

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

Vol. XVII—No. 47

N. Y. C. Edition

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24th, 1934

In Three Sections—Sec. 1

PRICE FIVE CENTS

Wall Street Plots Fascist Coup

A FASCIST march on Washington in imitation of the fascist march on Rome by Mussolini! A multi-millionaire group ready to finance this raid to establish a fascist dictatorship! The dictatorship to establish a faithful agent of Wall Street in power at Washington and thus save the capitalist system!

These are charges made by General Smedley D. Butler on Tuesday before a committee of the House of Representatives. His statements are supported by a reporter for the New York Post and the Philadelphia Record who met one of the alleged conspirators. The latter talked freely to the reporter regarding the plan to recruit 500,000 men for the march, the army to obtain arms from the Remington Arms Company on credit through the Du Pont family, an arms dynasty that rules the state of Delaware.

Gerald P. MacGuire, connected with a Wall Street firm, is named as the person who urged General Butler to play the role of Mussolini. The proposal was made on August 22 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia, and Butler presents this version of the interview:

"The upshot of his proposition was that I was to head a soldier organization of half a million men, that this group would assemble—probably a year from now—in Washington, and that within a few days it could take over the functions of government. To be perfectly fair to Mr. MacGuire, he didn't seem bloodthirsty. He felt that such a show of force in Washington would probably result in a peaceful overturn of the Government. He suggested that 'we might even go along with Roosevelt and do with him what Mussolini did with the King of Italy.'"

MacGuire told of a trip to Europe to study fascist organizations in Germany and Italy. A fly in the ointment was whether President Roosevelt would go along with the program. If not, the Vice-President and Secretary of State should be forced to resign. The Wall Street group would then bring pressure upon President Roosevelt to appoint a Secretary of State satisfactory to the group. Butler continues:

"Then, if President Roosevelt was willing 'to go along,' he could remain as President. But if he were not in sympathy with the fascist movement, he would be forced to resign, whereupon, under the Constitution, the Presidential succession would place the Secretary of State in the White House."

All the accused parties make angry denials. This was to be expected. If Butler tells the truth, every person connected with

Thanksgiving Day

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, by proclamation, has designated Thursday, Nov. 29, as Thanksgiving Day. We miss the customary "thanks for the blessings bestowed upon us." The blessings are not even around the corner. As a substitute the President believes that we "have been given courage and fortitude to meet the problems which have confronted us in our national life."

The eleven millions who do not have a job and are not certain of the next meal can at least enjoy a little "fortitude."

We have a substitute for the substitute which was written many years ago and which is especially apt in these days of big capitalism. Try this on your piano:

*I'm thankful that the sun and moon
Are both hung up so high
That no rich robber's hand can stretch
And pull them from the sky.
If they hung low, I have no doubt,
Some corporation ass
Would legislate to take them down
And light the world with gas.*

*I'm thankful that the God of all,
Whose laws we must obey,
Has changed his plan for making
Man by making him from clay.
If he had not, it's very clear,
'Twould be a doleful case:
Some man would form a big clay
trust
And stop the human race!*

Bedtime Story of Nice Young Man Who Grew Old and Was Not Appreciated

A BEAUTIFUL bedtime story is told by the Niagara Falls Gazette in a double-column editorial. Once upon a time a young man started manufacturing an article that was much needed. HE built a factory. HE enlarged it. A town eventually grew up around HIS enterprise. Then HE employed thousands of workers and HIS industry became the "lifeblood" of a city of 250,000 people.

After HE accomplished all these things, some bad people began to talk about the capitalist system. Confidence was undermined in HIS enterprise. Political parties attacked capitalism, and this continued to the year 1940.

The nice young man became old and discouraged. One year later HE decided that "the last service HE could do for HIS country was to give it an object lesson." So what did this old man do? Something wonderful for a man of HIS age.

HE "tore down his factory buildings, razed his warehouses, removed railroad switches, emptied coal yards, scrapped automotive equipment." It was a marvelous performance to see the old guy doing all these things!

And what happened afterward? The people were taught a lesson, believe us! "Houses were vacated, street cars were empty and power

plants were idle. Every man now had a chance to start over and do what the old manufacturer had done 35 years before."

Doesn't it make you shiver? The only thing missing about this story is how this young man built the factory, enlarged it, installed machines, and so on, all by himself;

Welcome, Modigliani!

THE Socialist Party and all workers who love liberty will enthusiastically welcome to the United States Comrade G. E. Modigliani, heroic Italian Socialist, who arrives here Tuesday.

Comrade Modigliani has been invited for an anti-fascist lecture tour by Local 89 of the I.L.G.W.U., the powerful Italian Dressmakers' Local, and he will be given a great welcome at a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden, on Wednesday night, November 28th.

Socialists and trade unionists from New York and nearby cities will be at the White Star pier to give Comrade Modigliani the welcome he deserves. Watch daily papers for exact hour of arrival.

Details on the next page.

Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

ARE we really on our way to prosperity?

"All is well with our country and we are coming back," said President Roosevelt last Sunday.

The United States Chamber of Commerce assured the President and the country that everything is "reassuring" and, therefore, promised "to cooperate in every possible manner to promote an improvement in recovery from our existing economic condition."

all involved in this amazing intrigue. The working masses must be alert and active. The fight for democracy must be waged without reservation against the financial oligarchy, the political, social, intellectual and industrial democracy of the working masses as against the fascist reaction that would make us conscripts in a chain gang of serfs and slaves.

The American Federation of Labor reports definite signs of revived industries and improved commerce. All sides seem to agree that at last we have reached the end of the long drawn-out depression, have turned the allegorical corner, and are on our way somewhere.

President Roosevelt made his speech last Sunday after he had inspected and approved the Tennessee Valley development, which is often called by its opponents "a Socialist experiment" on account of the government ownership and government management features in it. The President urged that the power and land utilization program of the TVA be made the pattern for the nation.

Business Making Peace with President

BUSINESS follows banking in making peace with the New Deal. That is the true inwardness of the pledge of co-operation which has just been taken by the Chamber of Commerce of the United

States. Its action formally ends what threatened recently to become a bitter feud between the White House and the big citadel of trade across the square. The chamber's questionnaire, virtually seeking to extort from President Roosevelt a promise to be good, and his refusal to be put on the spot denoted a distinct breach. Thenceforward ensued the gumshoe operations of F. D. R.'s Col. House, Prof. Moley, and the cooperation agreement now announced is the egg that was finally hatched. Industry and finance convinced the President of their righteous intentions, and Mr. Roosevelt, on his part, is open to suggestions from them for speeding up recovery. The lion and the lamb lie down together.

It probably is a pretty bitter pill for Silas H. Strawn, chief author of the Chamber of Commerce co-operation resolution, to have to admit that the election results leave business no alternative but to climb

(Continued on Page Eight)

how he 35 years later tore everything down. All by his lonesome!

Then, where did the capital which he accumulated over the years come from? Out of a vacuum or out of the labor power which he bought and exploited?

Then, what about the industrial depression? Did he keep his great plant going or did he lock out the workers and thus give rise to the attacks on capitalism? Was he a merciless exploiter of labor even when the plants run? Did he outlaw trade unions?

The bedtime story concludes with the statement that "You can't destroy capital by inflammatory and radical policies." But can you create capital out of nothing and make a physical giant of a capitalist and assume that he does all the work?

You can, if you are an editor telling bedtime stories for grown-up children who find it difficult to think for themselves.

We award one large pretzel to the Niagara editor with the hope that he will wear it in an attempt to go over the historic falls near where he wrote this charming story.

Socialist Democracy of Educated Workers Only Hope of Emancipation

AFTER decades of education by Socialists, one principle we have stressed is now supported by a mountain of facts. Industrial changes have a profound effect in changing ideas, government programs, thinking in general and transforming society itself.

If the reader will recall the "prosperous years" of 1922-1929 and contrast the ideas and programs of that period with those of the present, he will understand how true this Socialist view is. Did thought precede change or did changed industrial life precede thought? The answer is evident to all.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24th, 1934

Vol. XVII No. 47

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.



Published Every Saturday by The
New Leader Publishing Association,
7 E. 18th St., New York City
Telephone No. ALgonquin 4-4832

The intervention of government into all phases of economic life was unthinkable in the former period. It was regarded as "foreign to American institutions." It stifled initiative, individualism and freedom, said its opponents. Today, the government is interested in so many enterprises, either through direct control, through loans or through regulation, that the old order of Coolidge and Hoover cannot be recognized.

The old views were not deliberately abandoned as a matter of choice; they were given up because of economic necessity. Industrial prostration dictated new attitudes. The politicians were compelled to swallow the political hooey which they had marketed for decades. They surrendered to a Socialist interpretation which they had long denied. They could not do otherwise.

The material basis of society had crumbled and with it crumbled the old views based upon the old order. New policies had to be adopted to meet the new situation. That the new policies have not restored capitalism to health and are not likely to does not alter our contention. The agents of capitalism will not abolish capitalism. They will try to save it. They are trying to save it and because they try they have ventured upon policies that have been in violation of the holiest principles of American capitalism.

It is also because the new policies implied in the NRA have not brought the results ruling groups had hoped for that some plug hats have turned to "foreign ideas." They do not think that fascism is "foreign to American institutions." On the contrary, they think that it would be a good thing for their class. That is why they approached General Butler with the proposal to lead a fascist movement. They care little whether a Hitler, a Mussolini or some lesser crackpot is associated with the idea of overthrowing the republic. If their interests might be served by this course they will be attracted to it.

So economic change brings a revolution in ideas. The working masses should be as quick to think in behalf of their own interests, adapt their ideas to industrial change and use the democracy which ruling cliques would destroy if they can. We are living in times of peril. The Socialist democracy of enlightened workers is the only hope of averting a conspiracy of reaction.

Modigliani, Italian Socialist Hero, Arrives Tuesday

FOLLOWING the arrival and triumphal welcome to the United States of Gerhart Seger and Julius Deutsch, the American Socialists will have an opportunity of greeting G. E. Modigliani, Italian Socialist hero and one of the great leaders of world Socialism.

Comrade Modigliani, one of the best loved of all Italian Socialists, arrives in the United States on the Olympic next Tuesday, and will tour the country under the auspices of the Italian unions. He is brought to the United States by Local 89 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Italian dressmakers, who constitute the largest single local union in the United States.

Modigliani will immediately start a tour of the cities in which there are important Italian colonies, and in every case his meetings will have the cooperation of the local Socialists.

Wednesday night, November 28th, Modigliani will be the guest of honor at the 15th anniversary celebration of the Italian dressmakers at Madison Square Garden, New York City, and there he will deliver his first address in this country.

Giuseppe Emmanuel Modigliani is the last survivor of the well-known and loved "holy trinity" of Italian Socialism, Arturo Turati and Claudio Treves having died in exile in recent years. He was the great party organizer and parliamentarian of the Italian movement, and is held in almost unbelievable reverence by the Italian workers. A foe of war, he was one of the organizers of the Zimmerwald conference in 1915 at which the foundations were laid for what later became the Vienna Working Union of Socialist parties, and he has been a member of the Executive of the Lab' and Socialist International since its founding. Since 1925, he has lived in exile in Paris, active head of the Socialist anti-fascist movement.

A man of lion-like courage, he dared fight Mussolini to the very last, and he is the anti-fascist deputy who suffered the most brutal beatings of all the foes of fascism. In the first Chamber of Deputies completely dominated by Mussolini, with a gallery filled with black-shirts armed with loaded guns, in the very face of Mussolini's arrogant sneer that he would treat "his" deputies like so many cattle, Modigliani shouted "Evvivo Socialismo! Evvivo Libertà!"

Comrade Modigliani was one of the closest friends of the late Morris Hillquit, and the affection between the two was one of the noblest friendships in the international Socialist movement. Hillquit always spoke of Modigliani with tenderness and love, and the Italian reciprocated the deep affection of his American comrade.

Thousands of Socialists and trade unionists will be at the pier to greet Modigliani with cheers, with red flags and with music when he arrives (watch daily papers for exact hour of docking), and at the great celebration at the Garden the full chorus of the Metropolitan Opera House, 110 strong, will sing the stirring Italian Socialist anthem.

Give this great hero of Socialism the welcome he so richly deserves!

are in almost direct opposition." This sensational discovery didn't make the headlines! . . . Hitler promises to accept result of Saar plebiscite. (Providing, of course, the 10,000 strong-arm men he has there do their stuff before the election.) . . . Adolf promised this to a French deputy named Jean Goy. The name must have made him feel generous. . . . Two arms plans studied in Europe. Two less disarmament plans are being studied. . . . Abyssinians riot at Italian consulate as Mussolini plans conquest of their country and Italian mission of "trade and friendship" starts into it as preliminary scouting party. How rude of them!

MONDAY. — Father Coughlin (I've run out of adjectives for the blatherskite) says Socialism would bring poverty while advocating as steps toward prosperity all the social legislation we have backed for decades. To steal a man's money after telling him it's phony is about as far as you can go—downwards. . . . Japanese official tries suicide and cabinet minister will resign because the Mikado, on inspection trip, was sent on wrong road where spectators were "not fittingly garbed for a royal visit." There's a ruler who likes to know what conditions are really like in his country! . . . President of du Pont armament interests calls for government control of war profits and arms exports. He knows that so long as capitalism controls the government, the government won't really control capitalism. . . . Farley promises Roosevelt administration won't swing to the left. It's all right, Jim, we've told the people already. . . . National Association of Manufacturers to draft recovery program to "help" Congress. Our secret spies tell us they are absolutely going to insist on strict enforcement of Ta. . . . The National Economy League already has such a program—it demands a 20% slash in relief appropriations to (Continued on Page Six)

IN THIS ISSUE

Khinoy on Russia

MARK KHINOY begins in this issue his highly important articles on Soviet Russia as he saw it in his recent return to his native land. Because of Khinoy's intimate knowledge of Russia, and of every phase of the revolutionary movement, his articles assume an importance that cannot be overestimated.

In Future Issues

Mussolini Reaches Out Into America!

DO you know that the Italian fascist dictatorship is reaching out into the United States and attempts to dictate the lives of every Italian workingman in this country? Startling facts about the Mussolini interference in American affairs will be given in articles by A. N. Kruger.

America Reaches for Utopia

DO you know that there are millions of Americans who belong to various Utopian societies? What do you know about the Townsend Plan, Utopia, Inc., the many large and growing Technocratic organizations? All these millions are looking for some way out of the capitalist morass.

Read about hopes and aspirations of these millions in a remarkable series of articles that will shortly appear in these columns.

In future issues there will also be important articles by Professor Vida D. Scudder of Wellesley College, Louis P. Goldberg, Dr. William E. Bohn, Sidney Yellin, Herbert M. Merrill, poems by Eliot White, drawings by Arthur Fassberg, John Rogers, and other highly important features.

THE COCK-EYED WEEK

By Adrien Gambet

THURSDAY, November 15. — Hitler official calls down Nazi "peroxide blondes." To be a good Nazi you must be genuinely yellow from head to soul. . . . Roosevelt, junking all the rest of his social welfare program, advocates unemployment insurance (for those who still have jobs), saying, "it must be set up with the purpose of decreasing rather than increasing unemployment." That is, no matter how little the boss pays, it must seem big beside the insurance. . . . The plan calls for State, not Federal, contributions. Having discarded pensions, sickness insurance, maternity help and infant welfare, in favor of unemployment insurance, Fearless Frank now passes the buck on that to the States. What's left of the Roosevelt social welfare plans? . . . Hitler's deputy, Hess, says Nazis must not flatter leaders too ex-

travagantly, calling it "Byzantinism." There are worse Byzantine and Greek habits among the Nazis, as Göring could testify. . . . Spain expels British Labor Party observers at request of fascist leader, Robles. No one wants strangers snooping round private massacres.

FRIDAY. — National Committee on Economic Security denounces Roosevelt unemployment insurance plan as "inadequate." It isn't even a plan. . . . Tugwell says rebuilding foreign markets is not matter of crop reduction. It never would have been if all in this country were properly fed. . . . New York Nazi paper to stop attacks on Jews; retracts and apologizes, whereupon Friends of New Germany start own yellow sheet, announcing that "the fight goes on." If they can't publish lies in one paper, these honest heroes will in another. . . . General MacArthur, who routed Bonus Army from Washington with bayonet charge at dead of night, is continued as chief of staff by Roosevelt. The heroic conqueror of women and children is rewarded. . . . Soviet government discovers dead men listed as voters while some eligible to vote are denied ballot. No wonder Tammany lost last mayoralty election—it loaned too many American experts to Russia! . . . Sir Oswald Mosley, British fascist leader, held as rioter. That's deflating him to his proper stature as street-brawler. . . . New York subway guards nearly beat to death man accused of using slug in turnstile. A nickel for a life.

SATURDAY. — Labor and Socialist International will accept United Front offer of Comintern (excuse it—Comintern) if they will begin with Russia, where Socialists have been in prison fifteen years. The "Daily Shirkers," official organ of American Coms, raises awful howl because L.S.I. thought proposal was on the level and couldn't understand asking co-operation with Socialists in one country while throwing them in prison in another. . . . King George of England says assassination of Dollfuss aroused his "profound sympathy." His emotions over murder by Dollfuss of hundreds of Socialists are under complete control. . . . Roosevelt calls for new era of pioneering and "means everything the word implies." Except, of course, returning capitalists to primitive conditions along with the rest of us. . . . Biddle, former attorney for A. & P. Stores, Pennsylvania Railroad and other giant corporations, named head of National Labor Relations Board over protest of President Green and A. F. of L. Of course, he's a "liberal," but you guess to whom he'll be liberal.

SUNDAY. — President Harrison of National Chamber of Commerce has mutual admiration session with Richberg and starts South on pollyanna tour to secure "cooperation" of business in recovery while William Green is just a little skeptical. . . . The Chamber doesn't want to exclude labor from "partnership" with business, but finds "objectives of the two groups

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.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
1 Year, New York City Edition, \$2.00
1 Year, National Edition, \$1.00
1 Year to Foreign Countries, \$2.00
1 Year to Canada, \$2.00
Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

SOLOMON VOTE MAY REACH 125,000 THOMAS 200,000

With only ten of the fifty-seven counties outside New York City making complete reports of the Socialist vote for Governor and U. S. Senators it appears that the 1934 vote will be a record. The vote of these counties for Charles Solomon, compared with the 1932 vote, and the vote for Norman Thomas, as candidate for President in 1932 and candidate for United States Senator this year, are indicated below:

	For Governor 1932	For Thomas 1934	For Governor 1932	For Thomas 1934
Cayuga	381	747	713	1066
Schoharie	5938	8115	9485	9075
Monroe	4083	4196	5950	5913
Rockland	346	612	493	932
Schenectady	1810	1601	2630	1938
Steuben	414	826	681	907
Schuyler	58	84	81	113
Tioga	107	183	181	230
Warren	72	241	133	312
Westchester	2539	4260	6023	7219
Total	15,748	20,865	26,370	27,765

To these figures should be added the 79,522 votes for Governor in New York City in 1934, compared with 71,528 in 1932; and the 130,418 for Thomas in the city compared with his vote of 122,565 in 1932. The total thus far tabulated, with 47 counties still missing, shows the following:

	1932	1934
Governor	87,276	100,387
Thomas	148,935	158,123

These substantial increases were made in the face of a total vote well over a million smaller than the vote of 1932.

The maintenance of this increase outside New York City should give Solomon about 121,000 votes compared with the 102,959 which Waldman received in 1932 in a vastly larger total registration of voters, while Thomas, running for United States Senator, should receive approximately 186,000 compared with his presidential vote of 177,397 in 1932; it may even reach 200,000 when all returns are in.

