, all the walkouts, all the labor strikes for better conditions. The classical fly on the stage-coach. After it had pounded through an ocean of dust and stopped, little fly looked out from under the curtain and exclaimed: "Gee, what a great dust I have raised!"

The "great dust" was the longshoremen's strike, and the sympathetic strike that joined them. The Stalinites made lots of noise, claimed the whole works. Their pretense was monumental. Even when the united labor front, sixteen thousand strong, without noise, without demonstration, but in silence with uncovered heads, in the most impressive procession ever seen up Market, the famous

street of processions, conducted the remains of their two murdered comrades, these Stalinites tried to capitalize the occasion for propaganda with the Daily and Western Worker. The union police, for they were permitted to police their own procession, promptly confiscated the contraband propaganda. So many times the Communists' efforts to steal the show had to be checked and squelched.

But they still impudently claimed it all, and the profiteer fascists advertised their claim in order to defeat the workers. They had the press, a governor who would do anything to get their support for re-election, a mayor who watched the buttered side of the bread, the American Legion, a sympathetic soul in David Adolph Hitler Barrows, head of the national guard, and a strangle hold on the small business man.

So anti-red and anti-radical blood pressure ran higher. Thousands of young saplings with gun and bayonet were deployed on the water front, the produce markets were placed under martial law, machine guns on the roofs, machine guns in lorries dashing up and down the water front. Reds! Reds! trumeted through the daily press, thundered over the radio from the puppet governor, rattled forth from the little heads of all the pigmy mayors, blurted from the candidates for governor—excepting Milen Dempster, the Socialist candidate, who spoke for the workers; and excepting Uppy Sinclair, who kept a discreet Democratic silence.

Stalinites Bring Reaction

The air became tense. A spark meant an explosion. Stalinites furnished the spark. Gloating over their notoriety, their fool press claimed that 1,200 Communists had engineered the strike of fifty thousand union workers.

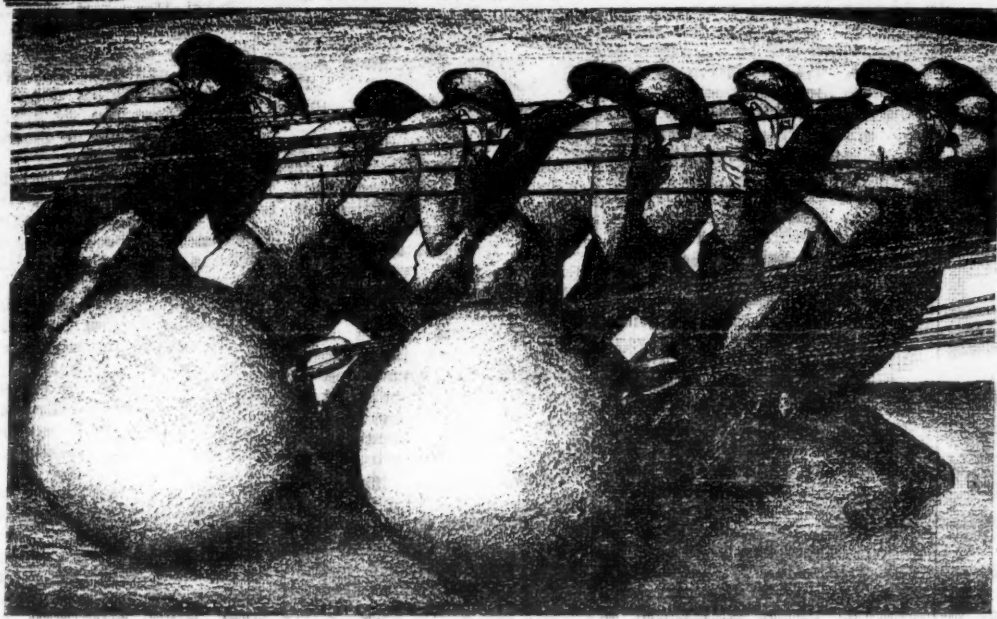
The frenzied public fell for it. Public sympathy cooled. Profiteer vigilantes formed. Gave the Stalinites more free advertising. Made them martyrs by lawlessly smashing all their gathering places.

The strike was broken. The Stalinites set the dynamite under the works. By their fanatical and fantastic claims they have furnished an excuse for the landlord fascists of the interior and the pirate fascists of the city to organize permanent bodies of vigilantes, protected and not discouraged by police authorities. Now they have free rein to raid workers' meetings, to break strikes by murderous violence. Officials have not hesitated in San Francisco to raid workers' lodging places and drag hundreds into court on false charges of vagrancy. Officials wink at mob law and close public buildings to protect meetings, when these same buildings have been used to organize vigilantes. In short, Stalinites have done everything possible to stimulate the activity of the pirate flag fascism for the ultimate destruction of the rights of free assemblage, of free speech, and free institutions.

Labor Daily Has World's Largest Circulation

LONDON.—The London Daily Herald, organ of the British Labor Party, continues to lead the world in daily circulation. An auditor's report for the last six months shows an average circulation of 2,040,000 copies per day, after deducting all free copies and returns. This paid circulation exceeds any other paper in the world by many hundreds of thousands of copies.

The Daily Herald had an average daily circulation of 2,030,000 during the six months ending Dec. 31st last, which was at the time reported the largest daily circulation in the history of journalism. The increase is 10,000 per day.



O'Ryan's Attack on Our Liberties

By William M. Feigenbaum

IN many of the European countries every man and woman was required, even in pre-fascist days and non-fascist countries, to have papers of identity to be shown at the demand of every petty official, every police officer.

In America we have prided ourselves upon our freedom of individual action.

In Europe any person could be asked at any time who he was and where he was going, what his business was and what was his religion. Before registering at a hotel a traveler, whether citizen of the country or a tourist from another country, had to identify himself. Americans have to present their passports to hotel clerks, who turn them over to the police for inspection before returning them. No one has the right to personal freedom. Whatever freedom he has is a gift revocable at will.

The worst and most aggravating personal espionage system was that of Czarist Russia. Every person had to account for his every movement; a *dvornik* was planted in each house to watch the motions of everyone living in that house. Every action of every individual was reported to the police.

For a long time reactionaries, militarists and exploiters of labor have been feverishly working to establish here the European system of individual registration.

They begin with excellent excuses; each argument appears to be a sound one. BUT THEIR OBJECTIVE IS CLEAR. They want to destroy the individual liberty of American citizens; they want to register, fingerprint, tag and ticket every man and woman in the country. And they know why they want to do it.

No one wants it but the enemies of the workers, the exploiters, the war makers. ARE THEY GOING TO BE ALLOWED TO HAVE THEIR WAY?

The brutal suggestion of Major-General John F. O'Ryan, reactionary police commissioner, in the

"reform" administration of Mayor LaGuardia of New York, that all labor officials be "registered," is merely one step in that campaign.

That suggestion will be vetoed. The mounting tide of protest against the consummation of the outrage will check it. Even poor, bewildered Mayor LaGuardia, floundering between his vague promises to the masses and the demands of the bankers and exploiters, will not stand for that demand.

