

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

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In Three Sections—Sec. 1 PRICE FIVE CENTS

## But Workers Must Eat

### Machines Displace The Labor of Workers

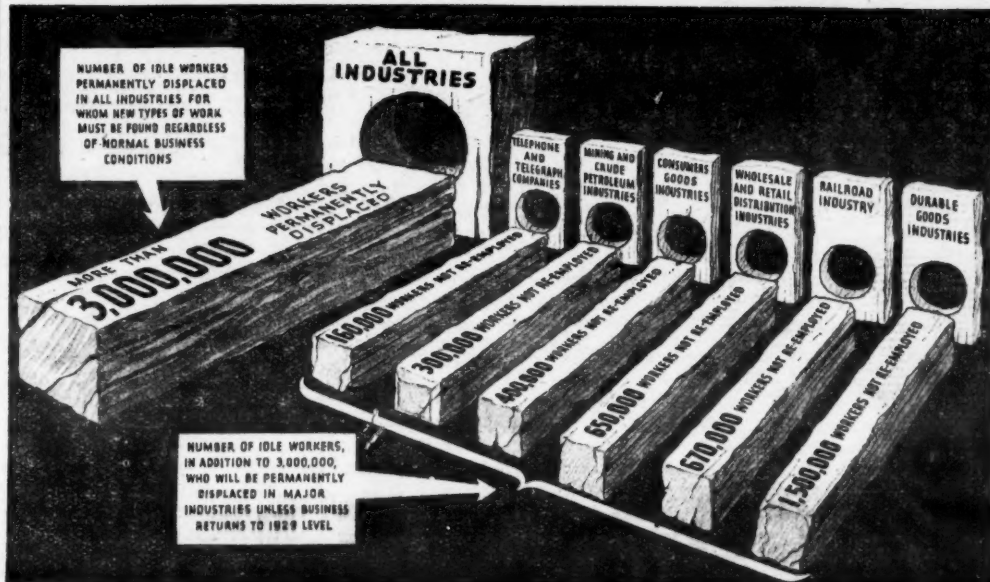
HAS capitalism created a permanent army of paupers, an army that will be with us even if "prosperity" returns? That is the question implied in the illustration on this page. It shows the displacement of workers. Capitalism has no use for them.

They cannot be pickled and eaten. On the contrary, they will have to eat. But inventions have taken their place. Machines do not wear clothes, require food and homes; they do not require education or go to the movies. They do not require rest, they do not strike, they do not vote, they obey orders. The machine is the ideal slave for the owner.

This slave has pushed masses of workers out of employment. How many? Well, there are at least 3,000,000 of them. It is estimated that two and one-half persons are dependent upon each workless worker. Add 7,500,000 dependents to the 3,000,000 jobless workers and we have a total of 10,500,000 human beings who constitute a permanent pauper army.

This is nearly equal to the total number of human beings in the United States in 1830!

This displacement of workers



was steadily going on during the period of Coolidge-Hoover "prosperity." It is estimated that between 1925 and early in 1928 the number of wage and salaried workers displaced was 1,874,050. There has been no reversal of this process. Labor power is to become more and more surplus merchandise.

Then a terrible winter is at hand. The outlook in this respect is darker than in any winter since 1929. Throughout the nation there are 11,000,000 human

beings who avoid starvation by receiving relief.

The prospect now is that even this number will be almost doubled. If the forecast of Donald Richberg is correct, this winter there will probably be as many as 20,000,000 receiving relief!

It is almost impossible to understand the significance and the tragedy implied by these figures. If the number of those receiving relief this winter equal the number in the Richberg forecast, the number of these outcasts will be almost

equal to the total population of the 35 states in 1850!

The economic disaster that has overwhelmed us is the most terrific in all the annals of history. Who in the face of these figures can assert that the New Deal has charted the road out of our Egyptian bondage?

We are facing the situation of a permanent army of paupers in a nation of half-employed and poorly-paid workers. Our creative genius, our labor power, that built the temple of civilization, has be-

### Capitalism Makes Permanent Army Of Paupers

come a drug on the market. We cannot sell it and the capitalist owners of industry cannot buy it.

We have built this temple. We have decorated it, kept it in repair, improved it, and expanded it. Now that the industries are complete we are thrown out of them by the millions. Idle parasites own them and that ownership is propped by governing power.

Workers of the nation! Yours is the power to make and take. Once again the parties of capitalism place those governing powers within your reach. The November election is a national referendum. You can return these powers to those who have them or you can take them for yourselves.

What will be your answer? The Socialist Party is the party of your class. You can use it as an agency for obtaining these powers and using them for you, for your families and for your fellow sufferers.

You have been patient. You have endured terrible suffering and now we are passing into the torment of twenty millions. This should not be. It is not necessary. It can be avoided.

That ballot is the last thing in this world that many of you have. Vote straight Socialist and make it count for you and yours!

## What Roosevelt Said, and What He Didn't Say

By Benjamin Meiman  
(Special Correspondent)

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT must have a lot of confidence in the efficacy of words to create faith in the New Deal and to secure reassurance through his "fireside talks" over the radio—such as he delivered last Sunday. There was more fight in that speech than in any other he made. It was the longest and covered a lot of ground, yet it is full of omissions.

President Roosevelt covered nine points—all important—but the real note was his determination to end industrial strife. He is going, he said, to try, through conferences and agreements with labor and employers, to arrange a truce.

One feels impelled to remind Mr. Roosevelt that Mr. Hoover tried that. At the very beginning of the depression Hoover called a capital-labor conference. The industrial lions made all kinds of promises to lie down with the industrial lambs. The lambs turned into lamb chops.

Notice was served upon business bodies that those functions of the NRA which have proved their worth will be made "a part of the

permanent machinery of the Government." The interests opposing public works expenditures were told that no nation "can afford to waste its human resources" and invite "demoralization caused by vast unemployment."

Capital and labor were warned that when either rejects impartial agencies of peace it "is not fully supporting the recovery effort of the Government."

Critics of the New Deal who point to England's recovery were answered by the assertion that we are ten years behind the English in social reforms, that in the matter of fiscal economics England went off the gold standard a year before we did and has converted ten billions of dollars of its debt at lower interest rates.

He said the people refused to grow excited in the face of "awesome pronouncements concerning the unconstitutionality of some of our measures of recovery and relief and reform." He let it be known that he is not "frightened either by reactionary lawyers or political editors."

To those people "coming out of their storm cellars... to complain that all that we have done is unnecessary," he issued a warning that the storm is not yet over. And

## New Leader to Sponsor Tuesday Nights on WEVD

THE Social Problems Round Table over WEVD every Tuesday at 10 p.m. will be converted into a period of campaign talks by leading state and city candidates of the Socialist Party until after the election. These programs will be sponsored by The New Leader.

In addition to the standard bearers on the state and city ticket, Charles Solomon, Norman Thomas and Harry W. Laidler, the following speakers will give their views over WEVD: William Karlin, Rachel Panken, August Claessens, Frank R. Crosswaith, Henry Fruchter and others.

he aimed a shot at former President Hoover by saying that he is against that kind of "liberty" under which "a free people were being regimented into the service of the privileged few."

On the defensive side it was an exceedingly effective speech, but on the offensive side it did not click. After all, the people are much more interested in definite recovery plans than in seeing him flay his already defeated and discredited Tory enemies. The real enemy is depression.

The business upturn was reported by the President last spring. In the last two months the curve has been steeply downward. Profits (Continued on Page Ten)

## Unite Against War! Green Urges A. F. L. Delegates

By a Special Correspondent

SAN FRANCISCO. — After starting off on the wrong foot because of the jurisdictional dispute in the building trades, the American Federation of Labor convention in Civic Auditorium here marched in the right direction by cheering to the echo President Green's speech condemning war and calling upon the workers of the world to "unite solidly to prevent what seems to be an approaching war."

Introducing John Stokes, of the London Glass Bottle Workers Trade Society, a fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, Green made a stirring appeal to trade unions, especially of the United States, England and the Continent to "unite to hold back those whose mad lust for power would bring on another war."

### No More War!

"We cannot allow them to have their way," Green declared. "They must not be allowed to command the mass of workers to march out on the field of battle and destroy each other. The purpose and the spirit of the workers in the trade

unions must be to see to it that war shall never occur again," he concluded, pleading for peace and "against war in all its forms."

Stokes, in seconding Green's sentiment, urged upon the convention a consideration of the fact that "the Socialist principle has become the obvious and sole solution of our economic and industrial and social crisis."

"Workers of all countries, unite against the danger of coming war!" was the slogan emphasized by President Green. "We detest war in all its forms and will not allow power-hungry warmongers to work their will in this fight against war, we hope that the connection between the labor organizations of the different countries will grow steadily better and stronger."

"We workers must not permit the repetition of the great world catastrophe," Stokes agreed.

### Winter Lashes Fascism

Max Winter, Socialist ex-vice mayor of Vienna, an exile from Fascist Austria, delivered a scathing exhortation of fascism and Nazi-ism. His impressive marshalling of the facts concerning fascism and its danger to world peace and the workers of the world aroused enthusiasm and determination on (Continued on Page Five)



# Big Corporations Are Established as a Hillquit Memorial Meeting Third House With Veto Powers

SINCE the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act its administration shows how difficult it is to compel a ruling class to obey the law. Henry Ford was the first one to defy the NRA. There is nothing in the NRA that seriously impairs the power of the owners of industry unless it be Section 7A, and even that does not have teeth. It is only helpful to the workers to the extent that they can enforce it by organized pressure.

But even what appears to be government interference with their power is resented by the ruling capitalist kings. At first they were frightened when the Michigan banks closed in February last year. This fright became a panic in March when banks in twenty more states were closed, and then every bank in the country

was closed by President Roosevelt for four days on March 5.

Never before had a nation witnessed such a cowardly and helpless ruling class as in March and the next few months. They looked to the government to pull them out of the ditch. Then came the N.I.R.A. in June, and by this time the witless capitalists and bankers began to recover from their fright. Although thoroughly discredited, they began to assume arrogant manners. Henry Ford took the lead and the Babbitts of capital and finance looked on with approval. Then one by one they followed Ford, and today in the upper structure of capitalism some of the big shots simply tell the NRA administration to keep out of their kingdoms.

For more than a year the Harriman firm in Tennessee has made faces at the NRA officials and it is still doing business at the old stand. In the steel empire the Carnegie Steel Company and the Weirton Steel Company go ahead with their company unions and defy government agents. The Carnegie crowd goes so far as to say that it will meet a representative of the Labor Board, but for "discussion" only. A little chat over a glass of wine, a good cigar, and that will end the diplomatic relations between government and steel.

All this simply means that corporate power is so influential that it is really a Third House with veto powers. If the corporate masters of the nation can defy even the moderate demands made upon them by the NRA it means that they can amend, interpret or set aside sections of the law which they do not approve. This means capitalist oligarchy and nothing else.

However, this is nothing new to Socialists, who have always held that political supremacy follows upon the accumulation of economic power. Slave power was once just as influential at Washington and it was just as arrogant. When slave property concentrated into the hands of about 5,000 families, its owners became insolent. They were riding to a fall but did not know it.

Contrast all this with the criticisms of the recent textile strike by press and politicians. The textile workers were the victims of this chiseling and sabotage of law and for trying to enforce it by the only economic power they have, the organs of capitalism read "law 'n' order" sermons to the striking workers.

It was one of Dickens' characters who said that the "law is a lass." It is, when it adversely affects the interests of those who own the powers of production, distribution and exchange.

THE memory of Morris Hillquit, who died October 7, 1933, will be honored at a memorial meeting Sunday, Oct. 7, at New York's Town Hall, 43rd Street and Sixth Avenue, at 2 p. m. sharp.

Delegations of comrades from cities in the vicinity of New York will attend the meeting to do honor to the ever-living memory of the great and noble man whose passing was such a grievous blow.

There will be an impressive

musical program by the splendid Compinsky Trio, who will play the famous Tchaikowsky and Rachmaninoff Trios, and brief addresses by men who were close to Comrade Hillquit in his lifetime.



Morris Hillquit

The beautiful bust of Hillquit Konikov will be unveiled.

Each speaker will represent some organization or section of the movement with which Comrade Hillquit was intimately associated in his lifetime. They will be Jose Baskin, secretary, and Jose Weinberg, president of the Workers' Circle; Julius Hochman, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Abraham Mill of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Sol Polakoff of the United Hebrew Trades; Abraham Cahane, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward; Lena Morrow Lewis of California, for many years associated with Comrade Hillquit on the N.E.C.; Algernon Lee, president of the Rand School; Louis Waldman, State Chairman of the Socialist Party; Charles Solomon, candidate for Governor; Jacob Panken, one of Hillquit's closest associates; attorney for the needle trades, James Oneal, editor of The New Leader and Comrade Hillquit's successor as American member of the Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6th, 1934

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## 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.



## Morris Hillquit in the International

By Th. Dan

I HAVE never been to America, and my only meetings with Morris Hillquit, before and after the war, were during his frequent visits to Europe. These meetings created between us a feeling of mutual personal sympathy and of friendship. But they also established between us a close political association, as Hillquit's visits to Europe were usually connected with his participation in the work of the Socialist International and its congresses, and I do not remember when we had any serious divergence of views.

There were many reasons that created between us this common political thought. With all the enormous difference between the history and the conditions of the Russian Social Democratic Party and the American party, both of them seek to unite and to direct the workers' movement of two great countries.

Hillquit knew the Russian language perfectly, was fully conversant with Russian Socialist literature, was an attentive observer and a friend of the Russian workers' movement which he was always ready to help. But this movement had to develop and to fight in a country which during the last fifty years went through several volcanic revolutionary up-

heavals, unlike the other great European and American countries which, during the same period, had a peaceful time of "organic" development, which gave both to the workers' movement and to Socialist thought a special character.

The revolution was not, therefore, for Hillquit only an abstract theoretical notion. He understood it in all its complexity, with all its contradictions, sufferings and calamities. But he also understood it at the same time in all its historical greatness, as a necessary and unavoidable achievement of the social fight in a society divided in classes and which is bound to break up because of these class contradictions which it cannot contain any more.

The political thought of Hillquit was not only international and dynamic; it was also revolutionary, disciplined, regulated and directed by his profound knowledge of Marxism—the theory of the revolutionary proletarian realism.

On the international stage Hillquit was one of the most prominent representatives of revolutionary Marxism, of which the most brilliant incarnation in the Russian Social Democracy was the late Martov. No wonder that Martov's pupils could so easily find a common language with him!

The kind, smiling face of Hillquit is no more and will not be in evidence any more at the confer-

ences and congresses of our International, although his presence was never so necessary. The peaceful, organic period of development of the capitalist world is clearly approaching its end; the war dealt it a mortal wound. It tries every direction, looking for salvation either in wonderful economic "plans," or in some fascist barbarism, or in the preparation of a new and a still more dreadful world war.

All this is of no use. At present not only Russia but the whole world is on a volcano. From now on there will be on this volcanic ground a terrible battle between Socialism and capitalism, the result of which will be decisive for humanity for centuries.

The Socialist International will (Continued on Page Twelve)

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

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## As a Little Girl First Saw Morris Hillquit

By Gertrude Weil Klein

I BELONG to that small clan of Socialists who can trace their ancestry all the way back a generation to the founding fathers of the English-speaking movement in this country. When my father arrived on the American scene, there was no English-speaking branch, and since German was his mother tongue he naturally gravitated toward the German movement. When in the course of events I arrived on the scene we were a full-fledged Socialist household and all my childhood memories are bound up with Socialists who visited our home, and with events in the Socialist movement. Come to think of it, we sons and daughters of the Old Guard have a rich heritage of such memories.

Two of the names which we children in the Weil family knew almost as soon as we knew our own were Eugene Victor Debs and Hillquit. I don't know why, but we always said "Eugene Victor Debs," out in full that way, and just "Hillquit" for Morris Hillquit. One of my first keen disappointments was linked up with the first meeting at which I heard Hillquit speak.

A short time before, Debs had spoken in Brooklyn and I, as the small daughter of one of Brooklyn's most active Socialists, presented him with a bouquet. Whereupon Debs, much to my delight, picked me up in his arms and kissed me. This was at a time in my life when practically everybody used to kiss me, and so when I was shoved forward to meet Hillquit I was one broad grinning gargoyle waiting to be kissed. And he didn't kiss me. I can't tell you how many times in after years I was tempted to blurt out this story to him, but I never did.

[It was Comrade Joseph A. Weil, Gertrude's father, who with Morris Hillquit designed the party emblem of the arm and torch. Ed.] My next vivid memory of Hillquit was in 1923 at a conference for Progressive Political Action in



G. W. Klein

Albany. I had hitch-hiked up, and I remember how elated and excited we were. Was it possible that the labor unions were going to break away from their traditional political position and work with us for an independent party of labor?

Our elation was short-lived. Tired and dirty, we reached the meeting hall in Albany. And there were delegates, the whole 200 of them outside the hall on the steps. "What's the matter?" Muttered enough! They don't want us! What's to do about it? Well, Hillquit was going to address the convention, but there wasn't much chance.

Hillquit addressed the convention and in an agony of apprehension we hung around. At last the announcement came. We were to be admitted. We were admitted, and the convention duly proceeded. This is, it proceeded until one of the old line crowd, a legislative lawyer, made a forceful plea for Al Smith. "It was the duty of the convention to support Al Smith; Al Smith was a friend of labor and the way to support Al Smith was to elect Democratic Assemblymen."

Hillquit rose again. Once more Hillquit addressed that convention. He had just spoken to them for nearly two hours. He had succeeded in having admitted to their deliberations this alien body with whom they were by some strange means in convention assembled.

Hillquit then made one of the most brilliant, most moving talks it has been my good fortune ever to hear. At first I tried to watch the faces of our labor friends. Tensely attentive, they listened. No one moved, no one breathed. Soon I, too, was carried away listening. It was an overwhelming experience, one that I shall never forget. Had it been up to the railroad union and other worker-delegates, I am sure they would have voted overwhelmingly to carry on with us. But the chairman and the "legislative representatives" cracked the whip and the delegate elected to follow their familial leadership rather than our strange though alluring invitation into new paths.

Reluctantly we rose and followed Hillquit out of the hall. I don't think anybody present, whatever his old loyalties or affiliations were, did not feel an involuntary stirring in response to that masterly appeal of a great man leading a great cause.



## Party Wages Battle for Legal Standing in Minnesota

By Leo Vernon

**Acting State Secretary**  
MINNEAPOLIS.—The Socialist Party in Minnesota is running three candidates against Farmer-Labor nominees in the coming general election. They are Morris Kaplan of Bemidji, former Socialist Mayor, for United States Senator, against Senator Shipstead who is not a member of the Farmer-Labor Association; Oscar F. Hawkins of Minneapolis for Clerk of Supreme Court, against Gunderson, a Republican who slipped into the Farmer-Labor primary, and George Riedel of Minneapolis for Congressman in the Fifth District, against D. Johnson who has not supported the Farmer-Labor platform.

The reactionary papers in the state are all claiming that the Socialist Party is endorsing Governor Olsen. This is not true; the party intends to remain neutral in the gubernatorial fight. The change in policy is influenced by the lapses of some of the Farmer-Labor leaders.

The main purpose of the present campaign is to obtain legal standing for the Socialist Party in the state. The party is making every effort to get the necessary number of signatures for nominating petitions. A drive for independent organization is also being carried on.

The policy for the future is that qualified and adequate Farmer-Labor candidates be endorsed by the Socialist Party subject to the approval by proper authority, and that in other cases the Farmer-Labor Association be asked to endorse and support Socialist candidates for office.

## Our Revered Friend Hillquit

By Karl and Luisa Kautsky

THE receipt of Morris Hillquit's memoirs, "Loose Leaves from a Busy Life," was for us a genuine joy. The reading of this fine book, with its gracious style, afforded us deep delight. It brought our friend back into our lives again. At the same time we gathered from his modest and self-effacing account of his connection with the American labor movement a wealth of knowledge and information such as we had never been fortunate enough to have had before.

In writing the story of his life Morris Hillquit unwittingly erected a monument to himself nobler and more enduring than granite and bronze because his memory is enshrined in the hearts of his friends, his comrades and countless grateful proletarians the world over. No reader of his memoirs can remain unaffected by the high ethics and idealism that breathe in every line. The great affection we had for Morris Hillquit was renewed and strengthened by the reading of this book. That it was his express wish to have a copy of the book sent to us, as is indicated by his wife's dedication, fills us with a melancholy joy.

We are proud that we were counted as among his close friends, and we will always revere his memory. We know what Mrs. Hillquit meant to her husband, and that he could never have lived the "Busy Life" of which he writes if he had not had at his side the courageous and understanding helpmate that she always was to him.



Karl Kautsky

# The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By August Tyler

THE social nature of the product is very obvious in the communal society, where production is directly planned. It becomes especially obvious when there are changes in various fields of production and shifts in the distribution of labor over various branches of production. For example:

"Let us suppose that some Indian communistic village community employs two smiths for the manufacture of agricultural implements. An invention raises the productivity of labor to such an extent that only one smith is needed to manufacture the required agricultural implements within a given time. Two smiths are no longer entrusted with this work. But only one. The second smith is perhaps employed in the forging of weapons or the making of ornaments. On the other hand, the productivity of field labor remains the same. As much labor time as formerly must be expended in order to satisfy the requirements of the community upon the same scale.

"Under these circumstances, every member of the community receives the same share of foodstuffs as before, but a distinction now arises. The productivity of the smith's labor has doubled; only one share of foodstuffs instead of two is now assigned for the manufacture of agricultural instruments."

Here the change in the relation between the various types of labor, induced by a change in the method is apparent. It seems, however, to be caused by a conscious director.

As a matter of fact, however, the presence of a conscious directing force only facilitates these changes, lubricates them. But whether there is conscious direction or not, whether production is planned or not, the same changes take place wherever social production exists—they will take place accompanied by greater or lesser catastrophe.

Let us begin with an extreme, an absurd but forceful example. Let us assume that since there is no planning agency and production is carried on without rhyme or reason, that all producers turn to producing hats. It is quite certain that these hats would never be consumed, could not be sold. Producers would stop making hats and would turn to the manufacture of other commodities which are socially necessary. True, the adjustment would be

accompanied by a great deal of hardship. But it would take place.

One more example. Suppose a baker makes a loaf of bread in two hours and sells it for two dollars. Suppose a cobbler makes a shoe in one hour and sells it for one dollar. One loaf of bread equals two shoes. Each man gets a dollar for an hour's labor.

Now let us suppose a change. For some reason, the baker learns to make a loaf of bread in one hour. He still charges two dollars. The baker is now making twice as much per hour as the cobbler. Men will now leave the shoe industry and become bakers. The supply of shoes will decrease and prices rise. This will continue until the shoemaker will get as much for his labor as the baker will get for his, or until one hour of labor, represented by one loaf of bread, will exchange for one hour of labor, represented by one shoe.

All these examples point out how the various branches of labor are continually being shifted to meet the needs of society, how production is a social enterprise carried on to maintain a civilization, and how value is directly dependent upon the number of hours of socially necessary labor contributed by the producer to the total commodity wealth of a society.

As Marx put it: "All the different kinds of private labor which are carried on independently of each other, and yet as spontaneously developed branches of the social division of labor, are continually being reduced to the quantitative proportions in which society desires them. Why? Because in the midst of all the accidental and ever fluctuating exchange relations between products, the labor time necessary for their production forcibly asserts itself like an ever riding law of nature."

It is no accident that Marx considers this problem, probably the most difficult in his entire masterpiece "Capital," in the very first chapter. Once we have broken the fetish of commodities, once we have cleared our brain of metaphysical cobwebs, once we see the commodity for what it is—a symbol of labor—the way is clear for a scientific investigation of further problems.

(To be continued)

## Solomon and Thomas Are Preparing for Vigorous Up-State Battle

THE official opening of the Socialist campaign at the Town Hall rally last Sunday followed several weeks of active campaigning up-state by Norman Thomas and others.

Charles Solomon starts a two weeks' up-state tour soon, beginning with a meeting in Albany on Oct. 12th, and speaking in the principal cities on the way to Buffalo, where he will speak on Oct. 17th.

Thomas' tour up-state revealed a splendid and inspiring growth of interest in Socialism. At his first meeting in Poughkeepsie on Sept. 20th he was faced by a packed house. Following that he had good meetings in Kingston, Albany, Cohoes, Schenectady, and unusually fine meetings in Saratoga Springs and Glens Falls. Then he went to the northern part of the state, where Socialism is seldom heard of and where the organization is weak; nevertheless, he had fine meetings in Ogdensburg, Saranac Lake and Watertown.

Comrade Thomas was well received everywhere and spoke at several meetings a day in smaller towns.

Comrade Thomas' up-state dates follow—Sat., Oct. 6—Buffalo, N. Y., Eagles Hall; Sun., Oct. 7—2 p.m., Chautaugua Hall, Masonic Temple, Dunkirk; 8 p.m., Nordic Temple, Jamestown; Mon., Oct. 8—1:30, High School Student Body, Olean; 8:30—High School, Olean; Tues., Oct. 9—3, High School, Salamanca; 8, Moose Temple, Salamanca; Wed., Oct. 10—8, High School, Elmira; Thurs., Oct. 11—Noon, Broad Street and Park Ave., Waverly; 4, Endicott; 8, Masonic Temple, Binghamton; Fri., Oct. 12—8, Unitarian Church, North Aurora and Buffalo St., Ithaca.

been published in this country by the Socialist Party. It is an exciting, dramatically-told story of the actual experiences during those critical days in the life of the small Danube republic.

## Julius Deutsch Arrives in New York October 30

JULIUS DEUTSCH, commander of the "Schutzbund," the Austrian Socialist defense force, is scheduled to arrive in New York Oct. 30th for a ten weeks' lecture tour. Because of the heroic part he played in the fighting provoked by the fascists last February, his visit in this country will be made the occasion of mass anti-fascist demonstrations.

"The Austrian questions remains unsolved and may, with the slightest provocation, lead to new warlike developments," says Deutsch, writing in the September issue of Labor, British workers' publication. "As long as it is possible for one of the two neighboring fascist states to decide Austria's domestic policy, there can be no peace on the Danube. The primary necessity for the development of peace is non-interference by foreign states in Austria's internal affairs."

"The view that it is enough to restrain Germany from assuming control over Austria is a super-

## Karl Kautsky to Be Honored By New York Socialists

The Educational Committee of the Socialist Party, Local New York City, will honor Karl Kautsky on the occasion of his 80th birthday with a meeting in the Dets Auditorium Tuesday evening, October 16. A fine program is being arranged. Speakers, Algernon Lee, Dr. S. Ingerman, Abraham Cahan, Siegfried Jungnitsch, Bela Low, chairman. There will also be a musical program. Part of the program will be broadcast over WEVD at 10 p.m.

Karl Kautsky is one of the founders of the International Socialist movement and the ablest theoretician and exponent of Socialist philosophy and movement. He is the last active living Socialist intimately associated with Karl Marx.

ficial one. The dominion of Italy over Austria is no less dangerous to the peace of Europe than the union of Austria and Germany. The most vital interest of all the Central European states are

affected in both cases. In both cases the dogs of war must sooner or later be loosed."

"The Civil War in Austria," Deutsch's brilliant account of the events of last February, has just

## Build Your Party—Build Your New Leader

Dear Comrade Levitas:

Enclosed you will find 31 subscriptions to The New Leader. I spoke before the Salt Workers' Union, and upon my appeal those whose names are enclosed subscribed.

This is just a beginning of what I hope will be a flood of subscriptions which The New Leader deserves.

LARRY S. DAVIDOW, Detroit, Mich.

## Are You Doing Your Share ? ?

### THREE MONTHS' SUB CARDS Are Ready for Distribution!

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# The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum  
(Batting for Mark Khinoy)

### Striking Victory in Sweden

THE provincial legislative elections held throughout Sweden Sept. 14th were marked by a tremendous Socialist advance in every part of the country. At the same time the bourgeois parties lost heavily, while the two Communist parties, both relatively small as compared to the mighty Social Democracy, also gained. The Nazis suffered a staggering defeat.

The election result was a smashing vote of confidence for the Socialist government headed by Premier Per Albin Hansson, and is so understood not only in Sweden but throughout Europe. The legislatures elect members of the upper house.

As reported in *Arbetarbladet*, the Swedish Socialist daily published in Helsingfors, Finland, the Socialists polled 682,043 votes, a gain of 107,666, or 18.7%. The party elected 503 members of the various provincial *Landstingen* or legislatures, a gain of 34. The Agrarians, supporters of the Hansson ministry, polled 278,856 votes and won 217 seats, a gain of 30. The Agrarians, a semi-radical rural party, together with the Socialists, constitute a substantial majority of the whole nation. The Socialists polled 41.4% of the total—a gain from 39.4% in 1930.

The Conservative Party lost most heavily, polling 368,856 votes and electing 275, a loss of 53. The Liberal People's Party (*Folkpartiet*) polled 206,505 votes and elected 117, a loss of 21.

There are two Communist parties in Sweden, the official Stalin party and the Khilbom Communists, now called the Socialist Labor Party, more or less like the Lovestone party in the United States. The Stalin party elected 9 members, a gain of 3, and the Khilbomites elected 15, a gain of 11. There are indications that it will not be long before the Khilbom party unites with the Socialists.

After a terrific campaign, well financed and backed by all the "Nordic" prestige they could muster in the most Nordic country of all, the National Socialist Party, the Swedish Nazis, polled 8,631 votes! They did not elect a single member. There is no room for fascism in Sweden!

In this connection it is interesting to quote a Communist report of the elections. The New York Daily Worker carried an editorial Sept. 21st in which its readers were told: "In Sweden the Communist Party raised its deputies in Parliament from 9 to 42."