Saranac Lake. In the small township of Harrietstown, Franklin County, where Waldman polled 20 votes in 1932 there were 52 votes for Solomon.

Olean. Solomon received 552 votes in Olean compared with 336 given Waldman in 1932. Thomas received 651 votes for United States Senator, and Hugh Dillard, as candidate for State Senator, polled the top vote of 704, closely followed by William P. White, for Assembly, with 703.

Geneva. According to unofficial figures the Socialist vote of Ontario County appears to have about doubled. Thomas got 124 in Geneva, and Alexander Benedict, running for Assemblyman, 75. The Solomon vote has been estimated on the basis of incomplete returns as around 400 for the county compared with 217 received for Waldman in 1932.

Dunkirk. Dunkirk showed up better than the average for Chautauque County. Solomon receiving 113 compared with 87 given Waldman in 1932. Thomas polled 272 votes, Hillquit 266.

Gowanda. This village gave Solomon 137 votes. Thomas got 78 for President in 1932.

Rockland County. The Socialist vote of this small county went up from 346 given Waldman in 1932 to 612 polled by Solomon. Thomas got 932 votes for United States Senator compared with 599 given him in 1932 for President, while Augustus Batten, running for Assemblyman, got 687 compared with 493 a year ago. The campaign waged in Rockland County has resulted in the formation of a Consumers' League to fight excessive light and power rates.

SPUDS AT 18 CENTS A BUSHEL FOR FARMERS

From a farmer's wife in up-state New York writing to a Washington paper:

"We sold 300 bushels of potatoes at 18 cents a bushel. The land was farmed on shares. The potatoes brought \$54; one-half, \$27, went to owner of land; paid two men help, \$18.

"That left \$9 for me out of which I had to pay land tax, school tax and feed a family of six.

"The Government says it costs 60 to 65 cents to raise a bushel of potatoes. Buyers are paying 18 cents.

"This took place in Steuben County, considered one of the best potato counties in New York State.

"Is it any wonder farmers are discouraged?"

The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By August Tyler

Oneal's Series Starts Next Week

With this installment the articles on the Principles of Marxian Socialism by August Tyler comes to an end, and next week the final series under the general head of The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement will begin. James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, begins his articles on American Economic History, concluding a series that included articles by David P. Berenberg, Haim Kantorovitch, August Tyler and James Oneal. The articles were written in cooperation with the Education Committee of the Socialist Party, and were designed to give a comprehensive introduction to a serious study of Socialism.

Even if the capitalist should take this extra money to buy luxuries he could not buy enough to counterbalance the decreased demand for necessities.

Thus if we consider both these fields together we find that production exceeds consumption. If this were to continue the supply would grow so large, and the price would fall so low, that industry would run at a loss. The capitalist, therefore, tries to keep up the price by restricting supply. To do this he curtails production by throwing men out of work.

But this further decreases the buying capacity of the worker. More men have to be forced out of work. The vicious circle continues.

Some argue that the men displaced in the manufacture of necessities and luxuries turn to the production of machines. At certain periods of exceptional national growth this is partially true. But it can not hold over a long period.

The capitalist gets no return from possessing the

machine. Possession yields nothing immediately. The capitalist has the machine made to increase his share of some future product. To benefit by the use of the machine he must put it to work producing hats, coats, or some consumption goods which he will sell. But as fast as the machine is introduced, just so fast does it displace labor.

Taken as a whole then, total production tends more and more to exceed total consumption. This leads to the growth of unemployment.

The Decay of Capitalism

CAPITALISM must expand. It must increase capital; it must invest an ever mounting surplus. Capitalism has jumped national boundaries and oceans. It seeks in foreign lands, sources of raw material, cheap labor, and markets.

The full consequence of a mounting glut on the labor market has been postponed by the investment of surplus value abroad.

But when capitalism invades a foreign land it creates a Frankenstein monster. The backward countries imitate their masters, they are infected with the capitalist mode of production. They, too, begin to create a surplus.

They enter into competition with the home country. The International surplus increases. National crises make way for international crises.

A permanent surplus appears that can only be destroyed by some great catastrophe. Periods of prosperity grow shorter; periods of depression longer.

When capitalism was young, every new invention was a step forward. To provide civilization with the modern means of production was its mission. Today, every new invention, every new step in the development of capitalist production, is a step toward its death. Capitalism is choking in its own fat.

(THE END)

BUSINESS IS PICKING UP IN MERCHANDISE OF DEATH

BUSINESS is picking up. No thanks to the NRA and recovery plans in other countries. It isn't all business, however. It isn't business in food and clothing and housing and transportation. It is business in the machinery of death.

Pictures were shown in a New York paper last week that indicate a colossal increase in the scrap iron business; all sorts of scrap iron is being loaded into barges and shipped abroad for munitions in Japan and South America, in Central Europe and in other parts of the world. The traffic in death is growing!

World trade in weapons and munitions, which reached its lowest point in 1931, had risen by 27% by 1933, which covered a rise of 8% from 1931 to 1932 and a further rise of 18% from 1932 to 1933. The figures so far available show that for 1934 the rate of increase has been further accelerated.

France exported 6% more weapons and munitions and 29% more aeroplanes in the first quarter of 1934; Great Britain in the same period exported 43% more war material, mainly weapons, aeroplanes and torpedoes.

Czechoslovakia at present holds the record with an increase in exports of war material from 30.2 to 136.8 million kronen. Estimates which it is possible to make now show that the world trade in war material will probably soon overtop the figure for 1913.

NELSON'S VOTE TO REACH 45,000

MILWAUKEE.—While complete returns from all parts of Wisconsin are not yet available and may not be for some time, it appears that the Socialist gubernatorial vote will reach 45,000 when the complete vote is tabulated. George A. Nelson, candidate for Governor, ran well in all parts of the state, but his vote suffered in the prevailing interest in Phil LaFollette's campaign to win the governorship on the ticket of his new Progressive Party.

The vote for the remainder of the ticket will probably exceed 50,000.

Demand New Election in District

On the fact of the returns election night, Ben Rubin, former Milwaukee Socialist Assemblyman, was defeated in the 6th District by John N. Kaiser by 27 votes. A recount reduced the adverse plurality to five, but the Socialist Party is not satisfied that Rubin was actually defeated.

On election night, it is admitted by election officials, about 100 ballots were mislaid and lost. The election inspectors believe they were left in a cellar, where a janitor is believed to have swept them up and burned them. The Socialist Party, therefore, is demanding a new election because of the missing ballots.

Comrade Rubin was in the Assembly four years, where he made an excellent record. He is active in the party and in the labor movement.

1,972 VOTES IN QUINCY

QUINCY, Mass.—Running as a Socialist in the city-wide election, Gunnar Edmond Olson polled 1,972 votes for Councilman-at-Large and finished eighth in a field of 22. The election was on a non-partisan basis, but throughout the campaign Olson emphasized his Socialist affiliations and program.

This is the largest Socialist vote ever cast in Quincy.

Thank you, Friends and Comrades!

WE are grateful for your support and cooperation and proud of your loyalty. Continue your drive for new subscribers—and our goal will be reached. From City, Town and Farm enthusiastic letters are pouring in... accompanied by subscriptions. Organize an active committee in your branch! Canvass your neighbors, friends and shop-mates!

OUR HONOR ROLL FOR LAST WEEK:

CALIFORNIA: P. Stein, J. Karatchis, H. L. Burnham, C. J. Snyder, F. Whitecomb, W. J. Martin.

ILLINOIS: J. B. Geller, A. Van Alstyne, J. Schefaut, M. Chavich, S. Bojanovitch, D. Simon, N. Fagan, A. Janson, G. Pasencci, H. Harmon.

MICHIGAN: S. Mark, D. Brklacich, Mrs. M. Rifenberg, F. Vandenberg, L. S. Davidow, F. Moeller, L. B. Sigler, M. Hokanovich.

OHIO: C. C. Sprague, C. J. Browne, J. Kelly, J. Lukasevitch, E. Peroon, Ch. Grummert, H. Hylton, R. Edwards, J. Kesin, L. Zerlin, J. Snoy, B. H. Minday.

INDIANA: H. M. Wooten, C. E. Clapper, C. L. Rawlings.

SOUTH DAKOTA: J. Metzker.

PENNSYLVANIA: F. Samsa, H. Griffiths, A. Braicin, G. Griffiths, A. Rudge, Mrs. A. McMillen, W. Kowalski, J. M. Rathman, G. H. Stegmeier, A. J. Brown, E. Carey, E. M. Swanson, J. Hoban, Wm. R. Gosser, R. V. Johns.

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The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum

A Condition of Unity

THE Executive of the Socialist and Labor International has made its reply to the Communist (very belated) plea for unity of action between the two Internationals.

The plea for unity of action between Socialists and Communists in Germany at the very moment Hitler was about to seize power was met with the arrogant statement by one of the authoritative Communist leaders that "After Hitler we will come"; and later appeals for unity between the two Internationals were cavalierly ignored by the Moscow presidium. Finally, at long last, the Communist International sent two delegates to meet the president and the secretary of the L.S.I.

After considering the Communist proposals for unity of action for several weeks, the Socialist International replied accepting the Communist proposal, but attaching a condition, that as a proof of good faith "the Soviet government accord full civil liberty to Russian Socialists."

To this request the Communist daily in New York makes the following amazing comment: "This 'condition' is undoubtedly an attempt by the leaders of the Second International to block the active establishment of the united front demanded by masses of Socialists throughout the world. . . . The only persons in the Soviet Union who do not enjoy the fullest political liberty are the known class enemies of the proletarian dictatorship who have taken an active part in opposition to the building of Socialism."

Twelve years ago there was a meeting in Berlin of representatives of the two International and of the so-called Vienna Working Union looking toward working class unity. The two Socialist organizations made it a condition of cooperation in the negotiations that the Soviet government permit Socialist counsel to aid in the defense of the Social Revolutionaries in Moscow, and that an inquiry be undertaken into the Soviet conquest of the Socialist republic of Georgia (in the Caucasus).

The Communist delegates agreed, but within a few days the conference broke up when Socialist delegates produced documents indisputably proving that the Communists were prepared to enter into a united front merely as a "maneuver" to stab the Socialists in the back. Later, the Communist delegates who agreed to allow Emile Vandervelde and Theodor Liebknecht (brother of Karl Liebknecht) to proceed to Moscow were punished by their government for "yielding to bourgeois diplomats." And further, the treatment of Vandervelde and Liebknecht in Moscow, their virtual mobbing, threats against them and the virtual lynch-law in the trial of the Socialists added a final touch of tragi-comedy to the first serious attempt at unity.

Since then, whenever the Communists have talked united front, the Socialists remember the "maneuvers" of the past decade and a half. The one thought uppermost in the minds of Socialists has been that of good faith, and it is good faith that Vandervelde and Adler are seeking to establish.

A Note on Glasgow

IN Glasgow the parties of the working class have a heavy majority both in popular vote and in the Council. Last year the election gave the workers a majority of one, but the Labor Party had to depend upon four members of the I.L.P. to carry out its program. This year the Labor Party and the I.L.P. together won a majority of 15 over all. But in the election campaign a curious diversity of parties appeared.

First, there was the I.L.P., still holding the allegiance of many workers who remember the great Socialist pioneering work of that organization and are not particularly interested in the internal party struggles that led to the withdrawal of the I.L.P. from the Labor Party. In addition there were Communists and Independent Communists, a United Front candidate splitting the labor vote in one district, and a Soviet and an "Anti-Parliamentarian Communist" candidate in two other districts seeking seats in a municipal parliament. (No Communists were elected.)

The I.L.P. defended their own four seats, and divided the Labor vote in six other districts. The official Communist Party opposed six Socialists up for re-election. Not one Communist candidate opposed a capitalist or an I.L.P. candidate.

The Labor Party, together with the I.L.P., won a great victory, no thanks to the Communist-Independent Communist-United Front-Soviet-Anti-Parliamentarian Communist "United Front"; but this situation is significant of the lunacy that exists in many sections where the siren call of "united fronting" is heard in the land.

Austrian Unions Still Live

AN extraordinary report at hand tells of the survival of the great Austrian railway union despite the bloody events of last February and the terror that has followed. The Austrian Railwaymen's Union was long one of the finest and best organized of all the unions in the world, devoted to Socialist ideals. It was that union that exposed the Hirtenberg arms scandal implicating

FOUR CLASSES AND F

Cooperation Are Not What They Seem in Soviet Russia

By Mark Khinoy

THE problem of labor, labor conditions, wages and hours were among the first on my list of questions to be studied during my visit to the Soviet Union.

I started on this work quite early, even before the Soviet boat "Siberia" brought me to Leningrad, the first Russian port.

For on the boat I came in contact with an unusually large and extremely interesting collection of representative citizens from diverse provinces of the Union, each of the provinces embodying its own peculiar ethnographic, economic, cultural and material conditions.

I interviewed them all. The interviews were facilitated by the fact that prior to my forced emigration from Czarist Russia I knew all these districts quite well, in fact, knew well almost every region of European and Asiatic Russia. I lived and worked there as an active Social Democrat, "rested"



Mark Khinoy

Mussolini, the exposure that so enraged Mussolini that he swore to exterminate Austrian Social Democracy; hence his orders to Dollfuss for the February massacres and the outlawing of all the free unions. But Mussolini, Dollfuss, Fey and Stahrhemberg reckoned without the glorious spirit of the Austrian workers.

In October a secret conference was held in a town in Styria at which 40 delegates, at the risk of their lives, re-established their union. Their manifesto says: "The railwaymen will endeavor, by increased loyalty to Socialism, increased spirit of sacrifice, redoubled organizing activity, to become what they used to be, the vanguard of the Austrian working class."

"The reconstruction of the Austrian Railwaymen's Union has begun. No decent railwayman may occupy a post in any of the organizations of the régime. Only by rebuilding a free trade union movement and overcoming the terrific difficulties of the present can we hope to secure recognition of the reborn free trade unions. To undermine and destroy the fascist organizations, to rebuild and strengthen the free unions is the immediate object which the railwaymen, as a part of the free trade union movement of Austria, have set themselves. This indispensable condition for the reconstruction of the entire Austrian labor movement will be fulfilled the more rapidly as more moral and material resources are placed at the disposal of the new organization."

"The railwaymen learn with satisfaction that the union funds which were saved from the fascist robbers are being used, under the control of the International Transport Workers' Federation, exclusively for the reconstruction of the union and for purposes of solidarity. The delegates know they express the feelings of the mass of the railway workers in appreciating the able manner in which the former leadership rescued a substantial part of the union's means."

in their prisons or was deported there as a political exile. Knowing the pre-war and pre-revolutionary Russia, I was in a position to compare notes and discern whatever progress or regress there appeared.

On reaching my former home towns, Leningrad and Moscow, I continued there my studies. And I followed it up in Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Minsk and their districts. Also in the various agricultural farm districts with their threefold living standards for the three separate "classes" of peasants inhabiting the present Soviet village:

1. The individual farmers conducting their holding on the basis of private, "capitalist," enterprise.
2. The farmers in the semi-cooperative agricultural enterprises, designated in the present Russian jargon as *Kolkhozi*.
3. The hired farm-hands on the *Sovkhozi*, the large state farms or grain factories owned and controlled by the federal government.

It would be superfluous to add that my investigation did not have the character of a book-study: this was done before I left New York.

Neither was this a "study" of the kind that considers its task accomplished when it transmits in its own words the canned material prepared for the purpose by the very efficient press and publicity agents of the corresponding Soviet institutions. For this I did not have to travel so far. It was usually mailed to my New York office.

A Columbia Professor Studies Russia

A few samples of such quasi-scientific studies were called to my attention in Moscow. One of them is conducted by a member of the Columbia faculty, Professor R. G. He is preparing a book on the present status of Jewry in the Soviet Union. We met in the Soviet capital. A few weeks later I had occasion to again check up on his work in the Jewish districts of White-Russia (Minsk). And in both places he gathered his material almost exclusively from the state officers in charge of Jewish life and Jewish problems. The language of the Russian Jews is foreign to him. Of the multitude of other Soviet tongues he knows only a few Russian words. This is a handicap, he admitted. But to mitigate this deficiency he armed himself with excellent credentials furnished by the Communist editor of the Communist Jewish daily in New York, *Freiheit*. And this, he assured me, is the best key to a comprehensive understanding of Jewish life in U.S.S.R. Incredible as it sounds, the poor professor was sincere; he seemed to believe that a good Communist recommendation is all a complete foreigner needs in order to be able to write about the Soviet Union with the authority of a Columbia professor.

Sidney Webb Looks at Moscow

Another illustration of such a "scientific" study was furnished to me in Moscow by a world-famous Socialist, a man on whose writings two generations of Socialists all over the globe learned to comprehend the trade union movement all these district quite well, in fact, and its history—Sidney Webb, now Lord Passfield.

The veteran Socialist, it appears, is now engaged in writing a new



book about the Soviet Union, and he lacks certain data. So he came for it to Moscow. He came there early in September, a few days after my arrival.

A royal reception greeted him. The Communist leaders of the Soviet State having seemingly forgotten that Lord Passfield—Sidney Webb—is a Socialist leader, also a member of two British Labor Governments so bitterly opposed by the Communists.

It was amusing to watch the official ballyhoo around Webb's visit, and more amusing—and painful—to observe the derision of

Communist and discussing in same visit. So not hide their to mock the "official" accepting in g

One Communist worker in the ment of the U.S. to-heart talk v after Sidney W operative head man," said this a number of ex books about t

Two Napole

By G. A. Hoehn

ADOLF HITLER, Germany's Reichsführer and dictator, prides himself of having his dictatorship sanctioned by a general vote of the German people, with 85 or more per cent of the votes casting the *Ja* ballot. Hitler should not deceive himself. He is playing a political comedy-farce. Others did the same thing before him. History repeats itself.

Let us take the dictatorships of the two Bonapartes—Napoleon I and Louis Napoleon, known as Napoleon III. After the French revolution the reaction got the upper hand and there was a demand for a strong dictatorial government. A consulate with a triumvirate of three consuls succeeded the Directory; Napoleon became the leading

spirit of the t position gave power of dict ceased in his to fortify him had the Na changed in or elected as sole August 2, 1802 vote on this meant a vote e Napoleon as co

The result 3,568,885; aga Thirteen year Napoleon Bons on the prison i Think of 1848, on the ber, he was the Second 5,434,226 vot against him, come dictator December 20 mitted to the

LABOR SECTION

Nation's Unemployed to March Saturday in Huge Demonstration

SPURRED by threat of discontinuance of relief payments, the unemployed of the city, under the leadership of the Workers' Unemployed Union, supported by a large number of A. F. of L. trade unions, will join Saturday morning in a demonstration of protest, and for a new tax program for the relief of unemployed.

The New York demonstration will be part of similar manifestations to be held at the same hour in hundreds of cities and towns of the nation, under the sponsorship of the National Action Committee, which composes the principal unemployed groups of the country. At all meetings a basic eight point program adopted by the unemployed nationally will be presented to relief authorities for adoption. The participating groups in New York will gather at Union Square at 10 a. m. Saturday. A parade will take place which will lead the marchers past the state Temporary Emergency Relief Administration and the New York City Department of Public Welfare. Neighborhood meetings in preparation for the demonstration have been held by the Workers' Unemployed Union throughout the week.