The first demand was to register and fingerprint all aliens—non-citizens—in order that they might be deported if they violated the law. The object is quite clear; anything is a "violation" of the law when the enemies of the workers want to call it that. And a strike would give the authorities, serving the exploiters, a glorious opportunity to seek out, round up and punish all active union men.

The fingerprints will remain in the files even after the aliens are naturalized, and the implications of that fact are plain.

THIS LITTLE PIGGIE...

Here's what happens when the little piggies go to market in the United States today:

Mrs. Annie Mosback of Cortland, Ill., sent 20 of her piglets to market last week. The pigs—all 1,630 pounds of them—sold for \$12.22. But Mrs. Mosback didn't get this money. In fact, all she got was 68 cents. And here's how this happened:

The market was depressed and the piglets brought only 75 cents a hundred pounds. Then the following deductions were made: \$2.80 for the use of pens, scales and runways at the stockyards; 55 cents for the corn the piggies ate; \$1.40 for insurance against injury; 5 cents for insurance against fire; \$3.67 for a trucking company for hauling them; \$3 to a commission house for selling them, and 7 cents to the "meat board." God knows for what.

Mrs. Mosback got 68 cents—all she did was raise the pigs.

There are said to be many aliens illegally in the United States, and registration and fingerprinting are urged as a means of getting after them and sending them back to where they came from. But even if an argument can be made for such a procedure the evil and injustice to hundreds of thousands will enormously overbalance whatever little good might possibly result in catching an occasional law-breaker not yet naturalized. Criminals, whether aliens or citizens, should be caught by the police and treated accordingly; there should be no elaborate process of ticketing only aliens in the belief that thus a few criminals might be caught, while giving duly naturalized and qualified murderers, bandits and burglars a break they are not entitled to.

The next step proposed by the enemies of the masses is general registration "for the eventuality of war." All individual liberty to be destroyed, all men and women neatly ticketed, and information useful every day in the year to exploiters of labor neatly filed where it will do the exploiters most good that is the plan.

O'Ryan's bright idea is to issue licenses to labor officials, prohibiting anyone from acting as a union official without credentials of the New York police department!

That was followed immediately by the organization of his police "rifle regiment" to "protect" the city against the threat of general strike.

REMEMBER THAT O'RYAN HAS THE POWER HE NOW HOLDS BECAUSE OF THE WAY THE MASSES VOTED LAST NOVEMBER!

Remember that if the masses had voted AS THEY SHOULD HAVE THERE WOULD NOW BE A TRADE UNIONIST AND SOCIALIST IN THE OFFICE O'RYAN NOW ADORNS, acting as a worker and in the interest of the workers.

The UNITED MIGHT of the workers in unions AND ON THE POLITICAL FIELD is the only answer to such attempts now and in the future.

N. Y. Socialists Protest Rules on Referendum

THE New York State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has filed with the National Secretary a vigorous protest against the rules that have been laid down for the conduct of the referendum, and a demand that they be repealed. The letter by State Secretary Merrill follows:

The New York State Committee emphatically protests against the so-called rules which the National Executive Committee has adopted for the conduct and guidance of the party members, party organizations, and party sub-divisions in the pending referendum on the proposed Declaration of Principles. We ask for their immediate repeal. Our party is governed by national, state and local constitutions, not by edicts and decrees from the National Executive Committee.

To the extent that the rules adopted by the committee attempt to advise party members how they are to conduct themselves at meetings where the Declaration is to be discussed we regard them as an unwarranted and gratuitous interference with the discussion, and a reflection on the intelligence of the party membership. The assumption that without the advice of the N.E.C. party members might be tempted to indulge in personal invectives reveals the low estimation in which the party membership is held by those in control of the party's destinies. It will be resented by all who feel that in the future, as in the past, they can engage in debate and conduct meetings without the advice and guidance of the N.E.C.

Of far more serious consequence is the attempt to control and supervise party organs, and the instructions, coupled with warnings, that are issued to such organs and party sub-divisions. It constitutes the usurpation of a power which members of the committee must know that they do not possess, and which they seek to arrogate to themselves in defiance of the fundamental law of the party as laid down in the party's Constitution.

The proposal that the N.E.C. shall possess such supervisory power has been advocated by a group in the party. It was offered at the Detroit convention, and never reported out of committee. The convention neither considered it or approved it. With full knowledge that the convention, or a duly constituted committee of the convention, deliberately refused to confer such power on the N.E.C., the committee now undertakes to exercise that power.

In telling party organs how they are to print the Declaration, what accompanying statements must be published, how much space it is to give to the discussion, what position they may take, editorially, for or against the Declaration, and the type of articles they must use, and warning those who fail or refuse to abide by these rules, the N.E.C. has violated the Constitution of the party. If we are to sit passively by and watch the committee assume prerogatives which its members know have been denied to it, we shall have acquiesced in the establishment of a party dictatorship, when the right of every member will be defined by the whim of the N.E.C. instead of by the party Constitution. We are opposed to such dictatorship, inside as well as outside of the party.

In the promulgation of those rules, the N.E.C. officially informs

the party membership that it favors the proposed Declaration of Principles by stating that if party sub-divisions should officially favor the rejection of the Declaration, the N.E.C. would logically be obliged to officially favor the ratification. In this contest, as in any other, the N.E.C. has no right to throw its support to one or another of the contending factions. While threatening to do so only under certain circumstances, the N.E.C. goes on record as favoring the Declaration, and thus attempts to lend its influence to secure its adoption by the membership.

We object, particularly, to the "warnings" which are contained in Rule 5. It is in keeping with the tone which has of late been adopted for the purpose of intimidating and stifling the opposition. We have not relinquished control of the party machinery to any such dictatorial rule, and we are confident that the members will not tolerate the imposition of such arbitrary decisions by those who have acquired temporary control of the party machinery.

The committee, by the adoption of these rules, has sought to influence the outcome of the referendum. We are glad to note that five of the eleven members of the committee, some of whom we know favor the Declaration, have refused to become a party to the attempt to control party papers. We are confident that the action of the six members of the committee who voted for proposals which they believe will prevent the minority from registering their free and uncontrolled judgment of the Declaration will be resented by those of the party members who, regardless of their views of the merits or demerits of the proposed Declaration, believe that unity in the party cannot be achieved by sacrificing democratic control of the party's machinery.

SOCIALISM AND THE FARM CRISIS

(Continued from Page Seven)

limit his producing acreage, no price-fixing scheme will succeed. During the last year we have criticized the Roosevelt administration for its policy of food destruction while millions starve.

A rise in food prices will encourage the farmers to increase production and thus ultimately nullify the benefits which they may derive from any price-fixing plan. Kansas will harvest more wheat this year than last despite the drought and the voluntary allotment plan. Furthermore, the industrial worker will be the chief sufferer. Rising food prices mean falling real wages. The law of capitalist accumulation will continue to operate despite efforts to raise prices artificially through crop limitation.

Demand five, advocating catastrophe insurance, is meaningless. Who is to pay for this insurance? As a fitting climax to a rather strange chapter in the history of the Socialist Party, a resolution was adopted opposing the program of subsistence farming, as proposed by the Roosevelt administration. Yet in the main body of the resolution on farming the party seeks to perpetuate the existence of a large part of our agricultural population who are in reality subsistence farmers.

