

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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In Three Sections—Sec. 1

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Blood Coined Into Gold!

Senate Probe Reveals Old Story

By Adrien Gambet

WHEN, three or four weeks ago, Lamont du Pont, head of the vast du Pont armament interests, announced his belief that the armament industry and war profits should both be under government control, the "liberal" press of the country went into girlish rhapsodies. Here, at last, was the first sign of the great spiritual revival in big business! Here and there, to be sure, a few cynical murmurs were heard and some quoting of:

The devil was sick, the devil

a monk would be;

The devil got well, the devil

a monk was he.

Undoubtedly the shrewder armament manufacturers realized that,

They Increase The War Fever

(From report of the Provisional Joint Disarmament Committee of the League of Nations, 1921.)

THE members of the league agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented. . . . The members of the league undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes." (Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.)

The armaments firms increase war fever and persuade their own countries to adopt a militarist policy and to increase their armaments.

for the time being, they should go into the corner and sit quietly upon the stool of repentance. But, at the back of their minds, directing their every move, was the fundamental, deep-lying realization that, so long as giant trusts like the du Pont interests and the United States Steel Corporation can control the government they do not need to worry about the government controlling them. So long as the manufacturers have friends in the shape of Congressmen who realize that if they are not re-elected they will have to go back to law practice or lobbying, or State Department "experts" who will one day have to look for jobs as foreign representatives of some American firm, judges who will some day

PREPARING FOR A GREAT HARVEST



The Colt (Revolver) Company knew in 1908 that "a tremendous conflict was brewing in Europe," and sent a high-pressure sales force to cash in, according to evidence before Senate Arms Committee.

want to be corporation lawyers, be assured that either the laws passed will be as full of loopholes as a piece of Swiss cheese, or else they will be able to rely upon favorable rulings and "interpretations." In other words, a capitalistic government can always be relied on to function on behalf of the ruling

class, since it is built on the theory that the people are helped by encouraging their employers.

Since this article was announced and written, the Senate's investigating committee has recommenced its hearings and the evidence brought out has been of such importance that it cannot be omitted

here. If you have any illusions about government control of the Merchants of Death, you have only to consider the fact that when a conference was called at Geneva in 1925 to regulate the arms traffic, the American manufacturers immediately became apprehensive that the measures adopted there

Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

A COMPREHENSIVE plan for old-age security will be drafted for President Roosevelt by his Committee on Economic Security, according to Dr. Edwin Witte of Wisconsin, the committee's secretary and technical director. The plan, it is understood, will be given to the White House after it is passed by the cabinet members who comprise the committee, along with recommendations on unemployment insurance, health, mothers' pensions and other security plans. It will be made public about Dec. 15.

Dr. Witte would not say whether the plan would embrace both Federal aid to old-age pension states and a nationally administered system of contributory old-age insurance such as some 23 other countries have.

Child Labor Amendment

The appointment of Miss Katherine F. Lenroot as chief of the Children's Bureau of the Labor Department brings into prominence one of the most outspoken combatants in the fight to outlaw child labor.

As acting chief of the bureau for the last five months and as president of the National Conference of Social Work, Miss Lenroot has taken the platform to advocate Constitution. She is urging that the 20 states that have ratified be joined by at least 16 new ones out of the 44 whose legislatures meet early in 1935, so that 1935 may see victory.

"Regulations under the codes are temporary, since NRA is an

immediate ratification of the pending child labor amendment to the emergency measure," Miss Lenroot pointed out in a recent address. "Ratification of the child labor amendment will provide a secure basis for making permanent those gains for childhood that have been achieved under NRA."

Inquiry Into Auto Trade

It has been done so quietly that few know anything about it, but the President has just heaved a large-sized brickbat at the motor moguls. Basis for it was laid on Nov. 2, when he announced a 90-day extension of the auto code. At that time he also promulgated a study of the possibility of changing automobile employment from a seasonal to an all-year-round basis. This survey has now been launched, and therein lies the

SOCIALIST IS ELECTED WINNIPEG MAYOR

WINNIPEG, Manitoba. — John Queen, Socialist member of the provincial parliament and leader of the local I.L.P., affiliated with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (the Canadian equivalent of the British Labor Party), was elected Mayor of this city after a terrific battle against a fusion of Liberals and Conservatives.

The vote for Queen was 26,555 to 26,313 for the fusion candidate. Seven Socialist Aldermen were elected to work with Mayor Queen. Winnipeg is Canada's third largest city, with a population of a quarter of a million.

cup of gall for the motor magnates.

The latter had moved heaven and earth to persuade President Roosevelt to have the study made by a board consisting of representatives of the Commerce, Interior and Labor departments, with Dr. Leo Wolman as chairman. The President turned thumbs down on this proposal. He put the investigation in the hands of Leon Henderson, ex officio member of the NRA board, and Dr. Isidor Lubin, head of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, two of the most competent and liberal economists in the Administration. More than that, he gave these two young men full power to pick their own assistants and to hold open hearings. This last authority is something that the auto manufacturers have vigorously opposed throughout the history of their code.

Henderson and Lubin lost no time in making the most of their opportunity. As their chief aide—the man who will actually direct the study—they appointed Richard H. Lansburgh, another liberal economist, secretary of labor in the first Pinchot cabinet in Pennsylvania, and a former industrial engineer in Detroit.

The choice of Henderson and Lubin was a bitter blow, but the enlistment of Lansburgh is, for the motor barons, adding insult to injury.

Reorganization of NRA

Women are taking an active hand in the reorganization of the NRA. They are particularly anxious to remove so-called "sex differentials" from codes, in at least one-fourth of which, it is said, women are

Arms Traffic Will End When War Ends

might be "too drastic and largely unenforceable." Mark that word "unenforceable," if you believe in the possibility of government control.

The result was that one Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, called a conference of death dealers in his office, where a committee was appointed which placed the views of the manufacturers before the United States delegates to Geneva with the result that "these views were in large measure written into the treaty for the supervision of trade in arms." Here is a splendid example of "government supervision" in which the manufacturers were invited to write their own ticket, did so, and had the pleasure of seeing it become law. And, at that, the United States didn't ratify this treaty until nine years later!

The Senate investigation further brought out that, since June 15, 1933, when the treaty went into force as regards this country, "the munitions industry is on record that it is a workable agreement and one that does not seriously interfere with its business. The munitions makers are satisfied with the treaty they wrote themselves! And if you still have any illusions about government control, reflect upon the fact that before the Geneva conference, one of the division chiefs of the State Department conferred with an officer of the Winchester Arms Company, with Representative Tilson, Republican leader of the House, acting as intermediary. Later Mr. Tilson went to Europe and conferred with Senator Burton, head of the American delegation, who was "not very well informed" about munitions. The government became the diplomatic department of the arms corporations.

(Continued on Page Two)

allotted lower minimum wages than men. When the blue eagle was hatched, women workers expected "wage justice," but found that in numerous cases it provided that they should receive less pay than men for substantially the same work. Mrs. Roosevelt was asked if she couldn't do something about it. The result was that there were written into many codes what have come to be known as "Eleanor clauses," which direct the same pay for women as for men when identical work is done. Rose Schneiderman did a lot of quiet but very effective work in that line and probably deserves the lion's share of the credit. Mary Anderson, director of the Women's Bureau, the National Woman's Party, members of women's trade unions, and the Business and Professional Women's Clubs are joining hands in the battle for a minimum wage applicable exclusively to work performed, regardless of sex. The women will carry their crusade to the floors of Congress when the NIRA is up for renewal.

Masters of Capital Concede Nothing and Ask Workers to Surrender

BACK to the old capitalism! That is the slogan of the National Association of Manufacturers in a "Proposed Platform for Recovery." In March, 1933, the big shots of capitalism were drowning. Industry and banking were crumbling throughout the country. The sinking capitalists and bankers eagerly grasped the rope thrown to them by the Federal Government. They were humble. In their hands the whole capitalist order had almost collapsed in ruins.

They have recovered from their fright and want to march back to 1928. Much of the program is hooey, like the demand that the constitutional "balance between legislative, executive and judicial power" should be maintained. What effect that balance would have on restoring their industry is not disclosed.

They want a Federal sales tax and the with-

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JAMES ONEAL, Editor

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

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



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Blood Coined Into Gold

(Continued from Page One)

The discovery of the international armament ring and its governmental influence is not new. As early as 1906, Karl Liebknecht began his denunciations of militarism and all its implications, of which the traffic in death is only one manifestation. He was arrested for "disloyalty" to the constitution, based upon the fact that he opposed compulsory military training, for which the constitution provided. Despite his defense that he was agitating for a modification of the constitution by legal means, he was sentenced to a year in prison. The German workers then sent Liebknecht to the Prussian Landtag while he was in prison.

Even before 1910 Liebknecht had shocked the world by a speech in

the Reichstag in which he disclosed not only the ramifications of the international death traffic but the way in which it inflamed public opinion in various countries. The statements he made then are true today to an even greater degree. Not only do the great European arms makers have interlocking directorates, but they even control the influential press of the great capitals of Europe. Thus the newspapers in Berlin, for instance, had only to begin agitating for better defenses and the Paris newspapers begin a German war menace scare and both countries commence the feverish purchase of arms. The whole thing will have been commenced by a Berlin newspaper controlled by the von Wendels, whose armament factories in Germany will benefit, and it will have been continued in Paris by newspapers controlled by the de Wendels, which will persuade the French government to buy munitions from the de Wendel factories. If several members of the French Senate happen to be large shareholders in the newspapers and the arms factories (and the French industrialists go to the Senate themselves, instead of sending errand boys, as we do), it will, of course, simply happen to be a coincidence.

Von and de

Were you struck by the similarity of names of the von Wendels

drawal of the government from all activities that compete with their class. They want "harmonious cooperation of labor, management and investors" in industry. Investors are scattered throughout the country, and how the investor in Pittsburgh steel living in California or Maine can cooperate remains a mystery.

The workers who remain in industry should be "free to bargain collectively or individually" with the masters of industry "in such forms as are mutually satisfactory." Experience has shown that the most satisfactory method of bargaining favored by the big shots is not the collective but the individual method, which is futile to the worker facing the giant corporation.

"Protect men in their right to work." That right does not exist for more than ten million. If they could eat the "right" or transform it into shelter and clothing they would be happy. Protecting workers in the right to work while many industries are closed by the very gentlemen who talk of this right is adding insult to injury.

The program would prohibit sympathetic and general strikes or lockouts, blacklists and boycotts. All labor history shows that the blacklist is almost impossible to detect, while the strike and boycott by their very nature are open. The lockout can easily be effected on the ground that there is no business. The big shots concede nothing on these issues and ask the workers to surrender.

Hours and wages as proposed in 30-hour bills are opposed. Relief "must not entice workers from, or discourage their return to, private employment." That is to say, keep the jobless on rations so low that they will be humbled and will accept a starvation wage if it is offered. Unemployment insurance must not "create further unemployment or make re-employment hazardous." Be kind to the masters of capital, no matter what happens to their victims.

Our ruling classes would travel back to a point where all the forces that brought on the depression would be again released to work their terrible havoc. Back to the old capitalism! They have forgotten nothing old and will learn nothing new.

The road to deliverance lies ahead, not behind. It leads to Socialism and taking the industries out of the hands of these big-shot failures. This is the job of the working class, the class that has nothing to lose and everything to gain by abolishing the capitalist system.

How About the Kingfish?

IS Huey Long a clown, nothing but a buffoon, or is he a great leader, or the beginnings of an American Hitler?

What and why is the Kingfish? How did he get that way?

Watch for an authoritative and enlightening article on **WHY HUEY LONG?** by Aaron Levenstein, to appear soon.

LAST week we announced **Adrien Gambel's** article on the **TRAFFIC IN MURDER**, and here it is, as timely as tomorrow's headlines! Watch for future articles equally timely.

AMONG them the notable series **AMERICA GROPPES FOR UTOPIA**, the mere announcement of which have brought many inquiries and requests that when the series is completed they be printed in book form.

August Claessens will soon begin a series on his Southern tour, written in his characteristic style.

Also, an authoritative article on the great South American Socialist movement, the **APRA**.

Other features in forthcoming issues: articles, poems and a notable array of contributors, including drawings by **Prof. Vida Scuder** of Wellesley College, **William E. Bohn**, **Mark Khinoy**, **Arthur Fassberg**, **Eliot White**, **B. C. Vladeck**, **John Rogers**, **Herbert M. Merrill**, **James Oneal**, **Harry W. Laidler**, **Julius Umansky**, **F. N. Kruger**, and many others.

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS THE NEW LEADER

the Schneider-Creusot combination. It is intimately connected with the Committee of Industry—the real power behind the scenes in French politics—the chairman of which is our old friend, Charles de Wendel. The Schneider-Creusot firm controls the Czechoslovak munition plant Skoda. The latter loaned money and influence to the Nazis which were instrumental in placing Hitler in power. It is hardly strange if they benefitted by Hitler's militaristic policy. But this same policy alarmed France and made it necessary for the French to purchase more armament—from Schneider-Creusot! All of this to the accompaniment of chauvinistic alarmism from the press (controlled by Schneider-Creusot and the Wendels). The next time you read of the alarm of the French or the German press at the increased armament of the other country, you will probably realize that all advertisements do not appear in the advertising columns!

The Argentine Battleships

Along about 1912 the Argentine Republic decided it needed bigger and better battleships. What Argentina needed them for, I don't know, but probably the South American republic decided that a good thick coat of armor plate would make it the well-dressed nation. American national pride was naturally gratified when they were ordered from American yards—and even more so when, in their trial runs, they proved to be the fastest cruisers afloat. There was even talk of their purchase by the United States. A few years later the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette showed in the Senate that the inducement which had led the Argentine government to buy them in this country was the fact that our Navy Department had given them the secret plans from which they were constructed! Our Navy Department blandly replied that it was its policy to bring business to American shipyards, and if giving away our plans helped get business for Charlie Schwab, all right!

At the Senate investigation on December 4th it was brought out

that the Colt Company knew that "a tremendous conflict was brewing" in Europe as early as 1908, and that it organized a sales force on the Continent because it "had every reason to believe there would be a great demand for our product." It was also brought out that during the first two years of the war the American government assigned deliveries on many armament contracts to the British navy.

Let us consider only the prices of aircraft stocks for any indications they can give us of conditions today. Between October 2, 1933, and June 1, 1934, Hawker Aircraft rose from 14 shillings 1½ pence to 23 shillings 4½ pence; De Havilland from 24 shillings 4½ pence to 57 shillings, and Handley Page from 10 shillings 3 pence to 17 shillings.

Armistice Irony

On Armistice Day this year, which fell on a Sunday, a special shift was busy working in the Vickers works in Kent on machine guns and gas guns. They observed the day by ceasing work for two minutes at 11 o'clock! Since July, 1933, the naval appropriations of the various powers have been increased by the following amounts: Britain, \$60,000,000; Japan, \$300,000,000; U.S.A., \$235,000,000; Germany, \$102,000,000; France, \$187,500,000; Italy, \$82,500,000. And in these countries millions starve!

Moreover, an investigation should be made of the warlike utterances of such people as Stanley Baldwin, who said in Parliament, November 11, 1932 (mark the date): "The only defense is offense, which means that you have got to kill more women and children more quickly than the enemy," of those of Mussolini and Hitler with their constant encouragement to war, of the opposition of the British Conservatives to an armament investigation until a giant wave of British public opinion forced them to reverse themselves. Much could be said of the relation of fascism, with its belligerent nationalism, to the danger of war, but to the Socialist who recognizes fascism as capitalism under the magnifying glass, that is unnecessary.

But in the last analysis, all this will do no good beyond the fact that it will induce people to think and a few to think the thing through to the end. Whatever legislation may come out of all this investigating may prove a moderate palliative, but it will not cure the disease. If laws are passed restricting the arms trade, you may be sure they will not be observed. The newspapers, true to their masters, will continue to raise war scares. The legislators, true to their masters, will continue quietly to pull all the teeth from their legislation. Even a government monopoly of the manufacture and sale of arms would be no panacea, for none of these things gets to the root of the problem.

No More War

So long as capitalists have adequate foreign markets for their surplus goods, just so long is there peace. When depressions come along and increase the surplus and, at the same time, decrease international trade, then the struggle for foreign markets becomes more intense and war looms larger and larger on the horizon. War is the direct product of capitalism, and so long as you have the one you will have the other. To restrict the manufacture or distribution of arms is to tie the Black International with threads. It may postpone somewhat the coming of war, but it does not abolish it. Rid the world of competition and the profit motive and you have removed the necessity of war. If you wish the words of Hitler: "German women should be glad to bear sons to die on the battlefield," and of Lloyd George: "Women are now rearing sons to be numbered with the slain of the next world war," to be wiped out quickly and forever, there is only one way to do it: Abolish the cause of war—capitalism, and replace it with the guarantee of peace—Socialism.

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

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Socialists Start Move for Labor Party

N.E.C. Appoints Committee For Nation-wide Survey

By William M. Feigenbaum

BOSTON. — The Socialist Party, through its National Executive Committee meeting here in a three-day session, set up machinery for a nation-wide survey of sentiment in favor of a farmer-labor party independent of the two old parties with a view to organizing such sentiment in the most effective way for the earliest possible establishment of such a farmer-labor party.

The committee declined the Communist Party and "splinter" offers for a united front, but left the way open for a united front by states that want it and for rejection by states that do not want it. Unorganized states must consult the N.E.C. The text of the N.E.C. resolution appears on page 6.

These two were the outstanding results of the longest, most exciting and in many ways the most dramatic meeting of the party's highest governing body in over fifteen years.

The meeting was enlivened by the appearance of at least ten separate delegations from party organizations, and private groups of party members seeking action from the committee that would tend to unify and harmonize differences in the party. Despite the vast amount of important business before the party at the moment, it was felt by everyone present that nothing mattered more than finding some basis of unity and harmony. If such a basis could not be found, one N.E.C. member said, the committee might as well pack up and go home, for nothing that it would do could then have the slightest significance.

The whole of Saturday's session, lasting over ten hours, was given over to appeals, statements, arguments, protests and complaints while a packed room in the Hotel Touraine, where the sessions were held, listened with rapt interest. Following the recess for dinner the committee held an executive ses-

The Vote in New Jersey

NEWARK.—John S. Martin, Socialist candidate for United States Senator, polled 9,721 votes in last month's election, according to the official tabulation just made public. Herman F. Niessner, as candidate for Governor, received 8,787 votes. The Communists polled 2,874 for each of the two offices.

In 1932 Norman Thomas polled 42,998 votes in the state, and Niessner for U. S. Senator polled 19,060. In that year the Communists polled 2,915 and 2,256, respectively, for the two offices.

Complete Illinois Vote

CHICAGO.—Morris Franklin, Socialist candidate for State Treasurer, as head of the state ticket, polled 15,845 votes, according to the official tabulation just completed. The two candidates for Congressmen-at-Large, voted for over the entire state—Arthur G. McDowell and Harold Hatcher—received 13,586 and 13,850 votes, respectively.