The wonderful progress of Socialism in Sweden recalls to my friend and colleague Ben Blumenberg the Swedish Socialist pioneer August Palm, a jovial little tailor who carried on Socialist propaganda among the Swedes in Illinois over a quarter of a century ago. Comrade Blumenberg entertained him in Joliet in 1906 finding him one of the most delightful men he had ever met. Comrade Palm told how he brought Socialism into Sweden in 1881 from Germany, where he had worked at his trade and where he had heard some of the great Socialist pioneers. The Swedes at first thought he was crazy, and insisted upon arresting him at every opportunity.

Once he was to speak at a little seaside town, and he heard he was to be arrested. His few comrades hired a rowboat and rowed him offshore. There, beyond the reach of the police, he stood up and addressed a large crowd. The tiny party founded by Palm has grown into one of the mightiest political parties in the world. The memory of Palm is revered, as is the memory of Bebel in Germany and Keir Hardie in Great Britain.

### The Fascist Canard Nailed

ON September 8th I wrote that there appeared to be an idiotic attempt on the part of Mussolini to break up the morale of the Socialists and other foes of fascism by making it appear that there was to be organized a "Socialist" wing in the Italian fascist party.

Now comes the revelation of what actually occurred. It all came out of a crazy story in the London Daily Telegraph, as a somewhat similar story relating to Germany came from the Manchester (England) Guardian. The Telegraph reported some months back that the Italian Socialist Party had made its peace with Mussolini. But back of that canard are certain facts that are worth retelling, and are here told for the first time.

The Socialist Party has never died in Italy, despite Mussolini's brutality and its long roll of murdered men and women. Indeed, the Socialists maintain a substantial underground organization throughout Italy. Mussolini apparently felt the time had come to play the role of mellowed and "liberal" leader, and he sought to make contact with the Socialists to break down their very effective work against his bloody rule.

Caldara, former Socialist Podesta, or Mayor, of Milan, found himself in Mussolini's presence, and he addressed him thus: "Good day, your Excellency." The renegade Socialist Mussolini replied: "There is no Excellency. Call me Comrade. I am as much a Socialist as you, except that you talk about Socialism while I

push forward your ideas in different ways." (!!!)

Caldara told Mussolini, apparently in reply to an open bid for support, that he and his comrades would not cooperate with Mussolini in his "corporations" until liberty was restored. The brutal dictator replied that he would give collective liberty but not individual liberty. Whatever that means!

When the interview between Mussolini and Caldara became known it was understood that its only meaning was an attempt on the part of the ruffian in charge of Italy to break the Socialist morale. The organized Socialists thereupon made it perfectly clear—in ways they have worked out since the Mussolini terror began—that Caldara in no way spoke for them. And Caldara thereupon publicly announced that he is not in politics any longer.

There is a deep meaning in the whole affair. Mussolini, who publicly declares again and again that Socialism is dead, is trying to smash Socialism by corrupting it. And by that attempt he admits he knows of its existence and vigor as an organized force. And the organized Socialists of Italy fling back into his face the defiance of the martyred Matteotti: *You can kill us, but you cannot kill our principles!*

Out of this episode the London Daily Telegraph finds sufficient justification for its story that the Socialists (killed so often!) are about to become reconciled with "Comrade" Mussolini. And out of that story comes the canard that the Socialists are going to form a "left wing" in Mussolini's party.

### In Latvia

Rickard Lindström, Swedish member of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, has made an interesting survey of the situation in Latvia after the recent fascist coup. I hope to be able to summarize his report next week.

## CALIFORNIA NEEDS SOCIALISM. NOT AN EPIC PLAN

LOS ANGELES.—Citizens of California looking for relief from the insecurity and chaos of the present situation were warned in a statement issued by the state executive committee of the Socialist Party of California not to trust the partial reforms and impractical political methods of Upton Sinclair.

"To trust the Epic Plan would be a major tragedy for the people," the Socialists state. "It is the despair that follows hope falsely raised by plans like 'Epicism' that makes the people ready to follow a demagogue like Hitler who promises to achieve by dictatorship what Sinclair promises wildly to achieve peacefully."

"Sinclair's theory of getting power is essentially the old theory of electing good men to office on a program of reform that frequently has been tried during the last hundred years. That method has failed and always will fail to achieve important fundamental changes."

"America is in worse condition today despite these reformers than ever before. Sinclair, like these other reformers, would be able to effect reforms that do not hit at the fundamental evils of capitalist society but the moment he should seek to take the least step toward a truly Socialist society, he would find himself hamstrung by the big business interests that today rule California and America."

"Even if Sinclair should start his colonies of Socialism, the powerful capitalists would see that

they do merely what Sinclair offers, 'take the unemployed off the backs of the capitalists.' The unemployed would find themselves just able by hard work to support themselves at a subsistence level as long as the centers of economic power, now in the hands of the capitalists, are left there."

"We need to try a new method, the Socialist method of getting power for the workers and the common people—not of electing individuals, but of electing a party into office, a party that is disciplined and educated to withstand capitalist propaganda, a party united definitely against capitalism and for straight Socialism, a party large enough and solid enough to be powerful, a party backed wholeheartedly by organized labor and dirt farmers, who will call strikes to support it when necessary—a party more powerful than organized big business."

"That is the only effective method to make the needed fundamental changes in our society, without which we will have want and misery in the midst of plenty. On that method Upton Sinclair turned his back when he left the Socialist party and started hastily up the blind alley of 'Epicism.'"

"That is the method of the Socialist party, and to continue the work of building that party we call upon the people who are against the capitalist system to rally behind its candidates, Milen Dempster for Governor, Jesse Southwick for Lt. Governor, George R. Kirkpatrick for U. S. Senator, and local candidates."

# HITLER IS NOT THE

By Emil Lengyel

From a radio address over Station WEVD for the American Committee Against Fascist Oppression in Germany, and printed through their courtesy.

A FEW days before his death Maximilian Robespierre, spiritual son of the philosophers and father of the Terror, received a unanimous vote of confidence of the French legislature. A few days later, on the eve of his execution on the guillotine, the same legislature gave him an almost unanimous vote of non-confidence.

This historical incident comes to mind when one stops to reflect on the fact that a few Sundays ago Adolf Hitler, Führer and Chancellor of the German Reich, received about 90 per cent of the votes of the Germans. Does this mean that Hitler was justified at the recent Nuremberg party congress in declaring his rule was destined to endure for a thousand years?

Those disposed to take Hitler's proclamation at its face value may do well to recall Robespierre the "Incorruptible," whose Terror was at its worst just before the end of his rule. Nor does one need to go back that far in history. The imperial Russian government issued one of its most vicious war-like proclamations on the very eve of its collapse, and Kaiser Wilhelm II made one of his most belligerent speeches before the workers at Essen a short time before he fled Germany for Holland.

In our bitterness at the Reich's desertion of the democratic cause we may have said many unpleasant things about the Germans, but let us not forget that there are Germans—millions of them—who are just as disgusted with the Hitler regime as we. Theirs is not the Germany of Adolf Hitler and of

## Nazidonia Is the Gro People Will Some D

General Göring, erstwhile inmate of a lunatic asylum, but of Lessing and Goethe, of Thomas Mann and Albert Einstein.

Hitlerism is a domestic problem of the Reich, and I believe that millions of Germans are tackling it in the right way. Of course, there are many Germans who are fond of sadists and fanatics, partly because they belong to the same class—and every nation has its quota of such people—and partly because of the mistaken belief that it is only by cave-man methods that the victors of the World War can be shown their place and Germany can take her own rightful place in the sun.

I think that in the not distant future Germany will be ashamed of this weird episode in their history. I think she will be repentant and will say, "never again." I go even further and say that Hitlerism is alien to Germany, foisted upon her by a handful of non-Germans, headed by an Austrian. In order to see the contrast, first look at the record of the Germany that Hitler has abolished, the Germany of the Weimar Republic.

The world was amazed with the achievements of republican Germany. Has mankind ever seen such a miraculous rising of the phoenix from its ashes? After having lost the most devastating war known to modern man, the Reich had taken the lead in culture, science, arts and literature. Never before had the German countries been humming with so much activity. The

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nations on miracle we more Germi whose voice close attenp And wht The Austrit for re Nazidonia. ndonia, does what Europ until recep to be the e ties and fru Never inll many beenp She has no

## A Man of M

By John P. Burke

President-Secretary of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers

SOCIALISTS are less prone to hero worship than are most people because of their interpretation of history and of the part played by so-called great men. But this does not prevent them from placing a proper valuation upon the life and work of the truly great men and women who have lived and labored and some of whom have died for humanity.

Although I am not a hero-worshiper I have, like most people, my heroes; not to be found among those who are most worshipped by the American people, not the great warriors of the past, not even inventors or discoverers.

My heroes were fighters—and that is the proper word—fighters for the common good. My heroes were and are Morris Hillquit, Eugene V. Debs and Victor L. Berger. For pure idealism, unflinching courage and steadfast devotion to the cause of humanity these three men must be numbered among the great humanitarians and idealists of all time.

One of the chief characteristics of these three men was courage. The courage of these three men was never better shown than during the World War. Every Socialist knows of Debs' imprisonment and of Berger's many indictments, his trial before Judge Landis, and his conviction; but not every Socialist knows that Morris Hillquit was every whit as brave as Debs and

Berger during When Hill Mayor in 1911, raged on a lo hibition of warm the a participated campaign. ec porter to a any Libert of this ques on record so claimed froe pulpit that de was pro-Ge Kaiser. HPG of the quee hesitate tolk equivocal th historic: ve "No, I te Liberty bond do anythinged I can help jec the limit ofa or effort in peace." ve Let the ail Socialists ile broke arouv domitable S when his reth headlines ock paper. Ouyte no idea of via are now cog to as the ev during the I had theve the trial of n men when P the defense, re for three dnt remarkable ea lectual attac advantage.



# NEW LEADER LABOR SECTION

## Craft vs. Industrial Union: Battle Brewing in 'Frisco

### The Building Trades Squabble Menaces Unity as A. F. of L. Convention Opens

By Samuel S. White

SAN FRANCISCO.—Nero fiddling while Rome burned was a piker compared to the building trades delegates to the American Federation of Labor. With the American labor movement facing the greatest crisis in the 54 years of the existence of the A. F. of L., with the problem of labor's rights under the NRA squarely before the federation, with the issue of craft unionism vs. industrial unionism demanding attention as it never has before, the delegates to the Building Trades Department conference spent their entire time at sessions which were supposed to bring harmony among the building trades, in a squabble over leadership which left the building trades worse divided than before.

The split in the building trades' meeting has left a bad taste in the mouth of local labor, and has caused much head shaking among the delegates arriving for the annual meeting of the federation. The Building Trades Department, as well as the Metal Trades and Label Trades Departments, hold their annual conference the week preceding the regular A. F. of L. convention.

The acrimonious building trades gatherings drew so much attention that it has been difficult to learn of any decisions of real value to the labor movement at the three departmental conferences. The local papers played up the division in large headlines, and gave practically no other news of the meetings, save an occasional reference to the talk of some labor notable before one or the other of the sessions.

#### Department Favors Craft Unionism

However, the Metal Trades Department took its usual strong stand for craft unionism, and will battle to the bitter end in the convention against any shift to industrial unionism. John P. Frey, who was secretary-treasurer, has been elected president, succeeding the veteran James O'Connell, who resigned because of his age. Frey is a leader among those who favor craft unionism.

The present row is more or less of a continuation of the split over executive policy five years ago, which led to withdrawal of the Carpenters, Electrical Workers and Bricklayers. This year President Green persuaded the three recalcitrant unions to return to the fold. They paid their per capita taxes, and their delegates came to San Francisco expecting to take part in the proceedings.

However, delegates from the carpenters, headed by International President William L. Hutcherson, made no bones about their intention of ousting the present leadership of the department. Department President Michael J. McDonough proved himself still in

### FORGOTTEN MEN STILL WAITING



That noted, widely quoted, frantic and romantic prosperity is still around the corner for these New Yorkers, waiting for tickets for a flophouse bed. They're part of the million jobless in the richest city in the world.

control of the gathering, and the three international unions found themselves barred from taking seats. President Green expressed himself as "amazed" at the action of the conference. He made an eloquent plea for the seating of the barred delegates. His plea was rejected.

#### Threat to Unity

The whole matter will come before the A. F. of L. convention, with the possibility that the row may take up some of the precious time of the delegates which should be given to making clear-cut decisions on more important questions which labor must face and solve.

The action of the building tradesmen is a dangerous threat to the unity of the A. F. of L. Four smaller unions walked out of the conference with the three barred unions. These are the Operating Engineers, Teamsters, Laborers and Marble Polishers and Tile Setters. They will probably demand that the seven unions be chartered as the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department, which would lead to a wide open split in the building trades section of the federation.

#### Tobin Wants 'House Cleaning'

This is not the only threat to unity. At a time when it is of vital importance that a united and powerful labor movement be built, comprising every shade of political or economic opinion, Daniel J. Tobin, international president of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs' Union, arrived with a plan to clean out of the federation "all

Communists, Socialists and such outfits."

Tobin also demanded that there be a "housecleaning" in the leadership of the federation. He specifically exempted Green from his "housecleaning," but in many quarters Tobin's statement is taken as directed against the entire present leadership. Last year Tobin was one of the delegates who strenuously opposed any move to enlarge the executive council of the federation, and he clashed violently — almost physically — with John L. Lewis of the miners' union, who sponsored the resolution enlarging the council.

#### Compromise Likely

It is quite likely that the burning issue of craft unionism vs. industrial unionism will be settled along the lines of the compromise proposal that came out of the Metal Trades' Conference and that was outlined in the Labor Section of THE NEW LEADER last week.

This provides for the setting up of joint councils of all craft unions in the various industries and plants. All agreements with employers in a given industry or plant would expire on the same date, putting the organized labor movement in a strong position to deal with the bosses. This plan protects the present craft union setup, and probably will not meet the demands of those delegates who favor vertical unions, but it seems to be the best that can be expected from the present convention. Militant industrial unionism

### Compromise Likely on Vertical versus Horizontal Form; Larger Executive Council May Mean Election of Dubinsky, I.L.G. W.U. President

principles have not sufficiently permeated the A. F. of L. to permit of a greater advance at this time toward industrial unionism.

A similar proposal was made by the executive council of the A. F. of L. during the past year in an effort to settle the knotty problem of L. during the past year in an industry. The Brewery Workers by a referendum vote turned down the proposition, which would have given some of their members to the Teamsters, Firemen and Oilers and Operating Engineers, by the smashing vote of 26,000 against the plan and only 170 for it. But it is not likely that the delegates to the A. F. of L. will take a similar stand. For one thing, it is not likely that there is any chance of a more radical industrial unionism proposal getting even a hearing from the craft unions that still have a controlling voice in A. F. of L. councils.

#### May Enlarge Executive

Indications are that the move to enlarge the executive council, which has been voted down by the past two or three conventions, will succeed in this convention. There has been a change of front on the part of several of the large internationals, such as the teamsters and culinary workers. Furthermore, there will be new accessions of strength to the proponents of enlarging the council. For one thing, delegates from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in an A. F. of L. convention for the first time, are sure to support the proposal. Furthermore, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which supports the proposition, has 1,500 votes this year, instead of the 258 votes it had last year.

The I.L.G.W.U., indeed, has shown the greatest growth of any union in the past year. It is now the third largest voting unit in the A. F. of L. For this reason, it will occupy an important place in the convention, and it is looked upon as a safe bet that, if the council is enlarged, David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., will be elected to a seat. This is not only because of the tremendous growth of his union, but also because of the qualities of leadership he has shown. His shrewdness, integrity and initiative have won him great admiration in labor circles, and he will be a decided asset to the council.

#### To Discuss Anti-Fascist Fight

One session of the convention will be set aside for a discussion of anti-Fascism. The A. F. of L. has invited as its guest speakers for the occasion Walter F. Citrine, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress and president of the International Federation of Trade Unions; B. C. Vladeck, managing editor of the Jewish Daily Forward and noted Socialist of New York City, and Dr. Max Winter, former vice-mayor of Socialist Vienna, who is now a refugee from Fascist Austria. The fact that three Socialists have been invited to address the convention is certain to add to the prestige of the movement in this state and nationally.

(Continued on Page Eight)

## Workers of All Countries, Unite Against War! Green Urges at A.F.L. Convention

(Continued from Page One)

the part of the delegates to press on the fight against the fascist menace.

Andrew Furuseth, aged and toil-worn veteran of the International Seamen's Union, made a blistering attack on American business interests for attempting to chain and keep enslaved the workers.

"The fundamental principle of our system of government is for freedom of the individual," he proclaimed. "Let the American people see that there is no bondage. It is the right and duty of the citizens to overthrow a government that does not guarantee that fundamental right."

#### Threatens "Other Means"

"Unless the government brings freedom to the American worker, there will be concentrated effort to see that the right to the pursuit of happiness is restored by some other means."

The old man's challenge brought a tremendous applause from the hundreds of delegates.

"It took 1,600 years of dying and fighting to gain religious liberty and 200 more to transfer that liberty to the political world. Religious organizations based on religious liberty. Political organizations based on political discontent gave us political liberty, and now the labor unions must fight for industrial liberty."

Another resolution condemned the appointment by President Roosevelt, of S. Clay Williams, chairman of the board of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., as chairman of the administrative division of the NRA. It was presented by I. M. Ornburn, delegate of the Cigar-makers' International Union, and attacked Williams' "biased, unfair and inconsiderate attitude."



## Backs Right of City Sweepers To Organize

**S**PEAKING at a mass meeting of drivers and sweepers of the N. Y. Department of Sanitation Wednesday night at Manhattan Lyceum, Louis Waldman, general Drivers and Sweepers, urged upon the department and the city administration a seven-point program to remedy "serious abuses which now exist, affecting the interest of the drivers and sweepers."

"The Department of Sanitation of the City of New York should give full and frank recognition to the organization of drivers and sweepers," Comrade Waldman, who is state chairman of the Socialist Party, quoted. The right of these men to organize for the purpose of collective action is no less fundamental than the right of any other class of labor to organize for collective bargaining and mutual aid and protection. This right ought to be extended to these employees ungrudgingly.

"Though wages and hours of these employees are fixed by law, the Joint Council of Drivers and Sweepers has for many years rendered valuable service by presenting the employees' side to the Legislature, to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and to the people. In organizing, the drivers and sweepers of New York City follow the American democratic principle of securing for everyone a say in his own salvation.

"Through their organization, the drivers and sweepers will be taken out of politics. They will not have to go to the political clubs or to the district leaders to secure their rights and redress their grievances in the department. As in all labor organizations, the council through its duly accredited officers should represent the individual employees whenever such employee needs representation and act for all the employees on occasions when their general interests are involved.

"We urge upon the department and the city administration the following immediate reforms:—

"1. The enforcement of the eight-hour day.

"The eight-hour day given to drivers and sweepers by law is not being observed, particularly in the case of the drivers. Some of them are compelled to work as long as ten to eleven hours on some days. This we regard as unfair and unjust, especially when there is such widespread unemployment. If the present employees are not enough to clean the streets of New York, there are over 1,200 cleaners and drivers out of jobs, called 'extras,' who should be put to work.

"2. 'Shoe flying' should be abolished. Spying on workers is a practice generally denounced in private industry and should not be indulged in by the city. The spy's reports are generally unreliable. He creates suspicions, and undermines the confidence of the workers.

"3. Harsh and cruel punishment and unfair charges and trials should end. The joint council does not believe that discipline and efficiency in the department can be obtained by severe and excessive punishment for the minor violations of the rules of the department. Nor does it believe that drivers and sweepers ought to be probed into the commission of some offense, then placed on trial for that offense. This system creates not discipline and cooperation, but resentment and demoralization.

"4. Though not desirous to work beyond eight hours a day, when drivers or sweepers are required to do so, they should be paid time and a half for overtime. The law requires the city to make such payment. Yet, all payments for over-

## Our Job Now to Build Powerful Textile Union, Gorman Declares

(Specially written for THE NEW LEADER)

By Francis J. Gorman

Vice-President, United Textile Workers; chairman, Strike Committee; chairman, Organization Committee

**U**TMOST strengthening of their organization is now the chief task confronting the textile workers of the nation. In a magnificent demonstration of unity, courage and militant determination, they won in a three weeks' strike every substantial thing that could have been gained by a stoppage of work at this time.

As a result of accepting the report of the Winant Board, we believe that machinery has been set up by President Roosevelt which will make an end to the stretch-out methods of determining hours and wages on a basis of fact in each, bring recognition of the United Textile Workers of America and reform the whole administration of the labor provisions of the cotton textile industry code. Administration of the labor provisions is taken away from code authorities and given to an impartial official federal board, beyond the influence of mill management. The gain of that one thing alone is

worth the whole cost of the strike, of mills and mill owners who are discriminating against our members. This discrimination is widespread out shows the determination of many mill owners to do everything in their power to prevent organization of their employees. Telegrams and letters by the hundreds received in the first few days following the end of the strike tell a story of lockout and blacklisting, especially in the South.

### To Rebute Stretch-Out

Under the Winant Board report, a special board will be set up to deal with the stretch-out. The work-load cannot be increased until February 1, and in the meantime the problem will be closely studied. This will result, we are confident, in a real reduction of the stretch-out. This forecasts death of the stretch-out, one of the most serious grievances of the textile workers.

We have confidence in the board appointed by the president to handle labor issues in the industry.

Now the big job before us is to build up our organization, so that it will be speedily recognized as the collective bargaining agency of the workers in all mills. Coupled with that must go the permanent and constructive work which only the representatives of our union can do and which will call for all our strength and intelligence. This work will be very difficult without strong organization in every textile center and the wholehearted cooperation and support of every textile worker.

### We Must Organize

Our first move will be to present to the president's board the names

of mills and mill owners who are discriminating against our members. This discrimination is widespread out shows the determination of many mill owners to do everything in their power to prevent organization of their employees. Telegrams and letters by the hundreds received in the first few days following the end of the strike tell a story of lockout and blacklisting, especially in the South.

The word now is ORGANIZATION. Every resource must be used to build a powerful union equipped to demand and win justice in the great textile industry, notorious for a century for cruel and heartless exploitation of its workers. There is no place in the modern world for this exploitation. Strong union organization under the United Textile Workers of America and the American Federation of Labor will end this exploitation and enable the textile workers to play their proper part in winning a better world for labor.

## Raps Mayor's Indorsement Of Strong

**T**HE endorsement by Mayor La Guardia of Judge Selah B. Strong's candidacy for Supreme Court Justice in the second judicial department was attacked this week by Matthew M. Levy, labor attorney and Socialist candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court in the first judicial department.

"Judge Strong has again and again demonstrated his unfairness to and prejudice against organized labor," Comrade Levy pointed out. He quoted from two opinions rendered by Judge Strong in labor injunction cases—one in 1927 and the other in 1933.

In the earlier opinion Judge Strong said:

"Picketing may hardly be termed a manly occupation. Nevertheless, some people, both men and women, choose to do it and apparently get some thrill out of it. Just why, or how, no man can say. Probably those picketing do not realize that an attack in force against the weak is nothing to be proud of, nor that it is the privilege of every American to work in an unmolested manner and for whom and at such times as he may choose."

"In the later opinion, Judge Strong said:

"The placing of pickets is done with an object, namely to annoy and create a nuisance. This placing of pickets often becomes a nuisance to the public as well as to former employers. The mere walking back and forth on a sidewalk with placards is sufficient to annoy the public and creates a public nuisance."

"For the Mayor, who calls himself a progressive public official and who has obtained the support of some labor elements, to endorse Strong merely because they are both Republicans, will convince many more citizens of New York that the Mayor has not discarded politics in his administration, notwithstanding his many protestations to the contrary," Comrade Levy declared.

"Judge Strong's opinions, besides violating enlightened precedent, are a result of an obviously reactionary mind. They bark back to the dark ages, when workers were considered mere slaves and chattels and had no rights of any kind before the court.

"Judge Strong has done much to make Brooklyn infamous to working people everywhere as the 'injunction Reno.' Like the Bourbons of France, Judge Strong has learned and forgotten nothing since he ascended the bench, and the people of this city should demand his retirement."

## Conference to Draft Program to Finance Jobless Relief

**A** Citizens Conference on Unemployment to draft a program of taxation to finance unemployment relief and press for the adoption of that program by city authorities will be held at the Manhattan Industrial High School, 127 East 22nd Street, Thursday night, October 18. The provisional committee for the conference, composed of prominent Socialists and other men and women active in churches, settlement houses, trade unions, universities and unemployed groups, has issued a call requesting representative civic organizations to send delegates to the conference and to "make your voice heard in this most pressing of our municipal problems."

Dr. Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and Socialist candidate for Controller, has been requested to secure expert advice on possible taxation programs and submit them to the conference.

### Held Hearings

The committee on relief which initiated the conference was formed last September to make an investigation of unemployment relief conditions in New York City. It held a series of hearings at Russell Sage Hall, which revealed, according to the statement of the committee, "the shocking plight of the unemployed who constantly faced

starvation and eviction."

The call to the conference is signed by Dr. Laidler, Norman Thomas, LeRoy Bowman, director Child Study Association; Prof. Paul Brissenden, Columbia University; Mary Fox, League for Industrial Democracy; Walter Frank, attorney; Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein, chairman, Joint Committee on Unemployment; Frederick L. Guggenheimer, director, City Affairs Committee; Helen Hall, headworker, Henry Street Settlement; Helen Harris, headworker, Union Settlement; Rev. John Haynes Holmes, chairman, City Affairs Committee; Julius Hochman, manager, Joint Board Dressmakers, I.L.G.W.U.; Dr. Horace Kallen, New School for Social Research; David Lasser, chairman, Workers' Unemployed Union; Dr. Abraham Leikowitz, Teachers' Union; Rosalie Manning, headworker, Lenox Hill House; Prof. Alonzo Meyer, New York University; Rev. Howard Melish, Church of Holy Trinity; Abraham Miller, treasurer, Joint Board Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Lillian Robbins, headworker, Hamilton House; Joseph Schlossberg, sec'y-treas., Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Louis Waldman, state chairman, Socialist Party, and Rev. Charles Webber, Union Theological Seminary.

The call to the conference follows:

### Crisis Deepens

"Today an acute crisis exists in the unemployment relief situation, affecting nearly 1,500,000 residents of the city—the unemployed on relief and their families.

"Despite numerous discussions, hearings and negotiations of city authorities on programs of taxation to raise funds to continue unemployment relief, no program has been proposed that will raise sufficient funds and command the respect of the great mass of the city's citizens. As a matter of fact, in the confusion of special groups fighting for their special interests at City Hall, the representative citizens groups of the city have hardly made their voices heard.

"Only the recent securing of an emergency loan from the banks enables the city to continue for the next month the payment of funds

that house and feed 1,500,000 of our fellow citizens. The raising of enough funds to make adequate provisions for the needs of the unemployed is of vital concern to us. In addition, the ways in which those funds are raised contain vital social and economic implications that public spirited men and women cannot ignore.

"The signers of this call, meeting as a provisional committee, have unanimously gone on record for a Citizens' Conference on Unemployment, to discuss and adopt a program of taxation for unemployment relief that we hope will represent the viewpoint of the city's citizens and command respect from the authorities. Representative civic organizations, settlement houses, churches, trade unions, etc. are being invited to send delegates to this conference. A committee is already at work analyzing the various tax plans that have been proposed, with a view of drawing up an independent program to be submitted to the conference for consideration.

"Your organization is urgently requested to send two delegates to represent you at this conference so that you may make your voice heard in this most pressing of our present municipal problems."

## MARINE UNION TO CONFER MONDAY AS ATLANTIC-GULF COAST STRIKE IS AVERTED

**T**HIRTY-Six shipping lines will be represented Monday at the first of a series of conferences to be held between a committee of shipping executives and officials of the International Seamen's Union of America. The union, representing about 40,000 seamen employed on merchant ships operating from Atlantic and Gulf ports, called off a strike scheduled for Monday when spokesmen for shipping interests withdrew their refusal to negotiate.

The decision not to strike, but to await the results of conferences, followed the acceptance by 36 lines of the union's preliminary and basic demand: that the ship line owners negotiate with it also.

recognize the union's right to speak for the seamen in negotiating a new contract covering wages and working conditions. An effort will be made to bring all American merchant lines under the same agreement, it was announced by Victor Olander, secretary of the union, and Chairman Garrison of the National Labor Relations Board.

The Marine Workers' Industrial Union, the Communist organization controlling a problematic number of seamen, notified the conferees that it would go through with plans for a strike which it called following the call of the A. F. of L. union, unless steamship owners negotiate with it also.



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# Laidler Demands Utilities Tax

WITH a million in New York City either jobless or otherwise dependent upon public or private relief, there are ample sources with which the city can meet the problem presented by its mass misery, if it only knew how to get at those resources. Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate for Controller in the current election campaign, appeared before the recent Mayor's taxation hearing and presented figures showing that such taxation need add to the burden of those already overburdened.

There are, Dr. Laidler showed, public utilities in the city that showed excess earnings OVER 10% of \$62,049,350 even in the depression year of 1933, while banks in the city with capital stocks of \$646,785,000 earned dividends of \$83,800,438.

There, the Socialist economist contended, is the reservoir from which the city can secure the needed funds for relief; there and not from fantastic lottery schemes from taxes to pass on to the tortured masses.

In his statement Comrade Laidler said:

"We are opposed to the municipal lottery, first, because most of the moneys collected will probably come from the low paid worker; second, because there is no way of eliminating even roughly the revenues that might be received, and these revenues will probably be small; third, because of the probable high cost of collections of revenues; fourth, because it constitutes an encouragement by the government of the spirit of gambling, appealing to the 'get-something-for-nothing' philosophy, philosophy that has permeated much of our economic and financial life, and which has helped to bring about such depressions as that through which we are passing. 'In industry and government we need more social planning, less gambling and speculation in other people's money. To establish such a lottery the municipality would have to act the part of a hypocrite in the setting up of its administrative machinery. Even then, it probably would be declared illegal. 'We do not believe that the business tax provides a scientific method of taxation. We feel that it is virtually a sales tax, and will be passed on to the mass of consumers and does not tax in proportion to a person's ability to pay. 'In principle we favor an income tax, but feel that a city-imposed income tax is difficult to administer and that it is difficult to prevent evasion of it. We urge that the city insist that the legislature impose a higher income tax on the higher income levels, and give a larger share of the income tax to the city for relief purposes.