FAMILY MATTERS

By Julius Gerber

I have two documents relating to the Detroit Declaration of Principles, one from the National office laying down a code of conduct adopted by the N.E.C. for party members in the discussion of the Declaration. The N.E.C. urges that party members should avoid "ascribing ulterior motives to opponents" and that "all organizers and officers of the party shall avoid campaigning for or against the Declaration of Principles except as members of their branches or in meetings held to discuss the Declaration where they have equal rights with all other party members."

The other document is a four-page printed circular from Alfred Baker Lewis, a party official in Massachusetts. As an officer of the party I have refrained from discussing the Declaration and would not waste time on Lewis' circular if he had not violated the first and the sixth paragraph of the N.E.C. instructions by impugning ulterior motives to those who oppose the Declaration, and particularly to New York, and printing a circular in favor of the Declaration, although he is a party official.

Lewis asserts that New York is opposed to the Declaration because "it means transfer of power in the Socialist Party from New York to Illinois or Wisconsin." What the Declaration has to do with power in the party, or when New York dominated or was anxious to dominate the party, Lewis does not explain. He leaves it to our imagination.

Time and space do not permit to take up Lewis' tirade against those opposed to the Declaration which fills a page, but I do want to nail two false statements.

To prove how bad New York is, he insinuates that Jack Altman, secretary of the Labor Committee, has been fired because "he spoke in favor of the Declaration." If all other arguments in Lewis' statement are as true as this one, he ought to change the title of his leaflet by changing the word "Truth" to "Falsehoods."

As to the lust for power by New York: I would remind Comrade Lewis that if it were not for New York in 1928 there would have been no national campaign that year. Unlike other states he mentions in his leaflet New York gave all its man-power and all its financial resources. It bled itself to death; it went into debt, from which it has not been able to extricate itself since.

If New York had lust for power, it was entitled to and could have sent 108 delegates to the 1932 Milwaukee convention; but it did not want to dominate the convention and voluntarily reduced its delegation to almost one-third, in spite of the fact that we knew that Lewis and others had carried on a campaign against New York and particularly against Comrade Hillquit for more than a year, and that Hillquit was to have been defeated for National Chairman.

Comrade Lewis a few months ago attributed the reason that New York does not increase its vote in the State to the fact that New York does not favor a "united front" with the Communists. In this circular it is because New York is opposed to the Declaration. Which is it, or is it both? When will Comrade Lewis make up his mind?

According to him, Massachusetts is the only bright spot under the sun. Maybe the sun would shine brighter for all of us, and particularly in Massachusetts, if he would cease to worry about New York. He may then be able to think more clearly. Or does he follow the old axiom: "Keep on throwing mud and some will stick?"

I advise him to get his information straight before he rushes into

Rules for the Referendum

THE National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has adopted a set of rules for conducting the discussion and the referendum on the Detroit Declaration of Principles which appears below. James Oneal offered an alternate paragraph for section 4, he contending that party papers have always exercised the right to take an editorial position on any matters before the membership and that no clause in the constitution vests the N.E.C. with the power it assumes in the section 4 that was adopted. He also dissented with section 5. The statement of the N.E.C. follows:

1. In the discussion of the Declaration of Principles the National Executive Committee urges that the members avoid personal invectives, ascribing ulterior motives to opponents, and confine the discussion to what each member considers the issues or principles involved. Any other course will only cause ill-feeling, and we urge all party subdivisions to insist that members who depart from this code of ethics shall be denied the floor until they comply with it.

2. Secretaries of branches and locals are instructed to see that there is opportunity for discussion of the Declaration prior to voting. State and local secretaries are instructed to prepare lists of competent speakers on both sides of the question and make their lists available to branches.

3. It is understood that votes by conventions or official committees of subdivisions of the party can have only advisory significance and can in no way bind the members of the party. This applies to all resolutions for or against the Declaration of Principles which may be adopted by states, locals or foreign language federations, or by the executive committees thereof.

4. It is understood that no organ of any foreign language federation or any other subdivision of the party may take an official editorial stand on the Declaration pending the completion of the referendum. Every official organ of any subdivision of the party which has not already done so should be instructed that it must print the Declaration either in English or in a competent translation together with the arguments for and against it officially presented in the referendum. Beyond this both sides must get equality of treatment in the news

columns of the paper. If the editor of a foreign language paper wishes to express his opinion, he may do so as an individual Socialist but it must be made plain that no subdivision of the party can bind the papers or its organizers to take sides in this matter.

Any other position will lead to the utmost anarchy and confusion in the party. Logically the acceptance of any other position would mean that the N.E.C. should commit all its organizers and the editor of its bulletin and news service to positive support of the Declaration. If the N.E.C. cannot or should not do this after the action of a convention, the majority of which supported the Declaration, obviously the executive bodies of foreign language federations, have no power to commit their groups or their papers against the Declaration.

5. We urge Socialist papers not directly under the control of the party to follow the principles we have laid down for official organs. We warn them against the further publication of the type of attacks on the Declaration, immensely hurtful to the party, of which the publication of Comrade Louis Hendin's letters is an example.

6. All organizers and officers of the party shall avoid campaigning for or against the Declaration of Principles except as members of their branches or in meetings held to discuss the Declaration where they have equal rights with all other party members.

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YOUR OLD TICKETS ARE GOOD. — Speakers: Chas. Solomon - Norman Thomas - Wm. Karlin

Sweetness and Light Replacing Sex in the Movies

Movie Moguls Hear the Call of the Box Office

When the massive mentalities of the movie moguls decide that, after all, maybe Eadie really was a lady and when pictures with such titles as "Purple Passion" and "Hotstuff Hannah" are reincarnated as "Pink Pansies" and "The Defalcations of Deborah," we have a right to assume that the light comes not from the brow but from the box office.

The wave of "decency" which is engulfing Hollywood is directly traceable to the organized boycott of religious groups that are convinced that our youth is going straight to hell under the compelling leadership of Mae West and Jean Harlow. Apparently, it no longer pays to be smutty and if it does not pay, its one reason for having been brought onto the screen fades away.

The argument that sexy movies are ruining the morals of the young is of a piece with the statement that radicals are "causing" unrest in America. Decadent movies are no less a by-product of a crumbling economic system than are strikes and lockouts. Anthony Comstock was once the symbol of moral purity in the United States. The fact that his fanatical efforts left hardly a dent on American life has not deterred the busybodies of today. No personable young woman made destitute by the brutalities of capitalism needs the example of the movies to drive her to prostitution in order to make a living.

The motion picture industry is controlled by financiers. Their object is to produce pictures which make money. The only limitation on the contents of these pictures is that they should not tend to undermine the economic system in which they have a vested interest. So we get sugared historical pictures. We get scientific fantasies. We get adventure and mystery stories. When the modern scene is touched upon, there is an ineffable aura of bliss over everything. Everybody is prosperous and if anybody is unhappy, it is only temporary—in the last reel everybody's difficulties are straightened out. Those characters who are poor but deserving in the beginning of a picture are invariably rewarded at the end with wealthy mates or millionaire benefactors. And to relieve the monotony of this guff there is always the Big Bad Wolf and the newsreels showing President Roosevelt's very own navy at target practice off Wakiki Beach.