The S.L.P. polled 3,638 votes. The Communists were not on the ballot.

In 1932 Norman Thomas polled 67,258 votes for President in Illinois, and Roy Burt, candidate for Governor, polled 89,389.

sion behind closed doors that lasted until 2:30 a. m., at which they hammered out the general lines of policy, following the statements of the various groups, enacted into committee motions the following day.

Four of the many delegations had definite proposals to make; all of them made a definite condition of harmony absolute refusal of any sort of a united front.

New York's Proposals

The New York State Committee presented a statement with seven proposals; the Socialist Unity Conference of New York (the so-called Centrists) likewise had a series of proposals that coincided to a considerable degree with those of the New York State Committee, while an Interstate Conference that had met all day Thursday at the Bradford Hotel likewise made a somewhat similar series of proposals.

Other delegations that appeared were the Militants of New York, official delegations from the party

Complete Maryland Vote

BALTIMORE.—The complete vote for Maryland, just officially compiled, shows 6,787 votes for Broadus Mitchell, Socialist candidate for Governor. At the last gubernatorial election the Socialists polled 4,178.

In 1934 the Communists polled 800 votes and the S.L.P. received 719 votes.

in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Connecticut and Indiana and unofficial delegations from Ohio, and a group hitherto unheard of calling itself the Socialist Action Committee for the United Front.

Many of the delegations urged that some machinery be set up to restate the party's Declaration of Principles because of the serious discussions raised by the present document adopted at Detroit and ratified by the membership referendum after a heated debate. The

New York delegation pointed out that, with half the members not voting and a majority for the Declaration of only about 55 per cent of those voting, some way out should be found. The delegation proposed an amendment to the party constitution that would not impose the Declaration on the states that could not accept it.

To Restate Declaration

The N.E.C. met the situation by designating a committee to act as

Party Creates Machinery For Labor Party Survey

(Resolution adopted by Nat'l Executive Comm., Boston, Dec. 2, 1934)

IN view of the wide-spread interest, both inside and outside of the Socialist ranks, in the development of independent working class political action, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party hereby constitutes a special committee consisting of James D. Graham of Montana, Al Benson of Wisconsin, Sarah Limbach of Pennsylvania, Arnold E. Freese of Connecticut, Julius Gerber of New York, Glen Trimble of Massachusetts, and Sam S. White of California, to study the present political situation with special reference to the attitude of farmers and workers toward effective political action. This committee shall use in this study the services of our labor secretary, Paul Porter.

It shall consult by correspondence or otherwise with Socialists in different parts of the country active in the farm and labor movements and with such Socialist committees in New York and elsewhere as may be carrying on similar studies in their own states. This committee shall report its findings and recommendations, if any, to the National Executive Committee at its next meeting.

In this connection the National Executive Committee also calls attention to the following section of the constitution of the Socialist Party of the United States, which reads as follows:

Article X, section 13. "State organizations of the party may cooperate with organizations of labor and working farmers, within their state, in independent political action, but such cooperation the following conditions:

"The political program and platform adopted for such joint political action shall not be inconsistent with the platform and principles of the Socialist Party.

"State or local organizations of the party desiring to cooperate with political organizations of labor and working farmers shall first get the approval of the National Executive Committee."

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a clearing house for all suggestions and proposals for restating the party's position. At the same time, the committee voted to issue an Address to the Party Membership to build up the party.

Other actions were the appointment of a committee to investigate charges against the conduct of the Oklahoma movement; and another committee to investigate the so-called Revolutionary Policy Committee in the light of its declaration of principles, published in its own magazine. The same committee—consisting of Arnold E. Freese, Devere Allen and Jack C. Bergen, all of Connecticut—will hear the appeal of Harold Draper, New York Yipsel and member of the R.P.C., who has been denied membership in the party. The committee to investigate the Oklahoma charges, as well as charges against the American Guardian, consists of George H. Goebel, George Clifton Edwards and Maynard C. Krueger.

Dr. M. Shadid of Oklahoma, who was severely criticised for congratulating Upton Sinclair upon his Democratic nomination, left the matter of his resignation from the N.E.C. to that body. The N.E.C. accepted the resignation. His place will be taken by Devere Allen of Connecticut, first eligible alternate.

At the Sunday session Jay Lovestone and Charles S. Zimmerman of the Communist Party Opposition (the Lovestonites) presented a document asking for unity of action on the labor field and on other issues. Members of the committee asked Lovestone a number of frank questions, one of them being Hoopes' inquiry whether Lovestone was in the habit of planting spies in the Socialist Party. Lovestone evaded the question, but admitted he was anxious to get contacts in the Socialist Party in order to proselyte them and had no objection to Socialists trying to win his members. He said quite frankly that if a member of his party joined the Socialists, however, he would be expelled.

In reply to another question, he said his party had voted for the Communist candidates at the election. "I see, then," said Norman Thomas, "your policy is to march with the Socialists on May Day and vote with the Communists on Election Day."

After the withdrawal of Lovestone and Zimmerman, the committee voted to notify the Lovestone group that it declined their request.

Early in the sessions of the committee a letter was read from the Communist Party asking the N.E.C. to receive a committee of Clarence Hathaway, James W. Ford and Nat Sparks, who would present United Front proposals. The N.E.C. replied that it was too busy to receive such a committee, and set Sunday morning for the discussion of the whole question of the United Front.

United Front Debate

The debate was started by Powers Hapgood on Sunday with a speech in which he advocated opening negotiations with the Communist Party, after revealing the existence of a Socialist Action Committee for the United Front. Hapgood's motion carried with it a denunciation of Communist tactics of disruption and vilification, and provided for a committee of three to meet a similar Communist committee to work out unity plans, to be reported back to the party. Franz Daniel seconded the motion, and Hapgood added that "we cannot afford to turn their (the Communists') proposition down."

Krueger moved a substitute in the form of a statement in six points, declining a united front, (Continued on Page Six)

The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum

Obstacles to the United Front

THE London New Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party, has the following comment upon the prospects for a united front of the Labor and Socialist International and the Communist International: "The British Labor Party and the Social Democratic parties of Holland, Denmark and Sweden are opposed to any common action. On the other hand, the French, Austrian, Spanish and Italian parties are in favor of a united front against fascism. . . . It is time that the members of the British working class movement realize that the Labor Party is now the main obstacle to united action by all the working class forces in the world."

The I.L.P. organ might have added the Swiss, the Belgian and the Czechoslovak parties in the L.S.I., and the Norwegian party not yet in the International, as among those strongly against united front arrangements with the Communists. And then a curious fact emerges:

With the single exception of France—about which a word or two later—it is significant that wherever normal conditions prevail, where Socialist parties and labor unions function normally under more or less democratic conditions, the Socialists have no use whatever for united action with Communists. And again, outside of Czechoslovakia—where they are fast dwindling—the Communists nowhere have any numerical or political significance. Nowhere have they more than a "nuisance value." In France, of course, the Communists were sincere in offering to observe good faith toward the Socialists because Soviet Russia needs the aid of France in her diplomatic situation; and it would be rather curious if the Bolsheviks were on good terms with every party in France except the largest party in the country, the Socialists! Hence the good faith there, which exists nowhere else where normal conditions prevail.

An Appeal to Zamora

At its recent meeting in Paris, the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions denounced the Spanish government for its suppression of the liberty of the workers. At the same time Leon Jouhaux and C. Mertens, speaking for the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labor Office at Geneva, wired President Alcalá Zamora of Spain demanding the release of Largo Caballero, head of the Spanish Socialist Party and of the Spanish unions, who is Spanish representative in the I.L.O.

At a joint meeting of the Executive of the I.F.T.U. and of the L.S.I. the following telegram, signed by Jouhaux and Emile Vandervelde, president of the L.S.I., was sent to Zamora:

The withdrawal of parliamentary immunity from Largo Caballero and Teodomiro Menéndez, and their assignment to a military tribunal has, in view of the possible consequences, aroused the greatest anxiety among all those who welcomed the establishment of the Spanish Republic. The International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International cannot believe that the President of the Spanish Republic, who was one of their comrades-in-arms in the fight against the monarchy, will deliver them over to the revenge of reactionary elements. They again appeal to the President of the Republic for his urgent personal intervention.

For the International Federation of Trade Unions: Leon Jouhaux.

For the Labor and Socialist International: Emile Vandervelde.

Program of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy

THE National Council of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party met in October and gave careful consideration to the various problems of home and foreign policy. Arising out of this examination a resolution was passed which represents a program of action for the Czechoslovak Social Democrats.

It is pointed out first that the world crisis, with the collapse of economic liberalism and the capitalist system of production, has created a situation in which the workers have most to suffer. Reactionary forces are being let loose in this moral and economic chaos. Their aim is to secure power for themselves. The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party must not only reckon with these facts but must draw up and carry out its program of action accordingly. It has thus placed the whole of the activity of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party at the service of the worker, the minor salaried employee, the small peasant and the small craftsman. The reaction which is threatening these classes originally came from abroad; it must not be forgotten that Czechoslovakia is a neighbor of Germany, Austria and Hungary. For good or ill, the party was thereby led to concern itself with the defense of the country, for it seemed to be the only guarantee of liberty and democracy in this part of Europe.

The National Council of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party is of the opinion that fundamental measures

THREE BROTHERS AND THE

By Mark Khinoy

VASILLY ZAKHAROV is not an ordinary toiler. He is an aristocrat among workers, a toolmaker, a highly skilled artisan, and is blessed with an extremely high wage scale—three hundred rubles a month.

In addition to this he has the good fortune of being employed by an airplane factory, the Menjinsky Avio Works No. 39, a plant extremely important from the point of view of national defense. All this contributes to make Vasily Zakharov a member of the most privileged class of proletarians, the class that receives the best ration cards.

He is proud of the distinction. He knows that not all the workers belong to this class, that in fact only a few are so honored. The rest, the vast majority of them, belong to the economically lower working "classes."

Yes—classes.

For the working class even in Moscow is divided into classes or "categories," not less than four. The foremost among them is the class to which is assigned Vasily Zakharov, the thirty-four-year-old son of an old Socialist friend and revolutionary co-worker of mine.

Why Vasily Is So Satisfied With Himself

Zakharov is therefore among the more satisfied workers of the Soviet Union. He lives well, he says, much better at least than other workers, adding that he lives well not because of his wages but because he has an especially valuable food card, thanks to which he can buy in the "closed" store of his factory considerably more than members of other "classes." And to buy in a "closed" store means to obtain the products at a much lower price than can be had in the "open" commercial stores of the same State commissariat.

Vasily's card entitles him to the purchase of the following goods in his "closed" store: thirty pounds of potatoes a month, five pounds of coarse barley, five pounds of meat, two and a half pounds of sugar, two pounds of herring, one and three-quarter pounds of butter, and one-sixteenth pound of tea. In addition he can buy at the normal or "fast" prices of the "closed" store sixty pounds of bread a month and two pounds of onions for the winter months.

My young friend is completely satisfied with his income and more must be taken in the future. Thus the whole system of unemployment relief and social insurance must be thoroughly reformed.

Unnecessary difficulties in the allocation of benefit must be removed. A practical solution must also be found for the question of the reduction in the hours of labor, and a minimum wage must definitely be established. Commercial relations with other countries, and especially with France and Russia, must be developed and extended in the interests of the country's economic system as a whole.

Middleton Succeeds Henderson

JAMES S. (JIMMIE) MIDDLETON, for many years assistant secretary of the British Labor Party, has been chosen to succeed Arthur Henderson as secretary of the party.



Mark Khinoy

Toolmaker, Accountant and Linotyper---Of Soviet Officials and the Problem

so with the fact that out of the whole family he is the only one who gets such a munificent "first class" quota. His two brothers belong to inferior "classes." One of them is a printer and is the possessor of a "second class" card. The other is a bookkeeper, an intelligent and well educated young man, who has an even more inferior, a "third class," card.

Both brothers, the linotyper and the bookkeeper, are seated with us at the family reunion. It is in the home of the bookkeeper that we are being entertained. The brothers made a strenuous effort to shift the conversation to other channels. They claim that they are fed up with "this damned subject of bread, herring and beans." They are more interested, they say, in interviewing me about happening abroad, the life, work and struggles of the workers in Europe and America. They want to know how the Socialist and Communist parties are making out and what the strange news signifies of a Socialist-Communist united front in France. They would also like to know how good the chances are for a United States loan to the Soviet Union. All of these are questions I had to answer at almost every conversation in the U.S.S.R. Communist leaders not excepted. They did not show much confidence in the information supplied them by the "coordinated" press.

Information in Return for Information

I promised to satisfy their curiosity, but I insisted in return on immediate answers to my questions. I wanted to know about the ration cards of the linotyper and the accountant and the other members of the family. I learned that the linotyper gets a "second class" card, placing him with workers in the printing, lithographic, photo-engraving, clothing, shoe, shirt, knitgoods, furniture, watchmaking, baking, meat packing, building and painting industries, and all other shops and factories producing consumers' goods and services. As a possessor of the "second class" card our linotyper, who earns 250 rubles a month for twenty-five working days, receives approximately half his more fortunate brother's quota. However, it should be added that the unskilled workers of the light industries are not allotted any butter. It must also be noted that because butter can find an export market and can be traded for the badly needed foreign "valuta," the Russian word "butter" does not always mean butter; it usually means margarine, bacon, or hemp oil.

Now permit me to introduce the accountant, the third brother. He is getting a high salary—four hundred and fifty rubles a month—one hundred and fifty rubles more than his happy brother, the toolmaker in the aviation plant. However, he assured me of his readiness to exchange his higher salary for that of his brother Vasily, adding that he would not be the loser by the transaction.

What an Accountant Gets—and Why

"As an accountant," he said, "I am entitled to a card of the third category, to which are attached all bookkeepers, accountants, office and store employees, minor State officials and housekeepers. All of us may purchase in our 'closed' stores.

"A pound and a half of sugar a month—60 per cent of Vasily's

quota; ten pounds of potatoes a month—only one-third the amount he gets; one pound of barley a month—one-fifth, and one pound of bread a day—just one-half as much as Vasily's quota.

"We are allotted no meat whatsoever, no butter or fats of any kind, no herring, no tea and no onions. . . . And it follows that we are forced to buy all these necessary articles in the 'open' commercial stores and market places, where the prices are painfully steep. Bread is two or three times higher and the other products are from ten to twenty and more times

higher than when you cards in the 'closed' plebeian onion brings pound.

"Then how do you live?"

"Who said that comrade? Living is expression. It isn't land boiling in a kettle for only seven isn't suitable for a with a revolutionary and I say this, com any irony. I sincerely our government me when it acts badly. I

THANKS FOR ALL BOU



Free-born American citizens standing in line for free Lodging House, there to give thanks for the blessing they have to give thanks for.

THE COCK-E

By Adrien Gambet

THURSDAY. November 29. — Roosevelt decides on Federal aid to help private home-builders, instead of government construction of slum-clearance dwellings. Again a really constructive social plan is discarded to bolster up capitalism. . . . Farley's Post Office surplus of \$12,000,000 melts into a deficit of sion experts advisers or salesmen? What's a trifle like \$54,000,000 of the people's money to a capitalist politician? . . . Brazil to buy coastal armament as result of recommendation of American Army Coast Artillery Mission. Were the mission expert advisers or salesmen? . . . In New York City 200,000 families, exclusive of those on relief (another 500,000), have maximum annual incomes of between \$750 and \$1,000. We hope they don't suffer from the well-known softening effects of luxury.

FRIDAY.—The marriage of an Englishman to a Greek girl fills nearly all of the three first pages of the New York Times, while Europe moves steadily closer to war and tens of millions are starving. . . . Eighteen placed on trial in California for membership in Communist Party under criminal syndicalism act. . . . New Jersey man, unemployed, who hunted ducks* for Thanksgiving dinner for wife and children, given thirty days in jail because he hadn't \$2.50 hunting license. If he had had \$2.50, he wouldn't have had to hunt ducks.

SATURDAY. — V Hitler's repression collaboration of Fr man war veterans i with Deputy Goy. of a fascist movem tainly be a Goy. . . lyn Irish fascist, v member of the Kh of the Communist l he was a "Red Bull was not a great on imports materials 42,000 tons of mos gas. . . . New Yo owners contribute \$ to fight Building Millions for defen cent for wages.

SUNDAY.—Nati Conference Bo American public o profit motive is e pathetic strikes s illegal, is agains and unemployment favors governme wages and hours. ably a case of fin want to find, but lot of people in the pretty close to American Associ sity Professors' c censorship in CC taining it preve approach to "ind ical problems wh civilized world." of the New Yor Authority says New York Cha

LABOR SECTION

URGES
LABOR
PARTY

Modigliani, Italian Socialist Hero, Acclaimed as Local 89 Celebrates 15th Birthday

CALLING upon American labor not only to unite and fight against Fascism but to organize an independent political party of the workers as a weapon in that fight, Joseph-Emmanuel Modigliani, huge bearded Italian Socialist and anti-Fascist battler, thrilled the 25,000 members of Local 89, I.L.G.W.U., who crowded into Madison Square Garden last week, with his fervor, his courage and his eloquence. Exiled from Italy since his attack six years ago on Mussolini and the other Fascist murderers of Matteotti, Socialist deputy, Comrade Modigliani has been carrying on the struggle from his Paris headquarters. Now he is to tour the United States in behalf of the fund for fighting Italian Fascism.

Modigliani was one of the many speakers at the 15th anniversary celebration of the Italian Dress-makers' Local which took its number from the year of the overthrow of the Bastille symbol of revolt against oppression. Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, addressed the huge throng—just a part of the union's 45,000 members—as did David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U. Arturo Giovannitti, famous poet and strike leader, opened the elaborate program, introducing the chairman, Luigi Antonini, general secretary of the local and first vice-president of the International union.

In addition to the speaking, there was an elaborate musical program, followed by dancing to the music of noted bands. Morris Novick was in charge of the whole affair. The balconies and the space

(Continued on Page 4L)



AT LOCAL 89'S MAGNIFICENT CELEBRATION IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN—(Top, from left): David Dubinsky, president of I. L. G. W. U., vice-president of A. F. of L.; Modigliani, Italian Socialist Leader; (bottom): Morris Novick, of WEVD, in charge of arrangements; Luigi Antonini, head of Local 89, largest union local in the world.

Give 'Em Tear Gas: That'll Teach Them to Strike

LOS ANGELES.—While the United States government is seeking to arbitrate or mediate the car strike here, where over 40 have been injured in the past week or so, the police and other officers of the law have been continuing the use of tear and nausea gas in order to break up crowds of sympathizers. Two thousand strikers voted this week to reject the impudent offer of the Los Angeles Railway Co. to take back 100 men within 90 days and "place the remainder on the company's extra list with priority rights cancelled."

A strike also threatens of Pacific Railway workers on the inter-urban line. The Los Angeles Co. company serves about 200,000 passengers in the metropolitan area.