Bankers Win Out

"In New York the unemployed are threatened with the loss of their sole means of support, because of the inability of the city administration to tell the bankers where to get off," David Lasser, chairman of the W.U.U., said. "After months of futile haggling at City Hall, we are no nearer a solution of the problem of raising funds for unemployment relief. The administration has refused to consider the tax program adopted by the Citizens' Conference on Unemployment, which today is the most representative group of citizens in the city on this question. Instead plays around with the idea of sales taxes, and permits the bankers to get away with threats to shut off relief funds. The unemployed, backed by the labor unions and the general public, will insist that this shadow boxing at City Hall cease and the Mayor adopt a program based on taxes from those who can well afford to pay."

Comrade Lasser declared that his organization backed the proposals adopted by the Citizens' Conference on Unemployment, which called for taxes on public utilities, on corporation net profits on bank profits and on high individual incomes. The Socialist Party in the recent campaign also backed up these demands.

In addition to the Workers'

BOYS GIVEN \$1.50 FOR 70 HOURS' WORK

CHAIN stores employed homeless boys, obtained at the Montreal Boys' Home, for 70 hours a week at wages ranging from \$1.50 to \$4, it was revealed in Ottawa, Canada, this week. J. F. McAdam, an official of the home, cited 37 such cases before the Royal Commission on Mass Buying.

"The boys were slaves—simply underfed slaves," McAdam declared.

Weary Feet of the Jobless to Tramp America's Streets in Protest Against Degradation and in Stern Demand for Action

All Out to Union Square on Saturday Morning

Unemployed Union, which has nearly 10,000 members organized in 35 locals throughout the city, the following labor unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. will participate: four locals of the Joint Board Dressmakers, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Locals 24 and 42, Millinery Workers' Union; International Pocketbook Workers' Union, Suitcase and Bag-makers' Union, New York Locals

of the United Textile Workers, Capmakers' Union, Printing Pressmen's Union, Local 51; Joint Council of Furriers, Radio Factory Workers' Union, Local 261 of the Brotherhood of Painters.

Among the marchers will be Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein of the Free Synagogue and Dr. James of the Federal Council of Churches.

The line of march of the parade, which is expected to be under way

at 11 a. m., is as follows: from Union Square north on Fourth Avenue to 33rd Street, west of Madison Avenue, thence south past the offices of the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration at 79 Madison Avenue to 23rd St., west to Broadway and south to Union Square where a mass meeting will be held.

A committee will present at 11:30 the demands of the paraders to the State Relief Administration,

of which Alfred H. Schoellkopf is chairman and Frederick I. Daniels is executive director. The committee will include representatives of all of the organizations in the parade.

Edward Welsh, vice-chairman of the Workers' Unemployed Union, will be chairman of the mass meeting, and Saul Parker, organizer of the W.U.U., will be grand marshal of the parade.

The national demands that will be put to the relief authorities are: That Federal public works be immediately instituted to provide work at a 30-hour week for \$30 weekly to the unemployed; 2. Passage of the Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill by Congress; Pending these direct cash relief at the rate of \$10 weekly for a single person, \$15 weekly for two and \$4 weekly for each additional dependent; 4. Guarantee of the right of works on public works to organize for collective bargaining; 6. Federal adequate disability insurance on all public jobs; 7. Diversion of all war funds to unemployment relief. 8. Passage by Congress of a universal 30-hour work-week law with no reduction in pay.

In addition, an immediate appropriation for clothing for the unemployed will be demanded of the State Relief Administration.

To See Perkins, Hopkins

On Tuesday, Nov. 27th, fifteen representatives of the country's leading unemployed organizations will meet with Secretary of Labor Perkins and Federal Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins in Washington to present relief demands as culmination of the demonstrations. Comrade Lasser is also secretary of the National Action Committee for Nov. 24th, which has headquarters at 22 East 22nd St., New York.

The demonstrations will have the support of many A. F. of L. local unions throughout the country. In each city and town mass delegations will present identical demands to local, county and state authorities for transmission to Washington.

This program, drawn up at a recent conference in Pittsburgh, represents, according to the National Action Committee, "the overwhelming sentiment of the organized unemployed throughout the country for the solution to the unemployment question."

"Unorganizable" Workers Were Determined to Win, Despite Record Mobilization of Gangsters as Scabs and Guards

By Jack Schuller

ALTHOUGH the city-wide building service strike was averted by the surrender of the employers, it is interesting and significant to take a look at the plans mapped out by law-abiding employers to combat it. The most varied assortment of "finks," mobsters, "cockies," plug-uglies, major and minor racketeers, and professional strikebreakers of all kinds were corralled for immediate use by the Real Estate Board of New York. Every conceivable cast-off and derelict spawned by capitalist society found comfortable shelter under the paternal wings of the Pinkerton, O'Toole, Holmes, Bergoff, and Reilly Detective agencies.

Local boys were not expected to make good in this particular scabbing venture, so these agencies combed the criminal haunts of every city on the eastern seaboard. Hardly a gang that had earned for

(Continued on Page 2-L)

Recognition of Union and No Discrimination!

2,000 Buildings Affected; Huge Influx of Members Certain

ALMOST twelve hours of continuous debate, resulting in an agreement which won borough-wide recognition for Local 32-B of the Building Service Employees' International Union, averted a city-wide strike that threatened to call out elevator operators, porters, watchmen and maintenance men in thousands of buildings. Although the closed shop was not granted, the right of the union to bargain collectively for all employees was guaranteed, and James J. Bambrick, president of the local, is confident that almost 100% unionization will ensue in the near future.

The union now has 65,000 members. By the first of the year this figure is expected to mount to 100,000. The settlement affects about 2,000 buildings in Manhattan owned by members of the Real

(Continued on Page 3-L)

Bambrick in Special Message to NEW LEADER, Cites Significance of Campaign; Thanks Socialists for Aid

By James J. Bambrick
President, Local 32-B, Building Employees' International Union
(Written Especially for The New Leader)

THE task of welding a unified organization out of a group of semi-skilled workers without background or tradition of trade unionism is not an easy problem. Although the need for such a union in the building service industry is infinitely greater than any other that I can think of, it calls for different variations of the classic union appeal.

If, let us say, the garment unions were to conduct a union campaign in New York City, their efforts would not need to be as painstaking as ours. Behind them is a history of victories from the elimination of the sweatshop to the present 37-hour week, a legend of struggle and success. A needle trade worker has been impregnated with this idea; to him the absence

(Continued on Page 2-L)

WHERE COPS INJURED FOUR IN SILK DYERS' STRIKE



ABOVE is a flying picture of flying pickets in North Bergen, N. J., where policemen breaking up a picket line chased the strikers and left four on the ground. The strike, however, continues as firm as ever. Metropolitan factors are getting desperate; orders can't be filled because of absence of dyed goods. Latest news, from meeting of general executive board of I.L.G.W.U. in Montreal, is that President Dubinsky will attempt to get strike settled. Last Saturday over 5,000 striking workers from Bas-saic, Garfield and Lodi paraded enthusiastically through Passaic. Officers Frank Benji, Roy Salvendo, George Baldwin, Anthony Amirato, Joseph Yanerelli addressed the spirited mass meeting which followed, as did John Herling, Frank Liberti, Anna Kula.

One Year of Local 142--Record of Achievement

The following outline of the development of Local 142 is the first of a series of articles on locals in various trades which will appear from time to time in these columns.

By Hyman F. Samuel

AS an example of a union which has grown and prospered during the past year because of the cooperation of its international, the devotion of its members and the quality of its leadership, Local 142 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—the Ladies Neckwear Makers' Union—is worthy of special comment.

Organization in the women's neckwear field really started about 16 years ago. A group of cutters got together in 1918 and decided to form a union to fight sweatshop conditions and miserable wages. After a month they went out on strike. But they had failed to realize that operators in the shops must also be organized. They lost and went back without a union.

Some of these veterans, however, never gave up hope that they might still build a union. In July of last year, a small group of cutters came to the general office of the International to ask for help in organizing. They believed that the time for which they had planned and waited had come at last. Profiting by their ancient mistake, they were eager to enroll operators and trimmers, pressers and other workers in the line, in addition to the cutters. But for a while the suspicion of workers unlearned in unionism and the fear of loss of jobs and blacklisting kept the workers from joining up.

Drive Broadens

An appeal to President David Dubinsky of the I. L. G. W. U. brought more aid and cooperation. The organization drive began to take shape in September. The neckwear workers learned from the workers in other women's garment lines that confidence in the International was not misplaced.

When the employers in the industry, who had formed an association and submitted a code to the administration, proposed wages of \$12 to \$16 for girls and \$30 a week for cutters, the campaign committee of Local 142 was able to point out the benefits of joining a union, the advantage of being a member of a strong workers' organization which could fight the battles of the workers. As a result of this agitation, 500 members were gained in one week.

The International then demanded that the bosses' association confer with the union on the question of an agreement. Realizing that the union had gained strength and power, the manufacturers negotiated and an agreement was signed granting union members the following wage scale: operators, 60 cents an hour; trimmers, 50 cts.; hemmers on scarfs, 47½ cts.; pressers, 47½ cts. an hour; cutters \$40 a week, and head cutters \$45. Working hours were set at 37½ per week, and the full union shop was conceded, in conformity with the standard I.L.G.W.U. agreements.

Stoppage Called

On October 3, 1933, an industry-wide stoppage was called by Local 142 for the purpose of fully unionizing the market. The next day, over 1,900 neckwear makers were sent back to the shops under union conditions. The local then called a strike against the "stitching" shops, notorious for their bad work conditions, and in a week, 600 more workers were sent back under independent contracts.

Outside of New York, there are still a number of unorganized neckwear shops. But the union, not content with making a clean sweep of the metropolitan district, is now reaching out to bring these shops under the local's banner.

Industry 92% Organized in Little Over 12 Months; Home Work Evil, Runaway Shops Attacked; Educational Work Pushed



General Executive Board of Ladies' Neckwear Makers' Union

With the aid of the International's out-of-town department, this work is also proceeding satisfactorily.

It is not the function of these articles to assign individual praise for the success of a local's organization drive. But we feel that a quotation from the report of the general executive board of the

I.L.G.W.U. to the 22nd convention of the union in Chicago six months ago will not be amiss.

G. E. B. Praises Leaders

"The organization of the ladies' neckwear and scarf makers was a task of whose accomplishment the union may be justly proud," the report reads. "Credit for the suc-

cessful campaign and for the subsequent work of welding this new material into a compact and virile union is due to the tireless and able leadership of the pioneer group among these workers and to their manager, Joseph Tuvim, whom President Dubinsky drafted during the early stages of the

drive. Though still a young union, it has shown unmistakable signs of permanence and stability and has become an influential factor in its industry."

Comrade Tuvim came into the union at Comrade Dubinsky's request after a group of organizers had asked the international president for assistance. He became manager of the union the day after Labor Day, 1933, and has been at the helm ever since.

Since the convention, the onward sweep of the union has not been halted. With a paid-up membership of 2,731 and several hundred more still paying off initiation fees, the union reports the city 92% organized, with control over 142 shops, including jobbers, manufacturers, submanufacturers and contractors.

Celebrates First Year

On October 1, Local 142 celebrated its first anniversary with a huge mass meeting at Webster Hall, New York, with 2,100 members present. The meeting was opened by President Murry Hoffer, from a stage bedecked with flowers, sent by workers from numerous shops.

Manager Tuvim read a general report of activities for the year. Representing the I.L.G.W.U. and its president, Vice-President Salvatore Ninfo spoke on the Anti-Fascist-Nazi drive being conducted by the I.L.G.W.U. Amid applause, cheers and singing of the International anthem, the meeting pledged itself to raise \$750 towards the Anti-Nazi Fund.

The members of the local have never ceased their efforts to build—and then to build some more. Groups police the shops to see to it that union conditions are observed. Chairladies' meetings are called monthly to check up on shop conditions. Many members use their spare time investigating the conditions of home workers.

Attacking Home Work

"The evil of home work is a menace to union work conditions in our trade," Manager Tuvim declares, "and it is our firm intention to clean it up. Our members are also investigating the firms which send work out of town, and several of these have been hailed before their respective associations for disciplinary action. Many shops with five or six machines were found to have unsanitary conditions and fire hazards. These shops were forced to sign our agreement. They were a drag on the industry and are being cleaned up."

"The local has also learned very quickly that it is a part of the general labor movement. It has donated to various strikes and organization campaigns of different unions. We have donated \$350 to the Textile Workers' strike; \$750 to the Anti-Nazi Labor Chest, and \$150 to the Austrian workers' relief fund."

"From the outset, the leadership of the organization realized that the vast majority of the women and men were uninformed about the principles and tactics of trade unionism. We launched a consistent educational campaign with the cooperation of Fannia M. Cohn, secretary of the Educational Department. Cultural and athletic activities were also included in the program laid out by the educational committees of the local and the International."

On May Day

"Everybody knows," Manager Tuvim continued proudly, "that on May 1, Local 142, this new union, took part in the celebration, along with the entire International, and paraded, nearly 1,000 strong, through the streets of New York. Each shop wore its own make of neckwear and the colorful display drew generous applause from the

(Continued on Page 3-L)

Building Service Workers Win

20,000 GANGSTERS DIDN'T SCARE 'EM

(Continued from Page 1-L)

itself the honor of a dozen convictions was not called into the fray. Like vultures, they waited for the opportune moment to step in and pick at the bones of workers whose bodies already had been torn by the ravages of excessive hours and calloused wages.

In this connection, they were aided by certain sections of the capitalist press. In order to camouflage the activities of real estate owners, these papers attributed the union's organizing campaign to "Chicago racketeers trying to muscle in on the helpless building service employees" (see editorials of the Sun, Herald-Tribune and New York Times). In news reports, they used the convenient cliché, "it is rumored" in order to avoid libel suits.

"East side! West side! All around the town" became the union's slogan as new members poured into the union at the rate of a thousand a day. Even the menace of 20,000 gangsters seemed to make no impression on the workers.

In outward appearances, this industrial conflict appeared to resemble thousands of others that have studded the American landscape since the New Deal was born. But its challenge, directed against the steel breastworks of multi-millionaire landlordism, was hurled by men and women who hitherto had been totally crushed by miserable conditions. Although they toiled in the wee hours of the morning, polishing the ornate trappings of an Empire State or manœuvring the floors of a finicky furnished lounge, their own homes

echoed the hollowness of meagre wages. The temples of their toil abound with the latest offerings of money and science, concealed lighting, artificial refrigeration, chromium statuettes, delicate instruments directed by photo-electric cells. From this they trudged home to cold water flats on the side of the railroad or elevator, to careworn children engraved with the stamp of malnutrition and changeless food.

All this seems to me to be unusually significant. The well-dressed denizens of Broadway night life confronted the unwrapped sources of their parasitism. Called "unorganizable" and "rubbish," the service men heard the trumpet of union organization—and responded. The collective clamor of pent-up privation was just tapped. For most of the members of Local 32B of the Building Service Employees' Union this was their first experience in the war of the classes. But they were ready to fight despite all the gangsters in North America!

BAMBRICK THANKS PARTY FOR HELP

(Continued from Page 1-L)

of a union would be like a missing arm or leg.

Then again, the average cutter or presser operates in a "scarcity market." If they go on strike, there are not enough skilled workmen outside of the union to their place. The prominence of skilled hand labor in the garment trades still lends to these workers the individuality of a craftsman.

The collapse of the real estate market brought with it a horde of receivers whose primary aim was to force retrenchments in operat-

ing costs. Boiled down to fundamentals, they meant the enslavement of 240,000 employees to endless hours of toil at sweatshop wages. Empty elevator cars give mute testimony to the number of lay-offs and the consequent speed-up forced on those remaining at work.

Resistance to these conditions must of necessity come from a militant, aggressive union. Moreover, it calls for the best in labor solidarity that brother unions can exhibit. "Brother" and "sister" become not gestures but a symbol of fraternity and brotherhood.

I have been asked how the Socialist Party can assist us in our great work. First, all Socialists engaged in the industry should become union members. They should imbue the brothers who are less experienced with the traditions and duties of a union member. Then again, your party members in other trade unions effected by an elevator strike should work unceasingly to the end that no one should ride on an elevator manned by scabs. Thirdly, all Socialists living in apartment houses should assist in the formation of Tenants Leagues which will have among other things the objective of getting union janitors, elevator operators, porters and maintenance men.

I also want, at this time, to extend to the readers of The New Leader and to the members of the Young People Socialist League and the Socialist Party my sincere thanks for their gallant cooperation in the garment center strike.

The soldiers of labor are on the march and going places. To that end let each of us give unstintingly! For freedom! For industrial democracy!

All Out to Union Square Saturday

Story in Labor Section

RAND SCHOOL WOMEN'S CLASSES START

The Rand School afternoon classes for women started Monday and Tuesday, Nov. 19 and 20. These classes have developed into an institution with their own character. The women crowd the classrooms, their attendance nearly one hundred per cent. Every student is interested. They all ask questions, take part in the discussion, do outside reading.

On Monday, at 1:30 comes Esther Friedman's class in "The Tragedy of Waste." This will be a new course with new material. The capitalist system as it runs now will be analyzed from the woman's, the housekeeper's point of view. At three o'clock will come the course in "Public Speaking," taught by Esther Friedman and Rebecca Jarvis.

On Tuesday, at 1:30 William E. Bohn will start his course in "Social and Political Revolutions." The first lecture will be on "What is a Revolution?" The succeeding sessions of the first term will take the class up to the end of the French Revolution of the eighteenth century.

Each of these classes will run for twelve sessions, up to the end of February. After that will come a second term, also consisting of twelve sessions. The fee for the class in Public Speaking is \$1 for twelve sessions. For the other two

LECTURES

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union

(Formerly People's Institute)

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8th Street and Astor Place

At 8 o'clock Admission free

Friday, Nov. 23rd—

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

"What Becomes of Liberty in a Planned Economy?"

Sunday, Nov. 25th—

DOCTOR HORACE M. KALLEN

"Dictatorship as Fact and as Ideal"

Tuesday, Nov. 27th—

PROFESSOR

ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES

"Cultural Values in an Individualist Economy"

INGERSOLL FORUM

PYTHIAN TEMPLE—135 W. 70th Street

SUNDAYS 8 P. M. Admission 25 cents

November 25th

"Is a Classless Society Possible?" .. Paul Miller

Questions and discussion

Freethinkers of America

Sunday Eve., 8:30 P. M.—113 W. 57th St.

DR. SALVADOR MENDOZA

Professor of Law, Univ. of Mexico City

"Mexico and Its Religious Complex"

Admission Free—Questions & Discussion

The City Seeks New Taxes

By William M. Feigenbaum

THE City administration—the fusion administration, the "reform" administration—is planning to levy a tax on gas bills and electric bills.

The city needs money, of course, and it must find money.

Nothing is said about taxing large bank deposits, about levying taxes upon the high utility profits. No step is taken in the direction of establishing a city-owned and city operated bank, about revising the debt structure under which the city is obliged to pay over \$200,000,000 a year in debt service before a dollar is spent for the social services or any other of the city's needs.

Nothing is said about a steeply graduated income tax, or any other means of getting those who benefit by our crazy economic system to pay their share.

The city will tax gas bills. And that is that.

And why gas bills, the levy that comes closest to the lives of the masses? Why must the tax be taken from those who suffer and toil and sweat? Why must those who are sorely laden be obliged to assume more obligations?

THE mind goes back nearly two years. It is February 10th, 1933, and The New Leader is holding its ninth anniversary dinner. There were two speakers who made

earnest pleas to the Socialist Party to enter into a fusion with other elements for "good government."