To the extent that the movies typify the search of the worker for an escape from the realities of a cruel world, they are an authentic part of our civilization. To the extent that they disregard and falsify these realities from which the workers seek to escape, they are a detriment to our civilization and a powerful instrument in the hands of the powers that be. S. H.

Folkline Ballet to Appear Again at the Stadium

The Folkline Ballet will perform this week on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday nights in view of their tremendous success last week. Another popular program will be presented, including the "Bolero," "Prince Igor Dances" and "Les Sylphides." Last week 10,000 patrons were turned away from the Stadium.

The balance of the program for the week, subject to change, follows:

Saturday: Opera, "Madame Butterfly"—Puccini.
Sunday: Academic Festival Overture—Brahms.
Symphony in G Minor—Mozart.
Three Excerpts from "Götterdämmerung"—Wagner.
Sorcerer's Apprentice—Dukas.

Overture to the Bartered Bride—Smetana.
Imperial Waltz—Johann Strauss.
Thursday: Symphony No. 1—Sibelius.

Overture to "Oberon"—Weber.
Sylvia Suite—Delibes.
Nocture and Scherzo from "Midsummer Night's Dream"—Mendelssohn.

Friday and Saturday: Opera, "Faust"—Gounod.

The orchestral programs will be conducted by Willem Van Hoogstraten. Howard Barlow will conduct for the Folkline ballet. Alexander Smallens will conduct the Operatic programs.

Madeleine Carroll



Who graces the screen in "The World Moves On" at the Brooklyn Albee.

At New York and Brooklyn Movie Houses

ROXY

Will Rogers in "Handy Andy" will be held over for a second week at the Roxy. The star plays a small town druggist who is forced into retirement by his social-climbing wife. On the stage there is a Fanchon and Marco review. A new Walt Disney Mickey Mouse, "Gulliver Mickey," is also on the program.

CAPITOL

"The Girl from Missouri," starring Jean Harlow and Franchot Tone, will also be held over for a second week. Lionel Barrymore, Patsy Kelly and Lewis Stone are in the supporting cast.

STRAND

"Housewife" is the picture this week. Bette Davis, George Brent, Ann Dvorak and John Halliday are in the cast.

RIVOLI

George Arliss in "The House of Rothschild" is showing for the last week.

MUSIC HALL

A screen adaptation of John Galsworthy's "One More River" featuring Diana Wynyard occupies Radio City this week.

MUSIC

Stadium Concerts

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Tamiment Lecturers And Players Present Good Program

HAVING entertained a host of sports enthusiasts during the week just concluded, Camp Tamiment, at Tamiment, Pa., has found its annual "Sports Week" still a popular feature. Competitions were featured in all forms of competitive sports, for both men and women. Medals and trophies were awarded to the outstanding competitors.

Beginning Monday, Aug. 13, the Rand School lecturer will be Nathan Fine, author and editor. His topics will include the NRA, war, fascism, the A. F. of L., and Socialism. Following him, during the week of Aug. 20, will be the well-known publicist and commentator, Dr. John T. Flynn.

Under the direction of Ronald Hammond, the Tamiment Players are continuing their season of legitimate drama, presenting during the next week two one-act plays, "Your Highness" and "Fancy Free." Included among the players are the following well-known Broadway performers: Sam Wren, Emily Earle, Hal Thompson, Paul Ballantyne and Flora Taylor.

Active in the musical aspect of Tamiment's entertainment schedule are Grace Perry, soprano, Arturo De Fillipi, the tenor soloist of the Palmolive and other radio programs; the Madison Trio, and Byron Warner. Guest artists are regular features of the Tamiment schedule, with Guiseppe Martino-Rossi, baritone, the most recent. Dance activities are headed by Joseph Levinoff, leading male dancer at the Metropolitan Opera House. All entertainment at Tamiment is directed and coordinated by Max Liebman, who also stages the weekly revues and floor shows.

In response to many requests, Camp Tamiment has announced that it will remain open for the Jewish holidays, Monday and Tuesday, Sept. 10-11, two days longer than its advertised closing, which always takes place on the Sunday after Labor Day. A special rate of \$15 for four days from Friday supper to Tuesday dinner is announced. Rate for a single day will be \$4. The after Labor Day rate of \$25 for a full week will be maintained. Inquiries and reservations should be addressed to Camp Tamiment, Tamiment, Pa.

Drama, Music and Lectures on Unity House Program

A brilliant list of events is on the program of Unity House this week-end. "A Political Program for 1934" is the subject for discussion on Saturday afternoon, to be led by B. Charney Vladeck. In the evening, the Chekov drama, "A Marriage Proposal," will be presented by a cast including such favorites as Lazar Freed and Charlotte Goldstein, both of whom appeared in the success, "Yoshe Kalb," and Victor Packer.

On Saturday afternoon, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes will lead a discussion on "The Fadeout of the

HELD OVER! SECOND WEEK

Hollywood's Blonde Cyclone

JEAN HARLOW

FRANCHOT TONE in

"THE GIRL FROM MISSOURI"

— On the Stage —

BOB HOPE Star of "Roberta"

MILLS BLUE RHYTHM BAND

EXTRA ATTRACTION!

The PAT ROONEYS

CAPITOL Broadway at 50th St.

New Deal." In the evening, at 8:30, the Pine Grove Concert series will be continued. This program will be broadcast over WEVD. Among the artists on this program are the Compinsky Trio, Rose Malawist, dramatic soprano, "Payatz," radio and stage star, and Solomon Golub, poet, composer and singer.

The "Forward" hour will be broadcast Sunday morning from 10 to 11, and the "Unity" Jewish hour from 11 to 12. The latter period will feature B. C. Vladeck, Charles Solomon and Yudi Weitsman, pianist. In the evening, scenes from Paul Green's famous play, "In Abraham's Bosom," will be given with a cast including Rose McClelland, Frank Wilson and Carlton Moss.

News of Movie Actors and Writers

Lion Feuchtwanger's famous novel, "Jew Suss," has been made into a movie by the Gaumont British Corporation and will be seen in the United States soon under the title "Power." Conrad Veidt plays the title part.

John Wexley, author of "They Shall Not Die," is in Hollywood and will do a screen version of "Eight Bells."

Charles Dickens' "David Copperfield" is in production at the MGM studios. The adolescent David will be played by Frank Lawton, a young British actor. Basil Rathbone will play Murdstone. Lionel Barrymore, Lewis Stone, Edna May Oliver, Maureen O'Sullivan and Roland Young are also in the cast.

S. N. Behrman's "Biography" will appear as a movie with the title, "Biography of a Bachelor." Ann Harding and Robert Montgomery are in the leading roles.

"British Agent," the sensational best-seller by R. H. Bruce Lockhart, will be released on Sept. 15.

Paul Muni's next picture will be "Border Town."

A movie called "Orchids and Onions" is about to be released to the world. Walter Connelly and May Robsen are in it.

Elmer Rice Opens "Judgment Day" at Belasco Sept. 12

Elmer Rice's production plans for the coming season include three plays of his own authorship. They will be staged in the Belasco Theatre, recently bought by Mrs. Rice, under his own direction.