The police, under orders from the municipal authorities, have been especially vindictive in attacking pickets and sympathizers and herding scabs. On Tuesday a huge crowd in the heart of the downtown district was dispersed by clubs and a tear gas barrage, the police being completely unmindful of the danger of death to hundreds of bystanders and sympathizers in the general panic.

Silk Dye
Strikers
Win

PATERSON.—The hard-fought six weeks' strike of the rayon and silk dye workers ended this week and mills which were shut down tight by the union's pickets have reopened on the basis of an agreement reached between the Federation of Silk and Rayon Dyers of America and the Institute of Dyers and Printers, the bosses' association.

Although the closed shop, for which the union had fought bitterly, was not officially granted, the result was a great victory for the union, since the work week was cut from 40 to 36 hours, pay was increased from 57½ to 66 cents an hour, and it was stipulated that all union men must be replaced when necessary by other union men. Thus the union will maintain its strength and be able to reach 100% organization. Although general strikes and lock-outs are prohibited during the life of the two-year agreement, individual strikes against employers violating the agreement are permitted.

(Continued on Page 3-L)

WHAT'S GOVERNMENT FOR?

Committee Representing Nation-wide Unemployed Demonstrators Presents Demands to Hopkins and Perkins in Washington

AN appropriation of \$600,000 for clothing and fuel for the month of December in New York City and of a like amount for the month of January was the first result of the demonstration of nearly 10,000 unemployed and trade unionists on November 24 under the leadership of the Workers' Unemployed Union. Although the state relief administration had definitely stated on November 23 to a committee representing the demonstration that no funds for clothing were available, a threat by the Workers' Unemployed Union to call a strike of school children led to the appropriations mentioned only three days later. The clothing appropriation for November was only \$13,000, or 4 cents a month per family on relief.

The visit of a committee of the nation's unemployed to officials in Washington on November 27, following the demonstrations, produced no definite results, according to David Lasser, who was chairman of the Washington delegation. A cool reception met the committee when it presented the eight-point program of the nation's jobless to Secretary of Labor Perkins and Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins. Although, according to Comrade Lasser, the officials had been impressed by the strength and determination of the November 24th demonstrations, in which more than 250,000 unemployed took part, they were unwilling to yield to a single demand proposed by the spokesmen of the unemployed.

Perkins Evasive

Secretary Perkins remained shrewdly evasive on the request of the unemployed for specific answers to the eight-point program, would she make any committal statement on unemployment insurance alone

Insurance, or Miss Perkins, comes only from a contributed fund. "When the fund runs out," she declared, "there is no more insurance." Secretary Perkins is in charge of drafting the unemployment insurance bill to be presented to the next Congress.

Harry Hopkins was more direct in his answers. Mr. Hopkins is opposed to the 30-hour week demanded by the A. F. of L. because, he says, "it will subsidize scarcity." If that were true, the unemployed demanded, "then why not have a general policy of longer hours in industry?" Mr. Hopkins refused to debate the question.

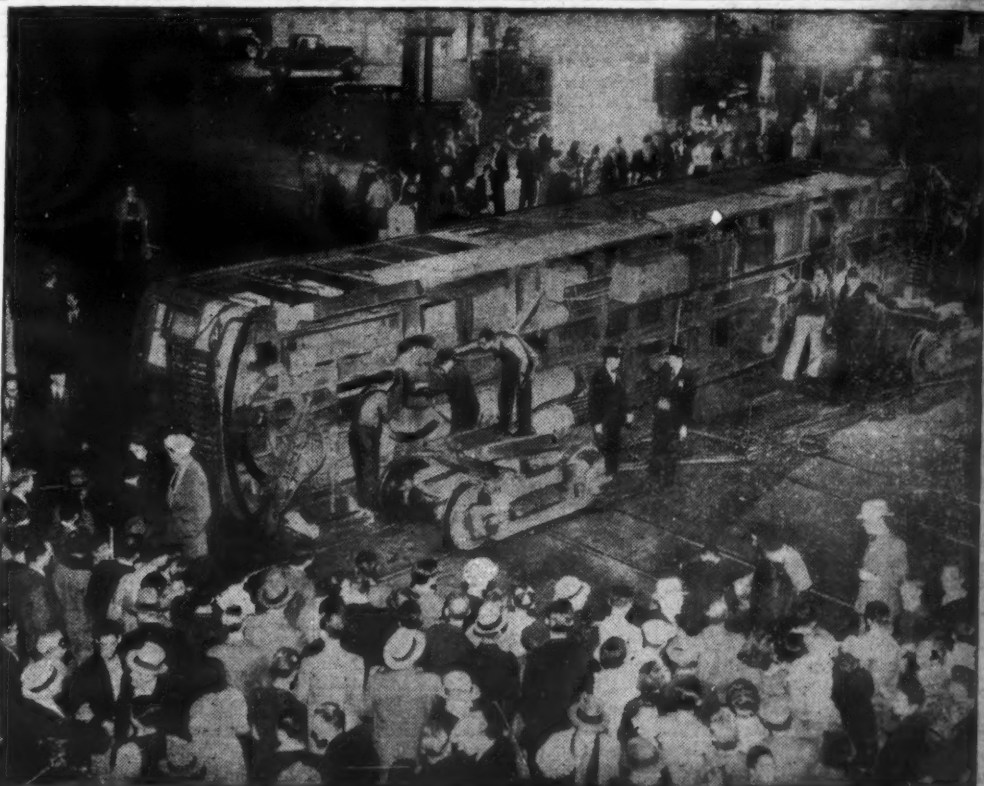
On the matter of direct relief, Mr. Hopkins was of the opinion that "relief on the whole was pretty adequate, as relief goes." He thought "the administration was doing a pretty good job." However, he said, "relief is not the solution." To which the unemployed agreed. They declared that the unemployed were sick of relief. But they added, they could not agree with Mr. Hopkins' apparent views that "since relief was repugnant, there was no use, in making it adequate." If relief were more adequate, the unemployed declared, it would be a little less repugnant.

A striking factor, according to the unemployed, was that during the entire interview with Mr. Hopkins, Dr. Rexford Tugwell, President Roosevelt's brain-truster, was present. Mr. Tugwell did not take part in the discussion, nor was he introduced by Mr. Hopkins.

Learn About Jobless

The conclusion drawn by the unemployed on the Washington delegation, according to Comrade Lasser, was stated as follows: "We did not gain a single point directly from the trip to Washington. Yet

(Continued on Page 3-L)



IN LOS ANGELES WHERE POLICE TEAR-GAS-BOMBED TROLLEY STRIKERS AND SYMPATHIZERS. Outraged by the united front of bosses, city administration and police, sympathizers stopped this street-car, ordered passengers out, and pushed it over. Workers are asking a chance to live.

BOSSSES YEARN TO
PROTECT WORKERS
FROM INTIMIDATION

The bosses of America are unequivocally and irrevocably opposed to any Congressional enactment for the 30-hour week and closed shop legislation.

Take that as a fact. C. L. Bardo, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, said so, in his keynote address before the association's convention.

And do you know why the nation's industrialists took that noble stand? Because they want to "effectively protect American citizens in their right to work without coercion or molestation from any source." And this touching solicitude for the right of American citizens to slave and starve was expressed at the Hotel Waldorf Astoria, that well-known proletarian flophouse.

Walter Kohler, formerly Republican governor of Wisconsin—model employer in a model town, who was responsible for the murder of unarmed pickets—also spoke, quite appropriately. He attacked 7A because it didn't protect workers from the intimidation of labor organizers!

Newspaper Guild Walks Out

Purge Yourself; Stop Being Terrified by the Publishers, Editorial Workers Tell NRA

WASHINGTON. — Because the National Labor Relations Board, after ordering Hearst to reinstate an editorial worker discharged for union activity, reopened the case the next day on the ground that it should have gone to some other body, the American Newspaper Guild refused to have any further dealings with the NRA until the NRA had purged itself. Heywood Broun, president of the national guild, withdrew from the hearings on editorial hours and wages after reading a statement accusing the NRA of being terrified by the publishers.

The case was that of Dean S. Jennings, rewrite man on the San Francisco Call Bulletin, who was forced out because of guild activity. On Monday the NLRB ordered him reinstated. On Tuesday it suspended action at the bidding of the NRA and said the case should have gone to the Newspaper Code Authority, whose counsel, Elisha Hanson, happens to be also counsel for the offending newspaper. Hanson had originally maintained that the case should have come before his board for fair adjudication. Hanson also charged the guild representatives with procrastination, sabotage, disloyalty and other misdemeanors.

Others Withdraw

With Broun withdrew also Morris Watson, chairman of the guild's national press association committee, and Paul Hendrix, guild's technical advisor to the NRA labor advisory board. The latter won't serve until the NRA impartiality is established. The former said his committee won't seek inclusion in the newspaper code, since it is apparently "a shame to cover special privilege for publishers," but would await a genuine code.

"We had come here prepared to show you that on the average an American newspaper man must

work for twenty years before he achieves a salary of \$40 a week, and the fictitious quality of the publishers' proposals which, when translated into dollars, means no contribution to re-employment or additional purchasing power," Broun's statement read.

"We are withdrawing now 'because of the extraordinary action of the NRA in forcing reopening of the Jennings case.' On Monday the guild had won. On Tuesday we learned the case has been reopened. At whose request? At the request of the Acting General Counsel for the NRA.

NRA's Role

"In other words, when that fast-running back Elisha Hanson was thrown for a loss it was the NRA itself which sent a substitute to take his place.

"Behind Blackwell Smith we see the figure of Donald Richberg. We know that he conferred long and earnestly with the National Labor Relations Board yesterday afternoon. We know because we saw him.

"As long as the corridors of Mr. Richberg are filled with mysterious, high-pressure representatives of the publishers we feel that we belong elsewhere. When and if the NRA purges itself we will return. We charge definitely that on this occasion and on several former ones the NRA has allowed itself to be terrified by the publishers. We are going back to the picket line in Newark where the air is cleaner."

CLOAK ROOM GIRLS PLAN WALKOUT SOON

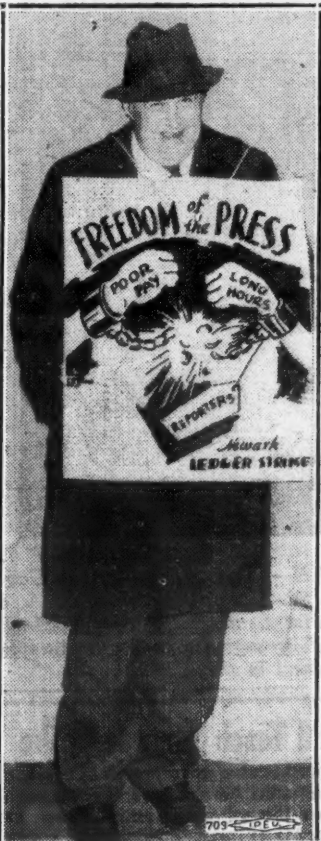
Plans for a strike of cloak room girls for union recognition and an increase in their miserable wages will be announced soon, according to Benjamin Jacobs, president of the union, which has 2,700 mem-

Debate: "RESOLVED, THAT THE TEXTILE STRIKE SETTLEMENT WAS THE BEST UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES."

Affirmative: GERTRUDE WEIL KLEIN.

Negative: MARY HILLYER. Rand School, 7 East 15th St., Thursday, Dec. 13, at 8:30 p. m.

Another Thing the Yinsels Taught Him



Yop, it's Heywood—the Broun Columnist and President of the American Newspaper Guild, Caught Picketing in the Newark Ledger Reporters' Strike. (Federated Pictures)

Department Store Picketed

Milwaukee's Biggest Establishment Faces Triple Alliance Of Clerks, Drivers, Maintenance Men

MILWAUKEE. — The strike against the Boston Store, big department store here, continues unabated, with hundreds of workers out on the picket line daily. Clerks, maintenance employees and drivers are among the picketers, and the public is being constantly reminded of the fact that the department store magnates who prate about service to the community aren't willing to give decent wages and conditions to their own workers.

The Milwaukee local of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association is conducting the strike for recognition, higher wages and shorter hours. With the building service employees' local and the drivers' union, it is in a triple alliance against the city's largest store.

Despite rain and cold weather, peaceful but determined picketing continues around the store from seven in the morning on. An impressive mass demonstration takes place first: then the pickets are divided into shifts, to cover the entrances thoroughly. Songs and cheers help to pass the time away.

Other stores are also being approached, especially Gimbel's and Sears Roebuck, where action is expected soon. The strikers say that their appeal to fellow-workers in other fields has resulted in the Boston Store's losing hundreds of accounts held by other unionists. The Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee has been aiding the strikers. At any moment now a decision is expected by the Workers' Committee on Unemployment to throw its mass strength behind the strike. It was such action in the electric company strike several months ago that aroused the city, blocked the scabs completely, and won the strike.

Hundreds of house-to-house canvassers gathered in a mass meeting recently to organize a union

to the affiliated with the A. F. of L. They seek the setting of minimum wages, formation of a free employment bureau, and investigation of private bureaus.

CLASS WAR PRISONERS' NIGHT DECEMBER 14

NEXT Friday night, December 14, the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W. will hold its annual class war prisoners' Christmas Fund entertainment and dance at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place. The proceeds from this entertainment will be distributed among the workers imprisoned because of their activity in the labor movement, and to their dependent wives and children. Among them are: Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings; W. B. Jones and W. M. Hightower and the five other Kentucky miners now serving life sentences at Frankfort, Ky., and many not so widely known.

A splendid program is being arranged. Opera singers who have been with the Chicago, San Carlo, and Hippodrome Grand Opera Companies; symphony musicians from the New York Orchestra; working class musical groups and many others have volunteered their services. Dancing will follow. The Socialist Party has endorsed the affair. Tickets are a quarter.

CARNEGIE STEEL CO. DEFIES GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON. — Because employees at the Duquesne, Pa., and McDonald, O., plants of the Carnegie Steel Co. are not engaged in work that can be called "interstate commerce," the huge steel corporation maintains that it's none of the government's business whether a collective bargaining election is held.

Executive of I. F. T. U. Meets; Scans European Situation

A REPORT on conditions in the Saar and on relief work for Fascist victims, and a survey of the situation in Spain and the Balkan countries were among the matters taken up at the last meeting of the executive committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions, held recently in Paris.

(Walter Citrine, I.F.T.U. president, was away on the American tour during which many readers of THE NEW LEADER heard him speak against Fascism under the auspices of city central trades and labor councils.) The report of the secretary follows, only the detailed resolutions on the various matters taken up being omitted:

The Executive gave thorough consideration to the events in Spain which were also the subject of a joint conference with the Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International. Necessary steps were taken for the organization of relief work and the Executive also noted the measures already adopted by the French National Trade Union Centre (CGT). At the close of the discussion a resolution was passed protesting in the strongest terms against the present government's inhuman persecution of the Spanish fighters for freedom and, with special reference to trade union problems, condemning the attempt to introduce a system of fascist corporations.

As Comrade Caballero, who should attend a committee of the International Labor Office on Dec. 8, is in prison, Comrades Jouhaux and Mertens, on behalf of the Workers' Group of the International Labor Office, sent a special

telegram to the president of the Spanish Republic pointing out that it would be a great grief to the workers and a great blow to the moral prestige of the Spanish Republic should Caballero be prevented from taking his seat.

The position in the Saar received close attention in view of the plebiscite to be held in 1935 and this problem was also considered by a joint conference with the Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International. The general secretary gave a detailed account of trade union work in the Saar. The view of the IFTU was expressed in a resolution demanding the indispensable guarantee of "absolute fairness, freedom and secrecy of the ballot" and appealing to the Saarlanders to vote for the status quo because "this is the only way, in the present circumstances, of safeguarding not only their social and economic

interests but in fact those human values which they hold still dearer, their rights and their freedom." The resolution also points out that "the League of Nations, France and perhaps other great powers would make a very wise political gesture by declaring that, should the voting be in favor of maintenance of the status quo, no obstacle would be placed later on in the way of a return to Germany," should the people of the Saar desire this in view of changed political conditions.

The general secretary of the IFTU spoke on the position of the various relief and propaganda actions of the IFTU in fascist countries, which all show successful results. The position in Austria, on which special reports were submitted, was again carefully considered by the executive.

Comrade Jouhaux gave an ac-

count of trade union conditions in Rumania and Yugoslavia and reported on the results of his visit to the Congress of the Rumanian National Trade Union Centre in Bucharest. On the basis of his reports it was decided that Jouhaux should represent the IFTU at the Congress of the Yugoslavian National Centre to be held in Serajevo in December, and he will also attend the Congress of the Czechoslovakian National Centre in Prague on behalf of the IFTU.

In connection with the nomination of delegations, the general secretary reported on an invitation to the IFTU to be represented at the Congress of the Norwegian National Centre in Oslo, and it was decided that the vice-president, Jacobsen, and the general secretary should attend as representatives of the IFTU. The Congress of the Norwegian Trades Union Congress

is of special interest because the question of affiliation to the IFTU is one of the items on the agenda.

The Executive adopted a report on the Fifth International "Week" of Young Trade Unionists held in Dorchester at the end of August. Seventeen young trade unionists had participated in the school, delegated by Belgium, Finland, Great Britain, Holland and Sweden. It was decided to hold a sixth "week" in the summer of 1935 in France. Several questions relating particularly to facilitating attendance at these schools are to be dealt with in the next meeting of the executive.

After consideration of the question of a trade union program for young people, referred back from the general council meeting, it was decided to submit the draft again to the national centres for their observations.

The Executive then considered a letter received from the joint council of the Dutch National Trade Union Centre and Social Democratic Labor Party, proposing that public inquiries be held into the machinations of the armaments industry. In view of the results of the arms inquiry in the United States special attention is to be given, nationally and internationally, to this part of anti-war propaganda.

In order to promote to the utmost the boycott of Nazi Germany, the Executive decided to appoint the president of the IFTU, Walter M. Citrine, to attend as observer the Non-Sectarian International Boycott Conference, which was to be held in London on the 26th and 27th of November.

State Labor Demands Job Insurance

ALBANY.—The executive council of the State Federation of Labor, closing its sessions here, presented its demands for a legislative program to Governor Lehman. Foremost on the program is unemployment insurance.

Repeal of the law creating private unemployment agencies and the setting up of federal and state agencies instead was urged, as well as compensation benefits for workers permanently injured while at work, two months' leave with pay for mothers before and after childbirth, an eight-hour day for

uniformed firemen, and employment of union-trained operators on motion-picture machines used for education purposes.

State Industrial Commissioner Elmer F. Andrews told the council that "certain agencies, working from offices just outside city limits, have been recruiting girls for vice traffic." He urged statewide regulation of fee-charging employment bureaus, declaring that abuses of other years have been revived. For instance, he said, "certain racketeering agencies have been importing workers from other states, requiring them to accept

employment at wages so low that, after fees and transportation have been deducted, the employee often receives no cash for several months."