One of them was a rich man whose name does not matter; the other was a fiery Republican congressman named Fiorello H. LaGuardia.

Norman Thomas spoke well for the Party's position, but at the moment the mind recalls a reply to the congressman by another Socialist there. He was a man whose body was breaking after nearly half a century of matchless services to the working class, and within less than a year he had left us forever. But his mind and his spirit was as brilliant and as glorious as ever, and Morris Hillquit faced Mr. LaGuardia and said:

"Whom do you represent? You say very frankly that you represent no one but yourself. Now, that is a lot. To represent LaGuardia means something. But with all that, what do you represent politically? You are—and I say it with great pleasure—I think the greatest and most widely progressive force in Congress. But you do not represent your party. Does your ability to do good work in Congress sanction your disguise as a Republican and the credit you reflect upon individuals like Samuel Koenig?"

"Now, then, what else do you represent? You represent the Fusion forces. Who are they? They are first the great movement of taxpayers, which has arisen the past year and has become a powerful voice throughout our public

life. What is our common ground of cooperation? These taxpayers, landlords, who in the fat years have made tremendous fortunes and unmercifully squeezed the people in their rents, now in the lean years turn around and set up a howl about taxes."

That was in 1933, before the fusion movement developed, before Fiorello was nominated for Mayor, before Tammany was driven out of office.

Read it now, and contemplate the plight of the city. It needs money to meet debt services—over two hundred million a year. It needs money for hospitals and schools, for policemen and water, for streets and libraries, for relief and firemen . . . it needs money.

Where are you going to get money? From the masses who make the city and do its work? From the masses already sorely pressed? Or from those who already have all the wealth there is, who feast on the fruits of the toil of others?

You know where the money should come from.

But, alas! They are the ones who created the fusion and who elected the good Fiorello, and who call the tune because they pay the piper!

The Socialists were right then. The Socialists are right now. The Socialists have always been right.

Why not admit it now and join us?

Party Members to Hear of A. F. of L. Convention

THE Education Committee of the Socialist Party met Tuesday afternoon, November 20, in the People's House and made final arrangements for the next Party Membership Symposium in the auditorium of the People's House Friday evening, December 7.

The subject will be "The A. F. of L. Convention at San Francisco," and the speakers will be B. C. Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward; Max Danish, of the Executive Board of the I.L.G.W.U., and Paul Porter, head of the Labor Department of the National Office of the Socialist Party, all delegates at the convention. It was decided that in order to help cover the modest costs of the rent and postage for these symposiums, an admission fee of ten cents should be charged with a special charge of five cents to the members of the YPSL.

A second Party Membership Symposium will be held December 20, in Room 508 of the People's

House, with Mark Khinoy as speaker. Comrade Khinoy will present many facts and conditions gathered on his trip to Russia.

It was decided to call in the near future a meeting of party educational directors and organizers for a conference on educational work in the branches. At that time the several syllabii which are being prepared on various topics will be presented and methods of making the best use of these discussed. A plan was submitted by Fred Schulman advocating the establishment of high school classes of young people from fourteen to eighteen years of age. The plan was submitted to a sub-committee for further investigation.

Dr. Bohn reported for the Youth Committee that the Young People's Socialist League is planning a "Know your Socialism Drive" and to that end are working on a syllabus and a list of teachers.

A communication from the Y.P.S.L. asking the party to arrange for a literature and sell National office leaflets and pamphlets, was referred to the Rand School Book Committee for consideration.

Deutsch Farewell Dec. 18

THE New York Socialists will give a farewell dinner December 18th to Comrade Julius Deutsch, heroic Austrian Socialist, now touring the United States.

Comrade Deutsch leaves for Europe December 21st, after a two months' lecture tour of America.

The place, exact time and other details of the Deutsch Farewell will be announced later.

Queens Yipsels Meet to Plan November 24th Demonstration

There will be a general membership meeting of the Queens County Y.P.S.L. Friday, Nov. 23, at 8:30, at the headquarters of the Jamaica Branch, 92-18 New York Boulevard, Jamaica.

The meeting was called by Jeanne Rappaport and Harold Luxemburg, the district organizers of the Y.P.S.L. for Queens, to put into operation the new organization plan that the League has adopted, and to mobilize the membership for the Nov. 24th demonstration in Union Square.

Every Yipsel in Queens must attend and absence will be disciplined.

Housing to Be Discussed at Rand School Luncheon

ON Saturday afternoon, Nov. 24, the Rand School Luncheon-Discussion will be devoted to a symposium on "Municipal Housing." Langdon W. Post, chairman of the Municipal Housing Authority, will talk on "Housing in New York"; B. Charney Vladeck, a member of the Municipal Housing Authority, will discuss "The Arithmetic of Housing," and Evans Clark, economic advisor to the Authority, will consider "The Financial Aspects of Housing."

"Drama and the New Social Order" will be the subject of the luncheon-discussion on Saturday afternoon, Dec. 1. The speakers scheduled for this program are Heywood Brown, columnist and critic; Anita Block, playreader of the Theatre Guild, and the third speaker will be a well-known playwright.

Money, credits and debts will be clarified by outstanding authorities on this question at the luncheon of Dec. 8, and a prominent Socialist, a well-known labor leader and a conservative spokesman will join in the final discussion of the current series, to determine "What Shall We Do with Ten Million Unemployed?"

Make it a point to come every Saturday afternoon for the next four weeks to the Rand School luncheon-discussions. For less than the usual cost of a lecture, you hear discussions by leaders and authorities in their chosen fields and enjoy a pleasant lunch at the same time. The admission charge of 65 cents covers your entire expense (at 1:30 P. M.). If you prefer to come for the discussion only at 2:30 P. M., admission is 25 cents. Make your reservation each week in advance at the Rand School office, 7 East 15th Street.

Reception to Martä Nordin November 30

Reception to Martä Nordin of Sweden, Friday, Nov. 30th, at 8 p. m., at the Rand School Studio. Comrade Nordin is young, charming and intelligent. She holds an important position in the personal department of the National Post Office of Sweden.

Her experience in women's activities in the labor movement of her country is extreme for one so young. She will speak on Labor Education Among Women in Sweden. Every woman should turn out to welcome Martä Nordin of Sweden.

Lecture Notes

Following is the program of the Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union: Nov. 23, Everett Dean Martin, "What Becomes of Liberty in a Planned Economy"; Nov. 25, Dr. Horace M. Kallen, "Dictatorship as a Fact and as Ideal"; Nov. 27, Professor Ernest Sutherland Bates, "Cultural Values in an Individualist Economy."

"Is a Classless Society Possible?" will be the subject of the lecture to be given by Paul Miller, under the auspices of the Ingersoll Forum, Sunday at 8, in the Pythian Temple.

Dr. Salvador Mendoza will address the Freethinkers on the subject of "Mexico and Its Religious Complex," in the Sirinush Building, Sunday at 8:30.

THE BIG BALL OF THE SEASON RAND SCHOOL BENEFIT

Sponsored by CAMP TAMIMENT

A REUNION FOR CAMP TAMIMENT GUESTS AND FRIENDS OF THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

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Tickets in Advance—\$1.00 at Camp Tamiment Office, 7 East 15th Street. Phone ALgonquin 4-6875. — \$1.25 at the door of Webster Hall.

RAND SCHOOL BENEFIT

It is expected that the usual success will attend the Camp Tamiment Reunion, to be held Thanksgiving Eve at Webster Hall, 209 East 11th St. It will take the form of a costume dance and members of the popular social staff, headed by MacLiebman, will be there. It is hoped that many party members will attend because all profits of the affair will be given to the Scholarship Fund of the Rand School.

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100 5th AVE. Cor. 15th St.	1700 PITKIN AVE. Near Rockaway Ave.	378 E. FORDHAM RD. Near Webster Ave.
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462 7th AVE. Cor. 35th St.	1622 PITKIN AVE. Cor. Hopkinson Ave.	
963 8th AVE. Near 57th St.	26 MANHATTAN AVE. Near Varot St.	
208 WEST 42nd ST. Near 7th Ave.		
152 EAST 86th ST. Near Lexington Ave.		
715 WEST 125th ST. Bet. Lenox & 7th Aves.		
7391 ST. NICHOLAS AVE. Bet. 179th & 180th Sts.		

OPEN EVENINGS 30 "Factory Branches" to Serve You

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Afternoon Classes For Women

The afternoon classes for women at the Rand School, the Amalgamated Houses and in Bensonhurst have had their introductory session. The real work on the Tragedy of Waste begins next week.

Women with afternoon time should avail themselves of this opportunity to enjoy an intellectual and spiritual treat.

There is room for a few more. register now. Fees \$1.50 for twelve sessions.

JOIN THE ORCHESTRA!

PARTY members, Yipsels and sympathizers who play musical instruments are urgently requested to help Rebel Arts form an orchestra and band, which will take its place by the side of the highly successful Rebel Arts Chorus as a musical organization for the movement.

Please come and pass the word along, Jack Cohen, former Palace Theatre orchestra leader and now director of the Rebel Arts group, asks. Next rehearsal is Tuesday at 8:30 p. m. at 27 West 15th Street, N. Y.

The Big Debate

between Gertrude Weil Klein and Mary Hillyer is deferred to Friday, Dec. 14th, because of the party meeting to hear B. C. Vladeck on Dec. 7th give his impressions on the A. F. of L. convention.

The debate will be held, as previously announced, at the Debs Auditorium, Friday, Dec. 14, at 8 p. m. Admission 25 cents.



PARTY NOTES

Manhattan

Washington Heights Branch. Forum, subject: Labor in Revolt. Speakers: Tucker Smith, director Brookwood Labor College; Roger N. Baldwin, director American Civil Liberties Union, Y.M.H.A., 178th St. and Ft. Washington Ave., Sunday, Nov. 25, 8:15 p.m. Admission free.

Village Branch. A Barn Dance will be held Saturday, Nov. 24, at 201 Sullivan St. Youth Group meets Sunday at 8 p.m. Regular branch meeting Monday, Nov. 26, 201 Sullivan Street.

Upper West Side. Important branch meeting Monday, Nov. 26, at 100 W. 72nd St. Nominations for all officers and members of the Executive Committee. Plans for reorganization will be acted upon. The report of the bazaar will be given by the bazaar committee.

Bronx County

Bronx Labor Forum, 809 Westchester Ave. Dr. Louis Sadoff will speak on "The Soviet Union After Three Years"; also showing of the film "Ten Days That Shook the World."

Bronx County Committee meets Wed., Nov. 28, 8:30 p.m., at county headquarters, 809 Westchester Ave.

6th A.D. (Lower). A social and dance with bridge and refreshments Saturday, Nov. 24, at 1137 Ward Ave., Bronx. Yipsel Circle 13 Seniors will also participate.

Regular branch meeting Tuesday, Nov. 27, at 1137 Ward Ave. David Hirsch will speak on "Workers in American History."

8th A.D. The branch will hold a social Tuesday eve., Nov. 27, in the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves. Five piece dance orchestra, opera singers, and the Rebel Arts.

Tuesday, Dec. 4, at the same address. Mark Khinoy, just returned from Russia, will speak on "Russia Today." Admission 15 cents.

Kings County

Bensonhurst Branch. Meeting and lecture Tuesday, Nov. 27, at 6618 Bay Parkway. Marx Lewis on "The Outlook of a Labor Party."

Midwood. Three lectures on Socialism by David P. Berenberg alternate Thursdays at Kingsway Mansion. Next lecture December 6. Regular lecture course will start soon. New headquarters secured. Details to be made public shortly.

East Flare by Lecture by David P. Berenberg, "The American Labor Situation," 192 Livonia Ave., Friday, Nov. 23.

Queens County

On Sunday, Dec. 9, at 8:30 p.m., in the Sunnyside Headquarters, 4915 43rd Ave., Mark Khinoy, feature writer on The New Leader, member of the Forward staff, who has just returned from an extensive tour of Soviet Russia, will speak on "Soviet Russia as Seen by a Socialist." This is the first in a series of lectures to be held twice a month on Sundays. Other comrades who have spent the winter in Spain, France and Germany will report their observations.

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Bigger Babbitt Billions But Jobs—Sooner or Later

Postmaster-General James A. Farley airs his views over the air—to anxious millions and radios the news that "Business is better by billions of increased income."

That should make a good slogan for the Democratic Party, of whose national committee Farley is chairman. "Bigger Billions for Business."

Jim turned from business to the masses who produce the billions and remarked: "Sooner or later industry must absorb the men and women now out of work and those who are temporarily employed in government projects."

There should be a slogan in that statement for the workers. Twenty months have passed since Democracy took over the governing machine. To the ten million who demand jobs, the following slogan: "Sooner or Later."

Falcon Notes

The studio room at 22 E. 22nd Street, headquarters of Rebel Arts, was the scene of joyful celebration Saturday, Nov. 17, when the Red Falcons, the workers' children's movement, held its first monthly "Honor Council."

About fifty children, between 8 and 15, sat around the room while Phil Heller, National Chairman, welcomed them into the movement and explained to them that the Falcon movement was "a movement for workers' children organized to instill into its membership a class consciousness and to develop it mentally and physically so it will be more fit to work in the interests of the international movement."

After the group had sung a number of songs and delivered a few rousing cheers under the leadership of Guide Sol Berman, Meyer Levenstein, National Treasurer, presented the Falcons with their membership cards, whereupon the group again broke into song.

After urging the Falcons not to forget the pledge they had taken to the movement, Phil Heller gave three immediate points of action: Each is to bring in a new member by the next Honor Council, each is to push the sales of "Falcon Calls," which in its latest issue contains an interesting memorial to Morris Hillquit, including a full page picture of the beloved labor leader. Lastly, he urged the Falcons to build up their individual flights.

NEW MASSES COSTUME BALL

Fri. Eve., Nov. 30

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"THE SITUATION IN LOCAL

NEW YORK"

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Open to Party Members Only

SUNDAY, November 25th, 8 P. M.

DEBS AUDITORIUM, 7 E. 15th St.

Auspices: The Militants of Local New York

Tallulah Bankhead Wins a "Dark Victory" at Plymouth

The Rich Know How to Die
"DARK VICTORY." By George Brewer, Jr., and Bertram Bloch.
 At the Plymouth.

Spoiled child of ease, Judith Traherne refuses to talk to her doctor, to face the fact that she needs an operation for brain tumor. It is only when she stops Dr. Steele from leaving the cold clinics of New York for friendly practice as an old family doctor in Vermont, that Judith consents to be trepanned. Falling in love with her, Doc Steele spoils her last half-year by blurring out the horrid truth that in six months will come another, and surely fatal, attack. At first Judith plunges into an orgy of high living, to drive away the thoughts of death, and to get as "much out of life" as she can. Midway her allotted span, however, she crumples, rises, and goes to dedicate her remaining days to the doing of good—which in this instance means marrying Dr. Steele and living with him in old Vermont. She even sends him away on an emergency operation after she has felt the final call of that grim figure wealthy folk have reason to fear, considering how hard it is for a camel to crawl through a needle's eye. This is bravery, indeed!

Excellent acted by Tallulah Bankhead and Earle Larimore, this story is well enough told, but today seems hardly worth the telling. We pity the poor little rich girl, of course; but beside the problems in the world today, this seems faintly faded, like an orchid lying in yesterday's gutter. It was a pretty flower—though born of decay; but look at the cheeks of the women in the slums! Or perhaps the authors will next write an attack upon witches.

Bulgakov's Play To-Night

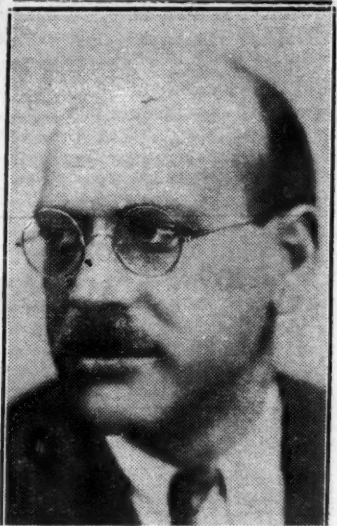
Tonight at the Playhouse Peters and Spiller will present this new mystery play by Martha Madison. Leo Bulgakov has directed this production. Mary Holsman, Van Heflin, Howard Ferguson, Vera Hurst, Tom Morrison and William Balfour are in the cast.

JACK MCGOWAN and RAY HENDERSON present THE MUSICAL COMEDY SMASH "SAY WHEN"

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 Tomorrow and "RUDDIGORE"
 Wed. Night & Thurs. (Thanksgiving) Mat. 2:15, & Night, "Trial by Jury"
 Thurs. & Fri. Nights, "H.M.S. Pinafore," Fri. & Sat. Nights & Sat. Mat., "The Yeomen of the Guard"
 WEEK DEC. 3: Mon. & Tues. Nights, "Patience"; Wed. Mat. & Night and Thurs. & Fri. Nights, "H.M.S. Pinafore"; Sat. Mat. & Night, "Princess Ida"
 FINAL WEEK, DEC. 10: Mon. & Tues. Nights, "Cox and Box" & "The Pirates of Penzance"; Wed. Mat. and Wed. & Thurs. Nights, "Iolanthe"; Fri. & Sat. Nights & Sat. Mat., "The Gondoliers"
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 45th St., West of 8th Ave.

Director and Producer of "The Children's Hour"



Herman Shumlin will be remembered as the director-producer of "The Last Mile" and "Grand Hotel." Today he adds to this list another triumph, "The Children's Hour" at the Maxine Elliotts Theatre.

"Revenge With Music," Musical Play by Howard Dietz and Arthur Schwartz, Opens Wednesday, Nov. 28, at the New Amsterdam Theatre

On Wednesday evening, Nov. 28, Arch Selwyn and Harold B. Franklin will present Charles Winninger, Libby Holman and Georges Metaxa in "Revenge with Music," a new musical play by Howard Dietz and Arthur Schwartz, at the New Amsterdam Theatre at 8:40 p.m. This is the first time these collaborators have produced anything but a revue. "Revenge with Music" is based on a not too old Spanish

Nova Pilbeam in "Little Friend" Holiday Film At the Fox Brooklyn

At the Fabian's Fox Brooklyn Theatre for one week beginning today Nova Pilbeam, 14 year-old English find in "Little Friend" will be the feature presentation. "Little Friend," story by Ernst Lothar and direction by Bertholdt, has a cast including the distinguished actor, Matheson Lang, with Lydia Sherwood in the mother role.
 On the stage Buck and Bubbles headline the Zac Freedman show this week.
 Bill Snyder, master of ceremonies, returns to the Fox Brooklyn

"The Battle" Opens at the Criterion for Indefinite Run—Chas. Boyer, Merle Oberon in International Film

Was it a victory? So came the cry from Yorisaka, commander of Japanese naval fleet on his return to post after a triumphant battle which destroyed the enemy fleet.

Tell me, was it victory? The frail beautiful wife Mitsuoka begged her husband's friend when news of the returning fleet was brought to her.

What is victory? When it has taken lives of men; when it has made men pray for victory in battle; when it has killed and destroyed loved ones and has made a god of blood, of the crash of shells, the scurry of battle and sinking battleships?

Such are the highlights of the Leon Garganoff production of "The Battle," which also deals with two conflicts, one of the soul with intense patriotism, the other the contest between rival naval battle fleets. Charles Boyer, the well-known French actor, is said to give a finished performance as the Marquis Yorisaka, with Merle Oberon and John Loder.

Stars in "Within the Gates"



Above you see Lillian Gish who appears in the Sean O'Casey play at the National Theatre.