"Judgment Day," first on the schedule, will open on Wednesday, Sept. 12. Rehearsals will begin on Aug. 15. The cast of thirty-seven includes Josephine Victor in the leading feminine role.

Joseph Schildkraut will be featured in his second production, "Between Two Worlds." Mr. Schildkraut, who has been in Hollywood during the past few years, is best remembered for his work in "Lilliom" and "Firebrand."

Mr. Rice's third play is "Not for Children." Aline Bernstein will design the scenery for all three productions.

FOX BROOKLYN

"She Learned About Sailors," with Alice Faye and Lew Ayres. The Radio Ramblers' revue on the stage.

Features of the Week on (1300 Kc.) WEVD (231 M.)

Sunday, Aug. 12—11 a.m., Forward Hour—music and sketches; 8:30 p.m., Mimine Salzedo—poetry; 8:45, Sherry and Stange—melody duo; 10, Symposium; 10:45, Fanya Weinberg, concert pianist.

Monday, Aug. 13—8 a.m., Psychology Clinic of the Air—Dr. Jacob List; 5:45 p.m., "Three Voices"—vocal trio.

Tuesday, Aug. 14—8:15 p.m., Betty Blue—songs; 8:30, Wolfe and Gorin—piano duo; 10, String Ensemble; 10:15, Ruth Langer, soprano; 10:30, Edith Friedman, pianist.

Wednesday, Aug. 15—3:45 p.m., Nicholas Salsavsky, baritone—with string ensemble; 8, The Nation Radiatorial Board—talk; 10, "American Revolutions"—dramatic sketch; 10:30, Eugene Byron Morgan; 10:45, House Jameson—poetry.

Thursday, Aug. 16—8:15 p.m., Margaret Dooley, mezzo-soprano; 8:30, Mario Ovidio, baritone—Gerald Mirate, pianist; 8:45, Foreign Affairs Forum—talk; 10, Talk; 10:15, Henry and Edward Peterson—violin and zither; 10:45, "Three Queens"—vocal trio.

Friday, Aug. 17—5:30 p.m., Sidney Hertzberg, The New Leader Review; 8:30, "Three Voices"—vocal trio; 8:45, "Germany"—talk; 10, Hendrik de Leeuw—The Royal Dutch Traveler; 10:15, Sherry and Stange—melody duo.

Saturday, Aug. 18—7:45 p.m., String Ensemble; 8, Clara Blankman, violinist; 8:15, Ethel Kravant, soprano; 10, Pine Grove Concert Series.

Last Week!

GEORGE ARLISS

—in—

"The House of Rothschild"

A 20th Century Picture
Released thru United Artists

RIVOLI THEATRE
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WORKERS' SCHOOL TO OPEN AUGUST 19 IN PENNSYLVANIA

By Sarah Limbach

State Secretary, Socialist Party

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — Socialists from all over the United States are invited to register for the 1934 session of the Pennsylvania Socialist Summer School, which will be held from Sunday, Aug. 19, to Sunday, Sept. 2, at Camp Hoffnung, Pipersville (Bucks County). From all indications the registration will equal, if not exceed, that of 1933.

The school will be directed by Mark Starr, extension director of the Brookwood Labor College. The course in Public Speaking will be conducted by August Claessens of the Rand School. In addition to Public Speaking, there will be courses in Socialist Fundamentals, Socialist and Labor History, and Organization Problems.

An Institute on Workers' Education will be held at Camp Hoffnung on Sunday, Aug. 26, in conjunction with the school. Among those who will serve as discussion leaders are Fania Cohn, of the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers; Joseph Schwartz, of the Philadelphia Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, Socialist candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania and Professor of Philosophy, Swarthmore College; Dr. George W. Hartmann, Professor of Psychology, Pennsylvania State College. An invitation to participate was sent to Spencer Miller of the Workers' Educational Bureau. Socialist Party branches, trade unions and labor fraternal groups are invited to send official representatives to participate in this Institute.

Camp Hoffnung is operated by the Workmen's Circle. It is well equipped for physical comforts, making possible a combination of study and recreation. The terms are \$15 for two weeks, including maintenance and tuition. For further information write to the Socialist Party, 122 9th Street, Pittsburgh, or the Socialist Party of Philadelphia, 810 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia. Local Philadelphia is planning to publish four or five leaflets by the Labor Committee intended to reach members of the trade unions. Four have been written and James Oneal of New York City will be asked to write one on "Labor and Political Action."

Reading. James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, will be the principal speaker at the big Socialist picnic at the Socialist Park, Sinking Spring, Sunday afternoon, Aug. 12. He will also speak over the radio at 12:15 noon.

Westmoreland. The local will hold a picnic on Aug. 12 at Oaldale Park, Route 71, three miles east of West Newton.

The principal speaker will be Jesse H. Holmes, Socialist candidate for Governor. Dr. Jesse Holmes has been professor of Philosophy at Swarthmore College for the past 35 years and is president of the Philadelphia District American Federation of Teachers. Bring family and friends. Do not miss this opportunity to hear one of our most competent speakers.

Party Forges to Front in California

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—The Socialist party will run candidates for 26 state offices, the largest number for a great many years, and is indicative of increasing strength. Filing fees of well over \$1000 have been paid. These facts are the more interesting in view of the Sinclair-Democratic opposition and the competition of the Utopian Society. The party will come through the final elections with renewed life and vigor.

The summer school in Northern California was a success. The 21 students who attended enjoyed it and profited by it and all expenses were made. Many southern members are eagerly looking forward to the August session at the Workmen's Circle camp in Carbon Canyon, about 40 miles east of Los Angeles, on the 11th and 12th.

The State Executive Committee has accepted the resignation of C. E. Turner of Monrovia from the Committee and instructed the State Secretary to notify Herbert Elstein of Los Angeles, first alternate from Southern California, of the next meeting. The August meeting of the S.E.C. will be held in Los Angeles.

Campaign Paper

A second issue of the New World, campaign paper, is planned. The first issue paid for itself, and there is some cash in the campaign fund. The new issue will contain a reprint of the state platform. The Campaign Committee considered this more practical than printing the platform as a separate leaflet. Locals desiring special editions may arrange with the committee through the State Secretary's office.

A clear-cut statement on Sinclair and his campaign for the Democratic nomination for governor will appear in this issue of the New World.

The Frisco Strike

During and after the general strike in San Francisco some of the self-styled "patriotic" elements in the bay area indulged in a reign of terror against the "reds." Bricks wrapped in warning messages were thrown through the windows of people suspected of being "reds." Many other acts of terrorism and violence were committed with the connivance or open cooperation and encouragement of the police. Radical meeting places were demolished and equipment was destroyed. No genuine effort to prevent or stop this was seriously undertaken by the authorities. In view of these facts the following statement was adopted:

PROTEST LAWLESSNESS!

"The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of California protests against the use of police and militia in support of the Industrial Association of San Francisco and the East Bay; protests against the reign of terror instituted by lawless mercenaries in the employ of various industrial interests and the assistance of the police to these lawless elements; the attacks upon homes and meeting places of various persons and groups in Berkeley and other parts of the San Francisco Bay area under the claim that the persons so attacked were Communists. These were deliberately planned and carried out for the purpose of intimidating any and all workers who insist on bettering their conditions."