Andrews urged stricter regulation of labor camps and commissaries, which are often "literally hell holes, with sanitary conditions so bad as to menace the health of nearby communities."

Strike-breaking agencies operate as detective agencies and claim they are not employment agencies because they do not charge fees and are frequently the actual employers of labor, he added.

Footnote on a Financial Item And Portrait of a Patriot

THERE was a little financial transaction the other day that deserves to be noted at least in a footnote to local chronicles.

There dwell in Brooklyn a crew of worthy patriots headed by one Hyman Shorenstein, who, alas!, cannot read or write. But that did not keep him from improving his lot in a sorry world, for he rose to be Commissioner of Records a number of years ago. After all, why should he worry about reading and writing when he can hire college graduates to lick his boots for fifteen a week (and apparently he does).

Hyman, together with one Aaron L. Jacoby—who appears to be one of the type of men who capitalize politically upon their much-advertised piety and philanthropy—and Samuel Pearlman, clerk of one of the Brooklyn courts, were in a highly lucrative business running busses in Brownsville and East New York. Jacoby used to run an orphan asylum in Brownsville, where Hyman is—or was—kingfish, and latterly for his piety he got himself elected sheriff and register. Pearlman is Hyman's son-in-law, which may account for his advance in this troubled world.

There is no need here to go into the slimy details of the crooked management of that bus company and how Hyman, Aaron and Sam cleaned up and cleaned out, but it is a fact that the three payroll patriots were told not long ago that they owed the city \$65,013.06 for this and that, which hitherto they had overlooked. At first they squalled, and then they squirmed, and then they did what Harry M. Daugherty and Mairice E. Connolly did—they hired Max D. Steurer; and Max, being expert in crookedness through long association with this kind of clients, gave them legal advice (at \$1,000 a day); he told them to pay in full, and they did. For it appears to be a very lucrative business to be a pious feller and a philanthropist, and they had the money to pay without recourse to the Morris Plan.

Now, all this is interesting, but not very important, considering the magnitude of the operations of some of Hyman's and Aaron's and Sammy's pals, such as McQuade and McCooney and McGuinness, and also considering the magnitude of the legal loot of those who have the legal right to exploit us... interesting, but not very important.

But there is one aspect that is most emphatically important. Who do you suppose Hyman is? Not his spotted and very curious old-time Brownsville activities in the days when horse-poisoning was a recognized means of earning an honest living, but a little later.

Under the inspiring leadership of men of the caliber of B. Feigenbaum, A. I. Shiplacoff, Barnet Wolf and other heroes of Socialism Brownsville had become a Socialist stronghold. Shiplacoff had been elected three times to the Assembly; Charles Solomon four times; Shiplacoff and Wolf had been sent to the Board of Aldermen. Brownsville was definitely Red.

LECTURE NOTES

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union has announced the following program: Dec. 7, Everett Dean Martin, "The Class Struggle in America"; Dec. 9, Professor Morris Cohen, "The Secular View of the World"; Dec. 11, Professor Scott Buchanan, "Tradition."

Professor H. W. L. Dana, who has recently returned from the Congress of Revolutionary Writers held in Moscow, will speak on the latest Soviet plays and films and the Moscow Theatre Festival, in Irving Hall Plaza, Sunday, Dec. 9, at 3 p. m. The lecture is given under the auspices of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Now, that didn't please the noble patriots of the high nobility of Hyman Shorenstein, and so he undertook to organize to drive Socialism out of Brownsville. He negotiated a marriage—or misalliance—between the Democrats and Republicans; he promoted fusion between them; he became the local example of that curious New York monstrosity, the District Leader; he so manipulated politics that the Socialist influence was, indeed, temporarily destroyed. That is Hyman's contribution to the happiness of the people who gratefully (or otherwise) piled up his big fortune.

And for that he was given banquets and a job at many thousands a year; he was eulogized by editors and statesmen (including Jimmy Walker, Governor Lehman and President Roosevelt), he was held in high honor for having "redeemed" Brownsville from the Socialists.

This little yarn gives you a rough idea of what stuff such "patriots" are made.

The Sales Tax Is a Reversed Income Tax

By Alex Haberstroh

SOCIALISM, in its fight against capitalism, is often faced with actions planned to favor the capitalist class at the expense of the workers. Such an action is the 2% sales tax planned for New York City.

One can easily see that the capital levy and the income tax (taxes which rest lightly on the workers and heavily on the capitalists) are class taxes. To expose the sales tax as a reversed income tax is part of the class struggle.

The sales tax will take 2% from all income spent for merchandise. 2% will be taken by the government for a tax.

A married man with a small income—\$20 a week, etc.—must spend that entire income for daily living.

However, a man with a large income does not need to spend it all. He can and does save a good part of it.

Thus, the low income citizen will pay a larger part of his income for this sales tax than will the citizen with a big income.

Secondly, the income tax law allows exemptions for dependents (for children, wives, the old and the ill). The more persons dependent upon a man, the less he needs to pay in income taxes.

This justice is completely re-

University of the Air to Be Inaugurated Before 1,600 Guests at Town Hall

Hendrik Willem van Loon, genial historian and author, will introduce famous personalities in the world of literature, music, drama and education during the inaugural program marking the opening of the third year of the WEVD University of the Air at Town Hall, Sunday evening, December 9.

A special two-hour program has been arranged for the sixteen hundred guests who will attend the opening ceremonies, and the invisible audience will hear the program over Station WEVD beginning at 8:30 p. m.

In addition to Hendrik Willem van Loon, those scheduled on this program are: Prof. John Dewey; Dr. Harry W. Chase, Chancellor of New York University; Fannie Hurst; Dr. Sandor Lorand, Chief of the Mental Clinic at Mt. Sinai Hospital; Heywood Brown, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, B. Charney Vladeck. Alla Nazimova, noted actress, will appear in a dramatic sketch, and the Milban String Trio will be featured in the musical part of the program.

versed by the sales tax. The more helpless one's depending upon a worker, the more tax he must pay! The sales tax is also a class tax! Bearing down heavily upon the working class and especially the worker with most responsibilities, it is in absolute opposition to Socialist principles and must be fought until abolished.

JOHN T. FLYNN AT RAND SCHOOL LUNCHEON

Saturday afternoon, December 8, the Rand School luncheon will be devoted to a discussion of "Sound Money, Sound Wages and Debt." This important economic topic will be discussed by John T. Flynn, author of "Gold's Seal" and "Security Speculation, Its Economic Effects"; Professor Walter E. Spahr, chairman of the Department of Economics, New York University, and Algernon Lee, president of the Rand School.

Mr. Flynn has an important contribution to make on this topic because of his work in aiding the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

The luncheon starts promptly at 1:30 and the discussion at 2:30 p. m. Reservations should be made without delay at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

140 OPERATIONS MAKE ONE CRAWFORD SUIT

If you were to ask the average person to guess at the number of separate and distinct operations required in the production of a suit of clothes, it is almost certain the answer would be far from correct—very far. Most people would feel they were being rash if they answered, "Oh, perhaps fifty operations."

The fact is, the manufacturing of a single Crawford suit requires 140 definite operations! Sounds unbelievable, yet it is entirely true. In Crawford Clothes one finds fabrics which cannot be found in other brands selling under \$40 to \$50. The word "cannot" is used advisedly, for Crawford is New York's Largest Clothing Chain, and other concerns cannot do what Crawford accomplishes.

In addition, Crawford makes every Crawford garment in Crawford Union Shops. By superintending every phase of manufacture, Crawford is enabled to keep production costs down to the irreducible minimum. There you have another saving!

The foregoing is the set-up, unique in the industry, which permits Crawford to sell clothes of actual Custom Quality for the amazing low price of \$18.75, which ordinarily does not even buy clothes of even a passable quality. It is only natural that such sensational value-giving should attract thousands upon thousands of New York men to Crawford. So great is New York's demand for Crawford Clothes, that twenty-three stores, in various parts of the city must be maintained, otherwise the astounding number of Crawford patrons could not be served!

There is a Crawford store near you. Simply refer to your telephone directory to find the addresses of the Crawford stores in New York. There are also Crawford stores in a number of other major cities along the eastern seaboard. All Crawford stores are open every evening and alterations, when necessary, are made with perfect accuracy and without any charge whatever. Adv't.

Dr. Robinson Was Wrong And the Students Were Right

WE understand that Doctor Frederick B. Robinson, President of New York's own City College, is undergoing an operation for appendicitis; we sincerely hope he will recover and for his convalescence we hope that we have to say here will be part of his light reading—reading for the light it may give him.

It is to be hoped that the good Doctor's condition was not aggravated by the recent regrettable occurrences in his college; but we are sure that there are things even more important to the people of New York than the Doctor's physical well-being.

Twenty-one boys were dismissed from C.C.

N.Y., their promising careers ruined. They are the sons of working class families, receiving the education that is theirs by right. The city does not do the boys a favor. The college is not the property of any one man as Huey Long claims Louisiana State University is "his." The college belongs to the city, to the people of the city and is maintained by them for the benefit of the city. The college is the purest example of democracy in the city; it is a series of beautiful buildings, fine libraries and laboratories, served by devoted and brilliant teachers all supplied by the people through their city government for their own benefit through the development of the young men for the future service of the city.

Each year the boys who graduated take what the old Athenians called the Ephebic Oath, an oath to devote their talents and abilities to the betterment of their great city.

To this country, to this city, to this college came Italian youths, representatives of Italian universities, and because of their treatment of the visitors the good Doctor snarled Guttersnipes at hundreds of his students and caused twenty-one lads to be expelled.

Waiving the relatively unimportant issue of manners, which seemed to worry the Doctor no end, it is important to discover what the Italian students were here for.

Were the C.C.N.Y. boys, the "guttersnipes," merely hysterical when they denounced the Italian students as fascist propagandists? Or were the college authorities correct in assuming that they were merely Italian students on a "good will" tour, in which they were badgered and annoyed by vulgar ruffians?

It couldn't be proved at City College but now that the boys are back in Italy we have the facts and it appears—as everyone with a brain above a two-year old level knew all the time—that the boys were right.

Every paper in Italy is "official"; nothing can be published without the consent of the fascist government. Nothing appears in any Italian publication that is not sanctioned that is not wholly authoritative from the standpoint of the Mussolini regime.

When the Italian students re-

turned the following appeared in *La Stampa* of Turin (Oct. 24): "The fascist sports-cultural tour of North America is concluded... The youth's consciousness of having fulfilled their honorable mission of representing fascist Italy on the other side of the Atlantic. Their leaders read to the Duce, who listened attentively, the report of the tour, concluding with an account of studies and observations... especially on the spirit of Italianity which animated the fellow Italians residing in America."

In *Libro e Moschetto* ("Book and Musket"), organ of the fascist students of Italy, of the same date, we read:

"... the importance of your tour, which was a stupendous and universal affirmation of Italianity. Today we salute you in the dear comrades in study and in faith who by the Duce's will have marked a brilliant new stage in the triumphal march of fascism over the world!"

Who were the Americans in City College? Who battled for the noblest American ideals, the "guttersnipes," or the learned Doctor who castigated them and had them expelled?

NEW YORKERS who love their city and cherish their honor will fight to restore the twenty-one boys to their college, and to restore the college to the people to whom it belongs!

Deutsch and Modigliani to Be Honored by Party

Julius Deutsch and Giuseppe E. Modigliani, two heroic Socialist fighters against fascism, will be honored by the Socialists of New York at three important gatherings that will take place next week.

Comrade Deutsch, who in addition to having been the commander of the Austrian *Schutzbund*, the republican defense corps, was the founder and for years leader of the great Austrian Socialist youth movement, will speak at a general gathering of Yipsels at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, Sunday, Dec. 16, at 2:30.

Yipsels will receive preference, but party members will be admitted if there is any room after all Yipsels are accommodated.

The following day, Dec. 17, the Socialists of New York will hold their Mobilization, in accordance with the plans of the National Office, and the speakers will be Comrades Deutsch and Modigliani. This will be the first time the great Italian Socialist will address a general meeting of New York Socialists. In addition to his eloquent Italian, Comrade Modigliani speaks a perfect German, and he may be induced to use that language.

On Dec. 18th the New York Socialists will give Comrade Deutsch a farewell dinner at the Hotel Delano. It will be a dollar dinner, with speeches by Deutsch, Modigliani and others, and will be a fitting farewell to the heroic Viennese after his two months' tour of the United States. Reservations through Julius Gerber, 7 East 15th Street.

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PARTY NOTES

Manhattan

6th A.D. Important branch meeting Monday, Dec. 10. Nominations for branch officers.

Village Branch. Carlo Tescia will speak to the Village Youth Group Fri., Dec. 7, on the anti-fascist novel "Fon-tanara." On Sat., Dec. 8, a dance will be held at branch headquarters, 201 Sullivan St. Reports of the Boston N.E.C. meeting will be given by Comrades Most, Minkoff and Hendin on Mon., Dec. 10, at branch headquarters.

Upper West Side. Branch meeting Mon., Dec. 10, the last of the year. All branch officers and members of the Executive Committee will be elected.

13th A.D. Regular meeting of the branch postponed, instead the branch is taking a table at the Deutsch-Modigliani Dinner Dec. 18. All interested communicate at once with Rose Pearlman, 238 E. 24th St., N. Y. City.

Bronx

7th A.D. Important meeting Tuesday, Dec. 11. The branch is holding a Theatre Party on Feb. 6. Tickets are on hand for a play at the Civic Repertory Theatre.

Kings

18th A.D. Branch 2. Business meeting Tues., Dec. 11, at headquarters, 844 Ulica Ave. Don't forget the Theatre Party Thurs., Dec. 13, at the New Group Theatre. "The Gold Eagle Died." Tickets can still be obtained from I. Myron, 764 Linden Blvd., Min. 9-7886. Beer Party and Dance Saturday night, Dec. 15, at branch headquarters.

Brighton Beach. Plans are under way for a gala event at Brighton Beach Sat., Dec. 22, to be called "In the Gay Nineties." Costumes of that period will be in order. Several acts of "The Drunkard" by Levy and Nathan in red flannel nightgowns will sing that moving song "The Man on the Flying Trapeze." Admission includes beer.

A Drama Group will be organized at Brighton in the very near future.

Queens

Jackson Heights-Elmhurst Branch will hold a Social at the home of Comrades Goodison, 54-18 94th Ave., Elmhurst, L.I., Sat., Dec. 8. Regular meeting of the branch at the same address Thurs., 13th.

LECTURE CALENDAR

All lectures begin at 8:30 P.M. unless otherwise stated)

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7th

Manhattan
B. C. Vlodeck, Max Danish, Paul Porter—People's House, 7 E. 15th St. Membership Symposium, "A. F. of L. Convention."

Bronx

Marx Lewis—Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave. Admission 15c. "Outlook for an American Labor Party."

Brooklyn

William M. Feigenbaum—"Socialist Word Portraits," East New York Forum, 864 Sutter Ave., near Barbey St.

Dr. William E. Bohn—"Is the NRA Doomed to Failure?" Brighton Beach Branch, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.

August Zyler—"Origins of Capitalism," first of a series of six, Williamsburg Open Forum, 241 So. 4th St.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9th

Manhattan

McAlister Coleman—"Current Events," Village Branch, 201 Sullivan St.

Brooklyn

William M. Feigenbaum—"The Workers Abroad," 5th and 17th A.D., 310 Summer Ave.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11th

Bronx

William Beedie—"Socialist Position Towards the Labor Movement," 1137 Ward Ave., Bronx. Auspices 6th A.D. Branch.

Brooklyn

James Oneal—"Labor and the Socialist Movement," 16th A.D., 6618 Bay Pkway.

David Kaplan—"Results of the Recent Election," 18th A.D., 269 Ulica Ave.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14th

Manhattan

Mark Khinoy—"What Is Happening in Russia," Membership Symposium, People's House, 7 E. 15th St.

Bronx

William M. Feigenbaum—"Is a United Front Possible?" 3rd, 4th and 5th A.D. Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14th

Brooklyn

David P. Berenberg and Fusion speaker. Debate, "What Has Fusion Done for the People of New York?" Brighton Beach Branch, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.

Stegried Lipschitz—"Fascism," 23rd A.D., Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St.

Van Loon III, Lectures Postponed

Hendrik Willem Van Loon, historian and lecturer, who was scheduled to deliver the first of a series of lectures on "History Repeats Itself" at the Rand School Tuesday, December 11, at 8:15, has been taken ill and will be unable for the time being to meet his class.

Watch for notice of the resumption of the lectures.

Culture Club Dance

The seventh annual reunion dance of the Modern Culture Club will be held Saturday, December 8, at Art Center Hall, 147 Second Ave. The committee in charge promises splendid dance music and entertainment.

LECTURE NOTES

John Strachy, famous author, will speak on "Does Fascism Breed War?" at Mecca Temple, Dec. 28. The meeting is being arranged by the American League Against War and Fascism.

A reception is recently returned delegates to the 17th anniversary of the founding of the U.S.S.R. will be held at Irving Plaza Hall on Dec. 12th at 8:30 p. m. Justine Wise Tulin will speak on "Significance of Trade Union Delegations to the Soviet Union." There will also be reports of the textile, hosiery and electrical workers' representatives; also of the seamen's and farmer groups. The affair is arranged by the New York City District of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Dr. G. F. Beck will speak on "Stars Fell on Alabama" at the Labor Temple, 14th St. and Second Ave., Sunday at 5. At 7:45, Dr. Edmund B. Chaffee will speak on "The People and the Corporations."

R. v. Leon Rosser Land will speak on "The Coming Religious Crisis" at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1591 Boston Road, Sunday evening, Dec. 9, at 8. At the forum, which follows, Devere Allen will speak on "Pacifism in a Changing World."

George Soule, author of "The Coming American Revolution," will give the second of three lectures at the Community Church Center, 557 West 140th St., Tuesday evening, Dec. 11, at 8:15. Subject: "Revolutionary Signs in the United States."

Vote in Seattle

SEATTLE.—John F. McKay, Socialist candidate for United States Senator, polled 2,849 votes in the First District, and Tillman Garrison, candidate for Congress, polled 2,329 in the same district.

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Garbo
"THE PAINTED VEIL"
BROADWAY AT 50th ST. • CAPITOL • GEORGE JESSEL and Stage Show

Julien Bryan on Russia and Siberia, Dec. 16

The first motion pictures of Siberia taken by an American have just been brought to this country by Julien Bryan, who has spent the past few months in Siberia and Russia, completing his newest collection of Soviet films. At present, these most recent scenes of the latest developments in the U.S.S.R. are being shown and discussed by Mr. Bryan outside of New York, but on Sunday evening, Dec. 16, this pictorial panorama of Soviet life will be presented at the New School of Social Science under the auspices of the American-Russian Institute.