Group Theatre's First Play of Season "Gold Eagle Guy" to Open Next Wednesday

"Gold Eagle Guy," by Melvin Levy, will be presented by The Group Theatre in association with D. A. Doran, Jr., at the Morosco Theatre on Wednesday evening, Nov. 28. The title role is played by J. Edward Bromberg, who was last seen in these parts as Dr. Hochberg in "Men in White." The entire Group Theatre acting company appears in the play, with principal roles assigned to Stella Adler, Margaret Barker, Alexander Kirkland, Russell Collins, Morris Carnovsky, Sanford Meisner, Walter Coy and Luther Adler.

The play has been directed by Lee Strasberg, with settings by Donald Oenslager, costumes by Kay Morrison, and dances by Tamiris. The curtain will rise promptly at 8:30 p.m.

"Three Songs About Lenin" Wins Praise at the Cameo

Heralded as a great movie by many liberals abroad, Dzega Vertov's "Three Songs About Lenin" began its run at the Cameo Theatre three weeks ago to the tune of warm praises from reviewers of the New York press. Even political animosities were forgotten: as witness the New York American's laudation, despite Hearst's well-known anti-radicalism, of Vertov's "ecstatic tribute to a national and international idol."

"Three Songs About Lenin" is an emotional and intellectual tribute to Nicolai Lenin. It is cast in the form of "three songs" that aim to tell the life, accomplishments and death of the Soviet leader.

The first song is that of a Tadjik woman brought from the old life into the new social order. Then follows the dirge: the profoundly moving music of Chopin and of Wagner. The third song is a chant of victory.

Claudete Colbert in Universal's screen version of Fannie Hurst's story "Imitation of Life," directed by John M. Stahl and featuring Warren William, Rochelle Hudson and Baby Jane, opens today at the Roxy Theatre

WINTER GARDEN THE MUSICAL SUCCESS

Eves. 8:40—Matinees Thurs. & Sat. THE MUSICAL SUCCESS

Life Begins at 8:40

with HERT LAHR RAY BOLGER LUELLA GEAR FRANCES WILLIAMS

"The Season's Incontestable Hit" —Richard Lockridge, Sun
 Balcony (Evs.) \$1, \$1.50, \$2, \$2.50, \$3
 Seats selling for next 8 weeks
 3 MATS. THANKSGIVING WEEK:
 Thurs., Nov. 29; Fri., Nov. 30; Sat., Dec. 1

2ND EDITION LUCIENNE BOYER in CONTINENTAL VARIETIES

with VICENTE ESCUDERO
LITTLE THEATRE, 44th St.
 W. of B'way, L.A. 4-1550
 EVERY EVENING INCL. SUNDAY
 at 9, \$1 to \$3. Sat. Mat. at 3,
 \$1 to \$2.50 plus tax. —EXTRA
 MATINEE THANKSGIVING DAY

ALEXANDER MCKAIG PRESENTS TALLULAH BANKHEAD in "DARK VICTORY"

A Play by GEORGE BREWER, JR., and BERTRAM BLOCH
 With EARLE LARIMORE Directed by ROBERT MILTON
PLYMOUTH THEATRE, 45th Street, W. of Broadway
 Eves. 8:40. Mats. Sat. & Thanksgiving Day 2:40

EVA LE GALLIENNE and BARRYMORE in "L'AIGLON"

By CLEMENCE DANE
 "L'AIGLON" IS AN EVER NEW AND EVER GREAT PLAY."
 Gilbert Gabriel, American.
BROADHURST THEATRE, W. 44th St. Evenings at 8:30, 50c-\$2.50 (Plus Phone L.A.C. 4-1515). Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 50c-\$2 (Tax)
 SEATS ON SALE FOR THANKSGIVING WEEK
 EXTRA MATINEE THANKSGIVING DAY, THURSDAY, NOV. 29th

Mile. Printemps is an impertinent delight... She brings a life and dash and a kind of civilized roughness to the play." YVONNE PRINTEMPS in "Conversation Peace"

in Noel Coward's Musical Romance
44th St. Theatre W. of B'way—Phone LA 4-7135—Eves. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30. 200 Good Seats every perform. \$1.

MAX GORDON'S 3 HITS The Musical Hit! "THE GREAT WALTZ"

Production conceived and directed by HASSARD SHORT
 Book by Moss Hart - Music by Johann Strauss - Dances by Albertina Rasch
The CENTER THEATRE, 6th Ave. & 49th St.—Evenings at 8:30, 55c-\$3.30. Mats. Sat. & Thanksgiving Day
 500 Orchestra Seats Every Night at \$2.20 at 2:30, 55c-\$2.20

The Dramatic Hit! WALTER HUSTON in "DODSWORTH"

Dramatized by SIDNEY HOWARD
SHUBERT THEATRE, 44th Street, W. of B'way—Eves. at 8:40, \$1.10-\$3.30. Mats. Sat. & Thanksgiving Day, 55c to \$2.20

The Comedy Hit! THE FARMER TAKES A WIFE

with JUNE WALKER HERB WILLIAMS HENRY FONDA
 By FRANK B. ELSER & MARC CONNELLY
 Directed by MR. CONNELLY
46th STREET West of Broadway. Evenings 8:40, \$1.10 to \$3.30. Matinees Sat. & Thanksgiving Day, 55c to \$2.20

SAM H. HARRIS presents MERRILY WE ROLL ALONG

A New Play by GEO. S. KAUFMAN and MOSS HART
 with Kenneth McKenna - Jessie Royce Landis
 Mary Philips - Walter Abel - Cecelia Loftus
MUSIC BOX THEATRE 45th STREET, W. of B'WAY
 MATS. THURS. & SAT.

Now at FORREST THEATRE 49 St. W. of B'way Eves. at 8:40 JAMES BARTON in the Most Discussed Play in the History of the Theatre "TOBACCO ROAD"

By JACK KIRKLAND, Based on Erskine Caldwell's Novel
12th SENSATIONAL MONTH
 POPULAR PRICE MATINEES
WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY 50c to \$2.00

"Say When" Makes a Strong Drink at The Imperial

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

RIGHT NOW!

"SAY WHEN." Book by Jack McGowan, music by Ray Henderson, lyrics by Ted Koehler. At the Imperial.

Off the boat into complications come the boys and girls of "Say When" and they angle their way gracefully and wittily, though Pappa, the banker, is having a week-end party, to which his mistress insists upon being invited; for escort she picks the young man who has just fallen in love with one of the banker's daughters. He has another daughter, and the man has a friend. 'Nuf sedd. Except that he still has a wife, who—being played by Cora Witherspoon—is of course never still. Such is the plot—except for a radio broadcasting scene from the bank's vaults, in which there is a vision of a young lad who weeps when his jobless daddy wants to use his \$27 for food; because if he deposits \$30 in the bank, the boy will get a Broadway theatre as a free souvenir!

This musical continues the recent practice of drawing players from other sources; Linda Watkins and Cora Witherspoon are more immediately from the music-less drama; they and the goodly pair, Harry Richman and Bob Hope, carry the play along. The dances are neat, and the dialogue put into the mouths of these fair folk is as near the edge of suggestion as a man hanging by the last twig on a rotten branch over the brim of a precipice; but the audience is continuously howling. The lyrics are the least effective part of this entertainment, but that it is entertainment nobody can deny.

For Young Folks

This Saturday morning (Nov. 24) Dittmars heads the Carnegie Hall program, with pictures and talks of the animal world, and the famous chimpanzee brought up with humans. At 11 a.m. on Saturday, Dec. 1, the most popular opera for children, "Hänsel and Gretel," will be presented by a well-known cast.

Continental Favorite in Much Discussed Film at the Criterion



Charles Boyer heads a strong cast in "The Battle" the Leon Garganoff production which opened for an indefinite run at the Criterion Theatre yesterday.

Yiddish Musical Begins Third Month at Public

"A Happy Family," the longest run Yiddish musical hit of the season, in which Aaron Lebedeff, Isidore Feld, Menachem Rubin and Lucy Levin are co-starred, will begin its third capacity month at the Public Theatre on the East Side with a matinee and evening performance today (Saturday). The musical will also be offered there twice tomorrow and continues its run on week-ends thereafter. This play will be alternated with "A Game of Love," another musical success, which remains as the mid-week attraction.

Recital Helps

Ruggiero Ricci, young violinist, will play in solo recital at Carnegie Hall on Saturday afternoon, Nov. 24. The concert is in aid of the educational department of the N. Y. Women's Trade Union League.

THE BATTLE

NEW YORK PREMIERE
LEON GARGANOFF

CHARLES BOYER
& MERLE OBERON

in a stirring drama of patriotism and war to end all wars!
Admission...25c and 40c
Evenings...Orchestra 55c

CRITERION

B'WAY at 44th - Cont. 10 A.M. - 2 A.M.

First Time at Popular Prices!!

The ★ ★ ★ ★ HIT!

ERNST LUBITSCH'S
GLAMOROUS NEW PRODUCTION
OF FRANZ LEHAR'S IMMORTAL

The MERRY WIDOW

with MAURICE CHEVALIER
JEANETTE MacDonald
A METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER PICTURE

ON THE STAGE

RITZ BROS. - 32 DANNY DARE 32
LEOPOLD SPITALNY CAPITOL GRAND ORCH.
OTHERS GUEST CONDUCTOR

CAPITOL

BROADWAY at 50th St.
Major EDWARD BOWES
Managing Director



Do a college degree and a Harvard accent give any youngster the right to high-hat the universe? See the answer in Warner Bros. amazing drama

GENTLEMEN ARE BORN

with FRANCHOT TONE JEAN MUIR
MARGARET LINDSAY ANN D'VORAK
ROSS ALEXANDER NICK EDMAN

COMING—WARNER BROS.
'FLIRTATION WALK'
Mighty Military Musical!

STRAND - 25c
B'WAY & 47th St. to 1 P.M.
Weekdays

Fabian's



'LITTLE FRIEND' with NOVA PILBEAM

★ ★ ★ 1/2 ★ — Daily News
"One of the season's finest!"—Sun

On the BUCK & BUBBLES Stage

BILLY SNYDER — Other Big Acts.

25c
TO 5 P.M.
W. KONTIS

"But Not For Love" To Open at the Empire November 26

"But Not For Love," the new Geraldine Emerson play which Shepard Traube is presenting has had its opening date advanced from Tuesday, November 27, to Monday, November 26, to avoid conflicting with the opening of the Laurence Schwab piece, "Dawn Glory."

"The White Parade"—Jeanne Aubert in Person at Albee

The first film to glorify America's "young ladies in white," "The White Parade," made under the direction of Irving Cummings, with Loretta Young and John Boles in the leading roles, is the RKO Albee screen attraction this week. Jeanne Aubert, French musical comedy star, headlines the stage.

HE LOOKED FOR MOMMIES ... AND HE FOUND MUMMIES!

Eddie Cantor
in SAMUEL GOLDWYN'S production of
KID MILLIONS
with ANN SOTHERN · ETHEL MERMAN
BLOCK and SULLY and the GOLDWYN GIRLS

DOORS OPEN 9:30 A. M. TODAY

United Artists RIVOLI B'WAY 49th St.

CLAUDETTE COLBERT

in FANNIE HURST'S
'IMITATION OF LIFE'

WARREN WILLIAM and a Great Supporting Cast
★ ON STAGE ★
Joyous Holiday Revue
CHARLES CARLILE
Famous Singing Star of WABC
THREE SWIFTS - DOROTHY
CK KER - DANCING DOZEN
GAE FOSTER GIRLS - ROXY
RHYTHM ORCHESTRA

ROXY ANY DAY!
25c to 2 P. M.
35c to 7 P. M.
7th Ave. & 58th St. ANY SEAT!
SHOW PLACE OF THE NATION

JAMES CAGNEY

in 'THE ST. LOUIS KID'

—On the Stage—
BIG BROADWAY REVUE
'Words and Music'
35—SINGERS, DANCERS
AND COMEDIANS—35

R PALACE B'way & 47 St.

"THE WHITE PARADE"

Loretta YOUNG - John BOLES
RKO VAUDEVILLE
JEANNE AUBERT
CARL FREED
BERT WALTON
and other RKO Acts

R K O 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.

RADIO CITY
SHOW PLACE of the NATION
2nd BIG WEEK!
Fred Astaire
Ginger Rogers
in "THE Gay Divorcee"
—On the Stage—
The Operatic Legend
'ONTEORA'S BRIDE'
Popular Prices
First Maxx. Reserved Phone CO 5-6535

MUSIC

Richard Copley Mgt.
CARNegie HALL NOV. 27 at 8:30
NEXT TUES. EVE.

WESTMINSTER CHORUS

JOHN FINLEY WILLIAMSON
—Conductor—
'AMERICAN SYMPHONY SINGERS'
HOME WELCOMING CONCERT—Following their triumphant European tour

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY

ARTUR RODZINSKI, Conductor
AT CARNEGIE HALL
Sunday Afternoon at 3:00
ALL-RUSSIAN PROGRAM
Prokofiev—Stravinsky—Moussorgsky
Shostakovitch—Tchaikovsky

Thurs. Eve. at 8:45; Fri. Aft. at 2:30
Sat. Eve. at 8:45 (Students)
STRAUSS—SIBELIUS—RAVEL
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway)

Harlem Labor Committee Helps Negro Operators

THE Harlem Labor Committee, established recently in co-operation with and sponsored by the Negro Labor News Service at 2005 Seventh Ave., has thrown its full force in the fight of the organized Harlem Negro union motion picture operators (affiliated with Local 306, A. F. of L.) to gain recognition and union conditions in the Renaissance Theatre.

The highlight of the committee's activity was reached last week when the theatre management summoned Frank Crosswaith, general organizer for the I.L.G.W.U. and recent Socialist candidate for Congress, to court in an effort to restrain him from speaking at street meetings held near the theatre, where audiences of many hundreds of people gather nightly. Former judge Jacob Panken easily won dismissal of the charges, following the theatre's comic opera request to restrain Crosswaith from speaking near the theatre, and from "intimidating people in Harlem" by appealing to them not to patronize chiseling theatre owners. Such theatres, he has pointed out, seek to enrich themselves by refusing to employ Negro union operators in order to escape union wages and conditions.

The Labor Committee is also conducting street meetings every afternoon. A special leaflet has been written. Following an appeal by Noah C. A. Walter Jr., secretary of the committee, Locals 12 and 30 of the Workers' Unemployed Union pledged support. The work of the committee has testified to the need for the re-establishment of an organization similar to the now inactive Negro Trade Union Committee, which under the leadership of Comrade Crosswaith helped organize the Pullman Car Porters' Union and the movie operators in Harlem. Such an agency would assist the organization of Negro labor into

bona fide unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and would support organized labor in its fight to gain equal recognition and union conditions for Negro labor with all other labor. The officers of the Harlem Labor Committee are: Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman; Bertram Taylor, vice-chairman, and Noh C. A. Walter Jr., secretary.

FACTORY ORDERS ITS HANDS TO BOYCOTT FRIENDLY GROCER

ATLANTA, Ga.—Eighteen hundred employees of the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill have been prohibited from trading in the grocery store of H. G. Bradford, on Carroll Street, near the mill village in the outskirts of Atlanta. Bradford has retaliated by suing the mill for \$50,000 damages.

The boycott and the damage action grow out of the alleged practice of the mill workers in leaving their union dues with Bradford to be handed to the union secretary. The mill management discovered this little service which Bradford is said to have rendered to his customers and issued a flat order to its employees to keep away from the Bradford store. Bradford and his father have been selling groceries to mill workers on this corner since 1902.

The workers are directed to trade with the L. W. Rogers Co., a chain concern with a store on the mill property, and in which rumor is that mill officials are heavy stockholders. However, no other independent grocer in the neighborhood has been boycotted.

Action of this mill against Bradford is only one of the several practices that have been made use of since the strike to coerce and intimidate the employees and to frighten them from joining a union.

New Jersey Federation Assails Court's Power

TRENTON, N. J.—The New Jersey Federation of Labor is going to bat on the question of the rights of labor and how far the rules of the notoriously anti-labor Chancery Court will continue to be used against the right to picket peacefully. Abraham J. Isserman, general counsel for the state federation, recently argued the claims of the workers before the courts.

The unions seek to revise the regulations so as to limit the issuance of injunctions.

"Through the use of the injunction our rights have been repeatedly denied," the federation charged. "The right to strike is meaningless without the right to picket. Strikes and picketing have been restrained by injunction; picketing for a closed shop has repeatedly been restrained; picketing in the absence of a strike has likewise been restrained; the right to strike and picket has been interfered with by ex parte restraints; in many cases where ex parte restraints issued, the restraint was subsequently modified so that the final relief granted the employer was less sweeping than the court gave him ex parte; similarly, lower court decisions have granted sweeping injunctions to which the higher court later found the complainant was not entitled.

"There have been many instances in labor cases where preliminary injunctions have been granted, notwithstanding the 'full, explicit and circumstantial denial under oath' of the bill of complaint and supporting affidavits. In some of these cases the injunction which was granted went so far as to restrain

lawful as well as unlawful acts.

"The increasing tendency of the courts of chancery has been so narrowly to construe the term 'dispute concerning the terms and conditions of employment,' as used in the statute, and the rights of labor to carry on their organizational activities for mutual aid and protection, that such legitimate and necessary organizational activities, including the right to picket and strike, and the right to obtain greater unionization by lawful means, have been almost completely prohibited," the federation insisted.

"Decisions have gone so far as to have excluded from the definition of labor disputes those cases in which efforts are made by peaceful means to unionize employees of a particular plant, even though some of the employees have actually joined the ranks of the union and gone on strike. In fact, in the case last cited the court enjoined not only picketing, but striking itself.

"The passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act with its 7-A clause, hailed as a new charter for labor, has not retarded this tendency as might have been expected, but through strained judicial interpretation, it has resulted in the abuse of labor's rights."

\$200,000 FOR JOBLESS CLOTHING WORKERS

CHICAGO.—The unemployment insurance fund, operated here by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and clothing firms, is disbursing about \$200,000 to the 14,000 men's garment makers in this city.

NO ONE TO BLAME!

"No one is to blame in any way!"

This was the verdict rendered by George Riddle, coroner of Gaston County, N. C., after he had investigated the killing of Ernest Reilly, textile striker shot down by a national guardsmen September 18th.

"No one is to blame in any way." Only another striker murdered by the bosses' guards.

BOOST PAMPHLETS OF PARTY; PUSH WORK AMONG UNEMPLOYED

THE National Labor Committee will print frequent leaflets and pamphlets suitable for distribution to union members for organization purposes. In addition to "Did Your Boss Ask You?" described last week in these columns, and "Out of Work," pamphlets by Leo Krzycki and James D. Graham will be published shortly.

The labor section of The New Leader is especially helpful for distribution. "The Commonwealth Plan" is also well suited for sale to unionists.

"The local Labor Committee should ask each Socialist member of a union to make himself responsible for the sale of a certain quota of party papers and pamphlets to members of his union. It should not be the policy of the labor committee to dictate to Socialists in the union, but it should maintain a close advisory relationship.

"For the same reason that we place great emphasis on the importance of aiding unions and winning their confidence, we need also to work with unemployed organizations. One member of the labor committee should be especially delegated to direct work with unemployed groups along the same lines. — From statement issued to local labor committees by the National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party.

CELLULOID UNION DANCE SATURDAY

The Celluloid, Catalin and Golith Workers' Union, Local 19238 of the A. F. of L., is holding its second annual dance and entertainment at the Rand School Auditorium on Saturday evening, Nov. 24th.