"We call to the attention of all public officials concerned and all branches of our government that a policy upon their part either of ignoring these violations of the law on the part of the Industrial interests, or of inciting and supporting them, will not long be tolerated by the workers of a free country; and that the

continuance of their present policies will lead to grave disorders. For such disorders the people will trace the responsibility to these officials who, while they have tried to cover up such lawlessness by throwing out a smoke screen to so-called Communistic violence, have given over the powers of government to the control of the shipping and the allied industrial interests of San Francisco."

"The Socialist Party of California pledges its support to all victims of this reign of terror and it calls upon all citizens of California who believe in liberty to use every means possible to restore the constitution of the State of California and of the United States in the area affected."

"We demand that all those guilty of acts of violence and terrorism shall be punished, and we suggest that steps be taken to recover of the municipalities concerned for damage to property inflicted by mobs."

"We pledge the Socialist Party in this crisis to adhere to its historic policy of using its utmost efforts to protect the rights of the workers no matter to what faction they belong nor how powerful the interests by which they are attacked."

The party collected over \$230 for the general strike, \$200 of which was sent by the National Labor Committee. The S.E.C. recommends to each local that it set up a committee to function along the lines of the National Labor Committee in getting relief for strikes, arousing public sentiment, and publishing facts.

A Speakers' Bureau

The S.E.C. thanked Comrade Whitney for the work he has done for the Organization Committee and expressed the hope that he will stay with one local and help build it.

Comrade Henderson of Bakersfield was authorized to complete plans for a lyceum course, which was accepted in principle, and to secure such sub-committee assistance as he wishes.

The State Speakers' Bureau, under the direction of E. E. Porter of San Francisco, was authorized to arrange meetings for Fred Henderson on his tour through the state.

Helen Marston, San Diego, and Marion S. Alderton, Palo Alto, were recommended for membership of the National Women's Committee.

Banquet and Rally

With the slogan, "Socialism Advances," the Socialists of Southern California will hold a great rally

Another Illinois Town Bars Socialist Speakers

WEST FRANKFORT, Ill. — Douglas B. Anderson, Socialist candidate for Congress, and William Cox, candidate for State Representative, were denied the privileges of free speech here by Chief of Police Nipper.

The two had previously spoken in Carterville, Herrin, Marion, Buckner, DuQuoin, Ziegler and Johnson, all in Franklin County.

After conferring with Sheriff Browning Robinson, who agreed to talk with the police chief here, the two announced they would return to West Frankfort later to speak.

Anderson, who is chairman of the Socialist Party in Illinois, gained nation-wide publicity recently when he and Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President in 1932, were denied the right to speak in Taylorville.

Chief Nipper evaded a direct answer when the two asked him if Republicans and Democrats were to be allowed to speak before the fall campaign. They represented the third largest political party in the United States, they said. They were warned not to speak when they inquired about the place in which political speeches were usually held.

Finally Anderson said: "Suppose we go and see the mayor about this."

"You can see the mayor and the state's attorney and the sheriff and if they give you a permit, I'll stay at home, but you see the undertaker before the meeting because you will never make no more speeches."

Anderson: "What if I get a permit from the attorney-general?"

Chief Nipper: "I don't care if you get permits from twenty-five attorney-generals. You won't speak here and that's all I've got to say."

on Saturday evening, Aug. 11, and a banquet at the Socialist Center, 126 N. St. Louis St., at 6:30 p.m. Speakers are Max Winter of Vienna, Sam White of San Francisco, member of the S.E.C. and active in the Frisco strike, and Roy Burt of Chicago, national organizer. Comrade Winter has been in Los Angeles since early July and his story of the Austrian movement has been heard by many.

Sam White will bring not only a gripping story of the Frisco struggle but an analysis of the forces in the strike and the lessons to be learned from it.

Roy Burt has been conducting schools for Socialist organizers and workers in the Rocky Mountain region and in California as well as speaking in the central west and on the coast.

The S.E.C. will meet in Los Angeles on Saturday and Sunday, Aug. 11 and 12, and attend the banquet which will mark the launching of a new aggressive campaign for the Socialist ticket. A full course duck dinner will be served. Price, 35c. Reservations should be made at once. Phone or mail reservations to 106 E. Adams St., Prospect 1814, or to the Forward Office, MU. 4812.

Party Progress

Missouri

By H. Ommerman

Kansas City. State Organizers Nozer and Harris held meetings, beginning July 30, in Blue Springs, Lees Summit, Lone Jack, Oak Grove, Buckner, Liberty, Belton, Springfield and Independence. These meetings were held in outlying sections and were like plowing virgin land. This work will be followed up with attempting organization. After a week of hard work the organizers relaxed at a picnic held at Lake Lotawanna.

Michigan

A conference of all branches in the 11th Senatorial District will be held at Ann Arbor, Wednesday, Aug. 15, to nominate a candidate for State Senator. Arthur E. Larsen, candidate for Governor, is the speaker. Comrade Larsen is to address the Swedish Vassar Society in Lapeer, Saturday, Aug. 11. The State Secretary announces the formation of a new branch in Benton Harbor.

Wayne County. Comrades are asked to note the change in the plans for the Labor Day Picnic. It is to be held at Riverside Park, Utica Rd. and Vanduyke. There is ample room to accommodate 3,000 people, with dancing, baseball, and swimming facilities. Tickets can be obtained from branch secretaries. The Campaign Committee is planning an energetic program for the coming month. Maurice Glickman has been appointed campaign manager.

Branch 3. The branch is holding a picnic at Ukrainian Park, Sunday, Aug. 19. Ukrainian Park is on the Stephenson Highway between the nine and ten mile roads.

By John K. Asnot

The Convention of the 11th State Senatorial District—Macomb, St. Clair and Lapeer Counties—will be held Aug. 22, at 8 p.m., in the Ann Arbor City Hall, to nominate a candidate for the state senate and form a closer relationship between the members and locals.

Brown City local held a street meeting Saturday, July 28. C. A. Lewis speaker. John Neiderhauser, candidate for Congress, 11th District, also spoke. This local is calling a county convention for Sanilac County to nominate candidates. The new local at McGregor will help.

A Macomb County Local is being formed. It seems there will be at least three branches in time to do some team work for the election time.

July 24th a Convention of the 11th Congressional District was held in Port Huron. In addition to nominating John Neiderhauser for Congress we formed an organization to cooperate with the State and National Party for the complete organization of the Thumb which includes six counties—Macomb, St. Clair, Lapeer, Sanilac, Tuscola and Huron. A St. Clair County Convention was held and candidates nominated for most of offices.

Indiana

In addition to endorsing The New Leader as the official organ of the party in this state, the State Executive Committee has disapproved the Detroit Declaration of Principles and approved the Declaration of the New York State Committee.

New York State

Steuben County. Organizer William E. Duffy has been working in Steuben County this week. There is a movement to organize a local at the village of Addison, near the Pennsylvania border.