Big Cast in "Captain Hates Sea" at Albee

A seven-act vaudeville program headed by the personal appearance of Al Shayne, radio favorite, on the stage, and "The Captain Hates the Sea," the nautical comedy with a cast of "Grand Hotel" proportions, are the double attractions at the Albee this week.

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Popular Prices
Music Hall Spectacle in 4 scenes
Symphony Orch.
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Features of the Week on WEVD (1300 Kc.) (231 M)

Sunday—11 a. m., The Forward Hour, music and sketches; 2 p. m., Lola Monti-Gorsey, soprano; 8, Don Carlos, "Poet Philosopher"; 8:15, Sylvia Bagley (songs), Charles Cohen (piano); 8:30, Rogues Revue, Latin-American music; 10, Symposium.
Monday—8 a. m., "Starting the Day Right," Dr. Jacob List; 3:30 p. m., Clara Schinkaya, soprano.
Tuesday—8:15 p. m., Esther Lane and Charles Anderson, songs; 8:30, Rose Kay, piano; 8:45, Zeld, popular songs; 10, New Leader Review of the News; 10:15, Cora Graham, soprano; 10:30, "Paris in New York," music.
Wednesday—8 p. m., Talk (to be announced); 8:15, Actors' Dinner Club, Doris Hardy; 8:30, Perla Del Sur, West Indian orchestra; 10:15, Jack Salmon (baritone), Edith Friedman (pianist); 10:45, Gisella, violinist.
Thursday—8:15 p. m., Margaret Reed Dooley, soprano; 10, Edward Peterson, zither; 10:15, "Newspaper Guild on the Air," talks; 10:30, Carlo Landilotti, bass; 10:45, Edith Friedman, piano.
Friday—8:15 p. m., Charlotte Tonhazy, violinist; 8:30, Cecil Burrows, baritone; 10, Rebel Arts Players, sketch; 10:30, Medical Hour, talk; 10:45, Six Rhythm Tempos, vocal and instrumental sextet.
Saturday—8 p. m., Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30, Betty Blue, songs; 8:45, "Story of a People," sketch; 10:15, Vocal Trio; 10:30, Jesse Wolk, baritone.

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

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55th St., bet. 6 & 7 Aves.
DECEMBER 28th
Friday Eve. at 8:30
ADMISSION
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"Does Fascism Breed WAR?"
A vital question discussed by a brilliant authority.
Tickets on Sale at N.Y. City Office, 213 Fourth Ave. • Dauber & Pine Bookshop, 66 Fifth Ave. • Rand School Bookshop, 7 East 15th St. • Mayfair Bookshop, 1 E. 47th St. • Workers Bookshops, 699 Prospect Ave., Bronx; 109 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn; 50 East 13th Street, New York City.
AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

MAJOR-GENERAL SMEDLEY D. BUTLER
will lecture on
America's Super Rackets—WAR and FASCISM
at **MECCA TEMPLE**
55th Street, bet. 6th and 7th Aves.
Friday, Dec. 14th, 8 P. M.
All tickets 50 cents.

The LABOR TEMPLE
14th Street and Second Ave.
SUNDAY, DEC. 9th—5:00 p. m.
DR. G. F. BECK
speaks on "Stars Fell on Alabama"
SUNDAY, DEC. 9th—7:45 p. m.
DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
will speak on "The People and the Corporations"

Join in the Reception of our
Workers' Delegation
Just returned from the Soviet Union
Wednesday, December 12th
8:30 P. M.
IRVING PLAZA HALL
Irving Place and 15th Street
—Hear—
JUSTINE WISE TULIN
speak on
"Significance of Trade Union Delegations to the Soviet Union"
REPORTS OF
Textile Worker—V. MODJESKY
(Endorsed by the Socialist Party Local of Pawtucket)
Hosiery Worker—F. GUNSSER
Electrical Worker—R. WEISNER
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ILLUSTRATED LECTURE
by
Professor H. W. L. DANA
Latest Soviet Plays and Films
Moscow Theatre Festival
Sunday, December 9th,
3 P. M., at
IRVING PLAZA HALL
Irving Place and 15th Street
Admission 25 cents
Professor Dana has just returned from the Congress of Revolutionary Writers held in Moscow, USSR
Auspices of the Friends of the Soviet Union 799 Broadway, Room 23

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union
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IN THE GREAT HALL
8th Street and Astor Place
At 8 o'clock Admission free
Friday, Dec. 7th—
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"The Class Struggle in America"
Sunday, Dec. 9th—
Professor **MORRIS COHEN**
"The Secular View of the World"
Tuesday, Dec. 11th—
Professor **SCOTT BUCHANAN**
"Tradition"

SEVENTH ANNUAL REUNION DANCE of the Modern Culture Club
Sat., Dec. 8th, 8 P. M. to 2 A. M.
ART CENTRE HALL
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Splendid Orch.—Superb Entertainment
Admission 35 cents

No Pause in the Grim Drama of "The Children's Hour"

BREEDING TROUBLES

"THE CHILDREN'S HOUR." By Lillian Hellman. At Maxine Elliott's.

Ironie titles are fashionable—and successful—this season. After "Small Miracle," with its melodrama wound in neat irony, come the grimmer turns of fate in "The Children's Hour." Moving quietly, from an opening not unaware of the comedy that lurks in boarding-school life, the play shows how one spoiled child, dominating her group, taking ruthless advantage of every opening toward her own way, brings disaster to the two young ladies that run the school. In the gathering force of fate especially after parents hurriedly withdraw their girls from the sex-tainted school; and the teachers libel suit fails, there is keen psychological insight as well as to drama. How the relations of Karen and her fiancé are effected, and how the other woman awakens to a knowledge of herself, are tensely and truly shown.

Being a play that one takes seriously, "The Children's Hour" lies open to one structural criticism. It may be that, in their excitement, the adults would fail to notice how the spoiled Mary plays on the fear of her weak, thieving schoolmate to make the girl swear to a lie; but it is hardly likely, when that girl does not know what lie to swear to, that the adults (instead of saying: what did you see?) should describe the act and say: Is this what you saw?—for the easy Yes! But otherwise the play, well-knit and well acted, is one of the few worth while dramas of the season so far.

"The First World War" i Brooklyn Premiere at Fox—New Stage Show

"The First World War" and "Cheating Cheaters" are the two feature film attractions opening today at the Fox Brooklyn.

"The First World War" is the screen production created by Fox Film from the secret archives of all the great nations. Its source and inspiration comes from the volume of the same title, edited by Laurence Stallings.

The stage show at the Fox this week was devised and staged by Zac Freedman and is in three acts a battlefield in France, a "Y" hut and a dugout.

Art Frank and Co., Larry Taylor and others are members of the big cast.

One of America's Most Famous Actresses Comes Back to Broadway



Above you see Katharine Cornell, who will open her season of Repertory at the Martin Bech Theatre sometime during Christmas week.

Garbo at the Capitol

"The Painted Veil"—the new Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer picture which will have its first New York showing on the Capitol Theatre's screen starting today—is Greta Garbo's twentieth starring film in her nine years since she first arrived in America.

"The Painted Veil" also introduces to the theatre world a new leading man for Garbo—Herbert Marshall. The supporting cast also

Film Holds 3rd Week at Roxy

"Imitation of Life," the Universal production of Fannia Hurst's story starring Claudette Colbert, is being held over for a third week at the Roxy Theatre. The current stage show, featuring Charles Carille, C.B.S. singer, also continues for a third week.

includes George Brent, Warner Oland, Jean Hersholt, Cecilia Parker, Beulah Bondi, Katharine Alexander and Forrester Harvey.

"A genuine contribution to the American theatre."—Gabriel, American HERMAN SHUMLIN presents

The Children's Hour

A Play for Adults by LILLIAN HELLMAN
Evenings 8:30—50c to \$3. Matinees Wed. and Sat.—2:40—50c to \$2
MAXINE ELLIOTT'S THEATRE WEST 39th STREET

The GROUP THEATRE presents in association with D. A. Doran, Jr.

GOLD EAGLE GUY

"PUT IT ON YOUR LIST AND SAY I SAID SO."—John Anderson, Journal
MOROSCO THEATRE, 45th St. W. of B'way
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:30

Sun. Evg. Dec. 16 at 8:30—NEW SCHOOL, 66 W. 12th St.

The American Russian Institute presents JULIEN BRYAN and his absorbing new motion pictures

SOVIET RUSSIA AND SIBERIA

Soviet homes, marriage and divorce courts, baby clinics, churches, theatres, aviation, Siberian fishing collectives, state farms, Lama temples, gold mining, industrialization of the Volga, and other authentic scenes.

Seats \$1 and \$1.50 plus tax now on sale at American Russian Institute, 56 W. 45th St., Phone MU 2-0313

"A masterpiece of our time."
—World-Telegram

Dwight Deere Winman and Aurlor Lee present

SYBIL THORNDIKE

in John Van Druten's New Comedy

THE DISTAFF SIDE

with ESTELLE WINWOOD and VIOLA KEATS

EVA LE GALLIENNE

and the CIVIC REPERTORY COMPANY

WEEK OF DEC. 10th

"THE CRADLE SONG" Mon. Evg. Dec. 10; Wed. Mat. & Evg. Dec. 12; Fri. Evg. Dec. 14

"L'AIGLON" Clemence Dane Version — Tues. Evg. Dec. 11; Thurs. Evg. Dec. 13; Sat. Mat. & Evg. Dec. 15

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

"Dealers in Death" to Have Film Premiere Dec. 13th at the Criterion Theatre

"Dealers in Death," an expose of the war munitions racket, has been completed for Topical Films by its producer, Monroe Shaff.

The picture dramatically portrays the following subjects: The Briey-Dombasle scandals; the story of Sir Basil Scharoff; the de Wendel dynasty; Vickers and the world arms empire; the Krupp hand grenade fuse episode; the Kaiser and Krupp; Hitler and Thyssen; the American munition mogus; the next war and its methods and implements; the preparation for gas war on civilians; the profits in war, and many additional items.

The picture will open at the Criterion Theatre next Thursday, Dec. 13, coincident with the opening of the sensational investigation in Washington.

Soviet Film Comedy at Cameo

"The Czar Want sto Sleep," the new Russian comedy-satire for which Sergei Prokoffieff has furnished a complete musical score, will have its American premiere at the Cameo Theatre today.

WINTER GARDEN 57th & 60th St. Eves. 8:40—Matinees Thurs. & Sat. OUTSTANDING MUSICAL SUCCESS

Life Begins at 8:40

with BERT LAHR RAY BOLGER LUELLA GEAR FRANCES WILLIAMS

"An Incontestable Hit" —Richard Lockridge, San Balc. (Ev.), \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20, \$2.75, \$3.30

Seats selling for next 8 weeks Seats Now on Sale for Christmas and New Year.

BEG. MONDAY EVE. at 8:15 SHARP

THE THEATRE GUILD will present MAXWELL ANDERSON'S play

VALLEY FORGE

with PHILIP MERIVALE

GUILD THEATRE 52nd STREET West of Broadway SEATS NOW ON SALE

Opening Monday Eve. Dec. 10 SEATS NOW 8 Weeks Ahead

SAILORS of CATTARO

THEATRE UNION'S

Sweeping Drama of Life in the Crew's Quarters of a Battleship

CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE, 14th Street & 6th Avenue

Eves. 8:45—MATS. TUESDAYS & SATURDAYS 2:45—PRICES 30c to \$1.50, No Tax

FOR INFORMATION ON REDUCED RATES FOR BENEFIT THEATRE PARTIES CALL WATKINS 9-2050

MAX GORDON'S 3 HITS

The Musical Hit!

Production conceived and directed by HASSARD SHORT

"THE GREAT WALTZ"

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

The CENTER THEATRE, 6th Ave. & 49th St.—Evenings at 8:30, 55c to \$3.30—Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:30, 55c to \$2.20

500 Orchestra Seats Every Night at \$2.20

The Dramatic Hit!

WALTER SINCLAIR LEWIS

HUSTON in "DODSWORTH"

Dramatized by SIDNEY HOWARD

SHUBERT THEATRE, 44th Street, W. of B'way—Eves. at 8:40, \$1.10-\$3.30. Mats. Wednesday & Saturday, 55c to \$2.75

The Comedy Hit!

THE FARMER TAKES A WIFE

By FRANK B. ELSE & MARC CONNELLY

with JUNE WALKER HERB WILLIAMS HENRY FONDA

Directed by MR. CONNELLY

46th STREET West of Broadway. Evenings 8:40, 55c to \$3.30. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 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.

JAMES BELL

in the Most Discussed Play in the History of the Theatre

"TOBACCO ROAD"

By JACK KIRKLAND, Based on Erskine Caldwell's Novel

2nd SENSATIONAL YEAR

POPULAR PRICE MATINEES

WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY 50c to \$2.00

Now at FORREST THEATRE 49 St. W. of B'y Eves. at 8:40

JACK MCGOWAN and RAY HENDERSON present

THE MUSICAL COMEDY SMASH

"SAY WHEN"

with

HARRY RICHMAN

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IMPERIAL THEATRE, 45th St. West of Broadway

EVES. \$1.10 to \$3.85

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PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY

ARTUR RODZINSKI, Conductor

AT CARNEGIE HALL

This Afternoon at 3:00

WEBER—FRANK—SIBELIUS

BRUNO WALTER, Conductor

Thurs. Evg. at 8:45; Fri. Aft. at 2:30

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

GLUCK: "ORPHEUS and EURYDICE" (in concert form)

Maria OLSZEWSKA, Grete STUECKGOLD and Elisabeth SCHUMANN in cast

Metropolitan Opera Chorus

Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Stinway)

Epic of American Empire: "Gold Eagle Guy"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

SPREAD-EAGLE

"GOLD EAGLE GUY." The Group Theatre's opening. By Melvin Levy. At the Morosco.

Summed up in San Francisco, and in the career of Gold Eagle Guy Button, is a vivid survey of the rise of American individualism into the imperialist capitalism of today. Presented in terms of a single colorful life, without any harangues on living conditions or walking textbooks on sociology, "Gold Eagle Guy" opens the eyes of the imagination by its direct story.

In an 1862 barroom of a beached and converted vessel, we watch the self-seeking, unscrupulous, undaunted Guy Button desert ships and start the strange career of cruelty and crime that by 1906 has made him a captain of industry, owner of a great Pacific fleet of merchantmen. Apparently, sincere in the belief that God is guiding him, and that the development of the nation owes much to him (a delusion most multi-millionaires seem to labor under—if they condescend to labor at all—as most of them do) Guy Button ships cheap Chinese labor here to help

Back on Broadway



Tallulah Bankhead's return to Broadway in "Dark Victory," the new Alexander McKaig production at the Plymouth Theatre, was hailed by the critics as a personal triumph for the talented daughter of the Alabama congressman.

build railroads, plays with panics, using banks for pawns (while the depositors crowd the pawn-shops),

neglects his wife for his work, and is altogether a good capitalist and a villain. He is punished—this is curious to see—in the typical bourgeois fairytale fashion: the one thing he really wants in life is denied him, his son turns against him and (in the earthquake) his own house comes down, literally, upon his head.

All this stir, of forty-four years, is shown with the sincerity of a

unified "Group" performance, on superb sets of Donald Oenslager, from ship-barroom to elaborate parlor and effective earthquake fall of the great gold-eagle. J. Edward Bromberg, excellently piratical as young Guy, grows perhaps a bit too patriarchal as he ages, but his performance makes the character live. Stella Adler may be mentioned, as the famous Adah Menken, who reciprocated Guy's never

fulfilled love; but the whole large cast is a unit, in building out of Melvin Levy's play a sharp and striking synopsis of America's growth to empire.

At the Acme

The screen adaptation of the Anatole France classic, "Crainquebille," will have its American premiere today at the Acme Theatre, on Union Square.

• Every Reader
of the New Leader
should see:

"The PRESIDENT VANISHES"

A Walter Wanger Production

A Paramount Release

N. Y. PARAMOUNT

TIMES SQUARE, New York



It's a honey!"
—NEWS

"A perfect peach of a musical!"—W.-TEL.

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PAT O'BRIEN
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Corps - 100's of Girls
A Warner Bros. Hit

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Midnight Shows - Broadway & 47th Street - to 1 p.m.

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★★★—Liberty Magazine NEIL HAMILTON - FLORENCE RICE

Fulton & Rockwell BROOKLYN STRAND - 25c WEEKDAYS TO 6 P. M.

AMERICAN PREMIERE
"The CZAR WANTS
TO SLEEP"

(English Dialogue Titles)

Complete Musical Score Sergei Prokofiev

CAMEO, 42d St., E. of B'y

AMERICAN PREMIERE
ANATOLE FRANCE'S
Immortal Satire

"CRAINQUEBILLE"

French Talkie—(English Titles)

ACME Thea. 14th STREET &

UNION SQUARE

Expose of Peddlers of Death!

WAR IS A RACKET

GAIETY B'WAY & 46th ST. Continuous 9:30 to 3:30
25c to 1 P. M.

LONDON FILMS present

Douglas

FAIRBANKS

in Alexander Korda's production of

The Private Life of

'DON JUAN'

with MERLE OBERON

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and the BEAUTIFUL LADIES

of "Henry VIII"

United Artists RIVOLI B'WAY 49th St.

3rd BIG WEEK!

CLAUDETTE COLBERT

in FANNIE HURST'S

"IMITATION of LIFE"

WARREN WILLIAM

and a Great Supporting Cast

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CHARLES CARLILE

Famous Singing Star of WABC

THREE SWIFTS - DOROTHY

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RHYTHM ORCHESTRA

ROXY ANY DAY!

25c to 2 P. M.

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ALL THIS WEEK

Held Over 2nd Week!

Fred ASTAIRE

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GAY DIVORCEE"

—RKO VAUDEVILLE—

GEORGE BEATTY

VIOLET CARLSON

and other RKO Acts

R K O PALACE B'way & 47 St.

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"THE CAPTAIN

HATES THE SEA"

VICTOR McLAGLEN • JOHN

GILBERT • WALTER CON-

NOLLY • WYNNE GIBSON

—7 Big RKO Acts—

AL SHAYNE

FOY FAMILY

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NEW YORK PREMIERE

LEON GARGANOFF

presents

CHARLES BOYER

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in a stirring drama of patriotism

and war to end all wars!

Admission...25c and 40c

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CRITERION

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

Party Pushes Forward On Labor Front

Past Activity and Plans for Future Surveyed in Report
To N.E.C.; Forward to the 30-Hour Week!

BOSTON.—Important advances in labor relations, especially in the service rendered by the Socialist Party to organized labor, were reported to the National Executive Committee of the party by Paul Porter, recently named national labor secretary. Especially important were the plans being mapped out for work in the near future.

Never before, was the comment of comrades who attended the sessions and the meeting of the labor committee, had such hope been expressed for further activity in and close connection with the organized workers of America. The realization of the outstanding help given by the party and its members to labor in the past year—in organization campaigns, strikes and lockouts, in the offices, on the picket line and in pitched battles with the bosses' armed forces—seemed to be an indication of the near approach of the time when labor and Socialism might be one in this country, as they are in other advanced industrial nations.