"We are unalterably opposed to the transit tax, which again would come out of the pockets of the workers. 'We propose as a substitute for the present tax program the following: '1. A higher tax on utilities, recapturing the excess profits for the city over and above 6%. We believe that these utilities should be publicly owned and run at cost. The city has seen fit to give them a monopoly franchise. It is virtually guaranteeing them a profit. That profit, considering the public character of the enterprise, should not be more than 6%. The tax could be imposed, if necessary, as one on the gross revenues or on the net come.

"We find that the net earnings per earnings of 6% on the stockholders' equity is \$62,000,000. 'Thus, by recapturing all net profits above 6% from the New York utilities, the city could secure

## The Utilities Are Making Tens of Millions While Masses Starve

about \$62,000,000. By recapturing all profits above 8 or 10%, it could still secure many millions for the unemployed. The tax cannot be evaded. The public utilities will stay in New York. It would take

for the community the funds which the community should have for its benefit.

"2. A second source of possible income can be secured from a tax on the net income of commercial

banks. The dividends paid by 25 New York banks, the dividends of which have been made public in 1933, total \$83,800,000, or 12.9% on their capital stock. These banks could declare a 10% dividend and

give to the city about \$14,000,000 for relief purposes.

"3. We urge, in the third place, taxes on the surplus of savings banks, if necessary. The banking department of the state reports that the surplus of these banks in New York City is as follows: \$699,591,004, surplus on market value of stocks and bonds (including reserves); \$768,284,972, surplus on the par value of stocks and bonds, and \$786,904,453, surplus on par value. Some \$10,000,000 might be secured from this surplus.

"4. We likewise believe that funds could be obtained from an increase in the state income tax, the city securing a part of this increase for relief purposes.

"We favor a revision of the bankers' agreement, further drastically reducing or wiping out the reserve of \$25,000,000 a year against delinquent taxes.

"Of real estate taxes proper the City of New York has written off as uncollectible taxes during the 28 years from 1905 to 1932 only \$61,243,721, or 1.0247% of the levies. In view of this fact; in view of the marked recent improvement in the collection of delinquent taxes; in view of the fact that tax collections are to be on a quarterly basis from January, 1937, and that the present situation in New York is a desperate one from the standpoint of relief, immediate steps should be taken to eliminate this reserve. During good times such reserves are of value in freeing the city from the necessity of constantly going to the bankers for short-term loans in advance of tax collections, but this is not the time to raise a huge reserve fund.

"5. Additional funds might also be secured from reduction of high city salaries and from taxing of high salaries of officers of public utilities, banks and similar institutions. The Consolidated Gas Co., not including affiliates, paid \$204,466 in 1933 in salaries above \$10,000, the Brooklyn Union Gas Co. over \$134,000, and so the story goes.

"From these various sources from \$50,000,000 to \$75,000,000 could be obtained without coming out of the lower paid workers' groups, without grafting gambling institutions on to the city and without causing a wholesale exodus from the city."

by the Young Socialist International, this year Young Socialists are waging war against war and fascism. In New York, the Yipsels are actively engaged in local mass meetings and parades. To culminate the activities of International Youth Week, the entire forces of the New York YPSL are massing at the Debs Auditorium, Saturday, Oct. 6, at 2. Melos Most, the YPSL delegate to the Socialist Youth International, will report. Ben Fischer, executive secretary of the New York YPSL, will report on proposed activities for the New York League. Aaron Levenstein, member of the YPSL N. E. C., will speak on the meaning of International Youth Week.

Every Yipsel will appear in full uniform. The hall will present a spectacle of red. A YPSL membership will be required for admission. Attendance is compulsory for every Yipsel.

## Two Thousand Cheer Solomon and Thomas at Opening Rally

NEARLY 2,000 enthusiastic men and women jammed the seats, aisles, lobbies, platform and wings of Town Hall in New York City to give the state campaign of 1934 a flying send-off. As has been usual since these Town Hall ratification meetings began in 1928, hundreds were turned away at the door.

Yipsels and Socialist Guards were present in their blue blouses and red ties. On the platform a squad of girl guards stood with red flags throughout the evening. The walls of the hall could not be seen for the banners, slogans and posters covering them.

The keynote of the campaign was flung out by Charles Solomon, candidate for Governor, and Norman Thomas, candidate for U. S. Senator, when they excoriated the New Deal in terms which brought repeated cheering.

"The Republicans attack the New Deal because they seem to believe it is revolutionary; the Socialists because it is not," Solomon declared. "The New Deal is no revolution. Under it economic, political and social power reside exactly where they did before—in the hands of the capitalist class of the nation."

Thomas, too, accepted the challenge of the New Dealers and insisted that any deal, so long as it was used with the cards of the profit system, was bound to be of no value to the workers.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler, candidate for Controller, presented a ten-point program in the interest of the masses of the people in New York City. Dr. Laidler showed the futility of McGoldrick's efforts and concluded by saying, "The carrying out of these demands depends on the building up of a powerful party of the masses determined to secure

control of the government and run it for the common good."

Louis Waldman, State Chairman



of the Socialist Party, presided at the meeting and occasionally raked the old party politicians over the coals. George Goebel opened the

meeting with a rousing appeal for The New Leader.

Other speakers were: Herman Kobbé, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor; William Karlin, for Attorney General; Mrs. Rachel Pan-ken, for Congress, 14th District, and August Claessens, for Congressman-at-Large, who, as usual, made a collection which netted close to \$250.

### Rand School to Honor Candidates at Luncheon Saturday, October 20th

The Rand School inaugurates its second year of Luncheon-Discussions on Saturday, October 20th. The first luncheon will be a reception to the leading Socialist candidates, Charles Solomon, running for Governor; Norman Thomas, for Senator, and Harry W. Laidler, for Controller. The candidates will discuss the issues of the campaign. Louis Waldman is the permanent chairman of the discussions.

The tentative schedule for the coming weeks includes a discussion of the A. F. of L. Convention and reception to Walter M. Citrine, President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, on Oct. 27; and on Nov. 17 Gerhart Seger, exiled Socialist member of the Reichstag, will relate some of his experiences in Nazi concentration camps and describe the general situation in Germany.

Last year's bi-weekly discussions were so successful that this year they will be held every Saturday. Luncheon starts at 1:30 P. M. and the discussion at 2:30 P. M. Tickets for the luncheon and discussion are 65 cents, and 25 cents for the discussion alone. They can be obtained at the Rand School office, 7 East 15th Street.

## REGISTRATION WEEK

REGISTRATION for voting in the election November 6 must be made during this coming week beginning Monday, October 8. The polls are open every day from Monday, October 8, to Friday, October 12, from 5 p. m. to 10:30 p. m. and on Saturday, October 13, the polls are open all day from 7 a. m. to 10:30 p. m.

Unless you register you can not vote on election day. Go to the polling place in your district in the early part of this week. Don't wait until the last days. Sickness, neglect, forgetfulness and other accidents prevent thousands of people from registering every year; and in most cases these people lose their votes because they waited until the last days in the week and then failed to register.

Register early! See that other members of your family register early. Then see that other Socialists in your house also register. The

old parties do not neglect this important matter. We Socialists should be just as efficient. To get out a large vote for Socialism on November 6 we must first get out a large registration.

At registration you will get an enrollment blank. All Socialists must enroll. Mark your ballot with cross under the Socialist Party emblem, the Arm and the Torch.

### Barn Dance in Bronx

To raise finances for the Bronx campaign, a Barn Dance will be held Saturday evening, Oct. 20, in the main hall of the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave., which will be converted into a barn for the occasion.

A real village parson with all the necessary trappings will perform marriages, and the most married two ladies, as well as the most divorced, will receive prizes.

### Yipsel Membership Meeting Saturday, October 6

The week of Oct. 1 to 7 is celebrated internationally by Young Socialists by mass youth protest against unemployment, war, and fascism—against capitalism. International Youth Week had its inception as an anti-war holiday. In the midst of the World War, the Young Socialist International declared the anti-war protest.

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# Yipsels to Y.C.L. for Spurning United Front

By Aaron Levenstein

THE Young People's Socialist League has organized a united front demonstration against Italian fascism for Friday, October 12th (Columbus Day) outside the Yankee Stadium where the 340 visiting Italian students are scheduled to stage a field day and pageant. Denouncing Mussolini's latest mission to this country, the Young Socialists invited the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Spartacus Youth Club, the Young Communist Opposition, the Young Communist League and the National Student League to join. The Y.C.L. and the N.S.L. rejected the united front offer. The Young Communists replied that they could not join the united front because of the presence of the Trotskyites and the Lovestoneites. The N.S.L. echoed the Y.C.L.

Replying to the young Communists, the Young People's Socialist League, wrote in part:

"The arguments which you raise to exclude the two groups might just as easily be used to exclude us. In fact, the very language you use to characterize them has been and is being addressed by you even at the present time to us. You maintain in your letter that the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites are 'the worst enemies of the working class.' Have you not on many occasions said the same of us? In the Y.C.L. Builder your official organ (March-April 1933) you label us as 'the worst enemies in the ranks of working youth.' We are not interested in contesting any other organization's right to this dubious distinction; yet logic impels us to ask, Are we both the 'worst enemies'?"

"As a matter of fact, a study of your literature will reveal that the Y.C.L. does not consider it beyond its principles to enter into united front activity with organizations of the clearest anti-working class character. The Ninth Plenum of your own Communist Youth International calls upon you to 'struggle for the masses of the toiling youth who are in Socialist Youth, reformist, fascist, syndicalist, church, militarist and other organizations, drawing the members of these organizations into the class struggle on the basis of the united front from below.' Certainly if your organization can find it in its heart to enter a united front with fascist youth groups you should be able at least to tolerate the presence of the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites. After the many indiscriminate, and rather promiscuous, united fronts your organization has been advising and participat-

ing in, like that with Father Divine, the religious quack, your present strictures against the 'renegade' Communists comes as a surprise.

"It comes not only as a surprise but also as a disappointment. As you know, the united front has in the past been left unrealized because of a mutual suspicion on the part of our organizations as to each other's sincerity. Recent events, especially in Europe, seemed to be the dawning of a new era. Of particular effect in awakening the hope for unity was the pact concluded by our comrades and your comrades, together with the Trotskyites of Belgium. We hastened to follow their example. Much to our dismay and disappointment, we were informed on meeting with your representative, John Little, that the Belgium pact, which had brought together tens of thousands of radical youth in that country, was a serious 'mistake' which was already 'repudiated' by the Communist International and the Young Communist League of Belgium."

The Young Socialists, while still urging the Communists to reconsider, are proceeding with their arrangements. The demonstration will take place at 12 o'clock on Columbus Day, Friday, October 12th, outside the Yankee Stadium.

## All Bronx Candidates At Presentation Rally

ALL East Bronx candidates will speak at the Candidates' Presentation Rally at the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave., near Prospect Ave., Friday, October 5th. A special feature of the rally will be a contest for a round trip to the Chicago World's Fair completely paid or the equivalent in cash, besides several other cash prizes. Yipsels are expected to punctuate the speeches with songs.

The candidates present will be Tyrell Wilson, running for the Assembly in the 3rd A. D., Aaron Levenstein in the 4th A. D., and Solomon B. Marcus in the 5th A. D. Also Samuel Orr, former Socialist Assemblyman, who is running for Congress in the 23rd Congressional District; Herman Woskow, vice-president of the International Printing Pressmen's Union, running for State Senate in the 22nd Senatorial District; Charles B. Garfinkel, former Socialist Assemblyman, running for Congress in the 22nd, and Alfred Belskin, for Municipal Court Justice in the 2nd District.

## Hall Meetings

Saturday, Oct. 6

8:00 p. m.—Banquet, 22nd A.D. Kings County Branch, 219 Sackman Street, B'klyn. Harry W. Laidler, August Claessens.

Sunday, Oct. 7

2:00 p. m.—Town Hall, 43rd St., East of Broadway. Morris Hillquit Memorial Meeting.

Monday, Oct. 8

8:00 p. m.—P. S. 8, Lindenwood Ave., Great Kills, Staten Island. Harry W. Laidler, Wm. Karlin, August Claessens. 8:00 p. m.—Youth Fellowship. Economic Seminar, Broadway Tabernacle, Broadway and West 56th St., Manhattan Charles Solomon.

Wednesday, Oct. 10

8:30 p. m.—Franklin Manor, 836 Franklin Ave., B'klyn. Charles Solomon, Harry Laidler, Wm. Karlin, Max Frankle, Jos. Glass, Spencer Benyon.

Thursday, Oct. 11

2:00 p. m.—New York University, L.I.D. Chapter Harry W. Laidler.

8:00 p. m.—Y.M.C.A. Central Branch, 55 Hanson Place B'klyn. Harry W. Laidler.

Friday, Oct. 12

8:30 p. m.—864 Sutter Avenue. B'klyn. 22nd A.D. Club Rooms. Louis P. Goldberg, Charles Solomon.

9:15 p. m.—South Hall, Lavanburg Homes, 130 Goerck St., Manhattan. A. P. Conan, Ben Blumenberg, A. N. Weinberg.

## Rand School Classes to Be Broadcast

Educational programs direct from the classrooms of the Rand School of Social Science will be broadcast over Station WEVD on Tuesdays and Thursdays, at 8:45 P. M., starting October 9th.

Adele T. Katz offers a series of lectures on "Adventure in Music" illustrated at the piano by Marth Thompson, every Tuesday evening.

Prof. Ernest Sutherland Bates, author, editor and former Professor of Philosophy and Literature at the University of Oregon, will discuss, "Social Interpretation of American Literature" on Thursday evenings. These programs will continue until the inauguration of the third year of the WEVD University of the Air, scheduled December 8th, at Town Hall.

## Reception to Women Candidates

A reception for the thirteen Socialist women candidates will be given Friday evening, October 12, in the Rand School Studio, 7 East 15th St., by the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party. The admission is free and everybody welcome.

The candidates will speak briefly, but the main object is to become better acquainted with the guests of the evening. There will be several musical numbers, followed by refreshments.

## Red Night in Coney Island

An open mass meeting will take place Friday, October 12, at Mermaid Avenue and 29th St., Coney Island. The following will speak: August Claessens, William M. Feigenbaum, Julia Primoff, Hyman Nemser and Harold Siegel. S. Levine will act as chairman.

## Nazi Terror Movie for Labor Groups

After concluding a four-day run in New York, the film "Ernst Thaelmann" is now being booked to be shown in radical clubs, societies and forums. The film is made up of actual scenes taken in Germany and shows important working class events from 1924 to 1933. Also the film contains pictures of the suppressed literature being distributed illegally in Germany as well as street fights with the Nazis. Some of the most horrible evidences of fascist terror have been captured on film and

are an integral part of this movie. The Garrison Film Distributors, Inc., whose main office is in New York City, announced that in order to make it possible for the film to be shown in clubs as well as in theatres, the film has been converted to 16 mm. sound and 16 mm. silent, thereby making available fireproof and easily exhibited copies.

## Daniell at Pythian Temple

Eugene Daniell, Boston attorney who was tried and found guilty of placing a stench bomb in the New York Stock Exchange and who has been more recently the center of tumultuous open-air meetings, will argue for his organization with Harry Meyers on Sunday evening at 8 at the Pythian Temple. Meyers will take the Marxian position in the debate, "National Independent Party or Marxism?"

## Party Notes

Organization and Propaganda Meeting Monday at 6 p.m. in People's House.

### Manhattan

Village Branch will hold a dance on Saturday, Oct. 6, at headquarters, 201 Sullivan Ave. Branch meeting Monday eve, Oct. 8.

Washington Heights Branch holds at least five street meetings per week. 12th A.D. will hold house meetings every Monday evening in October at home of Florence Gold, our candidate for Assembly, 320 E. 42nd St., especially for enrolled Socialists and friends.

### Bronx

Amalgamated Branch will have special meeting at new headquarters, 3441 Jerome Ave., to take up matters relating to DeWitt Clinton High School meeting on Friday, Oct. 19.

7th A.D. will hold branch meeting on Tuesday eve, Oct. 9. Comrades attend to receive assignments for campaign work.

8th A.D. (Lower), branch meeting on Oct. 9 at 1137 Ward Ave.

### Kings

Kings County Campaign Committee, consisting of County Executive Committee and campaign managers of all districts, will meet Saturday, Oct. 6, at 3, at Brooklyn campaign headquarters, 844 Utica Ave., near Church Ave.

23rd A. D. will hold ratification meeting Friday eve, Oct. 5, at 8:30 p.m., at Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St. Tickets for campaign dinner are ready for distribution. Dinner will be held on Sunday, Oct. 21, at 8:30 p.m., at the Labor Lyceum. Branches desiring to exchange speakers communicate with Comrade Chapman any evening at the Labor Lyceum.

Jersey City. Street meeting Lincoln St. and Central Ave., Saturday, same time.

## LECTURES and FORUMS

## INGERSOLL FORUM

PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70th Street SUNDAYS 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents

Oct. 7th

"National Independent Party or Marxism?"

EUGENE DANIELL vs. HARRY MEYERS Questions and discussion

## UNION DIRECTORY

**BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLEATERS' UNION**, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657-3658. 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.

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

**CAP MAKERS UNION**, Local No. 1 Tel., Orchard 4-8860.—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; I. Biemel, 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, 949 W. 110th Ave., Brooklyn; STagg 2-0798. 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., LOnacre 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.; Philip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

**LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION**, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U. Office, 601 West 35th St.; Phone, WIs. 7-4011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

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## CONCERT and BALL

Sunday, October 21, 1934, at 3 P. M.

at the Central Opera House,

205 East 67th Street, New York City.

**ALOIS BOHSUNG'S PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA** ADMISSION  
Franz Kallenberg conducting 25c in advance  
CHORUS of 500—SOLOISTS—DANCERS—GYMNASTS 40c at the box office  
Tickets for sale at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, New York Labor Lyceum, Queens County Labor Lyceum, German Book Shop, 250 E. 84th St., N.Y.C., and at our Main Office, 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.—HEgeuan 3-4653.

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# 'Our Daily Bread' King Vidor's Finest Film At Rialto

**"OUR DAILY BREAD."** Directed by King Vidor. At the Rialto.

For a long time now a lot of sex-weary movie-goers have been wondering when a picture like "Our Daily Bread" would be produced in the United States. The novelists were the first in the artistic field to discover that there are other problems in the world besides emotional ones. The legitimate theatre is now beginning to make this same discovery. But up to now, the movies have gone their blithe way utterly oblivious of everything except Cleopatra's loves and whether Sybil should stick to her safe and sound husband or fly with the young firebrand.

I don't mean to say, however, that one cannot occasionally get a laugh out of Eddie Cantor. The Marxian interpretation of the Four Marx Brothers can be left to the slightly hilarious pundits of the New Masses who refuse to crack a smile at Harpo's antics because by so doing they will be taken in by a bourgeois plot. There is a limit to everything.

But is it not yet possible to hail the awakening of the movies to social problems. It will undoubtedly be a long time before the ex-furriers who run Hollywood see fit to take a chance with a picture like "Our Daily Bread."

The picture is a simple story of a group of unemployed families from all walks of life who organize a cooperative farm to keep themselves alive. Their best efforts are threatened with complete undoing because of drought. But, in the end, when they have practically lost all hope, they are saved by one great joint undertaking.

The organization of the cooperative farm is not the result of a course of lectures. It springs up naturally and inevitably when these families find themselves together with the common problem of keeping alive. This is important. No thesis is expounded in this picture. There are no artificially injected speeches—something which cannot be said of similar production on the stage. Whatever lessons there are to be gotten out of this picture, come from the spectator, not from the author.

King Vidor, one of the masters of the screen, is responsible for "Our Daily Bread." Technically it is on a par with anything which has been produced either here or abroad—a fact which, of course, adds immeasurably to its effectiveness. Towards the end of the picture, the men sweat for days and nights digging an irrigation ditch from a distant stream in a last

**Judith Anderson and James Rennie**



In a scene from "Divided by Three," the new play which Guthrie McClintic is presenting at the Barrymore Theatre.

**Max Rabinoff to Present Grand Opera at Hippodrome Oct. 8**

Max Rabinoff has engaged a complete Russian unit for his season with the Cosmopolita Opera Association at the New York Hippodrome which starts Monday evening, October 8th, with a performance of "Carmen." Four Russian productions have been prepared. The first is "Boris Godunoff" which will be given on the second night of the season with Max Pantaleff in the title role. The second will be "Khovanschina" which will be given during the second week. Later "Le Coq D'Or" and "Prince Igor" will be presented. All operas will be sung in Russian.

For "Prince Igor" picturesque settings never before used will be offered by Mr. Rabinoff. They were designed several years ago by Boris Anisfeld at Stoney Point, New York, in connection with Mr. Rabinoff's musical centre. Settings for "Boris Godunoff" and "Khovanschina" are by Jacob Anchutin and for "Le Coq D'Or" by Ivanoff. The Russian productions of the Cosmopolitan Opera Association are under the supervision and furnished by the Art of Musical Russia. Ivan Ivantsoff is the president and artistic director.

desperate effort to save their dying crops. When the last few shovelfuls are dug between the completed ditch and the stream itself and the water cascades into the parched fields, you will witness one of the most deeply stirring scenes you have ever seen in a theatre.

The acting is uniformly excellent. Only one really well known movie player, Karen Morley, is in it. But Miss Morley is, and always has been, far above the average doll-faced Hollywood leading lady. The picture is full of juicy characterizations. You will enjoy particularly Chris, the Swedish farmer. But none of the characters, leading or secondary, is permitted to interfere with the sweep of idea behind this picture.

When John, who came from the city, looks with open-eyed wonderment on the first sprouting of the seed, he says to his wife, "There's nothing for people to worry about—not when they've got the earth." This simple and altogether natural remark is the only thing in the picture that approaches being a "speech." But it is enough, for it

**Dance Recitals for Students**

The Students Dance Recitals will present eight dance recitals at the Washington Irving High School Auditorium, 16th Street and Irving Place. The artists will be: Shawn and His Ensemble of Men Dancers, Oct. 13; Doris Humphrey and Charles Weidman, Nov. 17; Miriam Winslow, Dec. 15; Dorsha, Jan. 19; Sophia Delza, Feb. 2; Tamiris, Mar. 8; Martha Graham, Mar. 23; and Carola Goya, Apr. 27.

The performances will start at 8:30 p.m. sharp. A club subscription for the eight dance recitals will be at \$2.50. Tickets are obtainable by sending the subscription price to the office of the Students Dance Recitals.

**Karasova**



Of the Moscow Art Theatre, who plays a leading role in Dostoyevski's "Petersburg Nights," Soviet film now in its 2nd week at the Acme

**Jackie Cooper in "Peck's Bad Boy" Opens at the Roxy**

Jackie Cooper in "Peck's Bad Boy," a Sol Lesser-Fox picture, will open today at the Roxy Theatre as the featured screen attraction. This talking picture version of one of America's most celebrated stories has Thomas Meighan in the role of "George W. Peck," Jackie Searl as "Cousin Horace" and Dorothy Peterson as "Aunt Lily." O. P. Heggie, well known Broadway star, also has an important role in this film, which was directed by Edward Cline from the screen adaptation by Bernard Schubert.

is the most compelling realization that can come to man. Let us cherish and nurture this picture so that it might bear children.

Sidney Hart.

**Judgment Day**

By ELMER RICE

"Thrilling, stirring play."—Sun  
"Season's first dramatic hit."

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MARGARET HEWES presents

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By PAUL GREEN

**ROLL, SWEET CHARIOT**

A Symphonic Drama of the Negro People

**CORT Thea.** 48 St. E. of B'y

Evgs. 8:30 to 10:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 5:00 to 8:00

**Vivienne Osborne**



Star of stage and screen who has one of the featured roles in the Bushar and Tuerk comedy about a murder, "Order Please," which opens next Tuesday at the Playhouse

**"One Night of Love" Holds Over at Fox Brooklyn**

Breaking all box office records at the Fox Brooklyn, Grace Moore's starring vehicle for Columbia, "One Night of Love" will continue at that theatre for a second week starting today. Supporting Miss

**Shearer—March—Laughton On Capitol Screen in "The Barretts of Wimpole St."**

Three Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences Award winners head the cast of "The Barretts of Wimpole Street"—which is being held for a second week at the Capitol Theatre.

Norma Shearer, in the role of the poet Elizabeth, is starred opposite Frederic March, as the ardent Robert Browning—the same team which broke all records in "Smilin' Thru." Charles Laughton, most recent Academy Award winner, appears in the grim and powerful role of the elder Barrett—his first American picture since the international hit, "Henry the Eighth."

The supporting cast is equally extraordinary. It includes Maureen O'Sullivan, Ralph Forbes, Una O'Connor, Katharine Alexander, Ian Wolfe and Marion Clayton.

A new stage show supplements the feature film, headed by the well-known comic and impersonator de luxe—Eddie Carr; the international dancers, Gomez and Winona; the incomparable songbird, Ann Greenway; Moore and Revel, eccentric dancers; and the Danny Dare Girls.

Moore are Tulio Carminati, Lyle Halbot and others. Zac Freedman, producer, gives the Post-Prince Radio artist, star solo spot on the program.

Beginning Next Monday Evening, 8:30 Sharp  
THE THEATRE GUILD will present

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By JAMES BRIDIE

**GUILD THEATRE** 52nd STREET, W. of B'WAY

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A New Play by GEO. S. KAUFMAN and MOSS HART

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Book by Moss Hart - Music by Johann Strauss - Dances by Albertina Rasch

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**HUSTON in "DODSWORTH"**

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

(Reserve Saturday evening, December 8, for the WEVD University of the Air at Town Hall.)

Sunday—11 a.m., Forward Hour, music and sketches; 8 p.m., "Voice of Welfare"—Charles Berry; 8:30, Michael Sherry, tenor; 8:45, Helen Trix, songs; 10, Symposium; 10:45, Folk Singers; 12 mid., Dance Music.

Monday—8 a.m., Psychology Clinic of the Air—Dr. Jacob List; 4:15, Nicholas Saslavsky, baritone.

Tuesday—4 p.m., Sonya Yergin, soprano; 8:15, "Paris in New York," music; 8:45, Adelle T. Katz, illustrated music lecture; 10, The New Leader—"Review of the News"; 10:30, Vanda Mara, soprano; 10:45, Rosa Simon, piano.

Wednesday—8 p.m., Nation Radiatorial Board, talk; 8:15, Actors' Dinner Club—Doris Hardy; 8:45, Helen Trix, songs; 10, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 10:15, Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone—Sonya Yergin, soprano; 10:45, Ann Howard, blues singer.

Thursday—8 p.m., Talk—Foreign Affairs Forum; 8:15, Margaret Reed Dooley, mezzo-soprano; 8:30, 8:45, Royal Dutch Travelogue, Hendrik de Leeuw; 10, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 10:15, Varela and Perez, songs; 10:30, Medical Hour; 10:45, Bass and Redall, piano duo.

Saturday—11:30 a.m., Mabel Horsey's "Stars of Tomorrow," juvenile program; 6:45 p.m., Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8, Charlotte Tonhazy, violinist; 8:15, Betty Blue, songs; 8:45, Jesse Wolfe, tenor; 10:30, Sol Gliskin, violinist; 10:45, Harriet Ayres, songs.



# Love Is The Staff of "The Distaff Side"

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### Wavering Women

"THE DISTAFF SIDE." By John Van Druten. At the Booth.

"Love is of man's life a thing apart; 'tis woman's whole existence." One might consider "The Distaff Side" as an illustration of this adage, in terms of sincere and effective drama. A family group of women, excellently acted and deftly discriminated, is shown in various phases of love or the lack of it: the sour end of a loveless life; the sober "solitude" of widowhood after love; the bustling concern of loving motherhood; the hectic flow of an "illegitimate" amour; the crossing of the threshold of young love. Each of these, in balanced stir, plays upon the others; and the men—though living figures, and also excellently played—are subdued as dramatic foils in this world of women. Specifically, aunt and niece, of two separate generations, is each wondering whether she should marry the man she's been living with; and the course that leads to their decisions makes a revealing and moving play. And, from Dame Sybil Thorndike through Estelle Winwood as the aunt and Viola Keats as the young girl to Hilda Plowright as the old lady's attendant, "The Distaff Side" gives us the best cast of the early season.

### Wandering Wives

"ERRANT LADY." By Nat N. Dorfman. At the Fulton.

The pretty pickles into which wives may plunge, when household duties are light and no children hold them, and the tight hold these wives may seek to tighten on their husbands, are bared in Nat N. Dorfman's latest comedy, "Errant Lady." Mrs. Jessup is such a combination of frivolity and stupidity as only a middle-class household can present; the husband works while the wife fritters her time

away. And this hubby is squeezed beneath her thumb.

The daughter (no longer a burden because equipped with a husband of her own, and young enough not to make mother a back-number) feels that she has fallen in love with—of course—a Russian noble; his Tartar ancestry produces jokes about condiments, and White Russia ("Do they come in color?") and the Five-Year Plan also provoke witticisms—until the mother saves the daughter by substituting herself, and father seizes the opportunity to—well, not break, but loosen a bit, the bonds that tie him. Situation and humor

### On Albee Screen



Loretta Young has an important role in Erik Charrell's "Caravan" which opens today at the Albee

are of the sort that seem real only in the magic hours from 8:30 to 11 p.m., within the walls of a playhouse; but basically the play portrays the emptiness of typical

middle-class lives, and while we laugh we recognize that it will take more than a duck hunting trip to adjust such families to the world today.

Leona Powers is very effective in the role of the youngish mother who, once her daughter has grown, finds herself without any valid ac-

tivity in life, and breaks her boredom by keeping her husband subjected until interesting diversion arrives. Her way of dramatizing an incident, many husbands off the stage will recognize, and they will agree that the buffet she gets when son-in-law and Russian try their fists is less than she deserves.