Wellsville. A local has been organized at Wellsville, Allegany County, by Field Organizer Fleischman of the Y.P.S.L. The officers are: Organizer, Wm. D. Thompson; Secretary, Clyde Dixon, R.D. 1 Scio; Financial Secretary, J. A. Leonard; Educational Director, F. J. Clark.

Buffalo. August Claessens of New York City will be the speaker at the picnic of Local Buffalo this Saturday.

Rockland County. Street meetings, Tuesday, Aug. 14, and Thursday, Aug. 16, at 8 p.m., in Piermont, Ash St. and River Rd., and Nyack, Main and Park St. respectively. Speakers: A. Batten, T. Davis and D. Roth. Local meeting: Thursday, Aug. 16, at home of Geo. Roosevelt, Shadyside Ave., South Nyack.

IDAHO SOCIALISTS IN STATE CONVENTION AT TWIN FALLS AUG. 14

By D. P. DONAHUE

POCATELLO, Idaho.—Socialists of Idaho are correlating their thoughts and actions into a campaign such as they have not done for many years. They hold their convention in Twin Falls Aug. 14 to nominate candidates for the state offices. Under state law that convention requires 200 delegates to be present to qualify candidates for the ballot. This law was meant to rule out a third party; it is requiring Socialists to make sacrifices to get the convention. If the old parties passed election regulations requiring Socialists to be more zealous than they may be thanked for their action. The comrades are making sacrifices to make the convention a success.

A. L. Adams, Huston, and D. P. Donahue, Pocatello, have been holding organization meetings over the Southern part of the state relative to the state convention. H. J. McFarlan, Ann Arbor, Mich., is now speaking in Pocatello and Idaho Falls in behalf of the convention. Ray Overhulse, Weippe, is organizing in northern Idaho. Also W. R. Snow, Everett, Wash., an old-time Socialist, is campaigning in the northern section.

Roy Burt, national organizer, will attend the convention. He will also appear in Boise on Aug. 13 to appeal for organization and to enthrone "on-the-fence" Socialists to action. After the convention he will speak in Pocatello and Idaho Falls.

Readers of Socialist publications are urgently requested and invited to this convention to insure its success. When and if the state candidates are assured a place on the ballot, which would also assure a column designated as Socialist, campaigns may be conducted in any county by using stickers. In this way election fees may be saved for campaigning purposes.

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By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

The German Gangsters

THE gangsters who misrule Germany certainly understand the arts of mass propaganda. They made a tremendous patriotic demonstration out of the death of Hindenburg. That was clever of them. It was not equally clever or intelligent for papers outside of Germany to praise Hindenburg so extravagantly because they hated Hitler. Just as the Allies finally broke the Hindenburg line, so did the Nazis break the line Hindenburg had set up in Germany to keep Hitler out of office. No, there is a difference. Hindenburg never surrendered to the Allies, but he did surrender to Hitler. Maybe the reason was old age, but that does not alter the facts. The German Social-Democrats and others who once supported Hindenburg to beat Hitler finally got them both.



Norman Thomas

The New Deal

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has returned to the United States in excellent campaigning form. He and his administration are acting vigorously in the matter of the drought. They must be glad that their crop production program had not made more headway before this immense calamity occurred. In general, Mr. Roosevelt has done nothing to give the lie to the long article in last Sunday's New York Times from one of its Washington staff to the effect that the administration had moved definitely to the right and that we would hear no more about a Roosevelt revolution. Every day in every way it becomes clearer that the New Deal still uses the old deck of cards and the old rules of the capitalist game.

The A. F. of L. Convention

IT is encouraging that President Green of the A. F. of L. is speaking out so vigorously on the matter of unemployment. It is also encouraging that with increasing emphasis labor leaders are challenging the performances of the NRA. This is all to the good, and warrants a considerable degree of hope of what may happen at the next A. F. of L. convention. Socialists who are going to be delegates to that convention have a high responsibility to suggest a program in line with our Socialist analysis of what the situation requires. It would be good if they could inform the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party at 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill., that they expect to be at the San Francisco convention. There should be a conference among Socialists on a program of action. In no way need such a conference take the form of a secret or binding caucus or have any of the evils of certain sort of clubs that spring up in unions.

A Menacing Proposal

ONE of the many vital issues which ought to concern the A. F. of L. convention and get action from it is the disfranchisement of workers, employed and unemployed, in state after state. In the South the poll tax is the way the job is generally done. In New Hampshire and I think in Maine, and possibly in some other states, neither a man nor his wife nor any member of a family on relief may vote. Governor Winant of New Hampshire attacked this law in his pre-election campaign and then promptly forgot it. Our Socialist candidates for all offices in the state are making it a leading issue.

This is the more important because the poison of the idea is spreading. That ultra-reactionary organization, the New York State Economic Council, among a long list of oppressive laws which it advocates, urges the disfranchisement of all those on relief rolls! This is a kind of capitalist dictatorship which isn't bothering even to keep on the democratic mask any longer. If the government were to disfranchise all those whom it has helped it would begin with the kind of men who make up the State Economic Council. They built up their industries on tariff and other subsidies. The R.F.C. began giving hand-outs to big business in distress long before the federal government took an interest in starving human beings. The Socialist Party and all labor organizations have no more important duty than to start an aggressive drive to see to it that millions of workers now disfranchised at least get the vote. Such an aggressive drive would be the best defense against the new wave of anti-Red hysteria which is sweeping over the country.

Striking at Democracy

IF any one thing is clear it is that the New Deal has not abolished the class struggle or guaranteed civil liberties. As I write these lines, I am anxiously awaiting information about the arrests

and other attacks on some of our Socialist comrades who have been initiating the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in Arkansas and Tennessee. I am also awaiting final news about the fate of Socialists and other leaders of the union strikers in Hardin County, Ohio, the seat of one of the worst bits of exploitation in the United States. In a California college an active Socialist professor, one of the best and most popular in the college, has just lost his job in summer, too late to find another for the fall. The trustees say the reason is economy; actually it is his Socialism. The victims of anti-Red hysteria in California are not merely the workers in the cities or the migratory fruit pickers. In Minneapolis, where a drought-stricken state is now supporting the militia to keep order, the trouble is due to the stubborn refusal of employers to deal with workers whom they call Reds. The fight is on and will be on until the final victory of the Cooperative Commonwealth is won. The National Office will handle any contribution for relief or defense.

The Automobile Workers

IT is bad news that several strong locals of automobile workers have withdrawn from the A. F. of L. under circumstances which look as if they were making a bid for the friendship of the bosses rather than support from their fellow workers. Unfortunately, the A. F. of L. itself is apparently not without blame. From Michigan a loyal Socialist, an automobile worker and experienced trade unionist, writes me as follows: "At the national conference held here, President William Green and Organizer Collins refused to hear the plea to charter us as a national or international union, and put over a National Council with no power. . . . All of the organizers sent here were outsiders and very conservative. They have lost prestige with the membership and the local unions are going down. Collins did not cooperate with the local trade unions in the Detroit Federation of Labor and would not take suggestions from local auto workers." From this letter it would seem that the A. F. of L. convention still has its work cut out to get the right sort of organizers and to turn its Federal unions into genuine, nation-wide industrial unions.