One of the completed tasks reported to the NEC was the fact that Socialist Party members who had been active in a dual auto workers' union were induced to return to the main stream of American workers and unite with them for joint battle against the powerful auto bosses.

Paul Porter was notified of his appointment as National Labor Secretary immediately following the Milwaukee meeting of the N. E. C., but the textile strike, in which he participated as publicity representative of the American Federation of Silk Workers and attendance at the American Federation of Labor convention in San Francisco as delegate prevented him from officially beginning his duties until October 27.

Cooperation with Labor

At the A. F. of L. convention, delegates who are members of the Socialist Party, were at the convention to represent their respective unions and not the Socialist Party. They conferred among themselves frequently, however, and most of them attended a dinner conference arranged by Charney Vladeck and the labor secretary, at which the work of the National Labor Committee was discussed. A basis was laid for closer cooperation in the future among Socialists in advancing those measures which they believe will benefit the working class.

At the suggestion of the national labor committee, Local San Francisco arranged a well-attended meeting which was addressed by Francis J. Gorman, J. F. Friedrich of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, A. Philip Randolph of the

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, B. C. Vladeck and Paul Porter.

On the way home from the convention, Porter was invited to address meetings of the Central Labor Councils of Portland, Ore., and Missoula, Mont. He also filled several other speaking engagements in Montana arranged by Comrade James D. Graham.

Helped Jobless Parade

Since officially beginning his duties at national headquarters, Porter devoted his principal efforts toward enlisting support of party locals in the November 24th demonstrations of the organized unemployed, and toward the organization of local labor committees. Organization outlines were sent to all local secretaries, although it is too early to report on the progress made in the organization of the local labor committees.

"During the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company strike in Cleveland, the National Labor Secretary wired the strikers and the national offices of the unions involved offering them the full support of the Socialist Party," Porter reported to the N.E.C. at Boston. "Letters were sent by air-mail to 150 party locals outlining concrete steps to be taken to aid the strikers. Negotiations looking toward a settlement of the strike began before our offer of aid could become effective except in New York City and Cleveland.

"In New York, thanks to the prompt and energetic action of the local labor secretary, the housewives' committee called upon A. and P. offices with the demand that the strike be settled upon the strikers' terms, otherwise a boycott would be instituted. The suggestion for similar action in other cities was made by Comrade Altman. The newspaper publicity which we received concerning our aid was greater than that we have received in any other strike in recent years. In Chicago, where the Socialist Party practically never gets on the front page, we received excellent reports in all papers. This was true also in Cleveland and in many other cities.

"I have received numerous requests from local secretaries or the secretaries of local labor committees for advice in the organization of unorganized workers in their communities. I have given them this advice, put them in touch wherever possible with the A. F. of L. or proper international union organizers in their districts. I have also corresponded with some 50 local organizations concerning their work among the unemployed.

"Among the jobs of the Na-

(Continued on Page 4-L)

FORCED LABOR IN NEW YORK!

THE New York City relief authorities have maintained for some time a colony outside of the city for homeless men from lodging houses. The men work at the colony known as Greycourt for \$1 a day for a six-hour day, half of which is deducted from their pay in exchange for their food and lodging, leaving them 50 cents a day for all other expenses.

An order was recently issued to the home relief staff to the effect that the accommodations at the camp have been expanded to provide for single men on the regular home relief rolls. Investigators have been instructed to turn in the names of such men who are on their case loads.

The important point is that men, whose names are turned in and who refuse to go to the camp are to be dropped from the relief rolls. Thus men living by themselves and deriving their support, such as it is, from the relief system, are to be compelled to leave organized society, their friends, trade unions, and possibilities of employment to take this dollar-a-day job system, or they will be condemned to starvation.

The fact that men must eat, relied on by employers everywhere to break strikes, is now being used by the "liberal" city government to drive out the single unemployed men. The organized unemployed must make a relentless fight against this move of the New York authorities.



Six-week strike ends in victory for 20,000 silk and rayon dye workers in Paterson and other Jersey centers—members of Local 1733 of the American Federation of Silk Workers (A. F. of L.—Federated Pictures.)

Silk Dye Strikers Win

(Continued from Page 1-L)

allowed, thus permitting the union to throw its full strength against bosses guilty of chiseling. George Baldanzi, general manager, and Vito Fritz, secretary, signed for the union.

The strike had seriously handicapped the silk and rayon, the dress and underwear manufacturers. Just before the settlement, the mayors of nine New Jersey cities in the Passaic Valley had tried to encourage scabbing by pledging "full protection to any

"loyal" workers among the 20,000 strikers." In Jersey City, Vice-Chancellor Bigelow had ordered Local 1733 to show cause why it shouldn't be restrained from picketing the Paterson plant of the Victory Dyeing and Finishing Co. But the workers stood firm all along, and no plant anywhere could reopen.

The union will now again take up its battle to have rayon transferred from the cotton textile code, which has a miserably low level, to the somewhat better silk textile code.

'What's Government For?'

(Continued from Page 1-L)

it was evident to us that the national administration has for the first time become conscious of the unemployed as an organized force on the national scene. There must have been hundreds of telegrams from unemployed groups in every part of the country pouring in to Washington on November 24th demanding action on our program. The administration is becoming aware that at last the unemployed are on the march, and they will not turn back until they have achieved their eight-point program.

"The next step must be to consolidate our gains by building a national organization of the unemployed. A national provisional committee empowered to call a convention of the unemployed has already been set up, composed of representatives of key unemployed groups. The provisional committee during the next month will actively canvass the field of unemployed organizations to line up the vast majority of the non-partisan groups for a convention, to be held probably late in January. By forming a national organization we shall not only be able to stimulate the growth of unemployed organizations but also to carry on continuous and systematic pressure on Washington for our demands.

Unemployed groups which wish to receive invitations to the convention are invited to correspond with David Lasser, chairman of the Provisional Committee, 22 East 22nd Street, New York; or Paul Rasmussen, secretary of the Provisional Committee, care of the Chicago Workers' Committee, 20 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill."

TUUL Issue Breaks Up United Front

Joint action negotiations between the Workers' Unemployed Union and the Unemployment Councils, controlled by the Communist Party, have been broken up over the issue of the Trade Union Unity League. In response to a communication from the Un-

employment Council, the Workers' Unemployed Union elected a committee of four—David Lasser, Edward Welsh, Saul Parker, and Sol Basuk—to confer with the council.

Pointing to the growing trade union support of the struggles of the unemployed, the representatives of the Workers' Unemployed Union insisted that this support was essential to the victory of the unemployed and that the Communist Trade Union Unity League would alienate such real union support of the great mass of organized workers. The W.U.U. insisted that two proposals must be agreed to by the Unemployment Council to make a united front possible: 1. The public disavowal by the Unemployment Council of the T.U.U.L.; and 2. The exclusion of the T.U.U.L. as an organization, and of its affiliated "unions" from any mobilization conference for a united front demonstration, and from the demonstration itself.

The Unemployment Council under orders from the Communist Party, refused to concede this point (though they had agreed to exclude the T.U.U.L. in the February 15, 1934, united front unemployed demonstration) and the negotiations were broken when the Unemployment Council walked out.

Montreal Dress Cutters To Ask ILGWU Charter

MONTREAL.—Dress cutters here have decided to break away from Communist control and apply for a charter from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. After having been under that party's control for several years, a membership meeting of the Montreal Dress Cutters Union voted to back up the new executive committee's proposal to ask for an A.F.O.F.L. charter. The vote was almost three to one. Sectarian control by the Communists worked a great deal of harm to the dress cutters in the last general dress makers' strike, it is charged.

JOBLESS FACE the WINTER

Unemployment Up Over
Half a Million;
Crisis Ahead

WASHINGTON.—The relief problem of the nation this winter will be the most serious the United States has ever faced, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, declared this week in announcing the federation's estimate that over a half million more men were unemployed this October than in the same month the year before. The A.F. of L. monthly employment figures show that 10,671,000 were jobless in industry this year, as compared with 10,122,000 in 1933.

A contributing factor in the rise of joblessness is that the bosses' efforts to increase employment was not so general as it was a year ago, Green charged.

Relief Need Grows

"The serious implications of this increase in unemployment cannot be over emphasized," he warned. "Relief need this winter is already higher than it was last year. Reports from urban areas show that in October the number on relief rolls was 30 per cent greater than in October, 1933.

"In August, the latest month for which we have complete figures for relief in the country as a whole, there were 900,000 more cases or nearly 3,000,000 more persons on relief rolls than in August last year, an increase of 20 per cent.

"The total financial obligation for relief had increased from \$61,470,000 to \$149,426,000, or more than doubled. This means that, in addition to the increase in unemployment, those who have been unemployed for a long time have exhausted their resources, those who once had savings are now wholly dependent on relief. Food prices have increased and the cost of relief is greater. Also relief in some cases is more adequate.

Crisis Ahead

"Unquestionably our relief problem this winter is the most serious this nation has ever faced. Trade union figures show a greater increase in unemployment from October to November this year than last year and part-time work in the first half of November is higher than ever before in the history of our figures.

"In building, water transportation, theatres and all the manufacturing groups, there are more on part time than last year. Thus many of those who have jobs are finding their incomes lower than last year."

UNION ACCUSES CHAIN CAFETERIA COMPANIES

The Wil-low and Stewart chain restaurant companies have flagrantly violated Section 7-A, according to the Independent Chain Cafeteria Workers Union, which presented six detailed affidavits to the Regional Labor Board to prove it. The union has been busy for several weeks organizing the day and night workers in the establishments with the help of the Socialist Party.

Cafeteria workers have been terrorized by the companies' activities, the complaint charges. Furthermore, Dr. Loewenstein, liberal owner of the Wil-Low chain, glibly told a meeting of his company union that he doesn't have to fire union men—"I can make life so miserable for them in a hundred different ways that they'll never stick."

Modigliani Hailed by Local 89

(Continued from Page 1L)

behind the speakers' platform were magnificently decorated with huge banners, pictorial representations of the workers' struggle in general and of Local 89's growth in particular. The decorations, breathing the spirit of Socialist idealism, were done by Rebel Arts, the whole project being designed and directed by Alex Haberstroh.

Comrade Modigliani's speech follows, in part:

TWO thousand people were killed from October 1920 to October 1926, the years of the struggle against the consolidation of the fascist regime. Many comrades were executed by the decision of the horrible special Fascist tribunal, and by orders of that same tribunal more than three thousand were sentenced to over ten thousand years in jail. All these comrades hope that you will not forget them, and since our happy fatherland is muzzled all of them expect you as free citizens of this country to speak in their behalf.

No, it is not mere chance that Local 89, composed of Italians, should be pointed to as one of the best labor unions in this country. The great tradition of Italian labor revives in you! Remain faithful to this tradition! Reclaim for yourself the right to be free! Free to organize, free to educate yourselves, free to emancipate yourselves. Free—in one word, to do here what has already been done in Italy and what in Italy now is forbidden and punishable as a crime, with years and years of jail as the penalty. It is for this purpose that I am here, invited by you, by the request of my comrades in exile. I have come here to make you understand, follow, and help our efforts to redeem Italy and its workers.

Fight For the Workers!

But, I would not remain the Socialist that I am, and hope to remain until my last breath, should I fail to add that the Italians under the yoke and the Italians facing the harshness of political exile are not expecting from you material help only. Yes, that is very much needed and urgent, not for the sake of charity, but for the necessities of the struggle; but the Italians for whom I speak ask you and expect from you above anything else that you take here, and from here all over the world, the place which it is your duty to take, in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers, not only from the fascist threat but also from capitalist exploitations.

Now that fascism and its "mala progenia" (foul offspring) of Hitlerisms of every kind have defeated in some European countries the armies of labor and Socialism, it is imperative that in this land of Washington and Lincoln, Debs, Sacco and Vanzetti, you march at the head of a new army of labor. And, it is also imperative that this new American labor army should send throughout the world a warning and a rallying cry that human labor must be free, respected and master of its destinies.

I know this task is not an easy one. I know the road is a long one and along its trail is waiting our enemy. The chief foe is the political unpreparedness of too large a number of workers. But an organization like yours, which has been able to survive the tribulations of its first fourteen years of life, and to wait for this hour when another decisive step is ahead—this organization of yours possesses all the rights and all the qualifications to become the vanguard of the true "New Deal" of American civilization. You can and should become the vanguard

at the time when the American workers will take their place in the political field.

More Towards Politics

Already there are symptoms that the economic crisis is pushing American workers towards an orientation of a marked political nature, which, until yesterday, was less understood. Even a mildly liberal national policy—living and comforting antithesis of the Mussolinian brand of fascism—is facing and struggling against the most blind and sinister resistance. The time has come, then, to advance toward the political orientation of the organized strength of the American working class. I must state here, clearly, that I do not pretend to give precise and detailed advice. In your own open meetings, under the guidance of your intelligent and responsible

leaders, in the free clash of the various opinions, you will find the way most suited to your needs. An old militant like myself, coming from so far away, must limit himself to a suggestion of synthetic policies. These are, however, clear and sure. I could very well limit myself to label them with a name which is by now familiar to everybody.

I mean that the time has come for the American labor unions to decide to organize a labor party. But you must allow me to clarify a point in the history of the labor struggle for power which, in my judgment, is today paramount importance to you. Remember it! When the exploited workers in modern capitalist history arose for the first time in various countries, they started their fight by announcing, almost as their exclusive

goal, the direct defense of working conditions against the resistance or offenses of the employing class. But it soon happened almost everywhere that this struggle of exclusive economic and trade union character led to a clear discovery that, even when it is a matter of gaining only a more human standard of life, the workers do not have to wait long to be faced by the utmost resistance, in which the owners of the capitalistic wealth utilize the power, weight and strength of the political institutions of their respective countries.

Not in Unions Alone!

It is then an uncontrollable development that the workers should not limit themselves any longer to the trade union field, but should march also in the political field, in order to exercise their influence and their control over the polit-

ical institutions of their respective countries. This is how the workers started their class-conscious political activity. This is how they go from achievement to achievement in the political field also, and a new era of human redemption is taking shape.

Of course, contrasts do not end simply because the labor movement becomes a movement markedly of political character. Far from it. And fascism is really the last and most atrocious instrument of the desperate defense of the capitalist class against workers' rights and aspirations.

But the coming of the workers in the political field—as a Labor Party, with a distinct policy, and a distinct program of action—will soon show to all men worthy of the name why they must support the workers' cause. For this is the cause of all useful human beings, of all producers, as well as of the great majority of citizens of any country as soon as they understand their true interests. From that moment on, the policy of the Labor Party will tend to identify itself with the fight for the redemption of all free men, with the struggle for justice and security in the internal relations of the people and for a more enduring place in international relations.

And that is why, just at the moment when fascism is consolidating itself in countries which permit themselves to be enslaved by capitalist reaction, the Socialist labor movement tends to become in the countries still free the active center for the defense of liberty and for the achievement of a world in which exploitation of man should be changed to a common struggle for the satisfaction of the needs of all.

Comrades of Local 89, now is your hour! Do not let it pass. This appeal is made in the name of the heroic fallen of the country in this country—your second fatherland—also feels the rebirth of hope for the inevitable resurrection of his own people in Italy. Long live Local 89! Long live Italy—free and Socialist!

Labor Program Suggested by Party

(Continued from Page 2-L)

tional Labor Committee in the near future, I am proposing:

Plan Proposed for Future

"1. A carefully planned campaign to enlist the unions of the nation in a demonstration on May 1st for the 30-hour work week. In view of the fact that May Day was first made a labor holiday by the American Federation of Labor in its agitation for the 8-hour day, and further that the 30-hour work week is now one of the most important issues before American labor, I propose that all party locals devote their May Day celebrations next year to this issue. Early in January they should begin approaching local unions and central labor bodies for the purpose of securing their cooperation. The

party should not try to dominate the arrangements but should ask the unions to set up an arrangements committee in which we would participate. Efforts would be made to secure as nearly as possible a complete stoppage of work on May Day while the unions, the party, the organized unemployed and all supporters of the 30-hour work week paraded and held mass meetings addressed by prominent labor leaders and Socialists.

"In order to secure the participation of the largest possible number of workers, we should sacrifice the May Day celebrations as an exclusive Socialist affair and make it a holiday for all workers.

Leaflets and Other Aid

"2. Occasional leaflets to be sent

to the secretaries of national and international unions, state federations and central bodies, similar to the 'Did Your Boss Ask You' leaflet which was sent to these officials on November 16 (and was described in these columns several weeks ago).

"3. All possible aid to organized labor in organizing campaigns, strikes, etc.

"4. A membership census of the party are union members, what offices they hold, in which industries they are employed, and which members are eligible to join a union but have failed to do so. We will thus be much better prepared to organize effectively the local labor committees, and to help organize the unorganized.

"5. Appointment of regional labor secretaries, who would serve without salary but would be able to get Socialists on the job in some important strike in their community more quickly than could be done through national headquarters.

"6. An information service for the use of local labor committees."

SHOE FITTERS' LOCAL WINS PEACEFUL VICTORY

AT the recent membership meeting of the fitters' local of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of New York, the report of the executive committee on negotiations with the board of trade of the shop manufacturers was approved. The executive reported that it had succeeded in getting the following paragraph inserted in the labor agreement:

That no manufacturer is allowed to reduce his working force without the consent of the union. Where the unions refuse approval, the manufacturers' demand must go to arbitration. Pending the decision of the arbitrator, the workers concerned are to remain in the shop and get an equal share of work.

This proviso was not included in the last agreement. When work became scarce recently, a few big manufacturers tried to take advantage of that fact and started to lay off workers in every department. This action aroused bitter resentment among the workers and the union decided that the clause must be added. After a number of conferences with the manufacturers, the bosses finally gave in without a struggle.

Big Rubber Companies Prevent Worker Election

AKRON, O.—Neither the Goodrich nor the Firestone rubber company wants an election in its plants to determine whether its employees want the union to represent them. Neither company, also, thinks the National Labor Relations Board has any right to order elections to choose worker representatives for collective bargaining.

Since the big rubber companies

BOSSES FIGHTING 36-HOUR WEEK ORDER; MAY RAISE \$1,000,000 FUND

On Saturday last, the federal executive order calling for a 36-hour week, with a corresponding increase in wages, went into effect in the cotton garment industry. This order—the first of its kind since the president was authorized by law to cut hours where necessary to maintain decent living standards—had already been put off once, and the two huge garment unions affected, the Amalgamated and the International, had threatened to call a joint general strike if it did not go into effect Dec. 1.

Now the order has become effective, and 165,000 workers in 5,000 plants are supposed to benefit by it. All employers are supposed to abide by it—except, of course, the 31 manufacturers who got a stay from the District of Columbia Court. And the hundreds of others who are rushing to get similar court orders. And the bosses who have launched a campaign of "passive resistance"—shutting down their plants, getting ready to move South, and curtailing production drastically.