## BOMBSHELL on BROADWAY!

**The SOVIET COMES HOME  
...RED RUSSIA CAPTURES  
THE AMERICAN SCREEN!**

The New York Times says:

"Dips into profound and basic problems of our everyday life . . . the same fundamental dramatic themes which young proletarian novelists are exploiting in the new American literature."

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"OUR DAILY BREAD"**

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Lion Feuchtwanger's tremendous story!

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**BARBARA STANWYCK**

in Willa Cather's famous love story

**"A LOST LADY"** A WARNER BROS. HIT

with FRANK MORGAN • **STRAND—25c**  
Ricardo Cortez - Lyle Talbot B'WAY & 47th ST. to 1 P.M.

**MARLENE DIETRICH in  
"THE SCARLET EMPRESS"**

A Paramount Picture directed by JOSEF VON STERNBERG

She Rules the Empire and Her Cossacks with Love and Beauty! **B'KLYN STRAND—25c**  
Fulton St. & Rockwell Pl. to 6 p.m.

ALL THIS WEEK

**MIRIAM HOPKINS  
"THE RICHEST GIRL  
IN THE WORLD"**

—RKO Vaudeville—

Stars of Rudy Vallee's Radio Program  
**ROSETTE and LUTMAN  
and PAUL TISEN & ORCH.  
JOEMORRIS & CO.—Ben Dova**

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One of the truly glorious pictures of all times!

ALEXANDRE DUMAS'  
**"The COUNT of MONTE CRISTO"**

with **ROBERT DONAT  
ELISSA LANDI**

A Reliance Picture Released through United Artists

**RIVOLI** B'WAY 49th St.

## HELD OVER!

2nd WEEK - - OF COURSE!

"★★★★!" — Daily News and Liberty Magazine  
... "Perfect screen drama . . . no words of praise too great!" — American . . . "Don't miss it!" — Mirror  
... "Nothing short of a masterpiece!" — Herald-Tribune . . . "A film that simply must be seen!" — World-Telegram . . . "The Barretts is magnificent entertainment!" — Journal . . . "A drama to be seen and remembered!" — Sun

Norma  
**SHEARER**  
Fredric  
**MARCH**  
Charles  
**LAUGHTON**

in  
**The BARRETTS of WIMPOLE STREET**

with MAUREEN O'SULLIVAN  
KATHARINE ALEXANDER

From the play - - RUDOLF BESIER  
Directed by - - SIDNEY FRANKLIN

A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture

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Major Edward Bowes, Mng. Dir.

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GOMEZ and  
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MOORE & REVEL  
DANNY DARE Girls  
CAPITOL Grand Orch.  
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"THUNDERSTORM"**

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SECOND BIG WEEK

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"PETERSBURG NIGHTS"**

MOSCOW ART THEATRE CAST  
English Dialogue Titles  
**ACME Thea.** 14th Street & Union Square

2nd RECORD-BREAKING WEEK!

**FOX** B'KLYN  
FLATBUSH at NEVINS

**GRACE MOORE in  
"ONE NIGHT OF LOVE"**

"★★★★" (Four Stars)—DAILY NEWS

On Stage **POET PRINCE—Other Acts**

25c  
10:55 P.M.  
W. K. ADAMS

ALL THIS WEEK

**"CARAVAN"**  
with CHARLES BOYER  
LORETTA YOUNG - Cast of 3000  
—RKO Vaudeville—  
**HAROLD STERN**  
and Orchestra

**FRANCES LANGFORD**

Other RKO Acts

**ALBEE** Albee Square BROOKLYN

**THEATRE PARTIES**

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

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Balcony (Evs.) \$1, \$1.50, \$2, \$2.50, \$3

Seats selling for next 8 weeks

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"PECK'S BAD BOY"**

A Fox Picture with THOS. MEIGHAN

ON THE STAGE

Gala New Variety Revue

**IRVING KAUFMAN**

(Radio's Famous LAZY DAN)

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Sat. Eve. at 8:45; Sun. Aft. at 3:00

BEETHOVEN: Symphony No. 5

BRUCKNER: Symphony No. 9

ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinways Pianos)



# "Liberals" Ape Communist Slanderers in Irresponsible Charges of Sell-Outs and Disaster, Strike Observer Claims

By an Observer on the Firing Line

AS time progresses and experience accumulates, it is becoming increasingly clear that among the enemies against whom the workers have to contend are their so-called "liberal" friends.

These are the "liberals" who do not lose an opportunity to tell the workers that they are being "sold out" by their leaders when in the face of great difficulties, hunger and overwhelming armed force the workers are compelled to execute a strategic retreat to escape a disastrous rout.

These are the same "liberals" who, like the Communists, would like to see the workers engaged in a bitter industrial conflict smash themselves against a stone wall to tickle the fancy of swivel chair revolutionists and advanced "thinkers."

And like the Communists, whose conscious or unconscious allies these "liberals" are, they seldom lose an opportunity to carry confusion, disillusionment and dissension into the ranks of the workers by telling them that they are being "betrayed" by their leaders and the American Federation of Labor, and egging them on to irresponsible adventures.

## Fought With Skill and Courage

Take, for example the recent great textile strike. Having observed this thrilling strike of nearly 500,000 workers on the firing line and from the "inside," the writer of these lines can truthfully say that both leaders and rank and file fought bravely and with consummate skill and wisdom. They surprised not only the mill owners and the government but themselves with the magnificent display of numbers and solidarity. No objective observer will deny that in the prolonged argument in the press that ensued between the strike leaders in Washington and the textile barons, the latter were argued off the boards. The workers and the nation as a whole received a real education in the problems of the textile industry as it affects the interests of its employees and of labor in general.

The hearts of millions thrilled to the spectacle of hundreds of thousands of grossly exploited mill hands, the poorest of the poor, fighting for recognition of their just grievances and giving the world an example of labor's power. The strike was not only a warning for the present but a portent of the future. It could not, of course, under the circumstances, be the "final conflict." An industry so mismanaged as the textile industry has been for decades and workers as exploited as those in the textile industry cannot be extricated from the slough by one strike, however extensive and spectacular, or by a series of strikes. Many a conflict will yet have to be fought, and will be fought, in the textile fields of New England and the South before the workers receive a substantial measure of that to which they are entitled.

## At Proper Moment

The recent strike was a grand rehearsal for the battles yet to come. It ended with the calling off of the strike at the end of its third week after presentation of the report of the Winant inquiry board and the realization on the part of the strike leaders, and all those who watched and understood the situation, that such action was the part of wisdom. Why? Because under the implacable pressure of overwhelming force and increasing hunger among the workers, the great majority of them never more than 24 hours removed from the

## Swivel-chair Revolutionists Always Ready to "Fight It Out to the Last Striker," Comments Writer Who Followed Walkout on the Firing Line; General Textile Strike Ably and Bravely Organized and Led; Disorderly Rout Prevented, Union Saved, He Says

poorhouse, there was grave danger that the strike would disintegrate if permitted to continue. Rather than give this satisfaction to the mill owners and suffer the serious moral and organizational defeat which such a culmination would have implied, the strike leaders agreed to call off the strike at the proper psychologic moment after compelling recognition from the government that the grievances of the workers merited consideration and forcing the setting up of machinery for such consideration.

By this action the strike leaders kept the ranks of the workers intact, saved the union from destruction, and retreated to positions from which the battle will be continued in disciplined and organized manner.

## Facts to Remember

To realize the wisdom of this action, two factors must be kept in mind:

First—Although the United Textile Workers, the strike organization, has been in the field for many years, it is only within the past two years that organization has taken rapid steps on a mass scale in the industry. The sorely exploited and miserably paid textile workers, like all workers of this type, have lent themselves with difficulty to organization. An unmistakable defeat in the recent strike would have sealed the fate of the union for a long time.

Second—After the first two weeks it had become apparent that the strike had reached its peak and that in the absence of any organized relief on a scale which could not possibly be developed in time under the conditions of the fight, the workers would be going back

in increasing numbers unless a quick settlement was obtained. This unfortunate situation had made itself manifest particularly in Georgia and other parts of the South at the end of the second week.

Having been with the strikers on the picket lines and talked to hundreds of them in their homes and in meeting halls, I was firmly convinced that anxious as they were to continue the battle, many of them had become desperate with sheer hunger. The sight of their starving wives and children was too much even for the boldest of them. Painful as it is to admit it, I was convinced that had the strike continued another week, the workers would have gone back in a disorderly rout rather than in the orderly and disciplined manner in which the great majority of them marched back to their jobs, with their union banners flying and determined to resume the battle at the first opportunity.

## Strategic Retreat

It was a strategic retreat ordered by responsible leaders, conscious of their duty to the workers and the organization. No person familiar with the bitter facts of the situation and possessing some knowledge of the experience and psychology of labor struggles can justly point the finger of criticism at the strike leaders for what they did. They organized and led ably one of the greatest battles in the annals of American labor. They brought about consideration by the government of the just grievances of the workers. They preserved the union. They are ready to continue the fight, for the present, in the channels of adjudication, pending

an opportunity for resumption of action in the field.

We need have no illusions, nor do the strike leaders have such illusions, concerning the actual immediate gains obtained by the strikers through the report of the Winant inquiry board. These gains are largely potential, but by no means unreal. The mill owners collectively still refuse to deal with the union. They received the surprise of their lives in the scope and power developed by the strike before hunger and the mailed fist compelled the retreat, and some of them are already moving to the realization that sooner or later they will have to do business with the union, for the union is here and will remain here. This is the outstanding achievement of the strike, an achievement which our "liberals," parroting the destructive effusions of the Communists, ignore.

## Liberals Quick to Denounce

Without losing a moment, both the Nation and New Republic have hastened to denounce the strike leaders for "selling out" the workers. Because "union members are being locked out by the hundreds," says the Nation, (as if lockouts and the blacklist are a novelty) "the workers are faced with one of the worst sell-outs in the history of American labor leadership." Ignoring completely the bitter facts of the situation, the Nation declares that "on the surface" the Winant report was "not unfavorable" to the workers, agreeing grudgingly that the report "admitted practically all their contentions" and paved the way for improvement. Nevertheless, the so-called "liberal" organ, which so

often sings the praises of capitalist "reformers" of doubtful reformist character, strikes a militant attitude and has the temerity to declare: "The textile worker, who has gone through three payless weeks of dangerous picket duty, martial law, and even concentration camps, has every reason for losing faith in his alphabetical heroes, the NRA and the U.T.W."

George A. Sloan and the Cotton Textile Institute will gladly spend considerable money in helping to disseminate this statement among the workers, coupled with similar contemptible outbursts assiduously circulated by the Communists.

## Admit Disaster?

No less contemptible are the sophomores of the New Republic. "The settlement must be considered a disastrous defeat for the union," says this organ of pseudo-intellectual futility, as it tries to break through an open door in analyzing the admitted limitations of the Winant report, while underestimating its positive elements to make a case for its own slanderous thesis. After some poisonous thrusts at the American Federation of Labor and the leaders of the U.T.W., our pompous disseminator of parlor-Bolshevik diatribe declares: "As the New Republic outlined editorially last week, the A. F. of L. has shown no indication that it was willing to fight the textile strike to a finish." The Czar of Russia was quite ready to fight the war to the last Russian peasant, and the New Republic was willing to fight the textile strike to the last starving and bleeding mill worker.

What displeases the New Republic particularly is the claim put forward by Francis J. Gorman, national strike leader, that the strike ended in a victory for the workers. The New Republic insists that Mr. Sloan's contention was the correct one, namely that the strike was a defeat for the workers, and it helps Mr. Sloan emphasize this alleged fact with the alacrity of a paid organ of the mill owners. Mr. Gorman, in the opinion of the New Republic, should have openly admitted defeat.

Unlike the Nation, however, the New Republic evinces a slight pang of conscience in the conclusion of its diatribe, when, in contradiction to its own false and misleading analysis, it is compelled to say:

"If this triumph was turned into an empty victory, the fault, most observers will agree, was not the strikers'. It was the result of forces beyond their control. They might have won a decent compromise from the manufacturers alone. They could not beat the forces of industry and government combined." Regardless of the merits or demerits of the Winant report, we may add.

According to "liberal"-parlor-Bolshevik logic the strike remains "a sell-out," nevertheless.

But, never mind, the cocktails and food in Greenwich Village and Park Avenue penthouses are still good. Fortified with copious quantities of both, the editors of the Nation and New Republic will continue to fight the class struggle for the workers—and to pour water on the mills of the employers.

## Big Tobacco Firm Unionized

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp. has signed an agreement whereby its 3,000 employees have been organized into a local of the Tobacco Workers International Union. All products now bear three union labels—tobacco workers, Allied Printing Trades and photo-engravers' union.

## New York Labor Committee Cites Socialists' Work With Unions

BELOW we print in rapid summary form a digest of the report submitted to the executive committee of the Socialist Party in New York by its labor committee, whose chairman is Julius Gerber and secretary Jack Altman. Only the barest details are given, and important additional material is withheld for lack of space:

**TEXTILE strike.**—Labor Committee was approached by organizers for the U.T.W. on general strike. In New York, no union existed in the yarn section of the industry and the party was asked to take over complete supervision. Meeting was called of members, over 200 showed up; constituted themselves strike committee. Comrade Gerald Coleman became head of party members in the work. Within three days, ninety percent of the industry was on strike, involving 2,000 workers.

We called conference of United Hebrew Trades and other organizations in effort to raise funds; among those represented was the Central Trades and Labor Council and others. Socialist speakers covered New Jersey as well as New York.

**Radio Workers.**—A four days' strike was won through our aid at the DeWald Radio plant. Yipsels and party members mass picketed every day, forcing an agreement.

**Celluloid Union.**—Strike in this industry was won with our aid, resulting in 30 to 50 percent increases in wages and union recognition.

**Moving Picture Operators.**—We are still aiding Local 306 with open-air meetings and picketing. Injunction was issued by Justice Lauer, prohibiting even sympathizers from mentioning strike. We successfully defied this and were sustained on appeal.

**Laundry Workers' Union.**—Brownsville Socialists are continuing their aid to two strikes in Brooklyn. At meeting of executive of the Brooklyn local of this union, the party was appealed to for assistance in running affairs of union and plan general strike in future.

**Shoe Salesmen Union.**—They appealed to us to help fight injunction procured by Congressman Celler in Brownsville. Plans were made to have YPSL picket under their auspices; Yipsels were also enjoined from picketing, but challenged and successfully defied the injunction.

**Radio Salesmen.**—Strike of all salesmen and service men in Vim chain stores took place; our members throughout city aiding through open-air meetings and picketing.

**Painters' Union.**—We helped them in a variety of capacities during their strike and the organization is deeply grateful. We aided them from the first moment of

their strike up to the last moment of their agreement.

**Taxi Drivers.**—Work is still continuing in this field and the organization drive of the A. F. of L. union is receiving our assistance.

**Knitgoods' Strike.**—We played a prominent part in this strike, particularly the YPSLS, who are largely responsible for its successful outcome.

**Butchers' Union 174.**—Through YPSL picketing despite injunction obtained by bosses, the strike was finally terminated successfully.

**Staten Island Bus Strike.**—Staten Island comrades did splendid work in strike; played important part in settlement.

**Doll Workers.**—Through us, Emil Schlesinger acted as attorney for union and obtained injunction against runaway shop. This is an important labor decision and as a result conference was organized to bring it to a successful conclusion.

Help of a variety of character—such as speakers, picketing, aid in preparation of literature, publicity, daily conferences and counsel, to the following list of unions. In all such cases the contact has aided us in establishing the friendliest relationship with the result, in many instances, of members joining the party:

Beauticians' Union; Shoe Repairs; International Association of Machinists; Journeymen Tailors; Grocery Clerks; Butchers; Bakers.



## Butcher Union To Present Demands

**THE** Hebrew Butcher Workers' Union Local 234 has offered the bosses the alternative of either signing a contract containing the demands of the union or facing a general strike on the refusal of the bosses to sign a contract, as result of a decision unanimously made at a general membership meeting. Over 1,000 members approved the contract read to them in detail by Louis Waldman, attorney for the union, and voted to empower the executive board to call a strike if necessary.

The contract provides complete unionization of the industry, reduction of working hours to a maximum of 48, minimum pay of \$8 per day, and no discharge without due cause, and an equal division of work among unemployed Jewish butchers, to be controlled entirely by the union. A special clause in the contract bars more than one of the owners of a shop from working as an employee, and aims to do away with so-called partnerships which enable employers to bring in outside workers.

Joseph Belsky, secretary of the union, showed the reasonableness of a shorter working week and urged the compulsory closing of stores at a standard time to be uniformly enforced.

## Covered Button Shipping Clerks Out on Strike

By Leonard J. Victor

**PROTESTING** against starvation wages, about 500 non-manufacturing workers in the covered button industry went out on strike last Monday. Errand boys, porters, and other unskilled help in the industry have been working an average of sixty hours per week, at salaries ranging from six to ten dollars a week. Over 85% are on strike for a 37-hour-week and an \$18 wage.

Settlements have already been reached with several of the largest manufacturers in the line, and it is hoped that by the time this reaches print the majority of them will be signed up.

Some of the employers, however, refusing to recognize the fact that their workers have the right to demand a living wage and the leisure due every human being, have attempted to utilize terrorist methods. Nine gangsters came up to the union office at 218 West 40th St. the day the strike was called, and tried to frighten those who had gone out. After the smoke cleared, the nine desperadoes could be seen running very hurriedly down the stairs.

This strike was organized by those in the industry without outside aid of any sort, and is the first time unskilled labor has ever had an organization in the vast garment trade in New York City. The workers are imbued with a fine fighting spirit, and are determined to win their demands or go down fighting to the last. Jack Lynn and William Gomborg (Socialist candidate for Assembly in the 5th District, Brooklyn) are leading the walkout.

## Concessions Won By Soap Firm Strikers

**CHICAGO.** — The two months' strike of the soap workers at the manufacturing plant of Lever Brothers at Hammond has been settled with a victory for the strikers. Soap magnates were compelled to grant a five per cent wage increase for all employees receiving 60 cents an hour or less; arbitration of disputes, and seniority rights.

# Modernized Structure, Wider Vision, Seen as Chief Need of American Labor Movement

By B. Levitin

**THE** 54th convention of the A. F. of L. finds the American labor movement facing one of the most critical periods in its history. Organized labor is engaged in a desperate struggle not merely for betterment; it is fighting for its very existence.

The New Deal undoubtedly awakened the slumbering labor movement and has spurred it to activity.

On the other hand, the New Deal has also brought a menace to life. The company unions received official sanction in Roosevelt's compromise settlement of the automobile strike, and has become a powerful weapon in the hands of the employers. The New Deal is therefore certain to occupy a prominent place in the convention discussions.

Last year, too, the New Deal occupied the attention of the delegates. But what a difference! Then the spirit of Gabriel over the White House bewitched the entire assembly. That was a convention of cheer and praise. Hopes ran high. Employment was steadily increasing. Organized labor made rapid strides towards recovery from the crisis. Within the first six months of the New Deal more than 1,500,000 workers were added to the rolls, bringing its membership to the height of 1912. Leaders were extravagant in predictions as to the prospects. The NRA conceded the right of collective bargaining through Section 7A. Some leaders spoke of 20,000,000 organized workers within a year or two; others visioned the entire proletarian army of the United States, some forty million strong, organized.

## A Different Picture

How different the picture appears today! After nineteen months of the New Deal there are still more than 8,000,000 million workers out of jobs, with several millions more in temporary employment on public works. The NRA has brought disappointment. The employers benefited; it helped to increase their profits and it permitted monopolies through the repeal of the anti-trust laws.

The workers gained little. The slight advance in wages is more than offset by increased prices. Re-employment schemes are a dismal failure. Section 7A has been so interpreted as to void any benefit organized labor might derive from it.

Even the benevolent attitude of President Roosevelt towards labor brought little joy to the workers. His settlement of the automobile strike only strengthened the powerful resistance of the industrial magnates against union recognition, by giving his official sanction to the company union. This has made the organization of workers into bona fide unions much more difficult.

## Must Rush Labor Program

The convention will plan a campaign in the next Congress for clarification of the labor clauses in the N.I.R.A. It will have to map out a drive for the adoption by Congress of a thorough-going legislative labor program, including the thirty-hour work week, unemployment insurance, and old age pensions. Some of these measures have long been on the statute books in most of the European countries.

These problems require immediate solution. They affect not only the welfare of the workers,

Negotiations were conducted by William Schoenberg, general organizer for the A. F. of L. and George Bates, vice-president of the United Soap and Glycerine Workers Local 18,840.

but the whole masses, since no recovery is possible unless the workers acquire purchasing power for a decent living.

Recent experiences point to a crisis in the trade unions. The Federation is still short of the three-million mark in the number of dues-paying members. In other words, the A. F. of L., in spite of all efforts, could not muster the confidence of more than 8 per cent of the wage earners of this country. How can the Federation claim to be the spokesman of American labor when it has such a small minority of workers in its folds?

Nor does it speak well for the Federation that such an important section of the workers as the railway brotherhoods has persistently refused to join its ranks. A number of the recently organized Federal unions are also holding aloof or are displaying an indifferent attitude. That shows a lack of confidence in the leadership and policies of the Federation.

## Causes in Structure

The difficult position the A. F. of L. faces is not necessarily due to the stubborn resistance of capital to union recognition, nor to the lack of sincerity or determination of the labor leaders. Neither is it due to a lack of courage and heroic sacrifice. The causes which hinder growth and even endanger the Federation's existence lie within the organization. They arise from the antiquated and outmoded structure of craft unionism upon which many unions have been built. This deficiency is largely responsible not only for the stagnancy of the labor movement, but also for the low morale and racketeering in a number of unions.

## LOUIS SCHAFER HEADS I.L.G.W.U. EDUCATION AND RESEARCH WORK

**LOUIS SCHAFER**, for many years active in labor and Socialist circles in New York and Chicago and until recently labor editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, has been named by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union to take charge of the union's educational and research departments.

Comrade Schaffer will devote his energies to expanding the educational work of the I.L.G.W.U. along the mass education and mass recreation program adopted by the Chicago convention. He will also organize a research office for the union.

Upon assuming office, Schaffer at once plunged into the work of speeding up the raising of the \$50,000 Anti-Nazi Fund voted last June in Chicago. He has also been placed in charge of the arrangements for the big Citrine meeting on October 24, at Mecca Temple, New York City.

## LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY, JESSE HOLMES TELLS OIL WORKERS

**CHESTER, Pa.** — "Labor needs its own political party and needs it vitally," Dr. Jesse Holmes, noted educator and Socialist candidate for governor, told a mass meeting of the Oil Workers Union. "Only such a party will really enact legislation beneficial to the workers." The union is conducting a vigorous organization in this city, in Paulsboro, N. J., and in Baltimore.

## Twin City Cap Makers Win

**MINNEAPOLIS.** — The three weeks' strike of the Twin City Cap Makers' Union against the Midwestern Cap Co. has ended in complete recognition and other concessions. Settlement followed a mass demonstration and picket line thrown about the plant by workers of both this city and St. Paul.

In his article in the Labor Day issue of THE NEW LEADER, President Green charges industrialists with failure to adapt the labor policies to modern conditions of industry. The employers, he charges, are still using old time methods of lowering the standard of living of the workers in spite of the fact that mass production calls for mass consumption and hence for an increased purchasing power for the masses.

The charge is well-founded. We have the paradox of capitalists working against the interests of capitalism. But does not a similar charge strike at the very door of the Federation?

## Conditions Changed

The Federation has made few material changes in structure and basic policies since its organization in 1886, despite the fact that our economic life has changed completely within the last fifty years. Samuel Gompers may have been right at the time in seizing upon the advantages of craft unionism. In the first place, it is much easier to organize skilled workers, who are more intelligent, than to huddle together a heterogeneous mass of workers into one organization. In the second place, he thought that he could exercise a better control over industry by controlling the key men in each and every trade.

But conditions have changed since the days of the post-Civil War period, when the industrial revolution was making its inroads into the economic life of the country. Science and invention have combined to reduce the need of human labor in industry, and this process of reduction hit the skilled workers particularly. Mechanized shops are operated with skeleton staffs of skilled workers, and even they are mere attendants to mechanical devices and electrical appliances.

## Strength Being Sapped

If the unions persist in relying upon skilled labor for control of labor conditions in industry, they will fail, because their strength is constantly being sapped by the systematic elimination of skilled labor.

The problem facing American labor is the mass organization of skilled as well as unskilled workers. But the craft unions are not suited for this new task. Organized labor needs a more modern structure as well as a wider vision. It must have a clean body and a new spirit, as well as a modern labor psychology. It should cast off the outworn robe of craft unions and rebuild the labor movement upon a sound foundation of industrial unionism. Only then will the Federation become an effective instrument for the organization of the mass of the wage earners; only then will it gain the confidence and respect of the great majority of American workers.

The real problems that the convention will face are a thorough house-cleaning and an overhauling of the entire structure of the labor movement. If the convention has the courage and determination to tackle these basic problems and to lay the groundwork for a more modern and more efficient labor movement, it may mark the turning point from which American labor will rapidly forge ahead to a position of great power and influence.

Then the American Federation of Labor will have a better claim to be the spokesman of American labor.



## Pocketbook Strike Lines Are Firm

**THE** general strike of nearly 7,000 pocketbook workers in New York City and the surrounding area enters its third week with the strikers' lines holding firm.

Strike leaders of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union revealed that many of their members in New York City had received letters from their bosses telling them to call for their tools and property because the bosses intend to "vacate the premises."

The union declared that this was nothing but a concerted attempt on the part of the manufacturers to break the strike by intimidation.

The bosses hope that, by establishing their shops out-of-town, they can get away with starvation wages and sweatshop conditions. The union, however, has warned employers that they will follow the employers wherever they go.

Arman Thomas, Socialist candidate for U. S. Senator, addressed a mass meeting of the strikers in Irving Plaza Hall on Monday afternoon.

## Craft Versus Industrial Unionism

(Continued from Page Five)

Citrine, Vladeck and President Green will address a public mass meeting outlining labor's fight against Fascism at home and abroad in Eagles Hall, Friday night, October 12. The meeting is sponsored by the San Francisco Labor Council on behalf of the National Labor Council to Combat Fascism and Nazism.

Dubinsky arrived here in the company of Comrades Citrine and Vladeck. Rubin Guskin and Morris Finestone, president and secretary respectively of the United Hebrew Trades, arrived on the same train.

## Socialists Plan Mass Meeting

Local Socialists are planning a mass meeting and reception for the Socialist delegates. The Socialist delegation is expected to be the largest in many years. Paul Porter, labor secretary of the Socialist Party, who represents the Radio Workers at the convention, will help arrange the meeting.

Pacific Coast locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will hold a conference in San Francisco, Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 13 and 14. President Dubinsky and the entire I.L.G.W.U. delegation to the A. F. of L. convention will be present.

A mass meeting is being arranged for Saturday morning in Eagles' Hall, at which workers in the women's garment industry will hear the International representatives. Saturday night the visiting officials will be guests of the conference at a banquet in the Whitcomb Hotel. The San Francisco Joint Board of the International, of which J. Menocoff is chairman and Comrade Samuel S. White is manager, is arranging the affair.

Problems of the women's garment industry on the coast will be discussed at the business sessions of the conference.

## Philadelphia Millinery Union Wins 35-Hours

**PHILADELPHIA.** — The Millinery Workers Union, in a one-day general stoppage this week, forced manufacturers to agree to demands for pay increases and to establish the 35-hour week starting Monday. The increase brings rates up from 60 cents an hour for drapers to 70 cents, from \$1 an hour for operators and blockers to \$1.15 for operators and \$1.25 for blockers, according to Benjamin Cohen, Philadelphia organizer for the union.



# TRUE GERMANY

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## Germany



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and at international council tables she receives one rebuke after another. Her envoys are snubbed or treated as the emissaries of a third rate country. The world is arming all around her. If you ask the nationals of those countries the cause of their high-pressure armaments they will say their territories adjoin a lunatic asylum and they must protect themselves.

Not only Germany, as a country, but the Germans themselves as individuals are humiliated. Under the republic they could express their thoughts orally or in print within the bounds of very liberal laws. I admit that there were too many parties in the Reichstag, and I even admit that they had too many quarrels. But democracies have their children's ills and you have to give them a chance to settle down.

How to end Hitlerism in Germany? But Hitlerism is doing it very efficiently. Look what it has done to German credit. It is shot to pieces, and I doubt whether any country will be foolish enough to extend new loans or credits to a regime that has systematically wrecked her economic foundations. We could understand Germany's gradual repudiation of her reparation payments. They were an unjust burden and they should never have been imposed on the Reich. They are responsible for an appalling lot of mischief, and the less heard about them the better.

But what shall we say to the recent statement of Germany's economic dictator, Dr. Schacht, insinu-

ating that the time is near when his country will stop payment altogether on all loans and commercial credits?

How to end Hitlerism in Germany? But nobody could do it better than Hitlerism itself. Ask the religious bodies of the western world. Ask the Catholics what they think of the murder of their co-religionists at the recent blood-bath merely because they were Catholics. Ask them what they think of the Hitler government's relentless efforts to smash the Catholic youth organization, the existence of which had been assured in the Concordat concluded between the Holy See and Chancellor Hitler's government. Ask them what they think of the wholesale persecution of Catholics in the Rhineland and Bavaria.

I shall not suggest that you ask the Jews for their opinion. We all know that the Jews of Germany are treated as criminals merely on account of their religion. They may be great men, self-sacrificing and of the utmost use to the community, yet they are tainted and their touch is supposed to be pestilential.

The boycott of German goods and shipping has proved an effective weapon. If Hitlerism is to survive, Germany has to export to give employment to the deluded millions and to get gold and foreign currency to pay for the materials needed for her armaments. But the boycott, so far as I know, is not organized as yet on an international basis. Russia is the only land to pursue the campaign with great energy, but the other countries are not up to the mark. The first and foremost task is to make the boycott a moral obligation of all nations.