The union has cause for celebration, as it has completed a successful season. The money that is raised will be set aside for an organization and strike fund for the coming year.

EDITORIAL STRIKERS ISSUE NEWARK PAPER

WHEN the Newark Ledger, only morning paper in the city, suspended publication as a move in its fight against the Newark Newspaper Guild, striking members of the editorial staff got busy and issued a four-page paper themselves. "The Ledger Fails You—Its Staff Doesn't," an editorial article in "The Reporter" explained.

News writers and desk men are asking guild recognition, a sliding minimum wage scale and a 40-hour five-day week. The strikers have the support of the newsdealers, following an address before their association by Heywood Brown, president of the national guild. At a special membership meeting, the N. Y. Newspaper Guild voted full support to their Newark brethren.

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

Teachers Union Urges Dismissal of Robinson

THE Teachers Union, after an investigation of the ousting of 21 students (many of them members of the Student L.I.D.) from C.C.N.Y., urges the dismissal of President Frederick B. Robinson instead. The union declares that "on the score of inefficiency and bad judgment in handling situations in a way to create disrespect for the college President Robinson

has outlasted his usefulness and should be retired or dismissed."

The faculty's action in punishing severely the students who took part in the recent anti-Fascist demonstration is due to domination of the faculty by Dr. Robinson and the Board of Higher Education, the union's president, Dr. Henry R. Linville, wrote to Dean Gottschall of the college.

"It is well known that a considerable number of students in C.C.N.Y. are less submissive than most college students, probably more radical and more alert to political and social issues under current discussion," he said. "President Robinson has met all controversies with the students in a way that has not only been undignified but has also been ineffective, because of his ill-tempered attitude and the fact that he was often as violent in manner as any of the offending students.

"The college authorities are on the wrong track if they assume that the disorder of the kind to which they object can be coped with through the usual methods of suspension and expulsion. The solution of the problem is obviously related to the social situation, and it is in that area that the faculty should seek a way out of the predicament.

"Frankly, the union expects that the faculty will be faced with the occasion for more expulsions instead of fewer. This probability will also tend to make it necessary for the faculty to undertake the formulation of a comprehensive program for dealing with such radical political forces as are characteristic of New York City. A program with that purpose involved must be grounded in freedom and democratic control, with both faculty and the student body participating, as well as in freedom from the autocratic interference of the president and the Board of Higher Education."

SUITCASE UNION WINS PHILADELPHIA STRIKE; TO EXPAND

THE successful conclusion of the general strike in the Philadelphia luggage industry is a landmark in the history of the union, Murray Baron, manager of the Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Union and director of strike activities, reports. Plans for extending the organization throughout the East are being mapped out by the joint board, now that Local 52 has been established on a firm basis in Philadelphia.

The strike was called August 1. In the first two weeks, union recognition was won by eight small shops employing 65 workers. The strike in the other shops continued 13 weeks, with the result that 15 closed shop agreements were signed. Two labor board settlements were made which were virtual victories for the union, recognition a guarantee of collective bargaining and the rehiring of strikers without discrimination being won.

The strike was marked by much violence against strikers and many arrests, including a frame-up against the local's organizer, Morris Kaufman. The Socialist Party and Yipsels helped a great deal, as did the joint boards of the I.L.G.W.U. and the A.C.W.A. in both Philadelphia and New York, Comrade Baron comments.

Union Recognition and Other Concessions Won

(Continued from Page 1L)

Estate Board, in addition to 500 more under jurisdiction of the State Department of Banking and Insurance, which has come in on the agreement. The union plans to enlarge its employment bureau at 324 West 42nd Street immediately, as it expects to be called on to supply 100 men a week.

In addition to recognition of the union, the agreement, reached with the aid of the Mayor's special committee, calls for arbitration by impartial machinery of hours and wages, protection of union members against discrimination, and the assurance that union members will be hired when fellow-members resign or are "released." This last provision was looked upon by both sides as a special victory.

The next step of the union will be to obtain agreements for other types of building employees, like superintendents, scrubwomen, theatre employees, wardrobe attendants, entertainers, office and loft superintendents and furnace and lawn tenders. Since Mr. Bambrick is also president of the New York Council of Building Service Employees, covering these locals, he will bend his efforts in that direction in the near future.

At the termination of the strike in the garment area, President Bambrick wrote as follows to Jack Altman as secretary of the Labor Committee:

"The service which you rendered to my union during the stress of the strike period is of inestimable value. I should not only thank the brothers in your party for their

splendid service in our behalf, but also compliment them for their marked ability in handling situations of this kind.

"The struggle is not over. It is just beginning. We plan to extend our organization into all parts of the state and members of your committee will be called on for assistance. Knowing you as I do, that assistance will be forthcoming."

Bambrick mentioned William Gomberg and Jack Lynn as two especially valuable men who were sent him by the Socialist Party.

One Year of Local 142

(Continued from Page 2-L)

crowds. "At the opening of Unity House, our local was represented by a group of 37, and week-end delegations from Local 142 to Unity continued right through the Summer months. Many of our members recommended Unity House to their friends. A boat ride to Bear Mountain was arranged for August 4, and was attended by 1,000 members. Games and races were included in the program.

"The local concluded the celebration of its first anniversary by an entertainment and dance on Saturday, October 13, at the Rand School Auditorium. A mandolin orchestra of Local 145, the International Players with a skit, One For All, singing were on the program as an example of the educational and recreational work of the union.

"This educational work, of course, is a supplement to vital activities of the union."

How the Dingmen Dinged the Bosses: Who Dingmen Are

By Larry S. Davidow

IT is now generally well known that the amazing developments in the automobile industry, resulting in growing mechanization of production, have more and more displaced skilled labor. Some trades have been wiped out not only because of the greater "intelligence" of the machine, but also because new processes have abolished old methods.

However, the very process of intensified mass production has greatly increased the need for a specialized group of workers known in the automobile world as "dingmen." Automobile bodies represent today a true example of modern skill in mass production. Steel sheets are stamped out by huge hammers and presses to follow a certain contour. They are divided into certain parts, so that when assembled about a steel or wooden frame, there evolves the foundation of the modern automobile body, called the "shell." After a cleansing process to remove impurities and foreign substances from the outer service of the steel body in embryo, a conveyor system picks up the body with many others in the first of a series of what is still called the paint operation, but actually involves the application of lacquer.

The varied operations to which the steel body is subjected in the course of its fabrication to its final state, when—painted, upholstered and furnished with all the necessary hardware—it is ready for mounting upon the chassis, provide many opportunities for damage to the surface of the steel body. The many handlings of the automobile body upon the conveyor line make inevitable dents, uneven surfaces, and other imperfections. There is no way to avoid damage to the surface of the steel body, because of the very nature of the production line. Particularly, from the time the first paint job is applied, every steel body is banged or bumped around in its handling. This makes necessary some operation that will bump or "ding" out the uneven surfaces or dents.

Great Skill Needed

To ding out these dents or bumps, without doing damage to the paint job, involves the highest grade of skill. Years of apprenticeship, coupled with intelligence and experience, are necessary before one is qualified for this kind of work. The dingman, because of his expert workmanship and skill, can bump out the inevitable dents and irregular surfaces without doing any injury to the paint job, thus avoiding repainting the body. He uses his own comparatively simple tools. No machine can qualify for this kind of work although the manufacturers have gone to considerable expense to find a machine substitute for this labor. It is because of the dingman that the modern conveyor system of mass production can turn out finished automobile bodies.

There, then, is the paradox. Out of the old method of handcraft coach building has come the conveyor system of mass production. The carving and shaping by hand of wood into the contours of a coach or automobile body have been superseded by the stamping and pressing of steel sheets by elaborate and expensive machinery. Human labor has been largely eliminated. New processes have made unnecessary many old trades. And yet, when all the modern methods are brought together and coordinated, there are developed what may be called natural defects in the product, growing out of the very nature of the highly specialized and mechanized production system. Without the dingmen, the automobile industry would have to go back

to the more simple ways of building automobile bodies with an unavoidable increase in the cost of production.

Dingmen Hold Key

The automobile industry is confronted with this inescapable fact. All the elaborate processes involved in the making of the modern car are in vain, if imperfect automobile bodies are mounted upon the chassis. No purchaser of a new car will buy if the body is filled with dents, imperfections and irregular surfaces. For emphasis, it is worth repeating that the dingmen, by their skill, make possible the use of the modern mass production system of building automobile bodies. It is the dingmen who hold the key to the entire automobile industry as it is now constituted. Much as industrialists have made themselves independent of many skilled trades, their very success has made them totally dependent upon a craft of which little has been known and for whose skill there can be no machine substitute.

These dingmen have been organized in a union of their own for some years. They have had to move with care and circumspection. Despite the bitter antagonism of the automobile manufacturers they have kept their ranks well intact. In the industry which employs several

hundred thousand men, they number between two and three hundred. It is not easy to become a dingman. No one is admitted to active membership who has not served a minimum apprenticeship and demonstrated his ability. It takes years of instruction, practice and unusual skill to become a good dingman. In this array of facts one can more readily appreciate the source of the dingmen's strength.

Vicious Bonus System

Through the course of the depression years, with unskilled labor increasingly invading industry, with no effective unions for the industry as a whole to challenge the arbitrary power of the industrialists, the manufacturers succeeded in putting into effect certain schemes which victimized the workers. One of the most vicious forms of exploitation and downright expropriation was the use of the "bonus" system. Lack of space in this article precludes a thorough description of how this scheme works. It is sufficient to say here that the workers never knew from day to day what they would earn. An intricate system of bookkeeping was set up by the employers, access to which was denied the employees. Whatever the passing whim or caprice of the manufacturers suggested would be the wage, the employees had to ac-

cept, uncritically. This arrangement afforded the manufacturers a glorious opportunity to gouge their men, an opportunity which was never neglected.

At the beginning of this year, the dingmen's base pay varied at the different plants, averaging about sixty cents an hour. Their bonus arrangement would bring up their actual wages to about 85 to 90 cents an hour. This pay was much less than they had been earning in the more prosperous years, when their minimum had been \$1.50 an hour. With the advent of the New Deal they expected some improvement in the rate of pay, but nothing came of it.

Last February the dingmen in Detroit adopted a new strategy in their dealings with the automobile industrialists which was a striking departure from methods previously employed. In the past, individual workers, or in groups, had asked for terms of individual manufacturers without regard to the other companies. This time they appointed a representative, not a dingman, to act for all of them, with all the automobile and automobile body concerns in the metropolitan area of Detroit. No effort was made to utilize the various agencies set up under NIRA. Letters were sent to employers simultaneously, requesting identical terms at a certain time.

Dingmen Force the Issue

Responses came from nearly all the manufacturers out of which grew some negotiation, but after some weeks went by it was evident that the manufacturers were acting in concert and that it was not their intention to give any serious attention to the demands formulated by the dingmen. When this conclusion became irresistible, the dingmen decided by an overwhelming vote to force the issue. They were not satisfied with the various pretexts offered by their employers such as: the companies could not afford to pay the minimum requested, or that the companies could not abolish the bonus system, because similar demands would come from others and it would involve such a huge depar-

ture that it was impossible even to think of the change. Convinced that the manufacturers did not seriously intend to negotiate, the dingmen sent an ultimatum to all employers: the dingmen would all go out on a holiday unless within 48 hours the demands for abolition of the bonus system and adoption of the \$1.25 per hour minimum were met.

Almost immediately the dingmen's representative got a telephone call from the Detroit Regional Labor Board of the NIRA, asking that he appear before it to explain the controversy. When he appeared before this tribunal, packed with employers and their henchmen, with only two or three labor representatives out of eleven, the suggestion was immediately made by employer members that a postponement be obtained to work out a settlement. He refused; after six weeks of fruitless efforts, the men would not countenance further delay. It was a case of "cut bait for fish."

A member of the board, who had been president of Dodge Brothers, left the room. He returned shortly and said: "I have just talked to Vice-President Knudson of the General Motors Co. If you agree to a delay of 24 hours, he assures me you will be able to speak to responsible officials of all the concerns." It was agreed that the dingmen would be asked to postpone their holiday for a day. Before that day was over, nearly all the plants had yielded to the demands of the dingmen. The bonus system has been abolished; the minimum wage of \$1.25 per hour established. This has meant an average increase of at least \$10 a week.

This success has not been without effect upon other workers in the automobile industry. The dingmen have been asked about their form of organization and methods. A ferment has developed that will show its effects when the automobile plants open up again. In the meantime, with the industry virtually shut down, the dingmen are marking time. They have further demands to make. They will be heard from again soon.

All Out to Jobless Parade on Saturday

THE National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party has broadcast an appeal to all locals and members to support the demonstration plans of the Unemployed National Action Committee for Nov. 24. The Labor Committee of New York also urges all party members and all Yipsels to mobilize at Union Square at 10 a. m. Saturday.

"Facing the sixth winter of bitter suffering, the unemployed must now act on a national scale to fight for a decent standard of living," the national call states. "Unemployment is increasing. Mass misery grows worse."

"The New Deal has failed to solve any of the problems of the unemployed. We cannot live on promises. Only by militant action can we win freedom from economic serfdom. We call upon all unemployed and part-time workers to unite in a great nationwide demonstration on Saturday, November 24, at 10 a. m."

"The demands of the jobless can not be won by requesting them from public officials. They can be won by determined action of the unemployed, together with the support of the unemployed. It is obvious that the problem of unemployment affects the trade union movement and that the trade unions must support the unemployed in their struggles."

Wil-low and Stewart Raise Wages to "Beat the Union"

FOLLOWING the eager response of workers in the Wil-low and Stewart cafeterias to the organization campaign of the Independent Chain Cafeteria Workers Union, another meeting was scheduled for the past Thursday night at the Labor Temple. One very encouraging factor in the employees' fight for a union of their own was the fact that the management of both chains was frightened by the union's drive into raising wages, and in one case offering bonuses and prizes.

"If the mere threat of union can force such concessions," one veteran worker remarked, "imagine what a strong union could do!"

A leaflet issued after last week's successful meeting and distributed to day and night workers reads as follows:

To All Wil-low and Stewart Workers!

At our last meeting the demands of the union were discussed and voted upon favorably. Because of lack of space we cannot list all of the demands, but part of them follow:

Minimum wage of \$18 per week; Store-room men \$25; Counter men \$25; Chefs \$35;

A flat 25 per cent increase for those already receiving above minima in their class.

A six-day week; an 8-hour day; equal wages for men and women doing the same work; three square meals a day; time and a half for overtime; Union recognition.

Organizations plans are being completed and means of winning our demands discussed.

All Wil-low and Stewart workers—talk to your fellow workers. We have the right to organize. Let's prove that we have the courage and the strength.

Organizational Committee of Wil-low and Stewart Workers. Independent Chain Cafeteria Workers' Union.

For further information call or write: Room 408, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

At the previous meeting, the members were thrown into momentary confusion by the sudden appearance of a number of spokesmen for the Communist Food Workers Industrial Union, who viciously attacked the independent union. When a former member of the Communist union replied, giving facts, figures and dates, the assemblage was so incensed at the Communists that it required the personal intervention of a member of The New Leader staff to prevent them from doing bodily harm to the interlopers.

UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLEATERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St., Phone Algonquin 4-3657. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

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

CLOAK, DRESS, DRIVERS' & HELPERS' UNION, Local 162, I.L.G.W.U., Affiliated with A. F. of L. 131 West 33rd St., Chickerling 4-3681—Saul Metz, Manager.

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

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

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

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union Office and headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stag 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 WAISTMAKERS' UNION—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. Longacre 5-5106. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 215 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

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

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U., Office, 60 West 35th St.; Phone, Wis. 7-8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union—Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr. Sec'y; Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Superstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 21, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, Spring 7-4543; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodos.

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

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

WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T., 290-7th Ave. W. Lehman, Sec'y; Tel.: Lackawanna 4-5483

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 673 Broadway, New York City. Telephone, Algonquin 4-1861. S. Shore, Manager. J. Shore, Executive Supervisor.

OUR KINDS OF CARDS

But Sidney Webb Fell Hard for Attractive Statistics

laying the foundation for a Socialist economy. In doing this we were forced to eradicate our co-operative movement. It is destroyed and nothing remains of it—only the name. Our 'co-operative movement' is at present nothing but a branch, a department of the *Narkomtorg*, or the Commissariat of Internal Trade. And at that, the weakest branch of the Commissariat, its stepchild, whose rule in the material well-being of the workers is becoming smaller and smaller. As to the cultural life of the masses, where the cooperatives with their stores, centers and shares used to exercise a great influence, they are now non-existent. The most illiterate of our workers know this. It will be confirmed to you by any of our housekeepers. And we Bolsheviks make no secret about it. We, however, add that we had no choice—the all-important struggle for rapid industrialization and collectivization did not leave us any choice.

"And it happened that the weakest link in our Socialist chain—the non-existent co-operative movement—was precisely the one that most pleased Sidney Webb. He is more enthusiastic about it, he said, than about any other achievement of our revolution. Why? Because the figures—the official figures—are extremely impressive. Thousands of stores and magazines, an enormous army of employees, 25 million members, billions in business. . . .

Twenty-five Million Members

"I told you all this," said the Communist, at our next meeting, "because you would find it out anyway. For one of your type it could not remain a secret. You would easily establish the fact that a number of years have passed since we had our last elections in the various co-operative organizations; that almost all the leaders of this movement are no longer elected officials, but appointed; that the 25,000,000 members are not members in the sense they were formerly or in the sense in which this word is understood abroad; that they have no say whatsoever and no control over the income and expenditures of these stores; that nobody ever asked them what kind of merchandise to handle or what should be the price charged for it; and that all these problems are solved by the government, which is the real owner of the stores and which defines their policies and regulates their prices, and which, in this case as in any other, follows its own general policies and plans. It is really unfortunate that a person of Sidney Webb's caliber could find satisfaction in superficial observation of revolutionary phenomena instead of a deep scientific study."

In passing, let me remark that the words *cooperation* and *co-operative* stores are anachronisms in present-day Russia. You meet them only in the official press, and even there not often. Workers among themselves hardly ever use these terms. "Cooperation" does not exist for them, although everyone is a "member" of such a "co-operative society," and almost everyone buys products from time to time in these stores. Workers all over the Soviet Union speak of the cooperatives with contempt, a contempt mixed with vexation. For every Soviet worker, every Soviet employee has "shares" in these stores. Everyone is forced from time to time, even now, to pay new assessments on their shares. However, none looks upon

the cooperatives as their own free, democratically managed labor institutions. The cooperatives belong to the government: they are the property of the state and the state utilizes them only inasmuch as it requires a machinery for the distribution to certain groups of population of those products it finds it necessary to sell at a normal, small profit at the "fast" prices instead of the usually enormous profits derived from the merchandise in the other, commercial, state-owned stores. The "open" or commercial stores sell at prices that are fifteen to twenty times higher than in the "closed" stores.



Sidney Webb

These last stores are therefore no longer called "co-operative" stores but "distributors." They are also more accurately called "closed distributors." The word "closed" is applied to them because according to the present policy of the Soviet State, as practiced during the last five or six years, those co-operative stores are closed to every member of the co-operative society unless he or she is assigned by the authorities to this particular store.

Each shop or factory, each trade and transport enterprise, each institution and government office has such "closed stores." The "closed stores" sell only to possessors of certain "cards." The "cards" must be brought together with the money when buying an article. At the entrance of many such stores you are met by a special guard insisting upon seeing your pass. Without this pass or "card" nobody is admitted.