Many associations of manufacturers are petitioning the government for a stay or for exemption. And special rush messages have been sent to the 5,000 bosses suggesting that they pay \$200 each, thus establishing a fund of one million dollars for a legal fight against the 36-hour week.

—the B. F. Goodrich and Firestone Eire and Rubber—went into the United States Court of Appeals at Cincinnati, asked for a review and stay of the previous order calling for an election Dec. 7, and thus held up the balloting for no one knows how long. Meanwhile the rubber union is busy organizing.

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; L. 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 102, I.L.G.W.U.
Affiliated with A. F. of L. 131 West 33rd St., Chickering 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 Tompkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalanotti, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS' UNION.—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. Longacre 5-5160. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

THE 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 Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary, Alex. Rose; Organizers, L. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodos.

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, 21 West 16th St., N. Y. C. Meets every 3rd Sunday of month at Stuyvesant High School, 151th 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. L.Ackawanna 4-5483.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 873 Broadway, New York City. Telephone, ALgonquin 4-1861. S. Shore, Manager; S. Shore, Executive Supervisor.

FREE WORKING CLASSES

er "Classes" of Moscow Toilers---High f Shelter, Wages and Cards

for a land which 'abolished classes' and has rebuilt life on a classless base; it isn't suitable for a land which erects factories with capital derived from saved-up unpaid wages; a land which creates state capitalism and thinks it builds state Socialism; a land which is producing the miracle of catching up simultaneously with the United States and China; a land which derives its lessons both from the European genius of Karl Marx and the Asiatic barbarism of Tamerlane; a land which realized the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and gave the workers full freedom

TEOUS BLESSINGS



Giving dinners at New York's Municipal a bounteous nature, and whatever else

ED WEEK

merce, Merchants' Association of New York City and the New York State Economic Council have begun campaign against St. Lawrence hydro-electric development because of success of TVA. That is, the public utilities have begun the campaign.

MONDAY. — Father Coughlin denounces U. S. Chamber of Commerce which, last week, he announced, had changed its ways. The reform didn't last long. . . . He also declares that "strikes are absolutely unnecessary." He, too, is headed for fascism, even if he does zigzag a little along the road just to make people think he's going in another direction. . . . As local dye strike ends, employers raise fund to "save Paterson," New Jersey. The money is to be spent on advertising and education—for "harmony." . . . Strikebreakers sue Bergoff Service Bureau (notorious strikebreakers) for pay for services during textile strike. Why don't they picket? "Bergoff is unfair to organized strikebreakers!"

TUESDAY.—Nazis forbid heckling at public meetings; questions can be asked only on "strictly non-controversial" subjects. A great stimulus to intellectual life. . . . U. S. Supreme Court upholds compulsory military training in state colleges, finding it does not interfere with the liberties of the Constitution when they "are read in the light of a century and a half of history." This court has stead-

to stroll around without any pants on. "No, Comrade Khinoy, it is possible that in your America people do live. We here we do not live—we enthruse. We enthruse at the sight of new giant factories that grew up during the last five or six years like mushrooms after a rain. We enthruse at the sight of titanic hydro-electric plants and dams, new coal and iron mines, hundreds of thousands of new tractors and combines, automobiles and Gorki airplanes; and especially do we enthruse when we contemplate ourselves and our ability to create all this new wealth by robbing our stomachs, our health, the health, welfare and happiness of our children."

They Have Almost Forgotten How to Live

Two Communist party members, relatives of the speaker, who had previously taken an active part in our conversation, now sat with bent heads and kept silent. Between them sat the father of the accountant, a prison cell-mate of mine in former days. His face glowing with joy, pride and anxiety, he kept his eyes on his son. The latter continued:

"Friend, don't talk to us about living. We have almost forgotten the meaning of the word. With ropes tied tight around our stomachs to quiet their protests, with blinders over our eyes and cotton in our ears in order not to see or hear what is going on in the world, we plod on from day to day in the hope that perhaps tomorrow may be better, perhaps tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, a year or two may see us begin living. For the present living is out of the question. For the present life is a torture."

"Six hours is the official length of my work-day. In reality it extends to twice that. For more than two years I have had to work in two places at the same time. Through working in one office and in I go to the other. Unless I do this it would be impossible to exist. Helene, my wife, does not work. We have three young children, you know. I am often forced to work at home on my rest days. It is more than two years since my last vacation. I sold it whenever it came around, receiving equivalent in pay. Unfortunately it will be impossible for me to sell my vacation this year. Our commissariat issued orders forbidding extra payment to those who choose to work during their vacations."

"I beg your pardon," I interrupted. "I don't understand you. It seems to me that you should have been the last one to complain. You live like a landowner. In the whole of Moscow I have not yet seen an apartment as large and as beautifully furnished as yours."

A scornful laugh greeted my remark. "Yes, a beautiful apartment. Four large, well-lighted rooms for one family. A gas stove and a bathroom with a clean enamelled bathtub and hot water. Modish furniture in the bedroom and a

fastly refused to read the Constitution in "the light of a century and a half of history"; they have always read it from the viewpoint of the men who wrote it. . . . One-sixth of nation's population is on relief. Average monthly payment per family in Kentucky is \$10.23 (Continued on Page Seven)

soft living room suite. Works of art and tasteful decorations on the walls—almost as in your bourgeois America.

A Moscow Vacation in Moscow

"Unfortunately, this is not my apartment. We have been living here for three weeks and will have to move out at the end of this week to return to our own single room for five persons. Back to the hell of five families in one kitchen, without gas, without hot water, and with a bathtub in it which no living soul has ever dared to use."

"You are bewildered, Comrade Khinoy; you don't understand. But it is quite simple. In this apartment lives a sister of Helene. Her husband, a veteran party man, occupies an important government post. He and his wife—they have no children—are now at their summer home in the Caucasus. Their vacation lasts a month and during this time they allow us to live in their apartment. We have done it every year for the last four years, and, Comrade Khinoy, this is our real and only vacation. It is here that we get our rest and it is here in the heart of Moscow that our children have their vacation. For eleven months a year we look forward to this heaven in our in-laws' apartment, and we always adapt our vacation to theirs."

"Remember, too," he added, "that all these nice sweets you see on the table my wife was able to get only because her brother-in-law is an important party personage. He possesses a special card. He is attached to a special 'closed' store of responsible party workers, where the purchasing power of the food card is extremely high. He can buy goods there in quantities that even our 'aristocrat,' Vasily, can match only in his dreams."

The fourth "class" of food card was represented by a fifteen-year-old daughter of one of the Sakharovs.

"My card gives me the right to buy one pound of bread a day," she said, "half of Uncle Vasily's quota; twenty pounds of potatoes a month, two-thirds as much as he may buy; one pound of coarse barley a month, one-fifth of his quota. However, last year I and all the other minor workers and non-working children, who get cards in the same category, were entitled to a 'monthly' quota of barley, at the 'fast' prices, naturally, of two and a half pounds. I can also get a pound and a half of sugar monthly, three and a half pounds less than someone holding a 'first class' quota. But this is all I get. No butter or other fats, no herring."

No Milk or Eggs on Children's Cards

It is pertinent to note that bearers of children's cards in Moscow do not get any milk, cream, eggs, or any of the cereals that play such an important role in the diet of American children. Children of parents working in the large and important heavy industry factories are an exception. These factories usually own dairy and truck farms for the benefit of their employees. In these cases the parents may buy one pint of milk daily and five-eighths of a pound of butter a month each from the factory store on children's cards, as well as three-quarters of a pound of candy and cookies.

The remainder of the children—and this means the vast majority of them in Moscow—can buy dairy products in the "open" State-owned stores, with milk priced at a ruble nine kopeks a quart, eggs at eight rubles forty kopeks a dozen, butter at fourteen rubles a pound.

The daily wage of a needle trades worker is between four and six rubles.

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

The N.E.C. Boston Meeting

THE writer wishes that he could present an encouraging view of the Socialist Party executive meeting in Boston, but his sense of duty to the whole movement does not permit of indulging in illusions. The two leading issues that have caused a deep division are the united front with Communist organizations and the Detroit Declaration. The interstate conference and three other states and two federations representing thousands of members urged the dropping of united front negotiations. Even the "Militants" took this stand. If we mention only New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Maryland, Indiana and Montana as favoring this course, they represented a majority of the members. Despite this widespread view the N.E.C. voted that organized states may negotiate local united fronts or not as they may think best. Unorganized states may do so with the consent of the N.E.C.

Therefore, in every state where majority opinion is against the united front there will be a drive in some locals and branches for it, resulting in disputes and increasing bitterness. In states that negotiate, those who are opposed will fight it—and with the same result. Had the decision been to drop the whole matter until the national convention in 1936, the whole membership would be spared this conflict. New York and Pennsylvania lead the states in membership, the first with over 4,000 and the second with nearly 3,000. They earnestly pleaded that the united front be dropped. They and others were keenly disappointed by the decision.

The Detroit Declaration had also produced a basic deviation. The interstate conference as well as the New York unity group favored some method of ironing out the conflict. The Militants took a strict legal position, holding that the Declaration had been adopted by the members and should stand. The interstate conference urged that the Declaration without the N.E.C. amendment be submitted with another Declaration for a vote. The New York State Committee urged a constitutional amendment that would make the Detroit Declaration not obligatory in states where it was believed to endanger the existence of the party. Both suggestions were rejected.

The legalist position has the weight of a majority vote behind it. No one disputes this, but in an acute situation where the life of the party is at stake, we believe that legalism might well have yielded something in order to tide over what every member knows to be a crisis. Comrade Senior was elected executive secretary in 1929 despite a clause that made him ineligible, but the N.E.C. hoped that no one would raise the legal issue. Its hope was justified.

Moreover, in the party conflict in locals and states, it is not likely that any one group has complied with the legalist requirements of constitutions. In every instance of conflict throughout the history of the party, discipline has declined and constitutions have not been entirely lived up to by any group. That is the situation now, and it seems to us poor policy to assume that any one group has a monopoly on a legalist attitude.

Say what we will, the member who has watched party history since the Detroit convention must know that there has been a marked Communist trend in the party. President Weinberg of the Workmen's Circle declares that in a tour to the Pacific Coast he came across party locals that handled only Communist literature. Five of the signers of the Militant Program of 1932 signed the Revolutionary Policy Committee program this year, and now the R.P.C. declares for armed insurrection.

At Boston, when Darlington Hoopes put the direct question to Lovestone as to whether he had plants in the Socialist Party, he evaded a direct answer. There is reason for believing that Lovestone helped to write the R.P.C. program. Indeed, one party member who signed that program admitted in Baltimore that Lovestone had much to do with it. When three members of our National Executive Committee, as related in the story of the Boston meeting of the party executive on another page of this issue, declined to vote against the plain declaration of the R.P.C. for armed insurrection, when a party local a few months ago also proposed that this folly go to a referendum vote, when a green local in a large city of the South organizes an underground movement, we may understand that the basic distinction between Communist philosophy, principles and methods and Socialist philosophy, principles and methods is disappearing in the minds of many members of the party.

One can only guess how far the confusion has penetrated, but one thing is sure: the hope of the Socialist Party lies outside of Communism and all Communist sects. It lies with the organized and unorganized working masses; and their support cannot be obtained through any relations with these sects.

N. E. C. Moves for Labor Party

(Continued from Page Three)

and at the same time leaving the door open for further negotiations. James D. Graham moved a substitute for the whole in a motion unequivocally rejecting the united front with the Communist Party under any circumstances until the 1936 convention. James Oneal amended to include the splinter groups. Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee seconded the motion in an emphatic speech in which he declared that "it is a breach of faith for the N.E.C. to bring this matter up here. This N.E.C. owes it as a duty

to tell the locals what the Communists have done to us."

After Oneal had supported the Graham motion, Leo Krzycki spoke in favor of united fronts, if only in different localities. Benjamin Gebiner, fraternal delegate from the Jewish Socialist Verband, declared: "Keep away from Communists of all kinds."

Franz Daniel spoke in favor of a united front, and then Albert Sprague Coolidge declared that, while he supported the position expressed by Hapgood, he would vote for the Graham motion "against

my better judgment," because he was convinced that the party demanded it.

"Communists Make It Impossible"

Norman Thomas said he wanted to negotiate with the Communists only to get the Communist Party on record, black on white. "I believe we want a united front and that it is the Communists who make it impossible." Hoopes emphatically declared that he was strenuously opposed to a united front under all circumstances.

Graham made it clear that his motion included all Communist "splinter" parties and groups and "innocents' clubs," and after Hoan

had appealed to the N.E.C. "to give the rank and file the confidence of this committee," the vote was taken, revealing a division of five to five. A majority being necessary, the chair declared the motion lost. Hoan, Hoopes, Coolidge, Graham and Oneal voted for; Thomas, Hapgood, Daniel, Krzycki and Krueger against. The Hapgood motion was then defeated 8 to 2.

Krueger and Hoopes retired and returned with the compromise resolution printed in another column, which was adopted 7 to 3, Daniel and Hapgood voting against it because it ended negotiations, and Oneal joining them because it leaves the door open for local united fronts.

On Sunday the committee voted to set up a committee to receive suggestions and recommendations in the matter of rendering the Declaration of Principles satisfactory to all sections of the party. Hoopes, for a committee investigating complaints against the National Secretary, reported that most of the complaints were trivial, but that the Secretary should be censured for remarks he made in person and in letters in derogation of certain party officials.

The committee authorized a statement to be prepared instructing party officials to disassociate themselves from all organized factions and to repudiate all instructions from caucuses.

Charges Against the Guardian

In the matter of charges preferred by Oneal against the American Guardian and against the Oklahoma movement in a recent pamphlet prepared for circulation only among party members, it was voted to send a committee to Oklahoma to hear all evidence. And at this point, after some discussion, it was voted to accept the resignation of Shadid from the N.E.C.

Paul Porter, as national labor secretary, reported encouraging progress in cooperating with many unions. He reported that in several places he was instrumental in using the party's influence to persuade Socialists to liquidate dual unions and cooperate with A. F. of L. unions. In many localities Socialists are cooperating in organization work, and the party's leaflet on company unionism is being widely used by unions.

The R.P.C.

Oneal called attention to certain statements in the official publication of the so-called Revolutionary Policy Committee advocating armed insurrection, and moved that action be taken. (The motion is printed in another column.) Thomas, reading the statements complained of, declared that he was "shocked beyond words." "These people have arrogated to themselves the right to commit the party to a program that will endanger their own members." He said the group is under suspicion of being Lovestone agents. "This is the sort of thing," he said, "that people do who want to do the greatest harm to the party."

Hapgood opposed the Oneal resolution, stating that armed insurrection was advocated only in relation to a growing revolutionary situation. Daniel agreed with Hapgood. Krueger wanted the R.P.C. statement again read. The following is the quotation:

"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."

Answering Hapgood, Oneal declared that on the basis of Comrade Thomas' speech at the banquet held Friday night, some new members who are ill-informed on party principles might decide that we are now in a growing revolutionary situation and proceed to engage in the R.P.C. folly of organizing armed insurrection. He added that he knew of one local in a large city that had formed an under-

ground organization.

Krueger wanted the R.P.C. statement more fully read. Thomas read more paragraphs from the R.P.C. magazine and added that it commits the R.P.C. to armed insurrection contrary to all the principles of the party, and insisted that a committee should investigate the R.P.C.

Hapgood wanted to study the paragraph before voting. He believed that the Socialist Party, when in 1919 it offered to affiliate with the Communist International with reservations, it did not reject this idea. Oneal declared that Hapgood was wrong.

Krueger moved to table the Oneal motion until Oneal reported the party's historical position on violence. In favor of tabling, Krueger, Hapgood and Daniel.

Thomas favored a committee to investigate, but if it was defeated he said he would vote for the Oneal motion. The Thomas motion was defeated and the Oneal motion was adopted, with Krueger, Daniel and Hapgood voting against. Thomas then moved also to investigate, and this was approved.

The National Secretary is instructed to call the members' attention to the R.P.C., and to make inquiries into the methods, policies and origin of that organization.

The American League Against War and Fascism

Daniel moved that the party affiliate with the (Communist-controlled) American League Against War and Fascism. Senior urged that the party refuse to affiliate and the motion was defeated.

There were many organization details that were settled as well as the larger issues of policy and the debate on party unity and harmony.

The so-called "field day" Saturday (Continued on Next Page)

Socialist Stand On the United Front

(Adopted by the National Executive Committee at Boston, Dec. 2.)

THE Socialist Party heartily believes in working class unity and is today energetically directing its efforts toward such unity. However, the National Executive Committee hereby decides not to conduct negotiations for a united front with the Communist party or the so-called splinter groups until the next national convention.

United action of different labor organizations which can work harmoniously together around one or more specific issues is only one form of working class unity.

Such united action, in order to be effective, would have to include a substantial section of the organized labor movement and not to be isolated from the broad masses of the workers.

The actions and policies of the Communist party have promoted division in the ranks of the working class. Before proceeding with any negotiations with the Communist party or the so-called splinter groups on the question of united action, the Socialist Party must be convinced by their actions that such policies and practices, particularly the theory of "social fascism," the use of splitting tactics and disruptive methods in the labor organizations, are no longer in use and will not operate to discredit the cause for which united action is proposed.

Before any branch or local of the Socialist Party shall take part in any united front activity with the Communist party or the so-called splinter groups, the consent of the State Executive Committee in organized, and of the National Executive Committee in organized, states should be obtained.

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The N. E. C. Meeting

(Continued from Page Six)

day was one of the most amazing episodes in recent Socialist Party history. Comrade after comrade rose and impressed the N.E.C. with the urgent necessity of refraining from dealing with the Communists, with modifying the Declaration of Principles, and in other ways striving for party harmony.

B. C. Vlodek spoke most impressively Friday, warning the party that the fine work already done in the A. F. of L. unions in collaboration with the party in the fight on war and fascism would be destroyed if the party harmony were destroyed, or if there were dealings with the Communists.

On Saturday, there followed in order Louis Waldman and Herman Kobbé for the New York State Committee; Sarah Limbach, state secretary of Pennsylvania; Birch Wilson of Reading, the two latter as official spokesmen for the State of Pennsylvania; William A. Toole of Maryland, officially for that state; Forrest Wallace, state chairman of Indiana, officially for that state; Alex Kahn and George E. Roewer for the Interstate Conference; Robert Dullea, state secretary of Ohio; Arnold E. Freese, state secretary of Connecticut; B. Gebner of the Verband; W. N. Reivo for the Finnish Federation; Max Delson and Jack Altman for the New York Militants; Matthew Levy and Samuel H. Friedman for the Unity Conference; David H. H. Felix; letters from the Workmen's Circle and from James H. Maurer, appealing for harmony; and Julius Gerber.

The Cockeyed Week

(Continued from Page Five)

(\$2.55 per week) and in New York \$42.36.