My personal observations in Nazi Germany have convinced me that international protests, especially from Great Britain and the United States, are registered there with interest and dismay. The average

German usually looks up to those whom he calls Anglo-Saxons, and the Nazis are no exceptions. I attach great importance to the coming session in Washington, D. C., of the International Inquiry Commission before a board of distinguished Americans, English and French members, including Sir Stafford Cripps, vice-chairman of the parliamentary Labor Party; More Giffery, an internationally known lawyer of France; Gaston Bergery and Senator Morizet, French political leaders.

What Hitler calls the Nazi revolution is merely a wave of hysteria, caused by agitation and despair. Such waves of emotion do not last a thousand years, as Herr Hitler seems to assume. They do their devastating work and then they pass away. After Hitlerism has been swept into the limbo, there to haunt lost souls, I am confident that Germany will continue her march higher and higher toward her rightful place in the sun.

## Hoan Vetoes Free Speech Gag on Communists

MILWAUKEE.—Mayor Daniel W. Hoan has vetoed a resolution passed at the last meeting of the common council asking the county board to prohibit Communist meetings and speeches at Red Arrow park. The resolution, sponsored by the "non-partisan" group in the council, sought this prohibition on the ground that as the park had been named in honor of a division of troops in the World War Communist speeches at the place were out of place.

Socialist aldermen fought the resolution on the ground that freedom of speech was one of the fundamental rights accorded to the people of this nation and that denying that right on the plea of patriotism would be hypocrisy.

In vetoing the resolution, Mayor Hoan also points out that it is discriminatory since it "seeks to deny rights and privileges to one class of our citizens not denied to all."

## Chless Courage

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intellectually head and shoulders above the lawyers for the prosecution, but once again he showed remarkable courage.

In that hate-charged Assembly chamber Morris Hillquit faced the enemies of the Socialist movement who were bent upon its destruction and dared to place in the records of that bizarre trial the position of the International Socialist movement on war and peace.

It may not require a great amount of courage to take a stand against war today, but let me state emphatically to every school of thought in the Socialist movement—Old Guard, New Guard, Centrist, or Militant—that a Socialist had to have backbone, and plenty of it, to proclaim his faith during those fateful days of the great war madness.

I have often wondered what was Hillquit's reaction to the attitude of his old friends, some of them intimates, who deserted the party during the war and who made bitter public attacks upon him during the mayoralty campaign of 1917. What were his thoughts at the Milwaukee convention, when the attempt was made to defeat him for National Chairman? After a life-time of devoted service, admitted by all sides to be one of the greatest intellects of his time, he was re-elected by a very close margin. I wonder what he thought of the present trend in the Socialist Party that he must have seen evidences of before his death—the trend that resulted in the adoption of the Declaration of Principles at the Detroit Convention.

## TOLL OF DEAD AND INJURED IN AMERICA'S MINES

By Victor Riesel

MEN must dig the earth to live, to provide power for a predatory civilization, to move trains, to heat monumental buildings; men must descend into the vast recesses of the earth to mine the coal that will move and heat a nation, the quarries where men and stone alike are crushed. Men must extract for others' profits, and die for bare life-giving wages.

Department of Interior bulletins indicate that of the thousands of miners, quarry workers and others who wrest from a reluctant ground its valuable bounty, a certain fixed percentage must die, others must be permanently injured, and still others crippled for a short time. Actuarial tables have been worked out that scientifically predict how many men will die at work next year.

"Increased activity in the mining of metallic and non-metallic mineral in Colorado during 1933 was accompanied by a rise in the fatality rate from accidents among

In the last paragraph of his great book, "Loose Leaves From a Busy Life," which, fortunately for the Socialist movement, he finished before his death, he said not alone for me but for all his comrades in the great movement for which he fought so valiantly:

"To me the Socialist movement, with its enthusiasm and idealism, its comradeship and struggles, its hopes and disappointments, its victories and its defeats, has been the best that life has had to offer."

employees"; excerpt from the report of the U. S. Bureau of Mines. In two years thirty men were killed and 718 others injured. The figures tell their own miserable tale.

"Sixteen killed and 581 laborers badly injured in Arizona during the past two years." This in the state that yields the necessary ingredients for the Aluminum corporation to produce enough profits to return to its stockholders the highest rate of dividends in recent years.

The proud southern state famous for its colonels, Kentucky, reports: "The stone quarrying industry, including stone crushing and the manufacture of cement, experienced a higher accident-frequency rate among the employees."

From California, the golden state where the new self-styled savior, Upton Sinclair, is going to save Democrats from themselves, comes the report that "a much less favorable rate for fatal accidents resulted in the death of fourteen workers in 1933."

Down the line of states, in monotonous array, men die miles beneath the surface, burnt, asphyxiated, crushed without any warning, stark evidence that a ruthless drive for profits will keep a whole mass of people enslaved. In these grim reports, in this parade of deadly figures one sees an endless, inevitable chain of men, son following father, generation after generation, struggling for existence, dying, crippled, but always replaced.

## Editor's Corner

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

### The California Situation

TO Several Correspondents.—We have refrained from comment on affairs in the California party because of lack of definite information. Much is now at hand which makes the situation clear. The California comrades have been troubled not only with Communist intrigues that have lured immature members away, but the defection of Sinclair has also caused some demoralization. To this must be added a number of queer economic and political sects that have contributed to the confusion.

A front page editorial by Oscar Ameringer in his grotesque "American Guardian," which approved the candidacy of Sinclair, was also a treacherous blow at the party. That publication has followed a course from Communism to approval of candidates elected on capitalist tickets. It has even shamefully traduced the bleeding workers of Austria and has now struck this blow against the California party.

Our information is that John Packard resigned from the party out of sheer disgust. He asserts that the general conditions in the party had become unbearable and he is now supporting Sinclair. He charges that at a summer school of the party a noose was suspended from the ceiling with a card stating that it was intended for members more than thirty years in the party. He therefore resigned and is supporting Sinclair. We disagree with his course.

The other item refers to M. Shadid, party member in Oklahoma and member of the National Executive Committee. We have declined to pass on rumors, but we have now received documents which reveal the following. On August 30 Shadid wired Sinclair as follows:

"Congratulations. You have justified your defection. Socialist National Executive Committee, of which I am a member, meets in Milwaukee September first, second, third. How can I help? Address General Delivery, Milwaukee."

Shadid attended the Milwaukee meeting of the N.E.C. Whether he actually intended to ask support of the N.E.C. for Sinclair, as one might surmise from the telegram, we do not know; but while in Milwaukee on September 2 he wired as follows to Sinclair:

"I did not intend that you make my telegram public. It was sent as personal congratulations, etc., because of long friendship. As a Socialist member of the National Executive Committee I am for the Socialist program and ticket and hope for its victory."

We present the evidence and party members may draw their own conclusions. The State Executive Committee in California, as reported in The New Leader last week, has adopted a resolution demanding the resignation of Shadid from the N.E.C. The writer of this column has given notice that he will bring charges against Ameringer and his "Guardian" at the next meeting of the N.E.C. We hope that this brief statement will satisfy comrades who are making inquiries, as we cannot take the time to answer each letter.

We may add that from the moment that Sinclair announced his intention of seeking the Democratic nomination for Governor, The New Leader has done its best to help the California comrades in fighting the demoralization. Again and again this column has been used to reason with readers and Socialist sympathizers against Sinclair's course and the attitude of Ameringer's "Guardian." We also sent an airmail letter to Milen Dempster, Socialist candidate for Governor, to send us an article. As the party's leading candidate such an article would be helpful, and it appears in this issue.

In sending the article Comrade Dempster writes: "It is a comfort to have one paper at least that you know won't go half over to a movement like Sinclair's. Thanks for your offer of help—we need it—many of the comrades even yet are confused."

The condition of the party in California should sober the party members throughout the country. It is an unhealthy condition. We should understand that emotional radicalism is not Socialism. There is too much of uneducated radicalism in the party to make for a stable organization and solidarity of thought and action. Sinclair himself is a type of the sentimental radical who has even been accepted by the Bolsheviks in Russia as more revolutionary than the party itself!

The situation in some sections of the party today is in some respects similar to that of 1919, when the "war babies" ran away on a Communist carouse. Today we have what may be called "depression babies" of various types. They are human material that is promising, but unless educated in Socialist fundamentals they will not be fitted for that intelligent service and action that are essential to a healthy Socialist movement.



## What Roosevelt Said, and Did Not Say

(Continued from Page One)

are decreasing. Unemployment is increasing. Cost of living is rising. The national debt and the current operating deficit are mounting.

Even about the NRA—the most definite thing in his speech—the President did not make very clear how far he is going to enforce Section 7A in procuring real collective bargaining, through unions of their own choosing; or what changes will be made in code enforcement in price fixing, in curtailment of production, etc.

The other points are still more hazy. No one knows whether the Federal budget is to be balanced, or how or when; whether inflation or taxation is to be the method, or what kind; whether tariff walls are to continue or foreign trade to be attempted; whether the Federal Reserve is to be revived or a central bank established; whether the farm processing taxes and crop destruction are to continue; whether the RFC is to go out of business; whether TVA is to be extended; whether Public Works are to be cut in half or doubled, and so on down the list—the New Deal policies are not known to the public.

And that uncertainty—rightly or wrongly—is feeding the fear of the future which helps to block recovery.

### Roosevelt Capital-Labor Peace

The child isn't born and the parents are already fighting over the name. Already there appears to be a lot of locking horns between capital and labor over the meaning of the President's "peace period" proposition. In the face of threatening complications over interpretation of the President's words, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, after two conferences with Mr. Roosevelt, left for San Francisco to address the A. F. of L. convention. Her purpose is to gain A. F. of L. backing for an armistice, the terms of which are already in dispute. She explained that she looked upon the proposal as calling for increased resort to Federal and State mediation machinery while "reserving" labor's weapon—the right to strike.

However, as spokesman for capital, the National Association of Manufacturers in New York issued a statement pledging cooperation with the President, but challenging labor to accept truce "in which neither group nor the Government will attempt to change existing relationships by force."

This drew an instant report from labor. President Green of the A. F. of L. flung the challenge back to the manufacturers. The Associated Press quoted him in San Francisco as calling the manufacturers' challenge a "subterfuge" and adding: "Let them first publicly announce they will obey the decisions of the constituted authorities as the President suggested last night. They can issue no challenge to labor—they can make no protests—until they have first agreed publicly to abide by the decision of these constituted authorities."

### General Johnson's Swan Song

In a speech replete with rhetoric for which he was noted in sixteen strife-laden months, Gen. Hugh S. Johnson bowed himself out of the National Recovery Administration, hopeful that "far fewer dead cats" would be tossed at his successors.

Sometimes truculent, at others sentimental, the retiring Administrator addressed his farewells directly to the NRA leaders and employees who helped him build what he termed today "this holy thing," and from which he said is departure under fire had been inevitable.

The new directorate of the NRA from the start.

# Sinclair's EPIC Plan Is Only a Quack Remedy for Our Ills

Candidate for Governor of California

WHAT Upton Sinclair is offering is not Socialism or an installment of Socialism, but merely a relief program. He plans to put the unemployed to work at productive labor "exclusively for their own benefit," in "idle and profitless factories," at hydraulic gold dredging, at building California's Central Valley water project; and to feed them with food bought from the farmers with tax receipts and credits for goods produced by the unemployed.

This is not releasing to the people the abundance that America stands ready to produce under Socialism. It means using second rate factories, for only these factories are wholly "idle and profitless." It is attempting to create for the unemployed a system parallel to the capitalist system; and will lead to waste, confusion, and probably to the failure of the improvised system of helping the unemployed. It does not permit of the planned economy that taking over the central economy of the capitalist system permits. It is one thing to assert that we ought to have power to put the unemployed to work; it is another thing to assert that we can abolish poverty simply by this method, or that we can apply this method successfully on a large enough scale to make other aid for the unemployed unnecessary.

With these handicaps, even if it can be put into operation alongside capitalism sufficiently well to permit many of the unemployed to support themselves, it will not produce a high enough standard of living to attract workers out from even the part-time employment of the present capitalist system. Nor will it seriously weaken the present system by withdrawal of purchasing power; for the unemployed today receive so little in charity that their purchasing power is negligible.

Socialists stand for capturing power and taking over the capitalist system—not for patching it. We have a program of immediate relief, but do not spread the illusion that immediate measures will end poverty. We advocate them solely as they will strengthen the

working class, and win on a working class basis the middle class allies that we must have in order to prevent fascism. Poverty can be ended only by abolition of the profit system and establishment of the cooperative commonwealth.

Upton Sinclair set out to make the Democratic Party socialist. He seems to be ending up by making himself Democratic. From the beginning of EPIC he has been throwing the mantle of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal about his own shoulders. Now he glorifies the President even more and sends a message to George Creel of "our complete harmony and overwhelming acclamation for the New Deal." This, when the President repeatedly avows his loyalty and faith in the present capitalist system, and defends "honest profits."

At the convention of the Democratic Party, Mr. Sinclair accepted a platform that changed "idle and partially idle factories," which he proposed the state should buy or lease, to "idle and profitless factories." He replaced a tax on inheritances of over \$50,000 at a 50% rate, with inheritance taxes at a "just and moderate rate." He weakened repeal of the sales tax and adoption of a stock transfer tax, to repeal of the sales tax on necessities. He permitted his proposal of a graduated tax on property assessed at more than \$5,000 to be completely dropped. These are samples of the compromises he has made now in his statements; weakening that is bound to multiply when it comes to action.

For Socialists to support a Democrat, even a radical Democrat, running on a Democratic ticket, is to repudiate our whole philosophy and our whole history. Only on the platform of abolition of private ownership of industry can we build an organization solid enough to end capitalism and create Socialism. Sinclair completely repudiates in action any sort of class solidarity of workers with hand and brain.

When labor needed help from a man like him who commands public attention, at the time Governor

Merriam called out the militia to break the strike in San Francisco, Upton was careful that he didn't say "yes", and he didn't say "no". The best he could do was to write some time later that "he would consider he had failed lamentably as a Governor pledged to end poverty, if he let affairs come to the point where he had to call out the militia to break a strike." In carelessness, perhaps, he revealed the disintegration of his Socialism when he was not horrified at dictating the phrase, "where he had to call out the militia to break a strike." No Socialism in carelessness could include such a phrase even as a remote possibility.

Like all reformers, Sinclair promises America half a loaf as more practical than working for the full Socialist loaf of abundance. Until America goes after the whole loaf

of Socialist abundance, it will get little or nothing. It is too bad that, in keeping votes from Sinclair, a reformer with good intentions, we strengthen Merriam, a reactionary. This, however, can not be helped under the circumstances. (It may mean that Tom Mooney will have to stay some years more in jail. But we know that Mooney, in line with his splendid refusal of parole and insistence on a pardon, would not want his release to come as a result of weakening the movement that is organizing to end capitalism.)

The situation has been difficult for the Socialist Party in California. Now the decision has been clearly made, our S.E.C. endorsing a full aggressive campaign for our complete ticket. We must build a stronger Socialist organization, solid and effective, to be ready to lead the people to Socialism. When that time comes we will not have their confidence if we even tacitly support Sinclair, the reformer.

In California we rejoice that the Socialist Party of the U.S.A. is today so splendidly growing in membership and activity. We are fighting to do our part to build upon a Socialist position kept clear and strong.

## Upton Tilts at Some Windmills



By Harry Herzog in ARISE

## Why the Bitter Struggle?

By Otto Bauer

Translated by Hersh Rosenfeld

(Continued from last week)

FOR what shall we quarrel with the Communists in fascist Austria today? Bourgeois democracy does not exist there any more. We cannot quarrel whether we should avail ourselves of it or whether to overthrow and crush it.

Wherever fascism robs the working class of all its legal rights, of all possibilities to fight with legal means, it is self-evident that the working class must fight for political power by means of revolutionary force; it is self-evident that it can hold on to it only by means of a revolutionary dictatorship. When the revolutionary dictatorship crushes the fascist government apparatus, abolishes, in concentrated production, the right of private property of the capitalists and the big land-owners, abolishes

does not seem to satisfy either capital or labor. Both sides talk as if they were cheated. In the near future we will introduce to you the five new directors of the NRA and give our opinion as to what may be expected of them.

the class-contradictions between the exploiting classes and the toiling masses of the people by means of expropriating the exploiting classes, it is self-evident that the class dictatorship of the proletariat must "die" and give room to Socialist democracy, to the freedom and equality of a classless society. About all this there can be no more any difference of opinion between Socialists and Communists, no more strife.

Are there any other reasons why the Austrian workers should split now, after the object of strife was eliminated by the abolition of the bourgeois democracy?

Should we continue to quarrel about our attitude toward the Soviet Union? The Austrian Social Democracy was the first among all the Social Democratic parties of the European continent to recognize the historical significance of the Russian upturn for world Socialism. The Austrian Social Democracy, in spite of its criticism of certain details, took this world significance for granted and demanded the solidarity of the world proletariat with the great Russian revolution and the joint defense of the Soviet Union by the world proletariat against the attacks of all capitalist powers. Must we recall the role played by the Austrian

Social Democracy at the Marseilles congress and after?

Or should we quarrel about our attitude toward war and split the Austrian working class on that account? Today there is no more any difference of opinion between Socialists and Communists that we refuse all support to every imperialist war, that we utilize every war for the revolutionary acquisition of power.

Do we want to say with all that that today, under a fascist dictatorship, there is, generally speaking, no more any difference in the manner of thinking between Socialists and Communists? By no means!! The differences of history, of tradition, of education have still their effects here and there. The Social Democrat values freedom much higher than the Communist; the Communist values more the historical role of violence than the Social Democrat.

This difference became, as it did, historical and surely has its effect even today upon the approach to different problems. But could such differences in the moods, valuations and opinions justify the splitting of the working class? Aren't there such individual differences of opinion within each big party, even when it is highly centralized and balanced? Even the

Social Democrat, who still values freedom so highly, will not contradict that wherever democracy is blasted by the class contradictions, the first thing to do is to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat that will abolish all classes and inaugurate in a Socialist society the full freedom of the individual, the complete self-determination of the whole community.

Even the Communist, who still esteems so much the role of violence in social upturn, will grant that when violence has fulfilled its historic function in abolishing the exploiting classes and expropriating capitalist property, it will have to make room for the kingdom of freedom, which will find its realization in a Socialist society.

The Communist bureaucracy wants to tear away from the Austrian working class the biggest possible part. That is why it carries the most bitter struggle into the ranks of the workers. But while doing so it finds out that the object for strife is lacking. Since it does not find this object within the confines of Austria, it looks for it outside of its borders. Thus it introduced, as the real object of strife the attitude to the International. "Second or Third International?"—this is the problem it puts before the Austrian workers. The strife over belonging to one or to the other International should bring about and justify the split.



# Pennsylvania Launches Drive

By Sarah Limbach

State Secretary, Socialist Party.

PITTSBURGH. — Pennsylvania Socialists have launched a drive to raise a \$5,000 Campaign and Organization Fund. The July party convention at Reading enthusiastically voted to raise this fund after a review of activities of two years, and an analysis of the plan of the 1934 campaign and organization opportunities.

A special finance committee together with the State candidates are conducting the campaign. The committee consists of Simon Libros of Philadelphia, Charles Sands of Reading, Wm. J. Van Essen, Sidney Stark and Julius Weisberg of Pittsburgh.

Many branches have been organized without the aid of a permanent state organizer through state office contacts, members-at-large, or members of nearby locals or branches. Applications for mining and other industrial com-

munities. "We, who are going to form the nucleus of this organization, also represent the majority of the officers of the Local No. xx, United Mine Workers of America, with approximately 400 members" (400 prospective Socialists), writes the secretary of one new branch. The only way the State office can aid these comrades is by mail or by sending members of the State committee and part-time organizers. It has been impossible to maintain a full-time organizer, due to lack of finances.

The response of our members indicate good prospects of raising this much needed fund. Most of the 5,000 subscription lists and booklets are already in circulation. An appeal was released to all party branches and sympathetic organizations which, in part, reads:

## To Party Members

"The recent growth of the Socialist Party in this State indicates the opportunities before us. The political campaign of 1934 should be used not only as a means of increasing our state-wide vote, and, in some instances, electing Socialists to the Legislature, but also as a means of disseminating Socialist propaganda and education and to expand our organization and influence.

"We are prepared to grapple with this task through: 3,400 members, 162 branches, 30 Y.P.S.L. Circles, A FULL STATE-WIDE TICKET.

"All our state candidates will participate actively in this campaign. Comrade Holmes has already filled 35 dates. Comrades Maurer, Wilson and Daniel will tour the state in October. We have Congressional and State legislative candidates in most of the districts.

"Already orders were placed with the printer for huge campaign posters, for platforms and two leaflets written by Comrades Maurer and Holmes.

"We urge you to get busy now, immediately. Sell the 10 coupons contained in the enclosed booklet. Circulate the contribution list

among your friends and fellow workers. Act quickly to provide the wherewithal to carry the Socialist Party to a position of influence and power, to hasten the establishment of a Socialist Commonwealth, the hope of humanity."

Those wishing to assist may secure booklets and subscription lists from the State Office, 122-9th St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

## McLevy to Launch Campaign in New London, Conn.

NEW LONDON, Conn.—Opening his campaign for Governor of Connecticut, Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport will be principal speaker at a Socialist rally at Workmen's Circle Hall, 80 Jefferson Ave., Friday night. Mrs. Celia D. Rostow of New Haven, candidate for Secretary of State, and Albert Boardman of Norwich, candidate for State Controller, will also address the rally.

Prior to the mass meeting, the state campaign committee will meet with the entire state ticket in New London to map plans for what Socialist leaders predict will be the most vigorous campaign in the history of their party in Connecticut.

## Socialist Work Booms in Rockland County

William Duffy, State Organizer, has been working in Rockland County, centering his efforts on organizing a branch in Spring Valley and preparing for the Norman Thomas and Hermann Kobbe meetings on October 25 and 26. Duffy also spoke at several noonday meetings and at street rallies in Garverville and Nanuet.

Street meetings next week in Pearl River and in Congers at 8 p. m. on Tuesday and Thursday evening, respectively. August Batten, D. Roth and T. W. Davis will speak.

## PARTY NOTES

### Ohio

Stringent election laws have kept the Socialist state ticket off the ballot. The election board managed to "find" enough non-registered voters who signed Socialist petitions to rule the party off the ballot. This disfranchises tens of thousands of voters. The state executive committee decided to carry on a write-in campaign for John Sommerlatte, candidate for governor and preparations are being made now.

Robert Dulica, state secretary, reports that the campaign will go on in full force. The state campaign committee meets this week to lay plans to flood the state with leaflets, placards and stickers to acquaint the voters with the fact that the Socialist Party will not allow itself to be disfranchised.

"Dimes Against Millions" The campaign slogan adopted is "Dimes Against Millions." A concentrated campaign to finance this work by dimes has been inaugurated. Special collection boxes with this slogan will be distributed to all party branches.

### Michigan

The State Speaker's Bureau has arranged for a number of speakers to address political rallies. Comrades Monarch, Larsen, McFarlan, Fagan, S. Strachan, Woodcock, and Hodges are slated to speak during the next few weeks. Any local desiring speakers should communicate with Dorothy Chalk, 225 E. Forest Ave., Detroit.

Wayne County. The first rally will be held Friday, Oct. 12. John Monarch, candidate for U.S. Senator, is the featured speaker.

Branch 1. Headquarters, 225 E. Forest Ave., Ter. 2-5512. Business meeting Wednesday, Oct. 10. Speaker Saturday evening, open forum, Oct. 13, P. T. Rathbone, on "Modern Art," illustrated with lantern slides.

### Pennsylvania

For early delivery branches are advised to place orders for Platforms, Holmes and Maurer leaflets immediately. Orders for 45,000 have already been placed.

Franz Daniel, candidate for Secretary of Internal Affairs, is available for speaking dates from Oct. 17 to Nov. 7. Send in your reservation immediately. Terms \$10 per meeting.

To encourage others, report your activities in The New Leader. Write a report or announcement of outstanding weekly activity on a postcard and mail to reach the state office not later than Monday.

Westmoreland County. James Onal, editor of The New Leader, will address public mass meeting of Westmoreland County Italians on Columbus Day (Oct. 12) at the Greensburg High School Auditorium.

Bucks County. A new branch has been formed at South Langhorne, Mac Phillips, Lincoln Highway, South Langhorne, Pa., is the secretary.

Delaware County. Norwood will hold an open air mass meeting at Norwood

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For further information apply to Main Office, William Spuhr, National Secretary, or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches.

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For information apply to THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
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Park on Friday, Oct. 5, with George R. Cooper, legislative candidate from the 2nd District, as speaker.

Jefferson County. Finley S. Goldthwaite, candidate for Congress, 27th District, machinist and financial secretary of the local lodge of machinists, will speak Friday, Oct. 5, at Emericksville and Sunday at Reynoldsville.

Indiana County. Campaign meeting at Rossiter Thursday, Oct. 4. Finley S. Goldthwaite, candidate for Congress, 27th District, will speak.

York County. Secretary Martin reports good campaign meetings in York, Red Lion and Dallastown.

Cambria County. (Johnstown) William J. Van Essen, member of the State Executive Committee, will speak at Civil and Metroed Hall Saturday, Oct. 6. Earlier in the evening he will present character to the new Johnstown Jugo-Slav branch.

Pittsburgh. The 14th Ward Branch has adopted a resolution protesting against the N.E.C. taking action in favor of a united front with Communists whether on a local or a national scale.

### New York State

Chautauque County. Organizer Smith has already sent two applications for charters for locals, Ellicottville and Getzville. Ellicottville was credited with 978 inhabitants by the 1930 census. Getzville with 1182. There are now six locals in Chautauque County.

9th Judicial District. The official convention at New Rochelle on Monday nominated Emil Schlesinger of Scarsdale for Justice of Supreme Court.

Westchester County. The official County Committee met at New Rochelle last week and elected John Hagerty chairman, Carl Parsons treasurer and Ruth Chapman secretary.

St. Lawrence County. The recent visit

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**337 EAST 84th STREET**  
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of Norman Thomas to Canton and Ogdensburg has had a stimulating effect. Socialist sympathizers have high hopes of organizing a local soon.

Buffalo. Local Buffalo has rented, on a two years' lease, a large downtown headquarters at 479-483 Main St., near Mohawk St. It will occupy the entire third floor, which seats over 300 people. It is in a modern fire-proof, sound-proof building. It will contain the offices of the party.

The first party function in the new headquarters will be a general party meeting, Thursday eve, Oct. 11.

### Massachusetts

The New England branches of the Finnish Federation have adopted a resolution objecting to any united front negotiations with Communist organizations. They protest that Communists continue to slander Socialists and that common action with them can only harm the general labor movement.

Every Socialist and Sympathizer should read

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by JULIUS DEUTSCH

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• John Chamberlain in N. Y. Times: "The book should be required reading for those interested in a problem which bulks larger on the horizon every day."

• Sidney Hook in Saturday Review of Literature: "The fate of the German Social Democracy and recent developments of the convention of the American Socialist Party lift the present volume from the plane of Party Literature to that of world politics."

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175 E. Broadway New York, N. Y.



## The New Leader Book Corner

### The New Deal on the Grill

By Harry W. Laidler

**CHALLENGE TO THE NEW DEAL.** Edited by Alfred H. Bingham and Selden Rodman. N. Y.: Falcon Press. 1934. 284 pp. \$2.50.

**DURING** the first months of the New Deal a number of books were hastily rushed to the printer describing to employers what they had to do to "take the teeth out" of the New Deal, or announcing to the average man that an American revolution had taken place which would bring him security and plenty.

We are now witnessing another type of literature: a literature of skepticism regarding the blessings of Roosevelt's "raw deal," as John T. Flynn characterizes it, a literature pointing out that, if chaos or dictatorship is to be prevented, not regulated capitalism but socialization of industry is the need of the hour.

This radical point of view in general is presented in this volume. "Challenge to the New Deal" is a collection of articles written by thirty-five progressives and radicals appearing during the last year or so in the magazine Common Sense. The book is divided into three parts, although, in the nature of the case, each section somewhat overlaps the other. The first section deals with the collapse of the system at the end of the Hoover regime; the second with the fundamental flaws of capitalism, and the third with a program of action. In his introduction John Dewey declares that, a short time ago, there was much discussion as to whether the intellectuals were turning to the right toward conservatism, or to the left. "There is no longer such a discussion: the intellectuals are left. . . . The only question is how far left they have gone. . . . At the same time, American radicalism is turning away from European models and philosophies in an increasingly intelligent attempt to solve its own problems in its own way. . . . As it becomes increasingly obvious to American intelligence that the present system is near dissolution, great problems in social engineering arise." The question is, "How can a world be brought through collapse to a better social order?" Throughout the book these problems are discussed with vigor and sincerity. With the indictment of

the present order, the stupidity of continuing a system which means poverty for the many and such visions of a free and well-ordered community as that portrayed by Alfred Bingham, Socialists will be in general agreement. Chase, Flynn, Soule, Van Kleeck, Chamberlain, Polakov, Rorty and Rodman and others expose the grim horrors of capitalist society with a good deal of realism.

The contributions dealing with the way out are more uneven. Benjamin Stolberg presents the "militantly revolutionary" point of view that, in 1932, "the radical threw his vote away by voting." There was no Trotskyite party in the field. Therefore, what could a poor radical do to advance the revolutionary cause but stay comfortably at home with Stolberg? Several writers deal with the necessity of a mass working class party, but some of them, at the head of small, unimportant groups which have never put a ticket in the field, proclaim their respective groups as the hope of such a mass movement, utterly ignoring the Socialist Party with its years of uncompromising battle for a cooperative order!