"Closed Stores"

The merchandise in the "closed stores" is not always the same. Also, the assortment and the prices. It all depends on the city in which the "closed store" is located. The residents of the larger cities are more privileged than those of the smaller towns. It also depends on the institution or establishment to which the "closed store" is an adjunct. There are ordinary enterprises and there are privileged ones. There are also very, very privileged ones.

It also depends on which class of workers the particular wage-earner belongs to. Factory workers are even in Moscow, where their status is in every particular much superior to what it is elsewhere, divided into four classes or "categories," and receive four different "cards." As a result of this, the "closed store" may sell to one worker a certain amount of goods and a much smaller amount to another worker—and a still smaller quantity to a third. Wage-earners of the same class working in industries of the same importance receive in these "closed stores" (naturally for a purchase price) a much reduced quota of goods if they live outside the capital. And this in a rapidly decreasing scale. As a result, most of the workers in such large industrial centers as Kharkov and Ekaterinoslav have the right to buy from their "closed store" at the normal, "fast" price only bread—two pounds a day—and nothing else.

All this must be kept in mind whenever an attempt is made to digest the extremely complicated structure of wages and prices, labor rights and labor duties in the Soviet Union.

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Questions and Answers

J. O'B., Connecticut.—The Socialist Party has never pronounced for or against religion, for or against agnosticism, but we have never hesitated to answer attacks of minister, priest, rabbi or agnostic. We care not what the religious or anti-religious views of our opponents are; they are all in the one category of enemies. In some European countries Catholics and Protestants are organized into political parties. Where the church becomes a political party, there is naturally antagonism between it and the Socialist Party.

S. K., New Jersey, and Others.—Unfortunately, it is true that Alfred Baker Lewis of Massachusetts sent James Curley a telegram of congratulations following his election as Governor on the Democratic ticket. We asked Comrade Lewis for a letter denying it and he writes confirming it, concluding that "it appears to have been a mistake, judging by the complaints from comrades."

The R.P.C. Magazine

WE are asked by Francis A. Henson to comment on the first number of the "Revolutionary Socialist Review" published by the R.P.C., now organized in the Socialist Party. First as to Henson. In 1932 I had some correspondence with him as to a Boston "liberal" who was not a member of the party, who declared himself not a Socialist, yet Henson argued that he might be a better Socialist than a party member!

In April, 1933, I received a publicity statement from him as an executive secretary of the "National Religion and Labor Foundation." A few weeks ago I read a pamphlet on "Christianity and Marxism" to which Henson contributed. He declared: "I am a Marxian. I, also, am a catholic Christian." He finds a united front between Marx and Jesus possible. All this is carried into the Revolutionary Policy Committee. Henson is the acting secretary of the national committee of the R.P.C. Being the chosen leader, we have some idea of what this "revolutionary" Socialism implies. All that is required to round it out is the addition of Moses and Mohammed.

After reading the R.P.C. magazine, I looked up the Communist sects formed in 1919, and this one differs little from the United Communist Party of 1920. It was the union of two sects still underground and yearning for an underground existence. Here is one item from the program mentioned in the magazine: "Workers' Councils organized in direct response to a growing revolutionary situation shall constitute the basic unit or organs by which the working class can carry through an armed insurrection." We can thank the R.P.C. for this candor, for there are some party members who assert that it is not a Communist organization within the party. If this continues in the party, it will be filled with police spies, as the United Communist Party was.

As for the contents of the magazine, they do not differ with the output of 1920. A war psychosis produced 15 or 20 Communist sects in that period and after a short civil war they combined. They again split and the depression psychosis is reproducing the same ideas of 14 years ago, except that Jesus is not paraded with Marx. The article by Irving Brown is typical.

Brown handles the lingo of the modern scholastics as well as the authors of the ponderous and dreary "theses" of the C.P. itself. Moreover, once started on this pastime, there is no end to it. He decides that he is "left." The "militants" are hopelessly "centrist." The C.P. strategists will certainly label him a "social fascist." Then we have yet to hear from Lovestone, Gitlow, Cannon and Weisbord, each of whom is an adept at creating niches into which are placed right, center, left, and various shades in between. Then each one has his own road to power and each is able to floor the other with such heavy artillery as the following from Brown: ". . . the cumulative secondary effects as variables that reinforced the principle, basic constants in social revolution—the class nature of the state, the proletariat organized in extra-parliamentary Soviets," etc. Does that convince you?

There is little doubt that we are back to the sterile sectarianism that began in 1919. The same groups, factions and sects have appeared and each is entirely alien to a working class movement. It recalls the world movement in the early nineties, when Plechanoff wrote his brilliant little book on "Anarchism and Socialism" (translated into English by Eleanor Marx Aveling). It should be required reading for party members today. Plechanoff wrote of the Anarchist sects of the period. By Marxists everywhere this was recognized as the most brilliant polemic in Socialist literature. "Alas, gentlemen," Plechanoff concluded, "you will try everything. You will become Buddhists, Druids, Sars, Chaldeans, Occultists, Magi, Theosophists, or Anarchists, whichever you prefer—and yet you will remain what you are now—beings without faith or principle, bags emptied by history."

The present intellectual depression psychosis also brings to mind my own favorite quotation from Scripture when recalling the war of the modern sects since 1919. I quote from Hebrews, 13:8. "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and forever."



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as Tried It!

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tional change proposing to have the President of the Republic elected for a term of ten years. This proposal was adopted by a vote of 7,500,000 against 650,000. Encouraged by this enormous affirmative vote, Louis Napoleon demanded the restoration of the empire. The question of making him Emperor of France was put to a vote of the people: 7,801,321 voted for Louis Napoleon, only 251,781 against him. He immediately launched his *coup d'état* and on December 2, 1852, he was proclaimed Emperor Napoleon III.

Eighteen years later the same Emperor Napoleon III found himself prisoner of war, together with his army. His empire ended at Sedan on September 2, 1870.

History repeats itself. Hitler's popular vote of 38,000,000 will not save his dictatorship. He will follow the historical road which dictators have traveled before him.

Berkeley---Home of the Brickbat Brigade

By Phil Hitts

BERKELEY. — Proud city . . . home of the largest university on earth . . . home of the members of the California Supreme Court . . . home of Major-General Shoot-to-Kill Barrows . . . home of vigilantes, mob-law, brickbat brigade, and a heresy-hunting American Legion.

Americanism Glorified. — Crash! Rattle! Bang! Thirty-five taxpayers' windows smashed by vigilante bricks—big enough and swift enough to kill—and bearing notice to leave. Two halls smashed. At the cooperative Finnish Comrades' Hall four pianos tuned with clubs, plumbing demolished, a library of Finnish translations destroyed, a banner—"Workers of the World, Unite!"—torn to shreds.

Patriotism Protected. — Night. On the steps of the high school auditorium camp several hundred taxpayers locked out by a super-"patriotic" Demo-Republican school board. Socialists, some church people, some Y.M.C.A., some Y.W.C.A. members have gathered to protest vigilante brickbat brigade law in Berkeley. They presume to think. Dangerous! Wave the flag! They demand protection in their homes. Radicals! They insist on the right of free speech. Subversive! They advocate the right of free assemblage. Lock the doors and wave the flag! They propose the substitution of legal procedure for the vigilante brickbat brigade law of the "best citizens." A menace to our sacred institutions! Lock the doors! Circle them with police! Summon the plainclothes force! Yea, call in the heresy-baiting American Legion! The Constitution is at stake!

Joke.—It was a Socialist school board before the war to make the world safe for democracy that first opened the schools and the auditorium as social centers and influenced the legislature to write it in the statute books. Now they have the consummate gall to claim the right to use these auditoriums to protest against a Demo-Republican reign of mob law. Lock the doors!

Wave the Flag!—There's a labor battle on. Shout "red" and wave the flag! Radical taxpayers protest the effort of the board to destroy instead of repairing school buildings in order to jam down their throats a bond issue for the benefit of contractors and bond-buyers. So wave the flag, and attention will be diverted from the dirty work. Order all teachers to hold daily flag-worshipping exercises, get the Daily Gasjet to start a controversy. Lock the doors against radical mob-protesting citizens, and put over the bonds in the name of patriotism. See that the teachers never talk about violating the spirit of the law by locking the doors, never hint to the kiddies that brickbat vigilantes are treacherous organizations. Just wave the flag!

Constitution Upheld.—A 70-year-old widow convalescing on her couch near the window—a taxpayer for twenty years—never harmed friend or enemy. Dangerous! Talks Communism in a gentle, uncomprehensible way—dangerous! Bang! Bang! Bang! Three bricks for her with notices to leave, and wrapped in mob-inciting editorials from the Daily Gasjet, insanely reactionary Republican paper. Two hours later police saunter in and suggest that it might be the work of bad boys. Some night a mob of vigilantes drive up to a church. Dangerous citizen in there has been conducting an open forum. Three of them grab him and head for the auto. Other citizens interfere, call the police. The three are taken into custody, questioned, promptly released.

Berkeley's police force has been lauded all over the land as a model. At this time they had double force acting because of the water front strike. Major-General Shoot-to-Kill Barrows had troops of the National Guard mobilized for protection, some parading the city in trucks. Two months pass, and this wonderful college-trained police force have been unable to find a single trace of the brickbat vigilantes—criminals guilty of more law violations in one night than all the reds, radicals and pinks have perpetrated in all the history of the city of Berkeley. Meanwhile the old lady has fled to the city of Al Capone, and from there to the den of Tammany tigers, to escape from the protection of Berkeley's college police.

Fascism in Action.—A while before the Socialists were locked out, Mayor Ament, pious super-patriot, calls a meeting of "good" citizens in four school houses to organize protective vigilante groups to cooperate with the police—not locked out. Special invitations to "desirables." Then an appeal to the Governor for the National Guard because of a condition of riot, which in fact did not exist. (One of the vigilantes protested he did not carry a gun, he was only authorized to carry pick-handles.) Comes Top Sergeant Circus Barker Johnson, to get an "honorary" degree from the "greatest university on earth"—should have been

a Swastika degree. He declares: "This subversive element must be wiped out. They must be run out like rats." No legal action suggested—"they must be run out like rats." The barker has barked. Immediately all around the San Francisco Bay fascist vigilantes rushed to see who could get there first. In Berkeley it was brickbats. Police followed soon in most places and arrested—those who were mobbed. A donkey-riding Democrat on the Berkeley City Council introduced a resolution complimenting the police—the Mayor continues semi-religious super-patriotic appeals against reds and radicals—the daily continues gas-jet editorials—council closes public buildings to radicals—the American Legion storms the school board to make every one getting permission to use the schools sign an oath to support the government and to sponsor for what is said.—The school board locks the doors against protestants, and waves the flag and calls for bonds!

WHAT OF IT?—Only this—that there are a hundred Berkeleys in California. Who is behind this concerted action? The Better American Federation, the American Legion, and other civic organizations are but instrumentalities. Is the presiding genius the inside military ring, or the power trust brain, or the international ammunition murder ghouls selling bleeding, quivering human flesh for profit? At least we Socialists know that our petty officials are but wooden monkeys dancing when the strings are pulled; and that the mob and murder vigilantes are but crosses between the Elephant and the Donkey.

Pittsburgh Calls for Repudiation Of United Front Maneuvers

The following resolution of Pittsburgh Socialists is printed at the earnest request of the Pennsylvania organization, of which The New Leader is the official organ. The state asks us to make an exception to the rule we made regarding printing of such resolutions and we grant the request. However, we shall hold to the rule in succeeding issues of merely reporting that resolutions have been adopted.—EDITOR.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Pittsburgh Socialists have forwarded to the National Executive Committee the following resolution on the United Front:

At its last meeting in Milwaukee, it is reported, that the National Executive Committee voted upon and is to consider again at its next meeting negotiations with the Communist Party toward a so-called United Front. This action comes with surprise, especially in view of the fact that the Detroit convention decided on no change of policy with respect to this question. While numerous local united front experiments here and elsewhere have provided practical and ample demonstration that no good purpose can be served the working class movement by our alliances with the Communist Party and its various affiliates, this question goes far deeper.

At no time past or present have the Communists regarded Socialists as allies or even temporary allies engaged in a common cause. This is a basic requisite for any form of united action. The Communist movement holds the very antithesis of this view. They regard all Socialist parties as interlopers and that it is Communism's special and unique task to "break their hold upon the masses." The United Front is thus conceived of as a wedge and as offering a broad field for the play of Communist activities.

It is hardly necessary to point out that this question is an international one. Socialist parties elsewhere face this same issue. And inasmuch as these proposals originate with the Communist International, they are the proper subject for consideration between the two Internationals.

The fact that Communist parties share with the Socialist parties of a few countries the support of large elements of the working class may make common action in these countries, in the interests of the masses, desirable. But we should not close our eyes to the serious dangers which lie in a false unity or meanwhile embarrass our own International in its efforts to approach this problem from an international standpoint.

In this country the Communist Party is without prestige or following in the ranks of the organized workers. It has consistently antagonized the trade union elements and isolated itself. Today its adherents find it difficult to function in the Communist Party and increasingly are centering their activity in organizations which do not bear the Communist label. For us to unite with the Communists is to doom the party to a sterile and a sectarian position and remove us from the organized workers who stand to our right.

We are strongly of the conviction that in this country and in the current situation there is not the slightest ground for common action between the Socialists and the Communists. We do not consider that any commitments which the Communist Party may make with regard to respecting the integrity of the existing trade unions could alter the basic situation. On the contrary, we should resolutely appraise as a definite part of our educational work the philosophy and tactics of the Communist Party.

We should make clear to the workers the dangers inherent in the advocacy of force and dictatorship and the stimulus these policies give to the growth of fascism. We should acquaint them with the role of Communism as a divisive force in the ranks of the working class and the difficulties which Communism continues to offer to any real united front. To do less is to fail to recognize our duty to the working class and to the cause of international Socialism. For the Socialist Party to permit its locals and branches to engage in pseudo "united fronts" with the Communist Party or any of its affiliated organizations is a definite

Gloria Goes Back to Live with her Aunt

By Gertrude Weil Klein

GLORIA VANDERBILT is to live with her aunt, the lady who sculpts and runs a museum for American artists in Greenwich Village. I was surprised at this seemingly unsentimental and intelligent decision. The tendency in cases of this sort is to award the child to its mother on the assumption that a mother, any kind of mother, is better fitted to bring up her own children than anyone else. Which is just so much hokey.

Motherhood in itself does not, ipso facto, make one a competent mother. But it is the sort of hokey which is peddled pretty generally among the rich and also among the poor. Witness the spectacle of the group of east-side mothers who nearly broke their necks trying to present a petition to the judge to give Gloria back to her mother! (I'd like to hear from the children of some of these mothers.)

I suspect the judge had a difficult time in this case. All the traditional bunk about sacred motherhood had to give way before the equally hoary moral and religious prejudices. The mother in this case did not sit by the fireside and tend to her knitting, but went about cavorting with various and sundry gentlemen. I maintain she still might have been a good mother. A young and beautiful widow is bound to, and should have a host of "boy friends."

The decision seems intelligent to me for different reasons. The one thing that Gloria lacked is precisely the one essential in the healthy development of any child—a feeling of being wanted, of having an important place in the family group. A child is inordinately sensitive. Its ego is hurt by slights that you and I would never notice. Much of the "nervousness," the

mental quirks and maladjustments of adults, is due to the lack of a feeling of security and stability in childhood.

It is not always in the poorer homes that the worst offenses are committed in this respect, but usually poverty aggravates the indifference and ignorance of parents toward the mental and emotional development of their children. The working class mother, particularly, her nerves constantly on edge with the struggle merely to feed and clothe her family, finds her duty done when she performs that miracle. Struggling unceasingly with poverty, she turns on her children and lets out her anger and impatience on their helpless, bewildered heads. So does the mother, frustrated for other and more esoteric reasons, in a more comfortable environment. It is not peculiarly a poverty problem and it does not have to wait for the social revolution for solution.

I realize that I am treading into a vast area of controversial matter in a limited and skimp way. But I can't help it. Space does not permit me to do otherwise. However, if anyone wants to debate me, I'll take them on. Also I'll be glad to recommend some excellent books that give us an insight into what youngsters think and feel, if anyone is interested and will write me.

"The debate" is running into difficulties. In the first place, Comrade Hillyer is not nearly as anxious to debate as her letter in last week's Leader might lead you to believe. In fact, it develops that she is not anxious to debate at all, but I am holding Comrade Hillyer at least to the spirit of her bargain, even though we have to change the letter somewhat. The debate will be in the nature of a symposium and the word "sell-out" will have to be soft-pedaled. (At Comrade Hillyer's request.) The title tentatively is "Lessons of the Textile Strike." Also the date will have to be changed, as the party meeting at which B. C. Vladeck, Max Danish and others will report on the A. F. of L. convention takes place December 7th. Our date will probably be the 14th.



G. W. Klein

The Cockeyed Week

(Continued from Page Two)
balance the budget. Surely one out of five of the unemployed will gladly starve to make Uncle Sam's books neater.

TUESDAY.—Reconstruction Finance Corporation sues General Dawes' bank, which still owes \$60,000,000 of \$80,000,000 loan made just after Dawes resigned as chairman of R.F.C. While they are talking of disenfranchising those who get relief, how about the bank's stockholders? . . . Mayor LaGuardia of New York proposes tax on three utility bills. Last week the State Power Authority report showed us that half our light bills are just robbery, and now the bankers' errand boy wants to slap a tax on top of that. . . . President Green doubts real co-operation of National Chamber of

surrender of our responsibilities and a subversion of our principles. Simultaneously with the release of the resolution, an appeal was issued to party locals and branches throughout the country to concur in the resolution and so notify the National Executive Committee and the Socialist Party at Pittsburgh. Those desiring copies of the resolution may secure them from the Socialist Party of Allegheny County, 122 Ninth Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Commerce in recovery while it opposes 7a and labor representation on code authorities. Harriman prances through South calling for aid for Roosevelt. Why have the Tories suddenly begun to love the President? . . . Maybe the answer is the revival of the R.F.C. and promised "reorganization" of the NRA. . . . Serbs start movement to canonize Alexander. Washing out blood with holy water. . . . In Poland 3,000,000 Jews are destitute as a result of anti-Semitic propaganda which also flourishes in Austria (maybe the bishops who worry about Mexico could take this on, too), Hungary, Rumania, Latvia and Lithuania.

WEDNESDAY.—Smedley But- says that he was offered \$3,000,000 by Wall Street bankers to form fascist army and seize capital. Our old friend General Johnson is implicated and Wall Streeters don't wait to be named to deny charges. If they didn't, at least they will. . . . King George, opening Parliament, says he's skeptical about arms cuts. Shake, George, so am I so long as there are capitalists to fight for foreign markets. . . . U. S. Navy placed under wartime secrecy to assist wrangling at naval conference. . . . United States proposes treaty for control of armament. Needless to say, Italy is first objector.

The University of the Air

By George Field

ON Saturday evening, December 8th, at Town Hall, Radio Station WEVD will inaugurate the third year of its popular University of the Air. Fifteen hundred New Yorkers will be guests of the station during a brilliant two-hour program presided over by the genial historian and author, Hendrik Willem van Loon. The tickets of admission to Town Hall for this inaugural program have already been over-subscribed, but those who cannot be present at the opening will have an opportunity to hear the entire program from 8 to 10 p. m. over the radio.