WEDNESDAY.—Nazi Governor of Silesia, one of the "radical" members of the party, is removed and expelled from the Nazi party as result of his opposition to Hitler's economic and social policies. The end of another dupe of the pseudo radicalism of National Socialism. . . . Head of Food and Drug Administration of Federal Government announces intention of continuing fight for modern pure food act. If he can overcome opposition of big business, we might catch up with the civilized nations in this respect. . . . Council of American Industry (organized in 1921 to fight the closed shop) demands dropping of 7A as binding upon employer only. They wouldn't object on that ground if it imposed open shop on bosses.

ARISE Is Made Party's Official Cultural Organ

FOLLOWING a speech by Samuel A. DeWitt at the Boston sessions and a report by Samuel H. Friedman, executive director of Rebel Arts, that organization was officially accepted by the National Executive Committee as the cultural auxiliary of the party. The monthly magazine of Rebel Arts, Arise, was endorsed as the Socialist and labor cultural organ. Members of the N.E.C., state and local secretaries and all party members were urged to support the organizations and its magazine in every way, and it was voted to plan a special assessment stamp and a special drive for funds some time in the future.

The N.E.C. also set up a national cultural committee to direct activities throughout the nation. Members elected to the committee were Norman Thomas and James O'Neal of the N.E.C. and Comrades Friedman, DeWitt and Bruno Fischer.

Headquarters of Rebel Arts are at 22 East 22nd Street. A general membership meeting will take place there this Sunday night, at which the annual dance, the Rebel Arts Theatre Night, and plans for expansion nationally will be discussed.

Strong Dissent Filed Against N. E. C. Rulings

JULIUS GERBER, Herman Kobbé, Algernon Lee and Louis Waldman, representatives of the New York State Committee, Sarah Limbach and Birch Wilson, representing the Pennsylvania State Committee, and Benjamin Gebner, representing the Jewish Socialist Verband, met late Sunday to consider the situation following the N.E.C. meeting. After full discussion they unanimously authorized Comrade Limbach, Lee and Waldman to issue the following statement:

"We regret that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has rebuffed the efforts for restoration of harmony in the party made by New York State and the States of Pennsylvania, Indiana and Maryland, and by the interstate conference representing leading elements in eleven states. Instead of this, its action at the Boston session will have the effect of drawing the party nearer to the Communists.

"The Socialist Party of New York demanded that the party nationally declare itself definitely as either for being for democracy and in alliance with organized labor, or as being the allies and partners of the official Communist party and its Communist offshoots, commonly described as splinter organizations. The decision of the National Executive Committee, while definitely refusing to take an unequivocal position for democratic methods and making it impossible for the party to enter into alliance with organized labor, has befogged the issue of united front with Communists.

"It favored the united front, but lacked the courage and consistency to take a definite stand which would remove that issue from intra-party discussion. Instead of promoting harmony in the party it introduces further intellectual and physical chaos. Aside from the many vague statements in the united front resolution with respect to working class unity, phrases continually used by Communists themselves, the united front resolution authorizes united action with the Communist party with the sanction of the State Committees where such a formal committee exists, and where it does not exist, with the sanction of the National Executive Committee.

"Since the National Executive Committee favors such united fronts, no difficulty will be experienced in getting authorization from them. In states not well organized, the committee will grant such permission. And in those states where the Socialist Party is well organized and is in close alliance with the progressive elements of the organized labor movement, the issue of whether the State Committee should sanction a united front with the Communists will be thrown into every Assembly district, every county committee, every city organization and the State Committee itself.

"It will be a source of endless strife and factional fighting and will divert the party from its normal and political activities and turn it into a debating society on communism. It will encourage the Communist party to plant its agents in strategic positions where they can keep the fight alive and in that way break up the party.

"Those State and local organizations which have repudiated the doctrines of the Detroit declaration and have consistently fought against the policy of the National Executive Committee for United Fronts with Communists will continue their efforts to cooperate with organized labor and make common cause with them on the industrial and political field."

Connecticut

Hamden. Local Hamden will hold a pinocchio party Tuesday eve., Dec. 11, at Cooperative Hall, Whitney Ave., and School St., to raise money for literature. On Dec. 16 Local Hamden will hold a meeting at 108 Church St., at 3 P. M. Bridgeport. The 34th annual dance and entertainment of the Party will be held on Saturday night, Dec. 8, at the Pyramid Mosque, on State St., to celebrate the Party's successful campaign. Large delegations are expected from locals throughout Connecticut. Tickets can be obtained by writing to Jack C. Berger, 441 Barre Ave., or John Shepton, 225 Goddard Ave., Bridgeport.

Party's Resolution On the Revolutionary Policy Committee

In view of the development within the party of the so-called Revolutionary Policy Committee, with its Communist program, the National Executive Committee declares that:

The acceptance by a group of party members of doctrines which include the theory that armed insurrection is a proper Socialist method of achieving Socialist aims is viewed by the National Executive Committee as a dangerous departure from Socialist principles and tactics. It leads the workers into unnecessary dangers, exposes the Socialist movement to the intrigues of agents provocateurs, diverts the workers from the work of organization and education as the basic means of attaining power, and commits the Socialist Party to the use of methods that will delay, instead of hasten, the triumph of Socialist ideals. We hold that such doctrines are not only in conflict with the position of the Socialist Party, but are subversive of its aims and purposes.

Party Notes

California

The capitalist press that has been scared by the Sinclair vote is running editorials which declare that this is the time to destroy the radicals, deport the aliens, and take care of the red citizens in another way. The capitalist reaction destroyed the I.W.W. with a vicious anti-syndicalist act and it is feared that this will be the next target of the Socialist Party. The state committee on Dec. 1 had before it a resolution asking that the Detroit Declaration of Principles be revised by the N. E. C. and another proposing withdrawal from the party.

Illinois

Benefit Performance of "Stevedore" Chicago. To raise funds for the coming mayoralty campaign the Chicago Socialists have arranged a theatre party at the Theatre Union's "Stevedore", on New Year's day. It is hoped to get a full city and aldermanic ticket on the ballot.

Chicago. The 6th Congressional District Branch has completed an active campaign toward a successful reception and mass meeting for Comrade Deutsch, as well as waging of Nation's Unemployed Demonstration of our Local 15 of the Chicago Workers' Committee of Unemployment.

The Branch announces a program for the open forum for December which meets at 3437 Roosevelt Rd. every Friday. Dec. 7 Albert Goldman (former Communist leader who has recently joined the Socialist Party) will speak on "Why I joined the Socialist Party."

Dec. 14 Mattie De Hoan (director of women's work in the national office of the S.P.) "The Earnest as a Revolutionary Force."

Dec. 21 Gifford Ernest (veteran newspaperman) "Should You Believe What You Read in the Capitalist Papers?" Dec. 28 Owen Geer (educator and minister) "The Possibilities in the U. S. of Socialism in Our Time."

Massachusetts

The Roxbury-Dorchester Branch meets every Saturday at Workmen's Circle headquarters, 288 Blue Hill Ave., corner Quincy St., Roxbury. A short business meeting is followed by a speaker and an open forum. We welcome all readers of The New Leader to visit us.

Nebraska Omaha. Harry V. Lerner writes that Hyman Schneid of Chicago will address a party rally Sunday, Dec. 16, at 2:30, in Room 222 Lyric Building, 19th and Farnham.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Socialists will hold their annual convention over the week-end at the Labor Institute, 810 Locust St. The three items on the agenda will be: 1. Constitution and By-laws of the Local; 2. Committee on Organization report, and 3. Intra-party problems.

New York

State Committee. The State Committee will hold a special meeting at People's House next Sunday at 11 A. M.

Ithaca. Solomon received 341 votes in Tompkins County compared with 267 given Waldman in 1932. Thomas polled 616 votes compared with 496 two years ago; Wesley Eastman 454 for the Assembly compared with 368.

Elmira. William C. Perry polled 1562 votes for Congress in the 37th District compared with 1401 given Edward A. Ott in 1932 on a much larger registration. Troy. Although there is no local in Troy, Solomon polled 1466 votes in Rensselaer County this year compared with 261 given Waldman in 1932, while Thomas received 1554 votes compared with 662 given him when he ran for President.

Buffalo. Local Buffalo is taking in new members, a dozen more being acted on by the last central committee meeting. The local will hold some educational meetings for members only in which the background of the movement will be discussed. Julian H. Weiss will move to Los Angeles shortly. However, other lawyers are affiliating with the movement. A Labor Committee has been organized with John W. Hillson of the Marine Firemen's Union as acting chairman, and Jean Guthrie of the Y.P.S.L., acting secretary. The committee includes members of eighteen unions.

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acting secretary. The committee includes members of eighteen unions.

Buffalo. Dr. Julius Deutsch will speak at Orioles Hall, 558 Genesee St. Thursday evening, Dec. 13.

Local Buffalo will hold a card party for the headquarters rent fund, Friday, Dec. 14, and a special general party meeting Sunday afternoon, Dec. 16, both at 483 Main St., third floor.

Yonkers. The Party branch and Y.P.S.L. Circle held a very successful "Thanksgiving" dinner celebration last Sunday evening. John D. Stradley acted as toastmaster. Miss Martha Riegelman read a poem, and short addresses were made by Max Cohen, State Secretary Merrill and others. The branch will cooperate in helping make the L.I.D. lecture course a success.

New Jersey

Passaic. Adolph Dolder is reelected county organizer-secretary and Luther Vogelsang, county treasurer.

Extension Class of the Rand School, under the leadership of Aaron Levenstein, will be held Fridays at 8:30 P. M., instead of Thursdays.

Anniversary Banquet of Branch 1 will be held on Saturday eve., Jan. 5. A meeting to honor G. B. Modigliani, Italian Socialist, will be held Friday eve., Dec. 7, at the Polish People's Home.

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The New Leader Book Corner

Norman Thomas' New Book

By Gus Tyler

IN writing "Human Exploitation" Norman Thomas has given the Socialist Party and the American people a valuable book. It is an education and a weapon. It is an education truthful in its presentation and startling in its implications, as startling as only the truth can be.

On a canvas of statistics Thomas paints the living picture of American life. There are better statistical reviews of present capitalism than "Human Exploitation." And there are better descriptions of human activities in certain sections or industries in America. But as yet, there is no better portrayal of the complete life of America's working masses presented in relationship to the stern statistical trends in the economic world.

The chapter headings: "The Land and Those Who Live on It"; "Real Estate versus Homes"; "Men and Trees"; "Mines and Miners"; "New Sources of Physical Energy"; "Working Conditions"; "Unemployment"; "Women in Industry"; "Exploiting Our Children"; "The Negro"; "The Labor Struggle"; "The Consumer Pays"; "Little Owner, What Now?"; "The Government as Exploiter," give some idea of the scope of the book.

The name of the author, Norman Thomas, is another guide to the book's magnitude of grasp. Here is a man who has had the very peculiar experience shared by few of America's 110 million people; he has lived in America. Not New York, nor Kalamazoo, alone not the factory, nor the farm, nor the soft seat of finance, alone not the west, nor east, nor south, nor north, alone has been his home. During the last few years he has been living everywhere; in miners' hovels and farmers' shacks as well as ho-

tels; in rickety autos and make-shift conveyances, as well as on trains; on picket lines and farm meetings, as well as in the convention halls of social scientists.

The book is an education because Comrade Thomas is able to paint capitalism—the picture of madness which America is today—against the background of a projected Socialism—the background of sanity which America might be on the morrow. The defeatism of present day critics who view without hope the abysmal gloom amidst glut of today takes on a brighter and more promising hue as the chaotic scene is pieced together by the red thread of the Socialist philosophy. "Human Exploitation" shows us chaos, and brings order out of chaos.

And the book is a weapon. It is a fearless and burning Jeremiad of capitalism.

Comrade Thomas knows that he is not tilting against windmills and does not ride forth to combat with a slight and tender reed for a lance. "Human Exploitation" is a substantial weapon, one that every Socialist might well carry with him.

Norman Thomas is shrewd enough to see that the approach of the exploited masses to the problem of poverty and slavery is varied. One may feel it through the loss of a farm, another through foreclosure on a house, a third through a lynching party, a fourth through a low wage, a fifth through a high cost of living, a sixth through an overworked wife or child. Each of these groups is approached via its special problem, in order to be convinced that fundamentally the problem of all the exploited is one—the system of private property—and to be persuaded that the salvation of all the common people lies in a united struggle for Socialism.

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By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

The United Front Situation

AT the Boston meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party the matter of the united front with Communists and certain other controversial issues were handled in keeping with the method necessary to build an inclusive, democratically controlled Socialist Party. Articles appearing in the New York Times, including a statement signed by Louis Waldman and others, rather seriously misinterpret the nature and effect of the action of the N.E.C. on the matter of the united front with Communists.

It was early agreed by a majority of the N.E.C. that there should be a definite end of united front negotiations. There were differences of opinion concerning the way in which our position should be stated. The draft finally adopted was a modification of an earlier draft presented by Maynard Krueger, which modification was made by him in consultation with James Graham and Darlington Hoopes, both of whom had originally advocated a simple categorical refusal to negotiate until the next national convention. The two members of the National Executive Committee who all along had been most insistent upon immediate negotiations with the Communist Party concerning the united front felt obliged to vote against the draft in the form in which it was presented. So also did James O'Neal. Everybody else, myself included, voted for it. I was presiding at the time and did not take part in the negotiations which resulted in framing this particular draft. In common with other members of the committee I probably should have preferred some changes. But I believe that the statement as it stands handles the problem as well as it can be handled in view of the present situation, the renewed bitterness of Communist attacks on the Socialist Party and on the labor movement, and the manifest desire of the majority of the Socialist Party to close discussion on this issue.

What the action of the N.E.C. does is to close the door on further discussion at its meetings of united front negotiations with the Communist Party or any splinter Communist group unless and until a national convention gives other instructions. This action is accompanied by three statements of importance.

1. The Socialist Party reiterates its belief in the value of united action, by which the N.E.C. abundantly proved that it means united action with all labor groups honestly and sincerely working against war and fascism and for the emancipation of the workers. United action does not imply organic unity. It is confined to designated subjects and the fact that it has to be negotiated is proof that it implies that there is not organic unity or thought of seeking organic unity. The fact that the Communists believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat, or more accurately the dictatorship of themselves, is not of itself a reason why there may not be specific issues on which we can act with them. I do not believe that any Socialist as a theoretical matter would dispute this point. I do not believe that any Socialist would want to put us in the position of being the ones to block united action on specific points, especially not in view of the tragedy in Germany and of the comparative success of united action in France. What American Socialists, or the majority of them, are compelled to believe is that Communist procedure in America makes even negotiations futile.

2. The Socialist Party declares that it is the divisive and disruptive tactics of the Communist Party within the labor movement and its continual absurd description of all who differ with it as social fascists which make united front negotiations at this time a waste of time and energy. It is elementary common sense to insist that the Communists must make up their minds whether they are proposing united action in order to fight fascism or in order to destroy the Socialist Party.

3. There has been, there are, and there will be emergencies, usually local, in which logic and experience unite to prove it impossible for us to be as active as we want to be without occasionally finding ourselves acting with Communists. For example: The very successful May Day demonstration in New York this year involved united action between Socialists and the Lovestoneite groups. The Terzani defense, one of the most significant victories in that field which labor has won, involved united action between us and a number of other groups, including the Communist controlled I.L.D. At the time we had no choice. We either came in with the I.L.D. or we stayed out altogether. By coming in we prac-



Norman Thomas

tically dominated the situation and did it successfully. As I came back through Chicago on my return from the West coast I heard from Socialists report of a very successful unemployment demonstration, endorsed by the Chicago Federation of Labor, in which Socialists had played a big part although Communists had been included. Many labor unions have found it necessary on the economic field to permit the inclusion of known active Communists. A bald blanket prohibition of all united front activities between Socialists and Communists might easily be construed as a prohibition of these emergency activities. It might be construed to prevent students at City College working with other students who happen to be Communists in fighting against the tyranny of President Robinson. The New York City Executive Committee has repeatedly shown that it wants no such drastic interpretation. What, then, shall we do? Simply close our eyes and overlook occasional manifestations of cooperative action? There are many dangers in that. There is the big danger that in that case all prohibition of a united front will look like the 18th amendment in its nature and consequences. Since both of these situations are local it is not a particularly good plan that they must go up to a committee of the N.E.C. which is remote and apt to be busy. I do not know myself an ideal solution for this very practical problem, but I think that the solution suggested to the N.E.C. by the conference committee, which included Graham and Hoopes, is probably as good as you can get. It refers these local problems to the State Executive Committees of organized states. This, I think, had earlier been suggested by the State Secretary of Connecticut. A wise State Executive Committee will probably inform locals that consideration of emergencies does not include the right of locals or branches to give up valuable time to general conferences with Communist committees.

SO far as the action of the N.E.C. is a victory for one group or another, I should say that it was clearly a victory for that group in the party, which I am convinced is a majority, which desires no negotiations on the united front and an end of the waste of time on discussion of it. It is well known that my own position has been and still is that the logical way to deal with the whole problem of the united front was to appoint a committee to confer with the Communists. If by a miracle we could arrive at a basis of peace not only as between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party but as regards the action of Communists within the labor movement it would have been an enormous gain both to the party and to the labor movement. If negotiations failed to achieve this near miracle they would at least have enabled us to pin responsibility in most specific terms upon the Communists. This was the reason I took the stand that I did at the Milwaukee meeting of the N.E.C. Since that meeting, however, both in the United States and abroad the Communist line of action has not added to but subtracted from, my hope of successful negotiations. Hence my support of the action of the N.E.C. in Boston. If it is accepted in the spirit in which the N.E.C. intended it ought to clear the air both within the party and within the labor movement.

It is very unfortunate that not only the public but certain sections of the party membership should be led by these articles in the New York Times to think that the sole concern of the N.E.C. was with the problem of the united front with Communists. As a matter of fact, the great concern of the N.E.C. was with the problem of effective and aggressive united action with labor for the achievement of the ends dear to all Socialists. Hence we directed our efficient labor secretary under the guidance of a strong committee to report the situation as it affects independent farmer-labor political action. It approved the fine work done by Charney Vladeck in the A.F.O.F.L. in building up labor sentiment and a labor chest against fascism. We heartily approved the excellent report made by our labor secretary of concrete progress in important situations where Socialists have been able to serve the labor cause. We also endorsed plans of great significance for building up the party, for effective agitation of the 30-hour week, and the like. These are the things that count, that show the spirit of the party, the things on the basis of which we appeal for united action in the party and between the party and the labor movement on matters where appropriately there should be unity of action.

FINALLY, the N.E.C. definitely repudiated the amazing statement in the Revolutionary Socialist Review which was to all appearance an advocacy of armed insurrection. It set in motion methods for dealing constructively with organized groups within the party.

On this basis, surely, everyone who loves the Socialist Party can afford to get busy behind our organization drive. Failure to do so implies a sectarian spirit or a pure desire for power at all costs. This is not the spirit, I am convinced, of the Socialist Party.