It is, nevertheless, of interest to note that those who talk of the need of a powerful party independent of both of the old parties have given up the belief that a new liberal party is needed. John Dewey urges a united radical party. Governor Olson of Minnesota sees in the future the Republican party becoming even more than it is today the Tory party, the Democratic party becoming, possibly, a liberal party and a third mass movement gradually emerging which "must espouse a new economic philosophy and set its sails fearlessly on the political seas. It must be revolutionary and, at the same time, well grounded in a practical program, one possible of achievement."

The hopeful thing about the book is the practically unanimous realization that the contention long made by Socialists is right, that there can be no solution of our present disorder under capitalism, and that we must mobilize our forces for a completely new system. The tragic thing about the book is the realization of the number of revolutionary forces in America—non-Communist in their make-up—that are each tooting their own horn and refusing to get together with their fellows in an attempt to make their dream of a cooperative commonwealth a reality.

### HILLQUIT IN THE INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from Page Two)

have to reorganize and re-arm itself morally and politically so as to be in a position, in the new revolutionary conditions, to direct the international workers' army and lead it to victory. Only revolutionary Marxism, which is equally free from sectarianism as from characterless and unprincipled capitulation before the "Jacobinism" of bolshevism—which is dividing and weakening the working class—is able to succeed in this problem of re-armament.

What a tireless and passionate champion Hillquit would have been in the achievement of this end! And how infinitely sad one feels when one thinks that he is no more and will never be among us!

### New Jersey

Passaic. Rally and pep meeting of party branches Friday, Oct. 5, at 585 Main Ave. Dr. William Bohn will be the guest speaker.

Outdoor meetings continue Saturday eve., Oct. 6, at Monroe St. and Hamilton Ave. William K. Tallman of Jersey City, main speaker.

Rand School Extension Class begins Nov. 15, and tickets may be obtained from branch members. Yipsels meet Wednesday evenings and party members Friday evenings at above address. West New York. Street meeting 15th St. and Bergenline Ave., Saturday, Oct. 6, 8 p.m.

### PAUL HANSEN IS SERIOUSLY ILL

By Hy Fish

CLEVELAND. — Paul Hansen, prominent leader in the Danish labor movement, is seriously ill in Mt. Sinai Hospital and may not be able to complete his tour.

Comrade Hansen was stricken Sept. 25 after he had addressed a luncheon meeting of the Workers' Educational Council. In spite of his illness and against the wishes of physicians, he insisted upon lecturing for the Socialist Party. He spoke only a few minutes.

After Hansen had been put to bed in the home of a comrade, he became worse, suffering a hemorrhage that night and next morning he was rushed to the hospital. For a while it was feared that he would need a blood transfusion but the latest bulletin from his doctor indicates that this will not be necessary.

Hansen sends Socialist greetings to the comrades urging them not to worry. He feels better and hopes to leave the hospital soon.

Branches and locals who have arranged meetings for Comrade Hansen, should get in touch with the national office at once for further instructions.

By Norman Thomas

## TIMELY TOPICS

### Roosevelt Goes to the Right

**THE** President's latest radio speech was a defensive document—successfully defensive as far as Republican criticism is concerned, but very vulnerable from a Socialist standpoint. On the whole the President went to the right. The speech was important for what he did not say. He did mention unemployment insurance. He said that he would end chronic unemployment but failed to say how. What was even more serious was his complete silence on the Hitlerization of the textile area. Labor's enthusiasm for the proposed peace pact or truce ought to be very guarded.

If the President had condemned what was done by Talmadge of Georgia or Ehringhaus of North Carolina, or even by the black reactionary, Merriam, of California, then one might have more confidence concerning the kind of truce he might work out. As it is, it must be remembered that not even yet have George Sloan and the code authorities in the cotton textile business given any clear, unequivocal promise to abide by the Winant report and to take back strikers without discrimination.

But, of course, the thing that emphasizes Roosevelt's essential support of capitalism was his distinct pledge of faith in private profit and private initiative. He cannot accept the dominion of private profit and private initiative—the latter being a badly battered article—without accepting the economy of scarcity toward which both NRA and AAA made a great contribution. There is only one way out, and that is Socialism. It is the cooperative commonwealth; it is planned production for use, not profit, based on social ownership in the interest of the great mass of workers with hand and brain and their children.



Norman Thomas

### Up-State New York

**I**n my campaigning up-state in New York, two things have enormously impressed me. The first is the poverty of the farmers. Certainly well over half the dairy farmers of New York State are in the red. Tenant farmers are going steadily deeper into debt. I met one of them who had given up tobacco in an effort to provide a little better for his children. I saw a farm where a barn had burned down; its owner found it cheaper to buy his neighbor's farm well equipped with buildings than to rebuild his own farm. There will be a tremendous slaughter of cattle this winter because of the partial drought in the dairy country. The farmers haven't the hay to carry over their cows. That is the situation in New York State in the second winter of AAA.

The second thing which has distressed me has been the frankness with which people in the towns I have visited have confessed their fear to come out openly to acknowledge their virtual agreement with Socialist principles. I do not remember any trip when this fear has been so candidly acknowledged. There is a curious conservatism about up-state New York but it is to a large extent a conservatism of fear. It will last until the farmers and workers on the industrial front and on the political front learn to find strength in organization.

Our Socialist duty is plain. We must get what we have not; namely, an aggressive Socialist organization in every county in New York State. Farmers and workers are ready for our message. In it is their hope.

### The A. F. of L. Convention

**A**LL good wishes and earnest hopes to the A. F. of L. convention in its momentous sessions. The convention has some immediately practical tasks on hand. It must so organize the labor movement that never again shall the magnificent devotion and spontaneous solidarity shown by the workers in the textile strike win so little results in concrete achievements. It must put an end to the jurisdictional disputes which have cropped up again in aggravating form within the building trades department. It must advance the amalgamation of unions and the principle of industrial unionism. It must hasten the progress labor is making in clearing out all trace of racketeering. It must guarantee to individual members of labor unions civil rights as members, at least comparable to the rights possessed by them as citizens.

It is difficult to exaggerate the harm that is done to labor's cause when workers begin to feel that the unions themselves or their officers are dictators and exploiters. The situation that now exists as between the international organization of musicians and its New York local illustrates the kind of

thing I mean. What I have been saying ought to represent a program on which all workers can unite.

To it, of course, we Socialists think should be added a demand for a labor party. In times when the long arm of government reaches so far and so intimately into labor affairs it is a matter of life or death for the workers whether they or the exploiters are to control government. The vehicle for workers with hand and brain who want to control government must be a workers' party in the fullest sense of the word. That is to say, a party of all who labor with hand and brain in town or country, in mine, on field, in factory, in office, or school. There is no other political tool than a party of the workers which will serve the emancipation of those who toil.

### Epic Troubles

**A**CCORDING to the New York Times, George Creel has come to New York boasting that already he and other Democrats have toned down Upton Sinclair and his program. He, as Sinclair's defeated opponent, may be whistling to keep his courage up. What is more ominous is the last copy of the Epic News which I see. In it Upton Sinclair, or his friends in his behalf, are boasting that Secretary of War Dern is supporting Sinclair. That is support from the head of a department which is militarizing America, the head of a department which has been in alliance with the "merchants of death" in a most nefarious trade the world has ever seen since the slave traffic. Upton himself in his Diary of his trip East boasts that he has got support from Samuel Untermyer, Father Coughlin, and that Jim Farley asked him to call him "Jim."

Nevertheless, I want to answer some inquirers from California why it is the job of Socialists to face facts as facts. It is not the job of Socialists to fight Sinclair as an individual. We have got to go out of our way to make it clear that we are not wanting to give aid and comfort to Governor Merriam. But there is something more important even than the next election in California. That is to keep the banner of Socialism flying and to organize the forces of Socialism around that banner. There is no sure hope in any other method or in any other army than the army of the workers dedicated to the Socialist cause. It ought to be the purpose of the California campaign and of the brave comrades who are keeping the flag flying to build the organization for the future.

### Russia in the League

**T**HERE is much to be said for Russia in the League of Nations. Had she been there years ago, history might have been somewhat different. Nevertheless, I offer my sincere condolences to the Communists, who are nearly choking over their own past words which they have had to swallow. Socialists have been called almost every ugly name because in part and fashion they have said that there were some good ends to be served through the League of Nations. Now Russia sits at the Council table and American Communists are supposed to applaud.

Actually, of course, Russia—not without reason—is following the old diplomacy of checks and balances in Europe, and doing it with considerable skill. But it is a crazy and perverted internationalism that has to subordinate international problems to the interest of one nation, to the extent to which Communist internationalism has to subordinate itself to Russian interests. Let me add that now that Russia is in the League, there is a better case for America's joining. But there is also, if anything, an increased need that if America ever joins the League she should make it plain that she does not thereby pledge herself to go to war on any terms to enforce peace.

We want to see Russia defended against capitalist attack. We do not want to play second fiddle to a virtual Russo-French alliance, not even although the ostensible enemy of both countries in Europe is Hitler. Meanwhile, of course, our hope is not in the League of Nations but in a federation of cooperative commonwealths which must be built. American participation in the work of the Labor Office in Geneva may be a little step forward and of some value in developing an effective internationalism of labor, and on such internationalism we must depend for the final victory over war.

### Sacred Memories

**O**CTOBER will always be a month of sacred memory to the Socialists of the United States. In that month two of their great leaders died. The first to go was 'Gene Debs. Last year Morris Hillquit left us. The first anniversary of his death will be widely observed in Socialist circles. It ought to be an occasion of new dedication of Socialists to the great task of Socialism, and out of it ought to come new energy for the immediate campaign at hand.



NEW LEADER

# Morris Hillquit Memorial Section

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Section Three

## LIFETIME OF SERVICE TO HUMANITY

### A Story of Fifty Years of Devotion to Socialism

By William M. Feigenbaum

**M**ORRIS HILLQUIT, the matchless leader of American Socialism for so many years, was just over 64 years old when he died, having been born in Riga, August 1, 1869. For close to half a century he devoted all of his great ability and his whole energies to the cause of Socialism and of Labor, which to him were one.

Hillquit, whose father and mother were cultured and educated people, had a good education in Russia, but when he was brought to the United States at the age of 17 he had to continue his education at night while working in a shirt factory by day. The story of those early years are told with ineffable charm in his delightful memoirs, "Loose Leaves From a Busy Life."

From the very beginning of his life in this country he took an active part in the then weak Socialist movement. There was a weekly Socialist paper published in Yiddish and edited by Abraham Cahan, known as *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. Hillquit later confessed that he was "business manager, associate editor and official poet, under contract to furnish one inspirational poem per week." The salary was three dollars per week, when he got it.

There followed years of night school teaching, law study, graduation from New York University, admission to the bar, and the beginning of his law practice, a practice never far from the labor movement.

In those early days Hillquit was associated with Cahan and Meyer London and other pioneer Socialists, with whom Socialist activity was indistinguishable from activity in the labor movement. Most of the needle-trades unions were organized by Socialists in that way.

Hillquit also began to count as a force in party affairs. Unlike some of his comrades, he readily adjusted himself to the American scene and had a "feel" for American politics and for the sentiments of the American workers far superior to most of his colleagues. By 1898, when he was still under thirty, he was already an important figure in the party.

That year the internal dissensions began that resulted three years later in the formation of the present Socialist party out of the major faction of the DeLeon-controlled Socialist Labor Party, the Social Democratic Party organized by Eugene V. Debs, the Social Democratic Party of Massachusetts that had won important election victories, and other groups. Hillquit had led the fight against the DeLeon party despotism in the S.L.P., and from that time he was in the front rank as one of the national leaders of American Socialism.

#### The Debs Campaign

In 1900 he was a delegate of the majority faction of the S.L.P. in its Rochester convention, and he was one of the committee that negotiated with the Social Democratic Party for unity in the elections that year under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs. In 1901 he was one of the leaders in the Indianapolis convention that formally organized the present Socialist Party.

From that day to the day of his death the story of Hillquit is in a real sense the story of the Socialist Party and of important sections of the labor movement.

From 1904 on he was a delegate to every International Socialist gathering, serving with brilliant distinction at Amsterdam in that year, at Stuttgart in 1907, at Copenhagen in 1910, at Basle in 1912, in the Vienna Working Union prior to the organization of the

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The remarkable bronze bust of Morris Hillquit by Konikov

### Respected and Honored by World Socialism

By Algernon Lee

**W**HEN Morris Hillquit died a year ago, it was not American Socialism alone, it was international Socialism as well, that suffered a loss which today is still tragically real and which time cannot easily repair. For twenty-nine years our comrades on the other side of the Atlantic had known him well and counted him as one of themselves.

By this I do not mean that they looked upon him as a European Socialist who happened to live in the United States. That he was not, and they felt it. They knew him as an American Socialist who was in the fullest sense an internationalist, in knowledge and sympathetic understanding, as well as in idealistic feeling and intent. They knew him as the one man who, far and away better than all others, could interpret America to them and equally well interpret Europe to us. In the congresses and executive meetings of the International, from his first appearance at Amsterdam in 1904 to his last at Vienna in 1931, Germans and Frenchmen, Russians and Danes, Italians and Britons and Poles, all listened to him with the same respect when specifically European problems were under consideration as when he spoke to them of American conditions, and with the same respect as they paid to men of their own continent.

Hillquit was implicitly internationalistic in thought and feeling. Amid the chauvinistic frenzy of 1917-18 it seemed to him the most natural thing in the world to answer the slogan "America first!" with the noble cry "Mankind first! Liberty first! Brotherhood first!" No matter whether it was in our own party convention or in a court of justice or before a hostile mob, his answer was the same. And because his internationalism was so deeply rooted in both heart and brain, he never swerved toward the blustering anti-patriotism of a Gustave Hervé or of some Americans who, like Hervé, in due time turned into blustering jingoes.

No doubt the quality of Hillquit's internationalism was in some part due to the broad and rich culture he acquired in boyhood and youth in his native city

of Riga—a culture in which French, Russian, and German elements were integrally blended, and the Jewish element was neither suppressed nor overemphasized. In much larger part, I believe, it was due to a sense of proportion and balance which was perhaps innate—a capacity for seeing things in detail and as a whole at the same time, for seeing them both separately and in their mutual relations. That is a rare faculty.

It is to be remembered that, although Hillquit was of European birth, he came to this country at the age of seventeen, and it was here that he began that career as an active Socialist, a member of the organized Socialist movement, which fills to large a place in our party history. And although he made that start in the Jewish East Side, which he always continued to love and which always continued to love him, yet he very soon graduated into the party life of the city as a whole and then of the nation as a whole. If I say that Hillquit was an outstanding American Socialist, I mean more than that he was an outstanding Socialist in America. I mean that he knew America and the American people far better than many who were born here.

Oh, yes, I know there have been and are some who wish to deny this. But it was recognized long ago by such American Socialists as Debs and Carey and Hanford and Mailly, and by the rank and file of the party whenever and

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## The Noblest Traditions of Mankind

By Prof. Charles A. Beard

**J**UST when and how my acquaintance with Morris Hillquit began I cannot recall, but it was about 1904 or 1905, at the time he was planning the Rand School of Social Science. I had come back from England in 1902, where I had taken part in organizing Ruskin Hall, a labor college founded at Oxford while I was attending the university.

Ruskin Hall, now called Ruskin College, had been started by a group of students who were certain that Labor was destined to play a large role in the public affairs of England, and that the leaders of Labor should have access to the accumulated knowledge and theories of the social sciences and an opportunity for intensive training.

It was probably my experience in Oxford that led Mr. Hillquit to invite me to aid in planning and organizing the Rand School of Social Science somewhat along the lines of Ruskin Hall. At all events, I had the pleasure of meeting him

in that connection and of seeing him frequently.

At our first meeting I was immediately drawn to the man. Unlike most Americans, he had a wide knowledge of the labor and Socialist movements of the Old World. His vision took in the Continent of Europe, so generally neglected by American students at that time, and, what was more, the activities of labor leaders so generally neglected by historians and newspapers.

He belonged to Western civilization rather than to any national segment. I never saw him in action in any of his political campaigns, but in all meetings and conferences which I held with him certain characteristics stood out clearly. He read and spoke many languages and seemed at home in all of them. He knew the classics of those languages. On every issue he brought wide and accurate knowledge to bear.

Although his general frame of reference was Marxian, he had a sense of humor and a knowledge of concrete events which prevented him from thinking that "he was God," to use a phrase of Justice Holmes. He knew the possibilities of error in all human judgments

and was generous to those who differed from him.

I think that I have never known a man who could hold so firmly to his fundamental convictions and yet confront the convictions of others with so little bitterness and intolerance.

So much for his character as a public man. In all private relations Morris Hillquit, as I knew him, was generous beyond measure. As the Japanese say, "he knew the sadness of things," the tragedies of life, the sufferings of the un-honored and unsung, and the frailties of human nature. He gave himself without stint, without hope of personal gain or reward. In short, I should say, he was one of my few acquaintances in New York whom I could truly call "civilized"—civilized in the wide range of his interest and knowledge and sympathies.

Perhaps those who came in contact with him during political campaigns may have another view, for I did not know him in that relation. Yet now that his career is closed, his worst enemies, I doubt not, will recognize in him a personality worthy of the noblest traditions of mankind.



# Honored By All the World

## Czechoslovak Workers And Morris Hillquit

By Dr. Frantisek Soukup

President of the Senate of Czechoslovakia

IT is hard to believe that a whole year has passed since Morris Hillquit left us, so deep is our sorrow over his passing away and so unforgettable is the memory of his life work. In Morris Hillquit the Socialist and Labor International lost one of its brightest lights. In him we found the personification of Socialist America, in him we saw the hope and victory of American Socialism. Whenever he came to Europe and spoke in our midst we listened with the closest attention and with bated breath. He was a sober Marxist surgeon of human society; he was a convincing and compelling orator of the people; and he was a passionate, zealous apostle of world peace.

He was a man of scientific theory, constructive practice and class-conscious organization.

Above all, he was one of the purest, most noble and most self-sacrificing souls to arise out of the proletariat, and with great logic of mind and fire of action to show all oppressed people the way to a new life and a new Socialist future.

It is now thirty years since I first met Morris Hillquit. That was at the historic congress of the Socialist and Labor International at Amsterdam in 1904. He aroused our interest immediately upon his first appearance. Since then we had opportunities to meet him more often at conferences of the Executive Committee of the International and at the International Congresses at Stuttgart, Copenhagen and in Basel, and likewise at the post-war congresses at Hamburg, Marseilles, Brussels and Vienna. Here Morris Hillquit would usually be entrusted with important and extremely difficult reports pertaining to questions of economics, and he could always be depended upon to work out his report in a way which showed a deep, plastic understanding of the subject at hand as well as unusual expert knowledge.

In July, 1931, Morris Hillquit, accompanied by his wife and daughter, left for Vienna to attend the International Socialist Congress. It caused us unbounded pleasure that he should on this occasion stop at Prague and other points of interest in our Czechoslovak Republic. We were happy indeed to show our most welcome guest the great progress of the Socialist and labor movement in Czechoslovakia and to point out all the concrete and constructive work of Socialists in our government to promote cultural progress, peace and better living conditions for all the working people in our Republic.

The Socialist movement in Czechoslovakia is so strong that our government would be unthinkable without the participation of the Socialists, and our movement feels that it is not only its right but its duty to help guide the government and all public institutions and prepare the ground for the ultimate and inevitable transformation of a political democracy into an economic and a Socialist democracy. That is also why our Czechoslovak Republic, even during the most bitter storms of fascism across its boundaries, remains and shall always remain a stronghold of liberty and democracy in the heart of Europe.

Morris Hillquit bore a great love for the President of our Republic,

Thomas G. Masaryk, as well as for his noble-minded wife, Charlotte Masark. She was born in Brooklyn of an old American family and was our co-worker in the labor and Socialist movement for forty years. She now rests in a modest cemetery at Lány, near Prague. This year it was the privilege of American children of Czech descent from New York, Cleveland and Chicago, who took part in our great III Labor Olympic Games in Prague, to decorate the simple grave with scarlet flowers.

Morris Hillquit told me how well he liked our Republic and that upon his return to America he would write a whole book about it. For his information, I send him an English translation of President Masark's well-known book, "The Making of a State."

Morris Hillquit had not been in our midst since the Vienna Congress in 1931. A year ago, when I left for America, my thoughts, my memories were with Morris Hillquit. I was overjoyed that I should meet him on American soil, but when I landed in New York there was no Hillquit to greet me. Instead, his dear wife Vera, his daughter Nina, and his brother came to meet me at the pier. They gave me his letter, dated June 22, which read as follows:

Dear Frank:—I looked forward to your visit with the greatest pleasure and hoped that I would be there to greet you upon your arrival. Sad fate, however, would have it otherwise. I have been ill for a greater length of time and am now in the country to recover and to recuperate. I suppose, however, that after you complete your American tour and return to New York, I shall see you more often. Please accept my expression of welcome to America, and I hope sincerely that we shall soon meet again.

Your

Morris Hillquit.

When after two months I returned to New York my first steps were directed to the bedside of Morris Hillquit. That was on August 23. Morris was not as yet in New York and we had to go out to Asbury Park. I rode out there with my dear comrade Julius Gerber, secretary of the Socialist Party of New York, and Jaroslav Novák, Czechoslovak Consul-General, my old, faithful friend and co-worker in the Czechoslovak revolution. We reached Asbury Park at noon. Comrade Hillquit's wife and daughter were waiting for us and took us to the room where he

## A Missionary of Socialism

By Arthur Henderson, M.P.

EUGENE Debs, Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit—these were the names by which American Socialism was known to us on this side of the Atlantic. Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger were the missionaries who brought the Socialist message from the Old World to the New. And there they found Eugene Debs, who confirmed the fundamental truths of our doctrine by appearing from the Middle West as a Socialist of indigenous origin.

Morris Hillquit was best known to us personally. For many years he was the plenipotentiary of American Socialism in Europe. His cul-

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In Prague



Hillquit as the guest of the Czechoslovak Republic. Rear row: Dr. F. Soukup, Hillquit, Joe Novak, former Secretary of the Bohemian Socialist Federation of America. Front row: Nina Hillquit, Mrs. Vera Hillquit

lay. Morris could no longer walk. He expressed great joy when he saw me. We embraced and had a long chat, like two brothers. I expressed fully the state of things in Europe. Morris found joy in the thought of his being well again and attending the next meeting of the International Executive. Deeply moved, we parted. For a while I held his hand against my heart and promised to greet all his dear comrades in Europe for him. He seemed somewhat cheered and when we left him we stood in the street and gazed long at the window behind which Morris Hillquit was to fight his last battle, as though we anticipated his early end.

That evening, Comrade Hillquit sent a letter to the special meeting of the New York Socialist Party at which I spoke. In this historic letter, one of his last, Morris Hillquit wrote:

"The International Socialist movement can be justly proud of our party in the new Czechoslovak Republic. During all the stirring post-war years, through its victories as well as defeats in revolutionary conflicts, this party stood firmly and unshakably upon the foundations of Socialist democracy for the working classes. They have performed a monumental feat in firm Socialist education among the workers of their country, they have built mighty institutions of education and defense and have had a noteworthy influence upon the forming of a young and a progressive state. The enlightened and untiring activity of our comrades contributed much towards the fact that Czechoslovakia today is one of the firmest strongholds against the spread of fascist dictatorship in Europe."

[Comrade Soukup is too modest to quote from Morris Hillquit's letter a certain section relating to himself. Hillquit wrote: "Frantisek Soukup is one of the true leaders of International Socialism, who take their single-minded and unflagging devotion to our great cause as a simple matter of course; who give all their abilities and accomplishments, their time and thought to the service of Socialism without ostentation or personal ambition in utter oblivion of themselves; who grow great with the growth of the party and never seek to rise above it."—Ed.]

We were indeed grateful for this striking expression of clear understanding and proper estimate of the constructive work toward Socialism within our Republic.

When I stepped on French soil at Cherbourg, I sent Hillquit my heartiest regards. That was my last message of greetings to him. Then, on October 8, came the tragic

## A Bridge Between America and Europe

By Raphael Abramowitsch

EVEN if I had never known Morris Hillquit personally I would have a clear and lively picture of this moral and intellectual giant from "Loose Leaves from a Busy Life," his fascinating memoirs so kindly sent me by Mrs. Vera Hillquit. The tenderness and sweet nature combined with great solid worth and unshakable principle; the temperament of a fighter and the sharp debater in combination with a gentleman of honest thoughts who first of all wants the truth; a skeptical and analytical mind with a deep devotion to the ideals of Social and to the proletariat—this is the secret of Hillquit and of his charm for everyone who came into contact with him.

I had the good fortune to know him personally and not only from his book. My friendship with him started in 1907, when I first visited

cablegram from Comrade Leg that Morris Hillquit was dead. All of us were heartbroken.

His memory in the hearts of all workers of Czechoslovakia is deep and unforgettable.

Please extend our heartiest and most sincere greetings to Comrade Hillquit's wife Vera, his daughter Nina, and to his brothers. To them I send my best wishes, and you, dear comrades, whom I cannot forget, please accept my greetings from Prague.

America. Again we met and renewed our friendship at the International Socialist Congress in Hamburg in 1923. He was at that time influenced by the Bolshevik revolution which he never, by the way, accepted in full, but which attracted his revolutionary sentiments with its grandeur. Nevertheless, very soon we found a common language and a mutual understanding. The merciless analytical talent of Hillquit very soon discovered the true anti-Socialist and disruptive implications of the terroristic dictatorship of the Bolsheviks.

During my American tours in 1925-1926 and in 1929-1930, my dear dead friend and I spoke for hours. In Europe I saw him time and time again, and we worked hand in hand with him in the International at its Congress and its executive sessions.

In the International his voice was always listened to with the deepest respect. Our International, which is rather European in character, is very sensitive to people who are not well acquainted with the complicated forms of European political life. But to the words of Hillquit there was never a skeptical or inattentive audience. In Hillquit we always felt a man who understands thoroughly and scientifically the processes of political life in Europe. He was in Europe a European as he was in America an American.

The loss of this wonderful combination of two worlds in one head of this living bridge between America and Europe will be felt for a long time to come in the American and European working class movements. And we, his friends and comrades-in-arms, will to the end of our lives cherish the memory of this wonderful and brave fighter and devoted friend.

## A Great Man and a Great Soul

By Jacob Panken

INTO the conscious period of his life he crowded service to mankind that has no parallel in the life of any American man.

He was a scholar and a philosopher.

His significance as a leader, teacher and thinker reached out beyond the American scene. Respected highly in our own country his judgment was sought by Socialist and labor leaders in the international field.

He lived—fully and completely—in his contribution to the welfare of man.

He was a sublime logician, and possessed a marked integrity.

Chained by illness, he left his bed to come to the defense of representative government. Physically sick, for days he was on the stand before the State Assembly expounding Socialist theory and philosophy. For weeks he stood there fighting for the right of Americans to choose their own representatives. Democracy temporarily lost, but his brilliant attack on the reactionaries turned defeat into a glorious Socialist victory.

Again in 1933, sick after an arduous and taxing battle for the mayoralty of New York, he left his bed and flew to Washington to carry the battle of labor into the camp of the enemy.

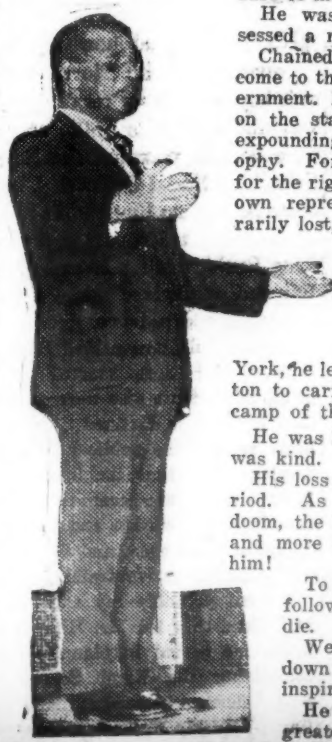
He was lovable. He was generous. He was kind.

His loss is felt in this transitional period. As capitalism is riding toward doom, the lack of his leadership is more and more apparent. God, how we need him!

To us who worked with him, who followed his leadership, he can never die.

We have the printed word set down by him for our guidance and inspiration.

He was a great man—and a greater soul.





## His Vision Is Needed

By George R. Kirkpatrick

A THIRD of a century ago, out in old Terre Haute in the office of Jimmy Oneal's Toiler, a progressive trade union paper, as an eager but green missionary in our movement, I was for the first—but not the last—time inspiringly and unforgettably greeted by 'Gene Debs, thrilling lover and leader of his fellowmen. As the years went by Debs and the significance of Debs meant more and more to me—meant so much that, sometimes, when writing him, I urged: "Do be careful, oh, so very careful, dear 'Gene, of your precious energies. Protect your health—don't you dare go away and leave us. We need you, need you desperately."

And when he died I felt lonely, cruelly lonely—just as I anticipated.

Thus, also, I wrote to Morris Hillquit—in my lively appreciation of him and in my sincere apprehension lest such a man and such a leader should be lost to us. Long have I known that as the years roll on through the imminent revolution Morris Hillquit and his noble services will ever loom larger and loftier in the Great Days of Preparation.

Of course, deep movement move on though competent leaders are snatched from the front by death. However, in the sublime drama called Human Progress, men and women have always sorely needed not only able leaders but also incarnations, illustrations, exhibitions of the strongest and the best that man can become. Such men and women are priceless both as guides and as inspiration to the rest of us—and the best of us. And like 'Gene Debs—Morris Hillquit thus served a multitude of his fellowmen, served them unmistakably, magnificently.

Thus Morris Hillquit served me, served me thus even when, occasionally, we disagreed—served me richly, though while we were indeed good friends, I could not claim the honor of his intimate friendship.

Dear Morris Hillquit! How much, how desperately we need his clearness of vision, his wisdom, his counsel, his power, his Christ-like devotion—his magnificent leadership—now!

A year has passed since Death's cold finger touched Morris, a year full of tasks and painful fears—and still I am lonely, often thinking, "If Morris could only be with us!" Morris Hillquit's life could not miscarry. The reward supreme was—and is—his: the love of hosts of friends in many lands, the gratitude of multitudes who never saw him, and also the respect of even numerous and powerful enemies—minister men, I mean—of whose immunity he could well be proud, indeed.