I recall an evening in January in the year 1933, when the "god-

father" of this University of the Air stepped before the WEVD microphone in the dining room of the Hotel Algonquin to declare his faith in mass education as the surest cure for our present ills. He was starting a modest venture without compensation for himself or any of the members of the "faculty," save that which comes with the realization that at long last the magic power of radio is being diverted from the blare of advertising programs into the path of education and culture. The idea was launched and was immediately acclaimed. Hundreds of students and educators wrote their first "fan letters." Van Loon carried on for many months. With

him were associated Dr. John Dewey, Professor William H. Kilpatrick, Dr. John B. Watson, Carl Van Doren, Fannie Hurst, Heywood Brown and other educators and authors who made valuable contributions.

But it was simply the groundwork for the more effective job still to be done. Hendrik van Loon gave WEVD the hope that this year it can be done, when he gave that station a blanket commitment on his spare time for the advancement of the University of the Air. When, on the evening of December 8th, Alla Nazimova, Dr. John Dewey, Fannie Hurst, Heywood Brown, a symphony orchestra, and other famous artists, musicians, authors and educators, join the inaugural program, the prospects are that they will set off the spark which will have a salutary effect in every intelligent home.

Plans for the third year of the University of the Air are beginning to shape themselves. Hendrik Willem van Loon will do a series, entitled "History Repeats Itself," every Tuesday evening beginning early in December. A new course which they intend to develop, entitled "Studies in a Museum," will be directed by Prof. Henry Fairfield Osborne, honorary president of the American Museum of Natural History. Art will be discussed by Thomas Craven. The Philosophy Course will be under the supervision of Prof. John Dewey and, as in the past seasons, the course will present leading educators from Columbia University, New York University, and the College of the City of New York. Dr. Sandor Lorand, head of the Mental Health Clinic at Mount Sinai Hospital, will supervise the course in Psychoanalysis. Heywood Brown and a group of New York dramatic critics will offer a course in the Drama.

A series on Trade Unionism is planned with Sidney Hillman of the Labor Relations Board and president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union; George Meany, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, and other labor leaders. They will start a Current Events series with such commentators as Elmer Davis, Oswald Garrison Villard and Bishop Francis J. McConnell. William Beebe, author and scientist, is counted on for a series on "Science and Exploration." There will also be a course in Economics, although it has not as yet been determined who will direct this department. This outline of program is tentative, and the definite schedule of courses will be announced at the Town Hall inauguration, Dec. 8.

The University of the Air is one important feature in a complete plan of programming for intelligent listeners. The station uses its influence on public opinion to aid significant causes. The Public Welfare Department, the Housing Authority and other public agencies which seek to raise our standards of life find WEVD a helpful medium for reaching the general public.

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

Sun.—11 a. m., Forward Hour, music and sketches; 2 p. m., Lola Mantel-Gorsey, soprano; 8:15, Sylvia Bagley, songs—Charles Cohen, piano; 8:30, Rogers Review, Latin American music; 10, Milban Trio; 10:30, Symposium.
Mon.—8 a. m., Dr. Jacob List, Psychology Clinic of the Air; 3:30 p. m., Clara Schinsky, soprano.
Tues.—8:15 p. m., Esther Lane and Charles Anderson, songs; 8:45, Cora Graham, soprano; 10, New Leader Review of the News; 10:30, "Paris in New York," music.
Wed.—8 p. m., Talk (to be announced); 8:15, Actors' Dinner Club—Doris Hardy; 8:30, Perla Del Sur, West Indian music; 10:15, Jack Salmon, baritone—Edith Friedman, piano; 10:45, Gisella, violin.
Thurs.—8:15 p. m., Margaret Reed Dodge, mezzo-soprano; 8:30, James Scott, tenor; 10, "Newspaper Guild on the Air," talks; 10:30, Carlo Lanzilotti, bass; 10:45, Edith Friedman, piano.
Fri.—8 p. m., Foreign Affairs, talk; 8:15, Charlotte Tonhazy, violinist; 8:30,

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Party Progress

Illinois
A new local has been organized at Trenton. Comrades from neighboring towns are joining the Trenton comrades in building a strong educational local. "Good and welfare" meetings will be held at the Trenton City Hall the first Tuesday evening of each month.

Wisconsin
Deutsch in Milwaukee
Dr. Julius Deutsch, the courageous defender of red Vienna, will speak under the auspices of the Socialist party Nov. 25, 2 p. m., at the Eagles' ballroom.

Michigan
Wayne County. A dinner honoring Norman Thomas is to be given at party headquarters, 225 E. Forest Ave., Tuesday, Nov. 27, at 5:45 p. m. Mail reservations as early as possible or call Terrace 2-8512. Julius Deutsch will address two meetings in Detroit, Thursday, Dec. 6, he will speak under the auspices of the Detroit German Socialist Branch, and on the following day the Detroit Labor Conference against Fascism is sponsoring the meeting.
Ann Arbor. The local moved into new headquarters on Main Street last week. An extensive educational campaign is planned.
Branch 1, 225 E. Forest Ave., Terrace 2-8512. Matthew Smith, executive secretary of the MESA, will speak at the regular Saturday evening Forum, Dec. 1, on "The MESA's Place in the Labor Movement." Work is going ahead for the branch bazaar scheduled for Dec. 7, 8 and 9. Contributions of saleable articles are asked for by the bazaar committee. The sixth program of the Sunday evening Movie and Lecture series is a lecture on "Mental Hygiene of Adolescence" by Prof. H. Y. McCluskey.

New Jersey
United Labor Forces Active
Union County. A monster protest meeting will be held at Liberty Hall, 224 26th St., Guttenberg, Friday, Nov. 30, to protest against war and fascism. Martin Plett will be the principal speaker. The meeting can be easily reached by busses and trolley cars and West Shore Ferry. For any further information watch your local newspaper or get in touch with headquarters, 256 Central Ave., Jersey City.

New York State
Oneonta. Local Oneonta has elected the following officers: Organizer, Floyd H. Young; Secretary-Treasurer, Paul Crumley; Literature Agent, Louis Vorse. Pierre DeNio of Delaware County will address the local on Nov. 26 on "Problems of the Dairy Farmer." Comrade Young, who made the run for Assemblyman this year, received 154 votes in his home town of Unadilla where Waldman polled 10 votes for Governor two years ago.

Buffalo. The official canvass of votes in the recent election by the Board of Elections of Erie County shows that the Socialist party alone, among minor parties, made heavy gains. (Details are printed elsewhere.) The gubernatorial vote of the other minor parties this year

Cecil Burrows, baritone; 10, Six Rhythm Tempos; 10:15, Varela and Perez, songs; 10:30, Medical Hour; 10:45, Sylvia Lang, songs.
Sat.—8 a. m., Psychology Clinic of the Air—Dr. Jacob List; 3 p. m., Rand School Luncheon, speakers: Heywood Brown, Anita Block; 8, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30, Betty Blue, songs; 8:45, "Story of a People," sketch; 10:15, Vocal Trio; 10:30, Jesse Wolf, baritone.

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was, Law Preservation 796 as against 5,587; Communist, 572 as against 608, and Socialist-Labor, 417 as against 551.

Rockland County. After the most active campaign for its four year existence, Local Rockland County increased its vote about 40%, and increased its membership to a new high figure. Beginning early in August, the local Socialists carried on an active campaign of street, home and hall meetings, and continued a vigorous canvass of homes. Norman Thomas and Herman Kobbe visited the county for two active days late in October. The campaign was waged on straight Socialism. The principles of the Socialist party contrasted so favorably at taxpayers' and other joint meetings where the candidates of the Democratic, Republican and Socialist parties spoke from the same platform that the local papers reported the Socialists "stole" the meetings. The old party candidates stuck pretty much to tiresome "I-am-a-local-boy-and-would-like-you-to-vote-for-me" line while the Socialists carried the message of class action by the working people to liberate themselves.

A new feature of the campaign was the distribution, by mail and by personal canvass, of five thousand copies of a special edition of The New Leader carrying a full page of local news and comment. The results were so satisfactory that the local will make use of the same plan again. The cost of the paper was covered by the local's share in the National Drive for funds last spring.

PUBLIC PRAISES CRAWFORD'S FREE-ALTERATIONS FEATURE



In a great demonstration which took the form of heavier public patronage than has ever been enjoyed by any clothing concern, the value-wise men of New York quietly voted their approval of Crawford's decision to continue its Free-Alterations Policy, which saves men money every time they purchase a new garment. Crawford maintains a special staff for the purpose of making the minor alterations in Crawford Clothes which are sometimes necessary. These slight corrections are never below the standards to be found in the garment itself. The 23 Crawford stores in New York are conveniently located. For the address of the one nearest you, simply consult your telephone directory. All these stores are open every evening.—Adv.

The New Leader Book Corner

Frontier and Sectionalism

AMERICA'S TRAGEDY. By James Truslow Adams. Scribners. \$3.

WITHIN this single volume Mr. Adams has presented an interesting story of the history of the United States in terms of the frontier and sectionalism, chiefly of the latter. He brings the narrative to a close after the politicians of northern capitalism had completed the "reconstruction" of the Old South, concluding with some observations regarding the later period. He is democratic in his approach and interpretations and, like all his other volumes, his style holds the attention of the reader.

Considering that sectionalism is his main theme, it seems to us that he has not made the most of that remarkable period of 1830-60, when the whole South was being transformed and a philosophy of class rule emerged in justification of "our institutions." Arthur C.

Cole, in his volume on "The Irrepressible Conflict," which considers the last fifteen years of the old regime, also hands out only a fistful of facts, to use a phrase of Bancroft, although the title of his book leads one to expect more. Adams mines the surface and never gets to the rich ore lying below it.

Nevertheless, this volume, like all of the author's other work, is in the modern spirit, bearing no trace of the special pleader who finds diabolism on one side and sainthood on the other in the various group and class struggles that have accompanied sectional conflicts. He is objective in his interpretations and judgments and has presented a readable and interesting work, one that is well balanced considering the long period he considers, but we feel that he has some explosives that he refrains from using, possibly because he does not want to shock his readers too much. J. O.

They Don't Underestimate The Value of the Ballot

THE members of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the Liberty League have not yet learned that democracy is mere bogus, quite harmless to themselves and quite useless to the workers. Naively supposing that universal suffrage may, once the masses awake, prove dangerous to the plutocrats, some of these gentlemen recently hatched a scheme for swift and silent disfranchisement of what Theodore Roosevelt called "undesirable citizens."

A New York law firm undertook the job, and worked out the details. Action had to be started in state courts somewhere or other. Southern California was, for good and sufficient reasons, chosen as the first point of attack, and a very prosperous and reactionary law firm in Los Angeles was engaged to conduct proceedings on the spot. This firm quietly took the matter up with the attorney-general of the state, who cheerfully put himself at their service. All preparations having been made, on October 18 the assault on the right of suffrage started with a bang.

On that day an action in equity was begun in the Superior Court . . . but let it be first explained that what Californians call the Superior Court, like what New Yorkers call the Supreme Court, is in fact an inferior court, while the really highest judicial body there, corresponding to our New York Court of Appeals, is known as the Supreme Court of California; and let it be also remarked that "equity" as used in this connection is a purely technical term, and has nothing to do with justice, honesty, or fair play. . . . Well, then, on October 18, less than three weeks before election day, a suit was filed, praying the honorable court to issue an order compelling the election officials, under threat of punishment for contempt of court, to strike off the registration books the names of 24,136 men and women who had qualified as voters.

In reporting this action the Los Angeles papers, having been let into the secret in time for their editions, informed their readers that by this and several similar suits which were about to be entered, at least 100,000 voters in Los Angeles County, and several hundred thousand in the state as a whole, were to be kept away from the polls.

Of course, there had to be some

pretense of giving these voters notice to appear and show cause why their registrations should not be cancelled. This was done by printing the 24,136 names in one issue of one daily paper—and not in alphabetical order, but in complete disorder, so that no voter could find out whether his or her name was on the blacklist without closely examining many columns of small type.

It was a pretty scheme, and had there been any doubt or delay in opposing it, it would have gone through. Fortunately, no time was lost.

The obvious way of meeting such an attack would have been to have counsel appear in the court of first instance to argue against the issuance of the order, and then, when the order was issued, to appeal to a higher court. No doubt this was what the would-be disfranchisers expected. They had picked a favorable court and, if this method had been used, they could have timed its decision so as to prevent an appeal being heard until after the mischief was done.

John C. Packard, a Los Angeles lawyer, formerly a member of the Socialist Party, but this year a supporter of Sinclair, gave them a surprise. Acting for several of the intended victims, Packard went straight to the Supreme Court, not with an appeal, but asking for what is called a writ of prohibition—an order addressed to the lower court, forbidding it to issue the mandatory order which the conspirators desired.

The attorney-general of the state appeared in person—a very unusual event—and with him a number of the most eminent reactionary lawyers in all California, to oppose Packard's application. The court, sitting in bank, heard argument on both sides, and then unanimously granted the writ of prohibition. The only dissent was that of Justice Langdon, who wrote a long and impressive opinion, exposing the whole dirty business and exhorting its authors—and he, be it understood, concurred in the court's decision, so far as it went, and dissented only in that he desired the court to go farther, not merely to prohibit this particular act, but to forbid any similar action by the same or other courts.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." This brazen assault upon the ballot-box has been frustrated. No doubt its originators will now set legal talent at work to devise a new one.

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

EDITOR'S NOTE: Norman Thomas' copy came from the Pacific Coast just as we were going to press. We are able, however, to squeeze in the following paragraphs of his column.

San Francisco, California.

The Epic of Upton

WHEN Sinclair or any of his friends tell you that the highest vote he ever got when he ran on the Socialist ticket was fifty or sixty thousand while he got nine hundred thousand on the Democratic ticket, you will be justified in replying that he refused to campaign when he ran on the Socialist ticket, while he campaigned with extraordinary energy when he thought he had a chance on the Democratic ticket. He proved what he had repeatedly denied to me when he was a Socialist, namely, that he was a good campaigner. As I see it he did a remarkably skillful job, with possibly three exceptions. He should not have made that remark about the unemployed flocking to California; he shouldn't have made his pilgrimage to Roosevelt which gave Roosevelt's failure to come through with an endorsement far greater weight than it otherwise would have had. And perhaps he was too apologetic, or rather explanatory, in dealing



Norman Thomas

with quotations from his own books dealing with religion, etc. His explanations had little weight with those who are moved by that sort of argument.

Good Progress on the Coast

I AM happy to report that the immediate outlook for the Socialist Party is better than I had expected in all the Pacific states. The Oregon comrades made an excellent campaign showing and are going to cooperate with the national party even though, for the time being, the fear of the majority of them of the state's Criminal Syndicalism Act has made them dissolve legal connection with the party. In California, George R. Kirkpatrick probably got almost 100,000 votes for United States Senator and most other candidates, except for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, did well. In general, where there were Socialist and Communist candidates for the same office the Socialists ran decidedly ahead. As was to be expected, our candidate for Governor was the worst hit by the Sinclair defection. The Communists were also hit in their vote for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Their candidate, however, passed Dempster. I found a healthy organization and spirit in Stockton and San Francisco. Los Angeles is badly hit. I confess, however, that if Los Angeles had been able to build up an attractive, aggressive and united organization it might not have been as badly hurt even when the Sinclair storm hit it. Let us admit frankly that while by far the greater part of the reason why Socialism does not grow as fast as we desire is to be found in the American situation, some of the reason, in most parts of the United States, is to be found in the things we do, and still more in the things we leave undone.

Behind the Scenes

(Continued from Page One)

aboard the Roosevelt bandwagon and whoop things up. The Chicago corporation lawyer is a dyed-in-the-wool Republican. What has happened is simply that November 6 convinced the Chamber that the New Deal is here to stay for at least two years, if not six, and that the sooner business faces the music the better. So, on the theory that discretion is the better part of valor, business is going to get into step and play the game.

BUSINESS is all the readier to push forward because recent events produced two distinct indications of Roosevelt conservatism. First came the announcement that the Home Owners' Loan Corp. would receive no new applications for mortgage refinancing—a sign that the Government is curtailing operations which compete with private capital agencies like building and loan associations and mortgage bankers. The HOLC decision reassures those elements which oppose "Government in business" and New Deal encroachments in that field. Then followed Roosevelt's refusal to approve immediate enactment of any social security legislation except unemployment insurance, leaving out in the cold all the rest of the social legislation program which was supposed to bring economic security to American workers. On the whole big business has come to believe that in supporting President Roosevelt it is backing an essentially conservative horse, and that after all the prophet of the "New Deal" may be a buffer against really radical measures.

While the Administration was continuing to develop its program of cooperation with business groups organized labor introduced a jarring note by challenging business and industry publicly to accept features of the New Deal with which they are not in full sympathy.

Addressing his remarks to the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, President Wm. Green of the American Federation of Labor called upon these two groups to announce their willingness to comply with Section 7a, the

disputed collective bargaining provision of the National Recovery Act, and the processes and decisions of the various enforcement boards

Pitiless Privacy

NRA has retreated behind the opaque curtains of bureaucracy. It has thrown the public out on its ear. By its action the NRA board has told the public that it is nobody's business what goes on in those hundreds of offices in the Department of Commerce Building where Government officials are ruling American industry.

The present NRA board, headed by Clay Williams, was appointed seven weeks ago. A few days later Mr. Williams yielded reluctantly to pressure and held one press conference at which he said nothing. That is the extent to which the new regime at NRA has taken the public into its confidence. Repeated efforts to obtain further meetings with Williams have been futile.

NRA has one of the largest and best publicity staffs in Government, but Mr. Williams has refused to give it any information. About all that these NRA press officials know is what they glean from newspaper men. Expert officials have been warned against letting any information leak out. They are seriously embarrassed when old friends among newspaper correspondents drop in to obtain information as to what NRA is driving at.

Newspapermen began to complain audibly. Some of them openly stated that in all probability this new NRA policy of refusing to take the public into its confidence arises partly from the fact that the chairman of the new board is a man of little public experience. Mr. Williams evidently began to feel the sting of criticism, and finally last Monday he held a press conference. There really seemed to be no reason for that conference. Mr. Williams did not say anything. All he did was to imply very strongly that no definite line or lines of action would be followed by his board until Congress and the Administration have decided what parts of the National Industrial Recovery Act are to be salvaged for permanent use and what parts jettisoned when the act expires June 16. He also indicated that his board would make no affirmative effort toward

assisting in the decision.

Mr. Williams objected, however, to a description of the board's activities as "treading water till Congress acts." When he was asked just what the board had been doing, he replied: "Making studies, changes in organizational set-up and many additions to personnel."

However, Chairman Williams did submit himself to a lot of questions and the answers implied very little faith in the continuation of the NRA after June 6, when its term ends.

To Those Who Remembered Kautsky's 80th Birthday

By Karl Kautsky

MY 80th birthday came at a sad time. In many countries it is considered high treason, to be severely punished, for one to be known to have written a letter to a known Social Democrat. October 16th of this year fell in this period, the day of the catastrophe in Spain. And in many other nations freedom is closely restricted.

Because of these bitter circumstances I expected that my 80th birthday would pass unnoticed. But this was not to be. There was such a wealth of messages full of sympathetic expressions of friendship that it would be impossible, eager though I am to do, personally to send a hand-written reply to each of my friends.

The numerous expressions of lively affection were to me a heartening ray of light in the darkness of our days. Not the least heartening feature of these good wishes was that they were by no means mere reminiscences of a beautiful past, but also referred to my ability to go on with my work in the future. I do not care to overrate the value of my life's work, but to my last breath my most passionate interest will be the great task of the emancipation of the working class, toward which I have already given two full lifetimes.

Therefore, heartiest thanks to all who have thought of me. With Socialist greetings and a warm handclasp,