Charter Revision

IT'S hard to know just how much space to give to this Charter Revision controversy in this column. It is a matter which concerns New York rather than the nation and it does not directly involve any outstanding Socialist principle. With the explicit approval of the local, state, and national executive committees, I accepted membership on the Charter Revision Committee which was named by the legislature. We did not expect to get a Socialist charter out of the commission, and we have grave doubts about the results of the commission's work. Membership on the commission seemed to present an opportunity to fight for proportional representation with party designation in New York City, and for better control of the city in such matters as local taxation, a proper housing program, and public ownership of the so-called public utilities. What brought about the present controversy and the break in the commission had nothing to do with these things. It did not even directly have to do with the problem of the elimination of inefficiency and waste. The truth is, that from the beginning Governor Smith, the chairman of the commission, and Judge Seabury, the vice-chairman, tried to force through a skeleton charter in time for the November election. I think that they were substantially right in their position on the matter of borough government. But the way in which they handled it was entirely wrong. Some of their ideas of what the Charter Commission ought to do or not to do were as far removed from Socialist principles as those of any organization Democrat on the commission. I am, of course, consulting with the sub-committee of the party on the charter concerning the best way under the circumstances to advance our ideas. We shall lay the matter before proper party committees. My own feeling is that we have more to hope from the continuance of the present commission than from any attempt to get in line behind Smith and Seabury in asking the legislature to permit Mayor LaGuardia to appoint a small new Charter Commission. Whatever happens to the Charter Commission, it is our business, as I said over WEVD, to fight for the right purpose in city government and the right power behind it, rather than to spend too much of our time and energy on squabbles as to the precise form of structure of a capitalist city government. To say this is entirely consistent with interest in the proper sort of economy and efficiency and the best form of representation which we can get. The one thing we must make clear is that we are not the tail to the kite of Smith or Seabury or anybody else.

Family Matters

I HAD hoped to drop discussion of the Declaration of Principles, but I suppose I am expected to answer the open letter to me in last week's New

The New Leader Book Corner

WITH this issue we begin a department in which we will call the attention of our readers to books of more than passing interest to them and to our times. We feel that they will profit from reading about these books—and profit more by actually reading the books we recommend.

Naturally, we expect a number of publishers who realize the buying power of our readers to advertise these and other books in our columns.

You must back up this confidence by mentioning the books that appeal to you—when you buy or borrow such books—that you read the notice in The New Leader.

By James Oneal

Beginnings of Bolshevism

A HISTORY OF BOLSHEVISM.
By Arthur Rosenberg. Oxford University Press. \$3.75.

THE author of this history joined the German Communist Party in 1920, was a member of the Executive of the Third International, and resigned in 1927. He is not a member of any party now and is a refugee from Hitler in Switzerland.

In 240 pages he covers the period from Marx to Lenin, 1843-93, the revolution in Russia, 1893-1914, and the successive stages of Bolshevism down to the year 1932. His approach is that of the competent historian who is objective considering that for seven years he was an active Communist.

We are accustomed to think of Bolshevism as an extraordinarily revolutionary movement, but like all extreme sects it is long on phrases and extremely opportunist in action. The "eternal truth" of today becomes a "counter-revolutionary deviation" tomorrow; the "party line" becomes so zig-zag that the party member must become dizzy in trying to follow its devious windings. What is "wrong" for others is "right" for Bolshevism and what is "compromise" for others is a "strategic retreat"

by Bolsheviks to be admired by them. The world is divided into two kinds of people; one consists of Bolsheviks and all others are scoundrels. Lenin and Stalin are the prophets and Trotsky is a fallen angel.

Rosenberg has written an informing history and his treatment is quite in contrast with that of Trotsky's in his three massive volumes. Lenin's opportunism is evident in an article written in December, 1914—the World War was on!—on "The National Pride of the Greater Russians." Here he tells the Russian workers that "We are filled with national pride" and glorifies the language and "our native land." The following year he is for a democratic republic and a coalition with the democratic lower middle class.

The author traces the evolution of Bolshevik theory and practice through its various mazes into the period of power, dictatorship, the founding and direction of the Communist International, the inner factional fights, the dictatorship of a small group over the party members, the struggle with Trotsky, the failure to solve the peasant problem, and the decline of the Communist International till it became merely an agency serving the nationalism of Bolshevik Russia.

"Ever since 1921," says Rosenberg, "all independent critical thought has been stifled by official persecution both in Soviet Russia and in the Communist International. The Bolshevik Empire resembles the empire ruled over by the Emperor in Andersen's immortal fairytale. The Emperor can walk about naked because every one who fails to see his supposititious clothes is a moral outcast. Similarly the Emperor walks through the Bolshevik Empire and to his right and left go party officials driving away every one who dares to cry loud 'The Emperor is naked!'" Through this stifling of thought and requiring slavish obedience to orders, the Communist parties outside of Russia have become wooden machines incapable of self-directed action.

The author deals rather briefly with the economic program of the Bolsheviks but he states that three essentials of a real Socialist order have not been fulfilled. "Industry must be organized into great industrial associations under the free control of the producers; agriculture must be organized in a similar fashion; and production must be regulated solely by demand and not in accordance with market and trade interests. Soviet Russia today does not fulfil any one of these three preliminary conditions." Producers have no voice in management. Policy in the big industries, he declares, and a bureaucracy based on force in charge of administration is irreconcilable with the Socialist organization of society.

Russian Bolshevism has largely retreated behind its frontiers and the international middle class still fears it, says Rosenberg, because that class does not understand it. The Comintern no longer has any influence on the international working class. The ruling classes may have cause to fear the "Marxian proletariat and the world revolution; but these are not Bolshevism," are the final words of this book.

Leader from the Committee for the Preservation of Socialist Principles. In general, the letter, like the Socialist Voice, speaks for itself. The following points may be in order:

1. The trouble with the Socialist Voice was not a lack of dignity and tolerance, but the presence of slanderous statements which do not conform to fact. I understand that a detailed answer to some of these points has been or is being prepared. I called attention to one of the most serious of them.

2. If anybody can show me corresponding slanderous and untrue or misleading statements in any document supporting the Declaration of Principles. I shall criticize it in the same way.

3. I earnestly supported the rule of the N.E.C. requiring organs of the party or its sub-divisions to print both sides of the discussion on the Declaration of Principles and to urge a similar course upon Socialist papers, like the American Guardian, which are not party organs.

4. Both in speech and in writing, I applauded the C.P.S.P. for changing its original name and commented on the fact that it did not get and perhaps did not seek the money which at first some of its enthusiasts said they would get.

5. I never charged that copies of the Socialist Voice were deliberately sent to non-Socialists. I will give to a responsible officer of the committee who may write me for it privately some names of people, not members of the party, who got the Voice in the mail. I will also give the name of a Pennsylvania city, where I am reliably informed that the Voice was given out on the picket line of a strike. I don't blame the committee, but that's the kind of thing that is likely to happen.

Speaking of Pennsylvania, I should like to praise the way in which that state has handled the Declaration and to report the great Socialist interest at picnics in Reading and Allentown and in meetings at Altoona, Phillipsburg, and State College.