Came daily trooping into this man's imagination—tugging at his heart—many millions of the hungry, ragged, desolate boys and girls of the world's tortured poor—looking eagerly, timidly for a friend—defender;—and Morris, once one of them, never forgot them, never failed them—never for even one hesitating moment—but with fire and power defended them and theirs, when he became a man, an international man of distinction before the world's bar of public opinion.

With power and courage and thrilling joy his life was tirelessly, specially and intelligently devoted to justice, Justice for "even the

least of these"—from eager young manhood till in death he dropped his pen and bowed his good gray head.

How gloriously Morris Hillquit

lived and slaved and died for Socialism! Carved fittingly deep, his name is safe on the tablet reserved for immortal Socialists—safe, indeed, from any feeble, jealous, "chiseling" by distinguished brutality and eminent, egotistic littleness!

## He Served His Class

By James Oneal

THE American Socialist movement has produced some brilliant men who emerged out of proletarian life and fitted themselves to serve their class. Of these one thinks of Eugene V. Debs, the railroad fireman, its greatest orator and incarnation of working class ideals; Ben Hanford, printer, whose rough and simple speech, apt anecdotes and iron logic, won masses of workmen to the Socialist banner; Meyer London, rising out of the ghetto, proletarian wrongs seared into his life, wrongs that burst into impassioned speech that moved workmen to tears; William Mailly, miner, who came out of the depths to become one of the greatest executives the party ever had; Victor L. Berger, printer, master of simple exposition and the incomparable organizer of victory.

Then there was Morris Hillquit, of frail physique, swallowed up in the poverty of the East Side Ghetto for years; associate of human driftwood that recalls Gorky's sketches of proletarian life in the old Russia of the Czars. Hillquit, the youth, discussing revolutionary philosophies on the roofs of tenements far into the night of sweltering summers and there learning his first lessons in the art of logical reasoning of which he became a master. Hillquit, one of the leading theoreticians of International Socialism, intellectual leader of the movement from the time of the break with the S. L. P. in 1899; earnest, devoted, tireless; never losing confidence in the working class to the day when he hurt us by laying down his standard and rested in a wilderness of flowers in the Rand School Auditorium a year ago.

There men, women, and children of the working masses and others passed by the still form, emotions suppressed by some, by others breaking into tears and all affected by a profound sense of the loss which the movement had sustained. It was fitting that the final farewells were said by his comrades in old Cooper Union where the

fighters against Negro bondage so often assembled before the Civil War.

We who had grown up with Comrade Hillquit felt that something had gone out of our lives when he passed on, something that could not be replaced, for Morris Hillquit was something more than the Marxian logician, Socialist leader, and internationalist. His personality was one of charm, of personal honor and rectitude, a warm human being who won friends because of his modesty and bubbling humor that immediately set one at ease.

No really great man ever failed to make enemies as well as friends, but throughout history I think that it can be said of the really great man that enmity is the tribute that mediocrity pays to genius. Not that Comrade Hillquit did not make mistakes. He did. So have all of us, and he was the first to admit a mistake when in the perspective of time it became evident. However, it is the essence of greatness for the really big man to admit them; mediocrity never confesses an error. That is one reason why the mediocre man is mediocre.

But when one looks over the long range of Morris Hillquit's life through the S. L. P. and its conflicts; the rise of the I. W. W.; the craze for sabotage; the maze of problems involved in preserving the integrity of the Socialist Party while working with the trade union in the national campaign of 1924; the various phases of the Communist movement, there are few who will not agree that his keen judgment has been vindicated by after-events.

Hillquit was not a dogmatist. He was a Marxian who kept abreast with the unfolding Marxism of his time! He probably more than any other Socialist, contributed to the adjustment of Marxian philosophy to the movement in this country. There is no man to take his place in this country. As thinker and leader and comrade, we miss him, and will miss him for years to come.



## Hillquit and the Woman Suffrage Cause

By Harriot Stanton Blatch

THE first time Morris Hillquit and I met was on a Suffrage Special bound for Albany. As president of the Women's Political Union, I was heading a large delegation to appear, by appointment, before the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and Assembly.

The two hundred or more delegates and the train itself blossomed with banners and insignia.

Soon after leaving the Grand Central, Mr. Hillquit and I were introduced by Mrs. Anita Block. In other years we so often used to rally each other about our experiences that day. With twinkling eye he would ask why I was so obviously taken aback when his identity was revealed, and why the marshals kept every banner from his willing hands and each tiny suffrage button from the lapel of his honorable coat. In turn, I queried why he had proved that

day a sounder suffrage statesman than an uncompromising Socialist politician.

Morris Hillquit was a thorough sportsman. He never failed to play the game fairly. We had taken the first opportunity on the train, when out of earshot of everyone, to lay down the rules to govern the drama at Albany. We both agreed that to make it appear that Socialism would bring votes for women, or votes for women Socialism, would injure both our great causes. On his side he agreed to make a straight suffrage argument. On my side I agreed to help, not hinder, this opportunity for him to put his views before the Judiciary Committee.

His speech was one of the finest, most convincing I have ever heard. With apt historical references, he eloquently urged the need of democratic evolution. The franchise must be broadened.

Again later during the fiery mayoralty campaign in New York in 1917, Morris Hillquit proved an

invaluable friend to women's enfranchisement. In a letter to each of the other three candidates—Mitchel, Hylan and Bennett—he urged an appeal be made by them all to their supporters to vote for the woman suffrage constitutional amendment to be submitted to the voters the coming November.

The Socialist crusader urged: "Knowing the great importance of the direct and indirect issues in the city campaign, I assert that the issue of woman suffrage overshadows them all as a permanent measure of social justice and progress." He gradually maneuvered his opponents into a position where they had to declare themselves favorable to suffrage. But he alone followed faithfully his own suggestion of appealing to his followers at every one of his meetings to register their vote for the amendment on election day.

In no small measure the women of the Empire State owe their enfranchisement to Comrade Morris Hillquit.

## A Dreamer and a Doer

By Maurice C. Feinstone

Secretary, United Hebrew Trades  
A BIOGRAPHER of Morris Hillquit once said that his early lyric poems were filled with

more revolutionary ardor than with poetry. It can as truthfully be said that his mature efforts in behalf of Socialism were filled with more great poetry than with revolutionary bitterness. For Hillquit stands almost alone among the great leaders of the people in his refined and poetic temperament. To the very last, when he had experienced the hardness and difficulties and sorrows that lie in wait for all idealists, he had the same purity of soul and breadth of imagination that he had as a youth.

These qualities are ordinarily attributed to young and inexperienced dreamers, or to unworlly and impractical men. Hillquit was certainly foremost among the practical and sane. His brilliant achievements as writer, thinker, and educator of the masses suffice to place him in the class of the foremost Socialist and labor leaders.

As the founder and first secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, he brought to a difficult task all these qualities and imparted to that organization at its outset a definite ideal which sustained it from its inception to the present. Had he done nothing else in his life for the labor movement than give us that ideal it would have been a signal contribution to the cause he so dearly loved. However, he served it endlessly, with all the brilliant resources at his command. He served the labor movement through the legal profession upon the basis of economic and philosophic necessity even more than purely legal advantages.

More than his professional service was his personal devotion and the stimulus he gave through the medium of the speakers' platform and of his pen. This remarkable man could bring a great inspiration into his most dispassionate discourses, and while he never resorted to bombast, to excitement or to demagogic technique, he raised the collective intelligence of those who listened to him so as to render the mass as potent and rational as the individual. This cultural elevation was so great a gift to the cause of Labor that it can scarcely be compensated for even by great material gains. For he radiated from his person a cultural refinement that will be necessary to any collective ideal society, and without which no economic and industrial control will ever be successful.

His activity was not confined to the law and to the lecture platform. He was engaged in the most strenuous work of organizing. He worked among the unions directly, in their raw weak state and later when they grew more self-sustained. He understood their needs as few theorists have ever understood the real society about which they discourse. He went through the whole class history in his own personal struggles and was steeped in the sorrows of the classes he strove to liberate. Hence his great earnestness and incalculable usefulness to the battle of Labor.

There was never any slackening in the completeness of his devotion. It went hand in hand with the ever widening circles in which his intellect moved. He demanded of the workers clear judgment, honest inquiry and a tireless search for truth. His wit, his clarity created a stimulating sphere of influence about him in the labor and Socialist movement.

Even at the end his last thoughts were with the workers. "Tell them," he said in his final message to the United Hebrew Trades just before his death, "tell them that the fight they are waging is a noble one, carried on for the creation of a brotherhood of men which must eventually come about if civilization is to continue."



# He Gave His Life For Labor

## Morris Hillquit and Our International

By David Dubinsky

President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

TWO Socialist lawyers played a dominant part in the rise of the Cloakmakers' Union and of the I.L.G.W.U. They were Meyer London and Morris Hillquit. London represented the flaming soul of the union, while Hillquit symbolized its clarity of vision and directness of action.

Morris Hillquit was the lawyer and adviser of the Cloakmakers' Union and of the International for two decades. In truth, however, he was more than legal adviser. Hillquit was the designer of our industrial policies, the pathfinder in our struggles, and the spiritual leader of our masses. All of us who in these past years have held posts of responsibility in the union found in him a devoted comrade and a wise, dependable, clear-thinking spokesman.

For despite his great gifts, erudition and high authority in his

feared him, yet profoundly respected him. He would lend dignity and orderliness to any parley, no matter how trying or provoking were the issues at stake. The moral force behind his pleading was colored by ethics of the highest order, the inseparable reflection of the social ideals which he preached and practiced.

While Hillquit was the architect of our aims and plans, we never attempted to burden him with details and problems of technique. But Hillquit was even more than an industrial adviser to our union. He was our counsellor in internal organization affairs as well, and to him we would appeal in times of inner conflict or disturbance for a word of calm and judicious advice. Invariably his direction was sound and constructive.

In brief, he was the directing mind of our International in every important move, phase or develop-

### A Sweatshop Worker



Morris Hillquit in 1889, when he was a young factory worker in New York

### A Shining Memory

By Frank R. Crosswaith

OUR generation is not equipped to write even an approximately adequate appraisal of our late and beloved Morris Hillquit. This duty is reserved for future historians.

To those of us who were privileged to work with Comrade Hillquit in the great cause of labor and Socialism—we who had our outlook clarified and our lives influenced by his charming personality, his mighty intellect and great heart, his captivating loyalty, sincerity and unflinching devotion to the noble ideals of economic justice and brotherhood—the task is infinitely too great a one. And even this humble effort to write of him is not without a recurring pang of pain because of our great loss.

Unlike many of the so-called great, Comrade Hillquit scorned the glistening paths of pelf, ease and power to choose instead the narrow rugged, dimly-lighted lane of economic and political radicalism, and thus left for humanity footprints to be retraced in its unending search for peace, plenty and freedom.

It is not unlikely that in the days ahead efforts will be made to portray Morris Hillquit as a great American, a great Semite, a great lawyer or something else. But we who knew him, and thus loved him intensely, know that he belonged to no one nation or group except the great working class of every race in every land. Because he was a Socialist and gave liberally of all he possessed to promote the cause, we, who share his ideals, have every reason to be proud not only of the rich heritage he bequeathed to us but prouder still of Socialism, a gift, through him, to the cause of human liberation from economic bondage.

As a Negro, conscious of the pyramid of pain beneath which Negroes in America especially must labor to live, I can say with utter frankness that Morris Hillquit will

## The Rare Quality Of Morris Hillquit

By Anita Block

I REMEMBER as if it were yesterday the first time I ever met Morris Hillquit face to face. I was very young—just out of college a few years—and the two big events of that year for me had been marrying S. John Block and together joining the Socialist Party. I had heard Hillquit speak often, of course, and had been enthralled by the limpid quality of his mind. But I had not yet met him personally and the fact that we were invited to his home was a thrilling prospect.

So I remember as if it were yesterday, when greeted by him there, saying with all the uninhibited ardor of youth, "This is a wonderful moment for me. It isn't often one meets one's heroes face to face!" And then I was to see for the first time, but by no means the last, that amused, tolerant, quizzical look that was always one of Morris Hillquit's most striking characteristics, as he said in that dry, kindly, sarcastic tone, which was equally characteristic, "Well, well, well, I certainly wish you much more wonderful moments than this one". . . . How vivid that moment was to me, however, is amply proven by the fact that after all these years the scene and our words spoken are quite inextinguishable.

And equally inextinguishable will always be my admiration for

in due time stand in the estimation of this oppressed but appreciating people side by side with Douglass, Lovejoy, Phillips, Debs, Thomas, Lewis and others who have fought—and are still fighting—the good fight against entrenched injustice.

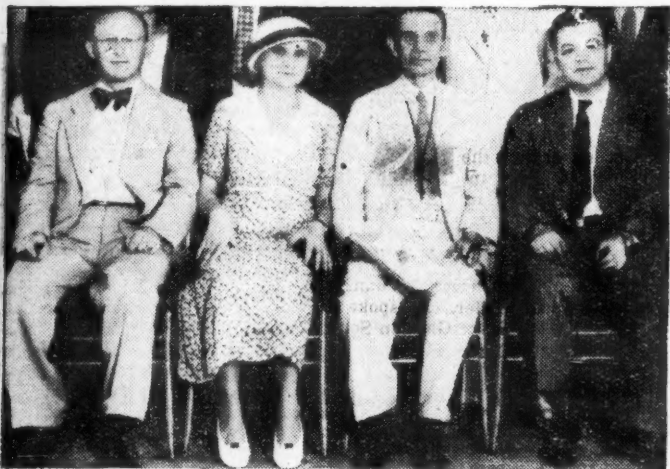
Morris Hillquit now sleeps. But, like our immortal 'Gene Debs, his soul goes marching on wrapped in the soul-sweetening and emancipating philosophy of International Socialism.

the keenest and most clear-cut intellect it has been my privilege to encounter. I have met many outstanding persons functioning ably in the most variegated human activities—writers, artists, professors, lawyers, physicians—but nowhere have I met such relentless logic and such a devastating power of sound analysis. To hear Morris Hillquit present a problem or expound a thesis has always remained for me one of the major intellectual pleasures I have experienced. Nor did the fact that I was by no means always in agreement with his point of view prevent this intense enjoyment of his extraordinary limpidity of thought and the power limpidly to convey thought to others.

Now eloquence is the last quality we usually associate with such superlative intellectuality. Hillquit, however, stands out as a flaming exception. To hear him speak meant not only to be thrilled intellectually but to be deeply stirred emotionally. This unusual combination was to me his rarest quality. I have been moved to tears by Debs and elsewhere have experienced keen intellectual satisfaction. But I know only Morris Hillquit who could simultaneously clutch at your heart and sharper your intellect.

But what would even these rare gifts have mattered had they not been further combined with an intellectual integrity and that absolute courage of convictions that made Morris Hillquit the great champion of Socialism in the days when that word and all it stands for was anathema, in the days when that word and all it stands for being bandied about, as it is today, by scared capitalists, tricky reformers and nebulous professors. Who that knew him can ever forget the Morris Hillquit who was the great banner-bearer of those courageous and inspired days? Not I, at any rate. For me Hillquit will always live as a clear flame lighting the dark and difficult road which must inevitably be travelled by every great cause.

### When He Flew to Washington



When Morris Hillquit left his sickbed to fly to Washington, where he argued for the cloakmakers' code, his last and most heroic public appearance. Left to right: Marx Lewis, Mrs. Hillquit, Morris Hillquit, David Dubinsky

profession and in the community as a whole, Morris Hillquit was one of us. As a young student, when he came here from the Baltic provinces, he worked as a shirt-maker, struggling to make a living; yet every free hour he could coax away from his sweatshop labor he would devote to propaganda for the cause which he held dearer than anything in life—the cause of the working class. He was one of the founders of the labor movement in our midst, the United Hebrew Trades, which he helped to organize in 1888.

Hillquit's principal weapons on the platform and at the conference table were his persuasiveness, his sharp logic, unusual informativeness, and ability to marshal facts in defense of the issues he espoused.

Hillquit was the master debater at industrial conferences, and the spiritual father of nearly all our collective agreements in the past generation. His attitude at conferences was that of a professor at the head of a class. Our opponents

ment in times of stress or storm, as well as of triumph and vindication.

His last public appearance, let it be recorded here, was in the interest of the Cloakmakers' organization at the hearings on the Cloak Code in Washington in July, 1933, when he flew from his sickbed, accompanied by a physician and a nurse, to Washington to defend the position of our union on the work hours and wage scales that were to be included in that new charter of labor conditions. On that sweltering afternoon in Washington Hillquit spoke his last word from the public rostrum.

From the trial of 1915 to the code hearings in Washington was a long span. These years brought us success and disappointment, bitter struggles and the taste of victory. It is a great pity that he died at the threshold of a new era in America, when newer and greater possibilities seemed to open for his marvelous gifts and invaluable experience.

## He Was My Leader

By Abraham Cahan

"HE was my leader. He still is." These were the opening sentences of Comrade Lee's speech at the funeral of Morris Hillquit held at Cooper Union a year ago. They made an indelible impression on a great many comrades.

And now, ever since the Detroit convention, many of us miss that leadership more than ever.

## Continue This Work!

### Morris Hillquit's Last Message

In 1888 Morris Hillquit helped organize the United Hebrew Trades. In 1933 that great organization celebrated its 45th anniversary, and in response to an invitation to participate Comrade Hillquit wrote this, his last inspiring message to the workers of the country and the world:

YOUR letter reminding me of the forty-fifth anniversary of the United Hebrew Trades brings back to me very old and very cherished memories. Though illness prevents me from making a more extended statement, I wish you to convey a message in my name to the large membership of your organization.

TELL them that the fight they are waging is a noble one, carried on for the creation of a brotherhood of man, which must eventually come about if civilization is to continue.

TELL them that I have absolute faith in the triumph of Socialism: of that order based upon the virtual equality of men.

TELL them I feel that the workers, and the workers alone, can and will free the world from its economic and social ills.

CONTINUE THIS WORK TOWARDS THE LIBERATION OF MANKIND!





# His Vision and Clarity

By F. M. Wibaut  
Leading Socialist of Holland

AT one of the last pages of Hillquit's last book, "Loose Leaves From a Busy Life," we read: "The Socialist vote and party membership are no index to the extent to which socialistic thought has permeated the population of the country. In the last forty years hundreds of thousands of men and women have held membership in the Socialist Party, coming and going. Some day the hidden and uncrystallized forces of Socialist sentiment may spring forth into a powerful movement, suddenly and spontaneously. Such has been the course of all great social and political upheavals."

And further, "It is a mistake to assume that because the Socialist movement in the United States has made no appreciable and visible progress in the last forty years it may not prove victorious in the course of the next twenty years, and it is equally false to infer that when the movement resumes its growth it will necessarily be regular and gradual and that it may not proceed by leaps and bounds!"

"I am hopeful of seeing a great and powerful, perhaps even a triumphant Socialist movement in this country in my own days."

For those comrades in Europe who have known Hillquit for thirty years these passages are most characteristic for the whole of his personality.

I met Hillquit first at the Amsterdam International Congress in 1904. I met him last at the Vienna International Socialist Congress in 1931. I met him at each of the International Congresses, but one, between 1904 and 1931. At most of these International Congresses Hillquit had to report on the growth of the Socialist movement in the United States, that it was rather slow. The reports were getting monotonous as regards facts. But each of them had the charm of the expression of Hillquit's certainty that Socialism in the United States was growing under the surface and that, unexpectedly to many, it would prove to be a power in the conduct of the people's life.

This charming certainty in Hillquit's person was not astonishing to Marxists like him. It roots in the real understanding of economic development all over the world. And it keeps glowing in times such as we Social Democrats have had to go through; times even worse than Hillquit could even foresee.

When I met Hillquit first in 1904

his book, "History of Socialism in the United States," had already entitled its author to a foremost place in the leading international Socialist ranks. Hillquit kept that place. In all the International Socialist Congresses since 1904 he was a man of importance, regularly a member of the most important commissions.

He was frequently a reporter to the congress on resolutions. There was practically never a debate of importance in which Hillquit had no part.

Morris Hillquit belonged to the left wing in the International movement. He was no extremist. But he was thoroughly revolutionary and did not reject any means or any more which the working class might one day successfully use.

Morris Hillquit was attacked in private party circles about what was considered a contradiction between his revolutionary speeches and prognostications with regard to the Labor movement of America and the weakness of his party. I happened to be present at one or two of these discussions and I still rejoice at the splendid solid position which Hillquit invariably held at these discussions.

"We do all we can in propaganda," was his reply. "But we do not allow the slowness of our movement to weaken our conviction or to disturb our knowledge of the certainty of Socialism: wait and see."

Those comrades in Europe who follow developments in the United States under President Roosevelt feel that Hillquit's expectations were right in every respect. It is surely not Socialism which President Roosevelt brings. But it is equally certain the strong manifestation of the utter failure of capitalism to make economic life supportable to the masses.

The manifestation is mightily supported in numerous circles where the belief was that capitalism was still triumphant five or ten years ago. And these comrades say with Hillquit: "Wait and see!" They see the admitted necessity of Socialist conduct of economic life rapidly growing each day, under the Roosevelt leadership which hopes to reform capitalism while keeping it strong. Growing, under the surface, in European countries, where Socialism seems weakened or dead.

On the first anniversary of Hillquit's lamented death, we keep our great comrade in mind. He was of those who forge strong arms against capitalism out of their solid knowledge of facts. He was of those who in all times, in the most critical moments, kept the torch blazing. "Socialism is coming." And in this he was no utopian. What seemed to many to be his utopias are facts well on the way of urging their adoption as realities.

## Before the Dawn

By Emile Vandervelde  
President, Labor and Socialist International

IT is not only in the United States of America that the Socialists affectionately preserve the memory of the admirable militant Socialist, Morris Hillquit. In the days when Socialism scarcely existed among native Americans, he seemed from afar, in the eyes of the International, the most representative figure of the immigrant group that was sowing the seeds of Socialism on the other side of the herring pond.

I met him in New York in 1904 and also at the beginning of the war in September 1914. But for thirty years we have been accus-

tomed to see him at all our International Congresses, affirming by his presence, as leader of the American delegation, the organic interdependence of the workers' movement in the United States and the Socialist and Marxist workers' movements of Europe.

Hillquit died at the moment when the ideas which he had always defended were, through the irremediable decomposition of a capitalist world, taking on a dynamic power which for a long time had been lacking.

The time has passed when the European capitalists considered the United States as the promised land and the last stronghold of *laissez-faire* and bourgeois individualism. Like the Sorcerer's Apprentice of the legend, the creators of the NRA have unchained elemental

## Danish Workers Honor Hillquit's Memory

By Thorvald Stauning

Prime Minister of Denmark

MORRIS HILLQUIT attended the International Socialist Conference at Copenhagen in 1910, and since then I met him each time international events took place. He was a brilliant Socialist fighter and he exercised great influence, particularly in the country where he lived and worked.

We who have been in the international Socialist movement for two generations felt an attachment for Hillquit and rejoiced at the contribution he made in America, where the Socialist movement has had such great difficulties to contend with.

Danish Socialists wish to join in honoring the memory of Hillquit, and in sending greetings to the United States I beg that the work may be continued in the spirit which animated our late comrade.

## Three Great Men

By James H. Maurer

DURING the past few years the Socialist movement has suffered the loss of many of its most brilliant minds. The murderous attacks upon our comrades in Europe naturally caused a temporary handicap to the movement abroad. The passing of such comrades as Hillquit, Debs and Berger, proved a terrible loss and handicap in these trying times to the Socialist movement of the United States.

Having served with these three comrades for many years on the National Executive Committee, as well as having been closely associated with them for at least 25 years I had a distinct advantage in learning to appreciate their fine qualities, their courageous loyalty and worth to the Socialist movement.

Debs, the big-hearted, lovable, uncompromising, eloquent rebel against injustice; Berger, the fearless editor, historian and labor diplomat; Hillquit with his keen analytic mind who did not once but often save the party from making mistakes.

As national chairman his public utterances, whether involving national or international issues, were always clean and a credit to our party. Hillquit's life-long service to humanity needs no defender. His speeches, his books and debates with the ablest people the opposition could bring forward to debate with him speak for themselves.

While I did not always agree with those three great men, I do know that to have had the good fortune to be associated with these distinct warriors was indeed a great privilege and honor for which I am everlastingly grateful to the Socialist Party.

forces of which they have lost control, and the period of formidable labor conflicts, which is about to begin, justifies the greatest hopes for the near future of Socialism in the new world.

On the day on which these hopes are realized the American workers will not forget those who, like Hillquit, rose before the dawn and by their hard and ceaseless labor prepared the Socialist harvest.

# A Fragrant Memory

By Otto Wels

Former Chairman, Social Democratic Party of Germany

THERE are things in the life of every man that go deep into his very being, and thus remain forever in his memory. For me it was the International Congress of 1907, held at Stuttgart, the first to be held on German soil, and the first in which I participated as a delegate. Impressions crowded upon me and overwhelmed me. To meet face to face all the great men whose names embodied the greatness of International Socialism, to listen to the historic debates among which the most important were on the attitude of the working class in the face of a future war; and especially to hear Jaures and Bebel in their forensic crossing of swords, to hear Vandervelde and Dr. Victor Adler each in his own individual style; to be present at a Congress where the strongest spirits and the greatest orators of the international labor movement stood upon the rostrum—that for me was an unforgettable experience.

Upon that occasion, I saw and heard Morris Hillquit for the first time; it was then, too, that I came to know him personally. It was at a colossal mass meeting of the working class outside the city, where under the chairmanship of August Bebel Morris Hillquit spoke on the same platform as the Dutch delegate, Henriette Roland-Holst and Victor Adler. He spoke of the pioneer work the German Socialists were accomplishing in America and in glowing terms described their ceaseless efforts.

In vivid phrases he described the development of capitalism in America. The once peaceful agrarian country had become a turbulent industrial nation. "We have climbed the heights of civilization; we have trusts that span the universe; we have billions—but we have misery and hunger and crime," he said. "We have a republic with almost unlimited political freedom, but our Republic is nevertheless not a democracy but a capitalist oligarchy. We have no government by the people but a rule of money bags. Our bourgeois rules more absolutely than the Czar in Russia or the Sultan in Turkey."

Prophetic his voice rang out over the vast gathering as he called out: "The American worker has begun to think. The American worker is on the way to Socialism. The giant stretches his mighty limbs, and the time will come when his heavy tread will be heard across the ocean."

Hillquit spoke in perfect German; the response to his speech was instantaneous. A mighty echo arose in the crowd. After the meeting Hillquit and I returned to town, after having been introduced to each other by Bebel. After that we saw each other often. Usually he came to Europe to function as a delegate to the International, and as he once said, to strengthen himself and to gather new courage for the struggle to which he had dedicated his life. His open, friendly countenance with the twinkling smile that never left him even during the most heated arguments, his gracious, humorous manner of speech with his readiness of repartee easily won him the friendship of comrades from every country.

When the chairman called "Hillquit—America"—that meant that

difficulties were to be cleared up; and it also signified self-discipline when he was not in a position to gain a full victory for his point, as was the case in the debates on immigration and emigration. The problems of the labor organizations concerned him deeply in this case. We must protect the American workers against being swamped by the floods of immigrant Chinese, who are used as strikebreakers and who thus tend to retard the work of the Socialist movement, he said. We must do this for the sake of the class struggle, which must not be weakened if we are to emerge victorious in the battle with capitalism.

Hillquit's complete knowledge of all phases of the labor movement was astounding. His certainty of judgment on questions relating to the European movement amazed us even more, as did the zeal with which he applied himself while in Europe to the quest for more and information.

He presented the aspect of a man constantly seeking to improve himself the better to serve his party.

He was a spiritual forger of arms for the battle for emancipation of the working class in his country and in the world. No matter how long the struggle may last, no matter how often the fortunes of war alternate victory and temporary defeat, the outlines of a new world are showing clearer than ever today.

When victory has been achieved and our dreams have been realized, when we seek to honor the architects of the New World, Morris Hillquit's name will stand among the first to be so honored. And so the memory of his days on earth will never fade.

## An Enduring Inspiration

By Harry Midgley, M. P.

Socialist member North of Ireland Parliament

ONE of my happiest memories is in looking back to the time before the war when as a youth I was a member of the American Socialist Party. In those days the movement was permeated with what amounted to an almost religious fervor. Men and women of various nationalities joined together in a New Land to try and lay the foundations of organization which would result in bringing about the new social order.

It was inspiration to me and a privilege which cannot be over-appreciated to have sat at the feet of comrades like Morris Hillquit, and to renew my faith in the vision of a Socialist world.

I especially cherish the memory of Hillquit himself. To me he still stands out as a shining example of the Socialist gladiator. Here was a man not attracted by the lure of wealth or power, content to serve the cause of humanity as a soldier in the ranks.

Those of us who depended from day to day for inspiration from our leaders in carrying on the fight were never let down by Morris Hillquit.

In latter days the distractions and divisions in the working class movement appear to have detracted somewhat from the deserved glory of this man who blazed the trail through the capitalist jungle. But to those of us who were privileged to serve with him in the ranks of the party nothing can dim the lustre of his memory, nor can the voice of malice or slander impugn his honor; for, in looking back we think of him as one who:

Never turned his back but marched breast forward,  
Never doubted clouds would break.

Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph.



F. M. Wibaut



Otto Wels



James H. Maurer



# A Great Advocate of Justice

## Hillquit, the Lawyer

By S. John Block

**T**RIBUTES in memory of Morris Hillquit, the brilliant exponent of Socialist theory, the courageous protagonist of the cause of labor, would be incomplete without reference to his achievements as an outstanding member of the legal profession.

Not only as a friend and as a fellow Socialist but also as a fellow lawyer it was a source of keen pleasure to me to be associated at times with Morris Hillquit in matters in which we had a common interest, the most notable being the celebrated trial of the five New York Socialist Assemblymen in 1920, on specious and grotesque charges of "disloyalty," which the Assembly was without constitutional jurisdiction to try.

The trial of the five Socialist Assemblymen was a mere pretense of legal procedure, but it gave Morris Hillquit an opportunity to make a truly great address which embodied a defense of the fundamental American right of the people to choose their own legislative representatives and a crystal-clear exposition of the Socialist program. His keen intellect, his skillful examination and cross-examination of constitutional law aroused the admiration not only of those who were in sympathy with his cause but also of those hundreds of Republicans and Democrats, members of the Legislature and others, who crowded the Assembly Chamber at Albany during the six weeks of the historic trial. Even the Assembly Judiciary Committee and its counsel, attentive to every word of Morris Hillquit's summing up, must have realized that they were in the presence of a lawyer of extraordinary intellect.

As a labor lawyer, Morris Hillquit was quite naturally without a peer, for he brought to his work as such not only his fine talent and equipment as a lawyer but in addition his unswerving devotion to the cause of the working men and working women for whom he appeared in courts of law or before boards of arbitration. Although he was always deeply moved by his great sympathy for the workers, never, however, did his ability to reason clearly desert him, never did he resort to invective, never did he misrepresent fact or law.

In court lawyers and judges listened to Morris Hillquit intently, fascinated by his brilliant presentation of facts, the correctness of his exposition of existing law and the logic of his arguments when contending for the recognition of new legal principles to fit new conditions.

A notable incident of his achievement in a controversy without legal precedent was his successful establishment of the principle that a labor union may by injunction restrain an association of employers from violating a contract made with the union. The case in question was that of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union against The Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association and others, decided by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. The remedy of the injunction, so often resorted to by employers to curb the activities of labor unions and their members during strikes, at last became a boomerang.

Morris Hillquit's abilities as a lawyer in cases involving the rights of labor are known to many. Not so many perhaps know of his success in other phases of the law. He was, after all, a lawyer functioning and earning his living in an era in which Socialism is still a theory and a hope. Morris Hillquit, the

and abundantly the function it had Socialist lawyer, the labor lawyer, the lawyer who fought for free speech and freedom of the press, was also a lawyer who successfully coped with intricate problems of business law, the law of corporations, the law of wills and banking law.

The early death of Morris Hillquit deprived the American Socialist movement of a great leader and took the legal profession one of its finest minds. He was in thought and in action a lawyer of today whose course was always illuminated by the shining torch of tomorrow.

## Morris Hillquit's Monument

By E. H. Thomas

**A**MERICA has produced three great Socialists.

Victor L. Berger was the great leader, Eugene V. Debs the great orator and Morris Hillquit the great philosopher of the American Socialist movement.

The highest political aim of the average American citizen is to vote for a "good man" on Election Day. The idea of a political philosophy, founded on economic science, seems to him something new and therefore dangerous. Worse than that—it is foreign, un-American. He will none of it.

But there often comes a time when his emotions are stirred. Then he can be led into the Socialist camp through his feelings, his sense of wrong. He may not know just what Socialism is but, anyway, he is ready to fight for it. This ardor is not very useful until it is educated.

To these ardent newcomers and in fact to older Socialists, Comrade Hillquit performed an incalculable service. Clearly and distinctly he expounded the principles of Socialism and wrote its American history.

This was Morris Hillquit's great service. His works will retain their authoritative place among the classics of American Socialist literature until Socialism is established and probably long after that happy time.

The minds of comrades that he helped to train and form and enlighten, these are Comrade Hillquit's best monuments.

## A Missionary of Socialism

(Continued from Page Fourteen)

ture, gentleness, universal interests and practical wisdom endeared him to us all. Successful barrister though he may have been in his later life, he was always a man of the common people, whose creed of practical idealism is the creed of constructive Socialism.

He belonged to that generation of working class leaders, reared in poverty, self-educated, who taught the dumb masses of New York how to speak and to compel their "masters" to treat them as equals in human dignity. He was one of the parents of Trade Unionism and Socialism in New York—one of the builders of an edifice which other men may embellish, enlarge, or adapt to modern trends, but which they may also destroy. Morris Hillquit was always constructive. He understood the substance of the Socialist theory. He was always ready to adapt the structure of the working class movement in order that it might fulfill more completely

## A FIGHTER FOR LABOR

By William Green

President, American Federation of Labor

**M**R. MORRIS HILLQUIT died one year ago. On the first anniversary of his death our memory is refreshed regarding his sterling qualities and his lovable character. He was truly a friend of Labor and was held in high esteem and high regard by all the men and women of Labor who were privileged to meet him, and with whom he was acquainted. Among others, unacquainted with him, he was known by reputation as a fighter for the rights of Labor, and a champion of the common man and woman.

The masses of the people sustained a great loss when Morris Hillquit died. As time carries us on a little further from the date when he passed away we can more adequately appreciate the value of his service to mankind. Such men as Morris Hillquit live in the hearts of the people whom he served. His noble deeds and his fine services will live after him.

I join with the host of admiring friends of Morris Hillquit in the commemoration of the first anniversary of his death.

to subserve.

If the United States today is an experimental field for a New Radicalism, it is because men like Morris Hillquit deepened and enlarged the sense of social justice half a century ago, when the land was being prepared and no harvest was in sight.

## What Made Him Great

By Louis Waldman

**I**N the year that has passed since we took final leave of Morris Hillquit the thoughts of those left behind to carry forward the ideals to which he dedicated his life have continually reverted back to him. There have been many trying days during that year when we sought to solve the problems that confronted us, problems which began to develop during his closing years.

We had no doubt as to where he would have stood on the issues that now confront the party. We know the path along which he sought to direct its destiny. We know the goal which he envisioned, the goal of which in the forty years he served and led the Socialist Party of America he had never lost sight, frequently changing the tactics by which he thought it would have to be reached, but never wavering, never faltering, never doubting that at the end of the road upon which he was leading us was the cooperative commonwealth.

In times of doubt and uncertainty and misgiving, the figure of Morris Hillquit rises before us. We see him, cool, dispassionate, with an eloquence that carried conviction and a logic that was devastating. We could almost hear him reduce the vexing problems, belabored and confused by the discussion which preceded it, to its simplest terms and make those who were in the opposition realize the futility of the proposals for which they had been contending.

What was it that gave him this power? Was it his eloquence? Our movement has produced able orators, proletarians, like Eugene V. Debs, the greatest orator of them all, who left the cab of the railway locomotive to become the eloquent champion of the oppressed and downtrodden. There was Ben Hanford, the printer, whose fiery elo-

quence inspired hundreds of thousands of workers in the pioneering days of our movement. There were countless others who had risen from the ranks of the working class, untutored in the arts and sciences but conscious of their wrongs and able to voice the aspirations of the workers.

But none of them exercised the power and the influence of Morris Hillquit. He was an eloquent speaker. In his early years he experienced the hardships of the sweatshops. He could look down into the anxious faces of those who had experienced his earlier hardships and knew how to translate to them in simple, unconventional but forceful and effective words the ideals towards which they must work to obtain their freedom from economic and political oppression. But it was not that that accounted for the hold he acquired and retained over men's hearts and souls.

Was it his writings? They were, by common consent, masterpieces of clarity. They expressed with the same conciseness and forcefulness the thought that he would express on the platform.

But our movement has had other great writers. Novelists who attained renown in literature drifted into our movement and sought to express, in the literary style that had made them famous in literature, the ideals of the working class, the hopes that would rekindle in them the spirit of revolt and triumph over sordidness and squalor. None of them carried the conviction in their writings that Morris Hillquit's writing carried. Yet it was not alone his writing.

Was it his political sagacity that singled him out for leadership? He knew the political history of our country, the mainsprings by which masses of people are welded together for the achievement of political aims. He knew the practical workings of political machines, the issues upon which people were rallied to support them. In the various political contests in which he was engaged, either as a candidate or as official of committees in charge of campaigns, he directed the strategy of the struggles.

Master of political strategy though he was, there were others in our movement whose ability along those lines were great.

In each special field there were others who acquired renown but did not exercise the influence he did. Why? Because what the others each possessed individually he combined in one person, and combined them in the rarest degree.

Above all—and the life's work of Morris Hillquit would be distinguished for this reason alone, even if there were not many others that should make it imperishable in the history of Socialism and the labor movement—he refused, in all the years he led the movement, to depart one iota from the fundamental idea that Socialism must be won through a change in the hearts and minds of the people, and not by force.

Contrary to the traditions of our people, which he felt could and would not be changed, even if we were to try, he repeatedly took the leadership in eliminating from our movement the elements which he had felt were attempting to lead our movement either underground, or away from the main currents of democratic activity.

It will be his philosophy and his ideals that will continue to dominate the movement, even though he is no longer with us. With his inspiration to lead us on, we shall build our movement until it stands as the monument of the effort, the brilliance, the devotion and the faith that he gave to it and to us.

## The Beloved Leader



Morris Hillquit at 60



# A Mighty International Figure

## A Lover of Mankind

By Harry W. Laidler

IT is hard to write about Morris Hillquit as one who is no longer among us. There are some personalities that come into our lives and then disappear, their memories like those of ships stealing silently past us in the night. There are others with personalities so dynamic, so thoroughly alive that they seem, when death finally claims them, still vibrant with life, still carrying on in the causes they long held dear. Such to me was the personality of Morris Hillquit.

When I first joined the Socialist Party out West years ago, and began to stump among the farms and ranches and mines of Kansas and Oklahoma, Morris Hillquit was already one of the outstanding figures in the American Socialist movement.

A successful labor lawyer in New York, he had been one of the half-dozen men who had laid the foundation of the Socialist Party and was one of its leading theoreticians. His standard "History of American Socialism," first published in 1903, was the first important book on Socialism written by an American Socialist and published by a prominent non-Socialist publisher.

When I returned to the East I had the privilege of serving with Morris Hillquit on the first Executive Committee of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, organized by Jack London, George Strobell and others, and during the next decade no meeting of the society was complete which did not have Hillquit as one of its leading speakers. I still see him in the

formative days of the society giving of his sage advice at the meetings of the Executive Committee, of which he was for a number of years treasurer; expounding with clarity and wisdom the fundamentals of Socialism to college groups and confounding with devastating wit and logic noted economists and famous attorneys who met him in debate.

I recall that morning at the City Hall, New York, when he cross-questioned Samuel Gompers regarding his social philosophy and made old Sam sweat blood trying to explain why he and the labor movement should not work for the cooperative commonwealth.

I see him still in a dozen legal battles defending, as labor's most brilliant attorney, the rights of the workers in their struggle for a living wage. I remember, as few memories of those years, Hillquit's magnificent campaign of 1917, when the dogs of war were let loose in the land and when, night after night, Hillquit was one of a mere handful of men and women who dared to continue a war against war, who dared to teach that war was leading not to democracy but to hell, and that the workers must fight it with all the energy they possessed. I still see him at those international gatherings when, master of English, French, German, Russian, Italian, he could with consummate skill explain to delegates from each country in a language they understood the points of view of himself and his comrades. I recall him as a host—one of the most charming I have ever known—at those memorable occasions when he brought together comrades of the Amer-

### The Young Student



Hillquit in the uniform of a gymnasium student of Riga

ican movement to meet comrades from abroad to talk over our common problems.

And in the days of the new capitalism when weak sisters were whispering that perhaps after all, capitalism would bring security and high living standards, there was Morris Hillquit, patiently explaining the nature of capitalist development and the impossibility of social planning for the common good under a system of private ownership of the nation's industries. And finally I still hear his words at that banquet meeting at Utica two years ago, when he gave what was, alas!, his farewell message to his beloved comrades:

"Having chosen and followed the unpopular course of a Socialist propagandist," you remember the

## In Comradeship

By G. A. Hoehn

MORRIS HILLQUIT, dear comrade and true friend, you are not dead for me. In comradeship and friendship you will live with me to the end of my days. For nearly four decades we worked and battled together in rain and shine, in weal and woe, in storm and stress, defeats and victories.

You never failed in your honest endeavor to serve our movement, to defend the cause of Labor and Socialism. Your very life was a constituent, an integral part of the Labor movement. You were a sound theorist, because you were sound in policy and practice, and vice versa. You had no use for spellbinders, but you forgave them, because you understood the causes of their defective reasoning and lack of constructive action.

You were a man of honor, absolutely reliable, always fair-minded and justice-loving. Your conduct in the movement and in private life, your comradeship and your friendship, could well be character-

ending of that beautiful address, "I am entirely at peace with myself. I have nothing to regret, nothing to apologize for."

"If forty years ago I could have foreseen all phases of the tortuous course of the Socialist movement in this country and in the world, I would have done exactly as I did. If I had forty more years of life in me, I would continue spending them in the Socialist movement, without regard to its 'practical' prospects or immediate accomplishments."

"To me the Socialist movement with its enthusiasm and idealism, its comradeship and struggles, its hopes and disappointments, its victories and defeats, has been the best that life has had to offer."

Scholar, student of law, lover of the arts, founder and leader of a great party, brilliant, devoted and loyal soldier of the common good, Morris Hillquit has left an indelible impression on thousands and tens of thousands of his fellow men. His influence and power are destined to expand as the years go on, as America approaches nearer and nearer to the society of Morris Hillquit's dreams, a society in which, for the first time in history, the mass of the people will genuinely begin to live.

ized and strikingly defined in the terse German sentence:

*Ein Wort—ein Mann,  
Ein Mann—ein Wort!*

Those of us who knew you, who worked with you, who listened to your words of advice, who profited by your teaching in theory and by your cooperation in action—we respected you and loved you! We pledge our word of honor as Socialist men and women to follow your example—the example of a brave comrade and true friend!

## Morris Hillquit's Heritage

By Daniel W. Hoan  
Mayor of Milwaukee

A YEAR after the death of Morris Hillquit, our memory of this thinker, teacher and leader is as fresh as if he were still among us. We miss his dominant presence in our party councils, we no longer hear the impassioned voice that came to us from the platform and over the radio, the printed word brings us no new products of his mighty pen; yet the inspiration of his life remains with us as a living force that sustains our hopes, guides our actions and gives us courage to forge ahead from where he departed.

Morris Hillquit left a heritage in which all who will may share. It is a heritage which, unlike material possessions, becomes richer and more productive the more it is dissipated among the ever-growing ranks of those who, by their comradeship, assume their rightful inheritance.

During his long and fruitful life, Morris Hillquit stored up an accumulation of experience, impressions, observations and thoughts which have been preserved in printed papers, leaflets, pamphlets and books without number, in a voluminous mass of cherished letters, and in the memories of the millions who heard and were inspired by his living word.

This is Morris Hillquit's heritage. It is a heritage that is imperishable. Like the burning soul that dwelt within him, it lives on to enrich the lives of all who will partake of it.

## Honored by World Socialism

(Continued from Page Thirteen)

wherever the rank and file once saw him and heard his voice. John Burke will bear me out, and Edward F. Cassidy, and James H. Maurer, and Jasper McLevy. I think they are competent judges.

He knew America and loved America, with the sort of knowledge and love that befits a Socialist. He was not for America against the rest of the world. He was for America as a part of the world. When he spoke of "our country," he meant just that—ours, the people's. The fact that the capitalists have stolen it does not make it the less ours by right and ours by will to take it back and make it all that it can and ought to be.

Hillquit first revisited Europe as a delegate to the Amsterdam Congress. He was then about thirty-five years of age and had been here a little more than half his life. He was already well known in the United States, but at that time the United States was by no means well known in Europe. It was my good fortune to be also a delegate to that congress. I was impressed then, and have since been yet more deeply impressed in looking back, to see how perfectly he at once fitted into the scene. He took his full part, with clear assurance of his position, in the great debates of that congress, which turned mainly on the practical questions of individual Socialist participation in non-Socialist ministries and of coalition either in elections or in Parliament, but involved also the theoretical ideas then agitating the movement under the name of Revisionism. The opposition was sharp and the forces were closely balanced. It was universally recognized that the cogency and the temper of Hill-

quit's argument counted for much, not only toward deciding the vote but toward doing it in such a way that bitterness gave way to mutual understanding, unification of the Socialist groups in France was made possible, and the International became a much more closely knit and useful instrument.

At Amsterdam began warm friendships, which grew as the years went by, between Morris Hillquit and most if not all of the foremost Socialists of Europe—first of all, perhaps, with August Bebel, the grand old man of the German Social Democracy, whose insight into men and whose austere standards of Socialist conduct made his friendship a cachet of approval not too lightly granted. Jules Guesde, too, and Edouard Vaillant, and Victor Adler, and Karl Kautsky—then Vandervelde, Anseele, Wibaute, Turati, Bracke, Hyndman, Plekhanoff, Vera Zassulitsch, "Babushka" Breshkovskaya, Soukup, Hardie—I name them at random, and might name many more, of the older and the younger generations, whose admiration for Morris Hillquit was equalled only by their deep and lasting affection.

At Stuttgart in 1907 it was my privilege again to see what a place he had won by deserving it, what a contribution he made to the work of the International and, incidentally, how much that contribution raised our American party in the esteem of the European comrades—at Stuttgart in 1907 and then not again till the Vienna Congress three years ago.

But he had played his part meanwhile in the congresses at Copenhagen in 1910, and since the war at Hamburg, Marseilles and Brussels, as well as in numerous meetings of the Executive. How few of the men who first became his

friends in 1904 were left to greet him in 1931! But very many other friendships had since been formed—it would take too long to call the roll—and now as then he was one of the greatest figures in the congress. He had grown, but he had not changed. There was the same firm adherence to fundamental principles, the same willingness to make every concession on non-essentials for the sake of unity in the movement, and the same unquenchable faith in its ultimate triumph, which endeared him to veterans and new recruits alike.

Yes, sorely as we in America need and miss Morris Hillquit in this time of confusion, of danger, and of unexampled opportunity for Socialism and for organized labor, they have reason to miss him over there. Regrets are vain. But it is not vain to bear in mind what he was and what his life gave to the movement. By so doing we may the better know how to make up, so far as we can make up, for what we have lost.

## He Fought for All Mankind

By Santiago Iglesias

Resident Commissioner in Congress for Puerto Rico and Secretary, Pan-American Federation of Labor

I AM sorry I have not had time to prepare and send you an article adequate to commemorate the anniversary of the departure of our eminent brother and great soldier, Morris Hillquit, who fought for the betterment of his fellowmen all over the world. The people of Puerto Rico will always retain an indelible devotion to his memory.

### The International at Marseilles



Hillquit with the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International at Marseilles in 1925. Front row, left to right: Vliegen, Holland; Soukup, Czechoslovakia; Morris Hillquit, Arthur Henderson, Great Britain; Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the L.S.I.; Alexander Bracke, France; (next man unidentified); Filippo Turati, Italy; Tom Shaw, Great Britain



# A Hero Face-to-Face

By Tony Sender

Former Socialist Member of the German Reichstag

OF course I had long known about Morris Hillquit, for he was considered one of the most remarkable personalities of the Socialist International. But my first meeting with him was shortly after the end of the World War, at a session of the Executive of the Vienna International, composed principally of the left-wing Socialist parties. I can never forget how quickly and easily we arrived at a harmonious understanding despite the great differences in our backgrounds.

No doubt our common conception of life and our aspiration for common ideals helped bring us closely together. But even more significant was the extraordinary charm of the personality of Morris Hillquit, a personality in which were united a great mind and a warm and noble heart.

Because of my early entry in the Socialist movement I had come to know personally such great leaders of world Socialism as Jules Guesde and Jean Jaures. American Socialism can be proud to have possessed a great fighter like Morris Hillquit. His memory and his noble example will remain beside the memory of those other great warriors for Socialism and freedom as a model and an inspiration forever.

In my life, rich in struggle and too often full of disappointment, I have often found that those who appeared brilliant and striking from afar shrank in stature and became less admirable when examined critically at close range. But with Morris Hillquit it was precisely the opposite.

In the course of years we became close friends, and so his great personality became fully revealed to me. And again and again I was astonished at the independence of his great mind, combined with the goodness of his heart and the absence of any prejudice. Morris was always anxious to penetrate the minds of his fellow men, was careful not to condemn too quickly even when injustice was done him. His generous nature impelled him always to be full of kindness and consideration for the conduct of others.

We were not always of the same opinion about tactical questions. But the exchange of political thoughts during the years of our friendship was always inspiring and valuable.

At our last meeting at the International Socialist Congress in Vienna in 1931 there seemed to appear between us a difference of opinion about the question: Is this world crisis the last crisis of capitalism or a capitalistic economic crisis, of which one cannot yet say if the system can survive it or not? Morris Hillquit formulated the first interpretation, whilst I defended the conception that there exists no economic criterion to define which

will be the last crisis of capitalism, but that it depends on the readiness of the working classes how long they would be willing to be the victims of the crisis; that it depends on their organized power and revolutionary resolution to bring about the downfall of the unbearable capitalist system.

In Vienna this problem was not definitely answered. But we continued the discussion by correspondence. In the meantime the crisis became more severe and seemed to furnish arguments for Hillquit's conception. And yet, very far was he from assuming infallibility. Therefore in the course of our interchange of opinions a synthesis was found of both conceptions. Of course, it is more than a normal cyclical crisis of capitalism, but whether or not it will be the last one depends on the working classes, and their energy and determination.

At the next meeting of the International, Morris Hillquit will be sadly missed by all of us, for everybody had the highest esteem for him. He belonged to the left wing, not in an obstinate way just in order to be left, but his attitude was the expression of his deep, well-considered conception of life and Socialist science.

Our International, and particularly America, seem to have become poorer since we do not possess any more such a good man with a great mind and noble heart. Morris Hillquit will remain for us as an inspiration for a noble and useful life.

out and he returned, to take the lead in the party's anti-war campaign.

In 1916 he drew up the party's position on terms of peace, and together with Congressman Meyer London and James H. Maurer he went to Washington to argue them with President Wilson. Later the party's peace plans, much garbled, re-appeared as President Wilson's Fourteen Points.

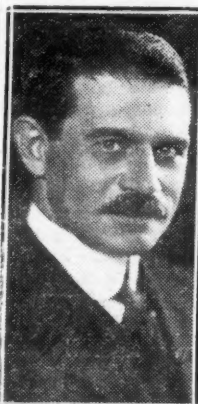
## For Congress

In the fall of 1916 he ran for Congress in Harlem, and again waged a fight that attracted the attention of the entire country. But this time it was Republican arithmetic that defeated him by a slender margin.

Two years later a city-wide Tammany-Republican fusion defeated him in Harlem as well as Meyer London on the East Side. A beneficiary of that fusion was a young Republican Congressman named LaGuardia, who accepted Tammany support in the bi-partisan deal to "save" the city from Socialism and for Tammany and the Republican reactionaries.

Then came 1917; America was

## For Mayor



In 1917

dragged into the war and Russia drove out the Czar. Hillquit was again in the front rank of those who fought for peace, and of those who rejoiced at the Russian revolution. His great speech at Madison Square Garden in March,

with the refrain, "RUSSIA IS FREE!" will never be forgotten by those who heard it. In the fall he was named for Mayor. In that year Hillquit outdid himself. His lungs were troubling him again, but he kept the information to himself. He was in danger of indictment or of lynching; but that did not matter. His comrades counted upon him, and he did not fail them. He never did!

Morris Hillquit led us in that campaign, and we who fought under his leadership will ever cherish the memory of the battle, and of his inspired leadership. Night after night he went from place to place, speaking like the man he was, saying what was in our hearts to say, and we were proud to be his comrades.

Hillquit faced opposition that year that no one who was not in the struggle can ever imagine. Hatred, prejudice, threats of mob violence, concealed and open anti-Semitism; but he never gave one inch.

He found time for brilliant legal defense of victims of war-time fury and hysteria; he found time, as always, for debates with opponents of Socialism.

Then came another breakdown, this time more serious than the previous one. Again he went away in quest of health; again he fol-

lowed with keen interest the affairs of the party and of the unions. In 1918 he again ran for Congress, but in absentia; and he did not return to New York until the fall of 1919, and then for only a short time.

It was in the winter of 1920 that he again threw himself into the struggle. In that year came the notorious Sweet ouster of the regularly elected Socialist Assemblymen of New York. And Hillquit left a sickbed at the risk of his health and his life to defend the five Socialists. His defense was masterly, it was courageous, it was brilliant. It will forever stand as a monument in the battle for free institutions.

And then again party work; the 1920 convention, and the struggle against the neo-Communism that sought to split and destroy the Socialist movement, and again Hillquit risked unpopularity to defend the position of Social Democracy. But the welcome he received upon his return showed that despite differences of opinion his comrades loved him... as he deserved to be loved.

## The Last Years

And so the last few years hurried by. In 1924 he led the party in the LaFollette adventure; it is possible that he never had shown more brilliance, more persistence, more courage than then. His battle was in the LaFollette movement to accept the Socialist Party, and in the Socialist Party to accept the LaFollette movement.

Then more years passed. The party, the whole country and the world began to realize his greatness in its true perspective. His writings were read with eagerness, his lectures, debates and speeches listened to with joy. He basked in the love of comrades, a love that came to a climax in 1929, when the whole world celebrated his 60th birthday, and he gaily promised us "at least twenty or twenty-five years more." In that year he was elected National Chairman of the party.

But, alas! he was wrong. Illness struck him again. After the magnificent mayoralty battle of 1932 he began to fail rapidly, and so came the end, October 7th, 1933.

Life for many of us has been emptier since that day a year ago. Tears fall from our eyes as we write this. But we carry on... as Morris would have wished us to.

## A Cruel Loss

By Camille Huysmans

Mayor of Antwerp, and former Secretary of the Socialist International

I KNEW Morris Hillquit, in connection with my duties as Secretary of the International over a period of more than twenty years. He was, at the sessions of the International Socialist Bureau, the most remarkable representative of Socialism of the United States, and he belonged to that generation of brilliant internationalists whose authority surpassed the limits of their own countries, in which they organized their propaganda.

Hillquit had more than a gift of oratory; he had the clear word of the informed advocate, while the science of the law never diminished his poetic vision. He possessed to the highest degree the art of clarifying complicated problems because his political reasoning was based upon a profound knowledge of economic problems.

His disappearance from the scene was for us in Europe a cruel loss. He was snatched from us at a relatively early age, and we will cherish his memory as a man of character, and of a soldier devoted to the eternal cause of liberty.

# Fifty Years of Socialist Devotion

(Continued from Page Thirteen)

Labor and Socialist International in Hamburg in 1923; he was a delegate to Marseilles in 1925, to Brussels in 1928 and to Vienna in 1931.

Year after year Hillquit visited Europe and became intimately acquainted with virtually all the great leaders of world Socialism. He was in their confidence, and in many world conferences his wise counsel was welcomed.

In all the International Congresses Hillquit was known for his matchless oratory as well as his good humor, his good sense and his warm heart. The great of the world—those in high places and those honored by persecution—held him in the highest esteem.

But Hillquit's interest in world affairs did not blind him to the important work at home. Increasingly as the years passed his influence grew in the Socialist Party, in the unions, and in the country at large.

There is room here only to mention the splendid literary work of Morris Hillquit. He had a clear, sparkling style and his books and articles ranked high for literary value as well as content.

His work in the labor movement, especially in the needle trades, is a shining chapter in American labor history; some day it will be written and the world will know the matchless services of this great man. In strike after strike he counseled with the workers; and his settlements were of incalculable value to them.

His services to the needle unions continued to the very end; his very last work was to fly to Washington by plane to argue a code for the Cloakmakers. At the funeral ceremonies at Cooper Union it was related by David Dubinsky, president

of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, that Hillquit was the first to propose that

a union draft its own code, and fight for it, rather than to fight against unfavorable provisions in codes offered them. He left what was virtually his deathbed to argue the Cloakmakers' Code that he drew up, and he won; many other unions took the hint and did accordingly.

In 1906 Hillquit waged the first of the campaigns for which he became famous, the first battle to redeem the East Side from Tammany Hall and to win it for the workers.

What a battle that was! Hillquit revealed unexpected qualities as a popular campaigner. Flanked by such men as William Mailly, Robert Hunter, James Oneal, who came in from the West about that time, and others, besides the men of his own generation in the New York movement, Hillquit waged a fight that stirred the city. In that year Professor Franklin H. Giddings, head of the department of Sociology at Columbia, advised members of his graduate classes to go downtown and work for the election of Hillquit if they wanted to do something for American democracy.

The election returns showed that the Tammany man had won, and he took his seat, but no one believed that the figures came within five thousand votes of the actual results.

In 1908 Hillquit ran again, and again he beat the Republican by thousands, and was defeated only by Tammany arithmetic.

For nine years thereafter Hillquit served the party as counselor and friend, as committeeman and guide. In 1912, for example, he felt that a certain tendency represented by the syndicalism of the

I.W.W. was dangerous to the Socialist movement. Although it was supported by the then popular William D. Haywood, Hillquit did not hesitate to wage war upon it, and he led the fight in the 1912 convention at Indianapolis that led to a clarification of the party's position. His courage in facing unpopularity with his own comrades for what he believed right was as great as his courage in fighting the foes of his cause.

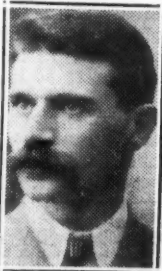
In that year he suffered his first breakdown from tuberculosis. He spent the fall and winter in Bermuda, returning to attend committee meetings, and the winter and spring in Switzerland. There, in August, 1913, he spoke at the funeral of August Bebel, and his address was considered the greatest among those delivered by the greatest men and women of world Socialism.

Returning in the fall, he was greeted with wild enthusiasm by his comrades, and he plunged into party work again, and into the struggles of the unions. In 1914 he was on his way to Europe to attend the International Congress in Paris

at the turn of the century, aged 30 when war broke



Morris Hillquit about 1913



Morris Hillquit about 1895



Hillquit, accompanied by James H. Maurer (left) and Congressman Meyer London at the White House in 1916, when they urged President Wilson to take steps to end the World War

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